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## Education, Literacy and Ink Pots: Contested Identities in Post-Emancipation Barbados

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**Education, Literacy and Ink Pots: Contested Identities in Post-Emancipation  
Barbados**

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**Williamsburg, Virginia**

**B.A, Washington and Lee Universtiy, 2004**

**A Thesis presented to the Graduate Faculty  
of the College of William and Mary in Candidacy for the Degree of  
Master of Arts**

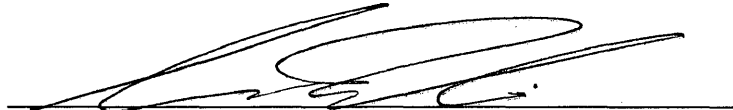
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## APPROVAL PAGE

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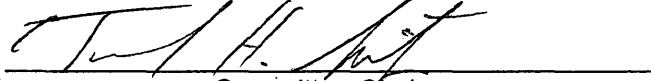
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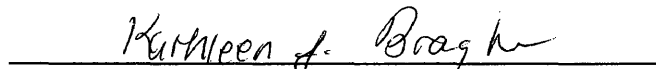
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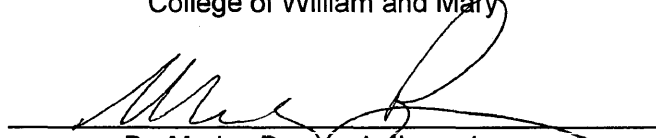
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## ABSTRACT PAGE

The emancipation of the enslaved population throughout the British colonial empire in 1834 represented a complicated transition within those constituent societies, whereby a portion, in many cases a vast majority, of the population was quickly transformed from bonded to "free" laborers. This process was perhaps most dramatic on the island of Barbados, which was the model for all subsequent British sugar islands and possessed more former slaves per square mile than any other colony at the time. Traditional historical studies have focused on how colonial domination was maintained in this changing social context through the reinforcement of institutions, primarily the educational system, which served to enculturate the newly freed black proletariat. These interpretations have for too long ignored the ways in which the black community actively sought to bend this social institution for their own uses in the creation of a community identity. This identity could be deployed to battle continued racism and social domination by the white plantocracy. By focusing on anthropological understandings of individual agency and identity creation, material culture associated with education and literacy recovered from a nineteenth century Afro-Barbadian domestic context can be shown to have been part of this process. The resulting analysis demonstrates that Afro-Barbadians actively manipulated material culture to advance their own claim to humanity in a social discourse with a racist white plantocracy which sought to perpetuate the inequities of slavery in the post-emancipation era.

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## Introduction

The emancipation of the enslaved population throughout the British colonial empire in 1834 represented a complicated transition within those constituent societies, whereby a portion, in many cases a vast majority, of the population was quickly transformed from bonded to “free” laborers. The true nature and extent of this change in terms of the life conditions of descendent Africans was debatable. Incontestably, however, the continued flow of colonial products to world markets still depended on the labor of black workers. The minority white planter class maintained the status quo of power almost absolutely through the manipulation of the racial and economic structures of society. This process clearly took place on the sugar island of Barbados. Nevertheless, newly emancipated Afro-Barbadians sought to actively improve their own lives, and the lives of their families, through the strategic use of the few avenues of advancement open to them. One such opportunity was provided by education.

Educational advancement represented, and had represented throughout the era of slavery, a means of escaping the worst rigors of agricultural labor and complete dependence upon a land owning elite (Beckles 1984). Black Barbadians of the emancipation era, reported local white magistrates, “entertain the fanciful idea of rearing their offspring for employments which nature has not assigned them, for in no instance will they entertain the idea of agriculture as a pursuit” (Handler 1974: 186). Behind the naked racism of this statement, the motivations of the Afro-Barbadian community can be seen. “Education” was a key to figuratively liberate the black youth from the degradation of plantation labor for the white plantocracy.

In this discussion, “education” is not a term used to discuss only the traditional institutional manifestations of official instruction in a series of approved subjects, but also in the sense of a broader notion of acts of reading and writing, of learning, of teaching. Thus the term encompasses both public and private contexts for these acts. The public facets of the education have received extensive attention in the field of history, which has emphasized the legitimatizing



and concretizing power of the schooling system in colonial rule (Farrell 1967; Proctor 1980; Blouet 1980, 1981, 1990). Contrasting this interpretation, the following work attempts to address the potential meaning of education as tied to a broader understanding of the changing self-perception of the Afro-Barbadian community during this period of time.

The black community on Barbados was able to use material culture in a symbolic way to refute their continued dehumanization at the hands of the socio-economic elite of the island. Afro-Barbadians created a new narrative of black expectations—a new identity for the future—from within their own community. This new black identity was a direct anathema to the predominant ideas of what the experience of the black laborer should be; ideas largely created by colonial slave owners. These white visions of the black individual were predominated by images of barbarity, puerility, and ignorance (see Lambert 2005). In contrast to such images, the Afro-Barbadian community developed an identity strongly rooted in an embracement of literacy and education. It was formed, in part, through the active manipulation of objects related to educational activities, such as ink wells, by the community as a whole in an effort to combat the racism inherent in the colonial society of post-emancipation Barbados. This process was an expression of black agency.

Agency is a term that has gained wide usage over the course of the last decade to mean a great many different things in many different contexts (Dobres and Robb 2000). As denoted above, this discussion conceives of agency as the power which individuals (or groups) can exert over their social condition through the manipulation of their own identity, to further their own goals against the dominant structural inequality of society. This power over identity is expressed in large measure through the manipulation of material culture that moderates social interaction among individuals within and among communities (Wilkie 2000: 4–5). Developing an understanding of the meaning Afro-Barbadians based in the concept of the creative and uplifting power of black agency does much to deconstruct the mythology of education solely as a tool of oppression created by traditional historical interpretations.

The critical contribution of archaeological research on historical sites, particularly those connected with enslaved African descendent populations, has classically been defined as providing a voice to those which history has left voiceless (Deetz 1996: 213). Thus archaeology can be seen as critically engaging with the historical narrative to challenge the vision of the past as set forth by those in positions of power. This thesis attempts to develop this general goal; using the lens of material culture associated with educational activities. It challenges the traditional historical narrative that education was solely a device used to enculturate the Afro-Barbadian population of the emancipation era (Farrell 1967; Bloout 1981). It instead contends that education, and particularly the material culture tied to it, had multiple meanings for the individuals constituting Barbadian society. It was a force for the perpetuation of structural social inequity, as most strongly seen in the system of institutional educational curriculum of the era. But, it also had meaning as a symbol of basic human knowledge that former slaves had been denied for so long in bondage, and which they seized on as a symbol of their emancipation upon gaining freedom. This is the meaning that is not present in traditional historical interpretations; it is a meaning that was actively derived by Afro-Barbadians for their own empowerment. The following study attempts therefore to examine how an Afro-Barbadian community sought to actively manipulate material culture to advance their own claim to humanity in a social discourse with a racist white plantocracy which sought to perpetuate the inequities of slavery in the post-emancipation era.

### *Organization of Thesis*

The first chapter turns towards an examination of how the fields of history and anthropology have problematized the relationship between education, structural inequality, and individual agency. An examination of the ways material culture moderates the social interaction of individuals and communities within a racist social context guides a review of traditional historical and comparable archaeological approaches to the post-emancipation experience of African descendants. Traditional historical narratives of the period are tilted towards

interpretations that privilege the goals of the white elite in structuring educational institutions on the island. In these studies, Afro-Barbadians are portrayed at worst as mindless automatons, placidly and uncritically accepting their disadvantaged social role through the power of indoctrinating curriculum in the public institutions of education and undergoing the process of acculturation “by which African slaves and their progeny were transformed into ‘black Englishmen’” (Proctor 1980: 184). At best, they are eternally elusive subjects whose interests in “education as a tool of self-help, a mechanism to control them, or an irrelevance” are “difficult” to determine because they left no weighty archival evidence of their views (Blouet 1990: 636). Thus in the traditional historical interpretation, the active agency of Afro-Barbadians in combating continued exploitation by the plantocracy is erased because there is no way to adequately access evidence that speaks to the black experience of the time.

Anthropologically informed archaeological theory, however, enables us to examine the role material culture has in the interface between society and the individual, in ways that the historical record alone is incapable of addressing. Material culture plays a key role in social interaction and reflects the structures of the society in which it operates (Orser 1991, 1988). Material culture can also serve as an aspect in the creation of images of self, of identities, which helped to govern the course of social interaction, and constituted black agency. Control over material meant that individuals could also control their own identities in ways that furthered their own interests in societies that were structurally unequal (Delle 1998; Mullins 1999a, 1999b). A dynamic relationship of both social structure and individual agency operated continuously throughout this period to foster the development of a black identity, as the black community responded to their continued exploitation (Wilkie 2000). This identity could be used explicitly to challenge those very social structures that perpetuated the degradation of the African descendant population to the advantage of the white, and at the same time foster a communal strength among former slaves to cope with continued racism (Armstrong 1990; Brown 1994, McKee 1992).

Given that traditional historical source materials for the interpretation of education in the post-emancipation setting of Barbados have proven unsatisfactory for the stated goal of this project, archaeological evidence is developed as an alternative source for a counter-narrative of the past. The second chapter of this thesis will examine evidence derived from the refuse of a nineteenth century occupation on the Barbadian sugar plantation of St. Nicholas Abbey to demonstrate that material remains are a viable source of information about the period under examination. Using a combination of archaeological and ethnohistorical evidence developed from the work of Jerome Handler and fieldwork conducted during the summer of 2007, it can be established that the site identified at St. Nicholas Abbey represents a domestic occupation that spans the period from the closing days of slavery through the late-nineteenth century. The presence of artifacts related to educational activities is indicative of the value the community placed on learning and literacy. Furthermore, the identification of these items within the refuse of a domestic environment, combined with an understanding of the historical circumstances of the period, indicates that this pursuit of education was a homegrown strategy actively chosen and participated in by the local community of Afro-Barbadian agricultural laborers in an attempt to better their lives and those of their children.

The final chapter analyzes the historic context of the changing nature of Afro-Barbadians' place in society during the emancipation era, both in reference to their position with the economy and education. White interests used public education as an institution that sought to pacify the newly emancipated populations and mold them into a complacent and efficient labor force. Concurrently, however, free black laborers may have used education, and the materials associated with it, to combat racist claims by these groups. The evidence for activities tied to literacy and education found at the Ridge site indicate that it served as a central location of a struggle by former slaves to maximize their own power within the unequal plantation labor system during the period spanning the end of slavery, apprenticeship, and emancipation. Literacy and education can be viewed as key components in the efforts of former slaves to redefine their

own identities in relation to their former status as slaves and within the emerging free labor market. They also served as powerful symbols that refuted continued white claims to black subjugation, by asserting Afro-Barbadians claim to basic human rights and knowledge that would not be given up in the future.

## Chapter 1: Social Structure and Individual Agency

As outlined above, the terms education, literacy and agency can be interpreted in several different ways. Historical interpretations of the role of education in Barbados have consistently focused on the structuralist nature of the *institution* of education. The narrative produced in this tradition describes processes of transculturation, whereby the black majority of the island accepts and adopts the minority, yet dominant, white socio-economic vision as their own social norm. Alternative interpretations, based in anthropologically informed archaeological theory, focus more on understanding the dialectic interaction between social structure and the individual. Utilizing an understanding of how material culture plays a key role in the creation and definition of images of self, these interpretations illuminate how we can focus on the *meaning* of education. This perspective allows for a more nuanced understanding of the contention between newly emancipated Afro-Barbadian families and the colonial power structure which still sought to exploit them. Thus educational and literary activities can be seen as operating both as traditionally described structural institutions, and also as empowering means for the expression of agency in the creation of identities used to combat racism by African descendant communities.

Traditional interpretations of the role of education in the period surrounding the 1834 emancipation of the enslaved population of Barbados have largely been confined to those arising from the field of history. Relying heavily on the documentation produced disproportionately by the socio-economic colonial elite, religiously motivated missionaries, and vested metropolitan (i.e. British home government) commercial and political interests these accounts preponderantly interpret the education movement on the Afro-Barbadian population in structuralist or acculturationist terms. Furthermore, due to the lack of evidence derived from the Afro-Barbadian laborer's perspective these traditional interpretations have normalized the colonialist narrative of black acceptance of white English culture and practice as superior. The image of the black laborer presented in such studies is of an individual unable, through disadvantage of human or

natural origin (depending perhaps on the author), to effectively negotiate the complexities of social life in a modern industrial capitalistic society to achieve their own ends. Instead, Afro-Barbadians are presented as almost mindlessly accepting the beneficence offered by moral metropolitan religious reformers and the enlightened imperial government. In the process, these individuals exchange identities as slaves for those of loyal English subjects. Thus the participation of Afro-Barbadians in the public institutions of education has been seen as a process of acculturation “by which African slaves and their progeny were transformed into ‘black Englishmen’” (Proctor 1980: 184). Another author has critically termed this narrative the creation of the “Afro-Saxon” race (Lambert 2005).

Drawing upon this basis of “cultural” unity, several historians interpret education as the great equalizing force in racially diverse societies, such as the Anglo-Caribbean colonies. Farrell contends that in culturally non-plural societies, formal education represented a means of social mobility relatively blind to color and socio-economic status (1967: 178–179). For Farrell, Barbados is a non-plural society because “a number of basic institutions are shared.” Thus these basic shared social institutions produce a “heterogeneous society” subject to ethnic or class segmentation rather than a pluralistic one (1967: 161). The educational system is the primary institution of indoctrination and structuration, inculcating from youth within minority populations a shared identity with the dominant British culture (1967: 166). The socio-economic position left open to newly emancipated slaves in the 1830s was designed to prevent social mobility. The formal “schooling” system and its curriculum was originally brought forth to reinforce the distance and distinction of socio-economic class within Barbadian society. Handler, reaching the same evaluation as nineteenth century experts, concludes: “The education system supported and reflected these class and racial divisions, by segregation of facilities, the duality of the private and public school systems, and a curriculum in the public schools which stressed accommodation to the status quo” (1974: 189).

The work of Olwyn Mary Blouet has done much to deconstruct the mythology of education as purely an altruistic gift to the black population during the first three decades of the nineteenth century. Her studies develop a keen understanding of the desire to “christianize and civilize” the former slaves through indoctrination in the educational environment to ensure the safety of colonial society, and especially of colonial production, after emancipation (Blouet 1980, 1990, 1991). Ultimately, Blouet most effectively exposes the historical efforts of the metropolitan government to use education as ideology for the justification of a rigid class structure within society. Yet her work is still focused largely only on motivations and perspectives of the socio-economic imperial elite, who instituted policy, drafted memorandum, and have left personal documentary evidence. She is not able to effectively evaluate the impact of this social engineering on the black population of the island. She alludes to this problem when she discusses the desire for education among the freed Afro-Barbadian population. She says, “It is difficult to know to what extent slaves viewed education as a tool of self-help, a mechanism to control them, or an irrelevance” (Blouet 1990: 636).

The inability to address these interests with purely documentary evidence indicates why historical interpretations of the role of education during the emancipation period consistently focus on the qualities of cultural transference. The historical record provides only one half of the story. It reveals the system of education as it was constructed to constrict and confine the lives of the lower class, black laborers, which held up imperial society with their own sweat. Historical analysis cannot achieve a direct understanding of education as a symbol in the lives of those laborers; an empowering symbol that helped them to contest their oppression. It cannot glimpse into the past lives on people who did not necessary operate within the educational system as it was designed to be, because it cannot get at the remains of these people’s lives. Anthropologically minded archaeological efforts, however, are positioned uniquely to address this second half of the story.



Over the past several decades, archaeological inquiry into this period has been shaped by several key studies that are based in diverse schools of social theory. One of the unifying precepts of all of these studies has been to understand the relationship between individuals and the society that they compose, largely by interpreting the material remains that are the products of their daily lives. This avenue of research allows the central focus of analysis to shift from the dominant interests to the former slaves themselves and their children, and shapes a discussion of the way individuals and social structure interact.

The material record presents a means to complicate our understanding of how education was used and shaped by various forces in the changing society of the emancipation period. In a classical definition of the role of African Diaspora archaeology, James Deetz asserted the goal of such work should be to provide the voice to those whom history has left voiceless due to their status or opposition to the dominant party (1996: 213). The archaeological remains recovered from late-slavery and early-freedmen contexts offer the chance to examine the ways blacks imaginatively manipulated structures imposed upon them during a period of dramatic change in the global capitalist system to further their own goals.

This kind of analysis draws upon and emphasizes the concept of agency. Agency has become an ambiguous term in archaeology. It is used to stand for a wide range of ideas that are not always consistent with each other (Dobres and Robb 2000). Agency, however, holds an allure for a diversity of theoretical schools, and may serve ultimately to pull the divergent strands of post-processual thought more closely together. In this study, agency is addressed as the power which individuals (or groups) can exert over their social condition through the manipulation of their own identity, to further their own goals against the dominant structural inequality of society. This conceptualization of agency attempts to draw on previous work in post-emancipatory contexts to allow for an analysis of the concepts of structure, identity, individual and communal social power from a variety of perspectives.

The analysis focusing on the dominant role of social structure in shaping the course of daily life for the individual is deeply ingrained in Marxist social theory. An application of this analysis to the archaeological record of the post-emancipation plantation context was most notably launched by Charles Orser's study of the Millwood plantation in South Carolina. Orser utilized a historical materialistic perspective to analyze the material basis of society in the transformative period of a postbellum plantation. Historical materialism is a powerful concept for archaeological study because it held that social relationships and structures can be studied—and reinterpreted—through the physical remains that are the by-product of a living society. Centered within the framework of Marxist theory whereby class relationships and inequalities are paramount, the thrust of Orser's work was the discovery of a relation between the material artifacts of the past and the social structures which operated to maintain the racial inequality in postbellum tenant plantations in the American South. The study focuses on the evidence of settlement, housing and material possessions to understand the development of the distinctions of “those people who are the society's producers and those people who are society's owners” (1988: 8).

Importantly, Orser and others readily admit that this distinction between capital and labor is not necessarily equal to the distinction between white and black racial designations. Rather, class defined through economic status or standing has a major role in the evidence discussed within this study. The difference of the material basis of distinction between class groups (i.e. owner vs. tenant) is much larger than that between racial groups within the same class group (i.e. white vs. black tenants) in the context of the American South (Stine 1990). Nevertheless, the Marxist analysis also accounts for the role of history in establishing social relationships. The historical precedent of racial slavery, then inherently was a major factor which situated black populations predominately in the role of exploited labor in post-emancipation plantation contexts. Orser acknowledges this fact by recognizing that benefits of the “agricultural ladder,” or the accumulation of wealth, were more accessible to whites than to blacks (1988: 110).

At Millwood plantation evidence derived from settlement patterns and housing standards suggested that African Americans consistently were materially less “well off” than whites (Orser 1988: 227–229). Further, the restructuring of the plantation system during the transition from slavery to emancipation served as a means of ensuring that while “black slaves were legally emancipated, they were not all freed from the plantation system” (Orser 1991: 40). Tenant plantations “required a large, subservient work force.” Consequently, they operated within a social framework that “provided the roots of black poverty” by maintaining inequality between owners and laborers similar to that of their antebellum precursors (Orser 1988: 19). This system of inequality was physically manifest in the emerging spatial relationships found in the landscape of the postbellum American plantation. Orser’s work with the tenant plantations of the American South demonstrated how plantations operated in a socio-economic system which served to perpetuate the inequities of slavery during the post-emancipatory period.

The plantation system did not operate in a historical or social vacuum; rather it was closely intertwined with the changing capitalistic system over the course of the colonial period. James Delle has drawn upon Orser’s ideas to analyze the changing course of plantations within a dynamic global capitalistic system. He centered his discussion on the rise of Jamaican coffee plantations during the late-eighteenth through the mid-nineteenth centuries. This period was marked by the transition from a mercantile capitalism to competitive capitalism on a global scale; a transformation Delle terms a “crisis of capitalism.” He utilized spatial analysis, just as Orser has, as a means to explore the way in which global change in the system of capitalism is manifest locally. He has asserted that elites accelerated the reorganization of the means of production to facilitate the reordering of the relations of production to maintain their dominate position during such “crisis” periods in the capitalist system (1998: 3). Like Orser, Delle concluded “the planter class intentionally manipulated space...as part of the strategy to create, maintain, and legitimate social and economic inequality” (1998: 21).

Delle also asserted that this process of elite imposition of a new order is complemented by “how the working people...resisted...these changes” (1998:21). He described the resistance during the post-emancipation period as the ability of the laboring population of the Jamaican coffee plantations to “exert control over their own spatiality, and to control their own spaces of production” (1998: 217). The implication of this conclusion is that exploited populations are as capable of understanding the “role material culture plays in the construction and negotiation of power and inequality” as the so called elite capitalist class (Delle 1998: 7). Therefore, ideology, the intended social message expressed through the manipulation of space, is recognized as a social tool which multiple social groups can utilize for their own advantage. Furthermore, the Marxist notion that the “production, distribution, and consumption of commodities” moderated by the “division of labor” is how “race, gender, and class identities” are created take on explicit meaning in this context (Delle 1998: 2). Through controlling their own production—even for limited periods—Afro-Jamaicans created their own identities, resisting those applied by white plantation owners. Delle’s work opens the door to understanding the power of the individual to influence the structure of society through their own actions and manipulations of the material within a Marxist theoretical framework. However, it is largely bound as Orser’s work was to the arena of spatial analysis.

The role of material culture in the manipulation of identity, however, demanded a more refined examination of individual relationships between the structurally disenfranchised and the utilization of material goods to express social statements. While Delle approached identity from the perspective of production via the evidence of space, Paul Mullins has fostered a greater understanding of the concept of active identity creation through the lens of consumption of material goods (1999a; 1999b). Using evidence from post-emancipation contexts in Annapolis, Maryland, Mullins studied the way in which African-American consumption was a strategic act of symbolic manipulation. Mullins contended that “commodity symbolism” provided “the ability to construct and veil their [African-American] communities in opposition to racism” and “was

crucial to African America's social opportunity and to its very survival" (1999b: 170). Mullins argued that the African-American community was able to actively and consciously develop a social strategy through the manipulation of identity to foster their own social agenda in contradiction to the prevailing social inequality.

In his strongest case study, Mullins showed how African-Americans pursued a purchasing pattern that mitigated racism in the marketplace and sought to combat contemporary racist images. An analysis of the trash from several Annapolis African-American households demonstrates the overwhelming preference for brand beverage and canned good products (Mullins 1999b: 173–177). The advent and wide availability of brand canned and bottled goods created a de-racialized customer experience, between the producer and the consumer. The canned goods were packaged and shipped without knowledge of whom the ultimate purchaser might be, and therefore were deemed to be less suspect of adulteration or unfair sales practices, in the African-American community. Local bulk goods purchases, where selection and prices were set during face to face interactions between consumer and supplier did not share in this perceived guarantee of anonymity (Mullins 1999b: 174). Furthermore, Mullins felt the prestige and the quality attached to brands from the earliest period, reinforced the genteel image African-Americans sought to project into their broader social interactions (Mullins 1999a: 118–123). This image stood as a direct refutation of racist stereotypes increasingly developed throughout the Jim Crow era (Mullins 1999a: 39).

Concurrently, the reproduction of genteel lifestyles, largely as defined by or in relation to white perceptions of that social ideal, served as a means of the reproduction of structural norms, within a community that was actively seeking to challenge their social essentialization based on race. Mullins addressed this aspect of the manipulation of material culture by individuals and vice versa through the concept of "multivalency," which his consumption study demonstrated meant "that material culture could be defined along a spectrum of possibilities ranging from conscious resistance to the masked reproduction of inequality" (Mullins 1999b: 187).

Multivalency is therefore a complex intertwining of the two sides of consumption, it recognizes both the “risk” of confirming structural reproduction and the “construct[ion]” of meaningful symbols by individuals (Mullins 1999b: 188). This is a powerful interpretation of the ability of the individual to influence the dynamic of social relationships regulated by structure. While based in the Marxist theoretical world view, this perspective seems to share much with the independent strain of research devoted to identity construction, notably lead by Laurie Wilkie.

Laurie Wilkie has been a vocal proponent of investigating alternative approaches to the concept of identity formation, and takes issue with the Marxist interpretation of agency. She contends, “[the] classical Marxist perspective stresses the forces that shape people’s lives rather than the people who both construct and are constrained by them” (Wilkie and Bartoy 2000: 748). This criticism emphasized that Marxist archaeology has focused on the collective rather than the individual in understanding the relationship between structure and agency. The application of Marxist perspectives by some scholars has lent heavily on examining the imposition of ideology by the social elite on the rest of society as part of a continuing struggle between class interests, which may result from the contemporary political orientation of the researcher. Mark Leone has stated that his call for a critical archaeology is motivated by the implications it has in understanding the current structure of society which produces “unheard-of differences in wealth among living peoples” (Leone 2000: 766). Wilkie’s evaluation cited this “preoccupation” with class as a major problem within critical archaeology. The analytical emphasis is perceived to focus highly on a “top-down model” of social relations in which the individual social actors—or at least those who are at the lower end of socio-economic scale—are more constrained by established socio-economic structure and identifications than creative in their response to them (Wilkie 2000: 771). From Wilkie’s perspective, critical archaeologists only see identity formation as taking place through individual agents, who are limited to the cooption of the established roles available within the capitalist system. As was the case with Delle’s Jamaican

population, who resisted through the ability to “exert control over their own spatiality, and to control their own spaces of production.”

Wilkie has sought to construct a dissenting model of the relationship between individuals and social structure through the deployment of theories of practice, agency, structure, and performance (Wilkie and Farnsworth 2005; Wilkie and Bartoy 2000; Wilkie 2000). Wilkie’s model draws heavily but selectively from the social theory of Pierre Bourdieu and Anthony Giddens. While Wilkie attacked the “overemphasis” on class and structure in critical research, she nevertheless recognized the important bearing socio-economic divisions have on individual identities. Consequently, she draws heavily from the class informed work of Bourdieu. The theory of practice and *habitus* are used to understand this relationship between free will and contextual constraint. Attempting to balance individual and structure, Wilkie sees these “self images” as both created by the individual and imposed on them by others. The cultural context is derived both from the formative experiences of life and from daily social interactions that constitute the negotiation between individuals and their relationships—the *habitus* and practice. While these concepts were useful to situate social action within daily life, Wilkie finds the portrayal of the individual in much of Bourdieu’s work to be too much like “unreflexive cogs in the cultural machine” (Wilkie and Farnsworth 2005: 7).

Her use of Giddens’ idea of structuration, partially developed in opposition to Marxist theory, reinforces her attack on the precepts of critical archaeological inquiry, and provides a more reflexive portrayal of individual social agents. She holds that individuals can make *conscious* decisions to act, but that those decisions have both intended and unintended—or unknowable—consequences in the structure of society. These unintended consequences may thus result in the perpetuation of inequality in the social system, despite the goals of individual actors, as they are subject to the processes of social reproduction through the course of daily interactions. The emphasis of her model, as with Giddens’, is more clearly in favor of the power of the individual to influence their own control within the milieu of daily social interaction over the

presentation of self. Identity was used in these archaeological studies to represent multiple, fluid and relative “images of self,” which are used to “negotiate through different social encounters during the course of daily life” (Wilkie 2000: 4–5). For Wilkie, agency is the role the individual has in the creation and use of their own identity as a means of moderating their social interaction, presumably for their own benefit, though the symbolic manipulation of the material world.

The intention of Wilkie’s argument is the attempt to bring to the forefront the creative aspects of identity formation, as opposed to the constraining influences, and to demonstrate the reasons diaspora communities had a common motive for “creating” identities. Material culture is the vehicle for this on-going creation of self image and is enmeshed in meaning that is contextual to the social actor who is using it (Wilkie 2000). Therefore, meaning of material culture is not static; nor is it essentialist. Rather it is contextually and socially attached, through the ways in which it is used in diverse actions and relational settings with both creative and constraining aspects. Like identities, “material culture can be perceived both as a sedimentation of structure and as an active manipulation of structure” (Wilkie and Bartoy 2000: 750). So, the meanings of artifacts are fluid and they are used in daily practice that (de)constructs identities. Furthermore, Wilkie has chosen to emphasize the control of the individual in choosing and portraying selective identities for their own empowerment. Thus, Wilkie urges that “artifact assemblages can be studied contextually for an understanding of how those materials may have enforced different senses of self” within different social contexts (Wilkie 2000: 12). Just as Mullins discussed through the concept of multivalency, Wilkie suggested that there is a wide range of possible identities that can be created and used in varying social situations.

Ultimately, Wilkie contends that “African-American” group identity is the result of these individual creations of self intersecting along areas of conventionally agreed upon aspects of identity. She sees the commonality of parts of individual identities as enabling “African-American individuals, families, and communities” to “[cope] with racist power structures” (Wilkie 2000: 4). Within this theoretical approach, commonly shared identity is an



important factor in understanding the ability of African descended peoples to “collectively combat the deprivations and cruelties” of racist societies, which sought to exploit them to the fullest extent possible (Wilkie and Farnsworth 2005: 11).

Other studies, arising from examinations of the plantation system in the post-emancipation period, support the idea that black communities used identity to strengthen the community and ultimately battle racism in society. Douglas Armstrong conducted a study of the community at Drax Hall plantation from slavery through emancipation, which sought to understand the formation of the Afro-Jamaican community (1990). Armstrong viewed the black population of Drax Hall as “participant creators of a new way of life and molders of Jamaican culture” (Armstrong 1990: 277). Focused specifically on the operational role of “creolization” within the formation of the community, Armstrong’s work suggested that individuals and communities can have a powerful effect on their social circumstances through the creation of shared or commonly understood identities. Thus the “creolization” of Jamaican culture was not just the product of the imposition of white colonial system of plantation slavery, but also of the negotiation of the members of the slave community in retaining and creating aspects of a shared “African” cultural continuity.

The examination of Levy Jordan plantation in Texas, during the tenant period, demonstrates how individual African-American households bonded together through a shared sense of identity to form a community. Within this community, the members provided services and support to each other that stood in direct contradiction to the exploitive practices at operation in the larger society in which they existed (Brown 1994: 107–108). While some of the evidence presented may be liberally interpreted, it does seem that individuals within the community helped to foster and preserve a unique communal identity, possibly tied to strong African antecedents (Brown 1994: 116). This study highlights the ability of a diaspora community to respond actively to inequality through creative identity formation which protected members from the prevailing racism of the dominant social norm.

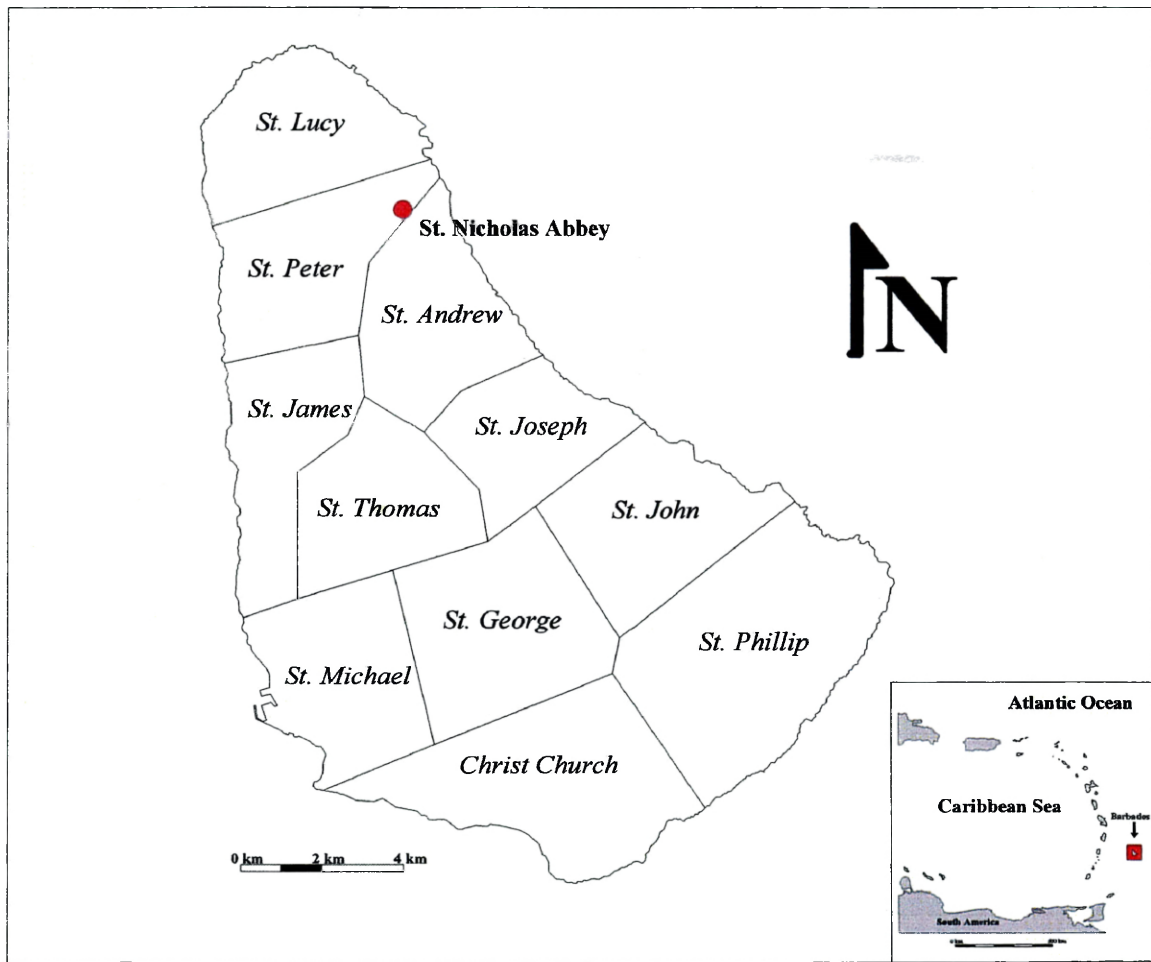
It seems that individuals are able to reinterpret material culture meant to perpetuate the social structure in new and different ways from the intended meaning. In an analysis of the changing pattern of slave housing in the American South during the last decades of the antebellum period, Larry McKee suggested that the black household was a media for the struggle between white planters and black laborers for social power (1992). The ameliorative material changes white planters made to black housing carried implications of paternalism and obedience. Yet, enslaved laborers, whose physical and social position would place them under the most extreme pressures to accept the ideological meaning imposed by planters, were able to reinterpret their housing in ways that exerted their own power within the plantation context. Ultimately, McKee posits the existence of an “uneasy consensus” based upon an “underlying set of usually unspoken and ill-defined ‘understandings’ between blacks and whites about treatment and personal autonomy” (1992: 208). McKee’s argument implies the power of African-American communities in combating their oppression through communal strength. This social power of the slaves to assert their own control over personal autonomy is the essence of the role agency plays in the dialectic interface of the individual and social structure.

## Chapter 2: The Physical Remains of an Emancipation Era Village

In order to address the issues discussed above and to assess the validity of the use of material culture as a counter point to documentary sources, archaeological evidence for the domestic life of former slaves had to be identified and examined. This is what archaeologists and students from the College of William and Mary attempted to accomplish at St. Nicholas Plantation in the summer of 2007, during an archaeological field school on the Caribbean island of Barbados (*see Figure 1*).

The plantation is located in the Parish of St. Peter's and borders the famed Scotland District, and has a history that extends back to the mid-seventeenth century. It was first established as a fairly large sugar estate created through the partnership of local planters Col. Benjamin Berringer and Sir John Yeamans, and ultimately came to encompass 409 acres by the early nineteenth century (Handler 1989: 42). The property passed through several successive owners over the course of the intervening centuries, but remained a unified plantation throughout and the core remains as a single property into the current day. It is currently owned by the Warren family of Barbados, who are seeking to both protect the property and develop it as a national history attraction. While the property does have a particular history of ownership, it broadly reflects the historical and economic trajectory of the large sugar estates that dominated the island for much of its history. As such, evidence derived from the investigations at St. Nicholas Abbey can be used to discuss broader trends in Barbadian society, particularly centered on the era of emancipation.

The William and Mary investigations explored two areas of the property in detail, and established that at least two archaeological sites currently exist there. Students explored a number of areas around the main house on the plantation, which resulted in the discovery of several deposits of archaeological remains dating to various periods of the plantation's history. The field school participants also explored a section of property located on a rocky ridge



**Figure 1: Project Area Locator Map**

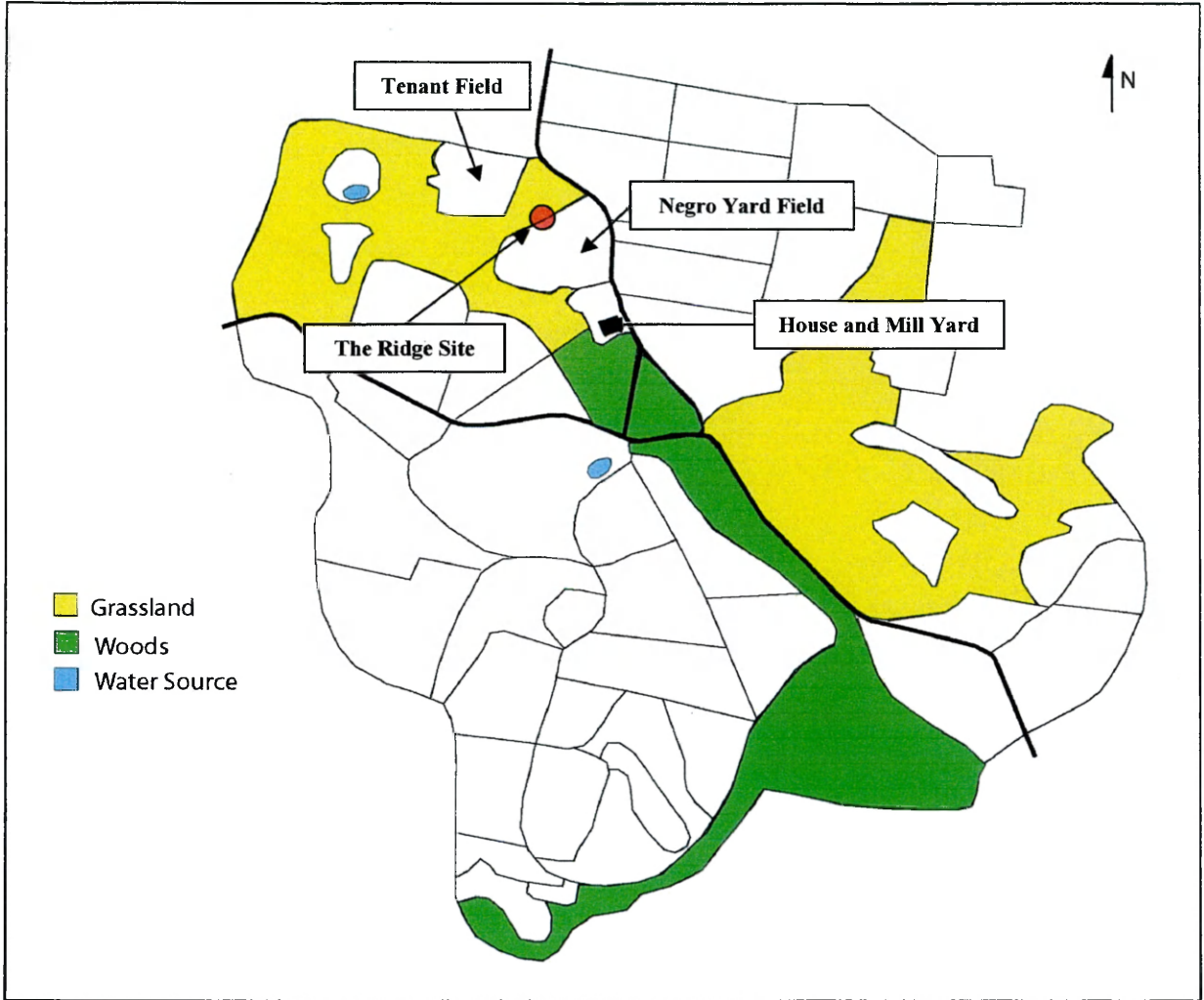
northwest of the main house among the agricultural fields. This site, labeled the Ridge site after the completion of excavations, constitutes the archaeological remains of an Afro-Barbadian village that spanned the transition from slavery to emancipation in the first half of the nineteenth century.

The Ridge site was located within a patch of sour grass growing on a ridgeline above the field north of the plantation's sugar factory complex. The area, commonly known as the 'Negro yard' field, was initially subjected to a pedestrian walk over in the summer of 1987 by a project headed by Jerome Handler (*see Figure 2*). Handler noted the presence of several "stone mounds" on the ridge during the 1987 field season (Handler 1989: 42). In 2007, an examination of the area around several of these noted "stone mounds" revealed a heavy concentration of material culture on the ground surface. Based on this evidence, and previous oral testimony collected by Handler that this was a domestic site, the ridge was identified as a potential site for investigation. To this end, two test units were placed within this portion of the property to examine the quantity and quality of archaeological materials that could be recovered (*see Figure 3*). The stratigraphy was similar and fairly uncomplicated in each test unit (*see Figures 4 and 5*).<sup>1</sup> Both units contained two stratum and were excavated to bedrock, which revealed no cultural features.<sup>2</sup> The resulting collection combined with Handler's ethnohistorical research shows that the Ridge site was an Afro-Barbadian domestic location through the transition from slavery to emancipation. As such, the site can be used to study the changing plantation life of Afro-Barbadian laborers during the first half of the nineteenth century.

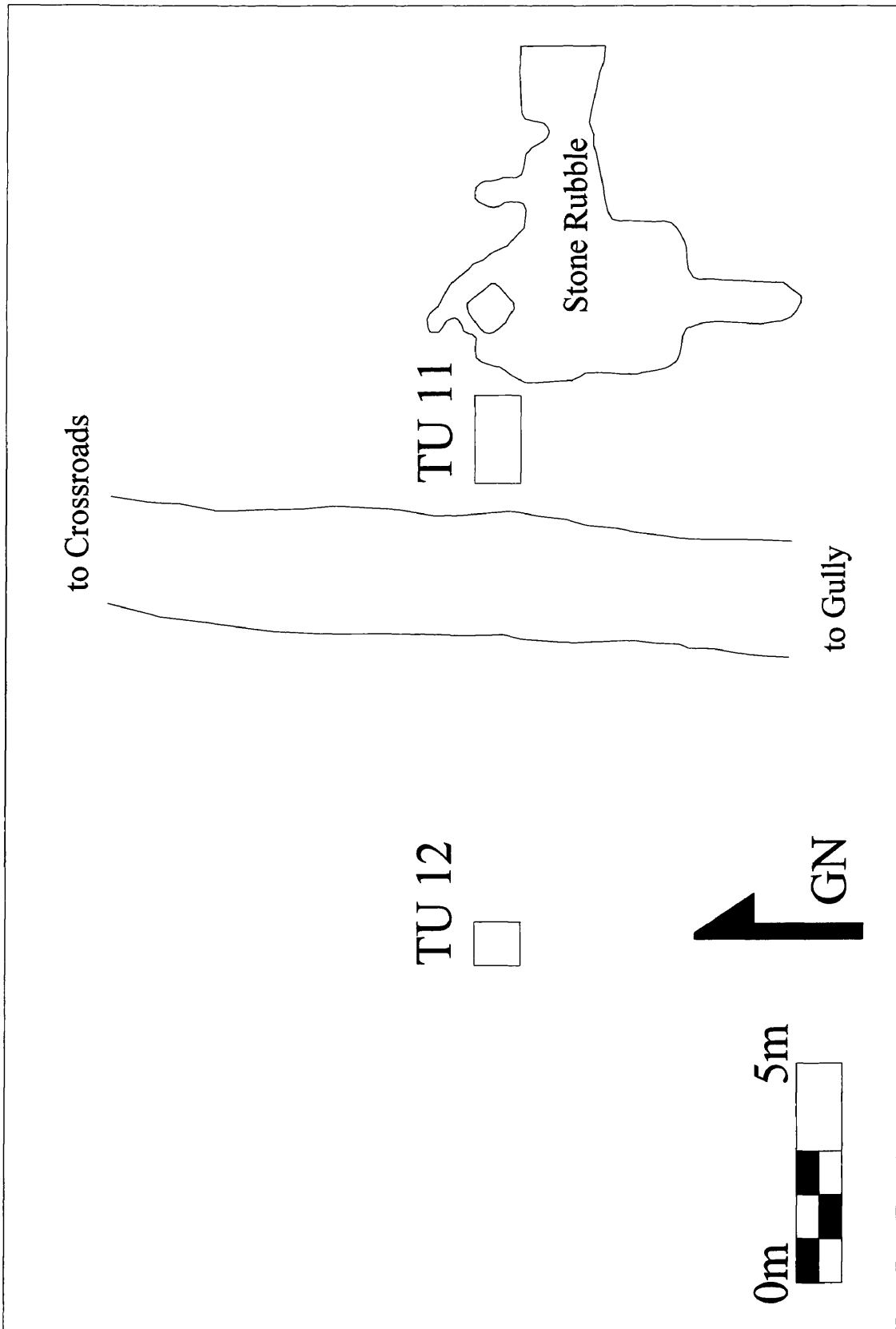
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<sup>1</sup> Students excavated units in natural layers, which each comprised a separate context for later artifact identification. All soils were removed with shovel and trowel and screened through half inch wire mesh. Standardized context forms were completed with plan, profile and photographic references recorded. All recovered materials were washed and catalogued for analysis.

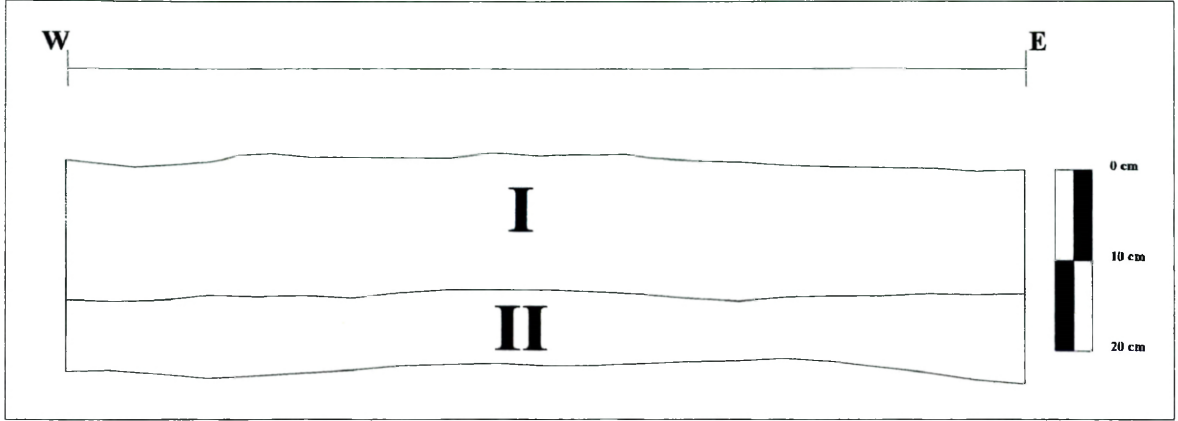
<sup>2</sup> Stratum I was a dark grayish brown clay loam material that contained a heavy concentration of cultural materials through a rough depth of 15 to 20 centimeters. Stratum II was directly below this layer in both units and consisted of materials of a slightly lighter brown color and heavier clay texture. Stratum II sat directly above bedrock throughout both units and had a depth that varied from two to eight centimeters depending on the variations of the surface of the rock.



**Figure 2:** St. Nicholas Plantation



**Figure 3: Ridge Site plan**



**Figure 4:** Ridge Site, TU 12 north profile



**Figure 5:** Ridge Site, TU 12 base of excavation



Handler's 1987 fieldwork initially derived evidence for the domestic nature of the Ridge site at St. Nicholas Abbey. As part of a broader project seeking to develop bioarchaeological evidence comparable to his groundbreaking work at Newton Plantation (1978), Handler collected oral testimony from local plantation owners and workers to identify areas of occupation by Afro-Barbadian populations. Based upon oral testimony at St. Nicholas, Handler described the area currently designated the Ridge site with the following:

“This grass piece contained a scattering of apparent stone mounds which several informants reported as the remnants of about three or four old stone houses (referred to as ‘slave houses,’ a term frequently used in Barbados for this house type). These houses were once part of the plantation’s tenantry and had been torn down sometime in the 1950s. The area around the stone mounds had a very thick grass cover, and because of its rockiness and very shallow soil, it had never been cultivated” (Handler 1989: 42).

The material and comparative evidence derived from the research on the Ridge site concretely substantiates this oral testimony provided to Handler.

Utilizing these multiple lines of evidence, the site can be identified as a small domestic center of a community of Afro-Barbadian laborers in the transitory period between slavery and free labor on Barbados. The following discussion draws heavily from the work of Jerome Handler. Handler has produced a model of settlement patterns for enslaved domestic sites on Barbadian plantations (2002). While Handler focused on the era of slavery until 1834, it can be applied to the Ridge site because the first occupation of the location, as shown by the ceramic evidence, occurred in the first quarter of the nineteenth century and appears to have continued through the subsequent changes of emancipation, apprenticeship and free labor.

One of the most basic, yet compelling, indications of domestic use is derived from the names of plantation fields. The plantation’s ‘Mill Yard’ is composed of the area surrounding the sugar factory, which is in turn composed of the sugar mill and the boiling house. The location of a ‘Negro yard’ field situated close to the mill yard strongly indicates that the area was the former site of the slave village. Subsequently, these fields were turned over to cane cultivation but retained names associated with the locality’s original purpose (Handler 2002: 125). Commonly

on island plantations, the fields acquire colloquial names tied to physical or historical events (Handler 1989: 17). Two examples of this practice can be found in the field names around the Ridge site. First, it is located at the edge of the plantation's current 'Negro yard' field, which is directly north of the sugar mill. Second, the field to the north of the Ridge site is recorded as the 'Tenant' field, most likely referring to its location near the tenantry settlement on the plantation in the post-emancipation years. As Handler establishes, these names are evidence that the area was the location of a slave settlement and offer evidence of the continuing occupation of the site into the tenantry period (*Figure 2*).

The importance of "security" is central to many studies of enforced settlement patterns of the black laboring population in Caribbean plantation contexts. Handler's model contends that the site of an enslaved community should be found within the line of sight from a planter's main complex to ensure adequate control and security (2002: 126). Comparable work has been conducted on other Caribbean islands' plantation settlement patterning. Working in the context of Cuban sugar plantations, Theresa Singleton also contends that the location and design of slave settlements were predicated on principles of security for the planter class (Singleton 2001). Alternatively, other studies have also suggested that settlements may have been located close to the main complex to economize time and physical energy as slaves came to work in the sugar factory (Bates 2007; Armstrong and Kelly 2000). Regardless of the specific historical reasoning, a trend for the placement of slave settlements within view and easy access to the planter's house or sugar factory is apparent in the West Indies. The configuration of the plantation landscape at St. Nicholas conforms to this general pattern. The location of the Ridge site on the crest of a promontory at the western edge of the 'Negro yard' provides a direct line of sight to the sugar factory complex, which itself sits atop a rise at the southern end of the field. While the main house is not directly visible from the Ridge site due to the bulk of the factory complex, it is located on a terrace situated directly above the sugar factory roughly sixty meters to the east, implying a geographical hierarchy that matches the planter's ideal social hierarchy.

As noted, the Ridge site is located to the west of the main house (*Figure 2*). This corresponds to the location of a majority of ‘Negro yards’ in Handler’s research and to historical accounts that speak to a general preference among West Indian planters for citing villages to the leeward side of the house. Handler cites one such account where the author states that “Negros live in huts, on the western side of our dwelling houses...[so] that we may breathe the pure eastern air, without being offended with the least nauseous smell. Our kitchens and boiling houses are on the same side, and for the same reason” (2002: 127). At St. Nicholas, the spatial arrangement of the buildings closely matches these general guidelines. The kitchen is located on the western façade of the house. While the sugar factory is located very close to the main house, it is positioned to the northwest of the main house, thus ensuring that the prevailing ocean breeze would push smoke from the boiling process away from the main house. Likewise, the Ridge site is situated northwest of the factory complex on the opposite side of the ‘Negro yard,’ where the prevailing winds would push the ‘nauseous smells’ of domestic fires well away from the planters’ main complex. The location of the slave village at the Ridge site conforms to the ideal spatial arrangement of the West Indian plantation.

Furthermore, the site is located on an uncultivable plot of land on the plantation property. Maximization of arable land in Barbados became increasingly important after the American Revolution due to several factors. The closing of American markets due to British governmental policy until the mid-nineteenth century deprived the island not only of a close market for sugar and by-products but also of its traditional source of cheap raw materials and foodstuffs. These changes placed a greater burden on the island to produce a higher proportion of provisions for the laboring population (Brown and Innis 2005: 262; Carrington 2002: 90). Additionally, as the nineteenth century progressed, the price of sugar was subject to a decline due to factors of increased competition, from both Anglo-Caribbean producers and the increasing globalization of sugar production (Butler 1995). Barbadian sugar producers attempted to compensate for decreasing prices through increased production. They accomplished this through

both capital investment in the technology of production and through the expansion of the area of land under cane cultivation (Levy 1980: 59). Therefore in the nineteenth century, Barbadian plantations saw increasing pressure to maximize the productive proportion of the land. The result can be seen in the marginalization of workers' housing, particularly during the tenantry period, to the outskirts of the plantation, or to the least productive portion of the property (Handler 2002: 125). The Ridge site is situated on very thin soils overlying solid coral limestone bedrock, on one of the least productive areas on the plantation. While the Ridge site is poorly suited to agricultural production, it is situated relatively close to both possible sources of water and wood, two important elements on the plantation landscape for the maintenance of the plantation's laboring population.

Water is one of the most basic necessities of life, and would have been essential to the maintenance of the laborers' domestic site. While planters often had access to cisterns of stored water, the laboring population had to obtain their water from open air ponds located on the property, often sharing these sources with the animal population (Handler 2002: 135). St. Nicholas Abbey plantation appears to have had several open ponds (*Figure 2*), located to the south of the main house at Horse Pond Field and northwest of the Ridge site at Moore Hill. The Moore Hill pond is particularly well located for access by a population at the Ridge site, as the old growth gully that runs through the plantation property possibly could serve as an easy route to the pond from the site, particularly for a bonded population not necessarily dependent upon European notions of traveling through the plantation landscape (Upton 1988).

The forested gully would have been an important source of wood for the laborers on the plantation for cooking, heating and maintaining their homes. The practice of maintaining such wooded grounds for the use of laborers on the plantations was strongly rooted in Barbadian plantation practices. As early as the mid-seventeenth century, English traveler Richard Ligon noted that as much as 120 acres on a 500 plantation would be devoted to the maintenance of wood supplies (Ligon 1657 [1976]: 22). Clearly such high proportions of wooded land were not

common throughout the succeeding centuries as pressure to increase production caused more land to come under cultivation. Nevertheless, particularly when situated as at St. Nicholas in otherwise unproductive gullies, possession of such grounds was recommended in treatises on agricultural management (Belgrove 1755). Especially during the slavery period, the wood found on such grounds would have represented the primary building material for Afro-Barbadian housing. During the decades directly preceding emancipation more permanent styles of housing construction began to replace a small proportion of the traditional impermanent wattle and daub housing styles, as “Barbadian carpenters and masons constructed stone and wood plank (i.e. frame) houses...the former [constructed] from coral limestone, i.e., the stone-walled houses” (Handler 2002: 132).

The most prominent surface features found on the Ridge site are the series of stone mounds consisting of piled coral rubble in various states of ruin and heavily overgrown with sour grass sited along the ridge line at the northern end of the ‘Negro Yard.’ These stone mounds are indicative of the style of stone or stone foundational housing built in the period surrounding emancipation in Barbados as described above. These dwellings usually had thatched or shingled roofs (Handler 2002: 132). This building style has been noted in several other Anglo-Caribbean contexts, such as Jamaica and the Bahamas, and appears to closely parallel similar building traditions on those islands (Armstrong 1990; Wilkie and Farnsworth 2005). Wilkie and Farnsworth observed that at “finely cut limestone blocks were used to construct corners...[t]he walls were constructed by piling limestone rubble and mortaring it together,” at the nineteenth century Clifton Plantation (2005: 112). Similar techniques for building from rubble and limestone mortar were common in Barbados as early as the mid-seventeenth century, when Richard Ligon saw rubble and mortar used in construction on that island (Ligon 1657 [1976]: 41). Given the sensitivity of limestone mortar to the elements, the archaeological remains found at the Ridge site are consistent with this building technique as, “once the roofs are lost...the mortar begins to dissolve, and the buildings literally melt away” (Wilkie and Farnsworth 2002: 112).

The stone rubble therefore seems to substantiate the oral testimony and indicate that the site was the location of labor housing in the decades surrounding emancipation.

When placed within the context of the comparative settlement patterns and housing styles of the closing decades of Barbadian slavery, the Ridge site conforms to the pattern for the domestic location of an Afro-Barbadian community. This initial analysis based on spatial and ethnohistorical evidence is borne out by the recovered materials in the assemblage.

These excavations resulted in the recovery of 1,845 artifacts of obvious cultural province. Analysis of the artifacts provides a temporal period of occupation, roughly spanning the first half of the nineteenth century, for the site and suggests that the remains represent the debris of domestic functions. This evidence allows for a chance to consider some of the activities taking place within an Afro-Barbadian community during the transition from slavery to emancipation and the seceding decades.

Datable ceramics recovered from the Ridge site firmly place it within a temporal occupation spanning the closing decades of slavery, through emancipation and apprenticeship, and continuing until some time in the late-nineteenth century/early-twentieth century. Date ranges were derived from the accepted standard ranges used by historical archaeologists of the English colonial world, which are tied to the dates of production and use of ceramic wares (South 1977; Noël Hume 1969; DAACS 2006). The earliest possible date of occupation or the *terminus post quem* (TPQ) and the range of dates that the site was occupied are presented to highlight the duration of the settlement.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> A TPQ is derived from an analysis of the known earliest dates of production for artifacts found within a discrete stratigraphic layer, whereby the latest date of production for an artifact provides a date after which the layer must have been created. Given this method, if a modern artifact is mistakenly placed in a bag from a temporally earlier unit or if a loose artifact is knocked onto an earlier surface under excavation, the TPQ will be greatly skewed. As a result, this study presents a modified TPQp90, which represents the date of latest manufacture of ninety percent of the datable artifacts recovered from a stratigraphic layer. This attempts to correct for such problems that are the result of human excavation, and produces a date range less sensitive to human error for any given layer.

At the Ridge site, ceramics were selected for the production of TPQs, as they represented the most unambiguous class of artifacts recovered both in the sense of identification and reliable sourcing for production dates. The results showed that the TPQp90 for Stratum I in both units was in the decade spanning 1820 through 1830, and Stratum II was between 1790 and 1795 (*see Table 1*). These ranges represent the earliest date at which the refuse could have been deposited at the Ridge site, and clearly these years correspond to the final decades of slavery in Barbados. TPQs cannot address the issue of the temporal span of occupation at a site, instead evidence for such conclusions must be derived from an examination of the production date ranges of the ceramic assemblage and the mean ceramic date (MCD) of the site.

The range of production dates for the ceramic types recovered from the Ridge site vary from the seventeenth century through the mid-twentieth century. An examination of the production dates for the recovered ceramics point towards a conclusion that the assemblage may reflect two separate periods of occupation (*see Table 2*). The vast majority of the wares identified center around the late-eighteenth through the nineteenth century; however, there is some divergence from this general trend. Most notably, the presence of English North Devon plain wares ( $n = 20$ ) is indicative of a substantially earlier period of occupation at the site, most likely centering on the mid- to late-seventeenth century. Comparatively, the production dates for North Devon wares are clearly temporally isolated from the majority of the ceramic population of the assemblage. The presence of North Devon therefore appears to be an outlier in the ceramic collection. The presence of a small amount of English Buckley ware ( $n = 6$ ), generally given an ending date of 1775, is also somewhat surprising as the preponderance of wares date to a slightly later period. These sherds may reflect retention of older vessels due to lack of availability, or the utilization of slightly outdated and possibly “cheaper” wares by the population on the Ridge during the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

This light scatter of earlier ceramics discovered among the collection recovered from the Ridge site would slightly distort MCD calculations for the site, so the North Devon plain wares

<b>Context</b>	<b>TPQ</b>	<b>TPQ90</b>
TU11		
I	1830	1830
II	1795	1795
TU12		
I	1840	1830
II	1820	1795

**Table 1:** TPQ Tables for Ridge Site Test Units

<b>Type</b>	<b>Beginning Date</b>	<b>End Date</b>
CE: North Devon plain	1600	1710
Buckley	1720	1775
Creamware	1762	1820
Pearlware	1779	1830
Pearlware edged	1779	1830
Pearlware annularware	1790	1830
Pearlware printed blue	1795	1830
Pearlware printed other	1795	1830
Whiteware painted	1820	2000
Whiteware sponge/stamp	1820	1930
Yellowware	1830	1940
Stoneware (ink bottle)	1840	1890

**Table 2:** Ceramic Production Date Ranges



have been excluded from the data. An MCD date of 1821 and an adjusted median date of occupation of 1819 are subsequently derived for the collection (see South 1977: 217, 236; *see Appendix 1*). This means that the site was occupied for roughly 25–30 years before and after this date. This date may reflect a slightly early mean date for the site occupation given the factors of the small size of the collection and the continued use of ceramic types by a population well after the ending date of production. This lag factor in the MCD date due to an apparent retention and use of out dated ceramics has been noted as a trait common to Caribbean sites, though there is no quantifiable standard compensation factor (Wilkie and Farnsworth 2005: 137–138). Nevertheless, it falls well within the boundaries set by the TPQp90 analysis of the unit layers, and situates the occupation of the site well within the decades straddling emancipation in Barbados in 1834.

The assemblage from the Ridge site, while small, offers evidence that the materials are reflective of domestic occupation, substantiating both the 1987 oral testimony and the conclusions drawn from comparative research. The system of artifact categorization based on functional classification is in many ways problematic, being open to the prejudices of essentialism and cultural bias. Nevertheless, it serves as a powerful tool of analysis that connects recovered material with past activities at archaeological sites. The assemblage recovered from the Ridge site could be classified into eight distinct functional groups (excluding unassigned or unidentifiable materials), which represent a range of activities that support the interpretation of the site as a domestic location.

The assemblage is dominated by artifacts from the kitchen group, composed of ceramic storage and tableware classes and glass bottles of various types. The constraints of the excavation season precluded an in-depth identification of vessel form and evaluation of a minimum vessel count, nevertheless, the initial cataloguing process offers strong evidence for the kinds of items present in the collection. Evidence for the storage of consumables was found in the presence of a small number of sherds of Buckley ware in the assemblage. Ivor Noël Hume notes the

preponderance of this ware was for utilitarian purposes, saying that this ceramic usually was exported in the form of “coarse earthenware creampans, storage jars, and pitchers” (Noël Hume 1969: 133). Likewise, the presence of local, coarse redwares in the assemblage is indicative of a number of utilitarian wares essential for the performance of household activities. One readily identifiable example of this form is a handle sherd of a ‘monkey’ jar (*see Figure 6*) that was common throughout the Afro-Caribbean, and specifically in Barbadian households to retrieve and hold water (Heath 1999). A high percentage of the kitchen related artifacts found were bottle glass. Wine bottle glass fragments were clearly identifiable in the collection, and are indicative of both the consumption of liquids, and also the storage of beverages within the home. Kitchen group artifacts were not limited to storage and preparation vessel types, however.

Tablewares were clearly used at the site in a variety of forms. While analysis could not be completed quantitatively due to restrictions of time and lab facilities, qualitative observations suggest at least some indication that both plate and bowl forms are present in the assemblage. Furthermore, the diversity of the decorative motifs on the tableware suggests that matched sets were not common among the collection, which may mean the occupants did not have large monetary reserves to invest in uniform purchases. The absence of higher end wares such as porcelain may also indicate that the household did not invest or could not afford to buy expensive table items. The presence of such a high proportion of ceramic kitchen goods is indicative of the preparation, storage, and consumption of food at the site.

The paucity of architectural artifacts found is surprising, yet the stone construction of the walls and the possible thatch roof of the building, may have lessened the need for nails in construction and maintenance of the house. Furthermore, hardware items, like handles and hinges, indicate that while the presence of metal construction material may have been limited at the site, it was utilized for key architectural components, such as doors and/or window shutters. Some of the few metal items recovered are hooks, both specifically manufactured and adapted-for-use bent nails, possibly used for internal storage within the building.

The presence of a number of artifacts closely related to the person, are also indicative of the domestic nature of the site. Several smoking pipe fragments were present in the collection. Smoking, while certainly an activity that could take place in a great variety of places, may reflect the activities associated with the little free time Afro-Barbadians would have had between tasks. Additionally, small ointment jars made of milk glass were found. Given the medicinal or cosmetic nature of the contents, these may have been used in the privacy of the home.

One of the most surprising discoveries from the collection of artifacts recovered from the Ridge was an unexpectedly large number of stoneware ink bottle fragments ( $n = 12$ ) (see Figure 7). Noël Hume describes items like these as “[s]mall ink bottles or wells [that] did not have the pouring spout as they were intended to be dipped into,” with manufacturing dates generally from the 1840s through the 1890s (Noël Hume 1969: 79). These artifacts not only help confirm the continued occupation of the Ridge site well into the tenantry period in Barbados, but they also raise questions associated with literacy and education within the domestic environment of former slaves at that time. Further research on collections from comparable sites, both in the Caribbean (Wilkie and Farnsworth 2005) and North America (Boroughs 2007), indicated that a broader link between ink bottles and educational artifacts and the experiences of emancipated peoples might exist. The remaining portion of this paper will seek to address this question: what meaning did these ink bottles have to the emancipated slaves and their families living on the site?



**Figure 6: 'Monkey' Jar Handle Recovered from Ridge Site**



**Figure 7: Stoneware Ink Bottle Fragments Recovered from Ridge Site**

### **Chapter 3: The Context of Meaning**

The 1834 Barbadian Act of Emancipation intensified the stakes of redefining social identities in Barbadian society. Former slaves, the colonial white elite, and the metropolitan (imperial British) government all sought to define the identity of the worker in the era of free labor on Barbados. The Act established a transition period of apprenticeship to “ease” the social and economic transformation of the island’s population from a slave to a free labor based system, which abruptly ended due to political pressure in 1838. The Afro-Barbadian was no longer a slave, nor was she an equal citizen with whites, who engaged in an effort to maintain strict social and economic power over the black population. Poor, black Barbadians who were still bound to the plantations had to negotiate a new meaningful identity for themselves. One that undoubtedly drew upon their history of bondage for both sources of continuity and contrast, but which could enable them to best mitigate their continued exploitation by dominant white economic interests, both colonial and metropolitan. Their negotiation of a new identity was a way of signaling the break with slavery and maximizing their control over their own vision of freedom. The first chapter has explored the concept of the agency within diasporic communities facing continued social and economic inequity due to racism. Material culture appears to be a key tool in this process, but paramount in any examination of material culture must be an understanding of the social context in which it is used. This chapter will attempt to explore the social context surrounding the use of ink bottles at St. Nicholas Abbey through a critical examination of the economic and social experiences of the Afro-Barbadian population in the decades preceding and antedating the Act of Emancipation. The importance of a self-defined identity for blacks in Barbados is clear after looking at the deterioration inherent in the social and economic position of Afro-Barbadians during the course of the first half of the nineteenth century.

The ink bottle fragments recovered from the Ridge site offer a particular lens through which to examine this period. On a simple functional level, they represent the act of writing, by

one or more members of the community at St. Nicholas. Writing implies a connection with some form of education. The issue of education came to be a prominent in the era surrounding emancipation in Barbados as religious groups, the imperial government and colonial subjects all vested increasing interest and resources in educational development. The coincidence of this increasing interest in education with the most monumental social transformation of the nineteenth century, the emancipation of slaves throughout the British Empire, deserves special attention. The link between socio-economic structure and the manipulation of educational ideas was central to the contest between whites and blacks in colonial society.

Education for the enslaved population was largely elicited throughout the history of Barbados. The denial of education to slaves was one method by which white planters sought to control their laboring populations (Dunn 1972: 249). The slave codes formulated in the late-seventeenth century based the control of slave movements on a written pass system (Handler 1997: 185). The possession and presentation of an official written document was thus necessary for the safe passage of Afro-Barbadians throughout the island. Slaves, who encountered slave patrols in the countryside or in towns, without such documentation were considered to be runaways or maroons and were liable to suffer extreme punishments at the hands of whites (Handler 1997: 185). Educated slaves, particularly those in possession of the skills of literacy and writing, were stereotypically perceived as dangerous to the maintenance of order in society, precisely for their ability to subvert the controlling mechanisms of the plantocracy. Handler provides one contemporaneous account that attests to this view of the educated slave, “the rector of St. Michael parish wrote that although only a ‘few’ Barbadian slaves ‘read and write tolerably well,’ they ‘often’ applied their literacy skills ‘to their owner’s detriment by forging their hands’ and ‘giving tickets to runaways’” (Handler 1997: 192). The penalty for such ‘forgery’ ultimately escalated to the legal execution of perpetrators in the early decades of the nineteenth century, when literate slaves actively fermented the 1816 Rebellion (Beckles 1987: 94).

Given the planters' stance against the dissemination of education, and particularly literacy, among the enslaved population, it was largely through outside missionary groups that educational opportunities were afforded to enslaved individuals. Missionary activity on Barbados was initially begun in the seventeenth century by Quaker missionaries, but it was not until the establishment of a small group of Moravians in the mid-eighteenth century that the missionary movement was stabilized. The Quaker doctrine of equality before God and brotherhood on Earth was radical in the social context of the developing slave-based society of Barbados (Dunn 1972: 105–106). For this reason, it was not tolerated by the colonial elite, and strict legal sanctions were instituted against the spread of Quaker doctrine to the slave population (Latimer 1965: 438; Levy 1980: 15–16). By the turn of the century, the Quaker movement had suffered through the continual physical and legal assaults upon the community by Barbadian government officials (Dunn 1972: 104). The Moravians' missionary program among the slaves was much more suited to the enforcement of a strict social hierarchy on Earth and the attendant rewards of the afterlife for those who suffered in the physical world. Within it slaves were to exercise a strict "self-discipline" that focused on the "submission to their master's wills and full obedience to their orders" (Latimer 1965: 435). Additionally, they took pains to ensure that their efforts would find the sanction of the propertied class on the island, limiting their efforts to those that met with the approval of the planter class. By the 1790s, the Moravian movement gained official legal sanction, whereas the radical Quakers had been stamped out for roughly a century (Proctor 1980: 187). This early contrast among two relatively minor sects of missionaries is illustrative of the major missionary movement that would follow in the first two decades of the nineteenth century. Educational programs that were religious in emphasis and which stood to reinforce established social practices and inequalities were to dominate the succeeding decades. The radical leveling religious and educational doctrine of sects such as the Quakers was rejected long before education became a major factor in the battle over emancipation.

The contest over the future of black labor on the island was not limited to a contest solely between slaves and slave owners, played out at the local colonial level. A third social force on the island was represented by the white metropolitan interest in the battle over the future of colonial labor. David Lambert has highlighted the manner in which colonial creole white identities increasingly became ‘othered’ by the metropolitan British government, as it created an imaginary social space between the slave world and the free throughout the abolition and emancipation struggle, that characterized the early nineteenth century (2005: 12). The metropolitan British government sought to impose new policies upon the colonies, which sprang from ideas of whiteness developing in Britain that were based in the identification of “Englishness” with notions of liberality and freedom. This resulted during the era of abolition in increasing attacks from the metropolitan government on colonial white creole identities, which were at their core founded upon actions of control over black individuals culminating in notions of white supremacy and paternalism. Metropolitan notions of whiteness then developed in juxtaposition to the image of the creole white as lazy, harsh, and wanton (Lambert 2005: 16). The metropolitan English identity centered, as expressed in self-conscious and explicit contrast, on a self affirming sense of superiority based on philanthropic and ameliorative ideals aimed at the lower classes in society. Most notably the poor and the enslaved were the targets of such “generosity” and “concern,” that constituted this new middle class moralistic *noblesse oblige*.

Thus the metropolitan government attempted to assert its legitimacy through the destruction of the slave system inherent to white creole identity during the period of abolition and replace it with a new notion of the proper “free” market of labor. This battle was increasingly waged under the imperial government’s policy of amelioration, which occurred between the 1807 abolition of the slave trade and the 1834 Emancipation Act. This amelioration movement was led by the efforts of missionary societies issuing forth from England with public sanction to bring liberality to the colonies, particularly the West Indies.



As a result of increasing metropolitan missionary society interest, the structure supporting the educational system of the island throughout the late 1820s and early 1830s was almost completely under the management of religious groups. Several sects established missions to the island. Moravians, Baptists, and Methodists operated in Barbados and throughout the Anglo-Caribbean (Latimer 1965). Most notably, Anglican missions became increasingly active in the West Indies during this period. Various groups such as the Society of the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (S.P.G.) which ran the Codrington estate; the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (S.P.C.K.); and the Incorporated Society for the Conversion and Religious Instruction and Education of the Negro Slaves in the British West Indies were created to work among the slaves on the island. Stimulated partially perhaps by changing metropolitan perceptions of poverty and the role of the middle class in espousing social morality, these groups increasingly sought to reform, educate and indoctrinate the slaves of the West Indies. To this end, an elaborate system of the expansion of the metropolitan-based religious interests took place during the decades leading to emancipation. Most notable was the reorganization of the church in the West Indies into two Bishoprics in 1824, one of which was seated at Barbados (Goodridge 1981: 7).

William Hart Coleridge served as the see's, or bishopric's, first bishop in residence. By asserting that his own authority devolved from the Church in Britain, as opposed to the vestry system which was established on Barbados, he established the full jurisdiction of bishopric independent of the traditional system (Goodridge 1981: 7–13). Independent from both the control of the governor and the local plantocracy, Coleridge instituted a policy of educational expansion based on the English model. Throughout the 1820s, Coleridge dramatically increased the extent of the parish educational system, opening day schools in each parish for the education of poor whites, and reorganizing the independent Central and Harrison Day schools. The schools followed the "National System" of curriculum, which emphasized the "four Rs" through rote learning and the pupil monitor system (Blouet 1980: 129). These schools largely remained closed

to Afro-Barbadians throughout the 1820s, but by the late 1830s, small numbers of the most socially and economically well connected Afro-Barbadian population were being admitted to these premier schools (Handler 1974: 180–181).

However, a different educational program was developed for the majority of Afro-Barbadians, both enslaved and free. Coleridge instigated the first official organization of educational efforts directed at the black Barbadian population during the 1820s and 1830s. He sought to provide some education for slaves and freedmen by establishing several day schools in urban centers, one each in Holetown and Oistins and two in Bridgetown, for the education of Afro-Barbadian children. He also worked with the S.P.G. to develop a model of the educated and reformed Afro-Barbadian through their programs at Codrington College (Goodridge 1981: 62). Further, the bishop established and promoted the expansion of a system of Sunday schools on the estates, which ultimately provided the only opportunity of educational advancement open to most black Barbadians (Goodridge 1981: 58–63).

The curriculum of the educational system was established to support the maintenance of the socio-economic and racial divisions on the island. It “emphasized religious, not secular, subjects and stressed Christian and class values that best served the white establishment” which were “submissiveness and obedience to authority, acquiescence and acceptance of secular society, a concern with rewards in the afterlife” (Handler 1974: 187). Racial and class boundaries were reinforced strictly through the establishment of dual system of private and public institutions. An 1834 commission on education sent to the island reported that roughly 213 schools of all descriptions were operating on the island, making Barbados the greatest center of educational programs throughout the Caribbean. Despite this, Latrobe, the special commissioner also stated, “In no island has the distinction of color been kept up with regard to education to the degree observable in Barbados” (Levy 1980: 48). The program of education that was established during the two decades leading to the final freedom of the emancipated Afro-Barbadians in 1838 was theoretically based in the principles of caring amelioration, but was shaped in structure and

practice for different reasons. It was designed to sustain the interests of white planter and metropolitan business interests and meant to keep the black laboring class passive and obedient.

This contrast between stated rhetorical goals and resulting structure is clearly illustrated in the statements of Robert H. Schomburgk, the mid-century historian of the island. He says, “The subject of education is of the gravest importance...that enlightened system which distinguishes our age will not be restrained by unnatural barriers, and its influence, so manifest in civilized Europe, has likewise extended to the distant Colonies” (Schomburgk 1848: 108). Yet, the soaring rhetoric of this statement is tempered by a more real politic understanding of the purpose of educating the laboring population of the colony, which under-girded the whole movement. Schomburgk contends that “knowledge which is imparted to the mind when young forms a basis upon which generally rests the moral condition of the individual in after years” and that “therefore the means resorted to by the governments of civilized nations to supply such instruction” should be “adequate to the station of the scholar, and the condition he is hereafter to assume” (Schomburgk 1848: 108). Thus, education is a means to socialize and structurally indoctrinate individuals into their position, their “station,” in society. The moralist and religious cant of the missionary education movement, with minimal attention paid to the instruction of literacy beyond the basic level necessary for biblical instruction, was conducive of creating pliable laborers for the new free labor market.

This connection between the religious education system sponsored by metropolitan missionary groups and the development of the ideology of peaceable labor is evidenced in the Act of Negro Education. This bill provided for the contribution of 20,000 pounds in 1833 and a further 125,000 pounds over the five years between 1838–1841 for the maintenance and expansion of the educational system in the West Indies, for the instruction in the doctrines and precepts of Christianity of the black population (Proctor 1980: 191; Blouet 1981: 224). The Act thus officially approved the religious education of the vast majority of former slaves and their children in missionary schools. It also gave official sanction to the policy of religious and

biblical education over industrial education on Barbados. The Act can therefore be interpreted as seeking to create a pliable black proletariat, modeled on its white counterpart arising in England at the same time, to ensure the continued economical production of colonial sugar on the island's plantations (Beckles 2004). Official sanction and complicit support from the British Parliament through the enactment of the Act, passed concurrently with the passage of the Act of Emancipation, shows that the educational program of Barbados was established to further the interests of metropolitan capitalistic interests. The educational system, therefore, can be seen as a model for and key component in the transmission and perpetuation of structural inequity. This is how the role of education has traditionally been interpreted, but it may not reflect the only way it was utilized by the local Afro-Barbadian communities.

Evidence of the individuals composing the community present at St. Nicholas Abbey during this period is limited, but provides some insight into the social context in which relationships developed and materials were potentially put to use. In 1801, St. Nicholas fell under the control of the Chancery Court of Bridgetown, when due to disputed legalities dealing with the proper inheritor the estate fell into debt (Handler 1989: 43). By 1811, two brothers, Edward and Lawrence Trent Cumberbatch, purchased the estate from the court and resumed active agricultural production and maintenance of the property. When Charles passed away, in 1822, his share of the estate passed to his daughter Sarah, and she and Lawrence continued as proprietors of the estate (Handler 1989: 43). In 1834, after the death of Lawrence Trent Cumberbatch, an inventory of his property listed the names, gender, ages, origins, and employment of the enslaved population of the plantation just five months prior to the date of emancipation (*see Appendix 2*). This list represents a tantalizing glimpse of the individuals that composed the Afro-Barbadian community at the Ridge site during the transition from slavery to freedom. The St. Nicholas community appears to represent a typical Afro-Barbadian laboring community, with a strong familial core represented by women and children at this point in time.

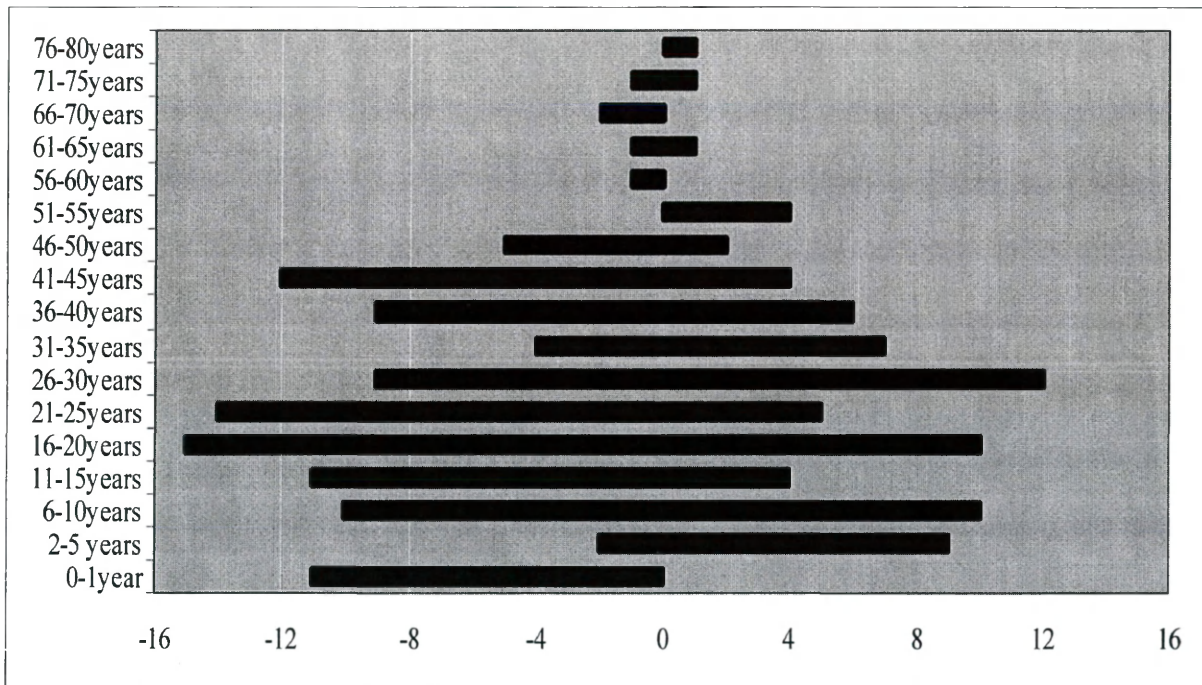
However, due to the trade in labor that emerged in the transition period, it is not clear that the individuals in the survey continued to live on the property. After 1834, the imperial government compensated slave owners in the colonies for their emancipated 'property.' The uncertainty surrounding the compensation awards and the economic distress of some slave owners created a trade in the exchange of notes of compensation throughout the island. This practice was further complicated as the Act of Emancipation stipulated that former slaves were bound to serve a varying term of four to six years of "apprenticeship" to their former masters depending on their labor classification. As the compensation rights were bought and sold, so it appears that the right to apprentice labor was too. The majority of this market appears to have been concentrated in the hands of those who held human property without owning substantial lands. Thus, these owners continued to profit from the "jobbing" of the former slaves, who most likely remained resident at the location of their employment rather than near their nominal owner's property. Nevertheless, it is impossible to assert with complete certainty that laborers were always living at the same places they were prior to emancipation.

At St. Nicholas Abbey, the probability is that the majority of the Afro-Barbadian population remained at the property in the period following 1834. After the death of Lawrence Trent Cumberbatch, St. Nicholas passed fully into the ownership of his niece, Sarah, and her husband, Charles Cave (Handler 1989: 43). So, though the property passed into new ownership, it remained within a broader system of family ownership, as opposed to outright purchase by a new owner without previous connections to the property and the laborers who lived on it. It is likely that most of the black population at St. Nicholas were laboring in the fields and therefore were unlikely to have been moved away during this time, as the plantation continued in active agricultural production. Some of the group listed in 1834 were most likely skilled laborers, working in any of the trades that would have been common at the time. The probability that these individuals may have been moved among various properties may be greater. As discussed above, however, the physical removal of individuals from their residential locations may not have

been extensive during this time, as the transfer of ownership of “jobbing” apprentices appears to have occurred more frequently among urban or landless slave owners (Levy 1980: 41). After the end of apprenticeship, the possibility for the movement of population was greater as labor was no longer theoretically bound to the plantation. Nevertheless, frequently the practical result of the battles between laborers and owners was that even after full emancipation in 1838 communities were still bound to particular plantations, as their ability to support themselves through means other than estate based agricultural labor was increasingly undercut (Beckles 2004). Furthermore, material evidence at the Ridge site, suggests a continued occupation throughout this period, so it is likely that at least a proportion of the 1834 population remained at the plantation, or alternatively that the 1834 list can give a general sense of the demographic composition of population at the plantation throughout the decades following the Act of Emancipation.

Notable in the list is the greater number of women to men within the plantation labor force, roughly 54 to 46 percent in favor of females (*see Figure 8*). This balance reflects to some degree the natural balancing of the population in Barbados, which occurred during and after the eighteenth century as the enslaved population became “self-reproducing” and the percentage of women became slightly greater than men (Higman 1984: 118). Women also composed a large proportion of the laborers in the work gangs on sugar plantations throughout the Caribbean. The epicenter of the domestic community in Afro-Barbadian culture was represented by this female portion of the population, and their high proportion at St. Nicholas during this period suggests that the Ridge site served as a communal center throughout the period of its occupation.

In their study of the slave family in Barbados during the transition from slavery to freedom, Innis and Brown contend that the black families “were found not only concentrated in single dwellings but also extended through adjacent households gathered together in ‘yards,’ identified...as ‘clusters of households of maternal kin’” (Brown and Innis 2005: 258). They further see these extended families as forming the core of poor Afro-Barbadian communities (Brown and Innis



**Figure 8:** 1834 Population Pyramid for St. Nicholas Community, (+) = male and (-) = female

2005: 258). Indeed the link between kinship and help is evident in various other aspects of the lives of slaves and former slaves. Throughout slavery, runaway slaves drew on kin ties for safe haven and support as they fled from their owners (Handler 1997: 192–194, Hueman 1986: 107–108). Based on evidence derived from runaway advertisements in Barbadian newspapers in the early nineteenth century, Hueman estimates that two out of every three runaway slaves were suspected of being harbored or aided by relations. In his sample study, these escapees were also generally more successful in remaining away longer (Hueman 1986: 107). If the Ridge site is conceived of in this way, as the 1834 list suggests it was, it is a community of extended and interconnected relationships. Therefore, it is possible to understand the ways in which this community may have sought to re-imagine themselves through a shared identity.

In a discussion of evolving Afro-Barbadian identity, children are a vitally important part of the population, particularly as young Afro-Barbadians increasingly became central in the battle between the former slaves and former slave owners. The Act of Emancipation immediately freed all enslaved persons under the age of six in 1834 (Brown and Innis 2005: 259). The immediate emancipation of young children clearly spared them from continued experience of the mental burden of slavery, but it did less to limit their physical pains and the burdens on their families. Emancipation of immature and unproductive children, freed plantation owners from the expenses tied to the maintenance of young Afro-Barbadians till they reached a working age and turned that responsibility onto the community of former slaves. The problem of feeding children, as well as the rest of the family, came to define the disadvantaged position of the former slaves in relation to their former enslavers. Combined expansion of sugar cultivation and replacement of the customary rights to provision grounds, with usage agreements based on contractual work obligations allowed planters to use food as the means to control the labor market (Brown and Innis 2005: 263; Butler 1995: 126). As apprenticeship came to a close and the prospect of a “free market” of labor loomed, plantation owners sought to use the threat of expulsion of unproductive portions of the Afro-Barbadian community from the estates and the control over food provisions



as means to secure the continued and unquestioned right to resident labor on the plantations. Children, in particular were a source of continued tension between the former slaves and plantation owners. This particular tactic was part of a generalized effort by those with vested interests in controlling labor to undermine the socio-economic position of blacks on the island.

In the years following the Act of Emancipation, the labor-owning elite on the island sought to perpetuate its systematic control over the black population that it had exercised legally until emancipation in 1834. By some measures, the quality of life of Afro-Barbadians actually decreased in the period following emancipation. Commenting on the desire of the powerful plantocracy to maintain their position, one governor of the island stated his opinion on the fate of emancipation asserting “our greatest danger is the unbending spirit of the planters and the tenacity with which they cling to arbitrary power over the negroes” (Levy 1980: 37). Access to provisioning grounds, food, and housing were used as a means to assert control over the laboring population. The apprenticeship period can be seen as “a prolonged battle between planters seeking to maintain or re-construct the slave family as a production unit for the estates, and apprentices with their own visions of freedom and family life” (Brown and Innis 2005: 259). This battle over control of labor is centrally important in understanding why Afro-Barbadians sought to manipulate the structure of society to create for themselves a new identity that was dissonant from that produced by the various groups that sought to control them.

This erosion of the quality of life for black laborers on the island continued after the end of apprenticeship. Plantation owners maintained power and control because laborers were landless and forced to compete in a market defined by an over supply of labor. Unlike other former colonies like Jamaica, where vacant interior and crown lands served as centers for the development of a proto-peasant class, Barbados lacked any significant amount of vacant land, limiting the ability to farm for subsistence, to produce a crop for market, and to possess political voting rights (Levy 1980: 59; 31). Thus the systematic denial of land to emancipated blacks by the socio-economic elite of the island resulted in increasing dependence on the sugar plantations

by laborers as the only avenue to supply themselves with the necessities of life, even after slavery was ended. The landlessness of the laboring class was a contributing factor in the demographics of the labor market in the post-emancipation period which favored capital over labor. Barbados was an economic success in the Caribbean during the slavery period, as the black population of the island became self-renewing and increased throughout the eighteenth century. By the time of emancipation there were roughly 500 freed slaves for every square mile of land on the island (Levy 1980: 41). As the sugar industry represented the only sizable sector of employment on the island, there was naturally a glut of labor in the market place which drove down the price of wages, and subsequently the quality of life of the average worker. That this process was not merely a chance occurrence of history or geography, and was a product of human design is evident in the laws against emigration passed on the island in 1836, and again in 1840 (Levy 1980: 80–83). The labor glut of Barbados was unique in the Caribbean, and other British colonies such as British Guiana actively sought to import labor at high wages to continue the production of agricultural products. The Barbados legislature, however, legislated against the emigration of any portion of the labor population from the island to insure the continued glut of labor in the market and therefore continued low wages for black plantation workers (Levy 1980: 83).

Despite this account of economic and social subjugation, there is evidence of an interesting counter-narrative arising from within the black community during this period. Education as a means to indoctrinate and pacify the laboring class or as a sign of cultural capitulation are traditional interpretations of the role education and educational materials played within the Afro-American communities and at diaspora sites. Combining the evidence found at St. Nicholas, within a domestic context, with observations gleaned from the documentary record, allows for a more nuanced understanding of Afro-Barbadians' relationship with education and their manipulation of it to create a new identity.

The ink bottle fragments recovered from the Ridge site offer a chance to examine the complex meaning ascribed to material culture in archaeological interpretation. On a simple functional level, they represent the act of writing, by one or more members of the community at St. Nicholas. This in turn implies literacy, which would have had practical benefits for the individual(s) and possibly for their extended network of relationships. The ability to verify the terms of work contracts or the fair and full fulfillment of rental agreements represents a measure of increased power for the local community in their dealings with their former masters. While such ability could not radically alter the position of emancipated laborers, it might ensure that they received the full measure of what was due to them within the social constraints of their socio-economic position.

Furthermore the presence of a literate individual or individuals, represents the ability of that knowledge to have been spread around the community. The practice of teaching fellows within Afro-Barbadian communities was common throughout this period, as former slaves actively sought and paid for tutoring (Blouet 1990: 636). In examining the spread of literacy on the Pacific island society on Nukulaelae Atoll, Niko Besnier has observed the manner in which the community used these activities to expand on tradition practices, and this may also account for the processes that were taking place among the Afro-Barbadian community (1991). Besener states that “while the superstructure of Nukulaelae written genres resembles that of other societies...their infrastructure is thoroughly autochthonized and naturalized by having acquired characteristics that ‘make sense’ from a local perspective” (1991: 579). Thus, literary practices can function to reinforce local cultural practices; a process both for the detriment and empowerment of colonized groups. Joseph Errington has noted similar processes at work in missionary activities of the nineteenth and twentieth century contexts of African and Asian colonial encounters (2001). He primarily focuses on the ways in which “language difference could become a resource—like gender, race, and class—the figuring and naturalizing inequality in the colonial milieu” (2001: 20). Therefore, the Anglicization of the literary practices of Afro-

Barbadians might be read as an attempt to deconstruct one such “resource” of colonial oppression. Given the inspiration of these previous attempts to analyze the role of literacy, stopping at a functional interpretation of these artifacts found at the ridge site would be to reduce them to an inconsequential level and deny any deeper meaning they might have had for Afro-Barbadians (Mullins 1999a: 25).

Indeed, these ink bottles represented much more than mere functional trinkets in the context of mid-nineteenth century plantation Barbados. The potential meaning of these bottles is tied to a broader understanding of the changing self perception of the Afro-Barbadian community during this period of time, which saw a new narrative of black expectations—a new identity for the future—arise among the community. White magistrates of the time provided testimony (albeit prejudiced, hostile and incredulous) of this new spirit. One noted “There is a desire for educating their children amongst the apprentices.” Another magistrate commented, “parents entertain the fanciful idea of rearing their offspring for employments which nature has not assigned them, for in no instance will they entertain the idea of agriculture as a pursuit” (Handler 1974: 186). Hilary Beckles has stated that there arose a “‘cult’ of education among the older generation” (Beckles 2004: 59). Accounts of former slaves putting away their agricultural tools at the end of the work day and attending the local schoolhouse in the evenings are prevalent (Goodridge 1981: 62). In these statements, we can see the direct confrontation of the structural inequalities of Barbadian society by black laborers, manifest through their hopes and aspirations for their children. Likewise, we can see the greater meaning these ink pots may have had for the community beyond their mere functional utility.

Theories on the nature of agency, discussed in the previous chapter, have advanced our understanding of how artifacts can be used to read about the lives of those in the past. While these theories are not uncontested, they are influential in ordering our understanding of how artifacts can transcend functionality to contain a greater ideological meaning. These ink bottles, placed within their historical context are reflective of resistance to the degradation of poverty and

racism, brought about through structural inequity, as the black parents' vocal aspirations for their children. The acts of reading and writing, of learning, of teaching, were a direct anathema to the predominant ideas of what the experience of the black laborer should be; ideas largely created by colonial slave owners who sought to maintain their power during and after the emancipation period.

The statements made by these former slaves about their children's potential and the utilization of material culture with symbolic references to education were a part of an active attempt by the Afro-Barbadian community to develop a socially powerful identity for themselves, which transcended the functionality of schooling or writing implements. By tying themselves symbolically to items that represented taboo knowledge during the period of slavery, these people were refuting the continuing claims by white land owners over the uncontested right to their labor in perpetuity. The undermining of the black community was designed to create the conditions of slavery—utter dependence upon the magnanimity of those with control over land and work—without its legal recognition. Economically and socially, the tactics deployed by the minority white elite classes worked extremely well. Yet, the black community was able to fight back, if only on an ideological level, through these manipulations of identity. In their assertions that their children would not work as agricultural laborers, they called into question the plantation owners' claim to endless black labor. In their ownership of the tools of writing, they asserted their claim to basic human knowledge, and rights, that had been denied to them in the past and which they would no longer be denied.

The evidence for activities tied to literary and education found at the Ridge site indicate that it served as a central location of a struggle by former slaves to maximize their own power within the unequal plantation labor system during the period spanning the end of slavery, apprenticeship, and emancipation. Archaeological inquiry enabled this discussion to take place with an understanding that the former slaves not only participated in educational activities in the public sphere, but embraced the importance of literacy to the point of bringing it into the

domestic/private sphere where it became a defining element in what it meant to be a “free” Afro-Barbadian. Thus, literacy and education can be viewed as key components in the efforts of former slaves to redefine their own identities in relation to their former status as slaves and within the emerging free labor market, and not merely as a “cultural broker.” Placing these artifacts and these people in their historic context helps illuminate the great potential meaning they might have derived from such small pots.

## Conclusion

The growth of African Diaspora studies within the field of archaeology over the course of the last three decades has been tremendous. This thesis began by mentioning James Deetz's classical definition of the role historical archaeology plays in our broader understanding of humanity: to provide a voice to those whom history has left voiceless. The material record serves as a critical counter-point to the classical narratives that fail to include African descendents and are derived solely from the writings of the dominant, largely white, socio-economic elite groups of history. Physically, it is a testament of the lives of African descendants. It embodies their story, as the documentary record predominately embodies the dominant perspective. While the material record thus serves to illuminate a subaltern story, it is not important solely as an end in and of itself. Deetz's definition suggests we should utilize the material record to critically engage with the classical historical documentary record to challenge the continued dominance of socio-economically elite interests. The guiding goal throughout the preceding work has been to accomplish a small part of this daunting project. By attempting to complicate the role of material culture associated with literacy and education in informing social discourse, this thesis sought to identify the active power of individuals battling against the inequity of a dominant racist social pattern in the past.

Theories of structure and agency were central to problematizing the relationships between educational material culture, structural inequality and individual identity. Archaeologies of capitalism illuminated the power of material culture to create and reinforce systematic inequity in racialized societies. These studies also provided an understanding of the momentum of structures to perpetuate social inequality, despite the dismantlement of legal codification to that effect. Marxist studies were not limited to a sole emphasis on structure, however, and the work of Delle and Mullins highlighted the role material plays in the creation of the social power of identity. Mullins's work, also, develops a conception for multiplicity of

meaning in objects, whereby material culture can have many meanings to many people depending on the context. These ideas find concordance—though admittedly contentiously so—with concepts developed by others, such as Wilkie, who draw from the work of postmodern social theorists. These scholars all seek to balance structural constraints on the individual with the self-generative power of agency. The utility of these ideas was elaborated on within the framework of the operation of black identity in combating racist social structures that sought to exploit and dehumanize the black individual and community.

The second chapter engaged with the physical remains of a nineteenth century Afro-Barbadian domestic site at St. Nicholas Abbey, Barbados. These recovered artifacts represent, quite literally the only voice these Afro-Barbadians have in the past. If they were not examined the only whisper these people would have had would be the slave lists and prejudiced comments made by their oppressors. A combination of oral, ethnohistorical, and archaeological evidence was brought to bear on the issue of defining the Ridge Site as the location of St. Nicholas Abbey's slave village during the decades of emancipation. By temporally and functionally identifying the site as refuse from a nineteenth century domestic context, I was able to focus more closely on questions about the kinds of activities this community engaged in during this period. Artifacts related to education, in the form of fragmented ink wells, were indicative of the value the community placed on learning and literacy. The presence of these artifacts within the domestic environment of the community raised the issue of the dichotomy between public and private spheres of social interaction. Furthermore, these physical remains hinted at a socialized use of these artifacts as part of a homegrown strategy by the community to actively improve the lives of themselves and their families.

Within this theoretical and evidential framework, the recovery of the meaning of our ink pots—the material texts of those dispossessed by history—was placed within the historical and social context of Barbados in the era of emancipation. The economic and social history of the emancipation on the island was defined by increasing attempts by powerful, local and



cosmopolitan, white interests to maintain control over black labor sources for the production of sugar. The socio-economic elite sought to perpetuate the conditions of slavery, despite the dismantlement of the legal codification of the system. By these efforts, the reality of emancipation was eroded from beneath the feet of the Afro-Barbadian population. The “slave” system of chattel labor was replaced with one of wages.

The recovered ink pots combined with documentary evidence gleaned from sparse references to the motivations of Afro-Barbadians challenge the historical narratives that blacks were incapable of resisting these efforts of degradation. Instead, I attempted to develop one possible meaning attached to these objects; seeing them as a source of communal power in defiance of white efforts to dehumanize the black population. Through an examination of the way this community “hoped” for their children and strove to consume all learning, I suggested how they refuted the notion of the practical perpetuation of slavery in the latter nineteenth century. In this interpretation, ink pots and education were vested in an ideology of the humanity of the black individual. A humanity the community sought to express at any and every chance in defiance of white claims.

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## **Appendix 1:**

### **Mean Ceramic Dating Calculations**

Type	Sherd Count (X)	Beginning Date	End Date	Ceramic MCD	Value (f)
Creamware	18	1762	1820	1791	32238
Pearlware	134	1779	1830	1804.5	241803
Pearlware edged	2	1779	1830	1804.5	3609
Pearlware annularware	57	1790	1830	1810	103170
Pearlware printed blue	59	1795	1830	1812.5	106937.5
Whiteware painted	34	1820	2000	1910	64940
Yellowware	2	1830	1940	1885	3770
Stoneware	12	1840	1890	1865	22380
Pearlware printed other	3	1795	1830	1812.5	5437.5
Whiteware sponge/stamp	6	1820	1930	1875	11250
	Y = 327			Total (f) =	595535
(South 1977: 217)	MCD =	Total (f) / Y =			1821.207951
(South 1977: 236)	Median occupation date =	235.5 + (0.87 x MCD) =			1819.950917



## **Appendix 2:**

**“Return of Thomas S. Harding of Slaves the Property of L.T. Cumberbatch (decd) to which he is Manager [St. Nicholas Abbey,” St. Nicholas Plantation, 3 March 1834. Barbadian Slave Register vol 11 (1834), Folio 54 Page 28- Folio 59 Page 30, Public Record Office T71/563. Barbados National Archives, Barbados.**

Causes for Increase & Decrease	Sex		Name	Age	Color	Country	Domestic		Employment
	Male	Female							
	x		Dick	27	Black	Barbadian			Laborer
	x		Casan	27	Black	Barbadian			x
	x		John Thoney	45	Colored	Barbadian			x
	x		Thomas	28	Black	Barbadian			x
	x		James	77	Colored	Barbadian			
	x		William	29	Black	Barbadian			x
	x		Peter Barrow	45	Black	African			x
	x		James	54	Black	African			x
	x		Charles Henry	33	Colored	Barbadian	x		
	x		John Hope	30	Black	Barbadian	x		
	x		Issac	35	Colored	Barbadian	x		
	x		Tom Richard	37	Black	Barbadian	x		
	x		Billy	53	Black	Barbadian			x
	x		Africa	52	Black	Barbadian	x		
	x		Little Africa	32	Black	Barbadian			x
	x		Jack Straker	38	Black	Barbadian			x
	x		Money	29	Black	Barbadian			x
	x		Cub	40	Black	Barbadian			x
	x		Little Toney	38	Black	Barbadian			
	x		Andrew	36	Black	Barbadian			x
	x		Sammy	32	Black	Barbadian			x
	x		Fanyah	52	Black	Barbadian			x
	x		John	31	Black	Barbadian			x
	x		Cudjoe	47	Black	Barbadian			x
	x		Jack Groom	45	Black	Barbadian			x
	x		Tamerlane	62	Black	Barbadian			x
	x		Anthony	29	Black	Barbadian			x
	x		Frank	72	Black	Barbadian			
	x		Providence	40	Black	Barbadian			x
	x		Tommy	49	Black	Barbadian			x
	x		Sam Davis	42	Black	Barbadian			x
	x		Bufsoe	31	Black	Barbadian			x

Causes for Increase & Decrease	Sex		Name	Age	Color	Country	Domestic		Employment
	Male	Female						Laborer	
	x		Landy	31	Black	Barbadian			x
	x		Will	29	Black	Barbadian			x
	x		Billy Ishmail	29	Black	Barbadian			x
	x		Ben Cummins	22	Black	Barbadian			x
	x		Abraham	27	Black	Barbadian			x
	x		John Gift	28	Black	Barbadian			x
	x		Richard	25	Black	Barbadian			x
	x		Harry Mingo	27	Black	Barbadian			x
	x		Jack Moll	19	Black	Barbadian			x
	x		St. John Goodridge	21	Black	Barbadian			x
	x		George	19	Black	Barbadian			x
	x		Robert	18	Black	Barbadian			x
	x		Sam	24	Black	Barbadian			x
	x		Little Thomas Gibbs	20	Black	Barbadian			x
	x		Benny	23	Black	Barbadian			x
	x		Jack Ellick	14	Black	Barbadian			x
	x		Joe Edward	16	Black	Barbadian			x
	x		Prince William	17	Black	Barbadian			x
	x		Charles	15	Black	Barbadian			x
	x		Edward	10	Black	Barbadian			x
	x		Mimmy	13	Black	Barbadian			x
	x		William Hope	12 3/12	Black	Barbadian			x
	x		Jack Bascom	16	Colored	Barbadian			x
	x		Charles William	9 5/12	Black	Barbadian			x
	x		Nutty Will	16	Black	Barbadian			x
	x		Peter	18	Black	Barbadian			x
	x		Little Tom Hurley	17	Black	Barbadian			x
	x		Sam Henry	9 7/12	Black	Barbadian			x
	x		Georgey	8 11/12	Black	Barbadian			x
	x		Dicky Mingo	8 4/12	Black	Barbadian			x
	x		William Henry	8 3/12	Black	Barbadian			x
	x		John	8	Black	Barbadian			x

Causes for Increase & Decrease	Sex		Name	Age	Color	Country	Domestic		Employment
	Male	Female						Laborer	
	x		Ratta	8	Black	Barbadian		x	
	x		Ben Francis	9 3/12	Black	Barbadian		x	
	x		Little James	8 2/12	Colored	Barbadian	x		
	x		Bob Griffin	4 7/12	Black	Barbadian			
	x		David	5 7/12	Colored	Barbadian			
	x		John Thomas	4 10/12	Colored	Barbadian			
	x		William Thomas	5 3/12	Black	Barbadian			
	x		Lawrence Trent	3	Black	Barbadian			
	x		Joseph	2 7/12	Black	Barbadian			
	x		Sammy	2 10/12	Black	Barbadian			
	x		John Henry	2 9/12	Black	Barbadian			
	x		James William	2 3/12	Black	Barbadian			
	x		Natty		Black	Barbadian			
	x		John Edward		Colored	Barbadian			
	x		Johnny		Black	Barbadian			
	x		William Grannum		Black	Barbadian			
	x		John Griffith		Black	Barbadian			
	x		Bristol		Black	African			
	x		Joe		Black	Barbadian			
	x		Sam Fort		Black	Barbadian			
	x		Phill		Black	Barbadian			
	x		Frank		Black	Barbadian			
	x		Little Sampson		Black	Barbadian			
		x	Peggy	62	Black	Barbadian	x		
		x	Ceily	72	Black	Barbadian			
		x	Coolbah	67	Black	Barbadian		x	
		x	Great Margaret	47	Black	Barbadian		x	
		x	Gracey	47	Black	Barbadian		x	
		x	Polly Judy	42	Black	Barbadian		x	
		x	Mary	44	Black	Barbadian	x		
		x	Sarah	42	Black	African	x		
		x	Coco	24	Black	Barbadian	x		

Causes for Increase & Decrease	Sex		Name	Age	Color	Country	Domestic	Employment
	Male	Female						
		x	Suki	21	Black	Barbadian	x	Laborer
		x	Mary	18	Colored	Barbadian	x	
		x	Befs	57	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Grace	43	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Susey Bell	47	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Annmoie	47	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Dimis	45	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Nanny	67	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Sally Bridge	43	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Elcy	45	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Suggy	44	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Jinah	42	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Bellah	42	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Nanny Befs	47	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Queen	41	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Amaryllis	45	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Patience	38	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Belinda	39	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Little Margaret	39	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Abigail	35	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Little Peggy	37	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Becky	36	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Philly Ned	39	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Philly Bella	37	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Betty	38	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Mary Agnefs	28	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Rosy	32	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Phillis	24	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Mary Sally	30	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Dorcas	21	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Jane Grace	26	Colored	Barbadian		x
		x	Leah	37	Black	Barbadian		x

Causes for Increase & Decrease	Sex		Name	Age	Color	Country	Employment	
	Male	Female					Domestic	Laborer
		x	Little Leah	34	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Mary Isabel	29	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Kitty Grace	27	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Little Sally	25	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Little Lilly	35	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Betty Venus	30	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Susey	26	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Nelly Betsy	27	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Margaret	21	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Harriet	20	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Sarah Grace	23	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Satira	23	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Abigail	20	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Betty Grace	24	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Sally Patience	22	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Amelia	20	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Nelly	20	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Hester	19	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Little Joanna	30	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Dolly	22	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Chilla	20	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Namy Rose	21	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Sarah	21	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Mary Jane	22	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Jubah	19	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Mary Christian	20	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Polly Will	17	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Peggy Eve	16	Colored	Barbadian		x
		x	Molly Sibby	18	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Hannah	17	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Clarifa	16	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Mary Beck	14	Black	Barbadian		x

Causes for Increase & Decrease	Sex		Name	Age	Color	Country	Employment	
	Male	Female					Domestic	Laborer
		x	Peggy Molly	14	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Ritta	11 1/12	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Charlott Ann	11 3/12	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Easter	17	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Fortune	14	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Mary Mucco	13	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Mimbo	12 3/12	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Fanny	9 2/12	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Lucy Margaret	12 6/12	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Henrietta	11 7/12	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Susey Joan	9 7/12	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Peggy Ann	10 11/12	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Susey	11 5/12	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Benrebah	9 6/12	Black	Barbadian		x
		x	Hester	8 11/12	Black	Barbadian		
		x	Janny Ann	8 9/12	Black	Barbadian		
		x	Rebecca	11 9/12	Colored	Barbadian	x	
		x	Rosey	6 6/12	Black	Barbadian		
		x	Betty Mary	6 7/12	Black	Barbadian		
		x	Peggy Rose	6	Black	Barbadian		
		x	Pelsy Ann	4 6/12	Black	Barbadian		
		x	Susannah	6	Black	Barbadian		
		x	Cornelia	2 6/12	Black	Barbadian		
		x	Susey Mingo		Black	Barbadian		
		x	Peggy Venus		Black	Barbadian		
		x	Mercy		Black	Barbadian		
Number since last Registration	87	99						186
Births	x		Anow		Black	Barbadian		
	x		Marcus	1 5/12	Colored	Barbadian		
	x		Will		Black	Barbadian		
	x		Dickey	1 4/12	Black	Barbadian		

Causes for Increase & Decrease	Sex		Name	Age	Color	Country	Employment	
	Male	Female					Domestic	Laborer
	x		George Beckwith		Black	Barbadian		
	x		John Thomas	1 2/12	Black	Barbadian		
	x		Ren	1 2/12	Black	Barbadian		
	x		Stephen		Black	Barbadian		
	x		Charles Hope	11/12	Black	Barbadian		
	x		Solomon		Black	Barbadian		
	x		Robert	6/12	Black	Barbadian		
	x		Sam Hackett		Black	Barbadian		
		x	Bella		Black	Barbadian		
		x	Elizabeth Ann	1 4/12	Black	Barbadian		
		x	Sarah Ann	1 3/12	Black	Barbadian		
		x	Betsy Mary	6/12	Black	Barbadian		
		x	Sarah Edward	4/12	Black	Barbadian		
		x	Betty Jack	3/12	Black	Barbadian		
Birth increase		18						
Deaths	x		William Grannum		Black	Barbadian		
	x		Sam Fort		Black	Barbadian		
	x		Natty		Black	Barbadian		
	x		John Edward		Colored	Barbadian		
	x		Phill		Black	Barbadian		
	x		Bristol		Black	African		
	x		John Griffith		Black	Barbadian		
	x		Joe		Black	Barbadian		
	x		Johnny		Black	Barbadian		
	x		Frank		Black	Barbadian		
	x		Sampson		Black	Barbadian		
	x		Anow		Black	Barbadian		
	x		Stephen		Black	Barbadian		
	x		Solomon		Black	Barbadian		
	x		Will		Black	Barbadian		
	x		George Beckwith		Black	Barbadian		



Causes for Increase & Decrease	Sex		Name	Age	Color	Country	Employment	
	Male	Female					Domestic	Laborer
		x	Mercy		Black	Barbadian		
		x	Bella		Black	Barbadian		
		x	Susey Mingo		Black	Barbadian		
		x	Peggy Venus		Black	Barbadian		
Total decrease		20						
Total	83	101					184	

### **Appendix 3:**

Artifact Catalogue for the Ridge Site  
St. Nicholas Abbey, Barbados, W.I.

#	Unit	Northing	Easting	Layer	Group ID	Class ID	Object ID	Date ID	Quantity
353	TU 11	477	502	1	Kitchen	Ceramic Storage	Unidentified	Redware	17
354	TU 11	477	502	1	Kitchen	Ceramic Tableware	Unidentified	Yellowware	1
355	TU 11	477	502	1	Kitchen	Ceramic Tableware	Unidentified	Stoneware	3
356	TU 11	477	502	1	Kitchen	Glass Beverage	Wine bottle	Free blown	3
357	TU 11	477	502	1	Smoking	Pipes	White clay bowl		3
358	TU 11	477	502	1	Smoking	Pipes	White clay stem		4
359	TU 11	477	502	1	Unassigned Material	Miscellaneous Material	Unidentified Object	Ferrous	10
360	TU 11	477	502	1	Unassigned Material	Miscellaneous Material	Stone	Unidentified	2
361	TU 11	477	502	1	Unassigned Material	Miscellaneous Material	Stone	Slate	2
362	TU 11	477	502	2	Kitchen	Ceramic Storage	Unidentified	Redware	3
363	TU 11	477	502	2	Kitchen	Ceramic Storage	Unidentified	Barbados Redware	1
364	TU 11	477	502	2	Kitchen	Ceramic Tableware	Unidentified	Creamware	2
365	TU 11	477	502	2	Kitchen	Ceramic Tableware	Unidentified	Pearlware	4
366	TU 11	477	502	2	Kitchen	Ceramic Tableware	Unidentified	Pearlware annularware	1
367	TU 11	477	502	2	Kitchen	Glass Beverage	Wine bottle	Free blown	1
368	TU 11	477	502	2	Kitchen	Glass Beverage	Soda/beer bottle	Brown	1
369	TU 11	477	502	2	Architecture	Nails	Fragment	Unidentified	5
370	TU 11	477	502	2	Smoking	Pipes	White clay bowl		1
371	TU 11	477	502	2	Unassigned Material	Miscellaneous Material	Unidentified Object	Ferrous	2
372	TU 12	477	490	1	Kitchen	Ceramic Storage	Unidentified	Redware	115
373	TU 12	477	490	1	Kitchen	Ceramic Storage	Unidentified	Barbados Redware	59
374	TU 12	477	490	1	Kitchen	Ceramic Storage	Holloware	Buckley	6
375	TU 12	477	490	1	Kitchen	Ceramic Storage	Utilitarian	Redware	1
376	TU 12	477	490	1	Kitchen	Ceramic Tableware	Unidentified	CE: English lead glazed	1
377	TU 12	477	490	1	Kitchen	Ceramic Tableware	Unidentified	CE: North Devon plain	18
378	TU 12	477	490	1	Kitchen	Ceramic Tableware	Unidentified	Creamware	16
379	TU 12	477	490	1	Kitchen	Ceramic Tableware	Unidentified	Pearlware	128
380	TU 12	477	490	1	Kitchen	Ceramic Tableware	Unidentified	Pearlware edged	2
381	TU 12	477	490	1	Kitchen	Ceramic Tableware	Unidentified	Pearlware printed blue	57
382	TU 12	477	490	1	Kitchen	Ceramic Tableware	Unidentified	Pearlware printed other	3
383	TU 12	477	490	1	Kitchen	Ceramic Tableware	Unidentified	Pearlware annularware	55
384	TU 12	477	490	1	Kitchen	Ceramic Tableware	Unidentified	Whiteware painted	34
385	TU 12	477	490	1	Kitchen	Ceramic Tableware	Unidentified	Whiteware sponge/stamp	5

#	Unit	Northing	Easting	Layer	Group ID	Class ID	Object ID	Date ID	Quantity
386	TU 12	477	490	1	Kitchen	Ceramic Tableware	Unidentified	Yellowware	1
387	TU 12	477	490	1	Kitchen	Ceramic Tableware	Unidentified	Stoneware	6
388	TU 12	477	490	1	Kitchen	Ceramic Tableware	Unidentified	English stoneware	1
389	TU 12	477	490	1	Kitchen	Glass Beverage	Wine bottle	Free blown	180
390	TU 12	477	490	1	Kitchen	Glass Beverage	Bottle	Aqua	104
391	TU 12	477	490	1	Kitchen	Glass Beverage	Bottle	Clear	121
392	TU 12	477	490	1	Kitchen	Glass Beverage	Bottle	Light Green	562
393	TU 12	477	490	1	Kitchen	Glass Beverage	Bottle	Rose	3
394	TU 12	477	490	1	Kitchen	Glass Beverage	Bottle	Aqua mould	1
395	TU 12	477	490	1	Kitchen	Glass Beverage	Bottle	Blue mould	1
396	TU 12	477	490	1	Kitchen	Glass Beverage	Bottle	Clear mould	6
397	TU 12	477	490	1	Kitchen	Glass Beverage	Soda/beer bottle	Brown	32
398	TU 12	477	490	1	Architecture	Nails	Nail	Unidentified	52
399	TU 12	477	490	1	Architecture	Door and Window Hardware	Handle	Wrought iron	1
400	TU 12	477	490	1	Architecture	Door and Window Hardware	Hinge	Wrought iron	3
401	TU 12	477	490	1	Architecture	Construction Materials	Brick	Red	3
402	TU 12	477	490	1	Architecture	Construction Materials	Flooring Tile	Plain	1
403	TU 12	477	490	1	Furniture	Hardware	Hinge	Brass	2
404	TU 12	477	490	1	Medicinal/Hygiene	Pharmaceutical Containers	Unidentified	Milk glass	2
405	TU 12	477	490	1	Domestic Activities	General Storage	Hook	Ferrous	1
406	TU 12	477	490	1	General Activities	Writing	Ink bottle/well	Stoneware	12
407	TU 12	477	490	1	General Activities	Agriculture	Sugar mold	Redware	2
408	TU 12	477	490	1	General Activities	Agriculture	Molasses jar	Redware	1
409	TU 12	477	490	1	General Activities	Stable/Barn	Harness plate	Brass	1
410	TU 12	477	490	1	General Activities	Stable/Barn	Horseshoe		4
411	TU 12	477	490	1	Smoking	Pipes	White clay bowl		1
412	TU 12	477	490	1	Smoking	Pipes	White clay stem		1
413	TU 12	477	490	1	Unassigned Material	Miscellaneous Hardware	Ring		1
414	TU 12	477	490	1	Unassigned Material	Miscellaneous Hardware	Screw		1
415	TU 12	477	490	1	Unassigned Material	Miscellaneous Material	Unidentified Object	Ferrous	132
416	TU 12	477	490	1	Unassigned Material	Miscellaneous Material	Unidentified Object	Lead	1
417	TU 12	477	490	1	Faunal	Bone	Unidentified	Unidentified	2
418	TU 12	477	490	1	Faunal	Shell	Sea Shell		1

#	Unit	Northing	Easting	Layer	Group ID	Class ID	Object ID	Date ID	Quantity
419	TU 12	477	490	2	Kitchen	Ceramic Storage	Unidentified	Redware	2
420	TU 12	477	490	2	Kitchen	Ceramic Tableware	Unidentified	CE: North Devon plain	2
421	TU 12	477	490	2	Kitchen	Ceramic Tableware	Unidentified	Pearlware	2
422	TU 12	477	490	2	Kitchen	Ceramic Tableware	Unidentified	Pearlware printed blue	2
423	TU 12	477	490	2	Kitchen	Ceramic Tableware	Unidentified	Pearlware annularware	1
424	TU 12	477	490	2	Kitchen	Ceramic Tableware	Unidentified	Whiteware sponge/stamp	1
425	TU 12	477	490	2	Kitchen	Glass Beverage	Wine bottle		10
426	TU 12	477	490	2	Kitchen	Glass Beverage	Bottle	Light Green	5
427	TU 12	477	490	2	Kitchen	Glass Beverage	Soda/beer bottle	Brown	3
428	TU 12	477	490	2	Architecture	Nails	Nail	Wrought	1
429	TU 12	477	490	2	Medicinal/Hygiene	Pharmaceutical Containers	Unidentified	Purple	1
430	TU 12	477	490	2	Domestic Activities	General Storage	Hook		1
431	TU 12	477	490	2	Unassigned Material	Miscellaneous Material	Unidentified Object	Ferrous	3
432	TU 12	477	490	2	Unassigned Material	Miscellaneous Material	Stone	Unidentified	1
433	TU 12	477	490	2	Unassigned Material	Miscellaneous Ceramics/Glass	Unidentifiable Glass	Unidentified	1
								Total	1845

## **Vita**

Sean Edward Devlin is currently serving as a Project Archaeologist at James River Institute of Archaeology in Williamsburg, VA. A native of New Jersey, he received his B.A. in History from Washington and Lee University in Lexington, VA in 2004. Subsequently, he attended the Jamestown Rediscovery archaeological field school, and worked as a professional archeologist in the Chesapeake region for the next two years. In 2006, he entered the M.A. program in Anthropology at the College of William and Mary. In the summer of 2007, he conducted research in Barbados as a staff instructor during a William and Mary field school under the direction of Dr. Fred Smith. This thesis is a culmination of his study in the program. Sean is married and lives with his wife, Erin...and their dog.