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ABSTRACT

This dissertation reveals local responses to, and influences on the nascent British colonialism, imperial policies, and trade networks at Regent, a liberated African village on the Sierra Leone peninsula during the colonial period (circa 1860 to 1960) through the study of written and archaeological data. It explores how Africans liberated from slave ships and barracoons, following the British abolition of the slave trade and therefore of varying cultural and ethnic backgrounds, established new settlements and actively changed or maintained their household spatial practices, socio-economic strategies, as well as material use and discard patterns in this foreign diasporic setting. Fieldwork for this study consisted of two years of archival research in Freetown and archaeological investigations, which included settlement-wide surveys and the horizontal excavations of two house loci at Regent Village known to contain stratified domestic deposits dating to the colonial period. I use these written records and archaeological assemblages to show how these diverse Africans adapted to this foreign diasporic environment focusing on varied house structures and the mundane things they made, bought, used, and discarded. The contextual and comparative analyses of architectural remains and artifact distributions, as well as the presence and absence of certain kinds of artifact classes, facilitate the reconstruction of material culture patterning and household economic differences. Results of the analyses indicate emerging cultural elites in the two excavated house loci, while the settlement-wide survey data reveal that some liberated Africans and their descendants lived in foreign-style houses that were neither European nor local, used many imported materials and retailed them, obtained Western education and went to church, but never became “British.” I employ a theoretical framework that connects colonial entanglements, cross-cultural exchange, and identity formation.

British Anti-Slavery, Trade, and Nascent Colonialism on the Sierra Leone Peninsula, c.

1860 – 1960

By

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Dissertation

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

Syracuse University
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Upon arriving at Syracuse, I never imagined myself going to Sierra Leone to conduct field research. I want to thank my advisor, Professor Christopher R. DeCorse for suggesting that I visit Sierra Leone in the Spring of 2018 and for providing support and encouragement that made possible the research project documented in this dissertation. I have benefited from his extensive experience of working in Sierra Leone for over forty years and explored much of his professional networks throughout the research and writing periods. His longitudinal study in coastal Sierra Leone has laid the foundations for my research, and he has assisted me in designing this project. I am grateful for this interesting research opportunity and the guidance provided over the years. Truly, Professor DeCorse is a great mentor and an intellectual father to me in this field.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to the Late Dr. Sylvanus Spencer, the former Head of the Department of History and African Studies at the Fourah Bay College, the University of Sierra Leone, and the Late Mrs. Rosamond Ojumiri Nicol, Mr. Joshua Nicol's mother for their commitments and support. Mr. Joshua Nicol is the representative of the Council of Elders at Regent Village on this research project and his mother, living in their family house at Pike Street, received and delivered letters and messages pertinent to this research to him on several occasions before passing away on November 19, 2020, at the age of 92. I also dedicate the dissertation to Mrs. Victoria Aina Olayemi Agbelusi, my grandmother who also lived long (aged 115) but passed away on June 8, 2022. I only wish my grandmother could stay to witness the first Ph.D. degree in the Agbelusis family. I am sure she will be proud of "Okanlomo Worldwide" as she often calls me.

PREFACE

An Archaeological Decameron in the COVID-19 Era

I borrowed the expression “Archaeological Decameron” from the Society for Historical Archaeology (SHA) 2021 Virtual Conference entitled: “An Archaeological Decameron: Research, Interpretation, and Engagement in the Time of Pandemic,” in which I could only participate in the conference virtually from Freetown, Sierra Leone. As the SHA conference organizers noted, Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–1375) wrote a “masterpiece, *The Decameron*, . . . framed as a collection of stories told by a group of 10 young people who had fled Florence, Italy, to escape the Black Death. Socially distanced in a villa outside the city, they told each other tales to pass the time and to provide a distraction from the pandemic.”¹ In lieu of writing a book like *The Decameron*, I briefly share my experience of conducting archaeological research in Sierra Leone in a socially distanced way while working alongside the Monuments and Relics Commission (MRC), the Council of Elders, and some members of Regent Village during the time of the COVID-19 pandemic. I limit this story to the preface of this dissertation to avoid any *distraction* that the pandemic stories can provide to the main content. However, it should be noted that this preface builds on an excerpt of a pandemic story that I shared in a co-authored piece that appeared in the Society of Black Archaeologists Newsletter in November 2021 (see Appiah-Adu et al. 2021:21-23).

Arriving to initiate my fieldwork just before the onset of the global pandemic placed me in a position of adapting not only to fieldwork but also to new challenges of everyday life. I arrived in Freetown, Sierra Leone on February 1, 2020, with a clear plan of spending six months for the first phase of my research, with a solid plan to

¹ <https://sha.org>

return to a teaching assistantship in Syracuse in early August.² Fortunately, I was able to secure a letter of permission to undertake archaeological surveys and excavations at Regent Village from the MRC, and have completed much of my archival research at the Sierra Leone Public Archives at Fourah Bay College (FBC) in Freetown before COVID-19 was declared a pandemic, which ultimately led to the closure of FBC campus until July 25, 2020. On March 22, 2020, the airports and Embassies closed, and by March 31, the FBC campus and the archives closed. The closure of the US Embassy presented the added problem of being unable to renew my US F-1 visa. I was now in Sierra Leone, unable to complete the archival work, unable to return to the US, and possibly unable to initiate fieldwork. I consulted with both the MRC and the Council of Elders of Regent Village, and we all stressed the importance of taking the public health guidelines very seriously. Local contacts proved to be essential in initiating my fieldwork.

Due to the pandemic, the pedestrian survey, which was planned for the earlier stage of the research project in March, took place towards the end of the field project in July. A series of nationwide and inter-district lockdowns coupled with stay-at-home practices caused the delay in carrying out the pedestrian survey, as the field team felt it is safer to minimize the level of interactions with locals until public health and safety improved. In discussion with the Council of Elders, we prioritized the safety and wellness of the villagers and took all public health and safety guidance seriously. Once public health improved in July, the survey team carried out the archaeological survey across the village. Instead of using this exercise to identify potential house loci for excavations, the survey was done with a view to gaining a

² Since August 2020, I have been supported by a graduate assistantship and handling recitations remotely from Freetown. I had a workstation in the computer room of the Sierra Leone National Museum where I met with students twice a week via ZOOM.

broad understanding of the village settlement pattern and history. For the excavations, we had to rely on the support and advice of the Council of Elders to determine the house loci to investigate in the village because the archival records retrieved from the Sierra Leone Public Archives in Freetown before it was closed in March 2020 were insufficient for selecting house lots to be targeted for excavations. With the help of the village Council of Elders, including the Headwoman, Reverend (Mrs.) Elenorah Jokomie Metzger, two house loci located on Fitzjames Street, known to contain domestic deposits dating to the colonial period were suggested as sites where excavation would be permitted. Mr. Joshua Nicol, a representative for the Council of Elders generously agreed to put me in touch with the families that own the two recommended house lots. I am very grateful to Mr. Emeka and Mrs. Justice Jamesina King and Ms. Molade Johnson for granting our request to carry out archaeological excavations on their family house lots.³ I discuss the selection procedure of the two house loci that served as in-depth case studies in detail in Chapter 3.

Excavations of the King family and Johnson family lots were undertaken between March 2020 and July 2020. The size of the excavation team varied throughout the fieldwork period due to the COVID pandemic public health guidance (the use of face masks, frequent handwashing, and social distancing protocols)

³ Mr. V.L. Thomas is the first landowner that granted our request to conduct archaeological excavations on a property located at Wilberforce Road. He is a former headman of Regent, who spent some time abroad (work-study) and currently resides in the village. Mr. V.L. Thomas was a delight to talk to. With the assistance of the Council of Elders and Francis Musa Momoh, I was granted permission to conduct the research on the family house lot. According to Mr. V.L. Thomas, a colonial-period house structure was located on the lot, on the northern side of the road, which was torn down recently. The remains of the house structure were located during field inspection along with a mound of debris (pile of soil) possibly from a collapsed structure. Due to dispute over land ownership and restricted access from the Jatunsin family, the brushing of the house lot was halted and a search for another house locus began. The leadership of the village made inquiries about the possibility of investigating a house lot owned by an inhabitant located at Gloucester Road, but the request was declined. Eventually, through the support of the village leadership in collaboration with the Mr. Charlie Haffner, the Chairman of the MRC, I received letters of permission from Mr. Emeka and Mrs. Justice Jamesina King family and Ms. Molade Johnson family to conduct an in-depth study on their house lots, both located at Fitzjames Street.

strongly imposed by the leadership of the village. In order to maintain these guidelines, the number of field workers was limited to four to six, including myself. However, adhering to guidelines throughout the fieldwork period was not easy. For example, the use of facemasks while digging and engaging in heavy lifting caused difficulty in breathing and the social distancing protocols were very difficult. Archaeological excavation is a physical contact activity, involving the movement of soils and materials from one place or person to another, sharing of items of equipment, and supporting one another in completing various tasks. Nevertheless, the fieldworkers maintained the guidelines as much as possible and the reaction within the village to the fieldwork activities at such a challenging time was positive. These restrictive measures apply to other residents at Regent Village and across the country. Many citizens did abide by the public health guidelines, including the use of facemasks.

The COVID-19 pandemic posed additional challenges. All schools, entertainment centers, and religious institutions were closed, and market opening hours were limited to between 7:00 and 19:00 GMT. Transportation services to and from the archaeological site were not impacted by the inter-district lockdown and curfews because field activities commence early in the morning, allowing us to avoid the curfew measures in the evenings, which were gradually eased, starting on July 13, 2020. Purchasing cooked food for lunch was almost impossible in the village, forcing me to survive on canned food, fruits, and beverages (especially energy drinks) for about four months. However, raw food items were locally available. Buying field supplies and banking requires traveling between districts, which requires proper planning and time management. While this field season was unusual, developing relationships with community members, including stakeholders in this fashion was a

good method of rooting down in the village, which I consider indispensable for future research. Despite the challenges the COVID-19 pandemic has brought on communities globally, local support and perseverance were key to accomplishing the research planned for the field season.

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Abbreviations

AISLE	Archaeological Initiative for the Sierra Leone Estuary at Syracuse University
AYV TV	African Young Voices Television, Freetown
CMS	Church Missionary Society
CO	Colonial Office, The National Archives, Kew
CRP	Central Region Project in Ghana at Syracuse University
ECOMOG	The Economic Community Cease-Fire Monitoring Group
FBC	Fourah Bay College, Freetown
KDY	Krio Descendants Yunion
LAD	Liberated African Department
MLHCP	The Ministry of Lands, Housing and Country Planning, Freetown
MNI	Minimum Number of Individual
MRC	Monuments and Relics Commission, Freetown
MTCA	Ministry of Tourism and Cultural Affairs
MVC	Minimum Vessel Count
OARG	Office of the Administrator and Registrar General, Freetown
RAC	Royal African Corps
SLPA	Sierra Leone Public Archives, Fourah Bay College, Freetown
WIR	West India Regiment

CHAPTER 1

BRITISH ANTI-SLAVERY AND THE SHIFT TO COLONIALISM IN SIERRA LEONE IN THE AGE OF EMANCIPATION

1.1 Introduction

“It would be interesting to see how the [enslaved] African[s]—some hailing from West Central Africa—who were captured at sea by the anti-slave trade patrol acculturated to a foreign African society [Sierra Leone] dominated by [the formerly enslaved] from the Americas. But again, in Sierra Leone there is no modern archaeological tradition; there is no established department of archaeology at Fourah Bay College, the oldest modern university in West Africa; and a few archaeological missions have been undertaken by foreign scholars” (Posnansky 1999:36).

Merrick Posnansky’s reflection on the Atlantic entanglements in Sierra Leone is recognized and perhaps realized in this study. His curiosity about how liberated Africans were re-building lives in a foreign diasporic African setting partly emanates from the lives of their descendants who supported this study and feature prominently throughout the chapters. Over the years, there has been an increasing scholarship on Europe’s intersection with the non-Western World in the fields of anthropology, history, and literature on both sides of the Atlantic (e.g., Ajayi and Crowder 1971, 1974; Chase-Riboud 1989; Christensen 2019; Deetz 1996; Dike 1956; Du Bois 1896, 1947; Fyfe 1962; Herskovits 1933, 1936, 1941; P. Lovejoy 2012; Mrozowski 1993, 1996, 2006; Sahlins 1985; Singleton ed. 1985, 1999; Wolf 1982). However, it took two decades after the publication of Posnansky’s chapter in Theresa A. Singleton ed. (1999) *I, Too, Am America: Archaeological Studies of African American Life* before fieldwork occurred in one of the liberated African villages.

Over the years, many scholars have examined varied local responses and influences on the Atlantic slave trade in West Africa (e.g., DeCorse ed. 2016, DeCorse and Beier eds. 2018; Falola and Jennings eds. 2003; Ogundiran and Falola eds. 2007; Lane and MacDonald eds. 2011; Mitchell and Lane eds. 2013; Monroe and Ogundiran eds. 2012; A.M. Reid and Lane eds. 2004). However, there is limited archaeological research conducted on colonialism in the region (e.g., Apoh 2008, 2013, 2018; DeCorse 2001a, 2016, 2021; Ogundiran and Ogunfolakan 2017; Richard 2011; Stahl 2002). No archaeological studies have analyzed how anti-slavery or the struggle for abolition set the stage for colonialism in the region and the reasons for adopting colonial state policies. Prior to the increasing territorial control and colonial partition during the second half of the nineteenth century, the European outposts in Africa were small emporia run by privately owned trading companies that neither had nor sought to control territories beyond the immediate environs of their forts (Beier and DeCorse 2018; DeCorse 2010, 2015, 2016, 2018; Chouin and DeCorse 2018; Pezzarossi 2018b; Rodney 1970). Therefore, the lack of cross-national research on colonialism in West Africa has occluded a clear explanation of the process and impact of colonialism on the local and regional political economies.

Turning to the other side of the Atlantic, several Americanist archaeologists or scholars have debated the impact of colonialism on the everyday life of the oppressed. However, most comparative archaeological studies on cultural interactions, emerging capitalist markets, and the process and impact of colonialism in the Americas have often overlooked Sierra Leone for comparative analysis. This oversight has occurred even though Sierra Leone was once a location to end slavery and enforce colonialism in West Africa, following the redirection and restructuring of slavery in Africa as well as the expansion of new frontiers of slavery in the Americas during the nineteenth century. However, recent

scholarship (e.g., Anderson and H. Lovejoy eds. 2020; Tomich and P. Lovejoy eds. 2021) is beginning to show that these two slave complexes are deeply interconnected.

This dissertation aims to address these understudied areas of Africa's intersection with the wider Atlantic World. It examines how the lives of Africans who were 'liberated' from barracoons, and ships embarking from different parts of the West African coast and resettled in a nascent British Crown Colony on the Sierra Leone peninsula became entangled in the broader regional and global political economy of the nineteenth century. I extend the discussion to the descendants of these liberated Africans¹ and Indigenous peoples on the Sierra Leone peninsula who lived and worked in an established Colony of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Using Regent, a liberated African village on the Sierra Leone peninsula, as a case study, this research reveals (a) how these diverse, liberated Africans and their descendants get on with their lives in this new environment focusing on varied house structures and settlement patterns, and (b) their socio-economic activities and participation in trade relations in colonial Sierra Leone by studying the mundane things they made, bought, traded, used, and discarded. Furthermore, this dissertation reveals how the Indigenous peoples of the Sierra Leone peninsula living in European-influenced-style houses as tenants were fully enmeshed in a developing colonial economy.

After analyzing the institutional arrangements that led to the restructuring and expansion of the Atlantic slave trade in West Africa and the Americas, I take cross-cultural

¹ Enslaved Africans emancipated in the wider Atlantic World through the interdiction of illegal slave vessels in the nineteenth century were called different names such as *captured negroes* in Sierra Leone and the British West Indies, *prize negroes* in South Africa, *recaptives* in Liberia, *emancipados* in Cuba, and *africanos livres* or *libertos* in the Portuguese-speaking World, including Angola and Brazil. Unlike the ACS settlement in Liberia, where the noun *recaptives* existed, the British used *captured negroes* or *recaptured negroes* in Sierra Leone and the British West Indies (H. Lovejoy and Anderson 2020:3-4). However, the use of *captured negroes* or *recaptured negroes* ended in Sierra Leone in 1822 (Fyfe 1962:114). Following H. Lovejoy and Anderson (2020:3), in this dissertation, I employ the label—*liberated Africans* with scepticism because these 'freed' Africans enjoyed a narrow sense of freedom from bondage. They were either forced into apprenticeship to serve for a period of seven to fourteen years, marriage for adult women immediately after liberation, recruitment or forced enlistment into the British Naval Patrol, and forced migration to the British West Indies and elsewhere (Anderson and H. Lovejoy eds. 2020; A. Brooks 1988; Clarke 1843, 1863; de Montaud 2020:162; Melek Delgado 2020; Fyfe 1962:106, 182, 183; P. Lovejoy and Schwarz 2015:21; Scanlan 2013:127).

exchange as an entry point to the capitalist world economy of the nineteenth century because exchange often entangles people in complex webs of social and economic relationships that enmesh local, regional, and global political economies (Appadurai 1986; Graeber 2011). Central to this study is understanding the various forms of economic exchange in Sierra Leone and how these contribute to the socio-economic developments in the region in the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This dissertation argues that to understand more fully the relative degree to which the liberated Africans, Indigenous groups, and their descendants in this village participated in trade relations and the broader implications for the kind of capitalism that was emerging, we have to examine the politics of the process—from local, to regional, to intercontinental trade, which some missionaries supported.

Although the following sections of this chapter present the utmost message of this dissertation, I use the notion of entanglement to raise and engage a broader set of thematic issues or debates that has implications extending far beyond the history of Sierra Leone or the West African region. The demography of Regent and other liberated African villages was far more complex, involving one or more Indigenous populations before the resettlement of diverse, freed Africans from the Bight of Biafra who co-existed with the European colonists of different nationalities and cultural backgrounds in the village. The study, therefore, interrogates how the resettled Africans and their descendants formulate and maintain identities at Regent while adapting to new local life. I focus on how they described themselves, their self-perception, and their sense of place, putting into consideration the period and conditions under which this diasporic village settlement was created.

This dissertation presents and synthesizes a range of new data, consisting of archival and archaeological records. Primary archival materials and secondary sources are used to situate the slave trade and nascent colonialism (e.g., Anderson 2020; Anderson and H. Lovejoy eds. 2020; Blyden 2000, 2019; Dixon-Fyle and Cole eds. 2006; Fyfe 1962, 1979;

Keefer 2019; P. Lovejoy and Schwarz eds. 2015; P. Lovejoy et al. 2022; Okrafo-Smart 2007; Peterson 1969; Scanlan 2013, 2017; Wyse 1989) in West Africa with the reorganization and industrialization of plantation slavery in the Americas during the nineteenth century, a period referred to as the ‘Second Slavery’ (e.g., Tomich 2017; Tomich and P. Lovejoy eds. 2021). I rely on archaeological data to examine the daily lives, socio-economic activities, and cross-cultural economic legacy of the new political entanglement created during the colonial encounter in Sierra Leone.

This dissertation is conducted at the scale of household and village-site levels to assess local responses to and influences on the colonial period that considers the notions of liberation, resettlement, and colonialism. First, it investigates the history of Regent Village through archival records, pedestrian surveys, and surface collections. The research then narrows in focus to two excavated house loci, the King family lot and the Johnson family lot at Fitzjames Street, that yielded nuanced data on building methods, socio-economic activities, and the relative degree of involvement in trade relations primarily dating to the colonial period. The Johnson family lot is particularly important because the archaeological record reflects trade networks, craft specialization, and gendered activities. The dissertation, therefore, delineates the entanglement of micro-scale (individual household) with macroscale (village) and situates local history in relation to a broader regional and global political economy of the nineteenth century. Finally, through this multi-scalar vantage, I examine the people’s daily lives in Regent Village.

The study covers the period between circa 1860, when Alexander Fitzjames, a barrister from Trinidad, arrived in the colony of Sierra Leone to 1960, the “eve” of Sierra Leone’s independence from the British colonial government. Alexander Fitzjames served as Queens Advocate in 1858, acted as Colony Governor from 1859 to 1860, and continued as Queens Advocate until 1862, when he was dismissed from government service (Blyden

1998:5-6, 1999:172, 2000:113-138; Fyfe 1962:282-283, 296). As acting Governor, Fitzjames interacted with native chiefs in the interior and signed many treaties with them, particularly Bai Cantah (CO 267/264 Volume 2 cited in Blyden 2000:125). He “enjoyed a good relationship with Bai Cantah, who as a gesture of his regard for the acting Governor adopted Alexander as his name” (Blyden 1998:253), thus becoming Alexander Bai Cantah of Koya (Fyfe 1962:297, 425). Fitzjames’s influence on the settler population, his Trinidadian race, activism against racial inequality, and aligning himself with the Black Colony’s population while a servant of the Crown made him a respectable public figure (Blyden 2000:137).

However, Governor (Sir) Stephen John Hill clashed with Fitzjames due to confusion over a bounty and questioned his overzealousness, excitability, and threat to his authority in the Colony (Blyden 1998:255-258, 1999:172; Fyfe 1962:313). Thomas Marston, an English lawyer and Registrar of the Vice-Admiralty Court, was also at odds with Fitzjames (Blyden 2000:128-132; Fyfe 1962:313-314). Governor Hill and Marston’s prosecution or trial of Fitzjames was the main reason for his dismissal (Fyfe 1962:315). Fitzjames’s identity as a man of color also contributed to the harsh treatment he received while serving the need of the British Empire (Blyden 1998:232, 240-241, 1999:172-173, 2000:118, 133). Nevertheless, the settlers supported Fitzjames during the trial period, particularly the Aku (Blyden 1998:273, 2000:128-132, 135; Fyfe 1962:315). He returned to Trinidad shortly after his dismissal in Sierra Leone to continue his activism against racial inequality.

Fitzjames died in 1882 and received many signs of respect, including lawyers’ decisions to close offices and a public address signed by several solicitors in Trinidad (Blyden 1998:277). As Blyden (2000:138) notes, “[m]any individuals in Sierra Leone would have expressed the same sentiment.” The street at Regent was possibly named after Alexander Fitzjames between the time he was a servant of the Crown in Sierra Leone (circa 1860) and shortly after his death (post-1882) because the earliest appearance of Fitzjames

Street at Regent in land conveyances dates to 1891 (OARG Volume 47:315-317). Its subsequent appearances in a few other books of conveyances reflect the continued occupation of this section of the village well into the twentieth century (OARG Volume 159:66, 609:109). Notably, the period (circa 1860 - 1960) examined in this study is consistent with the dates of many artifacts recovered from the two excavated house lots at Fitzjames Street.

The dissertation builds upon the ongoing archaeological surveys and excavations at Bunce Island and neighboring slave forts—a part of the AISLE Project directed by Christopher R. DeCorse with the support and permission of the MTCA and the MRC. Previous archaeological investigations have revealed several locations of slave forts and outposts associated with the Atlantic slave trade and its suppression in the estuary (Amarthey and S.H. Reid 2014:7; DeCorse 2014b: 18). However, this dissertation shifts the focus of study to nascent colonialism and household choices within a changing global political economy of the post-abolition period.

This dissertation makes several significant contributions to scholarship. First, it takes a “bottom-up” approach to study the choices the liberated Africans and their descendants had and the decisions they made. Hence, a focus on their quotidian and commercial lives in Sierra Leone is central to this study. While the bottom-up approach allows the people under study to “speak” to us in different ways, this dissertation might still contain *their* own silences and omissions (Trouillot 1995). Second, this dissertation has significance beyond Sierra Leone because it provides a cross-culturally relevant case study of household change with those reported in other parts of West Africa (e.g., Apoh 2008, 2019; Gijanto 2010, 2017, MacEachern et al. eds. 1989; Stahl 2002) and the wider Atlantic World (e.g., Agorsah 1983, 2011; D. Armstrong 2003; D. Armstrong and Kelly 2000; Lacquement ed. 2007; Ogundiran and Falola eds. 2007). In addition to being the first anthropological study of domestic life in Sierra Leone and the first scientific excavation conducted on the Sierra Leone peninsula, this

research provides a specific insight into the archaeology and history of under-explored and poorly understood studies of African entanglement in the Atlantic World. It, therefore, adds to the growing field of studies of post-emancipation societies and the comparative study of colonialism in the wider Atlantic World.

I introduce the location of the study and the thematic approaches in the following sections.

1.2 The Pre-Atlantic and early Atlantic Periods

The research area is located on the Sierra Leone peninsula, in the Western Area of modern Sierra Leone (Figure 1.1). The country lies on the western coast of Africa, at the coastal rainforest-savannah ecotone (Anderson 2020; DeCorse 1989:124; Harding 2018, 2022; Rodney 1970; Scanlan 2013, 2017). It is bounded by Guinea to the north and east and Liberia to the south. The name Sierra Leone, or “Lion Mountain” in Portuguese, is attributed to fifteenth-century Portuguese explorers who used the term to refer to the Western peninsula’s dramatic, mountainous landscape (Fyfe 1962:1; LeVert 2006:7; Manson et al. 2012:3). During the nineteenth century, name Sierra Leone became synonymous with the Sierra Leone peninsula and its surrounding area (P. Lovejoy and Schwarz 2015:4; Hair 1966:52) to promote the Company that was formed by Henry Thornton, William Wilberforce, and Thomas Clarkson (P. Lovejoy and Schwarz 2015:4).

While the focus of this research is on British anti-slavery and the emergence of the nascent colony of Sierra Leone that was established in the early nineteenth century, the history of Sierra Leone does not begin with the arrival of the Black Poor, Nova Scotians, Maroons, and other West Indians, as well as the liberated Africans from West Africa and West-Central Africa. Neither does it start with the European exploration of the Upper Guinea Coast from the fifteenth century, which is where histories written of Sierra Leone’s past sometimes begin (see DeCorse 2014a: 10 for a similar critique). Rather this study begins with

a brief review of the settlement history and archaeology of Sierra Leone during the pre-Atlantic and Atlantic periods, focusing on the history and traditions of the Indigenous peoples of the coastal areas and the hinterlands. Thereafter, it traces the arrivals of the returnees from the Americas and the liberated Africans from the late eighteenth century to the second half of the nineteenth century and describes their co-existence with the Indigenous groups on the Sierra Leone peninsula. Finally, this study also explores the descendant's engagement with the Indigenous peoples on the peninsula.



Figure 1.1: Map of the Upper Guinea Coast. Insets: Map of the Sierra Leone River and Freetown. (Source: From P. Lovejoy and Schwarz (2015:8) reproduced in African Diaspora Maps, available at: <https://hlovejoy.wordpress.com/>)

Before the opening of the Atlantic trade, we know little about the first inhabitants and ethnic composition of Sierra Leone (Alie 1990; Fyle 1977a; Kup 1975:19). This dearth of information is due in part to limited archaeological research undertaken in the country; lack of an academic archaeology program and research infrastructure; no Indigenous archaeologists, among other things (Amarthey and S.H. Reid 2014:3–4; DeCorse 2014a, 2014b). However, some archaeological research has been done on the Late Stone Age of Sierra Leone from the late 1950s to the 1980s. Excavations at several rock shelter sites such as Kakoya, Yengema, Kamabai, Yagala, and Bunumbu yielded carbonized fragments of palm kernels, double-bladed polished celts, microliths (notably, the Yengema cave site did not produce microliths), iron slag and pottery, which suggests Late Stone Age (from ca. 2500 BC) to Iron Age (ca. seventh century AD) occupation (Atherton 1969:24-40; Coon 1968:18-74; DeCorse 1989:128, 2012:297, 301; Hill 1969:13-14; Newman 1966:19-22; Ozanne 1966:31-36, 1968:14-17; Roll 1967:28-31; Shaw 1967:25-27, 1978:58). These preliminary archaeological surveys indicate substantial evidence for Stone and Iron Age occupation of the region over several millennia.

The opening of the Atlantic trade in West Africa led to a series of migration waves, changes in settlement patterns, the appearance of fortifications, and evidence of depopulation (Chouin and DeCorse 2018:253-265; DeCorse 2012, 2021; Singleton 2010c: 123-124). For example, some Temne traditions say that they migrated from the Futa Jallon mountainous area (located within the modern Republic of Guinea), while traditions of other ethnic groups, such as the Yalunka and Kuranko, trace their origins to the Mende heartland in modern-day Mali (see DeCorse 2012; Fyfe 1979:2-3; Fyle 1977a, 1977b, 1984). The Muslim traders, such as the Fula from Futa Jallon, supplied enslaved peoples, kola nut, cattle, and a small quantity of gold in large caravans for sale at the coast (Kup 1975:41; P. Lovejoy and Schwarz

2015:7). Some non-Muslim groups experienced forced migration as a result of the expansion of Islamic polities into the region of Sierra Leone between the seventeenth and late nineteenth centuries (DeCorse 2012; Fyfe 1979:14-15; Fyle 1977a, 1977b; Kaifala 2017:9).

The Vai/Kono people are often considered the descendants of the Manes who had migrated from the hinterlands (Rodney 1970). However, who the Manes were remains a major question, though they were likely a Mande group. The Manes were soldiers/warriors of great repute, who invaded many ethnic groups they came across in the Upper Guinea Coast during the second half of the sixteenth century (Atherton 1969:151-152; G. Brooks 1993:286-287; Fyfe 1962:2-3; Kup 1975:38; Rodney 1970; Singleton 2015a: 134). Although some historians suggest that the Lokos and Mendes are descendants of the same people, Rodney (1970:59-60) argues that the more probable account is that the Manes migrated into Sierra Leone and created new conquest states or ethnicities such as the Mendes—a fusion of Manes with the earlier Bullom and Kissi and Loko—a fusion of the Mane elements with the Temne (see Kup 1975:37 for a similar explanation). The Mane invasion dramatically impacted the Sapes, a term the Portuguese used to refer to varied ethnic groups in coastal Sierra Leone (Fyfe 1964:43; Kup 1975:39-40; Miers and Kopytoff 1977:182-183, 184, 416-417; Rodney 1970:65-70). While many people from these varied ethnic groups were enslaved and transported to the Americas, their descendants interacted with the liberated Africans resettled on the Sierra Leone peninsula.²

With the development of the plantation economies of the Americas in the seventeenth century, there was increasing interest in Sierra Leone from several European countries, including the Dutch and English, because of its strategic position in both regional and trans-oceanic political economies (Rodney 1970). During the trans-Atlantic slave trade,

² Some of the descendants of those enslaved may have returned to the Sierra Leone peninsula as African Americans or West Indians. However, there are no documentary sources to support this narrative.

documentary sources indicate that Sierra Leone was a secondary source of enslaved peoples (Anderson 2015:103-105, 2020:31; Carney 2005:325-347; Kelly ed. 2020; H. Lovejoy and Anderson 2020:15; P. Lovejoy and Schwarz eds. 2015, Rodney 1970). Compared to the Gold Coast and the Bights of Benin and Biafra, the Sierra Leone estuary supplied a fewer number of enslaved Africans to the Americas (Amartey and S.H. Reid 2014; Anderson and H. Lovejoy eds. 2015; Chouin and DeCorse 2018; DeCorse 2014b, 2015, 2016, 2018, 2021; Rodney 1970). Regardless of this minor role, what makes Sierra Leone significant in the slave trade is its distinct connection to North America. Many enslaved Africans that arrived in South Carolina and Georgia came from Bunce Island, Sherbro, and neighboring areas in Sierra Leone, and others from the Gambia, Liberia, and Congo-Angola (Blyden 2000; Kelly ed. 2020; P. Lovejoy and Schwarz eds. 2015; Posnansky 1999:36; Singleton 1988:345-370, 2010e: 154). Morgan's (2015:29-50) study examines the activities of some British merchants on the Sierra Leone River in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Morgan notes that, in 1801-1808, Liverpool controlled three-quarters of the slave embarkment from the Upper Guinea Coast on British ships, as sixteen out of twenty leading British merchants came from Liverpool (2015:32-33). Despite the dominance of Liverpool in the Upper Guinea Coast, the region remains a marginal area for the supply of enslaved Africans.

1.3 A Homeland for freed African American settlers

Sierra Leone served as a homeland for freed African Americans beginning in the late eighteenth century (Blyden 1998, 2000; Fyfe 1962, 1979; Fyle 2004:367; Peterson 1969). The efforts of British philanthropists and abolitionists to create a free and self-governing Black community on the Sierra Leone peninsula steered the arrival of many settlers, particularly some formerly enslaved peoples in the Americas. Starting in the late eighteenth century, the peninsula saw radical migrations and resettlement managed by utopian colonialist ideals. Henry Smeathman's (an English naturalist) report on the area's agricultural

potential was key in its selection as a settlement for freed African Americans (Fyfe 1962:14; Wyse 1982:311). Granville Sharp, one of the British philanthropists and abolitionists who later formed the Sierra Leone Company, envisioned an ideal society in West Africa where all black people would be free, ‘civilized,’ work for wages, and enjoy a self-governing body that allowed equality among all men (Hodgson 2015:147; Peterson 1969:21). Sharp’s idea became an experiment in establishing a settlement for freed African Americans that embodied morality, humanitarianism, abolitionism, Western civilization, and Christianity. Sharp called the settlement the ‘Province of Freedom’³ (Fyfe 1962:16; Peterson 1969:20).

The Sierra Leone peninsula was a pluralistic African diasporic settlement due to forced and voluntary migration in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Blyden 1998:5, 1999:160-161). From 1787 to 1800, three groups of freed African and African Americans, namely the ‘Black Poor’ from Britain, the ‘Nova Scotians’ from Canada, and the ‘Maroons’ from Jamaica, were transported to the Sierra Leone peninsula by British philanthropists and abolitionists to start a new settlement (Blyden 1998, 1999:161, 2000, 2012a: 49-50, 2012b: 174; Fyfe 1962; Fyle 2004:367-368; Porter 1963; Singleton 2010a: 192, 2010c: 130; Wyse 1982:311). This settlement was first named ‘Granville Town’ (after Granville Sharp) and later renamed ‘Freetown’ (Cole 2006:36; Fyfe 1962:20; 1979:23).

Due to the prolonged financial challenges, the Sierra Leone Company transferred Freetown to the British Crown in 1808 (DeCorse 2014a: 9, 2021; Fyfe 1962:97; 1979; Fyle 2004; Misevich and Mann eds. 2016; Misevich 2015:191; Peterson 1969; Porter 1963; Schwarz 2015:165-168; Wyse 1989). Freetown became the first British Crown Colony in West Africa under the King of Great Britain, and a British Governor ruled the Colony on behalf of the King (Scanlan 2013; Fyfe 1979). The second wave of West Indians arrived in

³ Contributors to the P. Lovejoy and Schwarz eds. (2015) edited volume on the history of colonialism in coastal Sierra Leone reveal that the establishment of the Province of Freedom represents a contradiction rather than a testament to the abolition of the slave trade in West Africa because it was established among slave traders, on an area with an ongoing slave supply, and a mountainous peninsula with little to no defensive plans.

Freetown in the early nineteenth century. First, there were about 100 former enslaved Africans from Barbados. Afterward, there were over 1,000 military pensioners from the Second and Fourth WIR and the RAC, deployed to Freetown by the British Parliament to establish the West Africa squadron, which was to enforce the anti-slavery law by capturing slave ships involved in the illegal trade on the West Atlantic Sea (Anderson 2020:25; Anderson and H. Lovejoy eds. 2020; DeCorse 2021; P. Lovejoy and Schwarz eds. 2015; Scanlan 2017; Wyse 1979, 1982:315). In 1812, Bunce Island served as a recruiting station for the WIR (Blyden 1998:83, 2000:33; Fyfe 1962:118).

1.4 ‘Illegal Slavery’ in West Africa and ‘Second Slavery’

The Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade of 1807 was supposed to end the Atlantic slave trade, but historical records indicate that the trade increased dramatically, reaching its peak between 1815 and 1850 (D. Armstrong 2010:146-147; DeCorse 2021; Misevich 2015:191; Misevich and Mann eds. 2016; Tomich and P. Lovejoy 2021b: 4-6; also see Anderson 2015:101-138 and Peterson 1969:58-60 for the growing body of statistics of the new arrivals and Scanlan 2013:99-108 for the number of condemned slave ships). Enslaved Africans were transported to “new frontiers of slave commodity production” in the southern United States, Cuba, and Brazil and were incorporated into new labor processes and commodity markets (D. Armstrong 2022:95, 101; DeCorse 2022; Singleton 2015a: 36-58; 130-131, 2018:303; Tomich and P. Lovejoy 2021b: 3-4). Both the persistence and increase of the Atlantic slave trade were due to the restructuring of the slave-based plantation systems in the Americas during the nineteenth century and the redirection of the internal slave trade in West Africa, which supported the rise of new markets and slave-based economies such as the Sokoto Caliphate and Samory State (DeCorse 2021, 2022; Scanlan 2017; Tomich and P. Lovejoy 2021b: 1-6). Although the ‘Second Slavery’ perspective in the Americas and the restructuring of slavery in Africa during the nineteenth century were distinct slavery systems, recent

scholarship has explored their economic, political, and social connections and the changing position of each in the nineteenth-century capitalist world economy (DeCorse 2022; Singleton 2001b: 98-100, 2015b: 107; Tomich and P. Lovejoy eds. 2021: Figures 1.2 and 1.3).

The prohibition of the Atlantic slave trade also intensified the expansion of slavery and the redirection of the internal slave trade in West Africa due to its connection with the political economy of West African societies. For example, the political hegemony of the Òyó Empire and its expansion led to the capture of prisoners of war sold into slavery (Ajayi 1997; Anderson 2020; Fyfe 1962; Ogundiran 2007:78, 93, 2020:357-400, 407-409; Peterson 1969). Also, the civil wars that broke out in the early nineteenth century in southwestern Nigeria, the Fulani *jihad* war led by Usman dan Fodio from the north, and the Owu War of 1821 produced many captives sold into slavery (Anderson 2020:240; Fyfe 1962:156-159; P. Lovejoy 2021:127-149; Ogundiran 2020:371-375, 379-380). By 1836, many of the captives were transported from the Bights of Benin and Biafra and other parts of West Africa, particularly the rivers of Rio Nunez, Rio Pongas, the Sherbro, and the Gallinas estuaries (Anderson 2013, 2015, 2020; Anderson et al. 2013; Clarke 1863:321, 352; Curtin ed. 1997 [1967]; Jones 1990; Falola and Childs eds. 2004; Fyfe 1962:255, 297-298, 399-400; Kelly 2019; H. Lovejoy and Anderson 2020:1-22; P. Lovejoy 2012; Northrup 1978:60-62; Nwokeji and Eltis 2002; Singleton 2010c:119, 2015a: 132). The restructuring of slavery also included the exploitation of new zones of enslavement in the Pra and Volta Rivers (Amartey 2021, S.H. Reid 2022). In addition, the Wassoulou Empire of the Samory Touré, which stretched from Guinea and northern Sierra Leone to Ghana, relied on enslaved Africans (Mouser 1971, 1973, 2003).



Figure 1.2: This plate represents an action with the Spanish slave frigate ‘Velos Passahera’. Captured by HM Ship Primrose, Off Whydah, Bight of Benin. Colored lithographs by W.J. Huggins. 1833.
(Source: Courtesy of the National Museum of the Royal Navy)

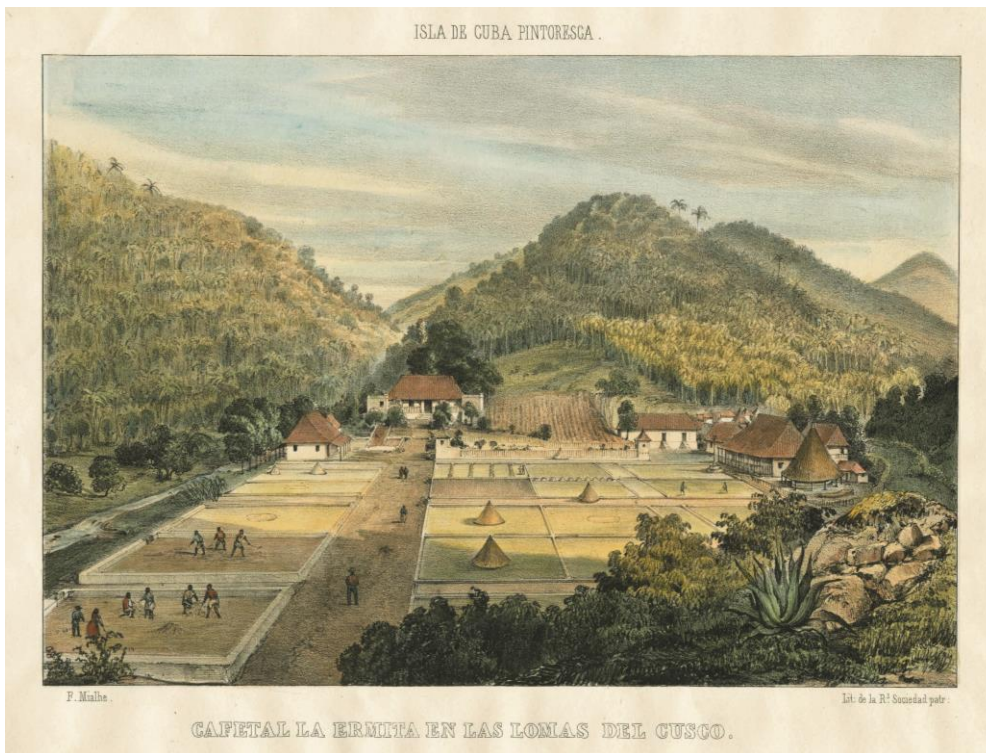


Figure 1.3: La Ermita Coffee plantation in the hills of Cusco, Havana (Cuba), 1830-1840. Colored lithographs by Mialhe, Frédéric, ca. 1839.
(Source: The University of Miami Library. Cuban Heritage Collection, available at: <http://merrick.library.miami.edu/digitalprojects/copyright.html>)

The enmeshment of illegal slavery in West Africa and an expansive network of illicit slave smuggling in the Americas shows that the history of Sierra Leone is part of a complex landscape of abolition and slave plantation economy in the nineteenth century. It, therefore, serves as a useful way of introducing the narrative of enslavement, liberation from illegal slave ships, the back-and-forth movement across the Atlantic, and the role of abolitionists in the wider Atlantic World. In addition, the complexity of Atlantic entanglements can also be extended to the lives of the descendants of the liberated Africans and Indigenous people of the Sierra Leone peninsula who moved into some of the liberated African villages as tenants because they were also enmeshed in European colonialism during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Kabba 1988).

The subsequent discussion in this chapter shows that the British Royal Navy only captured a small portion of slave ships coming from West Africa and some enslaved Africans ended up in the Americas. The famous *Amistad* story of enslaved Africans about to be integrated into plantations in Cuba is a case in point (Abraham 1985; Anderson 2020:134; Christensen ed. 2019; Fyfe 1962:222-223). In addition, some liberated Africans, under the Indentured Labour Scheme of the 1840s, were brought to Guyana, Martinique, Jamaica, and Trinidad as indentured laborers to work on plantations and hope to receive compensation after completing the term of service (Anderson 2020:125; Fyfe 1962:219; Flory 2015:258; Wyse 1988:41, 1989:20).

1.5 The Resettlement of liberated Africans in Sierra Leone

Recent studies provide an estimate of 12.7 million enslaved Africans were involved in the Atlantic slave trade that lasted for over four centuries (Eltis 2000; Eltis and Richardson 2008; Green 2012; Law and Mann 1999; P. Lovejoy 2012; P. Lovejoy and Trotman eds. 2003; P. Lovejoy and Schwarz eds. 2015; P. Lovejoy et al. 2022). Over one-quarter boarded slave ships leaving Africa across the Atlantic after European and American authorities passed

legislation prohibiting the slave trade in 1807 (H. Lovejoy and Anderson 2020:1). However, less than 10 percent of the enslaved people leaving Africa between 1808 and 1896 became liberated Africans through global emancipation efforts (Domingues da Silva and Ziegler 2020; H. Lovejoy and Anderson 2020:1, 13). The British Royal Navy captured several slave ships on the West Atlantic Sea and redirected them to Freetown. The Vice-Admiralty Courts and Bilateral Court of Mixed Commission condemned these slave ships when they landed in Freetown.⁴ Cases adjudicated by these anti-slavery courts liberated about 99,752 enslaved Africans between 1808 and 1863 (Anderson 2020:98).

1.5.1 The Vice-Admiralty Courts and Bilateral Courts of Mixed Commission

Since the British Parliament had legislated the abolition of the British slave trade around the same time Sierra Leone became a nascent British Crown Colony, Freetown quickly emerged as “the judicial and military capital of slave-ship interdiction in the British Empire” (Scanlan 2016:1094, also see 2013: iii), serving as the main base for the global efforts to suppress the Atlantic slave trade. Vice-Admiralty Courts operated in Jamaica, Sierra Leone, Tortola, and elsewhere in the Atlantic World before the Napoleonic Wars formally ended in 1815. After the end of the Napoleonic Wars, Bilateral Courts of Mixed Commission opened in locations such as Angola, Brazil, Cuba, Sierra Leone, and St. Helena (Figure 1.4). Instead of a Mixed Commission, the Federal District Courts handled maritime cases in the United States⁵ (Anderson and H. Lovejoy 2020:8-11).

⁴ Others were detained, trialed, and liberated when they landed in locations in the wider Atlantic World that were not their homelands (H. Lovejoy and Anderson 2020).

⁵ Between 1808 and 1861, the US Federal District Courts liberated an estimated 6,346 people from 12 slave ships, with almost half of these people rescued near the African coast and resettled in Liberia by a private Colony of the ACS beginning in 1822. However, the United States was slow to sign multilateral treaties to prohibit the slave trade. In 1862, the United States signed the Lyons-Seward Treaty with Britain accepting nominally to partake in the global efforts to end the slave trade (Fett 2020:323-344; H. Lovejoy and Anderson 2020:12, 13).

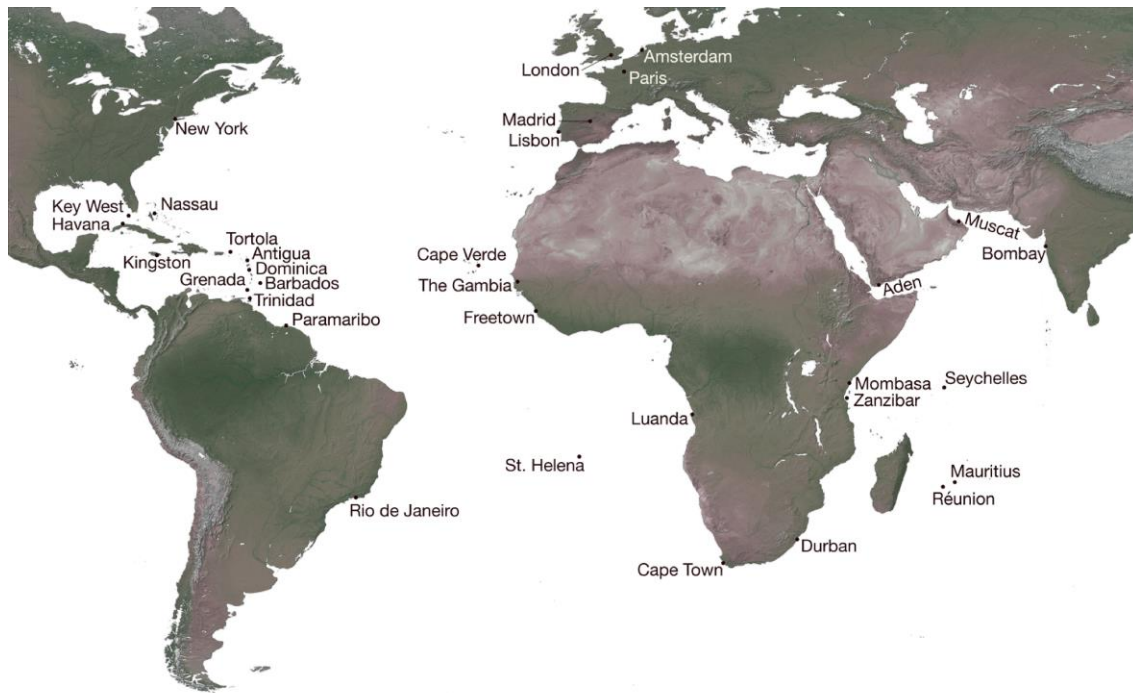


Figure 1.4: Locations of anti-slavery courts (vice-admiralty courts and mixed commissions) in the Atlantic and Indian Ocean Worlds from 1807-1896. (Source: From H. Lovejoy and Anderson (2020:14) reproduced in African Diaspora Maps available at: <https://hlovejoy.wordpress.com/>)

On the west coast of Africa, a British Vice-Admiralty Court was established in Freetown, rescuing over fifteen thousand people from barracoons and slave ships, and resettling them in the colony of Sierra Leone between 1807 and 1819 (H. Lovejoy and Anderson 2020:8). After 1819, four Mixed Commissions were in operation in Sierra Leone working under international treaties between Britain and Portugal, Spain, the Netherlands, and later Brazil (Howard 2020; P. Lovejoy 2020; Melek Delgado 2020; Schwarz 2020). These Mixed Commissions rescued more liberated Africans, estimated at sixty-eight thousand, to increase the number of arrivals in Freetown to about one hundred thousand before these courts officially closed in 1871⁶ (Anderson and H. Lovejoy 2020:9). Before 1807, Freetown was a small trading entrepôt settled by about two thousand inhabitants. The arrivals of ninety-nine thousand seven hundred and fifty-two liberated Africans and the

⁶ This anti-slavery court also carried out the legal condemnation of captured ships and goods (P. Lovejoy and Schwarz 2015:13; Scanlan 2013, 2017).

resettlement of approximately seventy-two thousand two hundred and eighty-four of these arrivals in villages located on the mountains and low-lying tracts of land on the Sierra Leone peninsula increased Freetown's population size and extended its borders over a fifty-five-year period⁷ (Anderson 2020:98, 111). It also added to the complexity of the emerging multi-ethnic society in Sierra Leone (P. Lovejoy and Schwarz 2015:20-21). However, scholars have reported poor documentation for liberated Africans arriving in Sierra Leone between 1849 and 1863 because the Liberated African registers ended completely in 1848 (Anderson 2020:98).

Upon arrival in Freetown, naval men may come ashore to report the arrival of an interdicted slave ship. However, the enslaved Africans were compelled to stay aboard⁸ “as property of the slave traders until the legality of the interception was determined.” (Anderson 2020:84: Figure 1.5). With permission of the Mixed Courts, only the sick, after the colonial surgeon assessed their health condition, were brought to the shore and landed prior to adjudication. Before 1819, the practice of the Vice-Admiralty Court was “to land the negroes the day after their arrival... but since the establishment of the Courts of Mixed Commission, they are not brought to the shore (unless sick) until adjudication, which generally causes a delay from 12 to 15 days, or more.” (CO 267/91 cited in Anderson 2020:83). The Mixed Commission had a mandate to adjudicate cases quickly, “preferably within twenty days of a ship arrival and certainly within two months” (Anderson 2020:82). While some cases could

⁷ About 15,230 of the 99,752 Africans liberated in Freetown did not resettle in Sierra Leone. Instead, they voluntarily migrated to Jamaica, British Guiana, and Trinidad in the West Indies to serve the labor and defense needs of other parts of the British Empire in the Atlantic World between 1841 and 1863. While most of those transported to the West Indies were new arrivals, some liberated Africans already settled in the Colony joined the voluntary out-migration (Anderson 2020:98, 125). Also, over three thousand liberated Africans experienced forced migration from Freetown, Sierra Leone, to the nascent British settlements along the Gambia River between 1818 and 1838. A large part of this migration happened between 1830 and 1835 and they largely settled at Bathurst or MacCarthy's Island. Due to diseases, physical abuse, hunger, and a high mortality rate, the British stopped the forced migration to The Gambia in 1839 (Anderson 2015:101-138; H. Lovejoy and Anderson 2020:9).

⁸ Some acted contrary to this order, enslaved Africans in ship *Activo* “made their way to the shore” and “chose to escape their British overseers while their case was being decided.” (FO 315/2 cited in Anderson 2020:83).

be adjudicated quickly, some cases could drag for several weeks due to reasons such as sickness of judges, delay in arrival of a judge, and/or legal reality associated with a ship's national flag and the place of embarkment (Anderson 2020:82).



Figure 1.5: Liberated Africans' arrivals on the Sierra Leone peninsula.
(Source: From Anderson, Richard Peter, *Abolition in Sierra Leone: Re-Building Lives and Identities in Nineteenth-Century West Africa*. Cambridge University Press, 2020: frontispiece)

1.5.2 The settlement of liberated Africans

After liberation by the anti-slavery courts, the Governor of Sierra Leone and the LAD had the responsibility to resettle the liberated Africans on the Sierra Leone peninsula to protect them from being resold into slavery (Hodgson 2015:152; Misevich 2015:197). Many of these liberated Africans lived in new villages nearby Freetown (Cole 2006:7; Fyfe 1962; Fyle 2004:369; Peterson 1969:86-87). They were assigned to start a new village or populate existing ones based on shipmate bonds to avoid separating relatives or friends rather than conscious efforts by the colonial government to settle people along ethnic lines because they might get along well (CO 267/92 cited in Anderson 2020:113-115). The 1827 Commission of Enquiry on Sierra Leone notes: “upon first arrival at the villages where they are to be located, the new negros, as far as it is practicable, are placed in the houses belonging to the oldest settlers of their own country or tribe, where they remain till they have erected houses for themselves. In this labour, they are usually assisted by their country people” (CO 267/91 quoted in Anderson 2020:119). A Building Society started in the villages to support people to build houses (Fyfe 1962:129-130).

The colonial government provided the new villagers with ‘daily rations of rice, salt, and palm oil, with fresh beef and vegetables for “those who greatly emaciated”’⁹ (CO 267/90: 27 quoted in Anderson 2020:112; also see Fyfe 1962:129-130, 138). Women were expected to marry but could also be forced into marriage, while men received one or two plots of Crown land and farming implements to cultivate crops on the land (Anderson 2020:112-113; Fyfe 1962:138). They practised slash-and-burn agriculture and cultivated crops, such as ginger, sweet potatoes, cassava, yams, and corn (Clarke 1863:339). The planted crops were mainly for subsistence but could have been sold to colonists who provided rations for the

⁹ After 1825, only the young and the elderly received government support (Anderson 2020:124).

newly arrived liberated Africans in the villages, which made the older settlers both producers of and contributors to necessities of daily life.

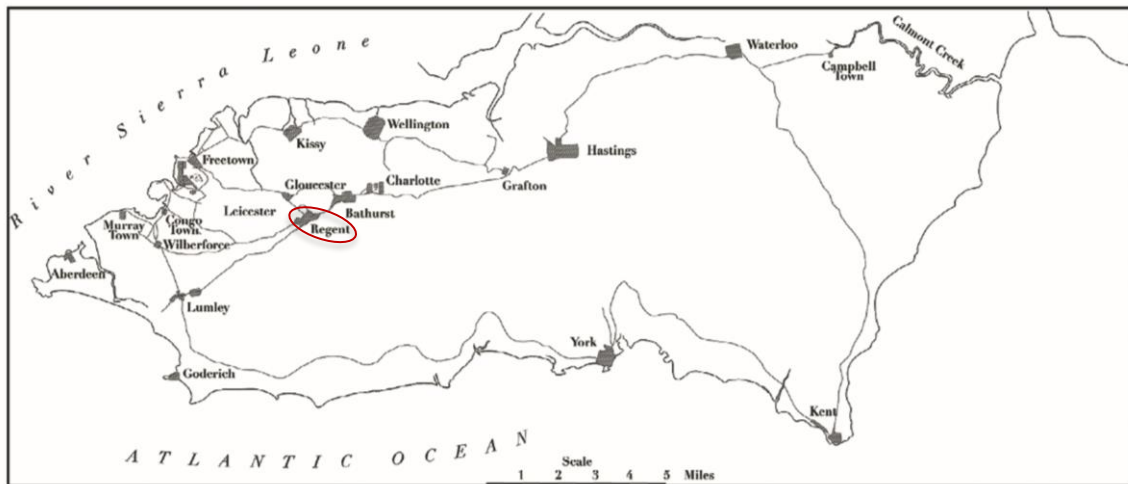


Figure 1.6: Map of the Sierra Leone peninsula c. 1853, showing the numerous Liberated African villages, including Regent, which can be seen in a red circle.
 (Source: A re-drawn map based on map in CO 267/234. From Anderson, Richard Peter, *Abolition in Sierra Leone: Re-Building Lives and Identities in Nineteenth-Century West Africa*. Cambridge University Press, 2020:100).

Governor (Sir) Charles MacCarthy adopted the parish system of local administration, which was approved by the CMS in 1816 (Fyfe 1962:128; Peterson 1969:80). The parish system divided the Sierra Leone peninsula into parishes focused on the major villages, with each parish placed under the control of a Superintendent from the CMS and on a few occasions under Superintendents from the Methodist Church (Fyfe 1962:160; Peterson 1969:96; Porter 1963:81; Scanlan 2016; Wyse 1989:3). The Superintendent served as a government manager, schoolteacher, and spiritual leader for the resettled liberated Africans. Each parish had a school, a church, and a house for the Superintendent. Governor MacCarthy made the villages reveal his vision by ordering clocks, bells, and weathercocks from England for church towers (Fyfe 1962:131; Scanlan 2013:344). However, it is important to note that a few parishes in outlying areas were settled by liberated Africans before they were officially designated liberated African settlements (Peterson 1969:108; Wyse 1989:3).

By April 1836, there were twenty-six villages in existence. The major villages included Aberdeen, Bathurst, Charlotte, Gloucester, Hastings, Kent, Kissy, Leicester, Regent, Waterloo, Wellington, Wilberforce, and York (Peterson 1969:159; Figures 1.6). Although these liberated African villages are relatively small in size, their connection with the wider Atlantic World gives them huge significance (Scanlan 2016:1090-1091). The Village of Regent is the focus of this research.

1.6 The Establishment of Regent Village¹⁰

The Village of Regent lies in the northern part of the Sierra Leone peninsula. It is about eight miles from Freetown and connects to the capital and other neighboring villages by roads built in the 1820s (Johnson 1984:4; Okrafo-Smart 2007:12; Scanlan 2016:1105). The village emerged following several liberated African resettlements. The Krios—as the descendants of the liberated Africans came to be known—also lived in this village but eventually rented out some of their houses to local Africans in the neighborhood, such as the Temne and Loko, at the end of the nineteenth and throughout the twentieth centuries.

1.6.1 Early liberated African Arrivals in the Village

The earliest settlement in the vicinity was in 1809 when Governor Thomas Perronet Thompson sent some Africans, newly freed from captured slave ships, to settle at the ‘Hogbrook’ (Fyfe 2007:21; Johnson 1984:4). The settlement was originally called ‘Hogbrook’ because of the “large number of warhogs or pigs that used to travel down the hills to feed and wallow in the lowland, particularly the stream” (Scanlan 2017:91). In 1812,

¹⁰ Victor Okrafo-Smart’s (2007) book is a compilation of the history of a liberated African family from Regent, which provides certain information on the village settlement. The short contribution about the early colonial history of Regent Village by Christopher Fyfe in this family life history book has been particularly useful for this study. Reverend W.A.B. Johnson was the Superintendent of Regent till 1824. *A Memoir of Rev. W.A.B. Johnson*, which contains his journals and reports on Regent, published in 1852, provided more information on the lives of the liberated Africans resettled in this village (Seeley 1853). Okrafo-Smart and Reverend Johnson’s work, coupled with primary archival research and other secondary sources, form the foundation of the historical narrative presented here.

Governor Thompson renamed Hogbrook ‘Kingston-in-Africa’ after his hometown, ‘Kingston-upon-Hull’ in England. However, even with its positive establishment, Kingston-in-Africa lasted only briefly (Anderson 2020:108; Fyfe 1962:107; 2007:21; Scanlan 2016:1096). ‘Kingston-in-Africa,’ Anderson (2020:108) notes, was almost nowhere to be found in documentary records after 1809.

The settlers of what was to become Regent were captured off the Cape Mesurado (on the coast of modern Liberia), freed by the Vice-Admiralty in Freetown, and resettled by the Hog Brook in July 1813 (Fyfe 2007:22). The crew of HMS *Thias* and colonial schooner *Princess Charlotte* captured these Africans from the slaving-trading outposts of Charles Mason and Robert Bobstock on the St. Paul River as prisoners of the burned-out barracoons in late June 1813 (Christopher 2018:91-94; Anderson 2020:108-109). The naval crew relocated 233 captured Africans to Freetown, but only 108 were to repopulate the Hog Brook, with the others forced into the army or navy after adjudication (CO 267/38 cited in Anderson 2020:108-109). David Noah, who later served as CMS schoolmaster, was one of the captured Africans sent to Regent in 1813 (Anderson 2020:109). Within a year, other liberated Africans joined them, with the population growing to 500. David Noah noted that they “were [at] Regent then called Hog Brook ... [for] a whole year without a white man ... before Mr. Macaulay and one Capt. William” (CMS/CA1/O165/3 quoted in Anderson 2020:109) joined them after the village was officially recognized and renamed Regent. Governor Charles MacCarthy, who succeeded Governor Thompson, changed the name of the settlement to ‘Regent’s Town’ five years later in honor of “George, Prince of Wales, who was at that time acting as Prince Regent for his father George III” (Fyfe 2007:22; also see Fyfe 1962:128; cf. Harding 2018:233, 2022:300).

Archival records and secondary sources report the numbers and health conditions of the newly landed liberated Africans in the King’s Yard in Freetown once the adjudication

was over and how they moved to the villages established around Freetown.¹¹ After children were apprenticed to prospective masters in Freetown, the superintendents in the villages came to collect the remaining liberated Africans, or they sent reliable villagers to bring them to the villages. As Fyfe (1962:138) reports, “Johnson had to send a large group down from Regent to prevent soldiers carrying off the women on the way” (Fyfe 1962:138). Upon arrival in the villages, the superintendents give them clothes in the King’s Yard (Fyfe 1962:138). The pedestrian survey data indicate a ‘King’s Yard’ existed in some villages, including Regent. The King’s Yard in the villages is where the liberated Africans, upon arrival, were maintained by the LAD until they had a place to settle. In Regent, St. Charles Church and the present primary school are on the site of the old King’s Yard (Figure 1.7).

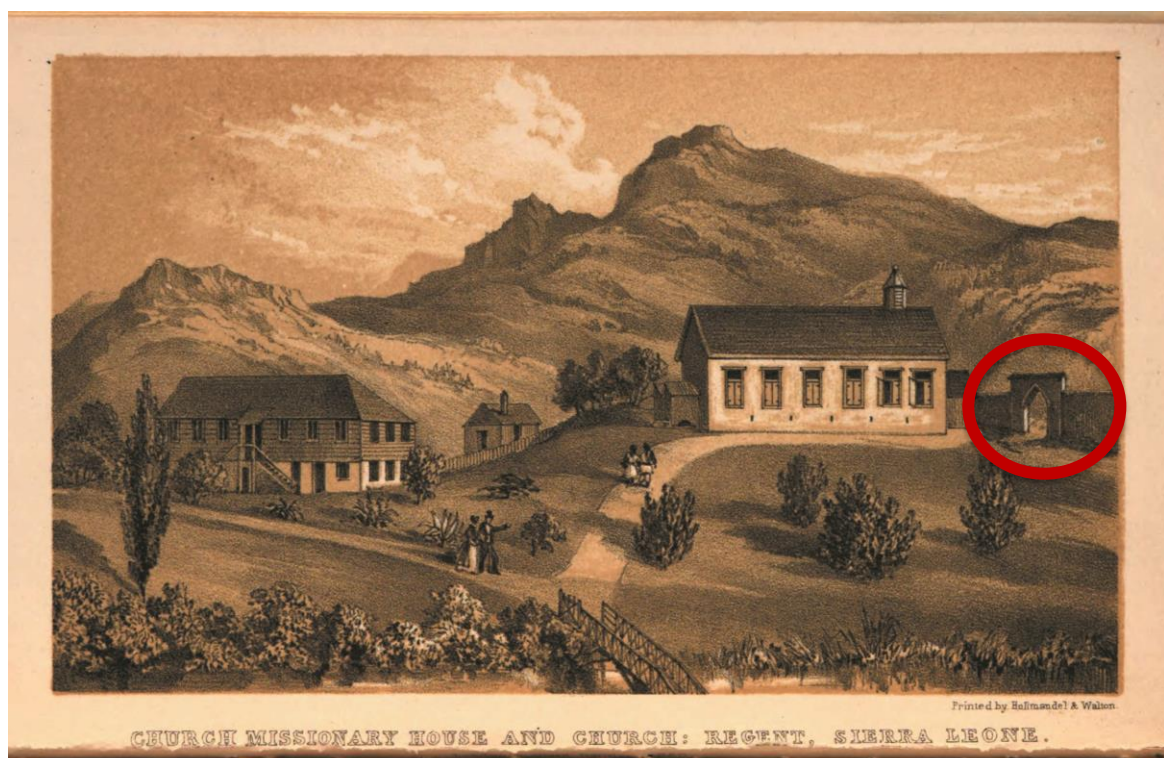


Figure 1.7: A view of the King’s Yard at Regent Village, showing St. Charles Church and a wall built around the settlement. The wall and its entrance are indicated in the red circle. (Source: From Thomas Eyre Poole, *Life, Scenery and Customs in Sierra Leone and the Gambia*, 2 vols. London, 1850, 2: frontispiece. Digitized by Google. Original from Harvard University)

¹¹ Regarding the King’s Yard in Freetown, Anderson (2020:87) notes, “At times, the 150-by-103-foot yard would hold as many as 900 recaptives under cramped conditions.” ... “On February 3, 1836, the [LAD] received in a single day 762 Africans landed from three Spanish vessels.”

Governor MacCarthy had a utopian view of turning the liberated African villages that had been founded into well-organized villages with streets orderly laid out around parish churches, where liberated Africans would be ministered to and converted to Christianity. He reported the construction of a stone church at Regent Village in Sierra Leone built by locals but supervised by a European army sergeant (Fyfe 1962:129; 2007:22). This church was named St. Charles, in honor of MacCarthy and aptly described as the “Canterbury of West Africa” (Johnson 1984:6) because it is the first stone church in West Africa (Fyfe 1979:41: Figure 1.8a & 1.8b). There was also the construction of a stone vicarage, a schoolhouse, and a stone-pillared market house at Regent (Fyfe 1962:182; 2007:24).¹²

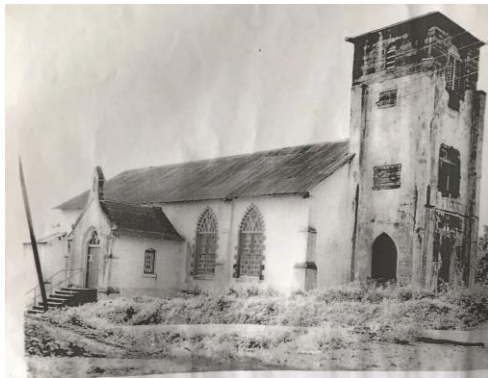


Figure 1.8a: St. Charles Parish at Regent Village before renovation. (Source: Africana Collections, Sierra Leone Library Board)



Figure 1.8b: St. Charles Parish at Regent Village before renovation. (Source: Special Collections, Yale Divinity School Library)

The villagers at Regent consisted of a white missionary Superintendent and elite groups of African converts who “acted as magistrates, chiefs of police, clerks and tax collectors” (Scanlan 2013:302-303). In addition, some liberated Africans received technical education or training and became masons, bricklayers, carpenters, shingle-makers, sawyers, smiths, tailors, and brickmakers (CO 267/109:50-68; Fyfe 1979:41; Peterson 1969:108). A few practiced subsistence farming, while others often traveled to Freetown to work there, with “some returning home every evening [or] ... only once a week” (Fyfe 2007:25).

¹² Governor MacCarthy owned a house at Regent Village (Fyfe 1962:182).

By 1816, more liberated Africans arrived at Regent, increasing the population to 1100. A Welsh Methodist, Thomas Hirst was the first European Superintendent, followed by William Augustine Johnson, a German missionary, in 1816 (Fyfe 2007:23; Seeley 1853:26-52). Reverend W.A.B. Johnson's dedication to missionary work and charismatic power made him a favorite leader in the village. He used these qualities to attract many villagers to church and began building a Christian community (Fyfe 1962:129; Scanlan 2016). He had a remarkable influence over the villagers, including his role in selecting some liberated Africans as communicants and churchwardens (Fyfe 1962:129). His journal describes churchgoing in the village as an integral part of the new life of the liberated Africans (Fyfe 1962:265; Seeley 1853). Sharing Governor MacCarthy's dream, Reverend W.A.B. Johnson made religion and education a central part of village life (Figure 1.9). The CMS transferred the Christian Institution at Leicester to Regent in 1820 (Fyfe 1962:131).

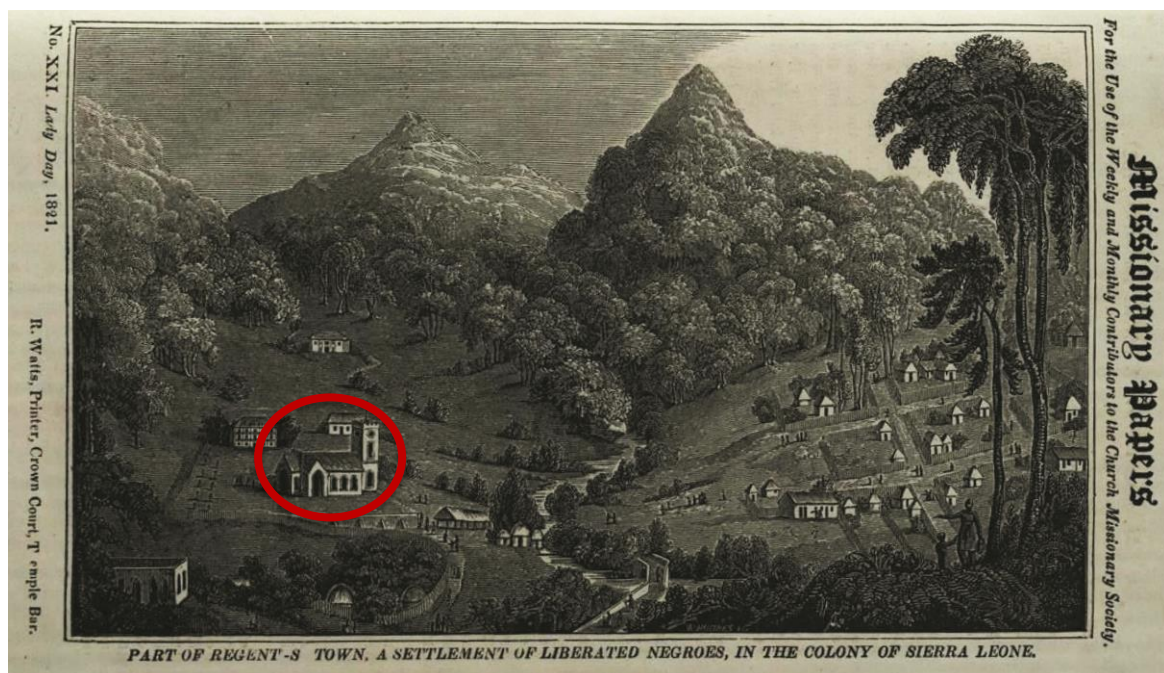


Figure 1.9: Regent's Town, circa 1821. St. Charles Church is shown in a red circle.
(Source: https://liberatedafricans.org/image_gallery.php)

Between 1821 and 1828, 1493 liberated Africans arrived in Regent Village, with 836 of them taken from five ships¹³ (Anderson 2020:92-93). In 1821, the Cuban enslaver *Anna Maria* purchased enslaved Africans from Bonny, located in the Bight of Biafra, intending to take them to Havana. However, the crew of HMS *Tartar* interdicted the vessel at anchor off Bonny. There were 500 enslaved Africans on board, found in suffocating conditions below decks. George Collier, the commodore of the squadron, took 112 Africans in the *Ann Maria* and placed them in HMS *Tartar*. It took forty-nine days to redirect the ships to Freetown. Three hundred and ninety-one Africans survived the Middle Passage and gained freedom in Freetown, while 238 became Regentonians. Reverend W.A.B. Johnson recorded that “nearly 50 died before the first rains” (CMS/CA1/O126 cited in Anderson 2020:88). Historical records also reveal that more enslaved Africans purchased at the port Bonny lived in Regent (CMS/CA1/O87/22). Hence, the majority of the liberated Africans at Regent were ‘Igbo’ and ‘Calabar’ people (Anderson 2020:96-98; Fyfe 1962:129; 2007:24). It is, therefore, likely that the liberated Africans from the *Anna Maria* came across many other ‘Igbo’ and ‘Calabar’ people liberated from slave vessels from the Bight of Biafra at Regent Village¹⁴ (Anderson 2020:97).

In 1822, the population of the village was 1551 (The Royal Gazette 1822:126). There were five Europeans, five West Indians and Americans, 17 Indigenes or Natives, and the remaining were liberated Africans and their descendants. There were no disbanded soldiers in the village (The Royal Gazette 1822:126; CO 267/111). In 1823, the population of the village was about 2000 (Harding 2018:233; Peterson 1969:113). By 1825, 1079 of the 2000 residents

¹³ Recent scholarship has shown that the LAD often assigns a shipload of Africans to a specific village, while it is also not uncommon to see liberated Africans drawn from the same vessel scattered across the Colony (Anderson 2020:30-65; Misevich 2008:155-175, 2009, 2016:249; Nwokeji and Eltis 2002:368). Since the villages’ population rarely exceeds a few thousand, Anderson (2020:92-93) illustrates how liberated Africans in a particular village may consist of Africans taken from a small number of vessels.

¹⁴ Lesser number of liberated Africans taken off slave vessels that embarked from the Bight of Benin lived in Regent Village (Anderson 2020:117).

in Regent were receiving religious instruction; “about 150 of that number were communicant members of the church while 710 Regentonians could read and write” (Alie 1990:69). In addition to the CMS effort, the Methodists were also interested in converting Regentonians to Christianity. Mr. Dove, a British Methodist, formerly at Hastings Village, built a church at Chapel Street at Regent Village (Fyfe 2007:27). The church takes its name from Mr. Dove, thus becoming “Dove Memorial Church” (Johnson 1984:6). Church-going gradually declined once Reverend W.A.B Johnson and Governor MacCarthy died around the mid-1820s (Fyfe 1962:153; 1960:105-106; Scanlan 2013:305). The Christian Institution moved from Regent to Fourah Bay in 1827. The FBC campus is the first modern university in West Africa (Fyfe 1962:138; 1962, Johnson 1984:6; Posnansky 1999:36).

In 1829, John Weeks, an English school teacher, became the CMS agent in charge of Regent Village. Weeks stayed in Sierra Leone for twenty years and spent most of his time at Regent, where he served before returning to an impromptu parish in London (Fyfe 1962:213; 2007:26). Ajayi, a young liberated African of Yorùbá origin, served as assistant to Weeks at Regent until the 1830s. He took the name Samuel Crowther and lived in the schoolhouse with his wife, a son, and four liberated Africans he was training (CO 267/111; Ogundiran 2020:391). Crowther also shared the schoolhouse with another teacher named Edward Bickersteth (Fyfe 2007:22, 26).

The 1831 census of the Sierra Leone Colony showed 1766 people living in Regent. There were 1029 men and 737 women. Only three CMS staff men owned stone houses (CO 267/111). Peter Hughes, a liberated African who became one of St. Charles Church communicants and wardens in the early history of the village, was one of the three men (Fyfe 2007:40-41). Fifteen owned wooden frame houses, while the rest had thatched houses (Fyfe 1962:169). These houses were “built in the Country fashion – some being circular, others oblong, some of them square... wattled, mudded, & covered over with grass roofs” (Scanlan

2013:346). The village landscape also includes streets laid out in intersecting parallel lines on a grid and town lots given to the villagers to settle (Fyfe 2007:24: Figure 1.9). “David Noah ... acted as village surveyor by measuring out and distributing house lots” (Scanlan 2017:190) to the liberated Africans resettled at Regent Village. Each liberated African, possibly men recorded as heads of households, received one or two acres of land on the hillsides or valleys (Anderson 2020:106).

The liberated Africans and their descendants were to play major roles in British missionization and colonization in West Africa. The CMS Niger Mission led to the emigration of some liberated Africans and their descendants to the Niger Territories to propagate the gospel to the interior, which began in 1839 (Dixon-Fyle 2006; Wyse 1992:19, 109). It allowed Samuel Ajayi Crowther, an Aku clergyman ordained in 1843, to return to the Niger Territory, where he had been originally sold into slavery, to propagate the gospel. He became the first African Bishop of the Church of England (Ajayi 1997; Dixon-Fyle 2006; Fyfe 1962:227; K.L. Little 1950:315; Ogundiran 2020:391-392). In addition to Bishop Crowther, John Smart, the headman of Regent Village in 1853, supported by three other Regent men (Thomas John, Alexander Day, and Reverend Simeon Smart) and his son Reverend Frederick Weeks Smart, served in the Niger Mission (Fyfe 1962:289; 2007:26, 28). Those from within the vicinity of Sierra Leone also returned to their homes. Anderson (2020:105) opined that they might have been “brought to the Colony on the same vessel, and may have decided to make the trek back together.”

After MacCarthy died in the Ashantee War at the Gold Coast, recruiting enough missionaries to staff all the liberated African villages was becoming a challenge. The CMS asked to be relieved from superintending the villages (Anderson 2020:124). Afterward, the CMS relinquished the administration of the village parishes in 1861, allowing a Native Pastorate to assume responsibility. Reverend George Crowley Nicol, a ‘Krio’ born in Regent

in 1823 and educated in England by the CMS, became the first pastor of Regent (Harding 2018:251; Fyfe 2007:27-28). He married Susan Crowther, one of Bishop Samuel Ajayi Crowther's daughters (Fyfe 2007:28).

To replace the administrative role of the CMS agents, the colonial government sent managers to the villages (Anderson 2020:124; Fyfe 2007:26-27; Peterson 1969). However, many scholars note that the superintendents and managers did not manage the villages in practice. Rather, the Headmen or 'kings' elected by each ethnic group as a representative harmonized relationships among the different ethnic groups living together in a village (e.g., Anderson 2020; Clarke 1863:328; Fyfe 1962:172; Peterson 1969; Scanlan 2016). These institutions of governance "grew in importance when the CMS gave up their secular duties in overseeing the villages" (Anderson 2020:182). The colonial government did not sanction the role of the Headmen, but they "saw the indispensable role Headmen played in mobilizing and governing segments of the village" (Anderson 2020:182). The inhabitants at Regent and other villages formed "companies" or institutions of government, "usually consisting of those from the same homeland ([e.g.], Yoruba, Igbo, Congo) or occupational, like the hunters, in which the elected office-bearers kept the peace among the members" (Fyfe 2007:27; see a similar view in Johnson 1984:12 and Anderson 2020:167-191). The "Seventeen Nations" represented them all, often resolving conflicts or *palavers* between more than one ethnic group (Anderson 2020:187-190, 194, 262). These institutions of government made Regent and other villages peaceful and organized (Peterson 1969). With this in mind, "a manager had so little to do in the mountain villages (which included Regent) ..., as the villagers were able to preserve law and order themselves" (Fyfe 2007:27), through the leadership of Headmen. Due to its ineffectiveness, the post of the manager was canceled in 1855 (Fyfe 1962:293; 2007:26-27). Like other villages, Regent Village represents an early attempt by villagers to "carve out ... their own province of freedom" (Peterson 1969:108).

1.6.2 The Krios and Tenancy in the Village

At the end of the nineteenth century, the Krios had less autonomy regarding leadership and freedom due to the partitioning of Sierra Leone and other parts of West Africa (Hargreaves 2006:287-297). The European scramble for African territory at the Berlin Conference (1884-1885) produced a fully-fledged colonialism that led to the British declaration of the Sierra Leone Protectorate in 1896 and excluded the voices of local authorities and their people in the partitioning of their territory. This formal colonization drastically reduced the autonomy of local rulers in the Colony and Protectorate, including Headmen of Regent, as a new kind of governance system emerged in the claimed territories (Fyfe 1962:253, 261, 1979; Wyse 1989). The Krios remained politically marginalized and excluded from official employment or government activities (Thayer 1991:217-218). The lack of opportunities increased migration at Regent and neighboring villages. The migration of the Krios to Freetown in search of quality education and better economic opportunities also affected Regent's growth as the population of the village dwindled toward the end of the nineteenth century (Wyse 1989).

In the last decade of the nineteenth century, the population of Regent had fallen to less than one thousand (Fyfe 2007:30). The 1891 census showed that there were 729 persons living in 149 frame houses and 30 wattle or mud houses (Census 1891:18). There were no stone houses reported. In 1901, the population of Regent was 692, which further decreased to 505 within a decade (Census 1911:37). The number of houses also decreased to 121 frame houses and 15 wattle or mud houses, but a stone house was erected (Census 1911:37; Census 1921:38). However, Regent was never a "deserted village," as the Temne and Loko occupied the village as tenants engaged in yard gardening and producing a range of vegetables for livelihood and local markets (Fyfe 2007:30; Johnson 1984:11, 14). These tenants lived in harmony with the Krios. As Fyfe (2007:30) notes, "When the centenary celebrations were

held in 1913, though its more flourishing days were long past, the village people could still pride themselves on maintaining a peaceful, law-abiding community in the beautiful setting of the wooded mountains.” Following the centenary celebration, there was a further decrease in the village’s population and the number of houses inhabited. The population decreased to 417 persons, who lived in 4 stone houses, 104 frame houses, and 13 wattle or mud houses (Census 1921:38). Three more stone houses were erected (Census 1931:75; 1921:38). It is unclear whether the decrease in the population was a result of public health issues in Freetown and its environs or migration along the coast. Fyfe (1962:602) acknowledges the low life expectancy among the prominent liberated Africans, particularly, men due to enslavement but notes that the censuses taken every decade after 1871 were defective.

Within a decade, the Regent and housing population began to increase. The village’s population rose to 531 persons living in 121 houses (Census 1931:75). However, the number of temporary architectures, such as wattle or mud houses, decreased. There were only two wattle or mud houses left in the village (Census 1931:75). It is most probable that the wattle or mud houses had completely disappeared from the village landscape by the mid-twentieth century. Nevertheless, the village’s population continue to increase due to rising tenancy toward the end of the twentieth century. In the 1980s, the village had a population of about 1800 inhabitants, consisting of different ethnic groups, including the Krios (Johnson 1984:11-14). The 2015 Population and Housing Census placed the population in the Mountain District, which includes Regent Village, at 30488 (Census 2015:44-45), while the provisional results of the 2021 Mid-term Population show a further increase in the population, rising to 51889 (MTPHC 2022). The final results of the 2021 Mid-Term Population Census are underway. The increase in population over the years has considerably impacted the village settlement pattern and the preservation of colonial-period house structures.

1.6.3 Regent Today

Johnson (1984:13-14) notes that one of the significant changes that have taken place over the past fifty years is the drop in agricultural productivity in the village. This decline results from a reduced number of people involved in farming activities. Today, most small-scale gardening is in separate house-yard areas, solely for subsistence. Hence, it is difficult to determine how agricultural practices in the colonial period and/or the more recent times impacted archaeological sites. Also, the construction of modern buildings is now changing the face of the village. Despite these changes, some place names within the village reflect past events or activities. For example, the current bus terminus was the market area, which explains why Wilberforce Road and the surrounding areas are called “Up-Market.” “Bato” (a grassland area with some shrubs) at the western end of the village and “Odo-Pa” (a river in the village) were named after influential men in the community. The “Farrah” and “John Ogoo” streams were also named after Pa Farrah and John Ogoo, respectively, who were also wealthy and powerful men (Fyfe 1962:150).

Today, Regent Village consists of many colonial-period house structures, including two churches, several frame and stone houses, and other early structures built in the nineteenth century. One of the village’s earliest structures is St. Charles Church, the first stone church in West Africa. Associated with the stone church is the vicarage, which Reverend W.A.B. Johnson and other CMS agents would have occupied. The next structure is the village’s primary school, which is adjacent to the remains of the camp walls, where the first settlers stayed. All of these places are located within the King’s Yard (Johnson 1984:5). The second location of interest is the Dove Memorial Church, which is still standing along Chapel Street. The third area of interest is the ‘Hogbrook’ (swamp area)—which may contain remains of the earliest occupation of the village settlement that did not survive in the early nineteenth century. Finally, the “Katanga Square” is located along Jeremiah Street. These

important colonial-period signatures are still visible in the village and feature prominently in this study.

The Village Area Committee or Council of Elders, consisting of 16 members, handles the village's administrative activities (Johnson 1984:12). The head of the Council of Elders is the Headman or Headwoman. The Headman or Headwoman is often involved in settling disputes or *palavers*, which occasionally occur today.¹⁵ The fieldwork presented in this dissertation was approved and supported by the Regent Village Council of Elders, including Reverend (Mrs.) Elenorah Jokomie Metzger, the current Headwoman.

1.7 Research Area: Why Regent Village?

Regent provides an ideal case study through which we can understand how the diverse liberated Africans acculturated to this new environmental setting because Superintendent W.A.B. Johnson and David Noah generated abundant documentation of the village system. Citing Johnson's Mission Book, Scanlan writes, "David Noah taught school, issued rations, kept the inventory of provisions and the registers of villagers, acted as village surveyor by measuring out and distributing house lots, entered marriages, and baptism into the parish records, and more. In short, he is everything at Regent's Town!" (2017:196). While Johnson's assertion on the detailed records produced by David Noah makes it seem much is known about the liberated Africans of Regent, ironically, in many respects, we know little. Historical records provide limited insight into the day-to-day life of the village inhabitants, including their economic activities (Scanlan 2017:190; Voss 2007). In contrast, archaeology is well suited to studying the colonial experience and daily life of these liberated Africans and their descendants. The material traces they left behind provide details in the 'small things

¹⁵ Regent Village is the headquarters of the Mountain District Rural Area Council.

forgotten' that aid in our interpretations of their daily lives and the wider social and economic landscapes of which they were part (Pezzarossi and Kennedy 2019:657).

The archaeological study of Regent Village also provides an appropriate context for a comparative study of household economic differentiation because the period in which the liberated African villages were founded and inhabited coincides with a marked increase in nineteenth-century industrialization and global exchange networks with colonial peripheries. Regent is also an ideal case study because it is the oldest, largest, and most famous village in the Mountain District (Scanlan 2016). It served as the administrative headquarters of the liberated African villages during the colonial period and is often referred to in historical records as "the most 'civilized' and successful village" due to Superintendent W. A. B. Johnson's missionary efforts (Keefer 2015:99; Scanlan 2016:1090). The size and status of this village, the nature of preservation of colonial-period houses, and the richness of historical documentation about this village also influenced my decision to select Regent as a field site. More importantly, the importance of selected areas of the village to my research questions, the ability to obtain permission to carry out excavations in the selected areas from landowners, and the additional support received from locals, especially the stakeholders of the village, led me to focus on Regent as my field site.

1.8 Research Questions and Source Materials

1.8.1 Research Questions

This study is guided by several questions related to the living conditions of the descendants of the liberated Africans and Indigenous groups of the Sierra Leone peninsula and, to a lesser extent, the liberated Africans at Regent Village. These questions focus on how they responded to the colonial landscape and new economic trends initiated by the colonial encounter in a foreign diasporic African setting. At the heart of this research is the broad

question: how did these diverse freed Africans and their descendants get on with their lives in the new environmental, social, cultural, and economic setting where they found themselves? Embedded in this larger question are the following specific questions: what can the varied house construction reveal about social formations that are elided in the colonial archive and the archives of the new nation-state? How did these people create a sense of self and community in a colonial context that is already multi-local? What can the archival records and material assemblage tell us about their economic activities and statuses? Are there differences in the household's participation in local, regional, intercontinental, and missionary-supported trade networks?

1.8.2 Source Materials

To answer these questions, I employ a multifaceted investigative approach that combines several different lines of inquiry, multi-scalar shifts, and comparative perspectives to study the colonial period. The multiple lines of inquiry include written and archaeological sources, while multi-scalar shifts involve moving back and forth between households, village, regional, and global levels. The comparative perspective in this context involves assessing material use patterns across identified colonial-period households within the village. The rationale behind the application of this multifaceted investigative approach is to remedy the gaps in the written record and allow movement between questions at local, regional, and global scales. In addition, this approach allows the collection of qualitative and quantitative data that will help us answer questions of differences in household participation in trade networks and the impacts of trade or exchange on household life, socio-economic activities, and material use.

The sources of information that now exist for understanding the colonial history of Regent Village are archival records and archaeological data. First, I rely on primary sources such as archival records housed in the SLPA at the FBC campus, FBC Library in the

University of Sierra Leone; the OARG in Freetown; St. Charles Church Parish; the Probate section of the Sierra Leone Supreme Court; Surveys and Lands section of the MLHCP in Freetown to assess information on the village history, settlement pattern, and land-tenure development over time. These archival records include censuses, registers of liberated Africans, the annual Blue Book of Statistics, land conveyances, topographic maps, old photographs of the village, Governor dispatches, tax records, wills, death records, newspapers, and police reports. I also draw on the content of an abridged version of Reverend W.A.B. Johnson's diaries and journals at Regent Village.

I surveyed digital copies of the Registers of Liberated Africans, consisting of a list of Africans liberated from slave ships by the British Royal Navy between 1808 – 1845, which are available for public view through Project EAP443-1-17: Nineteenth-century documents of the Sierra Leone Public Archives in the British Library (available at, <https://eap.bl.uk/collection/EAP443-1-17>). Additional records consisting of an image gallery (prints and photographs) of people, events, and landscapes in Freetown and its environs from the late eighteenth to early twentieth centuries are also available for public viewing at the Liberated Africans Project website (available at: <https://liberatedafricans.org/public/index.php>). Finally, I also benefited from the Freedom Narratives (<https://www.freedomnarratives.org/>), an open-source relational database that reveals biographical profiles of West African people during the era of the trans-Atlantic slave trade (see P. Lovejoy et al. 2022).

These digital archives provide a substantial description, images, and layout of some liberated African villages on the Sierra Leone peninsula. Many illustrations reused in this dissertation are obtained from these digital archives and museums with open-access content in the public domain. These illustrations are free under the “fair use” doctrines of copyright laws. However, I made a concerted effort to obtain permission or clearances required for

copyrighted materials, allowing both the reproduction and modification of illustrations that feature throughout the chapters. Permissions or clearances were obtained from the following agencies: the National Museum of the Royal Navy; the National Maritime Museum; the Yale Divinity Library Special Collections, Divinity School, Day Missions Library; the Otterbein University Library Archives; The University of Miami Library Cuban Heritage Collection; African Diaspora Maps; GetArchives, LLC.; and The Sierra Leone Web.

Secondary sources of information for the village accessed during this research include the books written by locals and foreign historians, including Krios such as Okrafo-Smart and Charles Harding, who dedicated a great deal of their time to reconstructing the history of their lineages. Recent publications by Africanist historians (e.g., Ajayi 1961a; Ajayi and Crowder 1971, 1974; Anderson 2015, 2020; Anderson and H. Lovejoy 2020; Fyfe 1962, 1979, Keefer 2015, 2018; P. Lovejoy and Schwarz 2015; Peterson 1969; Porter 1963; Scanlan 2013, 2017; Wyse 1989) on the history of the British slave trade, abolition, and the transition to colonialism in coastal Sierra Leone has provided key historical insight into this period and, specifically, the liberated Africans. Major publications on African Americans in West Africa (e.g., Blyden 1998, 2000, 2019) also reveal the global pathways that collide and entangle Regent Village and its environs.

Second, I draw on geospatial and archaeological data to assess each household in the dataset. I begin with a detailed analysis of geospatial data and surface materials obtained through pedestrian surveys. Afterward, I combine the results with land conveyance records to broadly evaluate the experiences of liberated Africans, their descendants, and the Indigenous groups in this village. I also offer detailed case studies of two house lots located at Fitzjames Street to explain the everyday life of the house inhabitants. The material remains obtained through horizontal excavations at these two house loci are examined using a modified version of South's (1977) functional analysis to discuss socio-economic strategies and to illustrate

differences in household participation in trade relations and variations in material use. By tracing the residues of household practices, this project provides an important space to examine social formations and changing spaces through the archaeological record. Finally, I connect the individual household and village-level analysis to the broader regional political economy. To fully delineate economic and material use in the Colony and its wider region, I discuss the role of the Industrial Revolution and the global political economy in the nineteenth century, relying on the comparative literature that informs them and the theoretical approaches this dissertation take.

Overall, I relied on suggestions from key stakeholders (the descendants of the liberated Africans) in the village to determine the section of the village to excavate since the archives were closed indefinitely due to the COVID-19 outbreak. This circumstance allowed the Village leadership to suggest locations suitable for excavations and how I could secure permits from landowners. While the village leadership did not alter my research questions, they had a say on where to excavate in the village and when to conduct the excavations. They made every effort to secure letters of permission from individual landowners. However, the Village leadership neither determined what type of evidence to collect in the field nor whether excavation should occur. After completing the research project, the MRC decided how to hand out the artifacts to the National Museum.

1.9 Organization of the Dissertation

This chapter has presented a brief overview of the socio-political and economic history of Sierra Leone, covering the pre-Atlantic and early Atlantic periods. It then outlines the themes of slavery and anti-slavery, discussing the resettlement of liberated Africans in Sierra Leone. The chapter also highlights how British anti-slavery policies were used to initiate intercontinental and missionary-supported trade networks, justify colonialism, and further imperial ambitions. Afterward, I provide a history of Regent Village from its initial

settlement in the early nineteenth century through its development as a colonial and postcolonial settlement. Finally, the chapter concludes with the introduction of my research questions and methods used in the study.

Chapter 2 offers a nuanced analysis of the theoretical framework employed in this research and identifies the key variables that are the subject of study. Scholars have offered several theoretical frameworks to explore and explain the messy processes and workings of colonialism in varied contexts. However, for some reasons that Chapter 2 will discuss more fully, most of these are inadequate in the Sierra Leone context. I resolve the dilemma by relying on the notion of entanglements, which serves as a metaphor and analytical concept used in conjunction with cross-cultural exchange and identity formation. Chapter 3 contains the Regent Village cultural landscape reconstruction through archival research and archaeological surveys. It describes the various architecture that dots the cultural landscape and explains how the liberated Africans and their descendants move across and use a landscape created by colonial utopian ideals. Relying on data from the pedestrian survey across 16 streets in the village, this chapter offers an empirical illustration of the changes in land ownership and arrangements during the colonial period.

After describing the village settlement patterns, Chapter 4 delineates the history and use of domestic spaces at the selected two house lots on Fitzjames Street. It covers the excavation methods, the size of the excavation units, locations, stratigraphy, house features present, and recovered artifacts. Chapters 5 and 6 systematically analyze the material assemblages recovered during the pedestrian survey and excavations to discuss the architecture and activity areas represented at each house locus. These two chapters present a thorough analysis of each material's use, reuse, or recontextualization, emphasizing the context of artifacts and associations. The spatial information and the date ranges of trade materials helped interpret site function and the site chronology.

Chapter 7 synthesizes the data sets obtained from the archival and archaeological records and connects them with the historical background of the village, including the two excavated house lots, to offer some interpretations of spatial organizations and socio-economic activities. The analysis of various artifact classes allows for identifying what forms of trade were responsible for their presence in this village. Both locally-made materials and foreign imports reveal the effects of local, regional, and global trade networks on household economies. The chapter also presents similar and divergent patterns from the material assemblages recovered from the two case studies. Chapter 8 concludes the dissertation by reviewing key themes and interpretations, including topics on architecture, trade, and specialized craft production in the village. It also briefly discusses practicing archaeology in Regent Village and the role of Sierra Leone's cultural institutions throughout the study. The implications of this collaborative effort and what this current project and future research directions mean to Krios in Sierra Leone and abroad are discussed.

CHAPTER 2

COLONIAL ENTANGLEMENTS, TRADE AND EXCHANGE, AND IDENTITY IN COASTAL SIERRA LEONE

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I present the theoretical frameworks to be employed in this historical, archaeological investigation of early British colonialism, imperial policies, and trade networks and their impacts on household socio-economic organization at Regent Village on the Sierra Leone peninsula during the nineteenth century. I situate this research at the intersection of the literature on entanglement, cross-cultural exchange, and identity formation in a colonial context. My perspective and analysis of the concept of colonial entanglements are influenced by Nicholas Thomas's (1991) classic book *Entangled Objects*. I also draw theoretical reference points from Michael Deitler (2010, 2018), Ann Stahl (2001a, 2002, 2007), Andrew Martindale (2009, 2019), and other sources (e.g., Alexander 1998; DeCorse 2019b; Jordan 2009, 2014; Silliman 2015, 2016; Stockhammer 2012, 2013).

The concept of entanglement plays the central analytical role in this research by providing the metaphoric and practical links between the diverse themes and topics that are explored. Entanglement acts as a bridging concept, in which the discussion on cross-cultural exchange, identity, and colonialism come together. I explain what colonial entanglements mean, why I choose to apply this analytical concept to the Sierra Leone context, and how it will be used to investigate cross-cultural interaction in the nascent British colony of Sierra Leone through the purview of exchange of local and imported commodities. In the next section, I then consider whether entanglement is a method, model, or metaphor through an examination of a range of case studies on cross-cultural interaction between Europeans and Indigenous peoples around the world. I also highlight some strengths and weaknesses of the entanglement concept in archaeologies of colonialism, and introduce the concepts of

exchange and identity formation to provide a more nuanced perspective of the processes involved. The final section of this chapter examines the utility and appropriateness of these concepts in understanding the changes and contingencies inherent to colonial material culture practices in coastal Sierra Leone.

2.2 Archaeologies of Colonialism

The archaeology of “culture contact” and colonialism has emerged as an important focus in studies of the early modern world and beyond (Comaroff and Comaroff 1991; Cooper and Stoler eds.1997; Cusick ed. 1998; DeCorse 1998, ed. 2019a; Delle et al. eds. 2000; Dietler 2010; Gould et al. 2020; Funari and Senatore eds. 2015; Hall 2000; Hall and Silliman eds. 2006; Liebmann and Rizvi eds. 2008; McGuire and Paynter eds. 1991; Mintz 2010; Mrozowski 2006, 2014; Mrozowski et al. 1996; Orser 1996; Pezzarossi ed. 2019a).

Archaeologists studying Europe’s intersections with the non-Western world have utilized varied analytical concepts such as “assemblage theory,” acculturation, creolization, culture contact, transnational, entanglements, ethnogenesis, “homeplace,” hybridity or hybridization, mutualist perspective, persistence, political economy, resilience, transformation model, practice theory, and world-systems analysis to address aspects of cross-cultural interaction and their manifestations in the archaeological record (e.g., Alexander 1998; D. Armstrong 2003, 1990, 1998, 2011:83, D. Armstrong et al. 2009; Battle-Baptiste 2011; Bell 2005; Cusick 1998b; Dawdy 2008; DeCorse ed. 2016; DeLanda 2006; Dietler 2010; Falola and Ogundiran eds. 2007; Gokee 2012; Hall et al. 2011; Kennedy 2015; Law Pezzarossi 2014; Liebmann 2008; Lightfoot et al. 1998; Monroe and Ogundiran eds. 2012; Orser 1996; Panich 2013; Pezzarossi 2014b, 2020; Richard 2018; Ross 2011; Said 1979; Silliman 2005a, 2001; Voss 2008, 2015). Sierra Leone is an ideal context to examine the utility, application, and limitations of these concepts.

2.3 Untangling Entanglement

Entanglement has emerged as an important conceptual frame in the archaeological and anthropological study of colonialism in the past three decades (Dietler 2018:237). It has been described and applied in different ways and across different contexts (e.g., see Alexander 1998; Dennison 2012; Dietler 2010, 2018; Gosden 2004; Harrison 2006; Hodder 2012; Jordan 2009, 2014; Martindale 2009, 2019; Orser 1996; Pezzarossi 2014a: 16-24, 30-38; Silliman 2015, 2016; Stahl 2001a, 2002, 2007; Stockhammer 2012, 2013). Recently, Hodder (2012) used the term entanglement to explain the complex relationships between humans and things. Hodder's "human-thing entanglements" could be considered a variant of Bruno Latour's (2005) Actor-Network Theory (ANT) or 'materiality' studies that focus on how humans and things are co-entangled (see Silliman 2015 and Dietler 2018 for a similar view). These intellectual trends in a strand can be traced back to Appadurai's (1986) *Social Life of Things*, which asks us to return to things themselves and study their social dimensions (Hodder 2012:1).

Although the term *entanglement* has been described and applied differently, I am interested in the way entanglement has been used in the archaeological and anthropological study of material culture, consumption, and colonialism. This vein of entanglement explores the role of material objects in the entanglement of colonies and empires. Its origin can be traced back to Nicholas Thomas' (1991) book *Entangled Objects* (Martindale 2009:61; Silliman 2016:32). Colonial entanglement in this perspective is described as a historically contingent process that links colonists, local people, and distant metropolises together in a complex web of political, economic, social, and cultural relationships that often have intended and unintended consequences (Dietler 2010:53,74). In lieu of Alexander's (1998) and Jordan's (2009) notion of *cultural entanglement* and Martindale's (2009) idea of *contact-as-entanglement*, I use the term *colonial entanglements* (*sensu* Thomas 1991; Dennison 2012;

Dietler 2010; Stahl 2002), which directs our attention to multiple ways in which cultural processes are linked with economic and political power (Dietler 2018:237, 239).

I join Thomas (1991), Dietler (2010, 2018), Stahl (2002, 2007), and other scholars in the ongoing dialogues about the utility of the concept of colonial entanglements in explaining the complex nature of colonial encounters. I draw upon this concept to negate the simplistic divide of colonized/colonizer, to link several societies together in complex relationships at varying scales, and to show that colonial powers can have varied, dynamic, and uneven impacts that effect both intended and unintended consequences (Alexander 1998; Dietler 2010, 2018; Jordan 2009, 2014; Martindale 2009, 2019; Pezzarossi 2014a: 32, 35; Stahl 2001a, 2002, 2007; Stockhammer 2012, 2013). My use of “colonial entanglements” is a rich and provocative terrain to make sense of the interconnectedness and intimacies in Freetown. It shows how the diaspora operates within the geographic concept of “Africa,” how this project disrupts any singular understanding of “Africa,” and under what condition this category both surfaces and disappears (Fergusson 2006). The term *diaspora* means collective identity, defined by a history of dispersal and by myths and memories of their homeland (Singleton and Orser 2003:146), while the term *African diaspora* represents the widespread migration of African peoples and their descendants outside Africa (Blyden 2012c; Blyden and Akiwumi 2010; Singleton and De Souza 2009) and within the continent. I also put my discussion on the global pathways that collide and entangle at Freetown in conversation with Tim Ingold’s *notion of dwelling* in Chapter 3 and David Harvey’s *notion of fixed capital* and *collective symbolic capital* in Chapter 7, as these works are vital to my conceptual framework and analysis—how the colonial rule was constantly subverted and reconfigured on the ground by the liberated Africans and their descendants in Freetown. Through the study of landscape and space, we can understand large-scale historical processes (Mrozowski 2009d: 384).

To demonstrate the usefulness and power of the notion of entanglement also requires a proper assessment of technological advancement and the development of instruments of navigation to visit almost every corner of the globe for the large imperial projects of constructing and maintaining empires (Mrozowski 2009d: 382-383). As Braudel (1981a: 62-63) puts it, “Europeans therefore neither discovered America and Africa [sic] ... Europe’s own achievement was to discover the Atlantic and to master its difficult stretches, currents and winds. This late success opened up the doors and routes of the seven seas ...” Hence, I use this concept as a metaphor to explain the large-scale mobility of freed Africans across the Atlantic Ocean and their resettlement and interactions in coastal Sierra Leone. This large-scale connection, which involves the movements of people, objects, and ideas across the Atlantic Ocean, created a colonial economy that entangles the local political economy of Sierra Leone and the Upper Guinea Coast with the politics and economy of Britain and the Americas (Goldberg 2016; Kelly and Fall 2015; Kelly et al. 2015). Pezzarossi (2020:946, 2019c: 88, 100) reports the colonists’ reliance on local people’s knowledge for translation of languages, agricultural produce, and extant trade routes in highland Guatemala. In a similar vein, the nascent colonialism of the nineteenth century in Sierra Leone, thus, emerged from the European entanglements and hegemonies of the preceding centuries. It was, however, also shaped by pre-Atlantic patterns of cultural interactions, migration, and trade.

Since “local autonomous preconditions” (*sensu* Thomas 1991:88) often influence the nature of early colonial entanglements, the intercontinental trade relations examined below cannot be disconnected from the local political economy of the Upper Guinea Coast and the increasingly global political economy. Hence, archaeologies of African diaspora should be transatlantic or a two-way exchange when examining the entangled connection between both sides of the Atlantic (Ogundiran and Falola eds. 2007; Singleton 2010c: 129). My major task in this chapter is to identify the relationship between the local, regional, and global politico-

economic networks initiated by nascent colonial entanglements, which set the stage for full-fledged colonialism.

As DeCorse underscored: “[s]tudies of ... the advent of colonialism must equally grapple with the social, cultural, and political nuances of African societies both before and during the Atlantic period. They must also examine the varieties of European contact and colonialism, and the varied guises of hegemony” (2014a: 25). Scholars have also challenged the false dichotomy between prehistory and history using multiple lines of inquiry. They have turned their attention to long-term processes to demonstrate a continuous history that unfolds along a variety of paths, rhythms, and scales (e.g., DeCorse 1996, 2014a, 2014c; DeCorse and Chouin 2003; Gould et al. 2020; Hall and Silliman eds. 2006; Lightfoot 1995; Mrozowski 2009d; Pezzarossi 2019b: 655, 2019d: 60, 74; Pezzarossi and Kennedy 2019:656; Posnansky and DeCorse 1986; Schmidt 1978, 2006; Schmidt and Mrozowski 1988:32-42; Schmidt and Mrozowski eds. 2013; Schmidt and Patterson eds. 1995; Schmidt and Walz 2007). Through the lenses of *la Longue durée* (i.e., long-term) of history, we can assess the causes and the ideologies that underlie colonial practices in West Africa (e.g., Amartey 2021:30; Apoh 2013; 2008, Richard 2011; S.H. Reid 2022:1-25; Stahl 2001a, 2002, 2007). Once we see colonial encounters as a highly complicated network of global political economies that is closely linked with local politics and economies, as I have described above; colonial “penetration”, imperialism, or the classic version of the world-systems perspective, which utilize feminizing images of Indigenous places, are jettisoned (see Thomas 1991:205). What emerges, instead, is colonial entanglements—a ‘messy’ history of intended and unintended consequences as well as the unanticipated responses that need to be unpacked (Dietler 2018:237; Pezzarossi 2015b: 85, 2018:288).

Many anthropological studies on colonial encounters have grappled with definitions of various concepts such as colonialism, colonization, colonies, postcolonial, imperialism,

and empire (Casella and Voss 2012:1; Cooper 2005; Cooper and Stoler eds. 1997; Coronil 2007; Croucher and Weiss 2011:12-13; Dietler 2010; Gosden 2004:24-25; Jordan 2009; Liebmann and Rizvi eds. 2008; Lightfoot et al. 1998; Said 1979; Spivak 1988; Silliman 2005a; Stein 2005; Voss 2008). However, there is no consensus on the definitions of these terms due to a broad range of variation in their manifestations in different contexts (Coronil 2007; Dawdy 2008:3-6; Jordan 2009:32). Instead of concentrating on the definitions of these concepts; I summarize some of the important points raised by these scholars. These include a call for researchers to focus on (a) the action and the roles of Indigenous groups in colonial interactions, (b) transformative effects on the ethnic identities and cultural practices of all groups involved in colonial situations, (c) the active role of material culture in negotiating cross-cultural interactions, (d) multiscalar shift between colonies, metropolises, and Indigenous host communities, (e) diverging political and economic interests between colonies and the metropolises, (f) the importance of internal dynamics of power relationships, (g) different structural conditions and historical contingencies, and (h) disjunctures, ambiguities, and open-ended processes, which are features of colonial encounters. This chapter is a synthesis of these varied features, carefully applied to the Sierra Leone context.

In this research, the term *nascent colonialism* represents the beginnings of formal British territorial control and hegemony in coastal Sierra Leone, which was subverted and reconfigured on the ground by the liberated Africans and African American returnees and their descendants. It is used throughout this research to describe empirically and temporally the degree of interactions between British colonists and freed Africans in the Colony, including the liberated Africans resettled at Regent Village and their descendants, and to show that the period (1808 – 1896) was a period of experimentation.¹ The period (1792 –

¹ The *nascent colonialism* concept is synonymous with what D. Armstrong (2011:92) calls a continuum of “Degrees of Freedom” to explain the gradual transition from slavery to freedom in Jamaica. After emancipation, many formerly enslaved Africans “remained tied to the estates” (D. Armstrong 2011:93), while others mixed

1807) began as a non-governmental project by abolitionists and was to be a “Province of Freedom” and not a British Colony. It was a social experiment (Blyden 2012b: 174). Hence the term nascent colonialism is not extended to this earlier period. However, it is important to note that the nascent colonial period (1808 – 1896) ended in formal colonization (1897 – 1960)—the practices of control that intensified British colonial activity and hegemony, and drastically reduced the autonomy of local rulers. For example, the Berlin Conference of 1884-85 shows the apogee of the European scramble for territory in Africa, which excluded the voice of local rulers and their people over the negotiations and partitioning of their territory.

While the Berlin Conference did not begin European colonial expansion and claims to African territory, it did legalize and formalize the process (Blyden 2013:62; Chamberlain 2013; Heath 2010). In the case of Sierra Leone, the date circa 1808 refers to the period when the nascent colonialism began (associated with the arrival of liberated Africans), while the 1896 terminal date represents the time when the British government proclaimed a Protectorate over the hinterlands of Sierra Leone, which marked the end of nascent colonialism (Fyfe 1979:112-117; Hargreaves 2006:287-288; Wyse 1989:26). In 1897, the territory of Sierra Leone was divided into two different areas: the Colony and the Protectorate, the latter encompassing the areas that would delineate modern Sierra Leone (Blyden 2012a: 58; Fyfe 1979:114-115).

Full-fledged colonialism was tied to protecting the interests of European powers. As noted above, it failed to consider the needs and interests of African populations because the British and other European powers felt that “they possessed greater knowledge and greater wisdom than the African subjects... and it was their duty to apply those gifts to serve the

from the estates in the last decades of the nineteenth century (D. Armstrong 2011:99). Therefore, the decree of freedom only led to variable “degrees of freedom” (D. Armstrong 2010:147).

interests of those subjects” (Hargreaves 2006:288). They exercised authority on behalf of the minors by justifying their authority through inequality created between the rulers and the ruled that had no specific historical realities (Bridges ed. 2000; Hargreaves 2006:288-289). They also exercised paternal responsibility (or *mission civilisatrice*) for their subjects through possessive means such as resource exploitation and commerce. As Hargreaves notes, “the notorious Berlin Conference 1884-85 was not convened for the purpose of partitioning Africa among foreigners, but in the hope of finding more economic means of facilitating the penetration of the continent by foreign commerce and capital” (2006:289). Hence the Act of the Berlin and Brussel Conferences was to “take advantage of ... trade interests and said nothing of the interests of natives” (GD 17/40/49 quoted in Hargreaves 2006:290). During the conferences, European powers negotiated and imposed new barriers to the free movement of resources, which created colonial boundaries and provided wide opposition among European powers in the following fifteen years (Hargreaves 2006:289).

Since colonial boundaries could inhibit the development of African resources, there was a proposal for “a free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims” (Woodrow Wilson’s Fourteen Points quoted in Hargreaves 2006:289). The proposal suggests American ideas of just government and open commercial access, which attracted many European powers, including Britain. Allied European leaders met at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 to negotiate colonial and imperial priorities. However, they could not reform the colonial system of Africa because the new proposal lacked possessive paternalism (Bridges ed. 2000; Hargreaves 2006:290). While the conquest of German colonies during the First World War (1914 – 1918) presented new opportunities for the map of Africa to be redrawn, European powers at the Paris Peace Conference preferred to apply the proposal based on “their own experiences and interpretation of African conditions” (Hargreaves 2006:289, 292). The German colonies of Cameroon and Togo were repartitioned and ceded

to France and Britain, while the German East Africa was coveted by Britain and Belgium, who received a mandate for Burundi and most of Rwanda in 1914² (Bridges ed. 2000; Hargreaves 2006:292; Louis 1963).

While all these negotiations excluded the wishes of Africans, scholars have noted the dissatisfaction from Africans over the possible change of colonists, fearing that Hitlerite rule or German occupation could be worse (Apoth 2018; Hargreaves 2006:295-296). Instead, Africans wanted to defend possessive paternalism (or *mission civilisatrice*), which would gradually advance toward political freedom (Hargreaves 2006:296). The proposal offered to Germany for new repartition of Africa eventually failed and “inspired the first tentative moves in the direction of decolonization” (Hargreaves 2006:296). After the Second World War (1939 – 1945), the direction for decolonization moved more rapidly, with the OAU inheriting the political problems presented by colonial boundaries in 1962 (Hargreaves 2006:287, 296).

2.3.1 Colonial Entanglements: Method, Model, or Metaphor?

The important question to ask is whether the notion of colonial entanglements is a method, a model, or a metaphor. Drawing on a broad range of entanglement studies, I consider whether colonial entanglements can be transformed from a metaphor into a model or method for understanding the complex nature of the colonial encounter in Sierra Leone.

A starting point for considering entanglement is Thomas’s (1991) book, which offers a re-interpretation of the role of objects and exchange in colonial encounters in the Pacific through discussions of gift exchange, barter trade, and possession of material objects.

Dissatisfied by theoretical frameworks that underscore “top-down” analysis of colonial encounters, one of Thomas’ goals is to “contribute to an intermediate level of theory and

² The liberated Africans and African Americans in Sierra Leone, including their descendants that were unwillingly incorporated into the British Empire, will remain in the hand of their colonists.

analysis that has been lacking, in cultural and economic anthropology” (Thomas 1991:33-34). Although Thomas offers the notion of entanglements as a strategy for approaching colonial history, his conclusion shows that we are yet to find a well-defined theory appropriate for studying trade and exchange between Europeans and Indigenous peoples. Hence, Thomas’ use of colonial entanglements functions as a *metaphor* to describe and analyze the colonial process but cannot provide general propositions, which we do not need because colonialism is context-specific and can vary in terms of features, outcomes, duration, and material manifestations across regions.

Inspired by Thomas’s (1991) study, Stahl’s (2002) approach to colonial entanglements challenges anthropologists’ enduring preoccupation with meaning-centered approaches by highlighting the theoretical and methodological problems that arise from the use of “logocentric approaches” (using Stahl’s words) for a study of colonial entanglements. She explores the value of a taste-centered approach as an alternative to a meaning-centered focus, using limited documentary sources and archaeological materials recovered from the Banda area in west-central Ghana. Stahl developed “cartographies of taste,” which shows how the taste of the colonized people was altered as a consequence of colonial entanglements. She used this chart to illustrate how existing practices shaped the reception, rejection, and/or diversion of new objects. For Stahl, the notion of colonial entanglements is an analytical *metaphor* for “understand[ing] the consequences of colonial entanglements for the character of object worlds and the culture-making practices that they sustained” (Stahl 2002:835).

In his exploration of the wine trade and expansion of Hellenistic influence into ancient Mediterranean France in the first millennium BC, Dietler (1998, 2010, 2018) uses entanglement as an analytical *metaphor* to show that Indigenous European consumption practices of foreign goods are entangled within socially organized demands and intentioned

resistance. He also highlights the intended and unintended consequences of those material consumption practices. Alexander's contribution to Cusick's (1998a) *Studies in Culture Contact*, a key volume in the theoretical framing of "culture contact" and colonial encounters, ponders the various theoretical approaches used to examine cross-cultural interaction. During the course of her reflective discussion on these theoretical approaches, Alexander picks up the notion of cultural entanglement discussed in Dietler's chapter to describe a state of cross-cultural interaction that has yet to develop into colonization. Alexander presents the idea of cultural entanglement as one of the three processes of cross-cultural interaction in a *model-like* format, proposing that it should be used to examine and understand a particular state of cross-cultural interaction that cannot be classified under the category of colonization and symmetrical exchange.

Drawing on Alexander's (1998) definition of cultural entanglement, Jordan (2009, 2014) advocates for the use of cultural entanglement in the archaeology of Postcolombian intercultural relations. He stressed the importance of paying close attention to fair equality of power relations or certain periods and places where Indigenous groups had power over colonists because the temporal focus on "post-1415 European expansion ... does not encompass all possible examples of colonialism" (Jordan 2009:31). For Jordan, there is a need to clearly distinguish cultural entanglement from colonialism, "prune" colonialism because it has been overused and applied broadly, and assess the nature of interaction that took place outside domination. In this view, "[cultural] entanglement is not intended to act as a *replacement* for colonialism—planted in the same soil in which colonialism has been uprooted—but as a complementary conceptual tool that encourages scholars to explore Indigenous sovereignty and agency more deeply" (Jordan 2014:114, emphasis in original). Jordan's perspective of cultural entanglement in this "two-choice framework" works as a *metaphor and model*.

Also, inspired by Thomas's (1991) foundational work and Stahl's (2002) article on colonial entanglements, as well as Silliman's (2005a) piece on the distinction between "culture contact" and "colonialism;" Martindale expands the contact *versus* colonialism debates through the notion of contact-as-entanglement. According to Martindale (2009:61), the notion of contact-as-entanglement advocates the view that "the European colonial encounter with Indigenous communities was a variant of the larger concept of cultural contact." This assertion implies that "culture contact" and "colonial encounters" are slightly different and unequal because the latter can be subsumed under the former. Unlike Alexander and Jordan, who conceptualize these processes of cross-cultural interaction as a continuum, Martindale presents them as an enumeration with ranks. Nevertheless, his notion of contact-as-entanglement aligns greatly with the perspective offered in Cusick's ed. (1998a) volume, as it also underscores shared and negotiated histories in the modes of resistance, resilience, and autonomy. Contact-as-entanglement, as Martindale notes, serves as a *metaphor* for describing and explaining the complexities of the Northern Tsimshian colonial encounter, especially the discursive and non-discursive negotiation efforts of individuals, as well as their abilities to "structurate" new cultural identities through a process that he considers as "tinkering" (Martindale 2009:61, 84-86).

Silliman's (2005a) article employs the terms colonial entanglement and shared histories as a means to examine the complexities of interactions in colonial encounters by linking people, material culture, and consumption. This paper was an appreciation of the utility of the term and not a theoretical construction (Silliman 2016:33). However, recently, Silliman has argued that "entanglement offers even less theoretical footing than hybridity does, despite Hodder's (2012) attempts to make it a theory of things. Instead, entanglement remains a heuristic and a *metaphor*, but perhaps a better one than hybridity" (Silliman 2015:15, emphasis added). In another article, Silliman takes this argument a step further,

stating that although being a *metaphor* gives entanglement elasticity to describe colonial processes, it also gives it “an *inability* to offer sharp analytical clarity” (Silliman 2016, emphasis added). In Silliman’s perspective, entanglement works best as a *metaphor* and has no solid theoretical footing.

Fairly comparable to Silliman’s (2015, 2016) critical review of the terms—hybridity concept and entanglement, Stockhammer’s (2012, 2013) chapters provide a tantalizing review of these two terms. These chapters clearly explain the need to replace the political and biological layer inherent in the term “hybridity” with what Stockhammer calls entanglement. Stockhammer’s (2013:15-16) proposal for a terminological shift, that is, the use of a different term, is undoubtedly justifiable, but no call was made to change the epistemological meaning of hybridity. While Stockhammer deployed the term entanglement that emerged from Thomas’s (1991) foundational work, his entanglement perspective traces its ancestry to Homi Bhabha’s (2007) use of the term “cultural hybridization” and “liminal spaces,” which he argues can lead to entanglement, rather than hybridity (Stockhammer 2012:48). Stockhammer (2012:49) defines liminal spaces as “spaces of encounter, irrespective of where this encounter happens [for example migrant communities, see page 54].” He proposed two stages of entanglement: (a) relational entanglement and (b) material entanglement.

The first step, relational entanglement, involves the use of foreign objects to create entangled social practices through the processes of appropriation (Stockhammer 2012:49-51, 2013:16). In this view, new practices are connected to the foreign objects as the context changes, “but the object[s] in its sheer materiality is most often unchanged” (Stockhammer 2012: 50; cf. 2013:17). Stockhammer calls such unchanged objects—“appropriated artifacts.” The second stage, material entanglement, entails “the process of ‘material creation’ of a new object that combines the familiar with the previously foreign... at someplace (which does not have to be the place where the object is found), but its materiality shows that it is not the

results of local continuities, but of changes triggered by encounters with otherness” (Stockhammer 2012:50-51, cf. 2013:17). This process leads to the emergence of “entangled objects.” To sum up, relational entanglement can be examined and understood from an emic perspective by focusing on context and meanings, while material entanglement is easily describable from an etic perspective, that is, through physical examination of an object even when the context is lost (see Stockhammer 2012:47-51, 2013:17).

Stockhammer openly admits that his use of entanglement “deprives the concept of its heuristic value and reduces it to a *metaphor*” (Stockhammer 2012:53, emphasis added). I am in full agreement with Stockhammer’s submission because the analytical concept deployed in his work emanates from Bhabha’s cultural hybridization, which he very much retains, although he employs Thomas’s word—entanglements. Although Stockhammer metaphorically used the word entanglements, the two stages of entanglement that he proposed are presented in a fairly *model-like* format. Interestingly, Stockhammer’s perspective of entanglement confirms Martindale’s (2009:61) claim that “entanglement builds on ideas of creolization and hybridity” but is not restricted to these two analytical concepts.

2.3.2 Strengths and Weaknesses

From the above discussion, it is obvious that entanglement has been useful in the archaeological analysis of colonialism as a *metaphor* more than a *model* or *method*. Although a well-defined theory of entanglement that deals with the archaeological study of material culture, consumption, and colonialism is lacking, a few archaeologists have attempted to develop models of cultural entanglement (e.g., Alexander 1998; Jordan 2009, 2014; Stockhammer 2012, 2013). These models are more of a descriptive stage or category of cross-cultural interaction than a theory of entanglement (see Silliman 2016:34 for a similar view). The challenge in theorizing entanglement in the archaeological analysis of colonialism

is that its explanatory strengths lie chiefly in its flexibility and heuristic power. Depending on the questions asked, a heuristic of entanglement permits analysis of cultural processes at material, temporal, and cultural scales (Martindale 2009), allows movement between local, regional, and global scales (Dietler 2010:11-13), offers different beginning and ending points to trace routes and connections (Silliman 2015:291), and provides the opportunity to analyze in practical terms “things that intersect, come together, braid together, and venture in new directions with and without other intertwined strands” (Silliman 2016:39).

Due to this flexibility, entanglement is best seen as a *metaphor* and useful heuristic for thinking through the complex nature of colonial encounters. In fact, a theory of colonial entanglement may be out of reach, as the current paths explored by Alexander (1998), Jordan (2009, 2014), and Stockhammer (2012, 2013) are not yet clear. With this view in mind, I draw on entanglement as a metaphor and conceptual frame to investigate experiences of displacement, resettlement, and regeneration in the Colony. As Pezzarossi (2014a: 19) aptly notes, “the scope of entanglement is such that it is better characterized as an ontological framework that is in turn operationalized through a diverse set of theories.” It also allows a refocus on numerous engagements (Pezzarossi 2014a: 370). When the concept of colonial entanglements is used in conjunction with other analytical concepts (e.g., Stahl’s deployment of Thomas’s notion of colonial entanglements with Bourdieu’s theory of taste); it can offer a much better interpretation, which reaches beyond the concept itself. In this research, I do this— by complementing the notion of colonial entanglements with cross-cultural exchange and identity formation.

2.4 Defining Exchange and Trade

The research and writing on exchange and consumption between Indigenous peoples and Europeans have been a subject of intense inquiry within archaeological and anthropological studies for over a century. Several early anthropological studies put economic topics at the

core of their research inquiry and have offered varied interpretations of cross-cultural exchange systems (for example, see Lévi-Strauss 1963; Mauss 2001 [1954]; Malinowski 1922; Sahlins 1985; Thomas 1991; in particular see Sherry, Jr 1983 and Liebersohn 2011 for a broader review). These earlier works have inspired recent work on the archaeology of colonialism and consumption. In fact, some of the most exciting work in recent years on the archaeology of colonialism has centered on the theme of exchange and consumption, that is, the way objects are obtained, used, and discarded. In a similar vein, I take exchange as a point of entry into the larger history of the wider Atlantic World and capitalist world economies, focusing on locally made goods and imported goods that were exchanged and used in the Colony (Appadurai 1986; Graeber 2011). A focus on a cross-cultural exchange is necessary for this research because Freetown was established in the 1790s as an anti-slavery and trading post for non-slave goods before it was incorporated into the British Empire as a Crown Colony in 1808.

2.4.1 Unit of Exchange: Coinage and Credit

The ‘bar,’³ based on bar iron, was the conventional unit for estimating the value of any item on the Upper Guinea Coast before the nineteenth century (G. Brooks 1993:181; Fyfe 1962:9).

³ Historians have written extensively about the use of bar currency for bartering commodities in Sierra Leone and its wider region before the Sierra Leone Company and the British Government introduced the use of coinage in the early nineteenth century (e.g., G. Brooks 1993; Fyfe 1961, 1962; Rodney 1970). It is most probable that the ‘Kissi money’ (iron bars bounded together) is what historians have been referring to as bar currency in the Upper Guinea Coast. Samples of Kissi money are available for public view at the National Museum of Liberia. In recent years, primordial debt theorists have argued that barter is a myth or common-sense assumption because we do not have historical evidence for its existence in ancient times (Chapman 1980; Graeber 2011; Humphrey 1985). Instead, credit arrangements and moral obligations have played a central role in shaping the history of states and empires for the past five thousand years (see Barth 1969b; Bohannan 1955, 1959; Graeber 2011). Archaeological evidence such as the Egyptian hieroglyphics and Mesopotamia cuneiforms support the use of credit systems before the invention of coinage (Graeber 2011:38). In the Sierra Leone context, the landlord stranger reciprocities are a kind of gift economy or credit systems that occurred first, then the introduction of bar currency, which spread unevenly but never completely replaced the credit systems. Barter, when it happens, seems to be a result of scarcity of bar currency or lack of access to it and not a means of transaction conducted by local people. In such situations, the calculative value of the bar currency plays an implicit role, and without the knowledge of money, the bartering system would not have occurred (Barnes and Barnes 1989; Graeber 2011; Orlove 1986). Therefore, barter exchange is largely a kind of accidental byproduct practiced by people who grew up using money (Appadurai 1986:12; Thomas 1991:10-11). It can co-exist with

In a bid to promote commercial exchange, the Sierra Leone Company and the British government eliminated the bar as a means of exchange due to uncertainty and difficulty in calculations and replaced it with British pounds and shillings or Spanish dollars, a dollar corresponding to four shillings and sixpence sterling (Scanlan 2013:43, 154). Although the British pounds or Spanish dollars became the key means of exchange on the coast, the Macaulay & Babington business also used coins—some copper pennies, struck by the Soho Mint, in Birmingham as currency in West Africa in the 1810s (Scanlan 2013:43; 2017:9-10).

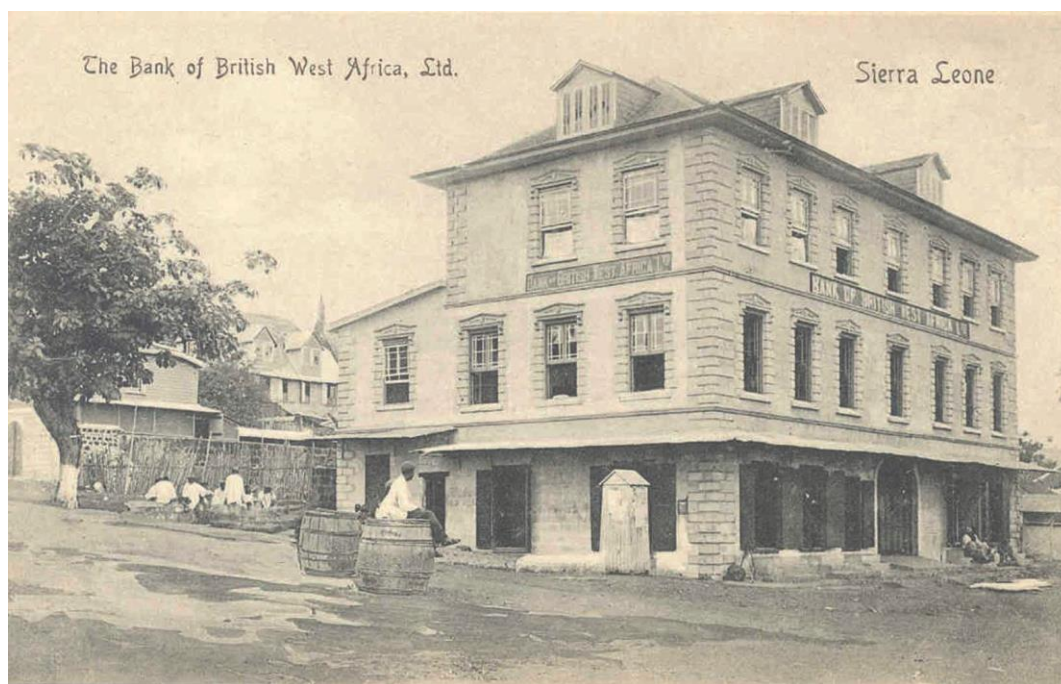


Figure 2.1: The Bank of British West Africa, Ltd. in Sierra Leone. This postcard dates between 1903 – 1905.
(Source: Courtesy of Otterbein University Library Archives Sierra Leone Postcards collection)

The rationale behind the introduction of a European system of value was to replace the ‘African system’ of commercial exchange, have a uniform system for measuring credits and debts, establish fixed value, make trade easier, and make profits more predictable (Scanlan 2013:154; Schwarz 2015:163-188). It was also a way of asserting European

the use of bar currency and credit arrangements, but clearly, a relatively recent phenomenon that only occurs due to the collapse of local economies.

politico-economic prowess, which eventually abolished local currencies such as cowries, bars, and so on. It also forced relations of exchange or production as money in the hands of colonists. While the liberated Africans' lives were largely rural and agrarian, those who worked as laborers received coppers for their labor (Anderson 2020:126; CO 267/109:50-68). The use of coinage would become one of the articles of trade that marked the advent of formal colonialism in British West Africa in the late nineteenth century. The Bank of British West Africa started in 1894. The Freetown branch was located on the northwest corner of Water Street (Fyfe 1962:528: Figure 2.1).

In addition to the use of coinage, credit arrangements were a common practice in Sierra Leone before and during the colonial period. In the nineteenth century, for example, several European traders often received advanced goods on credit from English firms to sell to retailers in the Colony. The liberated Africans initially depended on trade goods bought from European traders, who often received advanced goods on credit from English firms such as the London house of Forster (Fyfe 1961, 1962:223, 266). Joseph May introduced many friends in Freetown to a London merchant who supplied them goods on credit, while William Henry Pratt also often made contact with English firms (Fyfe 1962:232). After some time, some liberated Africans and their descendants received credit money from economic and commercial associations such as the Pott's benefit society and *Esusu* or *asusu*. Pott's society, created by Abram/Abraham Potts, a disbanded soldier in the 4th West Indian Regiment, was developed through a monthly subscription. This benefit society provided funds to its members, including the liberated Africans in the Colony, before it was disbanded in 1827 (Anderson 2020:169-170; Fyfe 1962:170-171; Peterson 1969:210-211). The *Esusu* (later known as *asusu*) is a simple Yoruba savings system, which provided capital for trading in the early colonial period (Anderson 2020:170-171; Peterson 1969:209-212, 271). This source of capital was common because many liberated Africans who became traders were Yoruba. The

asusu system was eventually acknowledged formally as a segment of economic life in Freetown in 1885 and was common in Freetown by the mid-twentieth century (Anderson 2020:170-171; Peterson 1969:209-212, 271).

The missionaries created Christian companies to replace the ethnic or country companies, such as the Aku Company and Ebo Company, including the "Kent Female Ebo Company." Reverend "W.A.B. Johnson created the first church-sanctioned company at Regent in 1817. Here, seventy communicants joined to care for sick and needy members" (Anderson 2020:172-173). However, the liberated Africans "saw the Christian companies as complementing, rather than replacing their own companies" (Anderson 2020:173). John Weeks "believed that there were "9 or 10 companies in Regent altogether," with one in particular having more than 200 members" (Anderson 2020:175). Governor Doherty noted in March of 1840 that two hundred recaptives "belonging chiefly to the Housa Country and the Kingdom of Yarriba" had pooled money to purchase a captured slave ship "in which it was their intention to proceed to Badagry, and from thence to seek their native homes at a distance of some hundred miles inland" (CO 267/159 quoted in Anderson 2020:196).

Relying on credit money from varied economic and commercial associations, several liberated Africans combined their resources in quintets, sextets, or septets to buy large quantities of goods at auction, which would be shared out afterward (Fyfe 1962:204; Peterson 1969:269). Fyfe provides detailed information on how four recaptives formed partnerships, joining their savings to outbid European traders for condemned trade goods. These four recaptives are Emmanuel Cline, a Hausa; William Jenkins and Godfrey Wilhelm, both Ibo; and William Johnson, an 'Aku' who were liberated and resettled in the Colony in the early 1800s. They subsequently established businesses on a large scale in the Colony in the 1830s and 1840s (1961:77-85). Similarly, Peterson (1969:291-299) described the role of these 'four Sierra Leoneans' and their involvement in trade relations in the 1870s. Fyfe (1962:204-205)

also notes the involvement of Thomas Will, then Aku King, a trader on Pademba Road, James Wilhelm, an Ibo trader, and Thomas Carew, the butcher. Furthermore, Wyse (1989:5) briefly explains how some liberated African traders like Captain Henry Johnson and J.P.L. Davies saved money, bought condemned ships, and sailed the West African coast selling palm oil, timber, fish, and other goods.

As Christopher Fyfe notes, “excluded from permanent manual labor... with the coppers they saved [the liberated Africans] bought trade goods from the European shop to hawk in the streets or take upcountry to barter for produce” (1961:79). “The purchases by these [liberated Africans] plainly enabled them to start business on a large scale, as the prize sale accounts for succeeding years show... During the early 1840’s, with the help of Wesleyan missionaries in Freetown, they began making contact with firms in England, ordering out goods on credit like the Europeans” (Fyfe 1961:80). About £8000 worth of goods was imported annually from Britain in the late 1840s and early 1850s (Fyfe 1962). Shopkeepers ordered and received goods on the monthly mailboat. Also, American ship captains traded tobacco, rum, and foodstuff for palm oil or hide in Freetown (Fyfe 1962:257-258, 346). The liberated Africans and their descendants sold European goods such as rum, guns, and cloth for timber, metals, and ivory produced in the hinterlands, although there were fluctuations in trade during the American Civil War (Fyfe 1962:203-204, 1979:50; Peterson 1969:269-270). These economic activities indicate the role of credit arrangements in running the forms of trade in the Colony.

2.4.2 Forms of Trade or Exchange

The term *local trade* in this context refers to the exchange of commodities obtained and largely produced locally, including manufactures such as ceramics, iron implements, cloth, and farm produce. These goods were either brought for sale in coastal areas by people from the hinterlands or itinerant local traders (Fyfe 1956:113-123; Fyfe 1977:1-20; Howard

2006:28-30; McGowan 1990:27-41; Figures 2.2a & 2.2b). Some traders sold goods on the street daily, covering as much as fourteen miles in a round trip (e.g., Peterson 1969:272-274; Scanlan 2013:303), while others traveled upcountry by water by canoe to sell imported goods and trade for locally manufactured goods and farm produce (Fyfe 1962:225-228; Wyse 1982:321). *Regional trade* was also important. The trade networks of itinerant African traders extended beyond Freetown and neighboring villages, to the Northern Rivers of the Rio Pongas and Rio Nunez, and other parts of the West African Coast, as far away as Yorubaland in modern-day Nigeria and Goree in Senegal (Fyfe 1962:8, 65, 109; Kelly 2019:307-324). There they purchased groundnuts, palm produce, and retail seized goods obtained from the Vice-Admiralty Court and other imported goods (Fyfe 1961:79; Misevich 2008:7-9). While European traders and shopkeepers in Freetown rarely participated in this regional trade, they purchased European goods that were seized from the condemned slave ships (Fyfe 1962:256). These local trade and regional trade networks would later be disrupted with the advent of colonial rule at the end of the nineteenth century, thus limiting the role of the Krios in the interregional trade networks (Fyle 1977:18-20).



Figure 2.2a: Freetown – Arrival of Country Produce.
 (Source: Courtesy of Otterbein University Library Archives Sierra Leone Postcards collection)



Figure 2.2b: Market Place, Bo, Sierra Leone.
 (Source: Courtesy of GetArchives, LLC. Available at: <http://www.getarchive.net>)

I use *intercontinental trade* to denote the sale of imported goods (such as rum, guns, ceramics, and tobacco pipes) in the Colony. European traders and shopkeepers, and liberated

African street traders, including Indigenous groups, and their descendants, bought these imported goods wholesale from metropolitan Europe and retailed them in the Colony and neighboring areas. In a bid to accomplish foreign policy and national security of trade in Sierra Leone, the Office of the Committee of the Privy Council for Trade placed trade restrictions on smuggled goods in the Colony to block the activities of French traders who were considered interlopers (Scanlan 2013). Governor MacCarthy also claimed more space for foreign trade by annexing neighboring areas such as the Banana Islands, Bunce Island, the Isles de Los, and Banjul in The Gambia to the Colony (Fyfe 1957:117-120; Scanlan 2016). The colonial government also annexed the Sherbro River (Clarke 1863:321). Over time, Liverpool, Manchester, London, Birmingham, and Glasgow business interests continue to grow in Sierra Leone, particularly in the Northern Rivers (Fyfe 1962:500).

The Krios played a more critical role in the development of *intercontinental trade* in the late nineteenth century. The Krios were also in contact with firms in Birmingham, Liverpool, and Manchester (Clarke 1863:328; Fyfe 1962:458). Those in the Sherbro River traded with firms in Liverpool and Manchester in the 1880s. Liverpool firms include Lionel Hart and Co., Edwards as Edwards Bros, while the Manchester firms such as G.B. Zochonis, Callendar, Skyes and Mather, Pickering and Berhoud, and G.B Ollivant had Sierra Leone agents (Fyfe 1962:444). For example, Thomas Chadwick, Freetown agent for G.B. Ollivant and Co., sold gunpowder to Natives in Sierra Leone (Fyfe 1962:563, 578). As some liberated Africans and their descendants left Regent during the second half of the nineteenth century to take advantage of economic opportunities in Freetown and abroad, they had a better engagement with the colonial economy and enough purchasing power, which allowed the intercontinental trade, particularly the British trade to burgeon in the Sierra Leone estuary, coastal Ghana, and southern Nigeria (Ajayi and Crowther 1971, 1974; DeCorse 2001a; Dike 1956; Fyfe 1962; Wyse 1989). It is unclear if those who traveled abroad to places like Ghana

and Nigeria ‘brought things home’ upon their return to Regent in their old age (Fyfe 2007:30). In the last decades of the nineteenth century, for example, an estimated 2,000 Ale Gals are imported annually, and a gal costs @6d per gal (H. No. 1. B Custom House, Sierra Leone 1884-1885 in OARG Volume 53). Hides, colony-grown ginger were shipped directly to Boston in the 1870s (Fyfe 1962:445). German trade replaced American trade in 1894. Close to sixty German ships were linked to the Colony (Fyfe 1962:528).

The *missionary-supported trade* involved the role of some missionaries in supporting credit arrangements between liberated Africans and several European traders, which allowed English firms to send advanced wholesale goods on credit to Africans in the Colony to sell to retailers in the Colony. Through the assistance of Wesleyan missionaries in Freetown, some liberated Africans prospered through trade (Clarke 1863:330). Reverend Thomas Dove introduced John Ezzidio, a famous liberated African who prospered through the missionary-supported trade to wholesale firms in London or Manchester. Ezzidio imports and sells annual goods worth £3,000 or £4,000 in Freetown (Fyfe 1962:231). Ezzidio and others sold items such as patent leather boots, tea, and patent medicines in the Colony and upcountry (Fyfe 1962:306). This trade network began in the 1840s, boosting intercontinental trade. While the endpoint of this trade is unknown, the Krios in the later part of the nineteenth century had better access to economic opportunities and engaged with a developed colonial economy.

In the next section, I seek to understand the Industrial Revolution period and its impact on the homestead, which is the site of consumer behavior at Regent Village. The purpose of exploring the notion of the Industrial Revolution and its impact in this study is to shift the focus of economic inquiry from trade and exchange to its consequences in domestic places. Moreover, colonialism is closely linked with industrialization, urbanization, the growth of capitalism, and the formation of empire, thus allowing us to connect local to global

processes (Mrozowski 2009d: 384). I begin by highlighting the contribution of technology to economic growth in continental Europe and the United States (Fracchia and Roller 2015:16). I then complicate the roles of products from industries and the changing meaning of household material culture within the context of industrial transformation, focusing on Regent Village.

2.4.3 The Industrial Revolution and Local Responses

The Industrial Revolution can be broadly explained as a continuous process that fundamentally transformed (a) technologies through inventions and innovations, (b) the scale of production through increased productivity per hour of work, and (c) the growth of trade and exchange made possible by rapidly descending costs and prices during the later eighteenth century through the twentieth century (Francisco Louçã 2002:153). The transition to industrial capitalism and the factory system also transformed the roles of men, women, and children⁴ who sold their labor power in factories because the industrial system required an increase in the supply of labor that can aid time-saving, increase specialization, and encourage work organization (Beaudry and Mrozowski 1988:2, 5; DeCorse 1984:17; Labadi 2001:78; Landon 1989:37; Mrozowski 1990:24, 2005:245, 2009b: 180; Mrozowski et al. 1996; Slesin et al. 1997:73). It allowed workers to sell their labor power to make a living, but they often had limited control over the conditions in which they worked and lost the ability to set their prices or sell their goods due to power relations (Beaudry and Mrozowski 1987b: 6; Fracchia and Roller 2015:12-14). The use of machines also led to the loss of the ability to sell acquired skills at the same remuneration as before the introduction of machines (Fracchia and Roller 2015:14). Studies focusing on the material manifestations of work processes and social relations, identities, environmental and health conditions, and other aspects of the lives of the

⁴ Industrial and colonial contexts are often stratified by sex, nationality, and status (Beaudry 1987:11).

working class in Urban America have allowed archaeologists to understand how workers negotiated the social, political, and economic contexts of everyday experiences (Beaudry and Mrozowski eds. 1987a, 1989a; Casella 2005; Mrozowski 2006; Orser 2003, 2007; Shackel 2009; Voss 2005).

Since the history of industrialization is dynamic, scholars have offered two different perspectives on the social, technological, and economic development of industries in Europe and North America. On the one hand, scholars have defined the industrial period as starting from the 1790s up to the industrial production in the present. For these scholars, “plantation and industrial slavery sites constitute a body of archaeological work so large and important as to require separate treatment” (Fracchia and Roller 2015:6-7). Hence, agricultural farming landscapes cannot be regarded as the beginning of the industrial revolution, despite the realism of industrial slavery.⁵ Instead, Britain is often considered the birthplace of the Industrial Revolution, which began in the second half of the eighteenth century (D. Armstrong 2019a: 471; Mrozowski 1987: xi; W.L. Little 1969:11). As Wolf (1982:266) puts it, “mercantilism [in England] began to give way to a new mode of production, spurred by the investment of capital and inventions which led to the predominance of machines.” In addition to Britain, other European countries such as France, Sweden, the Netherlands, and various German and Italian states before the unification of those countries created technological developments during the Industrial Revolution (Francisco Louçã 2002:182).

On the other hand, some economic historians are beginning to shift their attention to a long-term perspective to show that less intense industrial development started considerably

⁵ D. Armstrong (2019b) has argued that the establishment of sugar mills marks the beginning of the industry on Barbados Island. The new “vertical roles, systematic boiling, and windmills” (D. Armstrong 2019a: 474-475) represent technological change, and some Africans with specific skills such as cooks, drivers, and blacksmiths contributed to the revolutionary shift to sugar and slavery (D. Armstrong 2019d: 179-180; 2010:156). Hence, factories existed in sugar production fields, making the agro-industrial production of sugar a reality (D. Armstrong 2019a: 471, 473, 484, 487; 2019b: 131-146). This view of the industrialization of slavery indicates “capitalist” and “capitalism” and not just “an important step towards capitalism” (D. Armstrong 2019a: 470, 488; also see Pezzarossi 2019b: 460).

earlier in some sectors and some places (e.g., Mrozowski et al. 2000: xv; Pezzarossi 2014a: 49-50, 2015a: 350, 2015b: 82). It is, therefore, necessary to include the material history of the centuries before the later eighteenth century to capture the dynamic changes associated with the history of industrialization. Drawing on the notion of *la Longue durée* of antimarkets and markets, some scholars have situated the rise of capitalism in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries due to money lending, profit-making, and the ideology of greed, which are essential characteristics of capitalism (e.g., Mrozowski 2006; Mrozowski et al. 2000; Pezzarossi 2014a, 2015a, 2015b, 2019a). In this sense, antimarkets (*sensu* Braudel 1979 and De Landa 1997) rather than capitalism could have begun elsewhere other than Europe (Pezzarossi 2015a: 347, 350, 2015b: 84). This perspective pushes us to establish connections between colonialism and capitalism in the study of the emergence of the modern world (Corcoran-Tadd and Pezzarossi 2018:85; Croucher and Wess eds. 2011; DeCorse 2020; Mrozowski 2019a; Pezzarossi 2014a, 2015a, 2015b, 2019b).

Nevertheless, the common belief is that the period of ‘industrialization’ extends back through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, reaching its height of productivity in the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and gradually declining in the twentieth century, while still being in progress. These economic historians have divided the period of industrialization into two stages. The first stage is characterized by the use of iron and coal in workshops and then factories, which began in the sixteenth century. The second stage involved the use of electricity, scientific method, and man-made materials, beginning about 1850 which is ongoing (Hudson 1963:18; Francisco Louçã 2002:172; Labadi 2001:79). Yet, finding a precise period for the start of the Industrial Revolution is problematic and distinguishing between stages is not particularly useful unless for analytical purposes.

However, what has been consistently argued is that the traditional sources of power (human muscles and horsepower) were replaced by waterpower, and later by steam power,

gas, and electricity (D. Armstrong 2011:89; Cheallaigh 2012:379; Francisco Louçã 2002:158-159; Labadi 2001:78). The first evolution was the transformation of the cotton textile industry ascribed to innovations in the processing of cotton yarns and the organization of production in the early decades of the Industrial Revolution. The textile industry in Lowell served as an example of industrial centers that initially fueled the industrial revolution in the United States (Beaudry and Mrozowski 1987b: 8; 1988:2, 14; 2001:119; Landon 1989:37; Mrozowski 1990:24; 1996:461; 1999:140; 2005:244, 246; 2006; 2009b: 180; Mrozowski et al. 1989:298; Pezzarossi 2019b: 454). There were also key innovations in the iron industry, involving the smelting of iron ore with coke instead of charcoal in a blast furnace using waterpower in foundries and the conversion of pig iron into wrought iron by ‘puddling’ and rolling processes in the eighteenth century (Francisco Louçã 2002:154-156, 159-160). Iron was used to make bridges, ships, and later buildings (Francisco Louçã 2002:162). Building hardware materials were also made of wrought iron until the early nineteenth century (Mrozowski et al. 2005:64). The construction of a network of canals reduced the cost of transporting coal, pottery, and other heavy materials, while the turnpike roads facilitated the movement of people and light commodities (Beaudry 1987:11,14; Bunt 1956:23; Francisco Louçã 2002:165; Mrozowski 1999:140; Mrozowski 2000:279).

In the 1750s and 1760s, John and Thomas Wedgwood were the largest potters in Burslem (Barker 2001:79; Miller and Hunter 2001:153). From the 1760s, their more famous second cousin, Josiah Wedgwood, the leading entrepreneur in the pottery industry in Britain, took advantage of the new infrastructural development, including new machines in factories and the new transportation system, which was used by his salesmen (W.L. Little 1969:12). The completion of the Trent to the Mersey Canal in 1777 provided the Staffordshire potteries direct access to the sea and boosted international trade of raw materials and finished goods through the ports of Liverpool and Hull (Barker 2001:80-81). In the 1830s and 1840s, there

was the iron railroad investment, the widespread use of high-pressure steam engines for steam-powered locomotives, and the steel industry and new machine tools spread to new areas (Francisco Louçã 2002:181). The emergence of steamships and railway roads increased the growth of markets, broadened the distribution system, and accelerated the pace of goods circulated across the globe (Palmer 1990:282). The Erie Canal provided a means to transport and get goods in Central New York, and the industrial production of steel plows improved agricultural practices in the region. These technological innovations allowed locals like Harriet Tubman to expand their agricultural fields and engage in mixed-product farming in the last decades of the nineteenth century (D. Armstrong 2022:95-97, 210). Also, the brick industrial production site on and close to Harriet Tubman's property is one examples of brick-making industry in Auburn and Central New York in the last quarter of the nineteenth century (A. Armstrong and D. Armstrong 2012:55-57, 59-69).

From the 1870s, the United States began to emerge as the new leader in technological innovations,⁶ overtaking Britain and other European countries, including Germany, France, and Belgium (Francisco Louçã 2002:182; Mrozowski 2008:133). Many English potters emigrated from England to the United States, as American potteries flourished from the late 1870s (Barker 2001:82; Slesin et al. 1997:13). In the late nineteenth century and twentieth century, Russia, Italy, Sweden, and Austria-Hungary joined the industrialization process. However, "China, India, and many other countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America now lagged far behind in industrialization and economic growth rates" (Francisco Louçã 2002:249). The United States remained the technological leader with a burgeoning economy until the Great Depression of the 1930s, which caused drops in employment and production (Beaudry 1987:10-11; Francisco Louçã 2002:180, 256). The United States regained its burgeoning economy briefly in 1937, but the prosperity of the American economy was fully

⁶ American pottery became a viable competitor in the late nineteenth century (Dutton 1987:115, 117, 119).

restored after the Second World War (Francisco Louçã 2002:268). The worldwide demand for goods and services made cheap steel, alloys, copper, and other nonferrous metals widely available. Saws, axes, sewing machines, bicycles, and other tools were made in Sheffield and North America in the early twentieth century (Francisco Louçã 2002:232, 273). Electrical generation and transmission systems occurred fairly late in the century but led to new industries and mass production of goods such as color televisions (Francisco Louçã 2002:220).

This study extends the notion of the Industrial Revolution and its consequences or impacts on the Regent settlement in two ways. First, technological developments (e.g., the railway) indeed transformed how the colonists exploited the resources of a Colony (Figure 2.3a and 2.3b). This means of transportation allowed the easy and rapid movement of large quantities of goods and natural resources from the Colony to the metropole and vice-versa (Fyfe 1962:529-530; Labadi 2001:80). Yet, industrialization at a mini-scale was present in the colonies in the form of workshops. Industrial sites such as brick-making, sawmills, carpentry, blacksmith workshops, and commercialized services such as laundries, existed at Regent (Figures 2.4a and 2.4b). The school children at Regent produced cotton and coffee, which Venn shipped out for sale in Manchester (Fyfe 1962:252). British merchants also encouraged the cultivation of commercial crops such as sugar cane, tobacco, cotton, coffee, rice, and other consumer goods in the Sierra Leone River and the Sherbro coast for export to England in the late eighteenth century (Fyfe 1962:208, 2000:30-31; P. Lovejoy 2012:116; P. Lovejoy and Schwarz 2015:5; Rodney 1970:169).



Figure 2.3a: Congo Bridge, Mountain Railway, Sierra Leone.
 (Source: Courtesy of GetArchives, LLC.
 Available at: <http://www.getarchive.net>)



Figure 2.3b: Riding through the Protectorate on the Sierra Leone Railway.
 (Source: Courtesy of the Sierra Leone Web, Gary Schulze Collection)



Figure 2.4a: Carpenters at work in Sierra Leone. This postcard dates between 1903 – 1905.
 (Source: Courtesy of Otterbein University Library Archives Sierra Leone Postcards collection)



Figure 2.4b: Village Blacksmiths in Sierra Leone. This postcard dates between 1903 – 1905.
 (Source: Courtesy of Otterbein University Library Archives Sierra Leone Postcards collection)

Rather than reinforcing the Western view that industrialization meant advancement and progress, we need to integrate non-Western elements into our analysis before we can gain a holistic understanding of the industrial past. In addition to the histories of technologies in Europe and North America, we should focus more on the relationship between the workers (who used the heavy machines) and their environment, including the industrial landscape. Just as the use of railways and tramways illustrates the social relationships between manual workers and the landscape (e.g., conflicts, class struggle), essential work centers such as sawmills, foundries, and brick-making sites in colonies also signal local people's intensifications of interactions with the environment and use of new machines, which has

implications on humans and the environment today (e.g., climate change). Capitalism, as Pezzarossi (2019b: 656) notes, involves the exploitation of the environment.

Second, I study the material remains of the Industrial Revolution or mass-produced artifacts (such as pottery, glass bottles, and tobacco pipes) found on archaeological sites of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in the village. These goods were transported around the world and mediated European colonialism and imperialism of the period. The transformation of materials through industrialization and their acquisition fostered new social, political, and economic relationships between people and places around the world. The material remains of the Industrial Revolution are often available for archaeological study and constitute the majority of the artifacts examined in this research. In this study, I explore the impacts of industry on the architectural patterns (brick, wood, and block houses) in localities such as Regent because the village was established and occupied during the second wave of the Industrial Revolution. I also examine how the changes in demand, supply, and tastes impeded the mass-produced materials from continental Europe and the United States, noting the dialectical relationship between production and consumerism (Francisco Louçã 2002:175).

For example, some of the metal (e.g., Kontri pots) recovered from excavations at Regent could have been made in the Birmingham and Sheffield metal industries (Berg 1998:153 cited in Francisco Louçã 2002:176). Before the industrial revolution, Blacksmiths or nailsmiths made nails using their hands only (Sichel 2021:7). Human power was required for the production of hand-wrought nails, while machine-cut nails were made by machinery operated by hand power before the use of waterpower and steam power (Coccone 2022:34; Fontana et al. 1962:46; Nelson 1968:4-5; Sichel 2021:21; Wells 1998:79; Young 1991:11). There were also changes in nail production with steel machine-cut nails replacing machine iron-cut nails in the mid-1880s (Adams 2002:69; Wells 1998:79-81). Nails were produced in

North America, England, France, and Germany (Nelson 1968:9). However, North America was ahead of the English in the nail-making business (Nelson 1968:4). Thomas Jefferson manufactured hand-wrought nails and purchased a machine in the late eighteenth century, which produced nails until the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century (Nelson 1968:5). There were also nail making industries in New England, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania (Fontana et al. 1962:45; Nelson 1968:4).

In 1811, Mr. J. Brock bank used a hand-operated and water-powered machine to produce about 1200 slate pencils daily (Finlay 1990 cited in Davies 2005:64). The majority of the imported ceramics found in the excavated house loci were made in Burslem, one of the six towns that make up the city of Stoke-on-Trent (Barker 2001:73; Henrywood 2002:21). Burslem was a thriving pottery town in the Staffordshire District with a neat-market house that was in operation for several centuries (Chester 1796 cited in Henrywood 2002:21). According to Parson (1818) “about nine-tenths [of the population of this city in 1811] were employed in, or connected with, the pottery business” (Parson 1818 cited in Henrywood 2002:21). They worked in a list of industries that produced “porcelain, china figures, blackware, lustre, ironstones ... in considerable quantities” (Kelly 1850 cited in Henrywood 2002:21). There was also revolution in glass bottle production due to the development of several machines in the 1890s and the early twentieth century across Europe and the United States (Miller 2000:8; Miller and Sullivan 2000:163-164).

I now turn to a discussion on identity formation, focusing on the lives of the colonists, liberated Africans, African American returnees, Indigenous groups, and their descendants, known as the Krios. I explore how these people used local materials and imported mass-produced goods to construct or manipulate identities in this diasporic context.

2.5 Community and Identity in Colonial Sierra Leone

This section presents the study of identity among the inhabitants of Regent Village during the colonial period. The village inhabitants consisted of liberated Africans from West Africa and Central Africa, British colonists, European missionaries, Indigenous groups, and their descendants in coastal Sierra Leone. As noted in Chapter 1, the liberated Africans were a diverse group of people who had been liberated from slave vessels intercepted on the West Atlantic Sea, while the Indigenous groups were mostly Temnes and Lokos that occupied the village as tenants in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The relocation of freed Africans in the West Indian Regiments to the liberated African villages (none at Regent till 1831) to serve in the Royal African Corps and some as colonists added to the pluralistic community of displaced and freed Africans in the Colony. Some of the liberated Africans and their descendants were also agents of British colonial expansion to other parts of West Africa (Anderson 2020:195-197; Wyse 1989).

The liberated Africans, Indigenous groups, and African American returnees were entangled with British colonists and European missionaries, which allowed social identities to be refashioned in response to intercultural interactions. This study examines how these diverse groups of people built and developed new village settlements. I document where people lived and are still living, the clothes they wore and those they are still wearing, and the objects they used and continue to use to understand the maintenance and transformation of identity. While identity does not take a central focus in this study, it matters in the investigation of interethnic households in a diasporic settlement such as Regent Village. The concept of identity can be explained from the relations of sameness and difference at the scale of individual and collective. It can be perceived internally, imposed externally, or continually enacted, reproduced, and transformed; thus creating ambiguity and “lack of closure” (Singleton 1999b: 2; Voss 2008:14). By accepting the malleability of identities, this

study punctures binaries that promote stability of categories such as colonizer/colonized, local/global, us/them, male/female, nature/culture, occident/orient, west/rest, white/black, pure/impure and so on (Mrozowski 1996:449; Voss 2008:14). Though heuristically useful, the common dichotomy between individual and community is another binary that warrants deconstruction. As Voss (2008:6) puts it, "... we must recall that a person's social and often physical survival depends on performing identities that are recognizable and intelligible to others." Some studies have focused on specific aspects of identity, such as ethnicity, gender, or class in colonial contexts (e.g., Richard and MacDonald 2015; Sørensen 2006; Mrozowski 2006). These studies provide an in-depth analysis of a particular aspect but note its intersection with other aspects of identity. In this study, I examine social identity within the framework of the intersectionality of nationality, ethnicity, race, class, gender, sexuality, age, and religion. The complex relationship between these aspects of identity and their relevance to the Sierra Leone context are examined below.

Trigger (2006:212) defines nationalism as "an all-encompassing sense of group identity and loyalty to a common homeland that is promoted by mass media, widespread literacy, and a comprehensive educational system." It developed in Europe and spread around the world through the emergence of new nation-states in the nineteenth century (Jones 1997:43; Shennan 1989; Voss 2008:29). A nation-state is a community of shared memory and feelings "created by independence from colonial rule ... to create its own narrative of possessing an authentic pre-colonial past, suffering the rupture of colonial possession and reaching authenticity through its struggle for freedom" (Rowlands 2003:64). The goal of nationalism is to promote unity, long-term continuity, and recognition of peoples and cultures because ethnicities are key to the formation of a nation-state. The word "nations" were used to describe the origins of liberated Africans, particularly children in schools (Delgado 2020:81-100; Keefer 2019). Eighty-six nations were recorded in the school rosters compiled

between 1816 and 1824 (Anderson 2020:35-36). While nationality is a social identity linked with the aspirations of a modern territorial state, it has often been equated with ethnicity (Trigger 2006:211-216, 232-303). Sierra Leonean scholars have turned their attention to nationalist history to readdress national identity and national unity by arguing for a Sierra Leone identity that involves the fusion of many ethnicities such as Krio, Limba, Loko, Mende, Sherbro, Temne, and so on (e.g., Abraham 1976; Cole 2013, 2006; Dixon-Fyle and Gibril Cole eds. 2006; Fyle 2004; Sengova 1987). For example, the Vai recaptive settlers sent to Regent in 1813 were enslaved in the interior, captured off the coast of Cape Mesurado (or on the coast of modern Liberia), and freed by the Vice-Admiralty Court in Freetown. The resettlement of the Vai people and their interactions with newcomers like the Aku, Igbo, and Mocco from the Lower Guinea Coast brings to a sharp focus the cultural expression of a national identity that is shaped by many ethnicities entangled by a complex history. In 1931, the census officers used nationality and race interchangeably to describe the population in the Colony and Protectorate (Census 1931:19).

Yet, earlier studies have treated ethnicity as a fixed and stable category in which artifacts and stylistic traits are assigned to a specific group through the concept of “archaeological culture.” Over the years, scholars have questioned the correlations between material culture distributions and ethnic groups due to the fluidity and mutability of ethnic boundaries, leading to the displacement of the archaeological culture concept (D. Armstrong 2011:94; Beaudry and Mrozowski 1989b: 56; DeCorse 1989; Diaz-Andreu et al. ed. 2005:2; Hodder 1982; Lane 2016:256; Mrozowski et al. 2007b: 145, 152; Singleton 1995:133-134, 1998b: 174, 1999b: 2; Voss 2008:26).

Primordialist and instrumentalist are two common approaches to ethnicity that emerged in recent studies. The instrumentalist model considers ethnicity as “a ‘social fact’ and ‘political artifact’ (Richard and MacDonald 2015:18) used to protect social, political, and

economic interests between groups. The primordialist model of ethnicity places emphasis on emotional attachments ascribed at birth, a sense of belonging, and shared experiences among its members. The debates between instrumentalist theorists and primordialist theorists on the meaning of ethnicity might not end in the nearest future because ethnicity is a slippery but useful analytical concept (e.g., Barth 1969a; A. Brooks et al. 1993:1-2, 1998:323; Eriksen 2010; Comaroff and Comaroff 2006; Insoll 2007; Jones 1997; Richard and MacDonald eds. 2015). Re-echoing MacEachern's (1998) advice, Lucy reminds us that ethnicity may not apply to people in deeper antiquity as it seems to be in contemporary times because artifact patterning may be linked to familial lineages or territorial groupings, rather than what we might recognize as ethnicities today (2005:109). The artifact patterns identified at Regent Village illustrate ethnic ambiguity rather than a whole culture that can be assigned to a specific ethnic group, thus confirming the fluidity and constant negotiation of ethnic identities in this diasporic context (e.g., Singleton 2001a: 196; Singleton and Bograd 1995). However, the archival records reveal Igbo-speaking people as the main inhabitants of Regent Village (Anderson 2020:98, 118, 173).

Archaeologists have typically chosen to focus more on ethnicity than race on the African continent. While I am not entirely sure why this was the case, some may have thought that race and ethnicity are equal and can be substituted for each other (A. Brooks et al. 1993:3, 11-14, 1998:323; Singleton 1999b: 2). Others, I guess, may have overlooked it, thinking it is a biological fact (see Matthews and McGovern 2015:3; Mrozowski et al. 2007a: 7; 2000: xxi-xii for a similar view of the archaeology of race in the northeast United States). Race is neither biology nor a concept to be substituted for ethnicity or culture (Bell 2005:447; Gravlee 2009; Singleton 1999b: 2-3). Rather, "it is in reality a kind of ideology, a way of thinking about, speaking about, and organizing relationships among human groups ..." (MacEachern 2011:36). Therefore, race is a complex social construction. Undoubtedly,

biological variations between different human groupings do exist. However, they do not have to be called races because “the scope of human physical variation is far too complex to be accommodated within simplistic typological race models” (MacEachern 2011:44; also see A. Brooks et al. 1993:1-3, 11-14, 1998:319; LaRoche and Blakey 1997:89). This is why issues of race and racialization are not simply about blacks and whites because it affects a set of people, including light-skinned foreigners such the German, Irish, and Nordic immigrants (see DiAngelo 2018; Orser 2015:317-318).

Yet, the focus on people of color and whiteness often masks the complexity of racialization. For example, Krios’s inability to purchase land in the interior, while the populations in the interior can freely purchase land in Freetown due to complicated land tenure in Sierra Leone, is a case in point (Blyden 2013:68-69). The Provinces Lands Act 1960, Cap. 122 of the Laws of Sierra Leone, along with other statutes, “precludes Krios from acquiring any customary land rights or freehold title in the Provinces, restricting them to acquiring only leasehold interest of a specific duration”⁷ (KDY 2020; also see Crown Lands Amendment Act, 1961 No. 37 of 1961:1266- 1277). While these government policies subject the Krios to statutory restrictions and treat them as non-natives and a minority ethnic group, I refrain from commenting on the issue of racism in this context, especially in the present, because scholars, when writing about racialization, run the risk of adding to the racial discourse instead of undermining it (Stoler 2002:370 cited in Ng and Camp 2015:175). Racialization, Orser (2003:5) notes, is a dialectic process of categorizing peoples around the globe to subordinate social positions to create racial hierarchies. Such social distinctions are based on cultural practices, supported by power, privilege, and wealth, and naturalized through racialization. Studies have shown that the race concept is politically charged due to its association with European colonialization and enslavement in modern history (D.

⁷ <https://humanglemedia.com/the-krio-of-sierra-leone-back-home-not-yet-at-home/>

Armstrong 2022:64, 111-114; Mullins 1999; Mullins and Jones 2011; Orser 1998, 2001; Scupin ed. 2011; Singleton ed. 1999). It is within the processes of enslavement and colonialism that I engage the topic of race and racialization in Sierra Leone.

Like ethnicity and race; class is an ambiguous, abstract, and fluid analytical construct (Battle-Baptiste 2011:19-31; 117; McClintock 1995; Mrozowski et al. 2000: xiv-xxxi; Mullins 1999:22-38; Pezzarossi 2014b: 168-169).⁸ Citing Wright (1999:29), Mrozowski notes that “class is a discursive construct often fraught with contradictions” (2006:13) because the idea of self-recognition is essential for class consciousness, while the idea of collective action appears to be the facet of mobility within classes. Hence, changes in capitalist social relations and individual choices are key factors influencing the dynamic nature of class identity. This is particularly true for the middle class that has to be negotiating a position between classes (Mrozowski 2006:12-13). Class identities are also situational and historically constituted (Beaudry and Mrozowski 2001:128; Mrozowski 2000:278, 281-287; 1996:118). They are rankings of individuals (from cultural elites to commoners) based on social, political, and economic positions in a given context (Singleton 2001a: 199). Material practices such as consumerism of imported goods, particularly European-produced items, and ownership of lands and other property can reproduce or transform the social order. However, archaeologists have noted the complexity of identifying abstractions such as class and capitalism and their manifestations in the everyday lives of people (e.g., Casella 2005; Delle et al. eds. 2000; Leone 1995; Leone and Potter 1999; McGuire 2002, Mrozowski 2009b: 180-181; 2000:276-306; Mrozowski et al. 2000: xvii-xviii; Williamson and D. Armstrong 2019:105; Wurst and Mrozowski 2014, 2016). On the one hand, the fluidity of class and its intersection with other aspects of identity such as race, ethnicity, gender, and sexuality in the

⁸ The question of race, class, and ethnicity has been addressed in plantation archaeology in North America (see Singleton 1990:173-174).

construction of identity complicates its archaeological visibility. On the other hand, capitalism as a social formation can also shape class relations, but the material markers of class identity may differ across space and time. Since racial ideas can be class-motivated, this study examines how class shapes individual and group identities and how classes, in turn, divide race and ethnicity in the colony of Sierra Leone. Here, I explore how class identity plays out in individual households across Regent Village and the relative degree of household participation in trade networks rooted in the capitalist political economy of the nineteenth century and early twentieth centuries.

Gender and sexuality are also intertwined with nationality, race, ethnicity, class, age, and other aspects of social differentiation (Hogg 2005; Mrozowski 1999:138; Voss and Casella eds. 2012). Gender and sexual studies tend to make a distinction between sex and gender. Sex refers to biological differences, while gender is the cultural construction of men and women in different cultures through power relations. In recent years, scholars have challenged the nature/culture divide model and shifted their attention to a performance model of gender to show that both sex and gender as culturally constituted and historical because they are constantly unfolding and in negotiations across time and space (Butler 1990, 1993; Lima 2012:67; Mrozowski et al. 2000: xviii; Voss 2008). In this case, “gender and sexuality are things people do, not what people are. And that doing is always spatial, temporal, and material” (Voss 2018:191) but often lack archaeological visibility because “the affective and interpersonal qualities of gender and sexuality ... are hard to investigate through archaeological evidence alone” (Voss 2018:192) and historical records often present bias or institutional views.

Since sexual and gendered differences are now key features to be analyzed in the archaeology of the modern world, Voss (2018:188) reminds researchers to be careful not to reproduce their assumptions of gender bias and sexuality in present times when interpreting

the past (see assumptions of gender and sexuality in the past and the dichotomy (Franklin et al. 2020:754; Mrozowski et al. 2007a: 6; Schmidt and Voss eds. 2000; Voss 2000, 2008). We also must consider the role of colonialism because imperial administrations often enforced moral codes about gender and sexuality across the globe, including the West African region. Due to the naturalization of men's and women's differences in archival records, archaeologists run the risk of superimposing gender and sexual 'stereotypes' on archaeological evidence. For a long time, the male has been the foremost gender of investigation, leaving us to imagine how women function within societies (Baker 1978; Battle-Baptiste 2011:109-133; Bullen 1945; Mrozowski et al. 2000: xviii-xx; Voss 2009:32). Earlier studies have focused on the experience and achievements of men. However, the emergence of gender studies in archaeology has addressed this gender bias by erasing the 'silences' about women's lives because colonial histories are better understood when women's roles or participation are considered (D. Armstrong 2022:61-64; Beaudry 1989, Beaudry et al. 1991; Casella 2011; Conkey and Gero 1997; Conkey and Spector 1984; Franklin 2001; Mrozowski 1988:187-189; Mrozowski 2006; Voss 2009:30-34; Wilkie 2003). Research on women occasionally associates women with domestic life and men with public life— women inside and outside of their homes (Battle-Baptiste 2011:116). Material practices such as dishes and other household items are often used to either justify women's subordination in history or "discuss women's agency in capitalism through consumption and use of objects in the rituals of daily life" (Voss 2018:207). In this study, artifacts associated with gender go beyond dishes to include material practices— that signal occupational activities— that bring women into the public workspace, making them an integral part of the village economy.

As Voss (2006) rightly noted, research in historical archaeology on sexuality has often focused on prostitution (e.g., Casella 2011; Costello 2002, 2002; Seifert et al. 2000).

This study examines sexuality from the purview of marriage and childbearing. The colonial government might have sought to control sexual identities by encouraging monogamous pair-bonding and legitimate certain sexual relationships because “monogamous heterosexual marriage was ‘one of the most fundamental, enduring institutions of our civilization’” (State of the Union Address, January 20, 2004, cited in Voss 2009:33). They used power to manipulate sexuality and gender among colonial subjects by encouraging male-female sexuality to form the nuclear family, which appeared on archival records as a male-led family unit. Hence, the forced marriage of adult men and women was crucial to the formation of interethnic households in the village. Anderson (2020:114) reports the arrival of forty-seven liberated Africans from the slave ship *Dos Amigos*, who had not yet built their own houses. They were sent to a location between Charlotte and Wellington to establish a new settlement called Newland. Two houses were erected for these new arrivals. The men occupied one of the houses, and the women occupied the other.⁹ As Voss and Schmidt (2000:3) notes, “certainly, no archaeologist would deny that sexual activity happened among the diverse historical populations which we study.” However, objects with direct reference to sexuality are difficult to find (Voss 2012:23; Voss and Schmidt 2000:2). In contrast, childbearing and upbringing may leave traces, such as writing slates and baby bottles, found in the excavated house loci at Regent Village.

The study of aging and its relationship with gender and sexuality is emerging in historical and archaeological texts (e.g., Casella 2011:37-39; Delgado 2020; Keefer 2019; Lima 2012; Lucy 2005:43-66; MacEachern 2011). While it is currently unclear if age and gender can be studied separately, some studies consider age as a specific aspect of gender identities. For example, the study of sexual politics in college fraternities at the University of California, Berkeley, campus shows that the “multiple age-gender system relegated brothers

⁹ While the colonists encouraged same-sex households in this context, there is no record of same-sex intimacy.

into symbolic adults or children, based on their college class level” (Wilkie 2001:113; also see Wilkie 2006:25-32). In the Sierra Leone context, age is very relevant for gender because some individuals shift to a different gender category at a certain age. Moreover, a person’s age can determine status, rank, and role within society. Figures such as child, adult, and elderly are designations with a level of respectability and responsibility. Each type of age can take on different meanings and significance, depending on context. Thus, “age is ... a cultural construction resting on biological foundations” (Lucy 2005:61; also see Trovato 2016:6). Children¹⁰, adults, and the elderly feature prominently in the archival and archaeological records at Regent Village. As Anderson (2020:85) notes, the colonial officials counted the liberated Africans, recorded their sex, and “in glance decided their age, whether above or under fourteen” (Anderson 2020:85). Fourteen years or younger became apprentices; being classified as over fourteen meant forced marriage for adult women, and the forced enlistment of men into the army, navy, or migration to the West Indies served the needs of the British Empire (Anderson 2020:99, 103). Hence, “a liberated African’s age and gender were also important in dictating what liberation actually meant” (Anderson 2020:98).

Finally, religion¹¹ and ritual practices are intertwined with nationality, ethnicity, race, and class. Scholars have varying definitions of religion and rituals (e.g., Durkheim 1961 [1912]; Insoll 2004, ed. 2012; Ogundiran and Saunders eds. 2014a). For Durkheim, ritual is the form of action in which religion is realized. Insoll also describes ritual as a practice of religion but equates religion with culture. However, Ogundiran and Saunders offers a fairly different perspective. Here, religion needs rituals, but not all ritual actions are in the domain of religion. However, they exist in a continuum with each other (Ogundiran and Saunders 2014b: 6). Both religion and rituals are social constructions that are culturally specific and a

¹⁰ Children can be grouped into infant, child, or adolescent based on age. However, there is no standardized classification (Trovato 2016:6). They are social actors and learn their roles through material culture (Trovato 2016:9).

¹¹ Religion is another factor that places people within social order in the Colony.

product of human history. They involve the use of power and authority in both spiritual and secular realms. Religion and rituals also involve the entanglements of humans and non-human worlds in material terms and can reveal the process of being and becoming (D. Armstrong 2015; Insoll 2009a, 2009b; Norman 2014:46-67; Ogundiran and Saunders 2014b: 3, 9; Turner 1967:93-111).

Religion and rituals are two key areas for understanding the African and African Diaspora experiences (D. Armstrong 2019c: 567-580; Singleton 1998a). In the colony of Sierra Leone, the missionaries in the villages introduced new religious practices to the liberated Africans and their descendants that were incorporated into everyday life at Regent Village. Islam also played an important role in the development of the Colony¹² (Cole 2013). The diverse liberated Africans and their descendants that settled in the villages either by choice or necessity reinvented themselves by continuing familiar ritual practices or adopting new ones upon arrival. They may have also modified many religions from their homelands to adapt to a new context. This is necessary because “in rituals, disrupted memories are restored, broken generations are repaired, and the links between the past, present, and future are strengthened” (Ogundiran and Saunders 2014:24; also see Mrozowski 2009d: 388-389; 2009a: 145; Mrozowski et al. 2005:68-69 for a similar view). Rituals may involve healing, longevity, or protection. It may also involve rites of passage such as commemoration and burial rituals. More importantly, ritual is embedded in material practices because material objects can become sacralized. For example, Indigenous peoples in Upstate New York planted tobacco for religious practices (D. Armstrong 2022:209). However, belief systems and spiritual practices are difficult to pin down archaeologically (D. Armstrong 2022:396; LaRoche 2014:300). There is, therefore, a need to find clear evidence of recurrent and

¹² Some Aku were already converted to Islam before arriving in the Colony and continued their preferred religion, despite pressure from the colonial government.

repeated specialized use of certain objects. For example, scholars have noted the use of metal objects such as cutlasses for religious practices and belief systems which scholars have interpreted as possible evidence of resistance on plantations in the Americas (D. Armstrong 2019c: 568, 571-572; Singleton 2015a).

However, a contextual approach is required to understand religious beliefs and ritual practices (Mrozowski 2013:220-240; Ogundiran and Saunders eds. 2014; Singleton 2010b: 713). While there is no clear archaeological visibility for the rituals or African-magic religious practices in the two excavated house loci, a few handstones can be linked with preparing herbal medicine for African healing practices. Some events (e.g., *Komojade*) implicated in ritual processes through the use of liquor in social life were recovered from both house loci. Other ritual practices appeared in the archival records (Anderson 2020:192-169). For example, the belief in Orisa was common in the Colony, particularly the *Egungun* or *Agugu* and *Hunting* society ritual practices that happen in public spaces. Some of the liberated Africans, known as the *Aku*, worshipped thunder and lightning. Censuses occasionally indicate the number of pagans in the Colony (Census 1921:42, 1921:40-42). Two churches built in the first half of the nineteenth century are still in use in the village. Scholars have also reported the establishment of mission plantations in the Americas “for the purpose of converting Amerindians and enslaved Africans to Christianity” (Singleton 2018:293).

2.5.1 Ethnicities of liberated Africans and Indigenous Groups in the Colony

The Vice-Admiralty records indicate that the earliest liberated Africans (1808-1819) were primarily enslaved in the Sierra Leone region and freed by the Vice-Admiralty Court in Freetown. The British Royal Navy on the West Atlantic Sea did not capture these earlier arrivals. Instead, they were “captured through small, armed raids conducted from Freetown against coastal barracoons” (Anderson 2020:34). Hence, some of the earliest villages, such as

Regent, were possibly established by arrivals within the Upper Guinea Coast before the British Royal Navy concentrated on transatlantic slave vessels leaving the ports and coastal lines in the Bights of Benin and Biafra, and to a lesser extent West Central Africa. However, ports and coastlines do not determine the societies where the liberated Africans were enslaved because they are for the collection and shipment of people and goods (Anderson 2020:149).

Scholars have turned their attention to church missionary school rosters, Koelle's *Polygotta Africana*, the 1848 census¹³, and ethnolinguistic provenance names in the Liberated African registers to identify the ethnicities of many groups and sub-groupings in the Colony (e.g., see Anderson 2020:30-65; Curtin 1969; Misevich 2008:155-175, 2016:249; Nwokeji and Eltis 2002:368). The results of these studies show that Yoruba¹⁴ speakers were the largest group in the Colony, followed by the Igbo speakers¹⁵, Popo¹⁶, and Hausa¹⁷ (Anderson 2020:149, 153, 159). However, as Anderson (2020:10) aptly demonstrates, people did not self-identify as they had previously done in their homelands. For example, a liberated African “with a Yoruba name would likely not self-identify as ‘Yoruba’ in this era” (Anderson 2020:41-42) because the Egba, Ijebu, Ijesa, and Oyo arrivals were known as *Aku* in Sierra Leone. The same applies to the Igbos. Hence, Yoruba speakers and Igbo speakers are now the conventions for identifying these ethnicities in the colonial archives. “The earliest CMS school registers include “*Accoo*” children with Muslim names, such as *Abdool Messeeh*, a

¹³ The 1848 census only covers the liberated African population and their descendants in Freetown (Anderson 2020:39). This means the census does not apply to the lives of the liberated Africans and their descendants at Regent Village. As shown in Chapter 1, some of the arrivals left the Colony either as indentured servants in the Caribbean or returned to the Bight of Biafra to spread Christianity in the region. These factors affect the proper recording of ethnic identities in the liberated African villages.

¹⁴ The Yoruba speakers consisted of the Egba, Ijebu, Ijesa, Ife, Ekiti, and Oyo arrivals, known as *Aku* in Sierra Leone.

¹⁵ The words— Igbo, Calabar, and Moco were used interchangeably in the Colony. The Moco people are *Ibibio* speakers wholly or partially associated with the Anang (Anderson 2020:147; Fyfe 1962:170).

¹⁶ Popo— These people lived between the Badagry-Port Novo area in the Bight of Biafra.

¹⁷ Hausa identity is linked with adherence to Islam and a common language.

sixteen-year-old at school in Regent in 1821” (Anderson 2020:63). Also, John Weeks Okrafor-Smart, a liberated African “in Regent Village, was born Okoroafor, an Igbo name given to males born on the market day of Afor” (Anderson 2020:41; Okrafo-Smart 2007).

The African Origins Project, an online database, deploys recognizable ethnolinguistic provenance names in the Liberated African registers to identify the ethnicities of many groups and sub-groupings because “African naming practices are often very regionally specific and can therefore provide further evidence about the geographic origins of the African diaspora” (Nwokeji and Eltis 2002:368; also see Misevich 2008:155-175, 2016:249). Thus, the results of this ongoing effort, coupled with ethnonyms of places within Regent Village, suggest that liberated Africans such as the Aku, Igbo, Moko, and Vai peoples and some West Indians lived and worked in the village throughout the nineteenth century. Their descendants also interacted with Indigenous groups like the Temne and Loko that migrated into the village as tenants in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. I now turn to the lives of the descendants and their social events in the Colony.

2.5.2 Ethnic Ambiguity: The “Creole” versus “Krio” Debate

As shown in Chapter 1, the reduced colonial surveillance that occurred after the MacCarthian era, the establishment of the Seventeen Nations, shared experiences and worldviews, credit arrangements through membership in economic companies, and Western education sparked unity and social bonds among the diverse liberated Africans and the freed African American returnees resettled in the Colony, and some Indigenous groups of the Sierra Leone peninsula and the interior. The British Parliament Legislation in 1853, which declared all inhabitants in the Colony as British subjects, have also been put forward as an additional factor that contributed to the coalescence of these diverse freed people, resulting in the birth of a new ethnicity (Cole 2006:42; Fyfe 1979; Peterson 1969; Porter 1963:94; Thayer 1991:223). While there is a consensus on the emergence of the new ethnicity in the mid-nineteenth century, the

ethnonym for this new group has been debated among historians, linguists, and journalists alike for several decades. The debate examines whether the term ‘Krio’ (African derivation) or ‘Creole’ (European derivation) is the most meaningful and appropriate name for the new ethnicity.

Early historians of Sierra Leone, such as Fyfe (1962), Kup (1975), Peterson (1969), and Porter (1963), among others, refer to the descendants of liberated Africans in Sierra Leone as Creole, meaning children born in the Colony and their language identified as Krio. However, later Sierra Leonean historians and linguists (e.g., Cole 2006, 2013; Wyse 1979, 1980, 1989; Fyfe and Jones 1980) preferred the term ‘Krio’ and used it to represent both the people and their language. Citing Fyfe and Jones (1980) and Nicol (1949), Wyse (1989:6) notes, “the word Krio is derived from the Yoruba expression—‘[A]Kiriyo,’ which means to walk about and be satisfied.” The ‘Kiri’ is a verb (to walk about), and ‘yo’ is an adjective (to be full or satisfied) (Wyse 1979:411). Analytically, A/kiri/yo can be contracted into ‘Kriyo’ when ‘A’ and the first ‘I’ is omitted, allowing K to be appropriated to the second syllable—‘Kri’ which is then added to ‘yo’ to form Kri-yo (Nicol 1949:903; Wyse 1980:17). Over time, ‘Y’ is also omitted or silenced, which became the ‘Krio’ that is commonly used today (Wyse 1988:48).

Although Wyse is not the first Sierra Leone historian to use the term Krio, he promoted its usage as a name for the people and eventually became their ‘hero’ (see Fyfe 2006 for a similar view). As Fyfe (2006:27) aptly noted, Wyse established the Krio as an ‘African ethnic group’ with a unique identity and culture. To Wyse, the Yoruba expression describes the habit of liberated Africans visiting one another after church service on Sunday or after Friday prayers in the mosque and children of liberated Africans who often go out of the house for hawking and play with peers. Therefore, the Krio term is the most meaningful and appropriate designation for the people (Wyse 1982:324; 1988:48). While the term Krio

has featured prominently in academic literature published over the past few years, Wyse argues that many Krios had strongly rejected being called Creole. He gives multiple examples of early twentieth-century Krios rejecting Western derivations such as ‘Sierra Leoneans,’ ‘Creole Sierra Leoneans,’ ‘Creoleone,’ ‘Black Englishmen,’ ‘Anglicized Africans,’ and ‘community of half-educated people,’ using quotes from colonial newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, and missionary records (Wyse 1979, 1980:12, 1989).

On the other hand, the first use of the term Creole to describe a group of children born in the Colony can be traced back to early nineteenth-century writers. Prominent among these writers is R. Clarke (1863)—a Colony surgeon who recorded little information about the liberated Africans and their descendants. While the illustrations of the diverse liberated Africans in the Colony represent an example of nineteenth-century racism, the ethnonym that Clarke notes down for the descendants of these ‘newcomers’ is unclear. As Wyse (1989:6) asked, “did Clarke [who was the first to use the term] misunderstand the Yoruba expression—‘Akiriyo’ ... or did ‘Creole,’ perhaps in a corrupt form, come to be applied to all children in the colony?” No answer can be given with certainty. However, Clifford Fyle and Eldred Jones, two Sierra Leonean linguists, have argued that the term Krio could hardly be derived from Creole because “words borrowed from English do not lose a final ‘*l*’ sound in Krio pronunciation” (Fyle 1992:15-18; Fyle 2004:374; Fyle and Jones 1980). Rather, Fyle, in particular, contends that Krio was derived from the Yoruba expression ‘Kiriyo.’ This is a possibility because Yoruba words are predominant when it comes to naming objects, manners, and dishes associated with the Krio culture (Wyse 1982:324; Wyse and Fyle 1979:40). Although the spelling of the term has changed through time, e.g., ‘Creeyo,’ ‘Creo,’ ‘Kriyo,’ Sierra Leoneans have adopted the present term Krio as the designation for the new ethnicity (Wyse 1979, 1980, 1988, 1989).

Interestingly, Fyfe (2006:27) maintains that he finds the derivation of the term Krio from the Yoruba expression—‘Akiriyo’ implausible. Blyden (2000, 2006) has also questioned ‘Africanism’ in the use of the word *Akiriyo*, stressing the importance of the interactions with African Americans and local communities in the Colony. In a similar vein, Paul Hair (1998:112) has argued that the name for the new community in Freetown must have been derived from ‘Creole,’ drawing on the existence of the Portuguese term—‘Crioullo’ in seventeenth-century Sierra Leone. However, Fyle (2004:374) believes there is no evidence for such a conclusion because the Portuguese term ‘Crioullo’ is not maintained in any of the local languages over the centuries. Unlike the Temne term, ‘mpotho’ (i.e., ‘Whiteman’), which originated from the word “Portuguese;” Fyle argues that there is no evidence that supports the enduring use or preservation of the Crioullo term in Sierra Leone. As Wyse (1977:408) pointed out, the confusion over ethnonyms arose because the British, who brought diverse freed Africans to the Colony “did not make up their mind about what name to call them.” Although the term Creole was occasionally used in government documents, historical records, and newspapers before the late nineteenth century; it was dropped in favor of ‘Sierra Leoneans’ in the 1931 census (Fyfe 1962:445; Skinner and Harrell-Bond 1977:306-307). Subsequently, the term Krio became applicable to all ‘Westernized’ Africans on the Sierra Leone peninsula from the twentieth century (Anderson 2020:260).

2.5.3 The Krio Cultural Practices

Although some of the Krio cultural practices were more or less a mixture of African and Western cultures, a few practices were entirely African. The mixed cultural practices include names, dresses, religion, marriage, and language; while the entire African cultural practices can be seen in rituals, rites, customs, proverbs, and parables. While many of the African cultural practices are largely influenced by the Yoruba culture, there were few contributions

from other African ethnic groups (Wyse 1979, 1988). A reason for the large influence of the Yoruba culture may be due to the large number of Aku in the Colony and the resilience of their culture (Wyse 1989:13). There are a few examples in the Americas where there are also huge retention and survival of the Yoruba belief and customs (Anderson 2020:226; Falola and Childs eds. 2004). In Sierra Leone, the Yoruba values blended with other African cultures, the British, and aspects of American culture brought to Africa by the African American settlers (Blyden 2006).

For example, the Krio language is a mixture derived from Western and African values. The language has many English-derived words (about eighty percent), a fairly high number of Yoruba vocabularies (about ten percent), and a relatively low fusion of Portuguese, French, and other Indigenous African languages (see Fyle 1992, 2004:375-376; Peterson 1969:288; Sengova 1987; Wyse and Fyle 1979:40). However, its vocabulary, construction, and thought-patterns, as well as sentence structure, are heavily influenced by African languages, especially Yoruba (Wyse 1989:12). Another example of a mixture of African and Western values can be seen in the naming patterns. After emancipation, the liberated Africans took European names (e.g., David Noah, Emmanuel Cline, Thomas King, James George), usually the name of the person to which they are apprenticed or the person in Britain who provided financial support for their resettlement in the Colony (Alie 1990). Only a few liberated Africans retained their African first names or full names (e.g., Ajayi, Ali Eisami Gazirmabe). The combination of African first names and European surnames became a distinguishing feature of the Krios (Fyfe 1962:467-468; Wyse 1982). The African name (Bankole, Beoku, Tuboku) is added to the European name (Betts, Bright, Cole, Davies, Metzger) with the use of a hyphen to form names such as Bankole-Bright, Beoku-Betts, and Tuboku-Metzger (see Porter 1963:81-82; Wyse 1989:9; Wyse and Fyle 1979:44 for more examples). Marriage ceremonies also reflect the mixture of Western and African values

because intermarriage was a common practice among the descendants of diverse liberated Africans, African American returnees, and some Indigenous groups of the Sierra Leone peninsula (Fyle 2004:373; Porter 1963:106). Krio dresses such as *Kabasloth* (a tent-like dress) and print demonstrate a mix of African and Western styles. However, it is important to note that Krios occasionally wear entirely African dresses such as *Agbada* (man's gown), *shokoto* (trousers), *buba* (women's dress top), and *lappa* (women's waist wrapper) (see Wyse 1989:9-10, xii).

Religion in the Colony was a mixture of African, Middle Eastern, and Western values. As noted earlier, the Nova Scotians were already Christians before they arrived in Sierra Leone. The Nova Scotians wanted to convert the Maroons and the liberated Africans to Christianity, but this was only possible in some cases (Blyden 2006). While a few liberated Africans became Christians, some continued to practice African traditional religion and Islam (Cole 2006:33-52). In some cases, liberated Africans who embraced Christianity continued to practice the African traditional religion, reinterpreting the elements of Christianity to accommodate some African traditional religious practices (Porter 1963:85; see Comaroff and Comaroff 1991 for a similar situation in colonial South Africa). For example, it was common in the Colony to see "a charm on the neck of the son of a family belonging to the parish church" (Peterson 1969:234). Such a charm was to protect a child from the evil eye and was not meant to harm other people (Peterson 1969:134-235). The colonial government tried to suppress the activities of the Muslim Krios on many occasions, but they continued to express their independence. The Mandinka, Fula, Susu, Hausa, and Aku created a fairly irresolute image of religion in the Colony by refusing to change to Christianity (Anderson 2020:248; Peterson 1969:241).

There was also retention and survival of religious practices found in the Colony. The Aku or freed Yoruba people continued to practice *Egugu* (known as *Egungun* or *Egun* in

Yorubaland), a masquerade of ancestor reverence in the Colony, but in a newer way (Anderson 2020:220-222; Fyle 2004:378; Wyse and Fyle 1979:44). *Ojeh* or *Hunting men*, the name for a local branch of the *Agugu* society is common in Sierra Leone today (Anderson 2020:225; Peterson 1969:264). *Poro*, a man's secret society common among the Mende and *Bundo*, a women's secret society common between the Mende and Sherbro, were also embraced in the Colony. *Aro*, *Agemo*, *Gelede*, and *Hunting societies* were also practiced in colonial Sierra Leone (Anderson 2020:261; Peterson 1969:268). The Aku also continued to worship *Shango*, the Yoruba god of thunder and lightning, and other Indigenous deities. Missionaries recounted the use of the ritual ceramic bowl of the thunder god (*ikoko Sango*) (Anderson 2020:210-211).

The vast majority of the “so-called-idol-worshippers” (using Peterson's phrase) lived in rural villages such as Hastings (Ajayi 1997; Peterson 1969:50). However, a few also lived in Freetown. For example, some lived in Fourah Bay, Kissy Road, and spread to Foulah Town. They also settled along Circular and Pademba roads up to Congo Town (Peterson 1969:254). The need for protection from sudden death and illness and to detect thefts fostered the continuation of the worship of Indigenous African deities. *Gri-gri* and other local medicines were used to cure illness, and red water was used to capture thieves. The *agugu* was also used to curb excesses by punishing local offenders when found guilty (Peterson 1969:265). Finally, some rites and customs, such as the *komojade* naming ceremony for a child, *put stop* engagement ceremony, and *awujoh*, a big feast done in honor of the dead and to appeal to the ancestors, also retain much of African cultural practices (Anderson 2020:261).

2.6 Summary

This chapter has presented the conceptual frameworks I deployed in the investigation of the history of slavery, British anti-slavery policies, and the transition to nascent colonialism in

coastal Sierra Leone. It situates the Sierra Leone experience within the larger theoretical debates of colonial entanglements, cross-cultural exchange, and identity formation in a diasporic context. Scholars have devoted much attention to finding the right label for the relationship that has emerged between the colonists, colonized, and the global market. While I prefer entanglement and deploy it as a metaphor in the analysis of colonialism in this study, I have not invented a new concept, theory, or term. A reason for avoiding such inventions is that “[t]o make a new word is to run the risk of forgetting the problem or believing it is solved” (Spivak 1974: xv; cf. Thomas 1991:34). Moreover, in my view, developing a variety of terminologies could cause more confusion than clarity because it can direct much of our attention to semantics rather than to interpretative frameworks. This could also lead to what Thomas refers to as “making a series of *typographical gestures* toward [unsuitable terms rather than] ... working through th[e] distortion” (Thomas 1991:34, emphasis added). I argue that it is more accurate to use the term entanglement or “shared histories” (*sensu* Harrison 2006:63-88), as it directs our attention to a colonial past that is ‘messy’ or complicated, varied, uneven, and dynamic (Dennison 2012). By using entanglement in this study, we find different outcomes of colonial processes in ways not easily predicted by the colonists, what Michael Dietler would call the “unanticipated or unintended consequences of colonialism” (also see Comaroff and Comaroff 1991).

Through the lens of colonial entanglements, I have highlighted the complex relationships between people, things, and places, as well as the role of the local political economy and the increasingly Atlantic economy in shaping the history of nascent colonialism in coastal Sierra Leone. As I have demonstrated throughout this chapter, my usage of the term colonial entanglements in this research is to negate the simple division of the colonized and colonizer, avoid the risk of overlooking or reinforcing colonial powers, link several societies together in complex relationships at varying scales, and show that colonial powers

can have varied, dynamic and uneven impacts. The dynamic this mutually constitutive interaction has set in place challenges the unwarranted projections about domination and resistance under colonialism in certain contexts and gives additional support to the argument that colonial encounters are experiments and often have intended and unintended consequences. I also show that the mutually constituted relationship that emerged in the colony of Sierra Leone was consciously negotiated and managed in a contested and unstable context. The liberated Africans and their descendants variously shaped, modified, reinforced, and thwarted the policies, plans, and visions of the colonial government and missionaries.

I have suggested and explored exchange as an entry point into the analysis of the role of Freetown in the larger history of the wider Atlantic World and capitalist world economies. However, I do not view commercial exchanges as relations with Europeans completely divorced from existing political and economic forms. Rather I have stressed that a more appropriate way to examine colonial entanglements is to first understand the local or existing political and economic forms before looking at the global political economy that emerged through the large-scale migrations. This is why a brief historical outline that charts Sierra Leone's involvement in regional trade connections and the subsequent incorporation into the increasingly Atlantic economic exchange is necessary and covered in Chapter 1. As Ann Stahl so persuasively argued, historical preconditions influenced the emergence of colonialism in West Africa and equally shaped the outcomes of reform in metropolitan Europe (e.g., Stahl 2002, see DeCorse 2014a for a similar view). In this way, outcomes of colonial encounters are path-dependent, derived from the historical specificity of the context in which they are implemented. Therefore, due consideration must be given to the amalgamations and influences of earlier historical periods. While I have shown that the global network plays a part in the transformations of local economic network processes, I equally note that it does not determine the outcome of local situations (Pezzarossi 2019c: 83-

84). My main point is that existing local political and economic forms became adjusted to and transformed rather than overturned by intercontinental trade relations.

Furthermore, any study of exchange in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries must recognize the role of the Industrial Revolution and evaluate the capacities and abilities of social agents—from rural traders and local users—to affect the socio-economic development of the region. Instead of looking at imported objects, including new machine tools, as merely moved physically from places of origin, I suggest that the representations of these items need to be examined and interpreted in the context into which they were introduced. While this standpoint indicates that the liberated Africans and their descendants are capable of engaging in ‘industrialization’ and appropriating introduced goods, it is important to underscore that I do not privilege local appropriation over values of global relations because colonial expansion undoubtedly has its social, political, and economic effects (Pezzarossi 2014b: 146-174). The increasing global political economy may set the parameters for the choices that the liberated Africans and their descendants make. However, I also note that this global political economy is dynamic and changing, and that alone it, cannot explain the causes and consequences of the socio-economic developments in the Colony. What has been argued thus far in this chapter is the entanglement or mutually constitutive interaction of local autonomy in wider relations.

Finally, this study has explored the historical and cultural processes that shaped the lives of the diverse freed Africans and their descendants at Regent Village during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Through the intersectionality of various aspects of identity, I examine how they maintained various national labels, transformed varied cultural practices, and created a new ethnic identity that now served as means of collective mobilization for the descendant communities across the Colony. I also review the heated debate surrounding the descendants’ ethnonym, noting the ambiguity and the challenges it

poses for historical analysis. The subsequent chapters present and analyze the archaeological record documented at Regent Village. They show the implications of the diverse theoretical lenses presented in this chapter in the investigation and interpretation of household assemblages and settlement-wide data used to answer the research questions posed in Chapter 1.

CHAPTER 3

THE REGENT VILLAGE LANDSCAPE

3.1 Introduction

The settlements created by the British government for liberated Africans on the Sierra Leone peninsula and Banana Islands, eventually consisting of twenty-six villages, including Freetown, forged a new colonial landscape. Located in the mountains and plains of the Sierra Leone peninsula and the Banana Islands, European accounts described their beautiful settings (Charlesworth 1856; Clarke 1863; Poole 1850; Reade 1873; Seeley 1853; Walker 1847).

This chapter describes the Regent Village landscape, the field site for this study. It is divided into three sections. The first section introduces a household- and village-level analysis that paves the way for the description of the physical and social geography of the village site, including the house lots and their conditions. It then presents a synopsis of the village's climatology, geology, hydrology, pedology, and ecology, with a view to understanding the environment that its inhabitants lived in, adapted to, and modified. The physical environment shaped the spatial arrangement of the village and human actions, including agricultural practices. The discussion on social geography focuses on the demography of the settlement, highlighting groups of people that occupied certain locations within the village landscape and the reasons for such social groupings. I conclude this section with a brief overview of land grants given to the settlers of Regent and other villages.

In the second section, I provide a brief survey of archaeological studies on colonial landscapes in the Americas and Atlantic Africa. Building on this survey, I introduce a landscape perspective suited to the understanding of the historical and archaeological landscape of Regent Village. Drawing on Ingold's (1993) *form of dwelling* and Harvey's (1989) *spaces of representation*, I demonstrate how archaeological remains and other material expressions help us better understand the use of space, objects, and social relations

among the settlement's inhabitants. I examine the Regent landscape from three levels (a) material, (b) social, and (c) ideological. First, I focus on the material dimensions of the village landscape, such as house structures, cadastral grid and street layout, marketplaces, and the distribution of archaeological remains left behind by the inhabitants. Then, I delve into how these material dimensions influence or reflect social relations, practices, and people's engagement with the material world. Finally, I address the ideological expression of the landscape in two ways: (a) through a critical analysis of the ordering of space and (b) by viewing certain spaces as in-between, which strengthens communal social formation. While I examine how the British Empire used architecture and the ordering of space to reinforce European ideals of governance and civilization, I also underscore the ways in which the village's inhabitants engaged, appropriated, and laid claim to the landscape.

The final discussion provides a detailed layout of the village settlement, obtained through a pedestrian survey and mapping of the cadastral grid network. It also reviews the survey methods employed: how the pedestrian survey was conducted from street to street and at the scale of dispersed households, supported by archival research. I also provide a summary of the settlement-wide survey data, narrowing focus on two house lots situated on Fitzjames Street.

3.2 Village and Household Level Analysis

While African village life has sometimes been viewed as fixed in timeless traditions, academic perspectives over the past few years have underscored that it is dynamic, constantly shaped, and reshaped by broader regional and global contexts of exchange networks (Agorsah 2003; DeCorse 1989, 2001a; Gijanto 2010:33-41; Kelly 1996:2-5, 2016; MacEachern 2016; Richard 2007, 2011, 2016; Stahl 2001a, 2002, 2007). Many archaeological studies that assess patterns of change and continuity in African villages have been undertaken, and these provide a clear understanding of change in African populations

and can add to the broader comparative study of the entangled lives of Africans in the Diaspora. Here, I focus on how the lives of the liberated Africans and their descendants at Regent Village were entangled in broader regional and global political economies initiated by various forms of economic exchange through the study of material use patterns. Few archaeological studies in West Africa have documented how global economic policies shaped or impacted village life and how such relationships were negotiated by local people from a household perspective (e.g., Apoh 2019, 2008; Gijanto 2017, 2010; Kelly et al. 2015; Marshall 2011, 2018:724-725; Stahl 2002).

Regent Village is an agglomeration of households occupying private house lots laid out within the cadastral grid. I deploy a household and village level analysis, including settlement arrangement, household architectural forms, as well as the inventory of local, regional, and global goods, to reveal interactions within the village and its environs, and how the cultural landscape of the village was maintained or changed. A village in sub-Saharan Africa can be defined as “any relatively dense agglomeration of houses permanently inhabited by a small sedentary community of several households” (Wotzka 2017:109). Households in this context are described as a group of houses and their yard spaces located within a section of a village and occupied by individuals or groups of individuals, perhaps best described as “co-resident domestic groups” (Beaudry and Mrozowski 1988:5). The description of households provided here is synonymous with Marcus Winter’s (1976:25) definition of the “household cluster” concept used in the study of the early Mesoamerican villages, which extends beyond the dwelling to include their associated features and activity areas.

Village and household level analysis is particularly suitable for this research project because it provides insight into social organization and allows us to reconstruct how people lived, what they owned, what they used, and what they discarded (e.g., Allison 1999; D.

Armstrong 2003, 2019d, 2022; see papers in Beaudry and Mrozowski 1987a, 1989a; see papers in Barile and Brandon 2004; see papers in Hicks and Beaudry 2006; Hendon 1996:46-48, 2007:294; LaMotta and Schiffer 1999, 2001; McKee 1999; Mrozowski 1984; Mrozowski et al. 1996; South 1977:86-87). A focus on households also allows us to examine variations within a village and identify forms of localized self-expression that are not apparent in larger analytical units (e.g., D. Armstrong 2003:10; Bermann 1993; Gillespie 2007:31; Tringham 2015:219-220; Willey 1982:614). This is because household occupants, occasionally, may be able to negotiate or interpret the use of imported goods and local objects on the micro-scale (Pérez Rodríguez 2013; Robin 2003:311).

Architectural design, building size, materials, and associated artifact assemblages can reveal economic differentiation because households are the basic unit of social organization and adaptation and are sensitive to fluctuations in the socio-economic environment, particularly variations in the flow of goods (Carr 2000; Deetz 1996; Hicks and Horning 2006; King 2006; Netting 1982:650; Netting et al. 1984: xviii; Rathje and McGuire 1982:711; Wilk and Ashmore 1988; Wilk and Netting 1984). These material remains can also indicate information on subsistence and craft specialization, distribution, consumption, ritual performance, wealth, and everyday life (see papers in Brumfiel and Robin 2008; Douglass and Gonlin 2012; Flannery and Winter 1976:36-39; Hendon 2004; Hirth 1993, 2009; Overholtzer 2015; Stahl 2002; Santley and Hirth eds. 1993:3; Wilk and Rathje 1982). Moving across scales of analysis from the village landscape to individual households affords an understanding of the variability in what individuals or groups had access to, and what goods were available and consumed (Dietler 2010; Flannery 2002:417–433; Foster 2012; Hardin 2012; Souvatzi 2012). All these factors make households and village-level analyses useful categories for comparative analysis.

3.3 Physical and Social Geographies of Regent Village

Regent Village covers an area of about four square kilometers. It is one of the five villages that make up the Mountain District¹ and is the largest and most famous village of the five villages. The topography of the area is mountainous. The northern part of the village borders one of the highest mountains in the Western Region; Mount Sugar Loaf, which is approximately 761 meters high (Clarke 1863:321; Johnson 1984:4). Most of the village terrain is gently undulating but gets more rugged near the southeastern part, commonly known as “Up-Soja”.² Some areas are relatively flat, particularly the narrow floodplains adjacent to the rivers, where Jeremiah Street and some of the colonial-period house structures were located (Figure 3.1). The historic landscape has been heavily impacted by modern development.

Regent Village is drained by three main rivers, namely “Odo-pa,” “Pantap,” and “Ajumalay” connected by several streams such as “Farrah Water,” “Ground Coco,” “John Ogoo,” “Talami Water,” and “Baptize Water.” During the rainy season, these three rivers usually have a higher volume and velocity that tend to diminish in size during the dry season. These rivers are tributaries to major rivers draining into the Atlantic Ocean. The topography of the village requires a network of drainage systems, which allow the free flow of water through lower slopes. A bridge, constructed on “Farrah Water” provides routes for travel to the southern part of the peninsula. Water for the modern population is mainly supplied by drilled wells and reservoirs from the Guma Valley Water Company. However, the rivers provide water for laundering purposes (Johnson 1984:4). The “Hog Brook” area often gets

¹ In the archival records, particularly, the 1831 census, the five rural villages in the northern part of the peninsula, namely Leicester, Gloucester, Regent, Charlotte, and Bathurst were, placed under the Mountain District. In modern Sierra Leone, these villages and the remaining part of the peninsula are now referred to as the Western Area Rural District.

² As in the Yoruba language, *Soja* in Krio language means Soldier.

flooded during rainy seasons and material remains would have been transported to secondary contexts.

The soil of Regent Village is mainly lateritic, usually yellowish or brownish-red in color. The soil categories follow the pattern of the topographic relief, with the richer alluvial soils located along the stream and riverbanks. Slopes and hillsides are very stony, “composed of a close grained granite,” and dominated by gravelly sandy soil (Clarke 1863:322). Due to the topography and soil build-up from residual materials, archaeological remains are mixed and not exposed at the surface. Agriculture has been a major source of site disturbance. Erosion has been most severe in areas where hills and ridgetops had been cleared and abandoned. As a result, archaeological sites in upland areas have, for the most part, lost their archaeological context and spatial integrity. Conversely, in alluvial soils and along terrace remnants, there is a greater likelihood that remains have been buried and are less vulnerable to such disturbance.

Like other locations in the tropical rain forests of West Africa, Regent Village has two main seasons—the dry and rainy seasons. The rainy season begins at the end of May and continues to mid-November, while the dry season runs from December to May. The Western Peninsula has some of the highest rainfall in West Africa, reaching 2945.3 mm or 116 inches per year (Clarke 1863:322). The Harmattan, a cold, dry, and dusty wind blowing from the Sahara Desert, occurs in the village between mid-December and the end of January (Clarke 1863:322; Johnson 1984:4). The average temperature is about 23° C and can rise to 32° C during the dry seasons. The rainy season and mild temperature make the village and the region well-suited for agricultural activity.

Prior to the large-scale clearing for agriculture and modern house construction, the village supported a secondary rainforest characterized by tall canopy trees. Those who traveled through the Regent area in the past, some climbing Mount Sugar Loaf, recorded a

wide variety of plant species and a few wild animals or mammals (Johnson 1984:14). In addition to native species, cultivated plants such as oil palm, cassava, cucumber, rice, bananas, pepper, and a range of vegetables are cultivated in small gardens to support households or villagers. Farming was done at the base of Mount Sugar Loaf (Clarke 1863:346).

After liberation from slavery, the liberated Africans sent to Regent Village were first kept in the King's Yard, an area where the St. Charles Church and the present primary school stands—with a wall built around the temporary settlement. They had European superintendents and later managers who gave them clothes and food until they were able to clear lands, cultivate crops, and build their own houses. These liberated Africans were largely former inhabitants of what is today coastal Nigeria, and they settled in various parts of the village in groups in the second half of the nineteenth century. Clarke (1863:324) reports that many hamlets in the rural villages were distinguished by the names of ethnicities inhabiting them. The results of the pedestrian survey conducted across the village support the archival records. For example, the Moccos occupied Gloucester Road, which was nicknamed Moco Town, while the far end of Jeremiah Street, became Oku Town—named after the Oku-speaking people. A Katanga Square is located along Jeremiah Street (Metzger personal communication, 2022). A typical village, such as Regent consisted of Aku Town, Mocco Town, Congo Town, and so on (Fyfe 1962:119-120, 138; Fyfe 1979:41; Peterson 1969:108). A similar composition has been reported in the enslaved communities at Cafetal del Padre in Cuba in the nineteenth century (Singleton 2005:191). The similarity in the village composition is unsurprising since some of the interdicted slave vessels were heading to places like Cuba, Brazil, and the southern United States (The Royal Gazette 1822:127, 220). However, there is also a slight difference. Some liberated Africans were possibly recruited into the Royal African Corps and settled in the southeastern part of Regent, called *Up-Soja*

(meaning up soldier). A place in the village is called “Major Ross,” which takes its name after Major W.J. Ross, a retired army officer who worked on the coast for several years and settled down and married at Regent (Fyfe 1962:609, 2007:30).

The lands that would become Freetown and the liberated African villages, including Regent Village, were traditionally held by local chiefs; the areas that are now covered by the Western Area Urban and Western Area Rural Districts. With some level of misunderstanding, the Sierra Leone Company Transfer Act 1807 declared all the lands in these districts to be “fully and absolutely vested in His Majesty, his heirs and successors, for ever” (Renner-Thomas 2010:57, emphasis original). Afterward, the territory was considered a British possession and the lands as Crown lands. However, the local chiefs and the Indigenous communities did not appreciate the transfer of the absolute ownership of the lands to the British Crown, who offered it to liberated Africans to claim and resettle. In the liberated African villages, managers representing the CMS were responsible for measuring out and distributing house lots to liberated Africans upon arrival in the villages, and such grants were made in the name of the Crown. Citing Johnson’s Mission Book, Scanlan writes, “David Noah ... acted as village surveyor by measuring out and distributing house lots” (2017:190, 196) to the liberated Africans. The 1831 census provides the names of the head of households, who were men, the acreage each person owned, and the type of houses erected.

3.4 Landscapes of Everyday Experiences

The use of landscape perspective in anthropology requires a critical engagement with several bodies of literature that present different views, approaches, and results (e.g., Ashmore and Knapp, eds. 1999; Chapman 2006; Crumley ed. 1994; Crumley and Marquardt 1990:73-79; Fleming and Hamilakis 1997:765-67; Harmon et al. 2006; Hicks et al. eds. 2007; Ingold 1993; Johnson 2007; Knowles 2002; Lefebvre 1991; Lowenthal 1975; Shepherd 1997; Tilley 1994; Ucko 1999). However, such analysis is beyond the scope of this dissertation

(e.g., see Fennell 2010:1-11; Johnson 2012:515-525 for a review). Instead, I provide a brief survey of work on colonial landscapes in the Americas and Atlantic Africa that resonate with this study. Building on this survey, I introduce a landscape perspective suited to the understanding of the historical and archaeological landscape of Regent Village.

Studies of historical, archaeological landscapes in the Americas have focused on the investigation of power relations and various forms of social inequalities that emerged from cultural interactions, including terrains shaped by colonial ideology, geometry, and surveillance; intersectionality of gender, class, race, and ethnicity; contested histories; genealogical histories; and the means of production and control of trade routes (e.g., Adams 2011; Analen and Melnick eds. 2000; Fennell ed. 2010; Kluiving and Guttmann-Bond eds. 2012; Mrozowski 2006, Mrozowski 2006; Rodning 2015; Rubertone ed. 2008; Singleton ed. 1999; Shackel ed. 2001; Shackel and Chambers eds. 2004; Yamin and Metheny eds. 1996). Like the Americanist, Africanist Archaeologists working in Atlantic Africa have often broadened the definition of historical landscape to include Indigenous and European creation based on negotiated relationships. These scholars have moved beyond seeing historical landscapes as places where archaeological sites such as European forts, lodges, plantations, and castles are situated, to include African settlements further inland from the coast, showing the complexity of human interaction and experience (Amartey 2021; DeCorse 2001a, ed. 2016; Gokee 2012; Hall 2000; Monroe 2003; Norman 2008; Ogundiran and Falola eds. 2007; S.H. Reid 2022; A.M. Reid and Lane eds. 2004; Stahl 2001a; Thiaw 1999).

In the colonial context on the African continent, studies addressing questions about the colonial ideology and landscape shaped by the empowered and subverted by the disempowered have been limited. Hall's (2000) study of order or form of the colonial built environment of South Africa and the Chesapeake and Apoh's (2008, 2019) account of the grid plan, architecture, and strategic positioning of German and British colonial settlements

in the Kpando and Todzi area in Togoland offer interesting and alternative readings of these landscapes. Ogundiran and Ogunfolakan's (2017) archaeological investigation at the Odùduwà Grove in Ile-Ife, Nigeria, examines the broad socio-cultural processes that have shaped the cultural landscape of the grove, focusing on the materiality of colonial and postcolonial modernity and its implications for rituals and feasting.

Furthermore, Richard's (2011) use of landscape approaches to study French colonialism in the Siin region of Senegal reveals change and continuity in peanut farming—a cash crop economy that burgeoned during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Similarly, Weiss (2011) examines diamond mining in South Africa during British colonial rule through a change in hotel and canteen meal services determined by sets of dining wares. Still on South Africa, Klose and Malan's (2003:49-59) analysis of imported ceramics such as tablewares at Tenant Street in Cape Town, South Africa, during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries show a pattern similar to those found in Australia, Canada, and later with New Zealand. In Eastern Africa, Croucher's (2011) analysis of nineteenth-century imported ceramics recovered from a multi-ethnic colonial settlement of Zanzibar revealed a commodity chain linked with the Indian Ocean trade (see Marshall 2018:717-740 for a review of Maroonage archaeology in Kenya).

Based on the preceding discussion, the landscape perspective used in this study is inspired by recent trends in Americanist historical archaeology that view past landscapes as arenas of relations of inequality, contested histories, genealogical histories, and social group identities (Beaudry 1986; Fennell ed. 2010). I view the Regent landscape as repositories of displacement, resettlement, and regeneration; memories and invented traditions; legitimization of power structures; and tension for freedom because places and routes become “important in the framing of histories” (Law Pezzarossi 2020:129). Instead of perceiving the landscape as an imperial fantasy or colonial desire to be found or a mere object to be

captured, I illustrate European encounters with the physical environment of Regent Village and how the colonists, the liberated Africans and Indigenous groups, including their descendants, play a part in shaping it through activities of everyday life and living (Thomas 1994). It is through the material and discursive practices of everyday activities of colonial life that the village landscape is constructed, constituted, and continually transformed.

Following Tim Ingold's *form of dwelling*, the Regent Village landscape is viewed as a process and practice that can be material and symbolic in nature. It is about moving through and across it and the embodied experience that emerged from this process (Ingold 1993:152-164). The village landscape "tells ... a story of ... the lives and times of predecessors who, over the generations, have moved around in it and played their part in its formation" (Ingold 1993:152). It is, therefore, an emergent and embodied entity that entangles the "past," "present," and "future." This leads us to the temporality of landscape, where time is not given but articulated and re-synchronized through various material practices. As Karen Barad notes, "[w]hat we take to be the "past," the "present" and the "future" are entangled with one another," which are recreated and enfolded through the ongoing interaction or *intra-activity* (using Baradian term) in the village (Interview with Karen Barad June 6, 2009; see Mrozowski 2009d: 387). However, landscape can also vary through time and do vary in the experience of different groups or individuals (Ingold 1993:153; Mrozowski 2009d: 387). Below, I reveal the material, spatial, and embodied dimensions of the villagers' ongoing interaction with the physical environment and how this never-ending succession of everyday actions shaped them and their view of this setting.

One of the key themes of archaeological research on village formation is the study of space and its use over time (D. Armstrong 2022, 2011:87, 2003; D. Armstrong et al. 2009:95; Beaudry and Mrozowski 1987b: 6; 2001:118-131; Mrozowski 2008:134, 2009b:181, 2010:24-25; Mrozowski et al. 2007a: 3-4). This study includes the examination of both the

landscape and the built environment, which is dealt with from the range of individual households to the village level to understand how the inhabitants of Regent Village utilized space. As noted in Chapter 1, Governor MacCarthy had the plan to transfer European town planning and architectural styles to each Liberated African village because the “community of parish and villages ... and the culture of cities” (Mrozowski 1996:118) are common features of the English cultural landscape.³ He imagined a well-ordered village with Parish at the center and made each village reveal his vision by ordering clocks, bells, and weathercocks from England for church towers (Fyfe 1962:131). He also applied the generic grid⁴ of parishes and rectangular holdings in the Colony. Like England, the layout of the villages follows the cadastral grid system. The streets are laid out in a rectangular pattern and consist of many house lots belonging to nuclear or extended families. This colonial ordering would enable the collection of taxes and the recording of censuses (Pezzarossi 2020:921). The street grids could have also allowed the movement of goods across the village (Pezzarossi 2020:922).

However, the colonial imprint did not emerge on the village landscape instantaneously. The cadastral grid first appeared in Freetown in the late eighteenth century, when the settlement was rebuilt following the French attack. Maps of the Nova Scotians and Maroon Allotments in Freetown produced in the Book of Conveyances, show the first streets running in an orderly fashion, with regular allotments laid out along them (also see Porter 1963). The cadastral grid would spread out from Freetown to the surrounding Liberated African Villages. The streets made the cadastral grid a visible and tangible reality on the ground. The cadastral grid brought about private property and worked to train the inhabitants’

³ Archaeologists have also reported the introduction of English town plans and streets, English-style houses, and a meeting house in colonial America (e.g., Mrozowski 2009a: 143).

⁴ In colonial Sierra Leone, the Crown granted land to the liberated Africans and freed African Americans to obtain titles or leases. However, the colonial government decides how these lands are ordered. Land was often “allocated according to how the building would appear within the village, rather than on the basis of its fertility” (Anderson 2020:112-113; also see Fyfe 1962:169).

bodies to function with the geometry of the capitalist economic order. It made them “walk its straight lines and turn its 90-degree corners” (Byrne 2003:176). This biopolitical analysis demonstrates “how the capacities and affordances of living bodies and their biologies were drawn into colonial and imperial projects, past and present” (Corcoran-Tadd and Pezzarossi 2018:85). It also brings to the fore the entanglements of human and non-human existences. The geometric discipline continued its extension into domestic space, as wooden houses were divided into square or rectangular rooms (see a similar view in Byrne 2003:175-177).

Like other villages, upon the release of the enslaved Africans into the King’s Yard, they become British subjects, a process I term the learning of or indoctrination with “English colonial ideals.” The identification of remains of the King’s Yard during my fieldwork at Regent speaks to the issues of freedom and colonialism. Drawing on Turner’s (1967) concept of liminality adapted from Van Gennep’s (1960 [1908]) work, I view the King’s Yard as a transient space that determines the separation from slavery and immersion into a Crown Colony as British subjects. In so doing, my project also troubles what qualifies as “freedom,” bringing to a sharp focus the nuances of freedom and techniques of rule that emerged in Sierra Leone in the age of emancipation (Barnes eds. 2011).

Through the investigation of the physical remains of the colonial period at Regent Village, it is possible to say that many of the buildings, such as the police post (probably a post office in the past), church, and official residences, followed a generalized colonial style. The cadastral grid, old board and stone houses, and the St. Charles Church are products of ideological dimension and material transformations that Regent Village had undergone in the process of colonization. These buildings are mixed with the recent streetscapes of the early twenty-first century. However, these would have been imposing and prominent new structures on the village landscape during the nineteenth century. For example, the St. Charles Church was built in a prominent and highly visible location (at the hilltop) to have

not only a wide-ranging view but also to make it prominently in view. Its location on the hilltop provides a birds-eye view of the house settlements located on the flank or edge of other hills. This spatial arrangement allows for supervision and security purposes.

3.5 Changing Spaces

While the cadastral grid and architectural styles were ideal for the colonial project, as time went on, it was modified by local conditions (Byrne 2003:173). In the early years of the village settlement, many liberated Africans lived in mud and wattle houses, which were neither erected in a line nor remained in a location⁵ (Anderson 2020:120). In 1826, the Reverend William Betts wrote that “a large proportion of the inhabitants from Regent” had “forsaken their houses and lots in the latter town, to reside in a state of native wilderness & uncontrol and are separating into different tribes, whereas in the government towns they are mixed, without any particular regard to tribe” (CO 267/81 quoted in Anderson 2020:122). Some liberated Africans moved further when the land’s productivity declined because they engaged in slash-and-burn horticulture (CO 267/90 cited in Anderson 2020:122). As noted in Chapter 1, some liberated Africans returned to their homelands, while a few moved away to create new settlements along “paths between villages and intersections at the forest” (Anderson 2020:120-121). The LAD made attempts to stop relocation across villages. However, the limited European presence allowed such mobility (Anderson 2020:123). Anderson (2020:19) opined that “the relative freedom of communication, movement, and assembly [in Sierra Leone] allowed members of nations the ability to congregate and organize in ways impossible in a slave society.” However, in her analysis of the landscape of plantations in nineteenth-century Cuba, Singleton demonstrates how “enslaved laborers

⁵ Along the line, they and their descendants gained upward social mobility and built frame and stone houses, some are constructed within the cadastral grid (Appendix I).

sought their own vision of the landscapes designed to control them ... and appropriated plantation spaces for their own interests” (2015b: 95).

Over time, the missionary and manager oversight ended, allowing the liberated Africans and their descendants to further manipulate or temper the spatial discipline that the colonial government sought to impose. Changes in private properties, such as land transactions as indicated in the Book of Conveyances, coupled with settlement pattern reconfiguration through intermarriages and ethnic grouping, added to the complexity of the village landscape. The colonial government resettled shipmates together, but the toponyms of spaces within the village in contemporary times show that many preferred to live with their “country people” (Anderson 2020:107, 119). As the village grew over time, people regrouped along ethnic lines, “moving away from imperial authority” (Anderson 2020:121). While some may have continued to live together based on shipmate bonds, many moved across the Colony, including those with few “countrymen,” and created bonds between villages (Anderson 2020:120; Clarke 1843:28-29).⁶ Some also moved to find fertile land or closer to their country people to increase their chances of finding a wife (Fyfe 1962:169). Religious ceremonies also allowed for the fluidity of movement and regrouping because it was central to communal life (Anderson 2020:215-216). This changing landscape neither reflected the colonial ideal—what the colonists intended nor did it show a spatial order completely created by the village inhabitants.

Furthermore, since the village settlement patterns constructed limited family-focused compounds, it was necessary to create yard spaces where many activities of daily life took place. The yard spaces were central locales for creating and maintaining communities that evoked similar settlement strategies and choices recorded in many West African settings.⁷ D.

⁶ “In the mid-nineteenth-century United States, the landscape of slavery and freedom was contentious and fluid” (D. Armstrong 2022:90, also see 2022:89-95), similar to the Regent Village landscape.

⁷ Some studies in North America have revealed a different result. In these instances, the less privileged redefine internal spaces through materials objects rather than the manipulation of external architecture and landscape to

Armstrong (2011:87) notes the presence of interconnecting yards on enslaved laborers' residences in Jamaica, where activities occur. The enslaved built traditional homes, yards, and familiar relationships throughout the nineteenth century. In a similar vein, the inhabitants of Regent Village developed their own understanding of and relationships with the landscape. They organized the use of the landscape within the village on their own terms, using their collective knowledge to survive in a colonial environment. It is likely that this spatial practice that lies in and around the cadastral grid was maintained, updated, and possibly passed on from generation to generation (Byrne 2003:180). The spatial data in the village show a strong correlation between community formation and the subtle aspects of social interaction. The inhabitants cooperated, forged new groupings, and emerged as interactive participants in the village. This means that the network of social relations is far more complex than what is physically seen in the cultural landscape.

It is important to note that the changing spaces are not a product of resistance or strategy to undermine difference. Rather, they are entangled spaces with unintended consequences and unanticipated responses to colonialism, illustrating the village inhabitants' knowledge, understanding, and engagement with the landscape and their contributions to its formation. In this sense, local people were involved in "shaping and dictating [colonial] encounters and engagements, rather than just reacting to or residing in them" (Pezzarossi 2019c: 82). They play a constitutive role in the emergence of the village landscape in which they are fully enmeshed in it, fully dwelled, and continue to dwell "as active participants and integral producers of it; essentially as individuals and communities with a claim to and stake in the modern world" (Pezzarossi 2019c: 83). To dwell "is not merely to be inside it spatially ... Rather, *it is to belong there*, to have a familiar place there" (Wheeler 2011 cited in

express their aspirations for middle-class status (Beaudry and Mrozowski 1988:5; Beaudry and Mrozowski 1989c: 290).

Pezzarossi 2019c: 82-83; emphasis is original). Such entanglements cause “frictions” that shape all parties involved and result in both intended and unintended consequences at a variety of scales, which cannot be disentangled (Dietler 2010, 2018; Pezzarossi 2019c: 90). This idea of dwelling challenges the issues of domination and resistance through the search for artifacts to discuss agency (Corcoran-Tadd and Pezzarossi 2018:85; Pezzarossi 2014a: 32). Rather, it demonstrates that there is no abstract idea or grid plan imposed on a passive landscape or colonized population because the outcome of colonial processes is often shaped, thwarted, and transformed by the frictions or relationships that emerge between all parties involved in colonial contexts (Pezzarossi 2014a: 19).

However, I hasten to note that my goal is not to downplay the colonial power and the intended role of the grid system, which is to regulate the village landscape and its inhabitants. There is no doubt that Regent Village, like every other Liberated African village, was entangled in the broader framework of colonialism. Rather, I prefer to engage with the complexity of social life in the past. Put differently; I engage with the ‘materiality of place’ or ‘cultural politics of place’ (Jacob 1996:9, 159, x), and what Mrozowski (2009d: 388) calls “cultural historical space,” which means “the world in which people lived, the context that brought meaning to their lives” (Mrozowski 2009d: 388). The spatial dimensions of such entanglements or *spaces of representations* (using Harvey’s words) like architecture, streets, squares, and so on are important arenas of study because they are the locus of social expression and action (Harvey 1989:261; also see Beaudry and Mrozowski 2001:118-131; Mrozowski 1999:137). Here, I am reading about the social lives of the disempowered in traces of the grid that is constructed by the empowered. The disempowered appropriated the grid system for their own purpose, subverting the cadastral grid through possible gaps and openings (Byrne 2003:181; Ng and Camp 2015:158; Pezzarossi 2020:936).

Therefore, I suggest that it may be wrong to exaggerate the physical presence of the grid system. What may be essential is to examine the significance of the physical landscape and the social values of the individuals and societies that created it. The street grid, established on the landscape of the village to regulate the space and its inhabitants, eventually became a means for the inhabitants to reinscribe themselves in it symbolically. Even when the street grids are fixed in place, people move in, around, through, and out of this space. Archaeologically speaking, it is relatively difficult to tie material remains to a particular ethnic group and show how social groupings evolved. However, primary and secondary sources, and toponyms of spaces within the village in contemporary times, lend support to this argument. Moreover, the local articulation of the global concept of imperialism is always contextual and tied to a particular time and place. As Silliman (2005b: 280) rightly puts it, “the notion of landscape is a useful metaphor to organize the issues because it combines the physical and the social, local and global, setting and outcome, and spatiality and materiality.” What this landscape study has shown is a changing landscape where material dimensions influenced social relations, practices, and people’s experiences in the village over the past two centuries rather than the extent to which colonial ideals shaped the Regent Village landscape.

3.6 Research Design: Archival Research and Pedestrian Survey

3.6.1 Prior Research

Archaeological research in coastal Sierra Leone, and the country in general, has been limited. The major research projects undertaken have been under the auspices of AISLE. The archaeological investigations conducted by the AISLE in the estuary have revealed several historic settlements and outposts associated with the Atlantic slave trade and its suppression (Amartey and S.H. Reid 2014:7; DeCorse 2015:296-316, 2014b:12-22, 2014a). Prior to the current project, the only archaeological sites recorded on the Sierra Leone peninsula were

identified in a four-week survey conducted by Paul Ozanne in 1966. Ozanne conducted a preliminary archaeological reconnaissance survey of the Freetown area and the province, commissioned by the Institute of African Studies, FBC campus, now the University of Sierra Leone (Ozanne 1966:31). Unfortunately, his records are inadequate for the precise location of some survey areas or site assessment. Ozanne recorded the possibility of the Late Stone Age (lithic scatters) and Iron Age archaeological sites (worn-out potsherds) in the north and southern parts of the province, but the site names and descriptions cannot be matched well with the current landscape.

During the project in early June 2018, preliminary surveys were made of several sites, including Tasso Island, to locate and map abandoned house structures and related deposits dating to the early colonial period. The other sites visited include the liberated African villages of Aberdeen, Bathurst, and Regent to assess if they held enough archaeological potential for a dissertation project. In contrast to Tasso Island, the preservation of many of the nineteenth-century colonial structures in the three Liberated African villages visited is remarkable. However, they are being heavily impacted by recent development. My visit to Regent Village was very promising and encouraging. I was able to establish a working relationship with the headwoman, Reverend (Mrs.) Elenorah Jokomie Metzger. Limited timeframe and budget constraints made a systematic assessment impossible, but I managed to take photographs of board houses and other colonial-period house structures in the village. This short visit sets the baseline for subsequent research, which took place from February 2020 to December 2021.

In the early colonial period, the village system was established, growing in complexity, as house lots were carved from the forest. Today, the forest has not only been cleared, but large modern residential areas are replacing the colonial-period house structures. Nevertheless, the rich cultural history of the village is preserved in the archaeological record.

To study the emergence and growth of Regent Village, I had to identify colonial-period house structures where people once lived or continue to live, which were mapped and assessed. The survey was about determining the location of past structures, supported by a topographic map and conveyances, which established property ownership and boundary lines.

3.6.2 Archival Research

Documentary sources provided an important component of the project, providing for the identification of properties with specific individuals. I used conveyances, tax lists, censuses, and probate records. The main problem was identifying the names and details of the individuals who lived at each house locus from the archival records during the early colonial period. In fact, it is difficult to define the period of occupation represented because this essential information was not available due to limited access to the conveyances, censuses, and tax lists. This has some implications for the archaeological record.

However, limited information about land ownership and property transfer at Regent Village was found in the Book of Conveyances in the OARG in Freetown. Such information does not include large-scale maps of the village or land grants and expansion that could indicate how house lots were assigned to specific liberated Africans during the early colonial period. Less than a half (48) of the 126 volumes of the Book of Conveyances examined provided information on some liberated Africans who owned and occupied house lots in the village (Appendix I). These volumes also revealed records of house lots that their descendants inherited and/or sold to another party, as well as the price(s) of such house lots. However, there is a limited description of house structures in these records.

I submitted a series of requests to the National Archives at Kew for digital copies of old maps of the Sierra Leone peninsula. However, due to the COVID-19 pandemic, none of the requests were granted. I also made several attempts to search for old maps of Regent Village in the National Archives and the Department of Geography, both located within the

University of Sierra Leone, and in the MLHCP offices. No old maps of Regent Village either exist or survive in these institutions. I could only retrieve a topographic map of Regent from the 1960s, published by the Directorate of Overseas Surveys for the Sierra Leone Government. This topographic map, divided into sections, contains locations of early colonial, late colonial, and postcolonial period houses. However, it does not differentiate their ages. Comparison between the settlement size in the 1967 topography map and the current settlement size, visible via Landsat imagery, shows that Regent Village has grown over time, extending along Regent Main Road up to the G.V.W. Co. Babadori Water Reserve. While the houses on the map and those identified archaeologically match up in certain areas, it is difficult to trace the expansion of the settlement through time relying on a single map. Rather than surveying the village in its entirety, as it is known today, the settlement size indicated on the 1967 topographic map was defined as our survey area. This fraction of the village was investigated through a surface survey.

3.6.3 Surface Survey

The survey method developed in this study is to identify household and village settlement patterns. The aim of the survey is to identify, record, and map the material remains of the colonial period across the village. The objectives were to: (1) identify the types of colonial-period house structures represented, their locations, and their relationship to one another; (2) infer socio-economic status based on the sizes of houses and the quality of the building materials; (3) identify potential house loci for excavations; and (4) recover surface materials that can provide chronological and functional interpretations. I tried to document as many archaeological resources as possible to develop an accurate map, showing areas where colonial-period house structures still stand.

In this study, I employed both systematic and unsystematic pedestrian survey methods to ensure maximum coverage (D. Armstrong 2022:72-76; et al. 2007; MacDonald 2017:66;

Lightfoot 1986:485; Monroe 2004b; Pendergast et al. 1993; Peterson and Drennan 2005).

The systematic pedestrian survey was conducted in areas that are free of obstructions. I used landmark features such as drainage, bridges, churches, roads or streets, and a grid pattern of land use as guides during the field survey (Fowler et al. 2006:404-405; Insoll et al. 2007; Lightfoot 1986:485; Monroe 2004b; Pendergast et al. 1993; Peterson and Drennan 2005).

Unsystematic pedestrian surveys were employed in areas with extreme topography, such as valleys, and steep hills, or in built-up areas with obstructions, such as houses and enclosures. This survey method does not follow a standard grid pattern but rather takes advantage of exposed pathways, road cuts, gullies, and other exposed surfaces, examining them for surface materials and features that represent human activities (Fowler et al. 2006: 404-405; Lightfoot 1986:485; Mueller 1974, 1975:37; Schiffer et al. 1978:3-10, 1979:4).

The Survey Process

With assistance from the village headwoman, two locals (Allie Joseph Kanu and Sam Bangura) joined me in the process—a reproduction of a survey strategy commonly called a “direct historical approach” (see Trigger 2006:117-118, 510-511 for a review). A direct historical approach, in this context, refers to the involvement of devoted informants or descendants who are used to an area in the survey team. These locals take the archaeologists from place to place, showing them archaeological resources, such as historic sites present (e.g., see Ogundiran and Agbaje-Williams 2017:72-73; MacDonald 2017:67). Relying on the knowledge of these two locals, I documented the modern-day landscape, as well as the cultural setting of a bygone era. A limitation of this approach is that the researcher runs the risk of painting pictures of the past that mirror the landscapes of today (Mrozowski et al. 2007a: 4; Stahl 1993:246). I do not mean to suggest that history cannot persist over long expanses of time. The liberated Africans may indeed have occupied a similar landscape to their descendants today. However, archaeologists should demonstrate this continuity using

the archaeological record and not assume it a priori to avoid the risk of viewing the landscape as static and unchanging. To be on the safer side and keeping Tim Ingold's (1993) *form of dwelling* in mind, this research project addresses both the present and the past simultaneously. It highlights both the perspectives of present-day descendants and the lands in which their ancestors' dwell.

Through the headwoman, landowners were identified and contacted. Each day, the survey often began with a discussion with the headwoman and landowners to identify house lots to be surveyed, and avoid the properties of unreceptive owners. The headwoman's house (a board house) located in Liverpool Street was selected as a reference or benchmark, because of its central location. It was the first location to be surveyed. The permission of landowners to conduct a survey was not obtained in some cases, and these areas were not surveyed. However, pedestrian surveys were conducted in most of the areas believed to contain archaeological sites relevant to the colonial period. If the area was located in a cleared field with adequate ground visibility and landowner permission was obtainable, a pedestrian survey was made across the house lot. Afterward, mapping was carried out, and surface materials were collected and inventoried. If access became a challenge, these areas were only identified and noted in the survey forms.

The survey team, consisting of three individuals, was spaced at irregular meter intervals, each walking at informal pacing along the streets, modern footpaths, or trails, and frequently observing the exterior area of the individual house lots where permits were received, noting any surface features and materials present, and making opportunistic surface collections. The crew aimed to mark any archaeological materials encountered. Within house lots, a 'radius' or 'dog leash' technique was conducted around the house structure to collect surface artifacts within yard spaces (MacDonald 2017:67). We mapped structures that were still inhabited and abandoned structures that were visible on the surface, including yard

features. The lack of vegetation cover at the center of the village enabled clear visibility of street layouts and house locations. At the same time, the daily routine of sweeping yard areas provided clear ground visibility. However, the impact of yard sweeping is also challenging, as it removes surface materials and makes the process of ascertaining the provenience of surface materials problematic, with materials dragged across considerable distances. Wooden frame houses also leave limited surface footprints.

The field crew surveyed an area of about 1.8 square miles or 1152 acres. Survey tracts followed street plans or grid plans, and individual house lots. The crew meticulously scanned and examined surface materials, identifying colonial-period house structures and other related archaeological deposits. The location of these houses was recorded using a hand-held Global Positioning Unit (GPS), a ranging pole, and a 1-meter scale. Survey conditions were recorded following the content of the Field Record forms developed by Christopher R. DeCorse for the CRP in Ghana and the AISLE Projects in coastal Sierra Leone. The Field Record forms include inventories of survey collection results and field comments. Each recorded house was assigned a Locus number, geo-provenience, and recorded in the survey form using the house address within the street. The houses were also digitally photographed. The field team obtained several positioning points at each house locus, and these GPS points were easily transferable to QGIS mapping software. Using the GPS coordinates for each mapped house locus and related places, I plotted all survey areas and areas of house concentration to produce a spatial and distributional map of the village, overlaying the digitized topographic map of the village (1:2,500 scale) to illustrate the use of space during the colonial period (D. Armstrong 2019d: 157-162, D. Armstrong and Reilly 2014; D. Armstrong et al. 2008, 2009, 2012; Ball 2010:3-9; Chapman 2006; Conolly and Lake 2006; Gokee et al. 2020; Gregory and Ell 2007; Kosiba and Bauer 2013:61-101; Mosher and Wilkie 2010:82-114; Wheatley and Gillings: Figure 3.1).

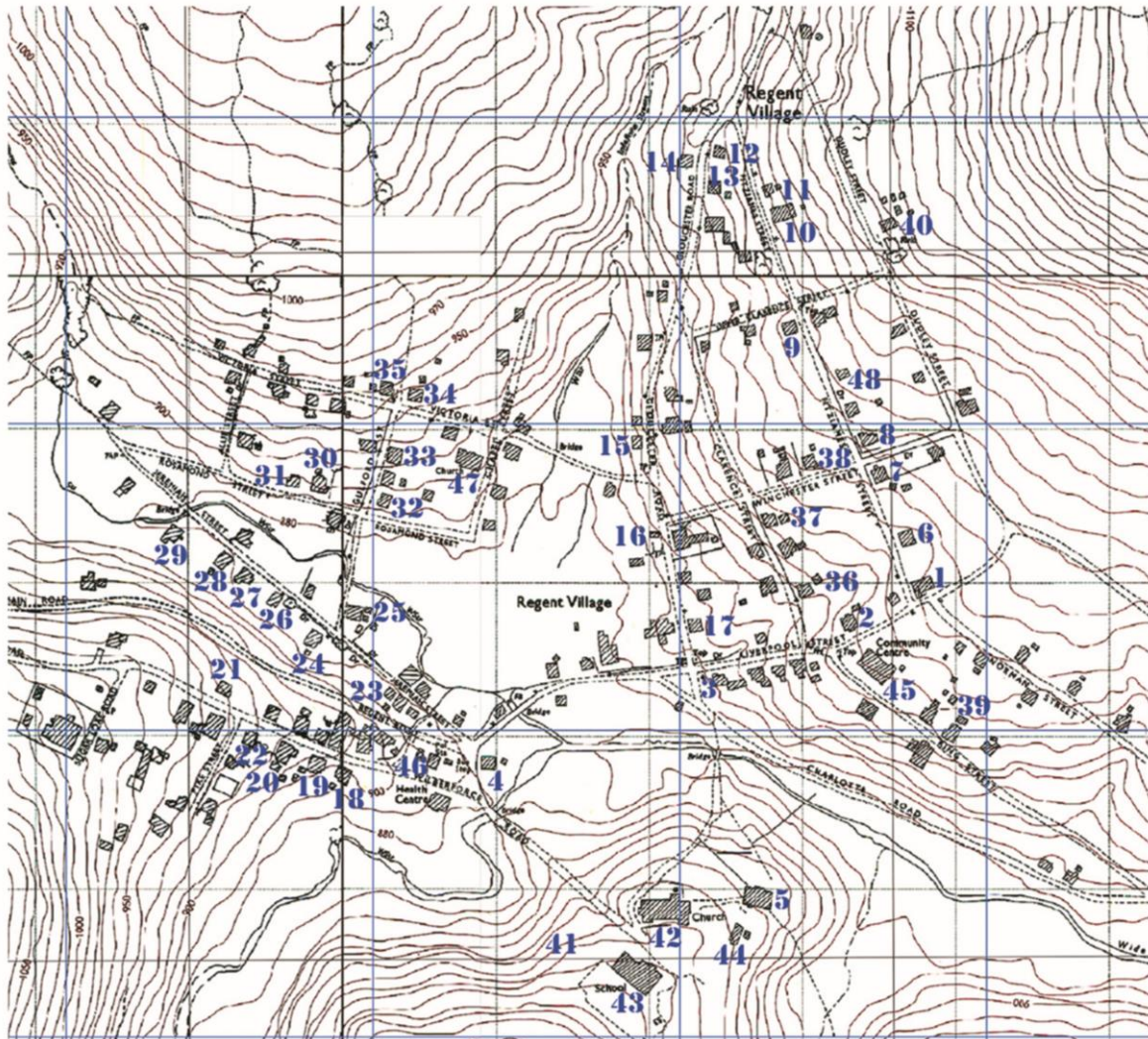


Figure 3.1: Locations of colonial-period house structures that survived at Regent Village indicated on a georeferenced 1966 topographic map. (Source: Courtesy of Mr. Tamba Dauda, the Director of the Department of Surveys and Lands, Freetown)

To augment this surface survey, all paths, road cuts, and erosional areas were opportunistically examined for archaeological features (Fowler et al. 2006:404-405; Lightfoot 1986:485-486; MacDonald 2017:66-67; Mueller 1975:3; Schiffer et al. 1978). The crew paid close attention to areas where erosion revealed cultural materials, mostly evident on feeder roads. This approach is necessary because heavy torrential rains often expose cultural materials on the ground surface, especially in areas where gullies and erosion occur. We also monitored other gullies or road cuts created by the ongoing road construction along Wilberforce Road, which was devoid of cultural materials, showing compact lateritic soils at

varying depths. This compact lateritic soil matches the sterile layer in our excavations. This match-up does not confirm that the village was uninhabited before the arrival of the liberated Africans in the nineteenth century. Further work is needed to confirm or refute this indication.

I also examined construction sites and obtained permission to take pictures of any disturbed areas. One house lot located on Wilberforce Road in Regent was severely impacted by construction, and examination revealed a few imported ceramic sherds and broken glass bottle fragments (Figures 3.2a & 3.2b). After the fieldwork was complete and I moved to Hamilton Village to conduct the laboratory analysis of artifacts, I continued to visit Regent to record any changes or construction projects. My local field assistants also kept me up to date on construction projects and disturbances in the village. With permission from landowners and the village headwoman, the field team visited these places and noted any cultural materials uncovered.



Figure 3.2a: The red arrow points at a mound in the background, which suggests the remains of a collapsed structure in Locus 21, along Wilberforce Road.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)



Figure 3.2b: Road construction activities severely impacted the mound representing the remains of a collapsed structure in Locus 21.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)

3.7 Survey Findings

Regent contained several archaeological sites situated in the center of the village. While some sites are located on hills or ridgetops, the remaining sites are situated in a riverine

environment, along stream terraces (e.g., Jeremiah Street). The results of the pedestrian survey indicate that earlier settlement occurred on relatively flat or gently rolling areas and/or locations adjacent to the floodplain.⁸ Over the years, the village settlement's expansion to other hilltops might result from a population increase.⁹

Regent Village can be divided into residential and non-residential spaces. Non-residential spaces are used in the wider sense to encompass spaces that are not private homes and yards. It includes the Kings Yard, places of worship, schools, community halls, marketplaces, narrow footpaths, streets, and roads that surrounded houses, rivers, and streams, which the inhabitants traversed throughout their lives. Residential spaces consist of domestic dwelling and their yard areas that operate at a more personal and individual level. The survey documented significant information on both residential and non-residential areas across the village.

3.7.1 Architecture

Archaeologists have documented architectural changes and the use of interior and exterior of residential buildings through the analysis of cartographic and pictorial sources (e.g., D. Armstrong 2022:29-48, 162-372; Beaudry and Mrozowski eds. 1987a, 1989a). Documenting architectural features was a major focus of the survey. Spatial and chronological information was mapped when available, including who lived where (when possible), the size of the houses, locations of religious and administrative buildings, and the presence of schools and marketplaces (Appendix 1). I focused on the overall distribution of house loci since the village setting provides spatial, structural, and material preservation. The field team was able to identify and map the layout of the colonial-period house structures, including partial

⁸ Current drainage patterns across the village suggest that frequent flooding may not have occurred in the bottomlands, perhaps making the relatively flat or gently rolling areas suitable for settlement.

⁹ While the field team identified high-potential areas during the survey, none of these areas were shovel tested.

remains of well-defined house stone foundations. The survey located more than thirty (30) houses and features on the hillsides of the village.

The survey team located forty-eight (48) archaeological loci, containing several colonial components but identified no prehistoric occupation. These archaeological loci comprise several residential areas (n=41) and a few non-residential areas (n=7). These two main areas (n=48) contained standing colonial-period structures (n=43) and abandoned lots without standing structures (n=5). These colonial-period structures include many residential (n=36) frame houses with stone basements or storeroom bases¹⁰ (n=32), together with houses completely built of stone blocks (n=4), as well as non-residential areas such as the King’s Yard, churches, a school building, a community center, and a police post built in stone blocks (n=7). No material footprints of mud and frame houses visible on the landscape, but the abandoned lots without standing structures likely contain remnants of these. Excavations of these abandoned lots can confirm or refute this speculation.

LOCUS	TYPE OF ARCHITECTURE			LOTS WITHOUT STANDING STRUCTURES
	MUD	FRAME	STONE	
1		X		
2		X		
3		X		
4		X		
5			X	
6				X
7				X
8		X		
9		X		
10		X		
11				X
12		X		
13		X		
14		X		
15		X		
16		X		
17		X		

¹⁰ The basements and storeroom bases serve as house foundations for building board houses.

18		X		
19		X		
20		X		
21				X
22			X	
23		X		
24		X		
25		X		
26		X		
27		X		
28		X		
29		X		
30			X	
31		X		
32		X		
33		X		
34		X		
35		X		
36		X		
37		X		
38		X		
39		X		
40			X	
41			X	
42			X	
43			X	
44			X	
45			X	
46			X	
47			X	
48				X
TOTAL	-	32	11	5
Note: While there are no records of mud and frame houses, the house lots without standing structures likely contain remnants of these types of architecture if excavations are conducted in such loci.				

Table 1: Results of the pedestrian survey indicating the preservation of each locus.

The house structures are dispersed; some were larger, more stable, and well-maintained than others. Some (n=5) of the colonial-period houses have been occupied until recently, while others (n=31) are still in use. Two houses were demolished during the fieldwork period (Figures 3.3a & 3.3b and 3.4a & 3.4b).



Figure 3.3a: A frame house located at Liverpool Street (circa July 2020).
(Source: Photograph by the Author)



Figure 3.3b: The frame house pictured in 3.3a after demolition (circa August 2021).
(Source: Photograph by the Author)



Figure 3.4a: An abandoned stone house located at Dadley Street (circa February 2020).
(Source: Courtesy of Érika Melek Delgado)



Figure 3.4b: The stone house pictured in 3.4a after demolition (circa January 2021).
(Source: Photograph by the Author)

Nearly all the colonial-period houses identified have been modified using modern construction materials, which has masked or covered their colonial features. For example, some of the buildings have been covered with corrugated iron roofing sheets¹¹ on all sides,

¹¹ Corrugated iron sheeting was invented in the early nineteenth century and became common over the years. It is equally possible that corrugated iron sheets were used earlier, perhaps even with the initial construction of some colonial-period structures.

and there is little visible evidence they were once clapboard houses, while one board house was renovated using cement bricks and plaster (Figures 3.5a & 3.5b).



Figure 3.5a: A modified frame house, renovated using corrugated iron roofing sheets, situated along Fitzjames Street. (Source: Photograph by the Author)

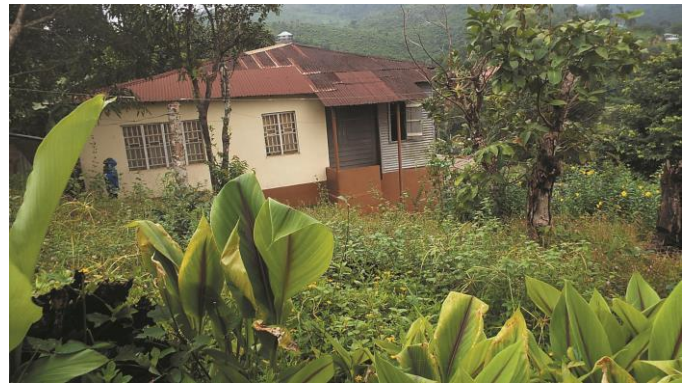


Figure 3.5b: A board house renovated using modern cement brick, located at the intersection of Clarence Street and Winchester Street. (Source: Photograph by the Author)

The addition of cement bricks or plaster to the stone foundation walls of board houses was very common. In fact, several houses with stone foundations in the village utilized cement either in initial construction or in repairs. The use of Portland cement, patented in 1892, instead of limestone mortar suggests, a post-, late nineteenth-century construction date, or more recent restoration work.

Of the 16 streets in the survey area, 14 included architectural remains and related colonial-period cultural deposits (Table 1). Only two streets, namely Norman Street and Upper Clarence Street, contained no colonial-period house structures or cultural deposits. The paucity of colonial-period house structures and/or sparse distribution of houses in these two streets are not a result of limited fieldwork or lack of visibility. Rather, it may have to do with site preservation. Additional archival research for old maps of the village is necessary for ascertaining which streets were inhabited.

One interesting observation during the survey is that the window side of many of the colonial-period house structures faced the street, and the front doors were within the view of the neighbors or to the side of the façade. This arrangement probably reflects Victorian

properties—houses characterized by rows of terraced housing on narrow streets commonly built from 1837 to 1901 under the rule of Queen Victoria I. Unlike the Georgian era, the Victorian period allowed an expanding middle class to build homes very simple in design cheaply and quickly (Bright 1984; Garvin 1981:309-334; Arnold and Morgan 1975 [1886], Peterson 1982:409-427).

The pedestrian survey results show considerable variability exists in the house structures, not only in terms of floor plans and size, but also in the construction techniques and the materials used. However, the variability in the house structures is not temporally sensitive. Since there is a lack of adequate archival records and temporally sensitive architectural features to date the structures, the various classes of historical artifacts, particularly ceramics and glass objects encountered during the pedestrian survey and excavations, can be very helpful in dating these structures. The field team had to rely on the presence of archaeologically recovered surface materials to define the period of occupation.

3.7.2 Associated Activity-related Artifacts

The areas surveyed yielded a low density of artifacts, consisting entirely of trade imports. Only diagnostic artifacts from abandoned house lots or inhabited yard spaces were collected and analyzed. These include imported ceramic sherds, nails, tobacco pipe fragments, and miscellaneous small finds that are clearly dated to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Soda bottles, tin cans, coins, and plastic dominated twentieth-century materials. It is not surprising that houses abandoned at or about the turn of the twentieth century and those still inhabited produced more recent materials. As noted earlier, yard sweeping, and continuous occupation of some colonial-period houses made it difficult to identify artifacts that date to earlier periods.

The total absence of local ceramic sherds or locally produced objects in the survey data is interesting. However, it is important to note that several factors may have impacted

the presence and absence of surface materials. During the rainy seasons, some streets and feeder roads experience flash floods and erosion, often leading to the redeposition of cultural materials. For example, during rains, the feeder road at Jeremiah Street would be covered in water for several days due to poor drainage and overflowing streams, while the slopes of Dadley and Fitzjames Streets encourage the movement of surface artifacts from higher elevations to lower ones. Table 2 contains an inventory of the artifact types collected at each house locus. It was difficult to determine the chronology of the house loci, as there is very little left on each house lot due to natural and anthropogenic activities, such as yard sweeping, flooding, and erosion.

LOCUS	STUDY	FUNCTION	CONDITIONS	ARTIFACTS COLLECTED
Locus 1	Assessed	Household	Abandoned and demolished	Four artifacts: a key, a whiteware rim, and two stoneware body sherds.
Locus 2	Assessed	Household	Currently in use	Four artifacts: an iron nail, a whiteware base, a porcelain base, and possibly a pearlware body sherd.
Locus 3	Assessed	Household	Currently in use	No temporally diagnostic artifact was found.
Locus 4	Unassessed	Household	Currently in use	No artifact was collected due to lack of permission.
Locus 5	Assessed	Household	Currently in use	No temporally diagnostic artifact was found.
Locus 6	Excavated	Household	Abandoned	631 artifacts: 16 imported ceramics, 102 flat glass fragments, 66 glass bottle fragments, ten glassware, 372 building hardware, two buttons, 28 metal tools and utensils, three handstones, and two local ceramic sherds.
Locus 7	Assessed	Household	Abandoned and demolished	Six artifacts: Four whiteware body sherds, a pearlware base, and a glass bottle fragment.
Locus 8	Unassessed	Household	Currently in use	No artifact was collected due to lack of permission.

Locus 9	Excavated	Household	Abandoned and demolished	538 artifacts: 53 imported ceramics, 209 flat glass fragments, 168 glass bottle fragments, four glassware, a bead, 28 building hardware, 48 metal tools and utensils, two handstones, 19 slate fragments, two imported tobacco pipe fragments, and three local ceramic sherds.
Locus 10	Assessed	Household	Currently in use	Three artifacts: two whiteware body sherds and a tobacco pipe bowl fragment.
Locus 11	Assessed	Household	Undergoing Construction	Five artifacts: two whiteware rim sherds, a yellowware body sherd, a stoneware body sherd, and possibly a pearlware body sherd.
Locus 12	Unassessed	Household	Currently in use	No artifact was collected due to lack of permission.
Locus 13	Assessed	Household	Currently in use	No artifact was collected due to lack of permission
Locus 14	Assessed	Household	Currently in use	One artifact: a wood remnant from a clapboard.
Locus 15	Assessed	Household	Currently in use	Two artifacts: two porcelain body sherds.
Locus 16	Assessed	Household	Abandoned	Three artifacts: a stoneware body sherd, a whiteware base sherd, and a whiteware rim sherd.
Locus 17	Unassessed	Household	Undergoing Construction	No artifact was collected due to lack of permission.
Locus 18	Assessed	Household	Currently in use	Two artifacts: a whiteware body sherd and a nail fragment.
Locus 19	Assessed	Household	Currently in use	Three artifacts: two whiteware body sherd and a nail fragment.
Locus 20	Assessed	Household	Currently in use	One artifact: a whiteware body sherd.
Locus 21	Assessed	Household	Abandoned	Four artifacts: a kick-up wine bottle fragment, a stoneware body sherd, and two glazed earthenware body sherds.

Locus 22	Assessed	Household	Currently in use	Two artifacts: a whiteware body sherd and a machine iron-cut nail.
Locus 23	Assessed	Household	Currently in use	No temporally diagnostic artifact was found.
Locus 24	Assessed	Household	Currently in use	Three artifacts: two whiteware body sherds and a porcelain body sherd.
Locus 25	Unassessed	Household	Currently in use	No artifact was collected due to lack of permission.
Locus 26	Unassessed	Household	Abandoned	No artifact was collected due to lack of permission.
Locus 27	Assessed	Household	Currently in use	No temporally diagnostic artifact was found.
Locus 28	Assessed	Household	Currently in use	Two artifacts: a whiteware body sherd and a glazed earthenware body sherd.
Locus 29	Assessed	Household	Currently in use	No temporally diagnostic artifact was found.
Locus 30	Assessed	Household	Currently in use	Three artifacts: two whiteware body sherds and a glass bottle fragment.
Locus 31	Assessed	Household	Currently in use	No temporally diagnostic artifact was found.
Locus 32	Unassessed	Household	Currently in use	No artifact was collected due to lack of permission.
Locus 33	Assessed	Household	Currently in use	No temporally diagnostic artifact was found.
Locus 34	Unassessed	Household	Currently in use	No artifact was collected due to lack of permission.
Locus 35	Unassessed	Household	Currently in use	No artifact was collected due to lack of permission.
Locus 36	Unassessed	Household	Currently in use	No artifact was collected due to lack of permission.
Locus 37	Unassessed	Household	Currently in use	No artifact was collected due to lack of permission.
Locus 38	Assessed	Household	Currently in use	Two artifacts: a whiteware body sherd and a yellowware body sherd.
Locus 39	Assessed	Household	Currently in use	Three artifacts: two hand-painted whiteware body sherds and a machine iron-cut nail.
Locus 40	Unassessed	Household	Abandoned and demolished	No artifact was collected due to lack of permission.
Locus 41	Assessed	Kings Yard	Abandoned	Nine artifacts: four writing slate fragments with lines and five whiteware body sherds.

Locus 42	Assessed	Church	Currently in use	No temporally diagnostic artifact was found.
Locus 43	Assessed	School	Currently in use	No temporally diagnostic artifact was found.
Locus 44	Assessed	School	Currently in use	No temporally diagnostic artifact was found.
Locus 45	Assessed	Community Center	Currently in use	Six artifacts: a yellowware body sherd, a stoneware rim and body sherd, a whiteware rim sherd, a whiteware base sherd, and possibly two pearlware body sherds.
Locus 46	Assessed	Police Post	Currently in use	No temporally diagnostic artifact was found.
Locus 47	Assessed	Church	Currently in use	No temporally diagnostic artifact was found.
Locus 48	Assessed	Household	Undergoing Construction	Four artifacts: a tobacco pipe stem and bowl fragment, a whiteware base with a trademark, a whiteware body sherd, and a porcelain body sherd.

Table 2: Record of colonial-period loci and associated cultural deposits.

3.8 Summary

While the use of archival records has allowed me to link individuals and families to specific house loci in particular locations where possible, house addresses are used to define each house loci to provide accurate and efficient identification of site location due to limited archival information. The real difficulty lies in determining the names of individuals associated with the house loci during the mid-nineteenth century due to limited archival records. A spatial interpretation of individual households across the village is provided in Appendix 1. Through the mapping of the spatial arrangement of colonial-period structures and associated features during the pedestrian survey, I examine village formation and social interaction as well as the use and transformation of some households through time (D. Armstrong 1983:431-442; 1985:261-287; 1998:378-401; 2003).

Regent Village is currently experiencing a period of urban expansion, with house lots with colonial-period house structures giving way to modern residential houses.

Archaeological sources are non-renewable (D. Armstrong et al. 2019a: 24, 2019b: 415-416), and the development and growth of urban cities and their effects on heritage sites have been reported globally (D. Armstrong et al. 2019b: 417-418). Archaeological resources at Regent Village are continually being affected and destroyed by modern land use. Plowing may cause sites with once distinct, stratified occupational zones to become mixed. Urban development, with its large-scale earthmoving and landscaping activities, often destroys archaeological resources located within a project area. Consequently, many colonial-period house structures have already been destroyed, and numerous others are likely to be destroyed as urban expansion continues. For instance, some part of the village currently bears only a superficial resemblance to the village setting in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The present-day St. Charles Chapel is even less a reflection of its former self due to modern conservation processes and interventions (Figures 3.6a & 3.6b).



Figure 3.6a: St. Charles Church during the colonial period.
(Source: Africana Collections, Sierra Leone Library Board)



Figure 3.6b: St. Charles Church in July 2020.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)

As a resource base, the destruction of these house sites reduces the possibilities of future archaeological studies. Unfortunately, archaeological site destruction often occurs with no archaeological survey or site evaluation. Hopefully, the documentation of these loci and an awareness of the value of this resource to the general public will help to generate support for their protection and preservation. A comprehensive and intra-regional approach, which includes surveys of other liberated African villages, would contribute to a better understanding of the settlement history of the Sierra Leone peninsula in the nineteenth century.

Nevertheless, Regent is fortunate that some of its earliest buildings are still standing. They provide a unique community character that evokes both a sense of tradition and an appreciation of the village's formative years. For much of its history, the village was made up of thousands of people, its size was quite large, and several permanent buildings dot its landscape. The village still boasts several key colonial-period structures, such as the King's Yard remains, a police post or military guard house, a primary school, and several private residences. These colonial-period house structures represent a non-renewable cultural resource, which could provide archaeologically derived answers to many socio-economic and chronological questions.

Based on our pedestrian survey, some inaccessible areas may contain some evidence of colonial period activity. For example, places surrounding St. Charles church and the primary school building have a high potential for containing additional colonial period sites. These places were not adequately assessed, as they were covered in thick forest vegetation offering limited visibility. The pedestrian survey was only performed in cleared areas. Therefore, this discussion of the archaeological resources at Regent Village is in no manner exhaustive. However, I made a concerted effort to identify key information about two house lots, which served as case studies for this research. This information is presented separately

in the next chapter. I now turn to the archaeological exploration of the selected two house loci, located at Fitzjames Street.

CHAPTER 4

SETTLEMENT SURVEY AND EXCAVATION OF THE KING AND JOHNSON FAMILY LOTS

4.1 Introduction

There are 48 residential and non-residential loci identified through the pedestrian survey. Two residential or house loci located along Fitzjames Street, which is part of the *Up Soja* area, were selected for in-depth studies. The selected house loci were based on recommendations from the Council of Elders at Regent Village since the archival records, such as land grants and tax lists for the village, were unavailable at the National Archives located at the FBC campus in Freetown. The criteria for identifying formerly occupied places to be investigated by the village leadership included: (a) the presence of abandoned colonial-period structures on the house lots, (b) access to conduct excavation was possible, (c) there was no conflict over land ownership, and (d) there was guaranteed safety of the field team.

This chapter examines house loci 6 and 9 belonging, respectively, to Mr. Emeka E. M. King and Mrs. Justice Jamesina E. L. King, and Ms. Molade Johnson (Figure 4.1). First, I explain my excavation methods, including the process of recovery, recording, and storing artifacts. I then provide the history, locations, and description of the selected house loci below. I also describe the size of the excavation units, their locations, stratigraphy, the house features present, and the artifacts recovered. Finally, I synthesize the data sets obtained from the excavations and connect them with the historical background of the two house lots to offer some interpretations of spatial organizations and socio-economic activities.

Excavations of the King and Johnson houses were undertaken over a 16-week period between March 2020 and July 2020. The size of the excavation team varied throughout the fieldwork period due to the COVID pandemic public health guidance (the village's leadership strongly imposed the use of face masks, frequent handwashing, and social

distancing protocols). In order to maintain these guidelines, the number of field workers was limited from four to six, including myself.



Figure 4.1: Landsat Image of Regent Village, indicating the locations of the two excavated house lots. Locus 6 is shown in a red circle, while Locus 9 is indicated in a blue circle. (Source: Courtesy of Mr. Tamba Dauda, the Director of the Department of Surveys and Lands, Freetown)

The field team conducted excavations six days a week between 8:30 am and 4:30 pm, taking a short break (30 minutes) at 10:30 am and a long break (one hour) from 12:30 pm to 1:30 pm. Artifacts were washed and processed on Sundays. The process and progress of excavation for each unit were recorded in a standardized field record form¹, one for each level. I now turn to the surveying and excavation techniques deployed at the selected two house lots, starting with the identification of datum points and establishing a grid system.

4.1.1 Survey of House Loci: The Datum and Grid System

A primary datum point was created at the two house loci, represented by fixtures such as a shed and a tree. This datum point was situated within the margin of each house locus and was

¹ The field team used the standard excavation record form used in the AISLE Projects.

determined based on elevation, fixity, and easy identification. Due to their locations on the eastern portion of the two house loci and obstruction in view caused either by house structure remains or topography, a secondary datum point was created to allow easy setup of the primary baseline along the north-south coordinate. Each secondary datum point was represented by a peg or an iron spike. The area within each house lot was divided into a primary (N-S) baseline and a secondary (E-W) baseline using the secondary datum as the reference point.

The primary baseline for each house loci was aligned with true north, and grids were created using an iron rod, driven into the ground. The primary line was established first, while the secondary baselines were added to allow the creation of grids across the two house lots. The outlines of grids, forming our excavation units, were created using long strings tied around the iron rods and labeled with masking tape. These intersecting lines at 2 x 2 m or 4 x 4 m intervals were overlaid across each house lot, including areas where the house structures were located. After the grids were established, each grid was given a number within a sequential numbering system, 001, based on the order in which they were excavated. Vertical control for each excavated unit was maintained using a string tied to the iron rod on the SW corner. The field team took data points of grid elevations to determine the beginning and ending level elevations, as well as the depth of features within the excavated units using the string line and line level.

4.1.2 Excavation Procedures

An attempt was made to excavate by natural strata whenever possible, and some features were clearly delineated. However, the majority of the materials consisted of sheet midden deposits with limited natural strata visible during excavation and were excavated by arbitrary levels. Each grid was hand excavated using hand trowels and small hand picks to break through hard deposits, as well as brushes and shovels as needed. All soil removed was

screened using 1/8-inch mesh. Natural strata identified by changes in soil color and texture were used as a basis for vertical control. In places where natural layers were unclear, arbitrary 10 cm levels were used. A minimum of 10 cm was dug into the sterile soil to confirm that there were no additional cultural deposits below the final level.

As excavation progressed, the field team monitored excavation depth and soil color change to determine levels and features. Excavations revealed the presence of three soil layers in many units consisting of both natural and cultural levels. Features cut across some of these soil levels. The soil deposition on the edges of the two house lots occasionally included small gravel or stone pebbles in Level 2, which are thicker than 10 cm and were excavated differently. The soil layer with the small gravel or stone pebbles was indicated on the stratigraphic drawing as the “stone pebble layer” (Appendix 2 and 3). The soil colors were recorded using a *Munsell Soil Color Chart* (Munsell Color Company 1975).

When a feature was encountered, it was given a number in sequential order beginning with one. Nine features were identified at the King house lot, while ten features were found at the Johnson house lot. These features were described in field notes and record forms, and photographed. A gridded square on the field record form allowed the excavator to sketch features encountered in each unit. A house plan was hand-drawn to plot the location of all features and the excavated units at each house locus. The profile of the excavated units was also hand-drawn, photographed, and described based on their texture, color composition, compactness, and cultural components. Open-level and closed-level photographs for each unit were taken. All artifacts encountered were collected regardless of their context or age. At the end of the excavations, all units were completely backfilled.

Forty-two units, gridded in 2 x 2 m, were opened at the King family lot, covering 168 square meters. This horizontal excavation uncovered features, such as a house residence, an outbuilding, and activity areas associated with varied functions. The excavation unit sizes,

numbers, and locations changed at the Johnson family lot. The house lot was gridded 4 x 4 m, consisting of 18 units (384 square meters) that were excavated within the yard area only.

The rationale for adopting a different approach in the gridding and excavation of the two house lots is two fold. First, there was a scatter of artifacts on the soil surface due to house demolition and recent farming activities, illustrative of disturbances at the two house loci. Second, unlike the King family lot, the stone foundation for a board house that once stood on the Johnson family lot is clearly visible on the surface. Since the field team was certain that we were outside the main house and could easily identify discrete refuse midden located immediately behind the house structure, a different grid interval was used for the excavation of the yard area as this provided the best opportunity for collecting a large assemblage of materials related to this household. While excavation grids of 1 x 1 m are ideal, the variation encountered in the two house loci and the presence of uniform stratigraphy consisting of three discrete levels made the field team excavate each house locus differently.

4.2 Locus 6: Mr. Emeka E. M. King and Mrs. Justice Jamesina E. L. King Family Lot

This house lot is located at #1 Fitzjames Street in Regent Village. The first known description of the house lot was in a 1891 Conveyance Book (OARG Volume 47:316). No map is included in the document. However, a detailed description of the location and the surrounding house lots indicate that the project area was bounded on the north by a lot owned by Samuel Davies, on the west by Fitzjames Street, on the east by the lot of William Perry, and on the south by Daniel V. Davies land, where the current village Headwoman's house now stands. Through the years, the property encompassing the archaeological site was sold, passing through many hands.

The first owner of the property was John Robbin Mason. The property was first ordered for purchase on November 5, 1891. It was registered as No. 275 in the same book of

conveyance (OARG Volume 47:315-317). The indenture was made between John Robbin Mason of the village of Bathurst in the colony of Sierra Leone, the Catechlot of the Native Pastorate Church in Sierra Leone and Ezekiel Thomas of the village of Regent. John Robbin Mason sold the house lot to Ezekiel Thomas for a sum of forty pounds sterling, granting all and every of the appurtenances and easement fixtures, including trees, to him and his heirs. In real property law, appurtenances mean any rights, privileges, and advantages that go with a property that is 'permanent,' fixed to the land. Examples of appurtenances include a shed, trees, and other attached fixtures. An "easement" refers to the process of gaining access to fixtures permanently attached to a property, and it is assumed that the board house was attached to the land during the time of this sale or transaction. John Robbin Mason may have constructed the house, but no documentation survives regarding the house construction.

Ezekiel Thomas passed away on April 26, 1940, and probate of his last will, dated July 22, 1937, was on March 27, 1941, granted by the Supreme Court of Sierra Leone. Ezekiel Thomas bequeathed all #1 Fitzjames Street land, together with all the buildings thereon, to Anna Theresa Thompson and her heirs, including Thomas Josiah Thompson. In another conveyance dated November 18, 1942, Anna Theresa Thompson of Woodland Estate Wilberforce Village, the widow of Ezekiel Thomas, sold the piece of land to William Anthony Osho Johnson, a Law Clerk residing at No. 12 Victoria Street, Regent Village, for a sum of sixty pounds sterling (OARG Volume 159:66). William Anthony Osho Johnson also owned other lands in Regent Village.

William Anthony Osho Johnson was a member of St. Charles Church but is also known to have been an active member of the "Up-Soja Hunting Society," one of the two secret societies in Regent Village. He had four children, namely James D.B. Johnson (eldest son), Justice William Johnson (second son), Elizabeth Horton (only daughter), and Sigismond Johnson (third son), who possibly lived with him in the #1 Fitzjames Street house.

James D. B. Johnson had four daughters, Justice William Johnson had a son and a daughter, Sigismond Johnson also had two daughters and a son, and Elizabeth Horton had two daughters and a son.

In the Register of Burials in the Parish of St. Charles Church, William Anthony Osho Johnson died at the age of 78 years and was buried on October 20, 1978. The High Court of Sierra Leone granted Letters of Administration of William Anthony Osho Johnson's real and personal estate to his surviving children, James Johnson of 8D Collegiate School Road and Elizabeth Horton of 19 Deen Street, Wellington, Freetown, on January 14, 2004.

Supplementary Letters of Administration were granted on March 2, 2005 (OARG Volume 609:109). The beneficiaries of the estate of William Anthony Osho Johnson were James D. B. Johnson (eldest son), Elizabeth Horton (only daughter), William Johnson and Cheryl Swarray-Deen (children of Justice William Johnson), Farella Johnson (wife of Sigismond Johnson), Shirley Johnson, Brenda Johnson and Bernard Johnson (children of Sigismond Johnson).

In the most recent conveyance, dated August 23, 2006, the beneficiaries consented to the sale of all #1 Fitzjames Street property together with the building thereon for a sum of Five Million Leones (Le 5,000,000) to Mrs. Justice Jamesina E. L. King (daughter of James Johnson) and her husband Emeka E. M. King on August 15, 2006 (OARG Volume 609:109). In this conveyance, the record of the names of neighbors of this project area has changed. The project area is now bounded on the north by a private property, on the west by Fitzjames Street, on the east by the lot of Mr. Rosenior, and on the south by Mr. C.E. Wyse's land and a private property. The house lot is currently fenced by cement block walls and measures approximately one hundred feet in length (E-W) and sixty-one feet in breadth (N-S). The location, dimensions, and boundaries of the house lot are indicated on the Survey Plan L.S.2206/05 dated November 15, 2005. A tax clearance certificate issued on August 22,

2006, is attached to the most recent conveyance. The house lot is described as having 0.2666 acres and is highlighted in red (Figures 4.2a & 4.2b).

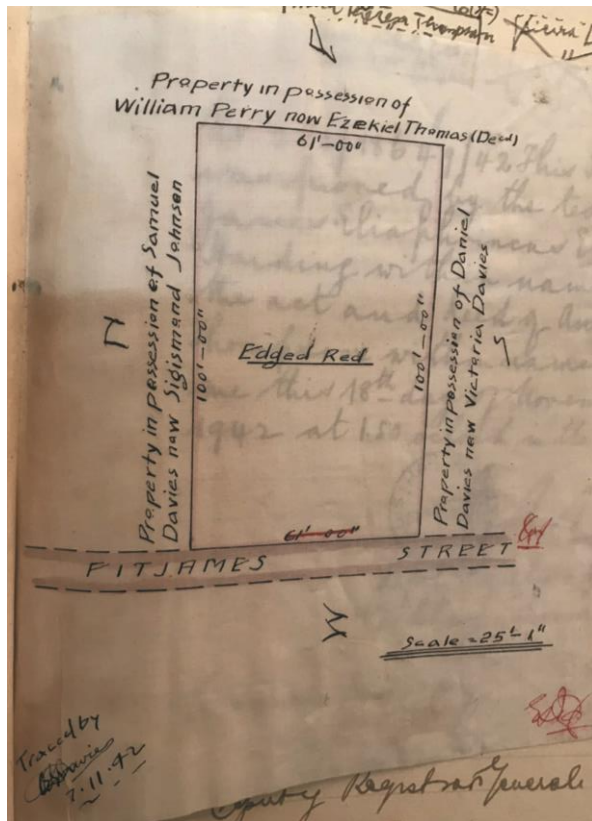


Figure 4.2a: Map of the King's family lot from a conveyance, dated August 23, 2006. (Source: Courtesy of Mr. Emeka and Mrs. Justice Jamesina King)

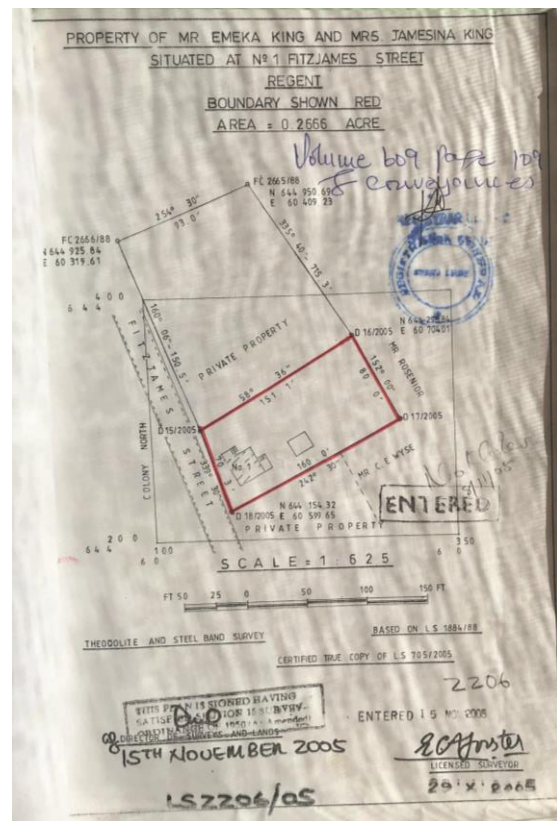


Figure 4.2b: Survey Plan of the King's family lot from a conveyance, dated August 23, 2006. (Source: Courtesy of Mr. Emeka and Mrs. Justice Jamesina King)

The house lot is now vacant, but the current landowners indicate that two structures stood on the property. One structure served as a residence, where the wife's grandfather William Johnson lived, while the second structure was located immediately northwest of the dwelling and served as a storage building. While the house lot is no longer inhabited, its appearance is well documented by the current landowners through photographs. During the course of the excavation, the landowners shared pictures of the board house taken before it was torn down circa 2006 (Figures 4.3a – 4.3d).

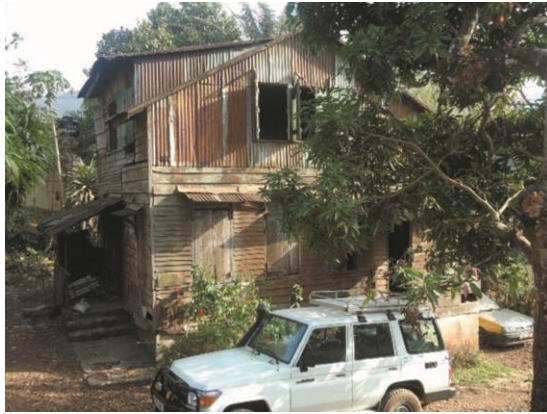


Figure 4.3a: Exterior of the house facing north.
(Source: Courtesy of Mr. Emeka and Mrs. Justice Jamesina King)



Figure 4.3b: Exterior of the house facing northwest and Fitzjames Street.
(Source: Courtesy of Mr. Emeka and Mrs. Justice Jamesina King)



Figure 4.3c: Interior of the main house showing the first floor.
(Source: Courtesy of Mr. Emeka and Mrs. Justice Jamesina King)



Figure 4.3d: The entrance to the main house facing north.
(Source: Courtesy of Mr. Emeka and Mrs. Justice Jamesina King)

The house structure was located in the western part of the lot. It was a story frame structure that stood on a stone foundation with a hip roof and an ‘upper garret.’ Photographs further indicate that there was a staircase and doorway on the northwest and an open veranda on the northeast side of the house. The door on the northwest side was the formal front entryway leading into a multifunctional room on the ground floor. The second floor consisted of a few rooms that probably served as sleeping areas. The presence of stone blocks on the

southeast of the land suggests that many of the stones used for the house foundation were removed when the building was dismantled.

The archival record indicated there was a potential of nineteenth- and twentieth-century deposits related to the house occupations. However, since no documentation exists on when exactly the original residence was built, the goal of excavation was to determine the location and age of the structure, and if the cultural deposits could reveal the socio-economic activities of the inhabitants.

4.2.1 Survey and Surface Collection

After clearing the house lot of brush, a datum was established by placing an iron peg at the northeast corner of the house lot, where a small shed currently stands (Figure 4.4a & 4.4b). The shed was selected as the datum point because of its fixity and location on a higher plane. The house lot was gridded using a prismatic compass, a ranging pole, a surveyor staff, and measuring tapes. The field team established a primary (N-S) baseline and a secondary (E-W) baseline using these items of equipment.



Figure 4.4a: Survey of the family lot. The shed in the background is the primary datum point.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)



Figure 4.4b: The gridding process.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)

After setting up 2 x 2 m excavation grids, an intensive surface collection of the entire property was undertaken. The land had been disturbed by mounds created for growing

cassava. Many artifacts, dominated by whiteware ceramic sherds and slate fragments, were observed on the surface. The field team collected a few diagnostic whiteware ceramic sherds and a large grinding stone from several units. Units 008 and Unit 009 produced the largest portion of the surface materials. A brass button with a loop shank and a decorated domed face or front belonging to a Royal Engineer was recovered from the surface of Unit 025 along the southern wall of the structure. Several features were also found at the base of the area cleared for cassava. A portion of the stone foundation of an outbuilding was visible on the surface. Other features, discussed below, became clearer after removing the topsoil.

4.2.2 Excavations

Three major stratigraphic units, designated Levels 1 to 3, were identified during the excavation of the King house site (Appendix 2). However, the stratigraphy was complex in some units due to sheet midden deposits with limited natural strata. There is also a mix of Level 1 and Level 2 soils caused by the digging and refilling of the trench dug for the construction of the cement block fence bordering the property. Several features, described below, also cut through the first two soil levels, while the third level was devoid of artifact assemblage. The three main stratigraphic levels date from circa 1840 to 2006, when the house lot was abandoned.

Level 1 represents the humus that covered the entire site and the foundation stones associated with the house demolition and more recent farming activities. It was light brown in color (7.5YR, 2.5/1). It extends over the entire excavated area but was generally thicker on the southern half of the excavation. Only the density of the block fragments decreases toward the north of the foundation. Artifacts found in this level range from nineteenth-century glass fragments and potsherds to recent coins and modern trash. Its maximum thickness in Unit 016 was about 75 cm.

Level 2 was a brown color soil (7.5YR, 4/2), loose and sandy with small to medium size gravel stones. This soil deposition was encountered during the excavation of the yard area. It extends from 75 cm to circa 180 cm in the lowest plane due to the undulating topography of the house lot. The lower portion of this level occasionally contains small gravel or stone pebbles, which are thicker than 10 cm. This stone pebble layer was excavated differently but included as part of Level 2 because they belong to the same soil layer. Natural processes possibly deposited these small stone pebbles due to rainwater moving items to lower planes rather than cultural processes. It occurred only in Units 028, 029, and 030 located on the southwest corner of the house lot. This level contains large quantities of imported materials, especially ceramics and glass bottle fragments. It is dominated by nineteenth-century material goods. These goods are characterized by sponge-stamped whitewares, produced between 1845 and 1900. They are associated with the earlier inhabitants of the house. These archaeological deposits represent an occupation phase that can be safely described as the nascent colonial period.

Level 3 was a yellowish-brown (10 YR, 5/6), compact soil with relatively large stone inclusions. It is a sterile subsoil free of any artifacts and not associated with the human occupation of the site. The cultural deposits that overlie this soil level are loose, sandy, loamy soil of varying colors created through the disintegration of building materials and waste from human activities.

Investigating the House Structure Area

The location and orientation of the residence could not be determined because the house foundation walls were not visible on the surface. The approximate location of the house structure was provided by the village headwoman's knowledge of the placement of the house before it was torn down. Reverend (Mrs.) Metzger showed us the positioning of the house structure, which allowed the placement of an excavation unit in the northwestern portion of

the house lot, where an extant stone wall was encountered at circa 10 cm depth (Figure 4.5a). This excavated grid was designated Unit 001. Excavation extended northeast of this unit to expose the full length of the northern wall of the building. Excavation revealed that the house foundation walls rest directly on top of the bedrock. As the excavation continued, the full orientation of the stone walls was revealed. All four walls of the house foundation were located, and other related features such as cement-paved veranda and entrances provide a full picture of the house's placement. The excavation indicated that the house measures approximately 9 m (N-S) and 8.5 m (E-W). Each wall was about 40 cm wide (Figure 4.5b).



Figure 4.5a: The beginning of the excavation process.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)



Figure 4.5b: Excavation of the house area after completing Level 1.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)

The house foundation walls are stone-lined with cement plaster on the exterior. The foundation stones were mapped and photographed. The discovery of the stone foundations of the house provided good evidence for its size and placement and allowed the field team to determine the backyard within the yard area. It supports the photographs the King family provided, particularly the architectural aspects of the house. While the excavations revealed aspects of the house structure, the revelation is inconclusive because it did not provide much architectural detail regarding designs, room partitioning, and furnishings. Because the building was primarily of wood construction, no archaeological evidence of interior walls, doorways, room layouts, or furnishings was found.

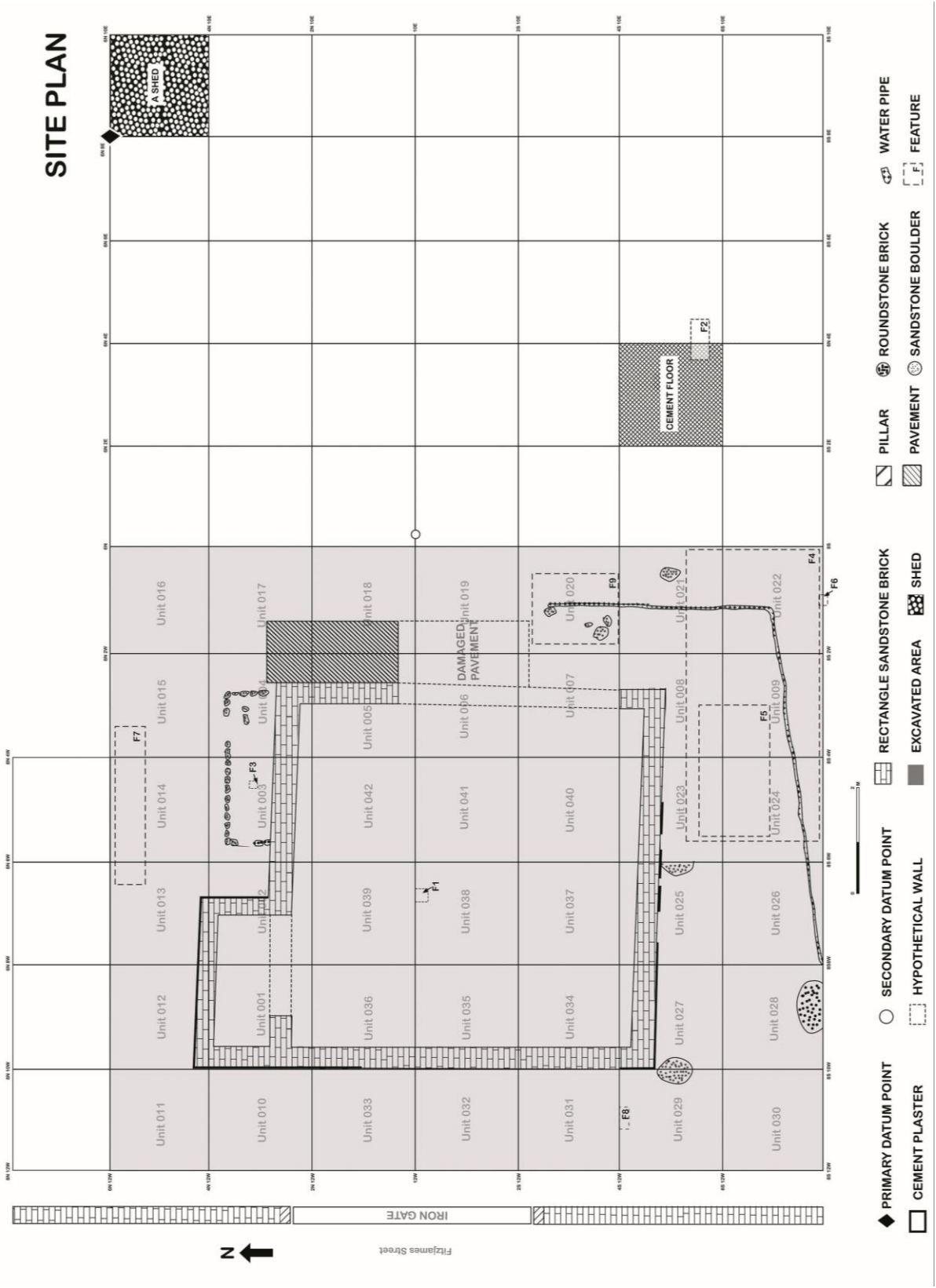


Figure 4.6: The site plan for the King family lot, indicating excavated and unexcavated portions. (Source: Hand drawing by the Author and computer illustration by Abayomi Diya)

Twenty-six² 2 x 2 m units were excavated to expose the house structure area. More than half (n=14) of these units revealed traces of the linear stone wall remains and the cement pavement.³ These units also encompass the inside and outside of the house structure. The remaining units (n=12) were positioned inside the house structure⁴ (Figure 4.6). The entire 26 units were limited to circa 15 cm thickness, within Level 1, with the primary objective of detecting the house plan (Figure 4.5). In addition to linear stone wall remains, these excavated units yielded artifacts such as nails, window glass, door locks, door pulleys, and hinges, which were recorded as building hardware. A few non-architectural artifacts consisting of imported ceramics, glassware fragments, and mirror glass fragments were recovered in these units.

Nails (n=2,447) were widespread across the excavation areas, with nearly half (48%, n=1,163) recovered within the house structure area. In contrast, slate fragments (16%, n=118) were found in fewer quantities within the house structure area, but they spread across a considerable distance when the house was demolished or renovated. A similar pattern of deposition is discernible for window glass fragments. The relatively large number (38%, n=378) of flat glass fragments within the house area confirms the presence of windows on all sides of the house. There were also additional (45%, n=30) window- and door-related items, such as four padlocks, six hooks and handles, and two window or shutter pintles. These items also include five copper-alloy hinges, a doorknob fragment, and 12 iron door locks found in Unit 008, located immediately inside and outside of the southern wall of the house structure. A copper-alloy drawer⁵ pull without a screw and two cabinet handles were the fixtures found in the house area.

² The 26 units comprising the house area include Units 001-008, 012, 013, 017-020, 023, 025, 027, and 034-042.

³ The 14 units encompassing the inside and outside of the house structure are Units 002-004, 007, 008, 012, 013, 017-020, 023, 025, and 027.

⁴ The 12 units located inside of the house are Units 001, 005, 006, and 034-042.

⁵ House furnishing drawer pulls from cabinets were found in Tubman's home (D. Armstrong 2022:316).

The excavation of the house structure area revealed a relatively small amount of non-architectural related artifacts, dominated by imported ceramic vessels (n=18), including a near-complete small-size bone china bowl found in fragments across several units. Other artifacts present include glassware fragments and mirror glass fragments. The small number of non-architectural artifacts found in the interior part of the building in relation to the excavated yard area is provocative.⁶ The field team tested a section of Unit 002 to determine if the inside of the house area should be further excavated. The excavation portion was nearly free of any artifacts and contained rubble from the demolition of the house and house foundation filling. The testing was halted at approximately 50 cm below the soil surface and was backfilled (Figure 4.7a & 4.7b). It was decided that we focus on the excavation of the yard area.



Figure 4.7a: The testing of a section of the interior of the house.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)



Figure 4.7b: The tested section in a closer section.
(Source: Photograph taken by the Author)

⁶ No diagnostic artifact was found on the linear stone wall remains or the house footprint.

Investigating the Feature and Non-Feature Areas of the Yard

The yard is the area outside of the house. There are 16 units⁷ outside of the house walls that are devoid of any linear stone walls, but the non-architectural sections of the 14 units⁸ encompassing the inside and outside of the house expand the extent of the yard area and are included in the discussion offered here. Hence my discussion of the yard area covers these 30 units, located between the house walls and the cement walls bounding the property. The examination of these units allows a full treatment of the nine units⁹ opened in the front of the yard, nine units¹⁰ uncovered on both sides of the yard, and the 12 units¹¹ unearthed in the back of the yard. Due to the mix of Level 1 and Level 2 soils caused by the digging and refilling of the trench for the construction of the cement block fence bordering the property, the description of the excavation process presented below focuses on various units rather than a treatment of individual units.

The excavation began with the examination of the front of the yard. Units 002-004 contained fewer quantities of artifacts due to the presence of a flower bed built to beautify the entrance of the house. These artifacts are dominated by architecture-related artifacts such as nails, window locks and doorknobs, slate fragments, and flat glass fragments from window glass panes. Only one tobacco pipe fragment was found in Level 1 of Unit 015, while Level 1 of Units 014 and 016 produced six groundstone artifacts. There were fewer (n=32) amounts of slate fragments in the front of the yard, with the majority (n=460) found in the backyard. A similar deposition pattern is discernible for the nails.

⁷ The 16 units are Units 009-011, 014-016, 021, 022, 024, 026, and 028-033.

⁸ The 14 units are Units 002-004, 007, 008, 012, 013, 017-020, 023, 025, and 027.

⁹ The nine units investigated in the front of the yard are Units 002-004 and 011-016.

¹⁰ The nine units opened on both sides of the yard include Units 007, 010, 017-020, and 031-033.

¹¹ The 12 units examined in the back of the yard are Units 008, 009, and 021-030.

Turning to both sides of the yard, artifacts such as a long iron water pipe, cement sewage pipe, tap heads, coins, and beads from Units 007 and 020, located along the southeastern edge of the house, confirmed that this area served as a locale for clothes washing (Figure 4.8a & 4.8b).



Figure 4.8a: The locale that encompasses the inside and outside of the house. The iron pipe in the background indicates the use of running water from a tap and the discard through the cement pipe. (Source: Photograph taken by the Author)



Figure 4.8b: The tap head connected to the long iron pipe. (Source: Photograph taken by the Author)

Excavations conducted in Unit 022 also helped reveal where cooking activities occurred. The cooking area is determined through the presence of a red soil patch reflecting intensive burning and a few local ceramic sherds.¹² This cooking area is next to the locale for clothes washing (Units 007, 020), while Unit 021 serves as a space between the clothes washing and the cooking area. The spatial arrangement of these two features reflects some of the domestic activities undertaken within this side of the house. The units¹³ placed on the other side of the yard were almost devoid of artifacts, possibly due to their proximity to Fitzjames Street. They, however, produced a few building hardware and copper coins.

¹² Scholars have reported the recovery of hearth and cooking places close to enslaved laborers' houses in Jamaica (e.g., D. Armstrong 2011:86).

¹³ These units, namely Units 010 and 031 – 033, were very close to the cement fence wall.

The excavation process then extended to the backyard, starting with a large feature, measuring approximately 7 m x 5 m, distinguished by dark brown soil that extended across six units (008, 009, 023, 024, 025, and 026). This feature was first defined at approximately 15 cm below the soil surface. Excavation revealed it to be shallow, ranging from 20 – 48 cm below the surface. The western portion of this large feature located within four units (Units 023, 024, 025, and 026) produced a cluster of 148 vessels, containing 33 complete and near-complete glass bottles, many imported ceramic sherds, including a glazed red earthenware pot that was refitted to form a complete vessel, and local ceramics. This artifact cluster, cooking area, and locale for clothes washing are treated extensively below.

The eastern or remaining part of the large feature produced more artifacts. These were found in neighboring units¹⁴ to the artifact cluster feature. In addition to many slate fragments, flat glass fragments, and machine iron-cut nails, stone materials represented in the form of grinding slabs and handstones were recovered across these neighboring units, particularly Units 008 and 009, where many artifacts were recovered. Imported tobacco pipe fragments were occasionally found in Unit 009. Small sections within Units 023 – 026 that are devoid of any feature produced fewer artifacts, including some slate fragments, imported tobacco pipe fragments, and a gunflint, recovered from Unit 024 (circa 80 cm), close to the cement fence wall. A local ceramic vessel, represented by a large sherd with an unidentified residue, was recovered from Unit 026, approximately four meters away from the house foundation. Other locally made objects recovered from the non-feature area of Unit 026 are discussed below.

The non-feature area of the backyard, particularly the units¹⁵ located in the lower planes, also contained both local and imported goods. Some of these artifacts, including

¹⁴ These neighboring units include Units 008, 009, and small sections of Units 023 – 026 that are devoid of the artifact cluster feature.

¹⁵ The depth of the excavations reaches 180 cm in relation to the datum point in some of these units.

vessels, could be refitted.¹⁶ The spatial distribution of the local ceramics is interesting. More than half (56%, n=24) were found in the non-feature area of the yard, but some local ceramic sherds were derived from the cooking area and artifact cluster feature described below. For example, Vessel 43 and Lid 1, which were partially reconstructed, were recovered from Level 2 of Unit 027 and Unit 028, two of the neighboring units to the artifact cluster. Units 029 and 030¹⁷ produced additional local ceramic vessels, while the excavations in Units 022 and 026 yielded locally made hand tools used for provisional farming, possibly yard gardening. Two hoe blade fragments were found in these units. Some groundstone artifacts were recovered from Units 028 and 030.

The remaining slate fragments were uncovered from the non-feature areas of the backyard, specifically from Levels 1 and 2 of Units 021 – 022, Level 2 of Unit 028, and Levels 1 and 2 of Unit 030. These slate fragments add to the assemblage recovered from Units 008 and 009, which may have received deposition of the roofing materials when the house was maintained or torn down. Another gunflint was found in Unit 027, which is adjacent to the southern wall of the house structure. The excavation in the backyard also produced additional fragments of molded, imported tobacco pipes, which were recovered from Level 2 of Units 021 – 022 and 027 – 030. A glass or vitreous enamel button with an anchor representation in the background was found in Level 1 of Unit 026. A badge marked “WHARF 135 BADGE” was also recovered from Level 2 of Unit 028. Three glass beads were found in Level 1 of Unit 020¹⁸ and Level 2 of Units 022 and 028.

¹⁶ Ninety-six imported ceramic vessels were recovered across the non-feature area of the yard, especially in Units 020-022 and 028.

¹⁷ Excavations in these two units did not reach the sterile layer for logistic reasons but produced a considerable number of artifacts.

¹⁸ This glass bead has 42 specimens joined together by a string. It was found in a complete form inside a compact soil fill removed from the interior of the cement sewage pipe in Feature 9.

4.2.3 Features

Several features were identified, especially after Level 1 was removed. Each feature was assigned a number in sequential order.

Feature 1: 26 units associated with the main house were excavated and collectively designated Feature 1. This feature consists of the four walls of the house foundation, found in relatively good condition, and a cement-paved veranda located along the east wall (Figures 4.9a & 4.9b).



Figure 4.9a: The extent of the main house structure.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)



Figure 4.9b: The remains of the main house wall in a closer view.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)

Specific details (e.g., orientation, size, type) about the house have been discussed above. The surviving images of the board house before it was demolished made it easy to identify the front, sides, and back of the house, including the main entrance and staircase area. Equally, the archival records and surviving architectural remains indicate a nineteenth-century construction period with occasional renovations (e.g., use of cement plaster and window shutters) carried out in the twentieth century.

Feature 2: This consists of the cement-paved foundation of the outbuilding that was not excavated (Figure 4.10). It measures 2 m (N-S) and 2 m (E-W). The feature was not excavated, as its remnants include an intact cement floor. No cultural materials were present

in the single Level 1 soil zone—a thin (circa, 4 cm thick) brown loam—overlying the cement floor. It cannot be precisely dated, but cement/construction suggests this is a twentieth-century feature.



Figure 4.10: The outbuilding area
(Source: Photograph by the Author)

Feature 3: The flower bed area is connected to the north wall of the main house (Figure 4.11). It stretches between Units 002 and 003, measuring about 1.5 m (N-S) and 3 m (E-W). This feature is a location where ornamental flowers were planted to beautify the entrance of the house. Due to the dearth of artifacts recovered from this feature area, it is unclear if it is a nineteenth- or twentieth-century context.



Figure 4.11: The flower bed area attached to the north wall of the house.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)

Feature 4: The excavation revealed a large feature, measuring approximately 7 m x 5 m, distinguished by dark brown soil that extended across six units, namely Units 008, 009, 023, 024, 025, and 026, produced several artifacts that led to the discovery of Feature 5, the

discrete artifact cluster (Figures 4.12a & 4.12b). There were some slate fragments and many machine iron-cut iron nails associated with architecture, while the activity-related artifacts included a gunflint and some ground stone artifacts, which were collected before the field team encountered Feature 5 in the western portion of this feature. This feature falls within the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

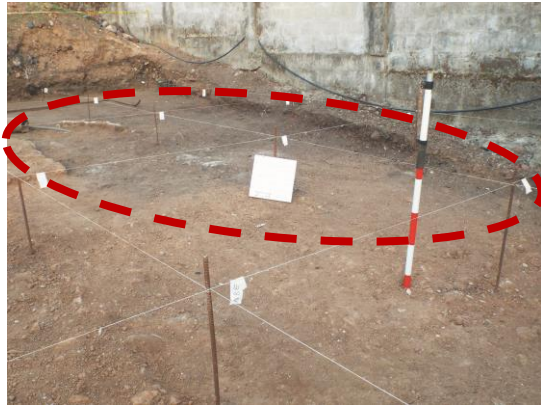


Figure 4.12a: The dark brown soil stain located in the backyard of the house lot is shown in a red circle.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)

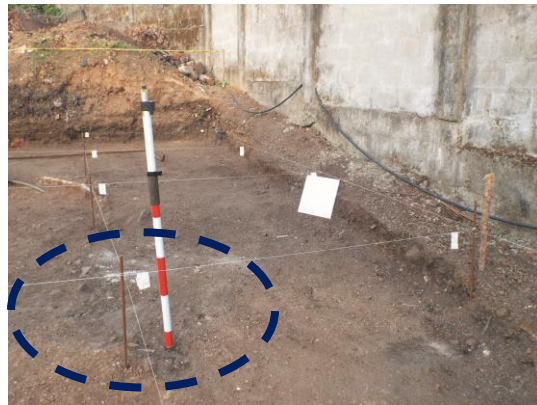


Figure 4.12b: The dark brown soil stain in a closer view. The blue circle area produced Feature 5.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)

Feature 5: This artifact cluster is a feature that extends across four excavated units, namely Units 023, 024, 025, and 026 (Figure 4.13a & 4.13b). It was confined within Level 2, confirming it is not a pit. Diverse materials were recovered from this feature. They may have been discarded in this area, allowing the materials to spread across a considerable distance. The artifacts include complete and near-complete glass bottles (n=33), whiteware plates, bowls, saucers, and cups that serve as tableware, as well as fragments of large lead-glazed red earthenware vessel, representing a chamber pot for storage purposes.



Figure 4.13a: The field team cleaning the artifact cluster.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)



Figure 4.13b: The artifact cluster after cleaning.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)

Feature 6: This soil patch is a dark red color (2.5 YR, 3/6) compact soil that occurred beneath the humus in the southwestern section of the excavation. It is located within Level 1 of Unit 022, approximately 3 m away from the house structure. It was first documented at Level 1 at a depth of 2 cm but was determined to be 100 cm wide and confined within the same level. The feature dates to the twentieth century and was removed after its proper documentation due to the need to excavate further to reach the sterile layer. While this feature did not appear on the site plan view, it appeared in the south wall profile. This feature appears to represent the remains of an outdoor cooking area (Figures 4.14a & 4.14b). It is labeled as “Red Color Patch” on the soil profile drawing.



Figure 4.14a: Photo of a local kitchen in Bakoro, Rio Pongo, in Guinea.
(Source: After Goldberg 2018:191)

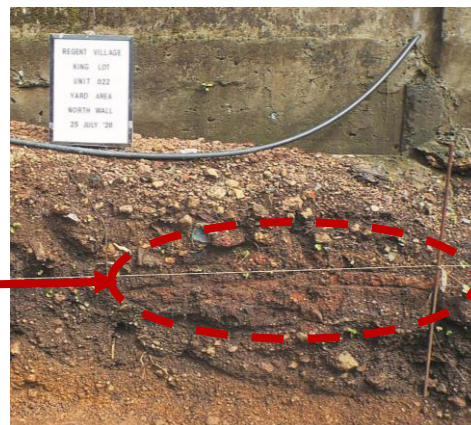


Figure 4.14b: The red patch layer linked with outdoor cooking practices.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)

Feature 7: This soil patch was recognized in the Level 1 profile of Units 001 and 002 as well as Units 012 – 014 but did not occur in other levels (Figure 4.15a). It appears to be associated with the construction of the cement block wall circa 2006. Its lowest depth measurement in Units 013 – 014 profile is about 85 cm in relation to the secondary datum point (Figure 4.15b). It is labeled “Yellow Color Patch.”



Figure 4.15a: The yellow color soil dump used for the cement brick construction.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)



Figure 4.15b: The remains of the yellow color soil dumped on the north wall area.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)

Feature 8: This “brown soil patch” is located within Level 2 of Unit 029. Its maximum thickness is about 15 cm and is limited to the north wall of this unit (Figures 4.16a & 4.16b). This feature lacks artifacts, making it difficult to determine its chronology and function.¹⁹ However, the placement of this feature within Level 1 suggests a recent deposition, if it was not created by the digging and refilling of trenches for the cement fence wall bounding the property. The proximity of this unit to the cement fence wall makes the latter interpretation equally possible.

¹⁹ This feature might represent a loose brown soil caused by the root of a tree or woody plant.



Figure 4.16a: The brown soil patch in Unit 029.
 (Source: Photograph by the Author)

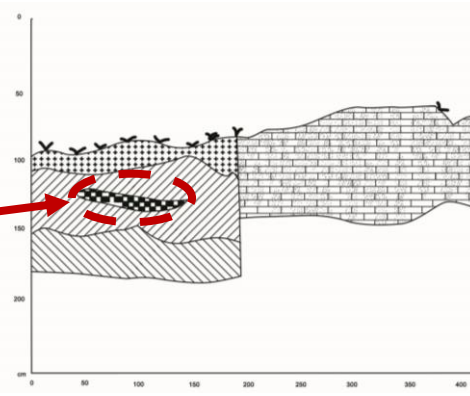


Figure 4.16b: A computer illustration of the brown soil patch.
 (Source: Illustration by Abayomi Diya)

Feature 9: This location is characterized by a cement floor, a cement-made sewer/sewage pipe, and a long-running water pipe (Figure 4.17). The water and sewage pipes were exposed at the top of Units 009, 020 - 022, 024, and 026. Laundry work would have been done on the cement-paved floor, and water would have been taken from the tap. Several numbers of water tap heads were recovered from this location and the water pipe starts from the veranda and extends into the cement-brick fence, linking to a major water source in the village. The sewage pipe would have been used to discharge wastewater from the running water and possibly waste from other domestic work, such as laundry. This location is also close to Feature 6 where cooking activities likely occurred. This feature was limited to Level 1, with a depth of about 10 – 15 cm from the surface. The associated artifacts place the feature within a twentieth-century context.



Figure 4.17: Portion of the backyard where clothes washing and cooking activities were undertaken.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)

4.2.4 Discussion

Although not described in the documentary record until the 1890s, the house on the King lot likely dates back to the early to mid-nineteenth century, an assertion based on the overall trends in land use throughout the village settlement and the archaeological data. Thus, the occupation of the site may have spanned approximately 120 years. Detailed documentary information is not available until the conveyance of 1891, which contains information suggesting a household structure had been in place before it was sold. The conveyance provides a closer look at the composition of the house lot in terms of what existed on the property at that time and who owned the surrounding properties. This house lot was continually occupied by at least four generations, including tenants. The presence of turn mold and two-piece mold glass bottles coupled with sponged-decorated imported ceramics indicate a mid-nineteenth-century context. Other temporal markers, such as imported tobacco

pipes, gunflints, buttons, and nails, are covered in detail in the next chapter. Overall, the archaeological record provides more detailed activities of the inhabitants, while phases of occupation of the land can be gleaned from the archival records.

Generally, artifact deposition gradually increased as the field team excavated away from the house structure and disappeared at circa 180 cm. Low artifact densities at the front of the yard space (north wall) and higher densities of artifacts along the edges of the backyard (south and east walls) suggest that the yard was swept regularly, and the refuse often ends up in higher concentrations located away from the house structure. The refuse materials are either tossed over the edge or swept toward the edge of the house lot. The side of the house (the west wall), located close to Fitzjames Street, had a low artifact density. This small number of artifacts nevertheless hint at the use of space within the yard area. The near absence of glass bottle artifacts across the yard space and their greater presence in Feature 3 suggested that refuse from glass bottles was subject to preferential disposal away from heavily trafficked spaces within the yard area. In addition to these refuse discard processes, the shallow depth of archaeological deposits in the southeastern section of the excavated areas indicates deflation from long-term sheet erosion that moves surface artifacts to the southwestern section.²⁰

²⁰ The cement fence line bordering the south of the house lot was a barrier to accessing the entire trash in the backyard of the house.

4.3 Locus 9: Ms. Molade Johnson Family Lot

The Ms. Molade Johnson House Lot is located at No 16 on the ridge along Fitzjames Street and at its intersection with Upper Clarence Street, partway up the hill toward Dadley Street. It is bounded on the north and west by the lot of Mrs. Rosaline John, on the south by Fitzjames Street, and on the east by Upper Clarence Street. The lot measures ninety meters (E-W) and seventy-six meters (N-S). It is a family-held property but formal title to the parcel was not recorded in legal records and the known occupants of the house left no wills. The family members occupying this house lot were Krios or descendants of liberated Africans. However, the chronology of owners and persons designated as the head of the household for this house lot is unknown. This house was likely occupied from the mid-nineteenth century until the Sierra Leone civil war in the 1990s. At that time, at least three people lived in the house, two males and a female. The dwelling on the property consisted of a clapboard house standing on a stone basement.

The property's current landowners stated, "For over 100 years, at least three generations of family members lived on this house lot" (Akigbade Johnson personal communication 2022). This would suggest that the initial occupation of the house was circa 1850. However, documentary information is limited and archaeological data place the house to the second half of the nineteenth century. The occupation of the house may be earlier. The current landowners also provide the names of the most recent occupants of the house. These included Horton Johnson (unknown occupation), Regina Smith (a trader of spices, wine, tobacco, slate, and clothes), and Akigbade Johnson (a student). They were members of St. Charles Church. Horton Johnson is known to have been an active member of the "Up-Soja Hunting Society," one of the two secret societies in the village (Akigbade Johnson personal communication 2022). They stayed at this house locus from the late nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century. Regina Smith stayed on the second floor, while Horton Johnson

occupied the first floor. One of the few documentary references is to Horton Johnson, whose death is recorded in the register of burials in the Parish of St. Charles as a 72-year-old man. He was buried on July 8, 1956. Less is known about Regina Smith as there is no record of her in the register of burials kept by St. Charles Church. The current landowners who are descendants or relatives of Horton Johnson suggest that Regina Smith most likely passed away between 1964 and 1974.

Regina Smith and Horton Johnson lived together and spent their lives on the property. Each had a son. Christian Smith, the son of Regina Smith, became the Manager of Sierra Leone Commercial Bank, but he passed away, possibly in the 1990s. It is unclear if he lived on the property. The son of Horton Johnson, Akigbade Johnson was raised in the house in the 1930s and was enrolled in the primary school at Regent, before he moved to Freetown for secondary school education. Later in life, Akigbade left Sierra Leone for the United States but provided useful information on how the house was used in the mid-twentieth century (interviews at the St. Charles Church Kite Competition on Easter Monday, April 18, 2022).

The house had fallen into disrepair prior to its destruction in the 1990s. It was never formally transferred within the Johnson family until the twentieth century when the board house was demolished. The ECOMOG²¹ soldiers recommended the demolition of the house for safety reasons during the civil war period, and they supervised the demolition process. There is currently interest by some descendants of the Johnson family are currently interested in purchasing the family property as a personal parcel. Mr. Kwesi-John and Mr. Osric Johnson's interest in the land probably dates back to the turn of this century, but it remains within the broader family ownership. A land survey was conducted and entered into the records of Surveys and Lands at the Ministry of Lands, Country Planning, and the

²¹ The Economic Community Cease-Fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) is a peacekeeping force sent to Monrovia in Liberia and Freetown in Sierra Leone in the 1990s to end to the ethnic-based killings and brutality in these countries.

Environment in Freetown on December 16, 2011 (Registration number: L.S.3041/11). A copy of the survey plan of the property was provided by Ms. Molade Johnson (Figure 4.18). This indicates that Mr. Ologun S.C. Johnson, the father of Ms. Molade Johnson owned the property at that time. The land is now recorded as a deed to Dr. Olukunmi Johnson, who is currently based in the United States.

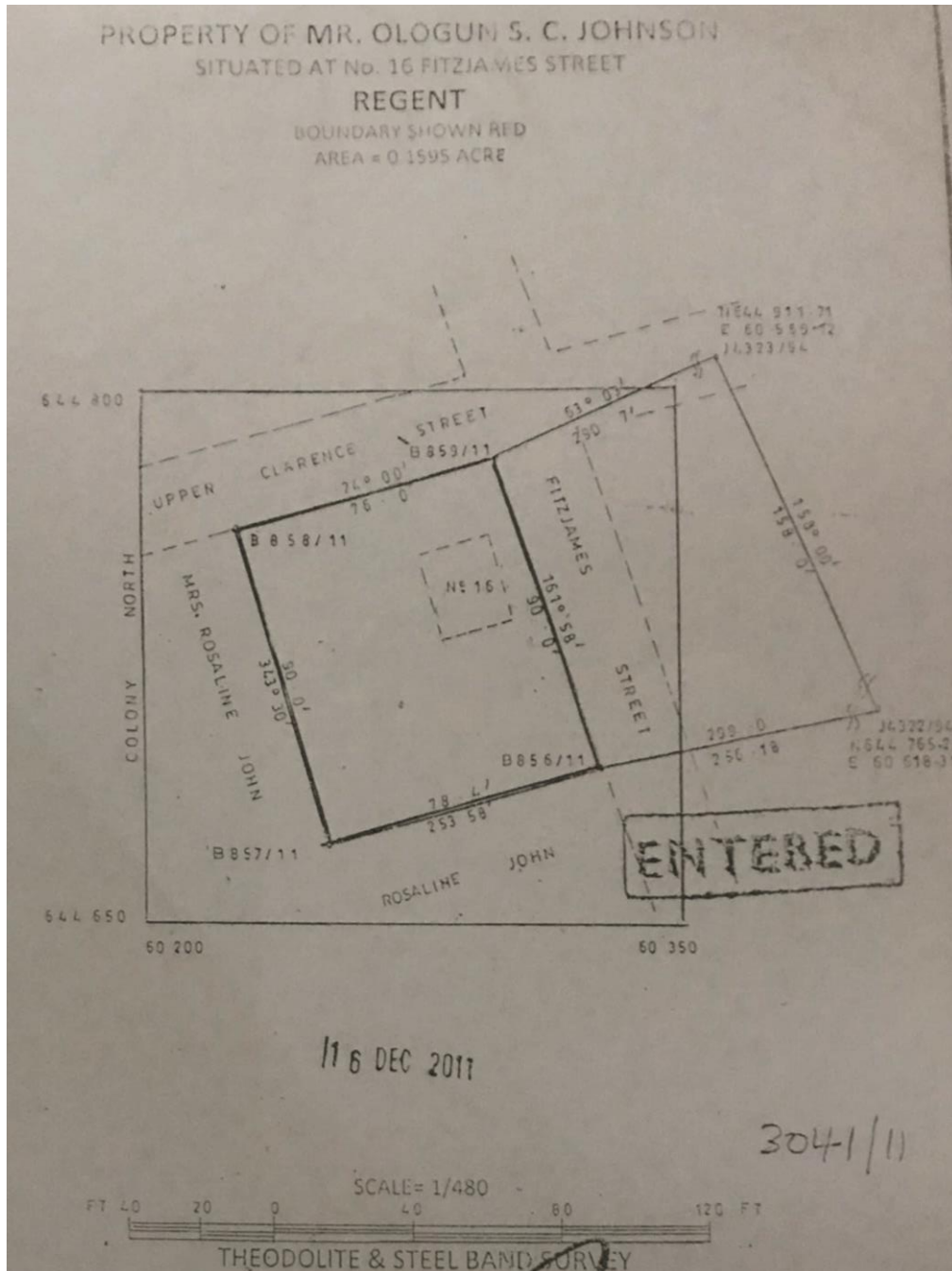


Figure 4.18: Survey plan of the Johnson family lot, dated December 16, 2011. (Source: Courtesy of Ms. Molade Johnson)

The family members who granted us permission to conduct the archaeological investigations on this house lot are the descendants of Horton Johnson. I was unable to contact any of Regina Smith's descendants. Since the archival records are relatively silent on the full history of this household,²² the archaeological record offers a clearer picture of the land use and residents' activities prior to the twentieth century.

The property has remained unoccupied since the demolition of the house, with only limited disturbance caused by hand-hoeing farming activities. The ruins of two structures, the main residence, and an outbuilding, were visible after clearing the house lot. The house structure was oriented parallel to the east of the house lot, facing the north, while the outbuilding is located close to the property's southern margin. There is a privy to the west and possible refuse areas to the north and northeast.

4.3.1 Survey and Surface Collection

The current vegetation on the house lot includes cassava plants, oil palm trees, and non-woody plants. Prior to clearing, a large portion of the well-preserved stone foundations of the house was visible under several large shrubs. Once the clearing of the house lot was complete, we began to clear the rubble created by the collapse of a section of the west wall of the stone foundation. This exercise was necessary because the rubble had formed a mound, which made the gridding of the house lot difficult. The rubble consisted of whole blocks, large block fragments, and smaller block fragments. After the collapsed stone bricks were removed, a few imported ceramic sherds and complete stoneware ink bottles were recovered under the rubble. With the assistance of the field team, I laid a 4 m x 4 m grid in the yard area using a large tree, located on the southeastern corner of the house lot as the primary datum

²² There was no access to annual tax lists, but this extended family possibly lived in this residence through the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

point (Figures 4.19a & 4.19b). The depth of levels and provenience information were measured in relation to the datum point using a line level, a string, and measuring tapes.



Figure 4.19a: The large tree was chosen as a primary datum point.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)



Figure 4.19b: The gridding process.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)

A surface collection of materials was conducted across the house lot, using the grids for spatial control and documentation. The goals of the surface survey were to identify and record (a) the presence of diagnostic artifacts and (b) the construction and specific historical context of all architectural features. The surface survey resulted in the recovery of a few artifacts, primarily imported goods, in the yard area. These include glass bottles, stoneware bottles, whiteware sherds, slate fragments, and window glass fragments (Figure 4.20a & 4.20b). These artifacts were probably displaced by recent farming activities.



Figure 4.20a: Glass bottle fragments found on the surface.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)



Figure 4.20b: Surface collection by Allie Joseph Kanu.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)

4.3.2 Excavation

The soil color and texture were fairly similar to the stratigraphic profile observed at the King family lot. Three discrete stratigraphic units were identified and documented, but some features cut across these soil levels (Appendix 3). Sheet midden and yard gardening have a considerable impact on the stratigraphy. Moreover, the undulating topography of the house lot due to its location on a ridge allowed the secondary deposition of artifacts and stone pebbles to the lower plains. These anthropogenic activities and site formation processes add to the complexity of the stratigraphy. In comparison with Level 2, where the local ceramics and imported goods were found, Level 1 was poor in artifact concentrations dating to the early or nascent colonial period. No materials were recovered in Level 3. These are described in detail below:

Level 1: This relatively thin surface layer of soft, blackish soil color (7.5 YR, 2.5/1) was easily identified in the yard area. Its maximum thickness in Unit 008 was about 50 cm. Due to land use as a dumping ground after its abandonment, the soil is high in organic content and now serves as a garden yard for neighbors. Traces of localized burning in the soil was noticed in Level 1 but decreased dramatically in Level 2. The presence of charcoal might

have to do with the burning of shrubs that need to be cleared for planting or recent refuse discarded on the house lot. Level 1 yielded architectural remains in the form of stone foundations and building hardware such as door locks, door handles, hinges, and window cuprous nets or mesh. Artifact frequencies increased in Level 2 (circa 50 cm above).

Level 2: This was a loose, brown, sandy, loamy soil with patches of yellow and dark orange burnt clay (7.5 YR, 3/2). The deposit continued but with higher gravel content and a looser texture 50 cm below the datum reaching 340 cm in Unit 018, located in the lowest plane. This level produced the highest number of cultural materials, including local and imported ones. These cultural materials seem to represent a mixture of artifacts from nearly all of the nineteenth century. However, many seem to date to the second half of that century. These cultural materials were dispersed throughout the yard area with detectable spatial focus or concentration, including the flat glass fragments associated with windowpanes. These materials correspond to the early or nascent colonial period based on the presence of American and European materials generally. This layer overlays the gravelly sterile layer.

Level 3: This level consists of gravel content and compact lateritic clay deposits (10YR, 5/8) that were occasionally hard to excavate. It is yellowish-brown soil with large stone inclusions. This natural lateritic clay soil is derived from the weathering of metamorphic basement rocks in the region. This layer provided no cultural materials and forms the bottom of the stratigraphy. It ranges from 340 – 350 cm below the datum point at the lowest point. As the natural soil in the region, it serves as a primary source of building materials.

Investigating the House Structure Area

Although only stones from the foundation remain, we can infer a picture of the original structure (Figures 4.21a – 4.21d).



Figure 4.21a: The west wall of the main house.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)



Figure 4.21b: The north wall of the main house.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)



Figure 4.21c: The south wall of the main house.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)



Figure 4.21d: The east wall of the main house.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)

Based on the arrangement of the stone bricks, the house was a rectangular structure that measured approximately 7.8 m (N-S) by 8.5 m (E-W). All the foundation walls were built of stone within trenches that cut through the underlying subsoil. Although the eastern section of the foundation is largely intact except for two places where a staircase and door were removed, much of the western half of the structure appeared to have collapsed,

producing rubble, which now forms a small-size mound beside the foundation. The eastern part where the wall survives is above 100 cm high. This section of the foundation provides evidence for identifying doorways, windows, and stairs.

No photographs of the standing house have been located. However, Akigbade Johnson, who lived in the house in the mid-twentieth century describe the building. It had two top floors and a basement. There was a cemented stairway covered with zinc sheets to hold out incremented weather—heavy rains. The stairway leads to the first floor of the house and the entrance of the basement floor, which serves as a kitchen. There are three fireplaces and coal pots from which Regina Smith cooked delicious meals such as *fufu*, *ogumoh*, bitters, and *bologi*.²³ There were also woven baskets, firewood and charcoal, as well as pots and pans, stored in metal cabinets placed in the basement. The woven baskets were bought during Regina Smith’s trips to Ghana and were used to take food to designated family members. The basement has a heavy door that is kept closed at all times. It was usually cold, and such cooked food could be kept there for a long time. Some of the coldest water drank in the house was stored in clay jugs housed in this basement (Akigbade Johnson personal communication 2022).

The current ruins are only one story high, but traces of a staircase leading to the basement and the first floor of the house are visible on the side of the house foundation facing Fitzjames Street. The first and second floors of the house might have been floorboards, comprising planks of wood built on a stone foundation. The stone foundation serves as a basement where food preparation and storage took place. The interior and exterior parts of the foundation walls as well as the floor, are plastered with cement. The cemented floor could not be easily excavated, and no excavation was conducted within the house structure area.

²³ Clarke mentioned some of these foods but added “Palaver sauce” and “kous kous” (1863:341).

Surface materials located within the house foundation consisted of modern trash, such as rags, plastic plates and bags, soda glass bottles, toothpaste containers, and toothbrushes. No temporally diagnostic artifacts could be directly associated with the house foundations. Thus, a date for the construction of this building could not be ascertained from the surface materials recovered. However, associated features and the distribution of imported materials around the yard spaces shed some light on the issue of when the house was built. The vicinity of the standing house foundation was excavated to recover artifacts that could be used to date the earliest activities associated with the homestead and shed light on the activities that took place.

Investigating the Yard Area

In the process of clearing and surveying the house lot, it was clear that a discrete refuse midden, measuring approximately 4 x 4 m, was located immediately behind the house structure (Figure 4.22b). As this provided the best opportunity for collecting a large assemblage of materials related to this household, the midden section of the yard area was a primary focus of excavation. The excavation of the yard commenced with the testing of Unit 001.²⁴ This test unit produced several architectural materials such as window- and door-related items, nails, and flat glass fragments from windowpanes. It also produced non-architectural materials, including some imported ceramic vessels, handstones, a lead button, and a clothing-pressing iron plate. After the initial testing conducted in Unit 001, it was clear that there were delineated features such as a flower bed, a section of the staircase, and a corner of the outbuilding with uniform stratigraphy consisting of three stratigraphic levels (Figure 4.22a). These three strata were excavated across the 4 x 4 m unit to reveal more

²⁴ In total, 384 square meters (16 units, gridded 4 x 4 m) were opened across the yard area.

information about the delineated features. The excavation was further extended to Units 002 and 003 to expose the full length of the outbuilding and the staircase.



Figure 4.22a: The initial testing of Unit 001 revealing edges of a stone wall and staircase. (Source: Photograph taken by the Author)



Figure 4.21b: The midden section of the yard area. (Source: Photograph taken by the Author)

Investigating the Feature Areas of the Yard

Since the field team had already encountered the north-eastern edge of an outbuilding and a section of a staircase in the test unit labeled Unit 001, the excavation continued to expose the entire foundation of these two features. The process of excavating the north wall of the outbuilding in Unit 002 further exposed a staircase connected to the outbuilding and the southwestern corner of the house structure in Unit 003. Both the outbuilding and staircase were made of sandstone cobbles that were dried, laid, and placed in a neat fashion or laid in courses. All the walls of the structure and the sandstone cobbles of the footing for the stairs were resting on the bedrock. The dimension of this outbuilding was ascertained using the stone arrangement and was approximately 4 m (N-S) by 5.8 m (E-W), which is a little less than half of the size of the adjacent house structure. The outbuilding could have also had a wood-frame body to create a shed for storage. Several glass fragments from windowpanes indicate that the outbuilding had at least one window. The staircase measures approximately 4 m (N-S) by 1.5 m (E-W), with an elevation of 1 m at the highest plane.

Once the outline of the outbuilding and the stairs were revealed, the interior of the outbuilding was excavated. No element of the floor in the outbuilding survived, except the floor filling, which now forms a heap of soil. Modern trash was recently deposited on this heap of soil, but a few diagnostic artifacts were found on this refuse-midden heap. The rubble fills overlying the floor was removed as a single unit (Figure 4.23).²⁵ In the process, we encountered a pit feature (approximately 1.6 m in diameter) in the middle of the outbuilding, containing hundreds of intact glass bottles and imported ceramic sherds resting on dark and highly organic soil (Figures 4.24a & 4.24b). There are also local ceramic sherds found in fewer quantities. While the outbuilding extends into Unit 008, the pit feature was limited to Unit 002. It appeared about 50 cm deep from the surface of the refuse midden and did not extend beneath Level 3. The stratigraphic position of this pit feature and the material remains may reveal the function of the outbuilding and when it was intensively used. The material remains suggest a mid-nineteenth century to early twentieth-century deposition date, which is further discussed in Chapter 6. I also examine the function of this subfloor pit feature in its context in greater detail in Chapter 7.

²⁵ Due to safety concerns of the possibility of hidden wildlife, the rubble was excavated in arbitrary levels. It was considered safe to first remove the stones vertically and then move spatially once the lowest depth (50 cm) of the stone foundation was reached. By using this process, any danger can be faced directly and taken care of without harm or injuries. For safety reasons, the field team took caution by removing the stones from the west to the east of the room.



Figure 4.23: Excavation of the midden deposit in Unit 002 using arbitrary deposits.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)



Figure 4.24a: Subfloor pit at the center of the outbuilding.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)



Figure 4.24b: The subfloor pit after the artifacts were removed.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)

Figure 4.25 shows the locations of various units and some of the features uncovered. In addition to the features revealed, the excavation provided domestic refuse and dateable materials that inform us about the socio-economic activities of the house residents and the time period when such activities took place. A few diagnostic artifacts were actually deposited on top of the discrete midden deposit on the structural remains in Unit 002, while

the entire section occupied by the stairs in Unit 003 provided additional diagnostic non-architectural artifacts, plus some local ceramic potsherds reinforced by cement plaster on the exterior part.²⁶

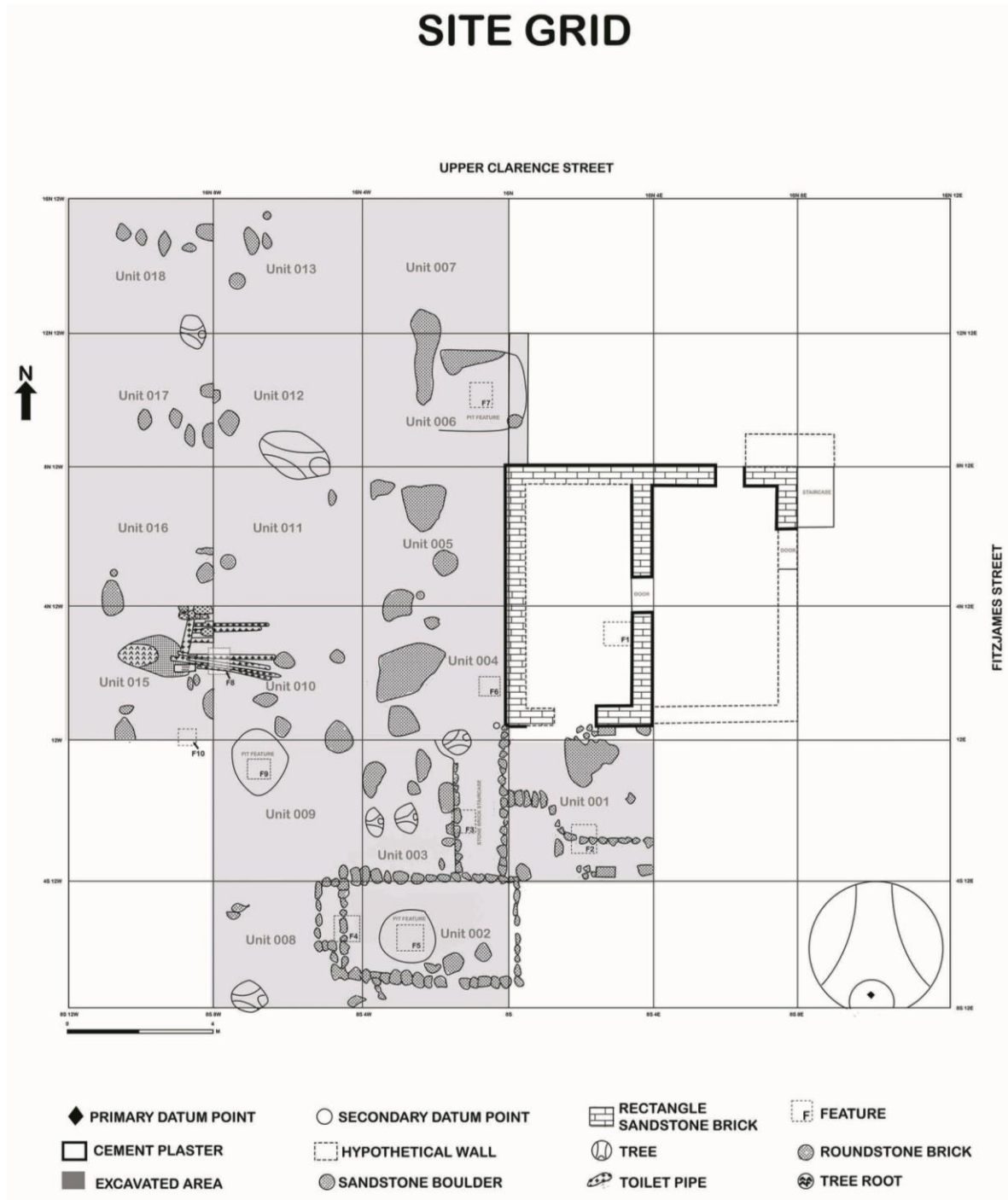


Figure 4.25: The site plan for the Johnson family lot, indicating excavated and unexcavated portions. (Source: Hand drawing by the Author and computer illustration by Abayomi Diya)

²⁶ Both Units 002 and 003 contained architectural and non-architectural materials. However, non-architectural materials, such as imported ceramic vessels, glass bottles, and local ceramics, dominated the artifact assemblage.

The excavation of the yard expanded to the southwest corner of the house, at one of the entrances to the building, where the staircase connects to the house structure. This extended excavation revealed additional features. Excavations in Units 004 and 005 provide evidence of constructing the stone foundation for the house structure on a pit feature (Feature 6) located under the southwest corner of the building. Since the stone foundation stands directly on the pit feature, it is difficult to determine its diameter and depth (Figure 4.26). What could be determined is that the pit feature (Feature 6) predates the construction of the house structure, and it was filled with refuse from food and educational activities. The former includes near-complete imported ceramic plates, while the latter consists of slate fragments and complete stoneware ink bottles. Thus, the house and the outbuilding on the house lot were either constructed on two separate fill platforms or pit features that provided diagnostic trade items that helped date the structures.

Units 001 – 007 were the nearest to the house structure. Debris from building hardware (door lock, door hinges, shutter pintle, window net remains, and window guard iron meshwork) were the most significant architecture-related artifacts recovered from Units 004-006 (Level 1). Many flat glass fragments (n=836) were recovered from Levels 1 and 2 of Units 005 – 007. These materials extend into Units 012 and 015 in lesser quantities (n=520). All of these units fall behind the western part of the house lot. The levels where these flat glass fragments were found typically range from 10 – 38 cm from the soil surface. These flat glass fragments are associated with windowpanes. The deposition of these materials in higher concentrations and their widespread diffusion across various units confirm that the house was torn down. Some of these flat glass fragments have similar colors and thicknesses, but they cannot be refitted to form complete window glass panes.

Investigating the Non-Feature Area of the Yard

The excavations conducted in the remaining parts of the yard area are best described based on material content. The 1,231 nails recovered from this house locus reveal that the house structure is of frame construction. The locations within the yard area where the house structure, outbuilding, and a privy once stood produced the largest number of nails. Level 1 of Units 001 and 003 – 007 produced considerable portions (n=500) of the nails that would have been used to construct the board house. The remaining nails used for the construction of the house structure that survived include a smaller portion (n=163), which possibly spread across Units 013 and 016 – 018, located along the edges of the house lot when the house was torn down. Levels 1 and 2 of Units 002, 008, and 009 produced some (n=220) of the nails associated with the outbuilding, while the nails (n=335) recovered within Level 1 of Units 010 – 012 and 015 are linked with the privy. No nail was recovered within the house structure area, and very few nails (n=13) were found in the yard area during surface collection.

One hundred and forty-one slate fragments were recovered during the excavations. They were found in the outbuilding, located within Units 002 and 008, but the highest number was found in Units 015 – 017 of the yard area. There are more roofing slate fragments than writing slate fragments in the assemblage. Level 2 of these excavated units produced the majority of roofing slate fragments, while writing slate fragments were fairly evenly distributed between Levels 1 and 2. The highest number of writing slates came from Units 007, 012, and 015, located on the edges of the backyard area. Only Unit 001 was devoid of slate materials.

The material remains recovered from Units 004 – 015 of the backyard, such as metal objects, local ceramic vessels, tobacco pipes, and stone implements, indicate that most of the daily activities of the household took place in the open area close to the house structure,

while gathering spots under trees were located toward the southeastern edge of the house lot (the primary datum point). The most common materials found in Level 1 was metal objects, which is unsurprising because its large quantity attracts metal scrap sellers to encroach on the land and pick or dig up metal objects. The excavation revealed there were many metal materials below the hand-hoe soil, particularly in Units 010 and 015, where many long iron pipes associated with a privy were found. Practices of personal adornment were represented by several metal buttons and a copper-alloy belt clasp found in Level 1 of various units across the yard area, with only one copper button recovered in the pit feature in Unit 006. These buttons and belt clasp have pre-1901 Royal Crown, which could be linked to naval activity.²⁷ A two-hole, flat-sided lead button was also retrieved in Level 1 of Unit 001 within the yard area. The other metal buttons found in greater numbers across Levels 1 and 2 of the yard area are called mattress buttons.

The field team found partial bicycle remains, consisting of the pedal and chain fragments in Level 1 of Units 009 and 016, suggesting that one of the house residents owned and rode a bicycle. Some hardware from bed parts was recovered in Level 1 in the backyard area of the house. They might have been used during the early or nascent colonial period and maintained for a long time. This may explain why they are not found in the earliest contexts of the house locus. A small copper-alloy thimble was found in Level 2 of Unit 016, while seven clothing-pressing iron plates were recovered from Level 2 across the yard area. Most were found in the outbuilding (Units 002 and 008), close to the house foundation (Unit 001), and along the western edge of the house lot (Unit 016). Four hoe blade fragments, two cutlasses, and three fruit pickers could have been used to tend garden crops in the yard area. They were found in Levels 1 and 2 of Units 009 – 012.

²⁷ These buttons signal the role of the liberated Africans that occupied this section of Regent Village in the British Royal Naval.

The utensils recovered from this house lot are associated with both cooking and eating practices. These include cutleries, a long iron cooking spoon, several iron cooking pots, iron kettles, and iron pot lids. Two pot lids were recovered in Level 2 of Units 003 and 008, but one was found intact. There are several iron cooking pot fragments (particularly two near-complete cooking pots) in Unit 004 (Level 2: circa 40 cm), Unit 009 (Level 2: circa 58 cm), and Unit 010 (Level 2: 66 cm). The iron kettles, represented by large fragments with a spout, and the long iron cooking spoon found in a fragmentary condition in Level 2 of Units 011 and 015 confirm that cooking activities took place in the northwestern corner of Unit 015. The presence of a large pot rim in Level 2 of Unit 018 indicates that iron pots were also discarded on the edges of the house lot.

The excavation also produced at least 23 local ceramic vessels associated with cooking and eating practices. Eight vessels were found in the artifact feature in Unit 002, with two vessels located on the surface and six vessels found in association with glass bottles at circa 30-50 cm. The remaining vessels were distributed across Level 2 of Unit 012 and Units 015 – 018. Three pot lid fragments and a kettle, determined by a long neck and extended shoulder, survived. They were found in Unit 012 (Level 1) and Unit 015 (Level 2), respectively. Many (n=70) flower potsherds were recovered within Unit 3, where the staircase was found but was too complicated to reconstruct. Two miscellaneous items were also recovered from the backyard. A ceramic oil lamp, probably locally produced, was recovered from Level 2 of Unit 014. These non-vessel materials are certainly associated with the house residents. The imported ceramic vessels were found in larger quantities. The majority were recovered across the yard area (n=205) and the pit feature located within the outbuilding (n=131).

Many imported tobacco pipe fragments (n=212) were recovered from this house locus. They were randomly distributed across the yard and the outbuilding areas in Units 002

and 008. There is a higher concentration of pipe fragments in Level 2 of Units 006 – 009 and 015 – 018. One of the tobacco pipes, found in Level 2 of Unit 018, had an anthropomorphic form with a face on the front of the bowl. Another tobacco pipe, recovered from Level 2 of Unit 008, has a zoomorphic image on the stem pipe located at the lower portion of the bowl. A brown clay pipe was collected in Unit 015 as a surface collection. The interior of the bowl is well-charred.

Stone materials associated with socio-economic activities undertaken by house residents were found on this house locus. Two gunflints were found in Level 1 of Units 006 and 012. These two units are located on the northern edge of the house lot and received many artifact depositions due to sheet midden or erosion that move artifacts away from the areas close to the house structure. Ground stone artifacts included three grinding slab fragments and eight intact and fragmented handstones. These ground stone artifacts were found in Level 1 of Units 003, 005, 008, and 011, as well as within a midden context located at the center of Unit 002. Four of these ground stone artifacts were recovered from Unit 002, possibly hinting at discard. Despite the secondary deposition of these tools in the pit feature found at the center of Unit 002, their presence in neighboring units indicates food processing within the yard area during the earlier phase of residence in this house lot.

4.3.3 Features

There are several features located across the three discrete levels. 10 features were defined and assigned numbers. I bisected each of the pit features, except the one in Unit 002 because it was found under the floor fills. In this section, I describe each feature and associated artifacts. Some of the artifacts recovered from each feature are diagnostic. These diagnostic artifacts are used to determine the chronology and functions of the features.

Features 1 – 5 consist of the house foundation walls, the outbuilding, the flower bed area, and the staircase, which have been discussed extensively above. Each feature was likely erected circa the mid-nineteenth century (Figures 4.26a – 4.26e).



Figure 4.26a: Feature 1, the main house structure
(Source: Photograph by the Author)



Figure 4.26b: Feature 2 shows the flower bed area in a red circle.
(Source: Photography by the Author)



Figure 4.26c: Feature 3, the staircase shown in a red circle, and the outbuilding in the background.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)



Figure 4.26d: Feature 4, the outbuilding and the subfloor pit in the center of the structure.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)



Figure 4.26e: Feature 5, the subfloor pit.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)

The excavation allowed us to confirm more features across the yard area, which are described below.

Feature 6 is located within Unit 004, which is one of the closest units to the house structure (Figure 4.27). It was encountered within 0-10 cm depth and covered approximately 2.5 m within the unit. The actual diameter of the pit is unknown since it is located underneath the house structure. It consisted of educational artifacts, such as slate fragments and stoneware ink bottles, as well as food-related items represented by whiteware plates and bowls. These trade items suggest a mid-nineteenth-century date for the house structure since the pit predates the construction of the house structure.



Figure 4.27: The pit feature located underneath the main house structure.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)

Feature 7 was an irregular pit located in Unit 006 (Figure 4.28). It is approximately 3 m in diameter and is less than 40 cm deep. The pit feature was first observed at Level 1. Artifacts recovered from this pit feature include a machine-cut nail, a piece of window glass, a copper button, and a whiteware sherd, which did not produce any clues as to the function of the pit. While its function is not known, it appears to be some type of landscaping feature, perhaps a low wall along a walkway used throughout the house occupation period.



Figure 4.28: A pit feature or some type of landscaping feature.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)



Figure 4.29a: The privy area with the iron pipes.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)



Figure 4.29b: The pit feature is possibly linked with the privy.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)

Feature 8 is a privy area located adjacent to the house structure (Figure 4.29a). It would have consisted of a small shed made completely of a wooden frame covering the iron pipes encountered during excavation. It is located 6 m west and roughly parallels the back of the house structure. The associated artifacts place Features 8 and 9 within a twentieth-century context.

Feature 9 is a circular hole dug into the bedrock. It is located in the south-central area of the yard space (Figure 4.29b). It measured 1.8 m in diameter at its widest part, while the narrowest part of this feature is approximately 80 cm at its lowest depth. The pit feature was first recognized while excavating Unit 009 when a small intrusive pit was observed at the top of Level 2. The excavation inadvertently extended to Unit 010 before the complete picture

was revealed. The pit was excavated to a depth of 80-100 cm. The uppermost fill was indistinguishable from the surrounding Level 1, and the top of the feature was removed as Level 2 within units. The pit edges were a very compact and more homogenous lateritic clay soil. While a few artifacts were recovered from the very top, the lens of the fill was largely devoid of artifacts and appeared to represent clean fill dirt brought in to fill the pit once it was abandoned. The fill consists of debris from the main house and its outbuildings as well as modern trash mixed with dark sandy loam (7.5 YR, 4/4). This feature might have been connected to the identified privy (Units 010 and 015).²⁸

Feature 10 is a reddish-brown horizon (2.5 YR, 4/6) and possibly represents an outdoor cooking area, stretching to about 68 cm (Figure 4.30a & 4.30b). It is labeled “Red Color Patches” and excludes any traces of burnt clay specks, burnt stones, and charcoal. It is located within Level 2 in Unit 015 and may date to the late nineteenth century or the early twentieth century. While this feature indicates a cooking area within a domestic context, this conclusion is offered with caution, as the evidence is insufficient to inform us definitely about such activity on the house lot.



Figure 4.30a: Photo of a local kitchen in Bakoro, Rio Pongo, in Guinea.
(Source: After Goldberg 2018:191)



Figure 4.30b: The red patch layer linked with outdoor cooking practices.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)

²⁸ However, no conclusive discussion can be offered due to the looting of the site during our excavations, making it unclear whether the iron sewage pipes connect to this pit. No clarity on what was stolen.

Interestingly, some of these features are interlinked. Feature 3, a lower platform, serves as a stair and pathway around the residence for people to connect Feature 1 (house structure), Feature 4 (outbuilding), Features 8 and 9 (privy), and Feature 10 (cooking area). Behind the house structure, on a flat area on the ridge, is an open area containing a relatively sparse scatter of artifacts and may have served as a yard, garden, or workspace that was swept clean of artifacts.

4.3.4 Discussion

While the transfer and ownership of this house locus are not formally documented in legal records and registers, the oral history of the family, which indicates at least three generations resided on this house lot, and the material records, point to a nineteenth to twentieth centuries settlement period. The lack of substantial archival documentation also affects the process of describing and dating the house structure that once stood on the house lot. Based on the use of cement plaster on the stone foundation that survived, it is tempting to place the construction of the house structure in the late nineteenth century since the use of Portland cement was patented in 1892. However, it is possible that the house structure was renovated over time, including cement plaster to reinforce the stone foundation walls of the building. Focusing on building hardware, the nails recovered from the excavations are not particularly impressive and less diagnostic to accurately determine a clear chronology of when the house structure was constructed. The only reliable materials are imported goods such as ceramics, glass bottles, and tobacco pipes, which suggest a mid-to-late nineteenth-century construction date for the house. I expand on the chronology of each material type recovered from this house locus in Chapter 6.

The discard processes for these materials reflect yard sweeping, which kept the living area clean and allowed for the formation of sheet midden across the yard area with a higher

concentration on the edges of the house lot. The refuse materials are either tossed over the edge or swept toward the edge of the house lot (e.g., Beaudry and Mrozowski 1989c: 282; Bond 1989a: 27). There are also possible movements of discarded items around by rainwater due to the undulating topography (hilltop) of the house lot and its proximity to two feeder roads. The density and distribution of artifacts vary across the yard area, but none of the units excavated were sterile or devoid of cultural artifacts despite the practice of yard sweeping. Units 001, 003-006, and 009-012, which are about 4-8 meters away from the house structure to the southwest, contain fewer artifacts, while Units 002, 007-008, 013, and 015-018, the most distant grids away from the house structure had a relatively high density of artifacts. This wide distribution of artifacts suggests that the house residents practiced yard sweeping, and the units with the higher concentration of artifacts represent the edge of the yard limits. During excavation, glass bottles were found almost exclusively in the feature encountered in the middle of the outbuilding and at the edge of the house lot rather than in trafficked areas of the house lot. Refuse, such as broken ceramics, were also discarded and swept to the edges of the house lot to keep the open area between the house structure and the edge of the yard area clean. Since the refuse spread out horizontally, covering the yard space in varying concentrations, this discard process reflects a sheet midden.

It is likely that the house lot has also accumulated some debris from nearby activities due to proximity to two feeder roads and an undulating topography that may have encouraged erosion that can transport artifacts from higher levels to lower planes. The shallow depth of deposits in Units 002-006 represents, in part, deflation from long-term sheet erosion. However, it also suggests that depositional practices were less intensive than those in discrete refuse midden deposits in Unit 002 of the house lot. Eliminating natural processes as a factor for artifact deposition, the concentration of imported materials on the edges of the north, west, and south walls of the excavation units strongly indicate the formation of sheet midden

away from the house structure through yard sweeping. If this is the case, this analysis shows that the process of refuse discard is consistent with the pattern found in the King house lot.

4.4 Identifying Formation Processes of Household Deposits

The formation processes at the two excavated house lots are somewhat complex. However, through extensive excavation, the field team identified a rich material assemblage and distinguished the following deposition: (a) refuse left during the main period of the house occupation, (b) refuse left during the abandonment period of the houses, and (c) refuse brought into the house lots from a neighboring area by rapid-flowing water and/or by the remaining inhabitants of the village (Schiffer 1972:156-165; 1976; 1985:25). The architectural remains deposited when the houses were torn down constitute most of the material assemblage, while the remaining artifacts were deposited during the main period of the house occupation. Only in a few instances, the field team encountered refuse from neighboring areas brought by natural and anthropogenic forces, which cannot be ignored. In fact, there is a possibility that some refuse (e.g., nails attached to clapboards) were scavenged by metal scrap dealers or moved to a secondary location due to the discard of house demolition materials.

Nevertheless, many of the artifacts recovered may be primary refuse (discarded at their location of use), while the remaining artifacts “once used and broken in the rooms... were discarded elsewhere as secondary refuse” (Schiffer 1983:693). If primary refuse, they were tossed off from the house to the yard area during the period of occupation (Schiffer 1976:188; 1985:25). Such primary refuse could also be curated items that were transferred from one person to another within the house lots and lost items that fell through the floorboards (Schiffer 1985:25, 27). Another possibility is that this primary refuse was widely dispersed as secondary refuse due to yard sweeping and/or rapid-flowing water caused by the undulating topography of the house lots (Rathje and Schiffer 1982:107; Schiffer 1985:25-29;

Wilk and Schiffer 1979). Some artifacts also exhibit evidence of re-use, especially complete glass bottles, restored ceramic vessels, and intact ground stone artifacts. They were left behind on the floor or in a subfloor pit when the houses were abandoned. Schiffer (1985:26) calls such deposition *de facto* refuse. The abundance of such artifacts, particularly vessels, indicates an impressive array of *de facto* refuse in the two house lots (Schiffer 1976, 1983:692, 695).

Materials on the two house lots date to the full length of occupation. This means that these lots are intensively used, and materials never really made its way off the site. One wonders why the material culture remains on site rather than having been discarded elsewhere. It is likely that the villages, including Regent had no centralized dumps or municipal trash disposal until the late nineteenth century. Their disorganization across the yard areas most likely suggests that domestic activity areas are habitually cleaned by removing artifacts and depositing them along the edge of the house lot or in nearby “zones of secondary refuse” (Schiffer 1983:679) than rapid-flowing water events. The hand plowing of the two house lots may also have had an effect on the artifact deposition patterns. All these factors must be considered before reliable conclusions about the formation processes of the deposits in question can be made (Mrozowski et al. 1989:310; Schiffer 1985:18-41).

Overall, the identification of primary refuse, secondary refuse, and *de facto* refuse in the two house lots provides us with a picture of the residents’ housing experiences, the condition of abandonment of the house lots, and any links to village life or the lack thereof.

4.5 Summary

Two substantial archaeological excavations—at the King house lot and Johnson house lot—were undertaken at Regent Village. As discussed, the archival record was scanty for the two house loci. However, the archaeological data recovered, together with available archival sources and oral histories, have allowed the reconstruction of household activities and the use

of domestic space in the *Up Soja* area of the village during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The site formation processes influenced by farming activities, erosion, and yard sweeping easily transport tiny and small-sized artifacts, thus mixing up the material assemblage. More importantly, the continued occupation of archaeological sites by present-day populations contributes to modern materials that joins the earlier sub-surface deposits. Despite the relative disturbance of the excavated deposits, it was possible to identify three discrete soil levels and several features that cut through the soil levels that helped date house locus. The context and chronology of European trade artifacts and locally produced artifacts are covered extensively in subsequent chapters.

While this research would benefit from additional, larger-scale excavations that are evenly distributed across the village; the areas within the village covered in this study were crucial to getting a glimpse into the lives of the liberated Africans and their descendants who worked and lived in the two houses. Therefore, it is felt that major trends and variations were captured through a combination of survey, excavation, and historical assessment. In the next two chapters, I focus on the description and interpretations of these archaeological remains and the results of archival research to provide a fuller glimpse into the house resident's material use and the village's history.

CHAPTER 5

REGENT AND THE KING FAMILY LOT: MATERIAL ASSEMBLAGES

5.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the artifact analyses used, the settlement-wide data on Regent Village, and an overview of the artifactual data recovered from excavations at the house lots. A modified version of South's (1977) functional analysis using architectural remains and activity-related artifacts provided an organizational framework for the recovered materials. I examine the artifact assemblages from the settlement-wide survey and from each house lot excavated to discuss the architectural features and activity areas represented. Materials from the settlement-wide survey and the King family lot (House Locus 6) are discussed here. Artifacts from the Johnson family lot are discussed in the following chapter. The analysis of various artifact classes found in varied contexts allows for the identification of use, reuse, or recontextualization of the materials represented.

A total of 10,741 artifacts were recovered from the two house lots. The 42 units (gridded in 2 x 2 m) investigated at the King family lot yielded 5,271 artifacts, while 5,470 artifacts were collected across 17 excavated units (gridded 4 x 4 m) at the Johnson family lot. A small (n=72) number of artifacts were collected during the pedestrian surveys of the village. Recovered artifacts include imported tobacco pipes, ceramics, glass bottles, and locally-made ceramics. Metal objects, imported ceramic sherds, and glass bottles accounted for the majority of artifacts recovered from excavations. Most are utilitarian objects found in domestic contexts on most colonial period sites in the wider Atlantic World.

Over half of the materials recovered from both house lots comes from the yard areas. This is partly due to the more intensive investigation of the yard areas. Architectural artifacts constitute the largest portion (79%, n=8,489) of the total material assemblage. Nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century nails and window glass fragments accounted for the

overwhelming majority of architectural artifacts, while the remaining materials includes roofing slates, window and door hooks and hinges, as well as fragments from the house clapboards. Much of these materials were recovered from Level 1, and is likely associated with the demolition of the structures of the house lots during the postcolonial period. Activity-related artifacts make up a little less than a quarter (21%, n=2,252) of the total material assemblage, with the majority recovered from Level 2 and feature areas, which largely date between 1860 – 1960. Local and imported ceramic sherds and numerous glass bottle fragments comprised a large portion of the activity's artifact assemblage.

Artifact distributions and the date ranges of trade materials are used to interpret the site chronology and to delineate the activities represented. The trade imports have, in turn, helped in dating local ceramics and other poorly dated materials. Artifacts dates are more or less “probability statements” due to variables such as time lag, economic status, social status, distance from centers of production, and historical geography, among others (Adams 2002:79). Time lag could be caused by access to transportation networks, wealth, and the time period before the acquisition, among others (Adams 2002:66). Artifacts dating to the very recent occupations of the houses—circa 1960 to the present—were removed from the analysis. The artifacts were analyzed at Hamilton Village in a facility provided by Madam Josephine Kargbo, the Acting Curator of the Sierra Leone National Museum, and were deposited in the storage facility at the Sierra Leone National Museum, Freetown, once analysis was completed. The process undertaken during laboratory analysis is discussed below.

5.2 Artifact Analysis and Classification

A starting point for the artifact analyses was the Bunce Island Artifact Typology and Field Manual developed by Christopher R. DeCorse, and subsequently used in the AISLE Project. This was a modified version of the CRP Project Manual used in coastal Ghana. Use since 1985, it provides classification schema for the identification and analysis of imported trade materials, as well as local ceramics and lithics. The Manual (henceforth AISLE Manual) provides a classification framework based on material classes (e.g., imported ceramics, glass, and gunflints) with the overarching goal of examining changes in the function of objects and establishing site chronology. It is intended to be flexible and was modified to accommodate the contexts and materials recovered in Regent Village. These data were crucial in determining the date ranges for houses and features excavated.

Following the content of the AISLE Manual, the analysis conducted in this study focused on material classes with implied functions, allowing dual functions or the repurposing of objects to be easily identified and discussed. All artifacts were washed, cataloged, and sorted into material classes, including ceramics, glass, metal, and tobacco pipes. Each artifact was assigned a unique number based on site information (e.g., KL/JL), spatial unit and depth (e.g., U10L2) or surface finds (e.g., SF), object form (e.g., V= vessel), object counts in sequential order (e.g., 1, 2, 3), and occasionally the number of matched pieces or fragments (e.g., 1, 2, 3). Put together, such a number reads KL-U10L2-V3-1, which stands for “King ‘Lot” – “Unit 010 Level 2” – “Vessel 3”– “Piece #1.” There is an inclusion of the village name (e.g., RG), street name (e.g., LS), house number or house lot number (e.g., H3), surface finds/collections (e.g., SC), and object counts in sequential order (e.g., 1, 2, 3) in the settlement-wide survey data. Put together, such a number reads RG-LS-H3-SC-1,

which stands for “Regent” – Liverpool Street – House #3 – Surface Collection – Object #1.¹ This numbering system provides the context information for the artifact at a glance. Below, I briefly describe the analysis processes utilized in the treatment of each material.

The analysis of imported ceramics focused on vessel counts and the type-variety represented. Because many pieces were refitted to form single vessels and, in some cases, complete containers were found, ascertaining the minimum vessel counts and the counts of various artifact classes in the collection was possible. Refitting allowed the form, size, and function of materials to be readily identified. The field team identified and recorded the type-variety represented (e.g., hand-painted pearlware, salt-glazed stoneware, cut-sponge stamped whiteware). This classification considers manufacture and ware type, paste color, and decoration. Vessel rim diameter, vessel form (bowls, plates, cups, lids), and use-wear (chipping, burning) were also recorded when possible or relevant. Makers’ marks were noted if present. Some of the vessels were marked with a diamond registry. In cases where the base of vessels does not survive or is left unmarked, the border design, color, and form of the specimens are used for identification.

The local pottery analysis aimed at identifying manufacturing methods represented and function, as well as possible indications of exchange and the age of the vessels found. The field team focused on the macroscopic examination of the ceramics to identify inclusions or temper, core, and level of firing. Vessel form, rim diameter, and use-wear were recorded, when possible, to infer function. The decorations, surface preparations, and surface treatments identified on the exterior and interior of the vessels are used to discuss trade or exchange with local or Indigenous communities and their possible production at Regent Village.

¹ The surface materials collected during the settlement-wide survey were labeled differently due to the need to associate each artifact with the house structure or house lot number and street name.

The glass analysis included glass bottles, glassware, and flat glass. For the glass bottles, the field team recorded the physical attributes (such as color, patina), manufacturing techniques (two-piece mold, turn mold), form (liquor bottles, soda bottles, inkwell), and decoration (embossing, pressed glass) of each specimen. We also recorded features such as finish (cracked off, flanged, blob top, tooled, or string) and base (bell-shaped, slight mamelon, conical wine, sand pontil). Based on the recorded details, possible origins, functions, and chronological ranges for some of the glass vessels were determined. For the glassware, vessel form (tumbler, stemware, decanter, carafe), manufacture, and decoration (pressed decoration, embossed pattern, or lettering) were recorded. This various information was also used to determine the possible function and date ranges. The analysis of flat glass focused on physical attributes (shape, thickness, color, decoration) and possible functions (window glass panes and mirror fragments). There is no attempt to date the house loci using window glass thickness.

Many metal artifacts were recovered in the two excavated house lots. Both surface collections and excavations produced copper-alloy objects and iron objects, which include building hardware (e.g., shutter pintle, door hinges, door lock parts used as pulleys or hooks, padlock pieces, keys, nails), agricultural tools (e.g., cutlasses, hoes), furniture parts (e.g., cabinet handles, drawer pull, chair legs, bedsprings), cooking pots fragments (e.g., teapot, kettle, pots), and personal items (e.g., buttons, belt clasp, thimble, clothing pressing iron plates). A lead button was recovered from the Johnson family lot. Basic information was recorded for things like building materials, but more complete or identifiable artifacts received greater attention and were photographed and conserved (i.e., stabilized their condition).

I rely on the method of manufacture (hand-made or machine-made), material (iron or steel), the head and shaft (uniform or non-uniform/misshapen), the pinch (present or absent),

blurr or cut (present or absent), shape of the point (rounded or flat), condition (bent, clinched, or unmodified), and length (where possible) for each nail and nail fragment. I use these features to determine the nail types represented and the dates when they were likely used. Only complete nails and near-complete portions of nails that include the head were included in the MNI count.

The analysis of the gunflints included dimensions (width, height, and length), shape, color, edge modification, and use wear. The field team relied on Munsell's color designations and approximations of color designations used by other scholars (e.g., Horowitz and Watt 2020; Watt and Horowitz 2017) in describing gunflint colors. We utilized the flaking methods and colors represented to determine the possible age and origins of the gunflints, while the shape and edge modification or use-wear provided some indication of their use and reuse through time.

Other lithics recovered included slate fragments. Slate is "a type of metamorphic rock resulting from low-grade regional metamorphic of shale or mudstone" (Swords 2008:41; also see Davies 2005:63). The majority of these are roughly hewn, many with nail holes, and the majority likely represent roofing slate. Evidence of use-wear and varying sizes, lengths, and thicknesses were noted. Many of the slate fragments exhibited modifications (ground edges, holes) and use-wear (cleavable sheets). The colors represented range from black to grey, but it is unclear whether colors and function correlate.

In addition, some of the slate recovered relates to writing.² Historical sources indicate that writing slates were one of the imports shipped to Sierra Leone in large quantities during the colonial period (Scanlan 2013:344). All slate fragments were closely examined for evidence of lettering or lines associated with their use as writing tablets. These examinations revealed manufactured lines, hand-prepared lines, smooth surfaces, and remnants writing.

² Writing slates were produced in the 5 x 7 or 8 x 2-inch range (Swords 2008:42).

The two house lots also produced a significant amount of groundstone artifacts. The field team recorded the dimensions (width, height, and length), shape (flat, round), raw material (granodiorite, sandstone, soapstone), surface preparation (concave, convex), surface treatments (smooth, rough), and evidence of use-wear (chips, fragmentary) for each specimen. Based on the recorded physical attributes, two types of ground stone materials were identified: (a) grinding slabs and (b) handstones. A further sub-division can be identified among the handstones based on variations in surface treatments. There are one-handed and two-handed handstones. These handstones and the grinding slabs were used for household food processing.

The tobacco pipe assemblage consists of stem and bowl fragments, as well as largely intact pipes. The field team recorded attributes such as manufacturing techniques (e.g., molded), form (e.g., mouthpiece, stem, bowl, base), decoration (anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, floral, incision, and geometric designs), the presence of lettering or makers' marks, and use-wear (e.g., burning) for individual fragments. We also measured the stem length and bowl height, and recorded specific information about the base type (e.g., spur, heel, flat), mouthpiece (e.g., cut, rounded, nipple, oval), and evidence of post-manufacture modifications (e.g., damage). Nearly complete and complete pipe bowls were compared with figures in the AISLE Manual and other sources to identify known types and manufacturers.

In the following discussions, I describe the artifact assemblages recovered from the two house lots and the surface collection. The settlement-wide survey data are discussed first, followed by materials recovered from the King family lot. I cover the material assemblage for the Johnson family lot in the next chapter.

5.3 Settlement-Wide Data

The settlement-wide survey conducted across the village yielded both architecture-related and activity-related artifacts. There are more activity-related artifacts than architecture-

related materials. The architecture-related items are limited to nails, roofing slate fragments, and wooden clapboard fragments, while the activity-related item consists of several imported materials, including imported ceramics, glass bottles, imported tobacco pipes, and writing slate fragments.

Architecture-related Artifacts

The 48 residential and non-residential loci identified through the pedestrian survey produced limited architecture-related artifacts. Small amounts of slate fragments were found in Locus 42 (St. Charles Church) and Locus 43 (Primary School) premises, but they were not collected because they did not exhibit clear diagnostic features, such as holes, lines, and/or remnants of writing. Only four fragments that exhibit features that associate them with the roofing of house structures were collected from Locus 41 (Kings Yard), located circa 50 meters from Loci 42 and 43 (Figure 5.1a). The presence of this limited number of slate fragments is not enough to determine the age of the Loci 41 – 43. The recovery of a wood remnant from a clapboard in Locus 14 is also not sufficient to determine the nature of the house structure and the date of occupation (Figure 5.1b).



Figure 5.1a: A roughly hewn, many with nail holes, likely representing roofing slate.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)



Figure 5.1b: A wooden fragment from a clapboard in Locus 14.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)

Activity-related Artifacts

Imported ceramics were recovered in smaller quantities (n=56 sherds) during pedestrian surveys (Figure 5.2). They were found in fragments distributed across house loci and easily detectable on the surface of the feeder roads within the village. There are 44 body sherds, six rim sherds, and six base sherds. Each sherd was analyzed in association with the house structure or house locus where it was found. The ceramics are largely whiteware plates and bowls (n=34) marked by hand-painted polychrome decorations with thick annular decoration, as well as cut-sponge, stamped decoration in floral and geometric patterns. Other ware types represented include six stoneware storage vessels as well as five porcelain, five pearlware, three yellowware, and three glazed earthenware table and serving wares. Their limited occurrence in each documented house locus makes it challenging to suggest or determine the period of occupation. However, the whiteware vessels and stoneware storage vessels provide a maximum date range of 1820 and 1930 (Allen et al. 2013:45). The presence of the cut-sponged wares indicates occupations of the second half of the nineteenth century.

Notably, some dateable imported goods, such as glass bottles and imported tobacco pipes, that are well represented in excavation contexts were rare in surface contexts. The near absence of glass bottles (only three fragments were found) is not surprising because they are often discarded in non-trafficked areas within the yard area and are largely invisible on the surface. Two European pipe bowl fragments were recovered at Locus 10 and Locus 48 on Fitzjames Street. Both bowl fragments are British pipes that were mass-produced in the nineteenth century. One wonders why nineteenth-century imported ceramics are visible on the surface of feeder roads and occasionally across house loci and imported tobacco pipes are not. Perhaps, smoking was done in a private space or was an uncommon practice.



Figure 5.2: A range of imported ceramics collected during the pedestrian survey. First row: hand-painted and cut-sponged whiteware plate and bowls. Second row: flow blue, spatterware, and transfer-printed whiteware plates. Third row: lead-glazed earthenware and wheel-thrown stoneware storage vessels.
 (Source: Photograph taken by the Author)

Mostly found in fragments, metal objects were recovered in limited quantities during the pedestrian surveys. The scarcity of metal object fragments in the trafficked areas could be a result of refuse discard patterns or iron scrap sellers' activities of picking up such materials for local retail trade. Sam Smith, a blacksmith, appeared on the 1831 census of the village (CO 267/111) and there could have been more blacksmiths in the village over the years. However, no evidence of metallurgy or blacksmithing (e.g., hearth area, slag heaps, or furnaces) was encountered. It is unlikely that we missed the surface remains of metalworking during the pedestrian surveys. Such location(s) might have been cleared and redeveloped.

Notably, no beads were recovered from surface contexts in the village survey. The lack of beads is provocative because beads often play crucial roles in African village life. Beads are used as body adornment, for ritual purposes, and to mark social status and wealth. The dearth of beads across the village could be a result of site formation processes and/or the preservation of archaeological materials. Alternatively, this may indicate (a) low interest from householders in such items because they are no longer in fashion, (b) low socio-economic status, (c) lack of widespread availability of the material due to restrictions to political elites as symbols of wealth and status, (d) less occurrence of accidental loss of items, and greater tendency to curate or retain such items. Clarke (1863:326) notes that “Gold and silver ornaments are much worn in the ears and fingers,” but “amber or coral beads adorn their necks, wrists, and ankles.” Like beads, gunflints, and ground stone artifacts were not encountered during the pedestrian surveys.

Additionally, no local pottery was recovered from surface contexts during the pedestrian surveys. Based on the results of this current study, archaeological data for a pre-nineteenth-century settlement at Regent Village is lacking. Further work is needed across the village and its environs to answer questions of chronology and long-term occupation of the vicinity. Locals in the village note contemporary production of local pottery in neighboring liberated African villages such as Waterloo but no one remembers any tradition of local pottery production at Regent.

The two house loci selected for intensive investigation were not identified through the settlement-wide survey, but surface collections were conducted in these lots before excavation began. These surface collections are included in the total material assemblage recovered from each house but are discussed in this section because it is felt that these collections complement the other surface collections across the village site. Hence, they are briefly discussed below.

At the King family lot, several (n=239) diagnostic artifacts were analyzed from the 631 artifacts collected within the grids before excavation started. These artifacts consist of architecture-related items only. Fifty roofing slate fragments and four metal building hardware were collected from grids located immediately behind the southern wall of the house structure, while 158 window glass fragments and 27 wooden artifacts associated with the board house structure were picked within the house structure area. The wooden frames and clapboard fragments have some paint (green or pink) on the interior parts. The sizes of the wooden fragments range from 17.5 mm to 184 mm in length, 4.5 mm to 39.0 mm in breadth, and 1.7 mm to 37.8 mm in height. These surface collections suggest that there was a board house that once stood on the lot.

The field team collected a few diagnostic activity-related artifacts represented by whiteware ceramic sherds and a large grinding stone from across several units, with Units 008 and Unit 009 producing the largest portion of the surface materials. The 16 whiteware ceramic sherds are largely whiteware bowls (n=8) marked by hand-painted polychrome decorations with thick annular decoration. There are also four whiteware plates with cut-sponge stamped decorations in floral and geometric patterns. The several glass bottles and glassware fragments, a few metal cooking pot fragments, and two local ceramic sherds are not considered vessels. One of the two buttons found exhibits some diagnostic features. This brass button measures 17mm and could have been attached to a uniform or coat. It was recovered from the surface of Unit 025 along the southern wall of the structure. The button has a loop-shank and a decorated domed face or front (Figure 5.3). Its wire loop and domed faceplate suggest an early 20th-century date. The insignia on the domed face indicates the button would have been used on a British Royal Naval uniform belonging to a Royal Engineer. The inscription “HONI SOIT Q MAL Y PENSE” is the motto of the English

chivalric Order of the Garter. Its literal translation from Old French is “Shame be to him who thinks evil of it” (Sharpe 2013:165).

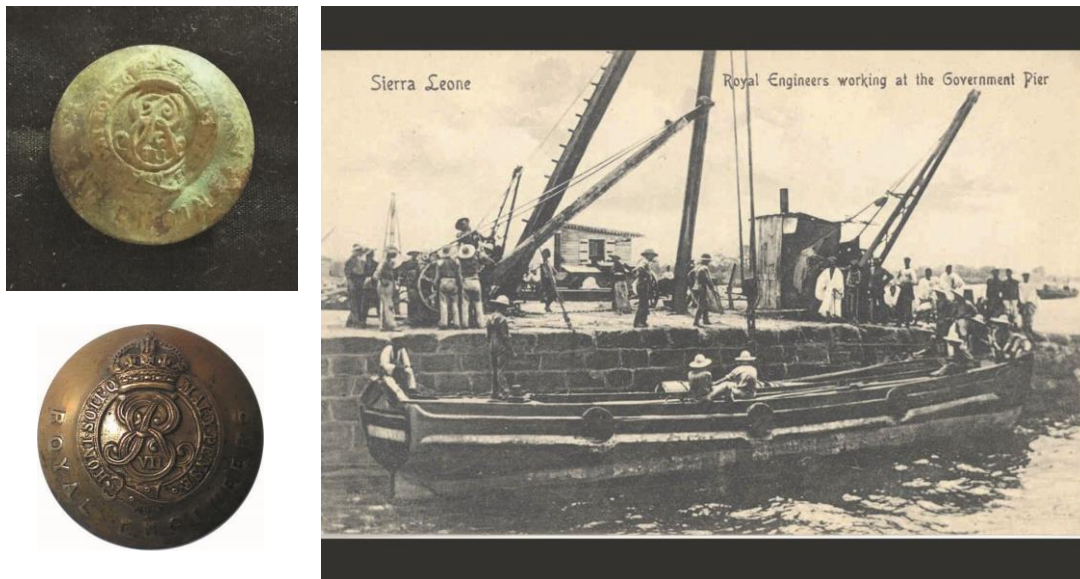


Figure 5.3: Upper Left: A brass button marked Royal Engineers. Lower Left: Replica of the brass button in the Royal Museum Greenwich, which dates between 1902 – 1911. Right: Sierra Leone Royal Engineers working at the Government Pier. No date is available. (Source: Photograph of the artifact by the Author and Replica housed in the Royal Museum Greenwich. The archival image is courtesy of Otterbein University Library Archives Sierra Leone Postcards collection.

More artifacts (n=265) were collected from the Johnson family lot. These artifacts include both architecture- and activities-related items. The artifact assemblage consists of 209 window fragments, 13 machine-cut nails, 19 roofing slate fragments, ten glass bottles, five glassware, four imported ceramic vessels, three local ceramic pots, and two handstones. The imported ceramic vessels were cut-sponged, decorated whiteware bowls, while some of the glass bottles were machine-made with Owens scar at the base. All glassware items were stemware, the handstones were one-handed, and one of the local ceramic pots had a carved roulettes decorative motif. The interior and exterior surfaces of the local pots are even but exhibit no surface treatment.

A 1942 British West Africa one-penny coin happens to be the only coin that dates to the colonial period. The reverse has a six-point star encircled by the legend “BRITISH WEST

AFRICA 1942,” while the obverse is embossed with the legend “GEORGIVS VI REX ET IND: IMP” and “ONE PENNY.” It was collected from the top of the house foundation walls during the brushing of the house lot (Figure 5.4).



Figure 5.4: Left: A 1942 British West Africa one-penny coin.
Right: Removing weed on top of the house foundation during the brushing of the house lot.
(Source: Photograph of the artifact by the Author)

5.4 Mr. Emeka and Mrs. Justice Jamesina King Family Lot

A total of 7,006 artifacts were recovered from the King family lot, including excavation of the house structure, as well as features and non-feature areas within the yard. Three-quarters (75%, n=5,271) of the artifacts date to the nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century occupation of the house, while the remaining quarter (25%, n=1,735) are postcolonial materials, reflecting the continued use of the site during the second half of the twentieth century. Twentieth-century materials included coins, shotgun cartridges, plastic pendants and beads, water tap heads, and a water meter. These materials are not discussed in detail. The following artifact classification, relative frequencies, and distributions of the materials focus on materials, dating to the colonial period.

The spatial and temporal distributions of these artifacts in the excavated units are enlightening. More than a quarter (39%, n=2,042) of the artifact assemblage was recovered from the house area within the surface level³ and upper limit that was excavated, which is designated Level 1. The majority (n=1,952) of these artifacts belong to the architecture category, while the remaining (n=90) are activity-related. A similar size of architecture-related artifacts (n=1,945) was found across Levels 1 and 2 within the non-feature area of the yard, while the activity-related artifacts (n=463) were largely recovered from Level 2. These artifacts constitute the largest portion (46%, n=2,408) within the material assemblage. The remaining portion (15%, n=821) of the artifact assemblage was recovered from the feature areas of the yard. This assemblage has more architecture-related artifacts (n=602) and lesser (n=219) activity-related artifacts. Level 3 was devoid of artifacts.

Many of the artifacts collected from Level 1 were mainly located within the house area and show diagnostic features that associate them with nineteenth-century materials. In

³ The surface materials collected from this family lot are briefly discussed in the section on settlement-wide survey data in this chapter.

contrast, only a few artifacts in Levels 1 and 2 of the non-feature area of the yard that can be safely dated to the nineteenth century were added to the analyzed materials. The assemblage from the yard area is mixed due to yard gardening and the digging of the twentieth-century cement yard wall. Feature 4, the dark brown stain soil, and Feature 5, the discrete artifact cluster located behind the house, are the only features that contain artifacts that date to the colonial period. Feature 4 produced 142 roofing slate fragments, 460 nails, five ground stone artifacts, and a gunflint, while 713 glass bottles and glass bottle fragments, 389 imported ceramic sherds, and 117 local ceramic sherds were found in Feature 5. From this large artifact assemblage, MNV of 148 glass bottles, 46 imported ceramic vessels, and 19 local ceramic vessels were determined. A minimum number for the roofing slate fragments could not be determined due to their fragmentary condition. However, the quantity suggests they were not used to roof the entire structure. Perhaps, the portions of the roof were slate. Alternatively, they may have been used on an outbuilding such as a shed, porch roof, or to make a porch floor.

There are 1,273 imported ceramic sherds recovered across the excavated units. From this large assemblage, an MNV of 160 was determined. Eighteen vessels were determined from the 98 imported ceramic sherds found within the house area. Ninety-six vessels can be distinguished from the 777 imported ceramic sherds recovered across the yard area excavation units. Feature 5, the discrete artifact cluster, produced 398 imported ceramic sherds from which an MNV of 46 vessels was determined. These ceramic vessels consist of several type-variety, including 115 whiteware, three pearlware, 15 stonewares, five yellowware, 14 porcelain, a tin-enamel, and seven glazed earthenware. Various vessel forms and functions were identified, including three bottles, a jug, three churns, five jars, nine crocks, eight chamber pots, 48 plates, ten saucers, 71 bowls, and two cups. These diverse

vessel forms were used in storing, preparing, and serving all kinds of liquids, food items, and other related contents.

The excavation units within the house area were devoid of local ceramic sherds, but the yard area produced 441, including 75 rim sherds, seven neck sherds, 16 shoulder sherds, 335 body sherds, and five lid fragments. An MNV of 43, consisting of 26 pots and 17 bowls, was determined. Since no clearly discernible basal fragments were found, it is likely that all of the local ceramic vessels represented were round-bottomed. One of the pots has a lid refitted from five fragments and a handle from a jug or serving vessel was also recovered.

Glass was one of the most copious (n=2,266) artifacts encountered during both surface collections and excavations. The glass inventory includes flat glass, glass bottles, and glassware. Flat glass comprises 1,046 fragments, representing approximately 46% of the recovered glass. Nine hundred and ninety-eight of the flat glass fragments represent windowpanes. 41% (n=405) of the window glass fragments were found within the house area, while 59% (n=593) were recovered across the yard. The remaining 48 flat glass fragments are remnants from mirrors, which spread across the house footprint and the backyard of the house structure.

There were 1,132 glass fragments recovered from the yard area, representing an MNV of 430. They include liquor bottles, pharmaceutical bottles, soda bottles, storage bottles, and toiletry bottles. 8% (n=33) of the glass bottles from this house lot were found in complete or near-complete form, associated with units containing Feature 5, the discrete artifact cluster behind the house. Sixty-eight glassware fragments are the only glass artifacts associated with food consumption encountered within the house structure. The glassware forms include carafes and decanters, tumblers, and stemware.

Metal artifacts (n=2,527) recovered included building hardware (nails, window, and door hooks), personal items (buttons and badges), tools (hoe blade fragments), and utensils

(iron cooking pots). The location of these metal artifacts is wide-ranging. Metal artifacts encountered in the house structure were limited to building hardware and personal item. At the same time, tools and utensils were recovered in large quantities in the yard area, particularly the house's backyard. The materials recovered within the house structure was collected from Level 1 only. All the tools and utensils were found in Level 2 of the yard area behind and to the south of the structure.

Seven hundred and seventy lithic artifacts were found during the excavation. These materials include ground stone, gunflints, and slate fragments. The ground stone artifacts include a grinding slab and ten handstones found in fragmentary and five complete forms. Eleven of this assemblage was found in the non-feature area of the yard, while the remaining five were recovered within Feature 4, the dark brown soil stain area of the yard. Two gunflints or strike-a-lights were recovered during the excavation of the yard area. One gunflint was found within Feature 4, while the second gunflint was recovered from a unit located on the western side of the backyard. The temporal and spatial dimensions of these gunflints suggest their discard after extensive reuse. There are 752 slate fragments collected during both surface collection and excavations. While 118 slate fragments were recovered within the house area, 634 fragments were found in the yard areas, including Feature 4, which produced 142 fragments. Both writing and roofing slate materials were represented. There are 734 roofing slates and 18 writing slates.

The tobacco pipe assemblage included 25 fragments of molded, imported tobacco pipes, which were recovered from the front, sides, and back of the yard area. These fragments consisted of 18 stems, five bowls, and two partially intact pipes. A minimum pipe count was made, and at least ten tobacco pipes were represented. These pipes have diagnostic features, such as decorations and show evidence of use-wear such as burning in the bowls.

In the following sections, I focus on the specific materials represented and their contexts.

5.4.1 The Locus 6 House

Architecture-related Artifacts

Many pieces of building materials and hardware were recovered within the house area, the non-feature area of the yard, and in Feature 4, the dark brown soil stain in the yard. Building materials include stone block and stone block fragments, wooden frame and clapboard fragments, window glass fragments, and roofing slate fragments. Building hardware included window- and door-locking bolts and brackets, hinges, doorknobs, and window hooks. The metal hardware occurs in many sizes, ranging from small utility window hooks to a large, heavy door lock used as a pulley. A large assemblage of nails was also represented.

Many stone blocks and block fragments displaced after the demolition of the house in 2006 were arranged in the southwestern corner of the house lot. There are also many stone block fragments representing debris from the destruction of the board house found across Level 1 of the excavated units. No complete stone blocks came from excavated contexts. Blocks and block fragments appear to have been roughly hand-shaped, carved out of sandstone with iron tools by local people, possibly the liberated Africans and their descendants. They could not be weighed or counted and were not collected. However, they were documented and photographed for record purposes. In the house area, no traces of flooring survived, except the concrete floor of the veranda. However, 27 surviving wooden artifacts associated with the board house structure were found before the excavation commenced (Figure 5.5).



Figure 5.5: Some of the wooden frame and clapboard fragments associated with the house.
 (Source: Photograph by the Author)

Among the metal artifacts are several pieces of building hardware, including 17 locking bolts and brackets, two window locks, five copper-alloy hinges, a doorknob fragment, and two keys recovered from Level 1 within the house area (Figure 5.6a & 5.6b). Some of the locks could have easily been used for locking chests or boxes. The shallow depth and wide distribution of the hardware are consistent with the recent house demolition.



Figure 5.6a: Window and door locking bolts, brackets, and padlocks.
 (Source: Photograph by the Author)



Figure 5.6b: Large window hooks.
 (Source: Photograph by the Author)

Nails were also widely distributed across the house lot (Figure 5.6c). They were found in Level 1 of every excavated unit, with nearly half (48%, n=1,163) recovered within the house structure. This nail assemblage consists of 1,074 machine iron-cut nails, 85 iron and steel-wire nails, as well as four copper-alloy hand-wrought nails. Nails are deposited on historical period sites during different phases, including the construction, maintenance, and demolition of shelter (Young 1991:18-19). The presence of a large number of bent nails and clinched nails confirms that the building was torn down⁴ (Young 1991:58). Also, the recovery of iron-cut nails within the interior of the house confirmed that the house was lined with wood. There are correlations between the nail lengths and their functions on historical structures (Young 1991:6). The sizes of the recovered nails range from 1.75 to 2.5 inches (5d - 8d). They were used for flooring, siding, roofing, and light framing (Fontana et al. 1962). Some of the nails might have been used to make doors, window frames, shutters, and pegs to hand something to a wall (Fontana et al. 1962:61; Loveday 1983:27 cited in Young 1991:30). However, the nails recovered were likely used for fastening floors, lining boards, and making roofs. While some of the roofing nails still have seals on the heads— typically used with corrugated roofing pans, the nails shaped like a “7” was used for fastening floor and lining boards (Fontana et al. 1962:55, 58; Middleton 2005:58). The copper-alloy nails were possibly from cabinetry or related house furnishings.

⁴ Bent nails have “a slight arc, or a-shape” (Cicccone 2022:41; also see Young 1991:18, 52-53), while clinched nails “bent an angle greater than or equal to 90 degrees” (Cicccone 2022:41-42; also see Young 1991:18).



Figure 5.6c: Sample of the nail assemblage. Far Left Side: Iron-wire nails. Left: Steel-wire nails. Right: Iron-cut nails. Far Right: Hand-wrought copper nails.
 (Source: Photograph by the Author)

Less than a quarter (16%, n=118) of the roofing slate fragments recovered during excavation were found within the house area during excavation. These fragments were recovered from Level 1 of Units 001, 002, 007, 008, 016-019, 021-030, and 039-041. They had rough surfaces and holes on the edges (Figure 5.7). Their limited presence indicates a slate-roofed shed attached to the house structure. The largest fragment of the slate materials found measures 153.9 mm in length, 105 mm in breadth, and 5.7 mm in height. The large size and thickness are unsurprising because roofing slate is often thicker than writing slate, which is relatively thin (Davies 2005:63). Some of the large-size slate fragments fractured in layers, revealing cleavable sheets, while others were relatively well preserved. These slate fragments had holes likely created at the time of manufacture and others created in various locations by the users. These holes appeared on 42 slate fragments, suggesting that they were used for the roofing of the board house. Given their shallow context (0-15cm), they probably spread across a considerable distance when the house was torn down or during house maintenance.



Figure 5.7: Roofing slate fragments.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)

A similar pattern of deposition is discernible for window glass (n=998). 41% (n=405) of the window glass fragments were found within the house area at Level 1 (circa 15 cm). Most of the window glass was likely used in the house and subsequently scattered across the lot during the demolition of the structure(s). The thickness and color were noted for each specimen. Colors represented include colorless (40%, n=164) and aquamarine tint or light green color (60%, n=241). The thickness varied considerably on individual specimens, ranging from 2.5mm to 5.49 mm. The range of thickness was considered in conjunction with color. Occasionally, it was possible to identify the parent artifact for the smaller glass fragments (Figure 5.8) through the thickness, color, as well as a rectangular shape and right-angle edges. There are no wavy lines or bubbles in the fragments, suggesting they are not crown or blown glass⁵ (Marshall 2011:297; Moir 1983:14; Weiland 2009:29). While the photographs of the house indicate the use of both window glass panes and shutters, the large number of flat glass fragments within the house area confirm the presence of windows on all sides of the house.

⁵ A majority of the glass fragments have patina, possibly due to post-depositional factors such as erosion and rainwater.



Figure 5.8: Fragments from window glass panes.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)

Several pieces of metal building hardware were recovered from the excavated units in the yard area. These include window- and door-related items such as 19 locking bolts and brackets, five window locks, four doorknobs, four keys, and four window hooks. These metal artifacts occur in many sizes, and they spread across several units, namely Units 009, 011, 014-016, 021-022, 024, 026, 028-031, and 032. This is unsurprising since the house was torn down, and such materials would have spread across a considerable distance. Over a quarter (34%, n=824) of the nail assemblage from this house lot was collected from the yard area. Levels 1 and 2 of Units 021-030 in the backyard area of the house produced more nails than other units opened within the yard. There are 740 machine iron-cut nails, 76 steel-wire nails, and eight copper hand-wrought nails for cabinetry. The distribution and quantity of cut and wire nails in the yard support the revelation of a wooden frame structure with clapboard sides.

Four hundred and ninety-two roofing slate fragments were found in Level 2 of the excavated yard area. Thirty-two of the roofing slate fragments were found in the excavated units located in the front and sides of the yard area. However, the excavations conducted in

the backyard, covering Units 021 – 030, produced 460 slate fragments. Like the roofing slate fragments found within the house structure, the large-size slate fragments were plain, had rough surfaces, and had holes intentionally created in various locations on them. These holes appeared on many slate fragments and are likely used for roofing or flooring of the board house before it was maintained or torn down.

The remaining 59% (n=593) of the total window glass fragments were recovered across the yard area in Levels 1 and 2. These glass fragments were present in every unit opened in the yard area, with a majority (75%, n=446) collected from Units 008, 009, and 021-030 in the backyard area. The remaining (25%, n=147) glass fragments spread evenly across excavated units located in the front and sides of the yard area. The thickness and colors of these window glass fragments were similar to the specimens found within the house area at Level 1 (circa 15 cm). Colors represented include colorless (33%, n=195) and aquamarine tint or light green color (67%, n=398). Relying on thickness and colors, some fragments that either co-join or emerged from the same parent artifact were identified. While a full reconstruction of glass panes is impossible, the identified fragments belong to the window glass panes attached to the board house that once stood on this house lot.

The excavation of Feature 4, a dark soil stain in Units 008, 009, 023, 024, 025, and 026, produced several artifacts. There are 142 slate fragments and 460 machine iron-cut nails associated with architecture. They may have been discarded in this area or represent secondary deposition. These artifacts were collected before the field team encountered Feature 5, the discrete artifact cluster in the western portion of this large feature.

One hundred and forty-two fragments of gray slate were recovered within the upper limit of Feature 4. Like the ones found within the house structure and the non-feature section of the yard, they are largely dominated by slate fragments that had rough surfaces, holes forced on the edges, and were of large sizes, circa 15 cm, suggesting they are roofing slate

fragments. Four slate fragments had grounded edges. The function of these modified slate fragments is currently unknown, but they were found in association with the roofing slate fragments.

The machine iron-cut nails recovered from this feature also have blurs or cuts on opposite edges of the shafts and almost blunt points (Ciccone 2022:33; Wells 1998:84). A range of sizes used for varied functions is represented. The small-size (2.0 inches or 6d) cut nails would have been used for light framing and the medium-size (2.5 inches or 8d) cut nails for flooring. The quantity of the machine iron-cut nails and the absence of wire nails in this feature is interesting, as this would suggest an earlier period. While these nails were widely available and most commonly used throughout the nineteenth century, particularly post-1830 (Wells 1998:95), the presence of a torpedo-shaped bottle in Feature 5, which lies to the west of this large feature, cast doubt on an earlier date for this deposit. I address the discrepancy in the dating of this house's construction materials in the section below.

Dating the house

There is no means to securely date the construction of the King House in the absence of detailed archival records. The fact that the house was occupied well into the twentieth century and subsequently demolished also makes dating on the basis of the archaeology challenging. However, construction materials and building hardware recovered are consistent with the other artifactually materials recovered that indicate occupation from the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century. Construction materials, such as stone blocks and wooden frames and clapboard fragments, entered the archaeological record circa 2006 when the house structure was torn down. Pieces of building hardware deposited during the house demolition, such as locking bolts and brackets, a doorknob, and keys, lack any maker's marks or means of assessing the production period. Furthermore, no precise dates are provided by roofing slates

and window glass. Although slates have been in use since the Roman era in Wales for the construction of roofs, floor, and pavement, they became widely available from the late eighteenth century to the late nineteenth century and continued to be used well into the twentieth century (Davies 2005:63). It is likely that the use of slate continued in remote rural areas such as Regent Village during the twentieth century when they were no longer in favor in the metropolises (Davies 2005:67).

Several studies have revealed the advantages and disadvantages of using window glass thickness to date buildings built in the nineteenth century (e.g., Ball 1983; Demmy 1967; Moir 1987; Rothman 1980; Wackman 1990; Weiland 2009). In her study of fugitive slave villages in Kenya, Marshall (2011:297) noted that window glass panes were made in Europe and America and became thicker in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The use of cylinder-produced glass replaced the blown and crown method of production used in the earlier period (Weiland 2009:29).

The window glass from this house lot was likely made in England and shipped to Sierra Leone after the mid-nineteenth century, particularly colorless glass, which became widely available after 1880 (Bond 1989:124; Ciccone 2022:50). Due to natural and anthropogenic activities, glass color and thickness are affected and lack diagnostic features for dating. However, the transformation of technology in the manufacture of nails over the years, as well as the structural and physical characteristics that result from the technological developments, have proved to be reliable and useful dating tools for historical archaeologists (Adams 2002:66-88; Ciccone 2022:31; Fontana et al. 1962:44; Middleton 2005:55; Nelson 1968:1; Sichel 2021:3, 6; Wells 1998:78, 81; Young 1991:4-5). Therefore, the use of nail types in conjunction with other building materials, such as window glass thickness and tree rings from wood, can reveal the construction date of buildings located on archaeological sites lacking detailed archival records (Adams 2002:66; Wells 1998:78; Young 1991:24).

The recovery of machine iron-cut nails that have blurr or cuts on opposite sides with perfect machine-made heads in large quantity at this house lot means the building must have been constructed and occupied after the 1830s (Adams 2003:67; Ciccone 2022:74; Middleton 2005:56-57; Nelson 1968:8-9). This sample of machine iron-cut nails resembles Type 7 (Wells 1998:92, 95), Type B (Visser 1997), Phase 5 (Nelson 1968:6-8), and No. 9 (Noël Hume 1969:253) of machine iron-cut nail types. While the production of this type of machine iron-cut nails continued well into the twentieth century and till the present day (Visser 1997; Nelson 1968:8-9; Sichel 2021:30-31), the presence of inexpensive steel-cut nails, steel-wire nails, and iron-wire nails in somewhat lesser quantity implies late nineteenth-century construction or repair of the house because they were produced in significant quantities in the 1880s (Adams 2002:66, 68; Ciccone 2022:35; Fontana et al. 1962:48; Middleton 2005:57; Nelson 1968:11; Sichel 2021:6; Young 1991:12-14, 75). Since British manufacturers began the production of wire nails in the 1860s and 1870s before American manufacturers in 1884, it is likely that wire nails arrived in British-supplied colonies, such as Sierra Leone, before the United States overtook this nail-type production⁶ (Adams 2002:70). If the technological lag between the United States and England is put into consideration, a post-1880 is still the most plausible date for the house construction due to the duration required for the British-produced nails to leave the “manufacturer to wholesaler to retailer to customer to board” (Adams 2002:72).

Aside dating, carpenters at Regent Village might have chosen machine iron-cut nails for building purposes because they are effective for nailing wood to concrete and steel-wire nails due to “their greater ability to penetrate wood without splitting” (Tenin 1964:227 cited in Adams 2002:69) and reflex, which allow them to be pulled easily and easier to straighten if

⁶ However, copper nails with flat and round heads were produced in places such as Pittsburgh and Chicago in the United States for the international markets (Fontana et al. 1962:60).

bent (Young 1991:14). Alternatively, the choice might be due to economic reasons since these nails were easier to make, mass-produced at lesser costs, less expensive to ship due to their lightweight, and could be acquired more cheaply (Adams 2002:69, 72; Sichel 2021:7; Wells 1998:87). Regardless of the factors that might have influenced the choice of nails used in the house construction, it can be safely argued that the house was not constructed before the 1880s due to the presence of wire nails. However, I hasten to note that the wire nails could also indicate repair(s) of the house after the 1880s since the building was in use for a longer time before it was torn down circa 2006, and recent nails could have been deployed during repair (Adams 2003:80; Ciccone 2022:74; Middleton 2005:59; Young 1991:4-5). While the percentage of nail-types cannot firmly establish the house construction date, the suggested date is remarkably close to the date of the first sale of the house lot documented in the conveyance record kept in the archives (OARG Volume 47:315-317). In my discussion on activity-related artifacts in the next section, I examine other artifacts, putting into consideration the time lag caused by distance from centers of production, access to transportation networks, the time period before the acquisition, socio-economic status, and recycling to evaluate the dates provided for the house construction and to determine the time period when the house lot was intensively occupied (Adams 2002:66, 79, 2003).

5.4.2 Activities represented at the Locus 6 Lot:

Activity-related Artifacts:

The excavation within the house area and the yard area, including features encountered in the yard and the artifacts collected from these excavated areas, hint at various activities conducted at this house lot. Starting with the house area, excavation revealed a relatively small number of activity-related artifacts. These artifacts consist of imported ceramics and glassware fragments associated with food preparation and consumption activities as well as personal items. While there are no distinct activities represented within the house foundation, most of the artifacts collected were associated with eating and drinking practices as part of everyday life. Several activity-related artifacts were found across the yard, particularly at the back of the yard, where a more detailed excavation was conducted. Unlike the house area, there are some distinctive activities represented, including outdoor cooking, yard gardening, household food processing, leisure, and educational activities.

The volume of deposition of artifacts across the front, sides, and back of the yard revealed some of these activities. These activities were mostly carried out in the backyard, which was more intensively used and received more deposition of artifacts than the rest of the yard area. There are more kitchenware vessels (e.g., local and imported ceramics) in the outdoor cooking area, more tools (e.g., hoe blade fragments, handstones, and grinding slab) used for yard gardening and household food processing, and more ceramics (e.g., local ceramic pots and chamber pots) for outdoor storage purposes. However, no traces of household-specialized craft activity are discernible. The presence of writing slate fragments and English stoneware inkwells indicate educational activities, while the gunflints likely function as firelights used to start fires for cooking, to light tobacco pipes, and so on.

Food Preparation and Consumption:

An MNV of 18 can be determined from the 98 imported ceramic sherds found within the house structure. These ceramic vessels include several type-variety, including 11 whitewares, three stonewares, two yellowwares, a pearlware, and one porcelain. There are nine bowls, four plates, two bottles, a crock, a pot, and a cup. The whiteware vessels consist of three underglaze transfer-print plates, an underglaze transfer print bowl, a flow-blue transfer print bowl, an underglaze transfer-print cup, two hand-painted and annular decorated bowls, an engine-turned annular bowl, a bowl with brown underglaze decoration, and a shell-edge decorated plate with impressed lines colored blue. The stoneware vessels include two English brown stoneware bottles and an English brown stoneware crock. There is an annular band decorated bowl and an annular band of white dendritic patterns in blue on a pot classified under yellowware. An annular earth-tone decoration was applied on a pearlware bowl, while a gilded English bone china bowl was also recovered. These vessels spread across Level 1 of several excavated units within the house area. The English bone china bowl, for example, was reconstructed from 15 fragments recovered across Units 039, 041, and 042.

The underglaze transfer prints in bright green, red, brown, and black applied on whiteware plates, bowls, and cups make up a majority of imported ceramic vessels found inside the house structure. Some ceramic collectors note that transfer-printing in colors such as brown, black, green, and pink was produced in England and America and perfected by the 1850s (e.g., Larsen 1950; W.L. Little 1969:16-17, 29, 1987). These vessels, coupled with the inexpensive, hand-decorated whiteware bowls, which emerged as the second most common, were popular from the mid-nineteenth century until the early twentieth century (Kelly 1993:26; Kelly et al. 2001:9-10, 111; Majewski and O'Brien 1987:159; McConnell 1999:27-29; Slesin et al. 1997:75). The engine-turned annular, brightly decorated whiteware bowl and a whiteware bowl with brown underglaze floral decoration were possibly produced in the

Staffordshire district of England in the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century and exported across the globe, including West Africa (McConnell 1999:14; Robacker and Robacker 1978:32, 50). The shell-edge decorated whiteware plate with impressed lines colored blue on the rim spans between 1830 and 1860 (Miller and Hunter 1990:109; Mrozowski 2000:288; Pezzarossi 2014b: 160).

Other type-variety represented, such as yellowware vessels with annular bands of white dendritic patterns in blue, were likely produced in Britain, France, and later in the United States in the late nineteenth century (Robacker and Robacker 1978:24-26; Slesin et al. 1997:70, 137). Only a yellowware bowl with a mocha dendritic or treelike pattern was found. The pearlware bowl with annular, earth-tone decoration is likely to have been curated and post-date 1830, while the stoneware bottles and a crock were wheel-thrown, of English origin, and have a production date range from 1835 and 1900 (Noël Hume 2001:324). The English bone china bowl has a trademark on the base, which includes a Royal Crown with the inscription “Royal Doulton, England, Bone China, Made in England, B.C.A.L. C11”. The impressed trademark indicates that this vessel is certainly of English origin (possibly made at Burslem) and places its production date between c. 1902 and 1922 (Collard 1967:323-324, 1983:324; Dutton 1989:105; Godden 1964:215, 552, 698: Figure 5.9).



Figure 5.9: A reconstructed English bone china bowl. Royal Doulton standard impressed mark, c. 1902-22, appears at the base. (Source: Photograph by the Author)

The 68 glassware assemblage consists of seven bowls, 24 decanter fragments, and ten carafe fragments that once contained liquids, such as beverages, while eating and drinking items, such as four plates, 17 tumblers, and six stemware, represent 40% of the assemblage (Figure 5.10). Many of the glassware was found in fragmentary conditions in Level 1 of several units across the house area. Their recovery within Level 1 (0-15cm) cast some doubts on whether they are nineteenth-century materials. They may have been displaced due to hand-hoe farming activities. While some of these materials are difficult to date, many of them, particularly the tumblers and decanter fragments, are pressed glasses and appear to be nineteenth-century items.



Figure 5.10: The glassware assemblage. Far Left: stemware. Left: tumblers. Right: decanter fragments. Far Right: carafe fragments.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)

Several type-variety can be distinguished from the 777 imported ceramic sherds recovered across the excavated units across the yard area. From this large assemblage, an MNV of 96 can be determined (Figure 5.11). These include whitewares (n=75), two pearlwares, six stonewares, two yellowwares, eight porcelains, a tin-enamel, and two glazed earthenwares. These diverse ware types consist of vessel forms such as a jug, two churns, three jars, and three crocks, possibly used to keep all kinds of liquids, including beverages, wine, oil, and vinegar. The spatial distribution of these vessels across Level 2 of Units 008, 009, and 020 – 022 of the backyard of the house structure shows that they are kitchenware, thus complementing outdoor cooking activities. Other artifacts, such as local ceramic cooking

pots, iron cooking pots, and handstones support household food processing in this portion of the yard.



Figure 5.11: Type-variety of imported ceramics. Top row: stoneware storage vessels. Second row: a yellow ware storage vessel and a tin-enamel jug. Third row: transfer-printed and shell-edge whiteware plates. Bottom row: a flow blue bowl and a red paste earthenware bowl. (Source: Photograph by the Author)

The eating vessels constitute a majority (85%, n=82) of the imported ceramic assemblage found in the yard area. They spread across the front, sides, and back of the yard area, leaving no traces of distinctive activities. These ceramic vessels include tableware, such as 33 plates and six saucers, as well as hollowware, including 43 bowls. Some of the eight bowl vessels had closures ranging from medium size (15 cm) to large size (30 cm). It appears that many different decorations were applied to the vessels, while a small size (10%, n=10) belongs to matching sets of dishes. Other ceramic items, including five chamber pots, were

all found in Levels 1 and 2 of Units 026 and 028, almost exclusively in the southern end of the house locus.

The inexpensive, hand-decorated whiteware bowls and plates, which one would expect, make up a majority of imported ceramic remains from the yard area. More than half (66%, n=23) of the decorative motifs found on the whiteware bowls (n=35) were hand-painted. These decorations consist of 13 cut-sponged stamped decorations, seven hand-painted and annular decorations, and three hand-painted decorations. The next styles are transfer patterns, such as four underglaze transfer prints, three underglaze transfer prints with hand painting, and flow blue transfer prints. The remaining bowls have a yellow underglaze decoration and a molded decoration. Only two of the bowls were undecorated. The 33 whiteware plates also had diverse decoration motifs. These include shell-edge decorations with impressed lines colored in eight blue and two green, ten underglaze transfer prints, four hand-painted and annular decorations, three cut-sponged stamped decorations, a molded decoration, and a brown underglaze decoration. A small size (12%, n=4) of the plates were also undecorated. Hand-painted and annular decoration and underglaze transfer prints are applied to whiteware saucers, while the only whiteware jar represented has a brown and blue underglaze decoration. Only underglaze transfer print was found on the five-chamber pots recovered.

Two pearlware vessels represented include a bowl with finger-painted swirls and another bowl with mocha decoration. Six stoneware vessels consist of two English brown stoneware crocks, two white stoneware jars, and two American salt glaze churns. There is a yellowware bowl decorated with annular bands of white; dendritic patterns in red and a yellowware pot with molded decoration. Eight porcelain vessels include two undecorated bowls, a hand-painted bowl, and a molded decoration on the rim of a bowl, three undecorated bone china saucers, and one underglaze polychrome decoration on a saucer. The tin-enamel

vessel is a French faience jug with polychrome decoration. There is a lead-glazed red paste earthenware crock and a white pipe clay designed on a red paste earthenware bowl with a clear lead glaze.

The red paste earthenware bowl with clear lead glaze decorated with white pipe clay sprig designs is one of the earliest imported ceramics found on this house lot. This vessel was made by many factories in Staffordshire, Newcastle, and Bristol and dates to the second quarter of the eighteenth century (Noël Hume 1969:122-123). Other vessels that provide earlier production dates include the French faience jug with polychrome decoration, the pearlware vessel with mocha decoration, and a pearlware vessel with finger-printed swirls, which were made both in England and America from the late eighteenth century into the second half of the nineteenth century (Noël Hume 1969:131-132). The lead-glazed red paste earthenware cooking pot was unmarked. Vessels of this type are commonly known as ‘terres vernissées’ and are likely produced by Jourdan Vallauris A.M. in France. Vallauris was well-known for the production of ‘terres vernissées,’ which lasted until the 1920s and 1930s. However, the increase in pottery industries and the arrival of the railways in Vallauris in 1873 made the ‘terres vernissées’ widely available (Le Musée Universel 1873). The lead-glazed red paste earthenware pot likely post-dates 1873. There are also European or English clear lead-glazed earthenwares with polychrome (blue, brown, green) decorations applied to crocks, which post-date 1850.

Broadly speaking, the English white and brown stoneware vessels, as well as American gray salt-glazed stoneware with brown Albany slip interior, have a production date range from 1800 to 1900 (D. Armstrong 2003:178; Ketchum 1971:50-51; Webster 1971:211). The hand-painted decorative techniques applied to some bowls, plates, and saucers include polychrome spatterware and sponged decorations. This technique originated in the Staffordshire district of England and was produced between 1780 and 1830

(McConnell 1999:11). It peaked from 1810 to 1840 and was exported across the globe, including West Africa (McConnell 1999:14). There are also monochrome spatterware and sponged decorated vessels in the ceramic assemblage, which date to a similar period. The spatterware technique paved the way for sponge decoration, a less expensive way of decorating ceramics (McConnell 1999:15). Sponge-printed vessels were “manufactured in gaudy colors and in dark blue for the West Coast of Africa, North and South America, & c.” (Cruikshank 1982:5). This decorative technique is represented by two teacups with all-over decoration in brown (Kelly et al. 2001:205). They likely belong to a table set. There is a rice dish with a lattice motif with trefoil hanging from a red line at the rim. This decoration is commonly found on vessels made in Sri Lanka, circa 1879 – 1890 (Kelly et al. 2001:126). A pearlware mug is also sponge-printed with patterned decorations. It dates between 1790 to the early nineteenth century (Slesin et al. 1997:124).

The transfer-printed patterns employed on the whiteware vessels have yet to be identified in the ceramic collector's records. The lack of maker's marks due to the preservation of rims further complicates the identification process. Nevertheless, the transfer-print patterns would fall within the mid-nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth century (Majewski and O'Brien 1987). The only exception is the mark of an eagle found at the base of an ironstone vessel. This mark suggests an English origin for the vessel, but it was rarely used in the 1850s (Godden 1964:55; Lang 1995:247). Ironstone also originated in England in the 1840s. These vessels often have the Gothic style, with hexagonal and octagonal panels, elaborate floral and leaf-decorated designs, and geometric shapes (Dutton 1989:117; Majewski and O'Brien 1987:114). They were inexpensive and exported in larger quantities across the globe from the 1850s to the 1870s (Slesin et al. 1997:21). Some ironstone vessels were also made in America between 1860 and 1920 (Ketchum 1983:179, 201). The few shell-edge decorated whiteware vessels are represented by rims with impressed

lines colored blue and rims with an even edge and fairly uniform painted lines instead of impressed ones that lack the feathery effect. The former dates to the first half of the nineteenth century, while the latter was produced in the second half of the century (Miller and Hunter 1990:109; Pezzarossi 2014b: 160).

The next ware-type is the yellowware vessel. One of the yellowware bowls has a mocha dendritic or treelike pattern. This decorative motif appeared in 1830 but peaked in 1860 (Slesin et al. 1997:70, 137). Mochaware vessels were produced in Britain, France, and later in the United States. They were inexpensive kitchenware commonly found in middle- and lower-class households in America, including “the slave quarters and elsewhere at Monticello, the home of Thomas Jefferson” (Slesin et al. 1997:115). There is also a yellow ware jug with colored banded decoration and dendritic design. It was produced in either England or America in the mid-nineteenth century. It could have been used to serve beer or hold coffee and tea (Slesin et al. 1997:122). The remaining yellow ware vessels exhibit rolled lips with mocha-banded with blue or red seaweed design. One of these vessels had a molded decoration (Ketchum 1983:204). The presence of a few European bone china vessels, including English hard-paste porcelain, confirmed that the house lot was occupied into the twentieth century.

Feature 5— the artifact cluster produced 389 imported ceramic sherds.⁷ The majority of the sherds are whiteware, while there are fewer stoneware, porcelain, and glazed earthenware sherds. Body and base sherds of tableware (possibly plate forms) dominated the ceramic assemblage. Based on the rim sherds, an MNV of 46, consisting of 29 whiteware, six stoneware, five porcelain, five glazed earthenware, and a yellowware, was determined. These ceramic vessels include 19 bowls, 11 plates, five crocks, four saucers, two jars, two chamber

⁷ The other materials recovered from this feature includes 148 glass bottles consisting of 33 complete and near-complete bottles and 19 local ceramic vessels. These materials are discussed below.

pots, a churn, a bottle, and a cup. There is more hollowware than tableware in the artifact assemblage.

There are 14 whiteware bowls with varied decorations, including four hand-painted decorations, four cut-sponged stamped decorations, two molded decorations, two hand-painted and annular decorations, a green underglaze decoration, and a brown underglaze decoration. The nine whiteware plates have a hand-painted decoration, three cut-sponged stamped decorations, three underglaze transfer prints, a hand-painted and annular decoration, and a green pastel shell-edge, while the three whiteware saucers had a hand-painted decoration, a hand-painted and annular decoration, and a green underglaze decoration applied to them. There is a whiteware cup with cut-sponged stamped decoration, a whiteware jar with hand-painted decoration, and a whiteware chamber pot with underglaze transfer printed. Further studies revealed additional information on five of these vessels. The whiteware plate with the antique alphabet was produced in Staffordshire, England, during the Victorian period (Lima 2012:64). A whiteware teacup with an all-over decoration in brown and an Engine-turned annular decoration on a whiteware bowl is probably of English or European origin. Both vessels exhibit decorative motifs that became popular in the nineteenth century (Kelly et al. 2001:205). The two whiteware plates with shell-edge decoration are represented by rims with impressed lines colored blue and green. Green-edged and blue-edged plates were produced in England from the late eighteenth century into the nineteenth century, with blue-edged plates marketed until the second half of the century (Dutton 1989:92; Miller and Hunter 1990:109; Pezzarossi 2014b: 160).

The five porcelain vessels include a hand-painted bowl, an undecorated bowl, an undecorated saucer, a hand-painted plate, and a transfer-printed plate. Some of the porcelain was Chinese export wares, while the remaining ones were English hard-paste porcelain. The undecorated bone china vessels are of English or European origin and likely date between

1830 and 1910. A yellowware bowl is decorated with annular bands of white dendritic patterns in blue, which was likely produced after 1860 when such vessels became widely available (Ketchum 1983:155, 217; Slesin et al. 1997:70, 137). Several fragments of red paste earthenware with clear lead glaze were reconstructed to form a pot (Figure 5.12a). This vessel is likely a lead-glazed red earthenware chamber pot probably used on a ship. Although redware vessels were produced in England and Europe in the mid-eighteenth century and mid-nineteenth century (Slesin et al. 1997:55), the chamber pot resembles Portuguese or Iberian ceramics (DeCorse pers. communication 2022). Since this vessel is unmarked, it is difficult to identify the manufacturer's name and provide a specific production date.



Figure 5.12a: A reconstructed glazed earthenware. (Source: Photograph by the Author)



Figure 5.12b: A white stoneware jar. (Source: Photograph by the Author)

The remaining vessels include two lead-glaze crocks, a lead-glaze earthenware bowl, and a slip-decorated bowl. The slip-decorated bowl has a brightly colored geometric design. It was probably made in Hagerstown, Maryland, between 1790 and 1820 (Slesin et al. 1997:70). The lead-glazed crocks and bowl have a trademark: Jourdan Vallauris A.M. on the exterior, which indicates that they were made in France in the early twentieth century (Le Musée Universel 1873). Six stoneware vessels were also present. Three of the stoneware items are crocks, while the remaining vessels are a jar, a bottle, and a churn. The stoneware jar had an inked label hinting at the medicine kept in it and the manufacturer's name (Figure 5.12b). White stonewares were produced in Staffordshire, England, in the nineteenth century,

which gradually replaced brown stonewares (Webster 1971:27). They are often made by wheel throwing, are of English origin, and are possibly dated between 1820 and 1895 (Ketchum 1983: 285). An American gray salt-glazed stoneware with brown Albany slip interior, largely represented in the form of a butter churn, was found (D. Armstrong 2003:178; Kelly 1999:60; Ketchum 1971:50-51; Webster 1971:211). This vessel is a nineteenth-century product. Overall, there are four white stoneware vessels, a brown stoneware, and a gray salt-glazed stoneware.

Many of the local ceramic vessels (56%, n=24) represented in the material assemblage were recovered from the front and sides of the yard area, as well as the back of the yard area, where extensive excavation was undertaken. Two vessels were found in the southwestern corner of Unit 007 (Level 1), located on the western side of the yard area, while Level 1 of Units 012 and 014 in the front of the yard produced two more vessels. The remaining 20 vessels were found in Units 022 and 027-030, opened in the backyard of the house lot. Nearly half (n=9) of these ceramics were found in Level 2 of Unit 028, while a quarter was recovered from Level 2 of Unit 022 and another quarter in Level 2 of Unit 030. Level 2 of Unit 029 produced two vessels, and a handle of a jug or serving vessel and a pot lid were refitted from five fragments recovered from Units 026-028 (Figures 5.13a and 13b). The high concentration of local ceramics, particularly big pots in Units 026-028, indicates that they were used for storage purposes outdoors, probably to retain rainwater draining from the rooftop, process farm products (e.g., cassava and potatoes), and support yard gardening.



Figure 5.13a: A handle of a serving jug.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)

Figure 5.13b: A pot lid refitted from several fragments.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)

Two manufacturing techniques were identified within this ceramic assemblage. Sixteen of the vessels were produced through the coiling method⁸ and evidence of pinching⁹ appears on eight of the vessels (Orton and Hughes 2013:126; Rice 1987:124-125, 127-128; Rye 1981:68-70; Shepard 1976:57-59; Sinopoli 1991:17-20). These manufacturing techniques correlate with the vessel forms represented. Pots were produced using coil construction techniques. The four ceramic vessels recovered from the front and sides of the yard area are pots. There are two dark brown to black color pots with everted horizontal rims, a red color pot with a flared outward restricted rim, and a grey color pot with a direct vertical rim (Shepard 1976:228). The dark brown to black color pots have a sand-tempered paste, while the red-colored pot consists of a red-orange ware paste. Both vessels were fired in a low-heat environment (Rye 1982:24-25, 114-117). The grey color pot has a brown color paste, suggesting it was fired in a reduced amount of oxygen in the kiln (Orton and Hughes 2013:73, 152; Orton et al. 1993:133-135; Rice 1987:81; Shepard 1976:106; Sinopoli 1991:30). The rim sizes (> 5cm) indicate they are big pots, while the lack of surface treatments including decoration suggests they were utilitarian vessels. If they were not displaced by recent farming activities, they were likely kept outdoors and used for storage purposes.

⁸ Poor junctures, gentle undulations, and surface marks in the interior of vessels are the main features used to identify vessels produced using the coiling method (Shepard 1976:183-185).

⁹ Pronounced features such as unevenness, rough surfaces, and rounded depressions of fingers at the shoulder and neck junctures are used to identify the pinching method.

There are more variations identified in the rim orientation of the remaining 12 pots recovered across the backyard area. While there are six identical dark brown to black color pots with everted horizontal rims, the pot assemblage also consists of a black color pot with an everted horizontal restricted rim, a brown color pot with flared outward rim, two dark brown pots with direct vertical rims, a dark brown color pot with direct curving rim, and a grey color pot with a plain inverted rim. These pots are produced through the coiling method, have a sand-tempered paste, and appear in dark colors because they were fired in a low-heat environment and become oxidized (Orton and Hughes 2013:123, 152; Orton et al. 1993:131, 133-135; Rye 1981:68; Shepard 1976:81-83, 106). The dark brown to black color pots with everted horizontal rims have rounded bases as well as burnished surfaces and grooves below the rim, suggesting they are cooking pots (Rice 1987:146; Shepard 1976:195-203; Sinopoli 1991:26). The other pots lack any surface treatment and decoration but had even surfaces. Evidence of use-wear is present on some of the pots, particularly those identified as cooking pots. Two dark brown to black color pots with an everted horizontal rim have abraded or worn surfaces as a result of the use of exterior parts, while three pots with direct rims have abraded or worn surfaces close to the pot rim as a result of the use of interior parts (Rice 1987:234-235).

One of these vessels has food residue in the interior, but scientific analysis to determine the contents this pot originally held is beyond the scope of this study (Figure 5.14). Yet, this vessel clearly shows that cooking was done in local ceramics. Studies have also shown that Indigenous peoples and enslaved Africans in colonial America preferred the taste of food cooked in local ceramic pots over the metal pots of English origin (Mrozowski 2010:29-31; Singleton and Bograd 2000:15-16).

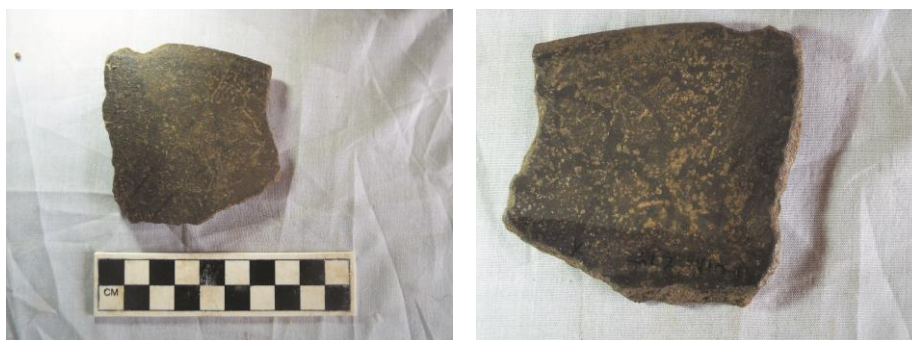


Figure 5.14: A local ceramic vessel with food remains in the interior of the vessel.

(Source: Photograph by the Author)

The eight bowls represented are produced using the pinching technique (Orton and Hughes 2013:126; Rice 1987:124-125; Rye 1981:70). These bowls consist of everted, direct, and inverted rims. There is only a bowl with an everted rim. The bowls with direct rims have smaller sub-classes identified through variations within the category. There are four bowls with a direct vertical rim. A further subdivision can be identified among the direct vertical, including a bowl with a direct vertical thicken in the exterior, and a bowl with a direct vertical thicken in the interior. Inverted rims are rare in ceramic assemblage; only a bowl has an inverted rim with a corner point. There are three brown color bowls, three red color bowls, and two grey color bowls. The brown color and grey color vessels have a brown color paste, while the red color bowls have robust orange ware and gritty orange ware. The surface of four bowls was smooth, while two vessels had even surfaces. There is a vessel with a rough surface and another with an eroded surface. Four of the bowls have incision decoration, and one was slipped or painted to create a black or grey zone in the interior cross-section of the vessel wall (Orton and Hughes 2013:154; Rice 1987:146, 148; Rye 1981:40-41, 54; Shepard 1976:68, 70-72; Sinopoli 1991:25-27). These vessels are globular bowls used for serving consumables (Rice 1987:208-210; Sinopoli 1991:84).

Almost half (44%, n=19) of the local ceramic vessels represented were found within this artifact cluster feature. These vessels consist of 15 pots and four bowls. They have

everted, flared, and direct rims (Figure 5.15). The everted rims constitute the bulk (47%, n=9) of the ceramic assemblage and appear on the pots only. There are eight pots with everted horizontal rims and a pot with an everted restricted rim. The pots with flared and direct rims show more variations. There is a pot with a flared outward rim, a pot with a flared outward restricted rim, and a pot with a flared restricted rim. The pots with direct rims consist of a pot with a direct vertical rim, a pot with a direct curving rim, and a pot with a direct vertical thicken on the exterior of the rim. The direct rims that appear on the bowls are two direct vertical and two direct curving sub-classes.



Figure 5.15: Local ceramic vessels with varied rim types.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)

While most of the vessel surfaces were even, some evidence of pinching and coiling manufacturing techniques was found in the ceramic assemblage (Orton and Hughes 2013:126; Rice 1987:127-128; Rye 1981:68-70; Shepard 1976:57-59; Sinopoli 1991:17-20). Like the ceramics found across the non-feature area of the yard, there is a direct correlation

between manufacturing techniques and vessel forms. Coil construction vessels are pots, while pinching vessels are bowls. Hence, the majority of the vessels are produced through coiling methods. The coil construction vessels had even and smooth surface preparation but were characterized by a sand-tempered paste (Rice 1987:73). They ranged from light brown to darker colors, including grey and black. Some of them, especially the grey color ones, were fired in a reducing atmosphere (Shepard 1976:106). The colors represented may have been affected by the level of firing (Rice 1987:107-109, 343-345; Sinopoli 1991:28). All of the 12 cooking vessels are low-fired and mostly black in color. They are occasionally burnished on the interior and even on the exterior. They have grooves below the rims (Richard 1974:146; Shepard 1976:198-203; Sinopoli 1991:25-26). Three of them exhibit charring on the exterior, and two have occasional abrasions or scratches in the interior. The three non-cooking pots were slipped or painted and had different surface colors, such as brown and red (Rice 1987:149; Rye 1981:40-41, 54). They have red-orange ware and gritty orange ware. Only one of the non-cooking vessels has an incised decorative motif impressed at the top of the rim. The four pinching vessels consist of two dark brown color bowls with a direct vertical rim and two light brown color bowls with direct curving rims. They have a brown color paste and small fragments of stone pebbles inclusion (Rice 1987:72). These vessels are fired in a low-heat environment producing brown color due to oxidation (Orton et al. 1993:131; Shepard 1976:106). They exhibit an even surface preparation with no surface treatment and are largely undecorated. These vessels are also used for serving consumables.

These local ceramics are distinct from imported European wares and likely represent production within the wider Freetown area, though sources further afield may be represented. Since most of the local ceramics come from Level 2 of the yard area, my submission is that an accurate estimate would place the assemblage between the early nineteenth and the late nineteenth century. The temporal nature of other classes of material culture supports the

dating of these local ceramics. With this in mind, none of the local ceramics likely pre-date the nineteenth century.

All the 430 glass bottles recovered from this house lot were found in the yard area. The distribution of glass bottle fragments in Levels 1 and 2 of the edges of some of the excavated units (Units 009, 022, 024, 026, 028, and 030) across the backyard of the house structure is remarkable because the excavated units in the front (Units 011-016) and sides (Units 010, 012-016, and 031-033) of the yard area occasionally produced glass bottle fragments. The front and sides of the yard area produced a little over a quarter (29%, n=126) of the glass bottles, while the feature and non-feature areas within the backyard of the house produced the majority (71%, n=304) of the glass bottle assemblage. Feature 5, the discrete artifact cluster (covered in the next section), produced almost half (49%, n=148) of the glass bottles found in the backyard of the house structure.

The glass bottles recovered from the front and sides of the yard fall under liquor bottles and non-liquor bottles categories. There are more liquor bottles (60%, n=76) than non-liquor bottles (40%, n=50). Thirty-two liquor bottles once held wine, 26 once held beer, and 18 once held gin contents, while non-liquor bottles consist of 13 pharmaceuticals, 14 toiletries, eight soda, and 15 storage items. In contrast, the back of the yard, excluding Feature 3, produced fewer liquor bottles (49%, n=77) and a little more non-liquor bottle (51%, n=79). Forty-three of the liquor bottles once contained wine, 21 once held beer, and 13 once held gin contents described on the embossed sides of the vessels (such as J H Henkes Schnapps). Non-liquor bottles consist of 16 pharmaceuticals, two inkwells, 13 toiletries, ten sodas, and 38 storage items.

The discrete artifact cluster produced about half (49%, n=148) of the majority of glass bottle remains found in the backyard area. Nearly a quarter (22%, n=33) of the glass bottles were complete or near-complete vessels. One hundred thirty-seven liquor bottles dominated

these glass vessels, while 11 non-liquor bottles were minimally represented. Sixty-three wine bottles, 43 beer bottles, and 31 gin bottles made up the largest category (93%) of identified bottle forms. Early aerated bottles include four torpedo and blob top bottles, a rounded bottom or ballast bottle, and other pharmaceutical bottles containing mineral water or related content, described on the embossed sides of the vessels (e.g., Florida Waters; Atwood's Jaundice Bitters, Formerly Made By Moses Atwood, Georgetown Mass; Bitters LTD.) were the non-liquor bottles.

The complete to near-complete bottles were liquor bottles.¹⁰ They include four-sided, square bases; tall and slender bulged-necked; tall straight-necked, flanged, and squat cylinders. The seams, visible on the bottles, are indicative of a multiple-part mold technology (Jones 1986; Jones and Sullivan 1989). Some of the liquor glass bottles were mold-blown and showed diagnostic features indicating the use of turn molds, dip molds, as well as two-piece, two-, three- and four-piece molds. There are 23 turn mold bottles, 31 dip mold bottles, and 36 two-, three- and four-piece mold below. The turn mold glass bottles neither have vertical side molds nor embossing on the body and base. They are cylindrical or round, showing faint concentric rings. They often have deeply indented push-up or kick-up bases (Jones 1971) and mamelons or dots in the center of the base (Jones and Sullivan 1989). These glass bottles date between 1880 and 1915 (Bond 1989b: 124; Jones and Sullivan 1989; Toulouse 1969:532). Dip mold bottles are cylindrical, square, or rectangular in body. One-piece dip mold leaves no distinct mold seams on the base or body of bottles (Jones 1986; Jones and Sullivan 1989:24-27; Toulouse 1968). Liquor bottles that were produced in a dip mold may have a pushed-up base but do not have embossing on the sides. The three-piece mold bottles have side mold seams that finish below the base of the applied finish. The bottleneck marks and lip marks of these bottles were finished with a tool (Figure 5.16), while the bases of many of

¹⁰ The colors represented range from olive green to dark green and brown glass.

these bottles are free of pontil marks. There are a few three-piece mold bottles that date between the 1890s into the early twentieth century (Lindsey 2023; Newman 1970:72).



Figure 5.16: Glass bottlenecks and lip marks showing considerable diversity in tooling.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)

The remaining liquor bottles are machine-made due to the presence of thicker mold lines, parison mold lines, crown finish, and labeled bases (Jones 2000:158; Jones and Sullivan 1989:38: Figure 5.17). They have vertical mold seams that extend to the finished surface, but the finished surface is not grounded (Miller and Sullivan 1984:94, 2000:172). These bottles are made in either semi-automated or automated machines. Semi-automatic production of glass containers began circa 1900, while fully automatic machine manufacturing containers date to 1908 and 1910 for narrow-mouth bottles (Bond 1989b: 124). By 1920, there were many semi-automatic or automatic machines in production (Miller and Sullivan 1989:89 cited in Lindsey 2023). Since the snap case tool was used in semi-automatic and automatic bottle machines and replaced the mouth-blown period, these bottles must post-date 1884 (Lindsey 2023; Miller et al. 2000:8). There are also many beer bottles with crown finish. Since the crown finish was invented in 1892, the beer bottles recovered in the excavations post-date 1900 (Bond 1989b: 124). Therefore, variation in manufacturing techniques provide rough 1880s – 1920s century dates for the depositional context for Feature 5, the discrete artifact cluster (Jones 1971; Jones and Sullivan 1985; Miller and Sullivan 1984; Miller and McNichol 2012; Toulouse 1969).

While none of the glass bottles have printed labels, the imprinted information and trademarks on some non-liquor bottles¹¹ were also diagnostic. An amber color bottle is embossed: “Morse’s Indian Root Pills.” This nostrum was first manufactured by A.B. Moore in Buffalo, New York, in 1854 and operated under different business partnerships before the ownership was transferred to William Henry Comstock, and business was carried out under the name W.H. Comstock Co. Ltd. from 1867. The manufacturing operation moved from Buffalo to other places in New York, including Morristown and New York City, before it ceased operation in 1960 (Shaw 1972). Since the bottle that was found on this house lot had a W.H. Comstock Co. Ltd. imprint, it must post-date 1867. A writing ink bottle has a “Stian – ink” trademark. It was produced by MABIE, TODD CO., LTD., Swan House, London. Within the storage bottle assemblage, there is a “Green Britine 02” glass container once used for infant food, fruit juices and sauce, and a Bermuda, torpedo-shaped bottle, which may have contained mineral water, lime and soda, or related content. Scholars have noted the challenges of distinguishing soda and mineral water (Bond 1989b: 133; Munsey 1970:101). These glass bottles were made in post-bottom molds from the mid-nineteenth century until the end of the century due to the side mold seams extending to the heel of the bottles and linking the edge of the depression or shallow push-up. Their presence confirms the late nineteenth-century and twentieth-century occupation of the house (Lindsey 2023).

Some of the pharmaceutical bottles also have imprinted information. These bottles were widely available and affordable by the late nineteenth century (DeCorse 1984:3, 16). There is a glass bottle that once contained Murray & Lanman’s Florida Water, sold by Lanman & Kemp, a leading New York City wholesale druggist firm founded by Robert J. Murray in 1808. The exact production date for this bottle is unknown, as Murray & Lanman’s Florida Water is still produced today. A twelve-paneled bottle design is embossed:

¹¹ The colors represented include light green, blue, and white or colorless glass.

“Atwood’s Jaundice Bitters, Formerly Made By Moses Atwood, Georgetown, Mass.” Since the United States Supreme Court ruled against The Manhattan Medicine Company for the continued use of the embossing “Atwood’s Jaundice Bitters, Moses Atwood, Georgetown, Mass” in 1883 because it was manufactured in New York City, this bottle would have been produced shortly after the ruling, dating the bottle later than the mid-1880s (Bonds 1989:126; Fike 1987:31). Finally, round bottom and torpedo bottles are usually produced in a two-piece mold. They have an applied blob finish and round-bottom bases (Jones and Sullivan 1989:90). They are made of thick glass and used to keep soda, mineral water, and ginger ale (Bond 1989b: 137; Munsey 1970). One of the torpedo bottles has a crown finish indicating an early twentieth-century production, while others have the name of the company and cities in England and Ireland where they are produced (Illinois Glass Co. 1903, 1908, 1911 cited in Lindsey 2023).

Over eighty apothecaries and medicine manufacturers were in Manchester in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Queen City firm, located at 879 Elm Street kept a stock of over 1300 medicines between 1893 and 1907, which were diverse and some products of foreign origins (DeCorse 1984:11). But the majority of the glass bottles were made in New York, Holland, Canada, England, Scotland, and Great Britain.

Liquor and Non-Liquor Bottles

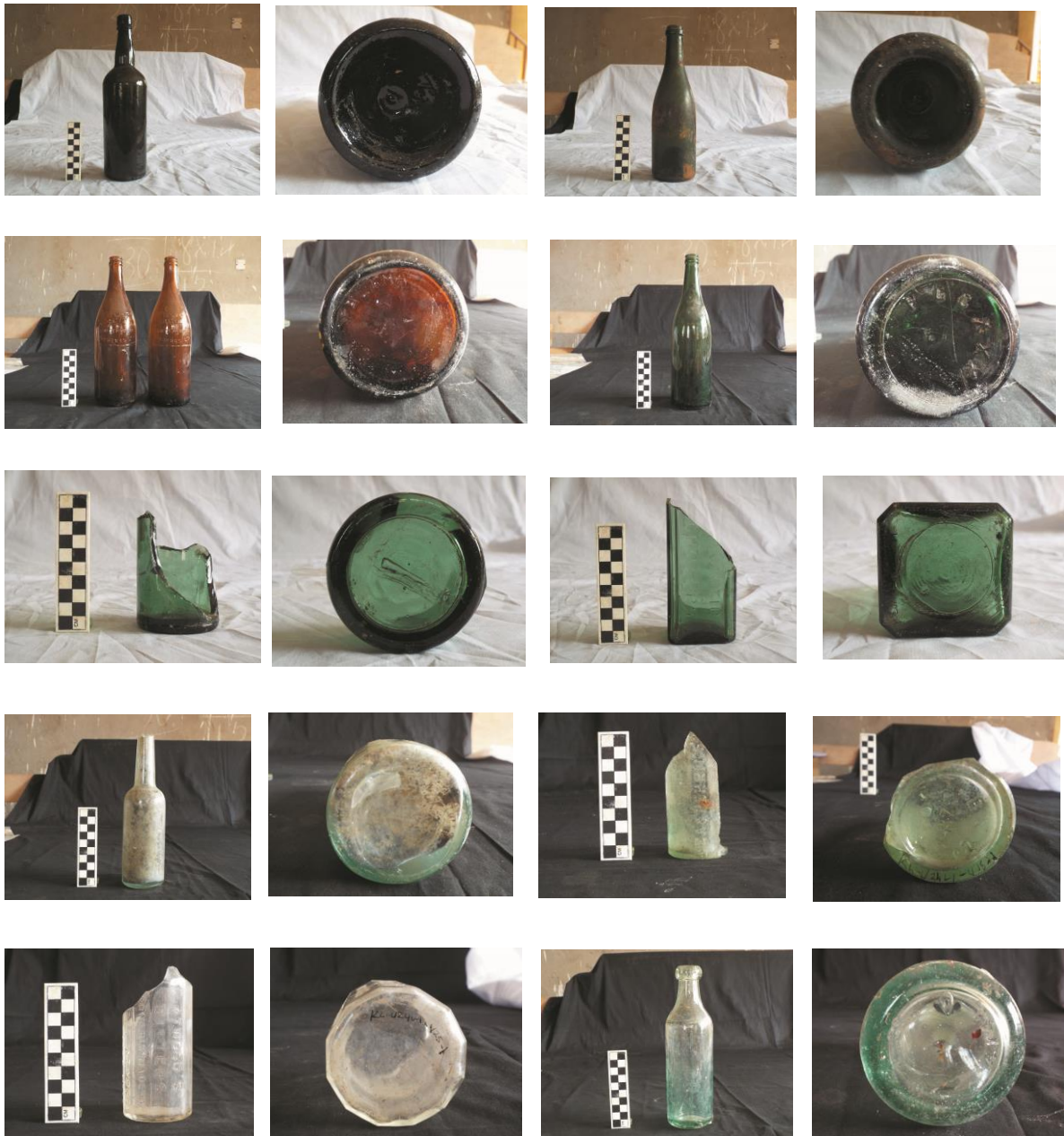


Figure 5.17: The glass bottle assemblage. First row: a tall, moderately slender wine or spirits bottle with an iron pontil scar in the middle of the base and a liquor turn mold bottle with a push-up or kick-up base showing a mamelon/dot in the middle. Second row: Two machine-made bottles with the side mold seam curling over the heel, having a non-Owens type automated bottle machine base. Third row: nineteenth or twentieth-century case gin bottles with iron pontil scar and beveled or flattened corners at the base, likely imported from continental Europe. Fourth row: Two non-liquor bottles containing Florida Water. Fifth row: Two non-liquor bottles, specifically a twelve-panel bottle design with “Atwood’s Jaundice Bitters Formerly Made by Moses Atwood, Georgetown, Mass and a blob top bottle with a rounded bottom or ballast bottle containing mineral water or related content. (Source: Photographs by the Author)

Some of the bottles' necks and lips were finished with a tool, while the bases of many of these bottles are free of pontil marks. The colors represented include light green, blue, and white or colorless glass. Variations in bottle color and manufacturing techniques suggest a range of sources, a fact that is supported by diversity in the finishes (rims, neck, and lips) found, which provides a rough 1820s – 1920s century dates for the depositional context for this discrete artifact cluster (Jones 1971; Jones and Sullivan 1985; Miller and McNichol 2012; Miller and Sullivan 1984; Toulouse 1968, 1969, 1971). The flat sides of some glass bottles also indicate a range of nineteenth-century to twentieth-century brand names. Embossed letters and numbers were written on the bases, representing brand names and content types, which were used to determine the sources and chronology. The majority of the glass bottles were made in New York, Holland, Canada, England, Scotland, and Great Britain.

Archaeological evidence, such as six iron cooking pots, indicates that cooking activity was done in the area (Levels 1 and 2 of Units 020 – 022) behind and to the south of the structure (Figure 5.18). These metal items were also discarded in Level 2 of Units 027-030 in association with other local and imported materials. There are different sizes represented in the iron cooking pot assemblage. These include a small-size, three medium-sized, and two large sizes. In his archaeological study of slavery, freedom, and the emergence of Creole communities in the Virgin Islands, D. Armstrong (2003:220-221) identified round-bottom pots commonly known as community “pepper-pot.”¹² as a replacement for regional low-fired earthenware in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It is unclear if the iron cooking items in this family lot date to the nineteenth century, as they are evenly distributed between Levels 1 and 2 in various units opened outside the house on the veranda and in the backyard. They might have been used until the house structure was torn down.

¹² In Sierra Leone, a similar type of pot is known as “Kontri pot” in the Krio language.



Figure 5.18: Two cast iron cooking pots with handles.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)

The majority (n=69%, n=11) of the ground stone artifacts were found across the yard area. Five handstones were found in Levels 1 and 2 of Units 008, 009, 022, 028, and 030, located in the backyard, while the remaining six were recovered in Level 1 of Units 012, 014, and 016, which form the front and the western side of the yard area (Figure 5.19). Their presence across the yard area suggests that these implements were used for mashing and crushing foodstuffs, including grains (Gokee 2012:200, 315). They might have also been used for pounding local medicinal herbs.

The remaining five ground stone artifacts were found in this large feature. The presence of a relatively flat or lightly concave grinding slab, alongside four one-handed and two-handed handstones, suggests that these implements were used for processing organic and inorganic food materials. While one handstone pebble with a convex upper surface is presumably associated with local medicinal herbs processing (Figure 5.20), the other handstones were flat and round in shape, possibly used for household food processing (Babalola 2015:186-188; Gokee 2012:593-594, 606-607; Marshall 2011:381, 441; Monroe 2003:272, 276; Norman 2008:259-260, 272-274).



Figure 5.19: A few one-handed and two-handed grinding stones.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)



Figure 5.20: A handstone pebble with a convex upper surface.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)

Tools:

The excavations also produced metal objects that were used for provisional farming – perhaps yard gardening. The gardening activities are represented by two hoe blade fragments found in Level 2 of Units 008 and 022 in the yard area (Figure 5.21). It is possible that a small garden was situated in the western part of the house lot, as the presence of appurtenances and easement fixtures, including trees, was mentioned in the 1891 conveyance. Although it is difficult to say, the temporal context of these hoe-blade fragments suggests a nineteenth-century context. It is equally possible that these artifacts were possibly used for various activities from the nineteenth century to the period when the house structure was torn down.



Figure 5.21: Two hoe blade fragments.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)

The majority of the writing slate had a smooth blank surface, lines etched across them drawn by the manufacturer or the user. Thirteen of the writing slate fragments either have regular lines created for writing purposes or handmade lines (Figure 5.22). The other seven slate fragments are fairly thin and stable without lines and have smooth surfaces, which might

require the individual user to make lines with a ruler. Parallel lines were etched to help guide the hands of young pupils learning to write letters before they start using ink and copy books in higher grades (Davies 2005:66). However, no slate ruler, pencil, or pencil sharpener were recovered, and none of the slate fragments had written letters. The house residents may have used chalks to write on the slate (Davies 2005:64; Swords 2008:31). Only two writing slate materials have holes, while 16 fragments were identified as corner pieces due to their rounded edges. The writing slate with holes was possibly bound to appear like a book with several pages (Davies 2005:63).



Figure 5.22: Writing slate fragments with lines.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)

There are no maker's marks on all the slate fragments recovered. Such marks, present, would have been placed on the wooden frame of the writing slate, which is not preserved in this archaeological context (Swords 2008:20, 30). Wooden materials such as board house clapboard fragments were recovered, but none of the wooden frame pieces for the slate materials survived in the archaeological records. The difference in preservation might be a result of how long they entered the archaeological records. The wooden frame helps to support the writing slate from easy break or chip (Swords 2008:42). The frame also allows writing slate tablets to be handheld. The absence of wooden frame remains makes it difficult to precisely date the writing slate fragments. However, historical sources revealed that writing slate was mass-produced in the nineteenth century but fell out of favor in the

twentieth century due to unhygienic issues caused by children using spit to wipe their slate clean (Davies 2005:65-66; Swords 2008:50). Since a patent was issued for a “line-maker” for writing slate in 1889 and a slate ruler was designed in 1893 (Swords 2008:47-48), the excavated writing slate with parallel lines must postdate the last decade of the nineteenth century. They indicate literacy and education by house residents in the early twentieth century (Swords 2008:52).

A gunflint was recovered from Unit 027 (Level 2: circa 80 cm), located on the western side of the backyard area. It is a wedged-shaped flint, of opaque, milky brown color (Figure 5.23). Although this flint has lost its overall shape, it has a length of 19.7 mm, a height of 6.9 mm, and a breadth of 4.7 mm. It is likely an English rectangular wedge that was introduced from France circa 1775 but was produced in significant numbers in Britain by 1805 (DeCorse 2011:38, 85; Gijanto 2010:540-544; Gokee 2012:588, 637; Goldberg 2018:230; Norman 2008:360-361; Richard 2007:627). Chipping and wearing away of working edges are common on ventral and dorsal surfaces, suggestive of use as a strike-a-light flint (D. Armstrong 2010:151). Although the flintlock was increasingly replaced by percussion caps and cartridge guns in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, gunflints used for strike-a-lights, remained a major British import into West Africa into the nineteenth century (DeCorse personal communication, 2022).

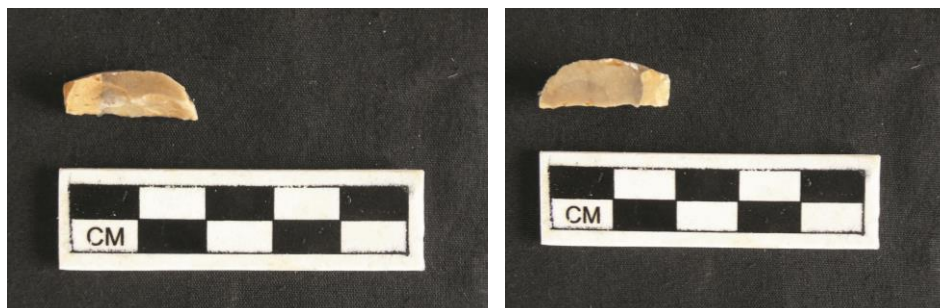


Figure 5.23: An English wedge-shaped flint.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)

The excavation of Feature 4, a large feature distinguished by dark brown soil that extended across six units, produced some activity-related artifacts, such as gunflint and ground stone artifacts, which were collected before the field team encountered the discrete artifact cluster in the western portion of this feature. The gunflint is a blade or platform-shaped flint with an amber or honey color, suggesting French origin (DeCorse 2011:38, 85; Gokee 2012:588, 637; Goldberg 2018:230: Figure 5.24). It has a length of 24.1 mm, a height of 22.6 mm, and a breadth of 5.7 mm. The measurement for the breadth is determined by the thickness of the bulb of percussion. There is extensive battering on the edges, suggesting that it was used or re-used as a strike-a-light flint (D. Armstrong 2010:151; Norman 2008:360-361; Richard 2007:627). Based on the decision made at Brussels, the Sierra Leone Ordinance in 1892 restricts the sale of precision arms, flintlock guns, and ‘trade powder’ to licensed persons and their importation to government warehouses only (Fyfe 1963:500, 549). However, the temporal and spatial dimensions of this gunflint place it within the early or nascent colonial period context.

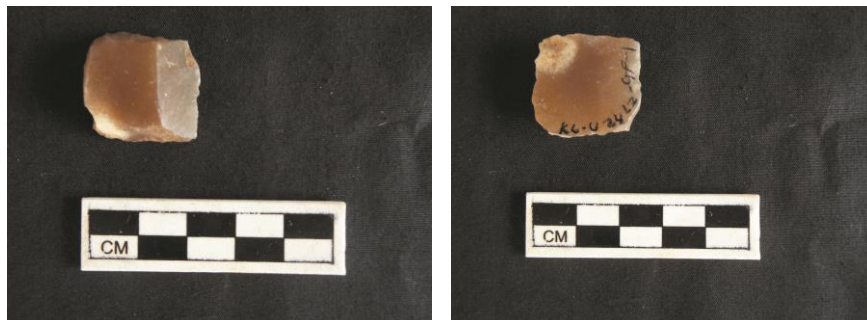


Figure 5.24: A French blade or platform-shaped flint.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)

Personal:

From the 48 mirror glass fragments found within the house structure, an MNI of four mirrors was identified using various colors (white, light blue, pink, and light green) that appear at the back of the mirror glass fragments as a parameter for identifying parent artifacts and pieces that can co-join (Figure 5.25). The thickness of these mirror fragments varied considerably on individual specimens, ranging from 2.49 mm to 4.0 mm. These artifacts were possibly used from the late nineteenth century to the period when the house structure was torn down.



Figure 5.25: Fragments of a mirror.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)

The metal buttons recovered from earlier context include a glass or vitreous enamel-plated British Royal Naval button, a domed-shaped British Royal Naval button, two ‘civilian’ buttons, and five mattress buttons. There is also a copper-alloy badge recovered alongside these buttons. These personal items were found in Units 023 and 027 as opposed to Feature 6, the clothes washing area.

The glass or vitreous enamel-plated button with an anchor representation on a smooth circular background, probably placed on a British Royal Naval uniform, was recovered from

Level 1 of Unit 027. Its diameter is 21mm; it possesses a staff-type shank, and it matches a replica housed in the Royal Museum Greenwich (Figure 5.26a). While the exact date of production is unknown, its staff-type shank and decorated face suggest it was produced in the second half of the nineteenth century (South 1977:100; Ziesing 1989:148). The domed-naval button exhibits a rope twist edge within a raised circular border. On a smooth background is a fouled anchor (Figure 5.26b). This button-type is also found in the Royal Museum Greenwich Naval button collection. It has a staff shank, but the exact production date is unknown. It was found in Level 2 of Unit 023, close to the south wall of the house foundation.

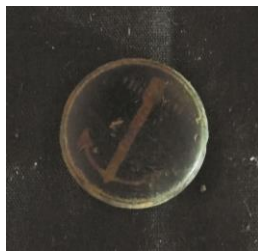


Figure 5.26a: A glass or vitreous enamel-plated button. On a smooth circular background is an anchor.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)



Source: Replica housed in the Royal Museum Greenwich



Figure 5.26b: A gilded button. Rope twist edge. Within a raised circular border on a smooth background is a fouled anchor.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)



Source: Replica housed in the Royal Museum Greenwich

There is also a cap badge marked “WHARF 135 BADGE”, recovered from Level 2 of Unit 028, which has no manufacturing marks that can reveal its source and production date (Figure 5.27). The cap badge, glass or vitreous enamel plated button, and/or the domed-naval button possibly attached to a Naval uniform represent a part of personal clothing materials. These personal items speak to naval service or employment like harbor work. While the manufacturer neither marked the cap badge nor the buttons, an archival image reveals that these artifacts have a direct connection to naval service, perhaps during the colonial period (Figure 5.3).



Figure 5.27: A copper-alloy badge marked “WHARF 135 BADGE.”
(Source: Photograph by the Author)

The ‘civilian’¹³ buttons could have been used by the civilians in the village. However, samples of such buttons found in the Royal Museum Greenwich button collections hint at their possible use in naval-related contexts. These buttons neither have representations of the British Royal crown symbols nor carried varied ranks or affiliations. They are large enough to be coat buttons, but it is difficult to ascertain whether the buttons were sewn or attached to a naval uniform or coat. However, their inclusion in the Royal Museum Greenwich Naval button collection suggests they could be linked with naval service (Figure 5.28). These buttons were of various diameters, ranging from 8.6mm to 11.9 mm. The two ‘civilian’ buttons possess a staff-type shank, but it is unclear if they constitute a set of matching buttons (South 1977:100). The other metal buttons found in greater numbers across Levels 1 and 2 of the yard area are called mattress buttons. These buttons are round in shape, and three are partially intact. They were almost plain and devoid of drawings and writing. Only a button has a loop shank. The remaining consists of two buttons with two holes and another two with four holes or perforations, revealing how the buttons would have been attached.

¹³ The word ‘civilian’ used to describe some buttons was adopted from the Royal Museum Greenwich Naval button collections. These buttons possibly signal the presence of liberated Africans that were forced or enlisted in the British Royal Naval as volunteers.

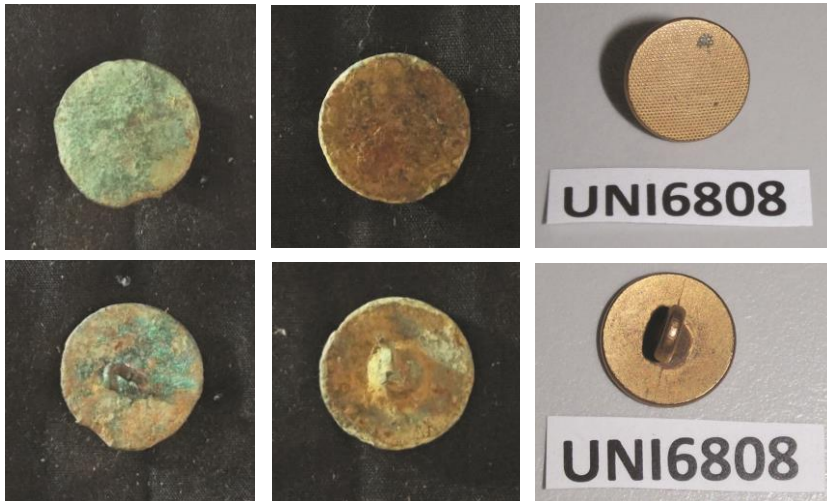


Figure 5.28: Civilian buttons linked with the British Royal Naval.
 (Source: Photograph by the Author)

(Source: Replica housed in the Royal Museum Greenwich)

The only coin that dates to the colonial period was found in Level 1 of Unit 033. It is definitely a British penny, marked with the word ‘FARTHING’ and the date 1908 on the reverse. The obverse is imprinted with the legend: ‘EDWARDVS VII DEI GRA: BRITT: OMN: REX FID: DEF: IND: IMP’ (Figure 5.29).



Figure 5.29: The 1908 UK farthing reverse. Left: The reverse showing Britannia. Right: The observe presents the bare head of King Edward VII.
 (Source: Photograph by the Author)

Leisure:

The family lot assemblage included 25 fragments of molded, imported tobacco pipe fragments, which were recovered from Level 2 of Units 027 – 030 in the yard area, and occasionally in Units 009, 015, 018, and 021 – 022. These fragments consisted of stems (n=18), five bowls, and two partially intact pipes. A minimum pipe count was made, and at least (n=10) tobacco pipes were determined from the fragments. There are six rounded mouthpieces and one oval mouthpiece. The tobacco pipe fragments have other diagnostic features, particularly decoration. Decorative motifs are present on four bowls, a stem fragment, and the base of two stems and bowls. They are located on different parts of the (a) bowls: beneath the bowl, around the bowl, and on the circumference of bowl rim, (b) stems: along the length of the stem, and (c) bases: on the side or base of heels. Decorations consist of molded geometric designs on the bowls and stems (Figure 5.30), but no anthropomorphic and zoomorphic pipes were recovered from this house locus. Only one pipe bowl fragment has a spur, and none have diagnostic maker marks. Four out of the five near-complete bowls recovered show evidence of charring.



Figure 5.30: Imported tobacco pipes. Right: White clay pipe bowl and stem with ‘bubble’ geometry motif. Middle and Left: a bowl fragment showing charring. (Source: Photograph by the Author)

Stem-bore dating method has been important in determining the chronology of historical sites and places (Binford 1962:19; Harrington 1954:13, Mallios 2005:90; Noël Hume 1978:300, 1982:12; Walker 1967:96). However, the stem-bore dating method is not

effective when the pipe sample is less than a few hundred (Courtney and McNiven 1998:49; Shott 2012:21-22). Plus, the stem-bore diameter regression dating has its limitations when applied to nineteenth-century tobacco pipe assemblage (see Shott 2012:18-19). A way forward is to date the pipe assemblage based on other diagnostic features such as the angle of the bowl, the stem length, decorative motifs, and the maker's marks. However, it is important to note that the date of manufacture of artifacts does not necessarily correlate with the date of use and eventual discard. Ceramics, for example, usually have long use-lives (Williamson 2006:338). However, scholars have argued that there is no significant time lag between the date of manufacture of the tobacco pipes and their incorporation into the archaeological record because they have short use-lives and are likely to be discarded within weeks of the initial purchase (Williamson 2006:329-330). Hence, they are good indicators of site occupation and immediate consumption by the household occupants.

Walker (1966:86) reports that many British white clay pipe manufacturers did not mark their pipes, especially in the last third of the nineteenth century (also see Gojak and Stuart 1999:46; Williamson 2006:335). Some pieces from this family lot were unmarked or did not exhibit maker's marks, placing their production around the late nineteenth century. Also, the maker's marks in a few excavated pipes were not well preserved and could not be used to identify the manufacturer's names and the date range of their operation. I rely on form and decorative motifs applied on pipes to determine possible date ranges. Short-stemmed pipes or "cutties" are clear features of nineteenth-century mass-produced pipes until the First World War (Cook 1989b: 216). They were manufactured in England and exported overseas for the working class (Mrozowski 2000:294; Walker 1967:188). Floral designs were commonly made in Chester, while roulette lines interspersed with lines of touching circles were popular in Bristol (Walker 1967:190). These designs were found on some tobacco pipes recovered from this family lot. Hence, the pipes were likely produced in Glasgow, London,

and Bristol. A standout example of clay pipes from this house lot is shown in Figure 5.30. The design of this pipe is common in English and Scottish nineteenth-century clay pipes. The bowl of this pipe is upright, approximately 90 degrees to the stem, and the stem is short. Archaeologists have reported similar tobacco pipes at sites occupied by Indigenous peoples in southwest Nigeria during the colonial period (Ogundiran and Ogunfolakan 2017:85-87: Figure 8). These pipes were possibly sold by “wholesales merchant houses such as G.B. Olivant from Manchester, John Holt Limited (Liverpool), Paterson and Zochonis (also in Manchester), and the French companies – CFAO and SCOA in Ile-Ife ... between 1918 and 1940” (Ogundiran and Ogunfolakan 2017:85). However, I hasten to note that any popular style of pipe was copied and reproduced by rival manufacturers (Courtney and McNiven 1998:46). The liberated Africans in Sierra Leone traded many years with the London firm Forster and Smith for British goods and could have purchased the pipe from the firm or intermediaries in Freetown (Fyfe 1962:110; 1961:79, 1962:223, 266). While plain white pipes were of probable British manufacture, they could also be American (Atkinson and Oswald 1972; Sudbury 2009; Orihuela and Viera 2016:388).

Dating the Activity Areas in the Yard¹⁴

It is interesting that Feature 4, the dark soil-stained units received more architectural-related artifacts such as machine iron-cut nails and roofing slate fragments. Their presence would pre-date the use of a corrugated roofing pan and possibly suggest an earlier roof. However, this seems unlikely due to the limited number of fragments recovered. Instead, they appear to be used for a portion of the house (e.g., a porch roof or a porch floor) or to roof an outbuilding (e.g., a shed) and entered the archaeological record shortly after the artifact cluster was deposited. Porch-like rooms were added to the back of the African Jamaican

¹⁴ Other activity areas across the yard, such as the outdoor cooking and clothes washing areas, date to the twentieth century.

houses excavated at the Seville Plantation, St. Ann's Bay (D. Armstrong 2011:90). It is, therefore, safe to assume that a small slate-roofed building, possibly one of the outbuildings that stood in the south of the yard, was used to keep or store items and their discard could be associated with the destruction of the shed. Hence, a late nineteenth-century construction date or its re-use and deposition in the twentieth century is proposed. The iron barrel bands found within these same soil-stained units, in close proximity to the architecture-related artifacts, support a late nineteenth-century and twentieth-century occupation. In a similar vein, the few groundstone artifacts and a gunflint, representing tools for outdoor food processing, are consistent with the majority of the other archaeological materials recovered from this large feature.

The imported ceramics and glass bottles in Feature 5, the artifact cluster exhibit diagnostic attributes that provide a much tighter date range. The imported ceramics were dominated by whiteware with cut-sponged and hand-painted polychrome floral motifs. Sponged-printed vessels were manufactured in the Staffordshire district of England starting in the 1840s, fully developed in the 1870s, and exported across the globe in larger quantities from the late nineteenth century (Cruickshank 1982:5; Kelly et al. 2001:9-10; McConnell 1999:11, 14). The cut-sponged and hand-painted polychrome whiteware vessels fit nicely with the late nineteenth-century construction of the house. Since the lip and neck of some of the glass bottles are finished with a lipping tool, this attribute would place the feature range circa 1850 – 1920, with a more likely range of 1880 – 1920 due to the presence of a few torpedo and ballast bottles. Some machine-made bottles show considerable diversity in lettering and marking on the sides and base, consistent with the house's late nineteenth-century and twentieth occupations. If true, the lead-glazed red earthenware chamber pot belonging to an earlier period perhaps represents a hand-me-down from nearby relatives who lived together in the same building.

5.5 Summary

At the beginning of this chapter, I introduced the artifact classification schema and the information that was recorded for each artifact within the material assemblages recovered from the two excavated house loci. I first focused on the artifacts collected during the settlement-wide survey, including surface collections from the two excavated house loci. I then present the material assemblage found at Locus 6: The King family lot, covering artifacts within the house area, the non-feature area of the yard, and the features encountered in the yard. In the last part of the chapter, I focused on architecture-related items and artifacts that represent distinctive activities such as outdoor cooking, yard gardening, household food processing, and educational activities. These material assemblages belong to the families who occupied the house lots since different family groups succeeded one another due to tenancy and land sales (see Lima 2012:73 for a similar example in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil). In the next chapter, I present the material assemblage found at Locus 9: The Johnson family lot, following the same approach employed for the Locus 6 House Lot covered in this chapter.

CHAPTER 6

THE JOHNSON FAMILY LOT: MATERIAL ASSEMBLAGES

6.1 Introduction

Building on the discussion of the material assemblage in the previous chapter, this chapter focuses on the artifacts assemblage recovered from the Johnson family lot (House Locus 9). The area of the house structure is discussed first, followed by the outbuilding, yard areas, and features. Like the King family lot, this artifact classification focuses on architecture- and activity-related artifacts. It considers artifacts as indicators of economic activities, site function, and occupation period. In the absence of documentary records, the spatial information and the date ranges of trade materials are used to interpret the site chronology and delineate the activities represented. The trade imports have, in turn, helped in dating local ceramics. Artifacts dating to the very recent occupations of the houses—circa 1960 to the present—were removed from the analysis.

6.2 Ms. Molade Johnson Family Lot

Six thousand six hundred and five artifacts were collected across 17 excavated units, including the excavation of features and non-feature areas within the yard. A majority (83%, $n=5,470$) of the artifacts date to the nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century occupation of the house, while less than a quarter (17%, $n=1,135$) are postcolonial materials, representative of the continued use of the site during the second half of the twentieth century, particularly as a dumping area after its abandonment. The Postcolonial materials consist of copper-alloy coins, shotgun cartridges, plastic beads, water tap heads, chair legs, and bed springs. These materials are not discussed in detail, and the following discussion focuses on material dating to the colonial period.

The house area lacked artifacts because this section of the house lot was not excavated, but some artifacts (5%, n=265) were collected across the yard before excavation commenced. This surface collection consists of 241 architecture-related and 24 activity-related artifacts, which are already discussed in the settlement-wide survey data analysis in the previous chapter. The majority (60%, n=3,311) of the analyzed materials were recovered from Levels 1 and 2 of the non-feature area of the yard. The 2,714 artifacts collected from Level 1 were mainly architectural materials related to the demolition of the house in the 1990s, while the 597 activity-related artifacts, which revealed the socio-economic activities carried out in and around the house structure, were found in Level 2. The feature areas of the yard produced the remaining artifacts (35%, n=1,894) recovered from this house lot.

Of the ten features recorded during excavation, only five of them produced artifacts dating to the colonial period: Features 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6. Feature 2 is a flower bed located in the northern portion of Unit 001. This feature produced 521 artifacts linked with the house structure. Feature 3, the staircase area located in Unit 003, produced 110 artifacts that are associated with the outbuilding structure. Four hundred and ninety-five artifacts were collected from Feature 4, covering the outbuilding area, while Feature 5, the subfloor pit located in the center of the outbuilding, produced 743 artifacts. Feature 6, the pit located below the house structure foundation, produced only 25 artifacts. Put together, these five features contained 1,035 architecture-related and 859 activity-related artifacts.

A large, imported ceramic assemblage was recovered from this house lot, with an MNV of 380. Less than half (45%, n=170) were recovered from the feature areas. This assemblage consisted primarily of several type-variety, classified into 316 whiteware, four pearlware, 26 stonewares, six yellowware, 21 porcelain, six glazed earthenware, and an unglazed earthenware. These vessel forms are broadly categorized into 55% hollowware and 45% flatware, which can be further broken down into different forms. Bowls and plates make

up an overwhelming majority (78%, n=296) of ceramic remains found. Twenty-one bowl vessels had closures, ranging from medium size (15 cm) to large size (30 cm). Most of the ceramics were more utilitarian vessels needed for daily use. There are two miscellaneous finds represented by a doorknob and a ceramic oil lamp recovered from the yard— which are considered non-vessels.

In contrast to the imported ceramics, a lesser quantity of local ceramics was found. There are 505 potsherds, consisting of 30 rim sherds, 42 neck sherds, two shoulder sherds, 428 body sherds, and three lid fragments. Many sherds, once refitted, allow the actual form, size, and function of the materials to be readily identified. Twenty-two rim sherds look different and are considered vessels, while the remaining eight sherds either directly join to some of the identified vessels or bear a resemblance to them. Relying on the rim sherds, an MNV of 22 vessels was determined. These 22 vessels are pots only. A pot lid fragment survived, while two sherds were refitted to form another lid. A long neck and extended shoulder formed a kettle, which adds to the total vessel counts. More than a quarter (35%, n=8) of the vessels were found in feature areas.

Two thousand three hundred and seventeen, representing flat pieces of window glass panes and eight mirror glass fragments, were found in the excavated units, with the highest densities (59%, n=1,356) recovered from the non-feature areas of the yard, particularly in areas immediately behind and to the west of the house. Transparent, colorless window glass fragments (88%, n=2,041) dominate the assemblage, while aquamarine or light green color (12%, n=284) were found in lesser quantities. Mirror glass fragments were quite limited (0.3%, n=8) within the flat glass assemblage recovered from Levels 1 and 2 of the non-feature area of the yard.

A total of 860 vessels were determined in the glass bottle assemblage, consisting of 540 liquor containers and 320 non-liquor bottles. 73% (n=625) of these bottles were found in

the feature areas. All of the liquor bottles and more than a quarter (27%, n=85) of the non-liquor bottles were recovered from Feature 5, the subfloor pit located at the center of the outbuilding, while the remaining non-liquor bottles were distributed across the edges of the yard area. There are 146 complete to near-complete bottles, while other glass bottles were fragments consisting of rims and neck, shoulder, and finishes (e.g., lips), flat sides, and bases. These complete or near-complete bottles are primarily associated with the units that contain Feature 4, the outbuilding.

Thirty-four glassware fragments, including tumblers, stemware, carafes, bowls, and plates, were found across non-feature areas of the yard, particularly along the edges of the house lot, but none was found in the house structure area or the subfloor pit in the outbuilding.

The metal building hardware recovered consisted of 66 window- and door-related items and 1,231 nails. These metal hardware were distributed across feature and non-feature areas of the yard, with the majority (58%, n=770) collected from feature areas only. Machine iron-cuts make up 95% (n=1,174) of the total nail and screw assemblage, while only 4% (n=44) of the nails recovered were wire nails. There are also five copper or copper-alloy nails and screws. Only eight of the corroded iron nails could not be easily identified.

The excavations produced 26 personal items made from metal materials, including a lead button and 18 copper-alloy buttons, a copper-alloy belt clasp, a pocket watch, a copper-alloy bell, and pieces of a bicycle, consisting of four pedal-and-chain fragments. Three of the copper-alloy buttons are possibly linked with Naval or maritime service, while 15 are likely mattress buttons. The majority (78%, n=15) of the buttons were found in the non-feature areas of the house yard.

Metal tools recovered consisted of farming, sewing, and laundry tools. A small copper-alloy thimble, two scissors, seven clothes-pressing iron plates, four hoe blade

fragments, two cutlasses, and three fruit pickers were found in feature and non-feature areas of the yard. The utensils recovered are associated with both cooking and eating practices. These include a long iron cooking spoon, eight iron cooking pots, three iron pot lids, and two iron kettles. These items were found in both feature and non-feature areas of the yard.

Lithic artifacts consist of ground stones, gunflints, and slate fragments. Ground stone artifacts included three grinding slab fragments and eight intact and fragmented handstones. These ground stone tools were found in both feature and non-feature areas of the yard. They were used for processing grain. Two gunflints or strike-a-lights were found along the northern edge of the house lot. They were discarded in an area far away from the house structure that received many artifact depositions due to sheet midden or erosion. One hundred and forty-one slate fragments were found in the outbuilding, staircase and flower bed, and the pit below the house structure foundation. The western portion of the yard area produced the highest number of slates, which consists of both writing and roofing slate fragments. Only Unit 001 was devoid of slate artifacts.

Two hundred and twelve white clay European tobacco pipe fragments were recovered from this house locus. They are fragmentary, consisting of 38 bowls, 168 stems, as well as six stems and bowls with mouthpieces. A minimum pipe count was made, and at least 44 tobacco pipes were represented. Four of the tobacco pipes were found in Feature 4, the area of the outbuilding. The remaining were recovered from the yard area. Many of the tobacco pipes are plain, but 15 of them have geometric, anthropomorphic, and zoomorphic motifs. More than half of the complete to near-complete bowls recovered show clear evidence of burning.

6.2.1 The Locus 9 House

Architecture-related Artifacts

The feature and non-feature areas within the backyard of the house that was excavated produced many architecture-related artifacts associated with the house structure, outbuilding, and privy. These artifacts include several stone block fragments, roofing slate fragments, window glass fragments, and metal artifacts consisting of window locks, lock parts used as pulleys or hooks, padlock pieces, a door handle, window net remains, window guard iron meshwork, keys, and nails. These metal artifacts are made of copper alloy, iron, and steel materials. The intact stone blocks represent the remains of the main house structure, an outbuilding, a staircase, and a flower bed. The main building had cemented floors, which were in fragmented condition, while the flooring of the outbuilding and staircase did not survive. The flower bed area consisted of small stone blocks lined in a neat fashion to demarcate flowers or related plants used to beautify the entrance of the house. The architecture-related artifacts collected from the privy area are not discussed in detail because the feature dates to the very recent occupation of the house—circa 1950 to the period when the house was torn down. Materials from the privy area such as Plastic (PVC) sewage pipes in association with four cast iron pipes, indicate a postcolonial date.

Large quantities of intact blocks or block fragments, which are remnants of the stonewall foundation of the board house, were recovered. These blocks and block fragments were handmade and carved out of sandstone with iron tools. Some were found in situ delineating wall outlines, while many block fragments were found displaced in different locations across the house locus with higher concentrations in Units 004-006. The intact stone blocks could not be weighed or counted and were not collected. However, they were properly documented and photographed for recording purposes.

Debris from building hardware such as lock parts used as 19 pulleys or hooks, 13 window hooks, 11 padlock pieces, a door handle, a doorknob¹, 11 hinges, seven keys, two window net remains, and a window guard iron meshwork were the most significant architecture-related artifacts recovered from Level 1 of Units 004-006 (Figure 6.1). Level 1 of Units 004– 007 produced 313 of the nails that would have been used for the construction of the board house. The remaining nails belonging to the house structure that survived include 163 items, which spread across Units 013 and 016 – 018, located along the edges of the house lot, confirming that the house was torn down. The abandonment of the house lot and intentional demolition of the house structure, plus subsequent hoe-farming in recent times, contributed to the random dispersal of nails. Nevertheless, a meaningful pattern for nail deposition is discernible. The 335 nails recovered within Level 1 of Units 010 – 012 and 015 are linked with the privy—a feature that is not covered in this chapter because it does not date to the colonial period. Only 13 nails were found in the yard area during surface collection. This surface materials have been treated in the settlement-wide survey data section in the previous chapter.



Figure 6.1: Metal building hardware. Far left: window hooks. Left: window guard and window cuprous nets. Right: locking bolts, brackets, and padlocks. Far Right: ceramic doorknob. (Source: Photograph by the Author)

¹ This white porcelain doorknob has a circular handle and a metal attachment. Each was found in the two excavated house loci. The circular handle survived in this house lot, while only metal attachment was found at the King family lot. A similar porcelain door knob has been recovered from the *SS Republic* shipwreck and the 1856 wreck of the Steamboat *Arabia*, which is available at: <http://www.odysseysvirtualmuseum.com/products/Porcelain-Door-Knob.html>. This type of doorknob has a long production range. They were relatively common in the second half of the nineteenth century and continued well into the twentieth century. They can still be purchased today.

Machine iron-cut nails, alongside limited iron-wire nails, make up most of the total nail assemblage from this house lot. The sample of machine iron-cut nails represented resembles Type 7 (Wells 1998:92, 95), Type B (Visser 1997), Phase 5 (Nelson 1968:6-8), and No. 9 (Noël Hume 1969:253) of machine iron-cut nail types. It contains sizes, ranging from 1.7 to 2.0 inches (5d - 6d). The 1.75 inches (5d) and 2.0 inches (6d) nails were possibly used for the construction of the first floor, thus confirming that the building was a frame house with clapboard siding (Fontana et al. 1962). The 1.45 inches (4d) iron nails with seals on the heads reinforce the presence of a corrugated roofing pan on a frame house (Ciccione 2022:57, 86). Additionally, there are five copper-alloy nails and screws, possibly brass (Figure 6.2). They are fine and smaller in size and most likely used for cabinetry. All the recovered iron-cut and wire nails were used either on the building or furnishings before their discard.

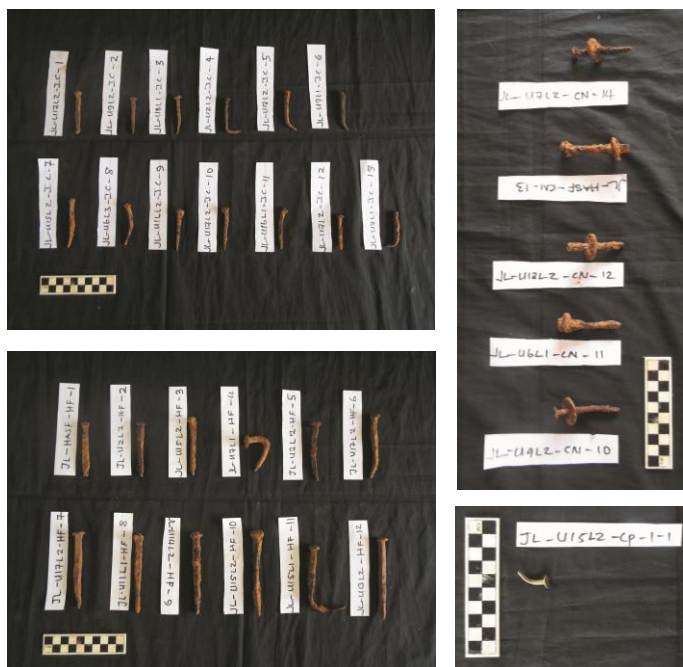


Figure 6.2: The nail assemblage. Left: different sizes of machine iron-cut nails. Right: Iron-wire nails and a copper-alloy tack nail.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)

Eight hundred and thirty-six flat glass fragments were recovered from Levels 1 and 2 of Units 005 – 007. These materials extend into Units 012 and 015 in lesser quantities, numbering 520. All these units fall behind the western part of the house lot. The depth levels where these flat glass fragments were found— typically range from 10-38 cm from the surface. These flat glass fragments are associated with windows rather than picture frame glass or clock frame glass. The high concentration of small pieces of window glass fragments in Units 005-007 and 012 (Level 1: circa 18 cm) suggests that the west wall of the building collapsed, and the window glass possibly fell off and broke into pieces. Transparent, colorless window glass fragments (89%, n=1,208) dominate the assemblage, while aquamarine or light green color (11%, n =148) were found in lesser quantities. Thickness ranged from 2.6 mm to 5.89 mm. The glass fragments' thickness and color were used for partial reconstruction (Figure 6.3). The presence of small utility window hooks also indicates the use of shutters.



Figure 6.3: Fragments of window glass panes with pressed pattern.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)

Ninety-eight roofing slate fragments were recovered from the excavations. The size of the slate fragments ranges from 25.9 mm to 133.5 mm in length, 11.5 mm to 112.1 mm in breadth, and 1.5 mm to 7.4 mm in height. They have holes either created by the manufacturer or punched holes associated with their use. Punched holes occur on slate fragments with rough surfaces, indicating that they are likely used as roofing slates. The highest number of roofing slates was found in Units 015 – 017 of the yard area. Level 2 of these excavated units produced most roofing slate fragments.² Given the domestic context, their use in the construction of the main house structure is possible.

The initial testing conducted in Unit 001 revealed the presence of a flower bed at the entrance of the house structure and a section of a staircase connecting the outbuilding and the main house structure. The excavation was extended into Unit 003 to reveal the full extent of the staircase and to recover datable materials that can inform us about the construction of the main house structure, staircase, and flower bed—and the time period when they were in use. The excavations in these two units produced 602 architectural artifacts, but only the 508 architecture-related artifacts in Unit 001 are linked with the house structure, which is treated below. The architecture-related artifacts found in Unit 003 are most probably associated with the outbuilding located in Units 002 and 008, which are treated in the next section.

The 508 architectural artifacts in Unit 001 consist of several doors- and window-related items plus a small number of nails. This unit produced 367 flat glass fragments from windowpanes, 134 nails, and seven other metal building hardware, such as six locking bolts and brackets and a window lock. There are 284 colorless window glass fragments and 83 aquamarine tint or light green color specimens. The nail assemblage is dominated by 130 machine-cut nails, while the remaining are four iron-wire nails. Based on the proximity of

² It is possible that some of the houses in Regent had slate roofs. However, all the structures documented during this study had corrugated iron roofing sheets.

these artifacts to the house structure and their distribution across Level 1 of this unit, they were likely deposited when the house was torn down.

Dating the house

Like the King family lot, there is no documentary record of the house construction, and most of the building materials cannot be securely dated. No images or photos of the building survived. At best, the Johnson family house was a frame house constructed on a stone foundation. The large number of machine iron-cut nails and iron-wire nails and the total absence of hand-wrought iron nails and steel-wire nails suggest a more likely date in the second half of the nineteenth century for the construction of the house structure (Adams 2003:67; Ciccone 2022:74; Middleton 2005:56-57; Nelson 1968:8-9). While machine iron-cut nails and iron-wire nails were invented in the early nineteenth century, they were only produced in significant quantities in the 1880s (Adams 2002:66, 68; Ciccone 2022:35; Fontana et al. 1962:48; Middleton 2005:57; Nelson 1968:8-9, 11; Sichel 2021:6, 30-31; Visser 1997; Young 1991:12-14, 75). Copper nails with both flat and round heads were produced in places such as Pittsburgh and Chicago in the United States for the international markets (Fontana et al. 1962:60). However, the dates for the hand-wrought copper nails and screw assemblage from this house are currently unknown.

The diagnostic activity-related artifacts recovered from Feature 6, a pit feature found underneath the southeastern corner of the house structure foundation during the excavation of Unit 004, provide a tight chronological date for the construction of the house structure. Instead of architecture-related artifacts, this pit feature was filled with refuse from food consumption artifacts and educational tool items only.³ The food consumption artifacts include 13 near-complete imported ceramic vessels and a liquor glass bottle, while the

³ The pit feature produced a glass bottle fragment, three writing slate fragments, and a minimum of 17 imported ceramic vessels.

educational tool item category consists of four stoneware inkwells and three writing slate fragments. I have analyzed each artifact in the text below to determine the earliest possible date for the construction of the house structure.

The glass vessel is a tall and slender bulged neck wine or spirits bottle with molded seams that end at the shoulder or low on the neck. While this vessel is represented by a rim and neck fragment, the bottleneck marks and lip marks show that it was finished with a tool. The production date for the glass bottle falls between 1860 and 1865. However, the writing slate fragments could not be dated because two of them have been modified (Figure 6.4).

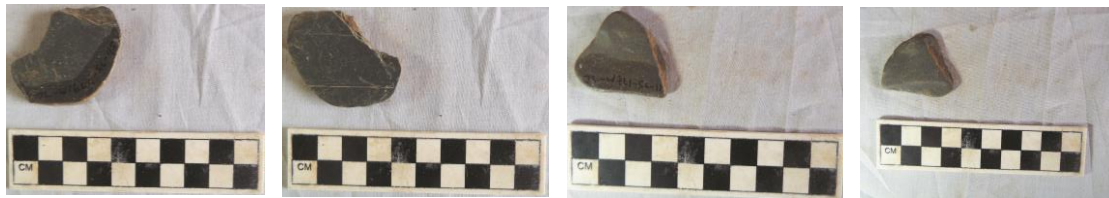


Figure 6.4: Two writing slate fragments with modified or grounded edges.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)

Many of the imported ceramics were found in fragments, but some were reconstructed to a complete or near-complete form. The reconstructed vessels consist of several type-variety, including whiteware, pearlware, stoneware, porcelain, yellowware, and glazed earthenware (Figure 6.5). There are eight whiteware vessels, which comprise seven plates and a bowl in this ware-type category. Other type-variety represented include a stoneware cup, a lead-glazed red earthenware pot, a bone china plate, a pearlware bowl, and a yellow ware bowl. Scholars have shown the importance of imported ceramics to date historical period sites (e.g., South 1977). These ceramic vessels also serve as a dating tool in this context.

The imported ceramic assemblage includes four stoneware inkwells with light brown glaze. They are wheel-thrown and definitely of English origin. These vessels date between 1830 and 1880. Since the early examples were wheel-thrown and later ones molded, their

production date could be placed around the mid-nineteenth century (Ketchum 1983:285). There is also a German stoneware cup that possibly dates to the twentieth century. The pearlware bowl with annular, earth-tone decoration predates 1830, thus providing one of the earliest production dates for the artifacts recovered from this feature (Slesin et al. 1997:120). The two whiteware plates with shell-edge decoration are represented by rims with impressed lines colored blue and green, which have a production date range between 1830 and 1860 (Dutton 1989:92; Mrozowski 2000:288; Miller and Hunter 1990:109; Pezzarossi 2014b: 160). The lead-glazed earthenware cooking pot is unmarked. Vessels of this type are commonly known as ‘terres vernissées’ and are likely produced by Jourdan Vallauris A.M. in France. Production of ‘terres vernissées’ became widely available in 1873 and lasted until the 1920s and 1930s (Le Musée Universel 1873). The lead-glazed earthenware pot found in the pit feature likely post-date 1873. The gilded bone china plate is of English or European origin and likely dates between 1830 and 1910.



Figure 6.5: Type-variety of imported ceramics 1. First row: a green transfer-printed whiteware plate and a German stein with human figures on a blue background. Second row: cut-sponge polychrome and monochrome stamped decorations with annular bands on a whiteware plate and English brown transfer-printed Clyde pattern of the post-1860 date on a whiteware saucer. (Source: Photograph by the Author)

Two cut-sponged vessels were also recovered in the pit feature. The first vessel is a whiteware plate with a green cut-sponged floral border and blue florets surrounded by annular bands at the center. This vessel is devoid of a maker's mark but possibly produced in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The second vessel is a polychrome "Irish potato bowl" with overlapping circles of floral motifs demarcated by brown annular bands. Vessels of this type (easily identified by everted rim) were produced in Staffordshire, England, from the mid-nineteenth century until the early twentieth century (Kelly 1993:26; Kelly et al. 2001:111; Slesin et al. 1997:75). Both vessels were unmarked, which is unsurprising because spongeware was rarely marked (Kelly et al. 2001:6, 8-9). However, sponged printed borders on whiteware vessels were fully developed in the 1870s, with flowers, fruits, birds, mammals, and insects the most popular decorations (Kelly et al. 2001:9). Production continued well into the beginning of the twentieth century (Kelly et al. 2001:10; McConnell 1999:27-29). Only a yellowware bowl with a mocha dendritic or treelike pattern was found. Mochaware vessels were produced in Britain, France, and later in the United States. Since these vessels were also often unmarked, it is difficult to determine their sources. They appeared in 1830, peaked in the 1860s and 1870s, and were produced well into the 1930s (Robacker and Robacker 1978:24-26; Slesin et al. 1997:70, 137). The yellowware specimen under examination was likely produced in the late nineteenth century.

The imported ceramic vessels also consisted of four transfer-printed whiteware plates. One of the transfer-printed plates has a rich dark blue transfer-printed decoration on the rim, while another plate has a light blue transfer-printed decoration covering the rim and interior of the vessel. Rich dark blue transfer-printed vessels were produced in England and America. These vessels were popular by 1810 but peaked between 1820 and 1840 when it was being exported across the globe (W.L. Little 1969:16-17; Mrozowski 1988:185). The light blue transfer-printed vessels began to gain more favor in local and international markets starting

from the 1830s, in which it will supersede the rich dark blue transfer-printed vessels (Mrozowski 1988:185) Transfer-printing in other colors such as brown, black, green, and pink was perfected by the 1850s and was being exported everywhere (W.L. Little 1969:17; Mrozowski 1988:185).

The remaining two transfer-printed plates were decorated in brown and green colors. They exhibit diagnostic maker's marks imprinted at the base. The diamond-shaped patent registration symbols printed under these two vessels contain letters and numbers representing each vessel's given year, month, and day of registration. However, it should be noted that the specified dates may not represent the exact dates or even the years these vessels were made because an initial registration can be renewed for a further period and/or pirated. Therefore, these dates are considered as the earliest possible dates at which the vessels could have been produced under the registration, as they could have been produced at any time during the next few years (Collard 1967:326-327; Dieringer and Dieringer 2001:6; Godden 1964:85, 527; Henrywood 2002:342; Hughes 1959:173; Majewski and O'Brien 1987:166; Robacker and Robacker 1978:153; Wetherbee 1974:32-33, 1980:22; 1985:17-18).

The first vessel has a late diamond design label: Admiral P.B. & CO. It was certainly produced by Pinder Bourne & CO, a pottery company at Burslem, one of the six towns that make up the city of Stoke-on-Trent (Barker 2001:73; Henrywood 2002:21). The company operated from 1862 to 1882. The diamond-shaped mark reveals the April 6, 1868, registration date (Godden 1964:486, 527; Lang 1995:284, 288, 360-361; Wetherbee 1985:23). The other vessel had an early diamond design label: FERN B & C. It is likely produced by Bridgwood and Clarke in Burslem, a company that operated between 1842 to 1864 (Godden 1964: 63, 527; Lang 1995:360-361; Wetherbee 1985:21). The diamond-shaped mark provides July 18, 1864, registration date.

The presence of the transfer-printed plate with an 1864 registration date indicates that the construction of the board house did not occur before 1864, with the late 1870s as the earliest possible construction date when the addition of 15 years for acquisition 'time-lag' and the duration of use, including heirloom practices are considered (Adams 2002:66, 2003; Bullen 1945:25; Pezzarossi 2014b: 159; Pezzarossi et al. 2012:208). This date is consistent with the dating of the glass bottle, which dates to approximately 1860-1865, and colorless window glass, which became widely available after 1880 (Bond 1989b: 124; Munsey 1970:55). This dating is also consistent with most of the other archaeological materials (e.g., iron-cut and iron-wire nails, iron-wire window hooks, and cut-sponged decorated ceramics) indicating late nineteenth and twentieth-century occupation. This broad range of artifacts justified the reason for assigning an 1864 ceramic TPQ for the feature.

6.2.2 The Outbuilding

The architecture-related artifacts used in the construction of this structure were encountered in Feature 3, the staircase, and Feature 4, the outbuilding area. The only diagnostic materials recovered from the staircase area was 94 architecture-related artifacts, which are likely connected to the outbuilding structure. There are 36 window glass fragments, 53 machine iron-cut nails, and five other metal building hardware, including four locking bolts and brackets and a doorknob. Most of the window glass fragments (94%, n=34) are colorless glass specimens, while machine-cut nails (85%, n=45) also dominate the nail assemblage. Level 1 of the section occupied by the stairs produced most of these artifacts.

The excavations in Units 002 and 008 exposed Feature 4, the entire foundation of the outbuilding determined by the arrangement of several sandstone cobbles. Four hundred and thirty-three architecture-related artifacts associated with the construction of the structure and 62 activity-related artifacts hinting at the probable use of the structure were recovered within

the area of this structure. The architectural artifacts include 185 flat glass fragments from windowpanes and 12 roofing slates. There are more aquamarine tint or light green glass fragments (63%, n=116) than colorless glass specimens (37%, n=69). The metal building hardware consists of 220 machine iron-cut nails, 11 locking bolts and brackets, two window locks, two door hinges, and a doorknob. These architectural artifacts spread across Level 1 of Units 002 and 008, including the removed foundation filling. Their presence suggests the structure had a wood-frame body to create a shed, a door, and at least a window covered with glass panels (Fontana et al. 1962).

Nails are deposited on historical period sites during different phases, including the construction, maintenance, and demolition of shelter (Young 1991:18-19). The presence of bent nails and clinched nails indicate that the recovered nails were deposited when the structure was torn down and during farming activities (Ciccione 2022: 41-42; Young 1991:18, 52-53, 58). In the case of primary refuse, small-sized nails applied to clapboards or used for roofing are likely to remain behind at the location of use (Rathje and Schaffer 1980; Schiffer 1976; South 1977). Large nails used for the flooring that may be extremely difficult to remove from wood might have been transported from the house lot and discarded with the wood elsewhere as secondary refuse (Young 1991:42). Alternatively, the absence of nails shaped like a “7” hints that the floor of the outbuilding was never lined with wood, and the structure may have had an earthen floor (Fontana et al. 1962:55, 58; Middleton 2005:58). Despite the demolition of the house and possible discard of nails and wood elsewhere, along with subsequent hoe farming of the site, certain discard patterns of nails are apparent.

The presence of machine iron-cut nails only places the time of construction of the structure after the 1830s (Adams 2003:67; Ciccione 2022:74; Middleton 2005:56-57; Nelson 1968:8-9), while the absence of inexpensive steel-cut nails, steel-wire nails, and iron-wire nails help bracket the construction period before the 1880s (Adams 2002:66, 68; Ciccione

2022:35; Fontana et al. 1962:48; Middleton 2005:57; Nelson 1968:11; Sichel 2021:6; Young 1991:12-14, 75). This pre-1880 date suggests that the main house structure was built somewhat later than the outbuilding. This finding corroborates most of the informants' information about the occupation of the house lot and supports Akigbade's conclusions concerning the outbuilding, which occurred in this research through the presence of the subfloor pit. However, this dating is more provisional than the assemblages in the subfloor pit, which are from sealed features discussed below.

From an ethnographic point of view, the outbuilding could be a storeroom or a Boys' Quarters, which are common in Africa today. "Boys' Quarters" or "BQ" is a mini space where boys or males (e.g., sons, cousins) live. It is an extension of the main house that can also be utilized by extended family members on a short visit or by servants such as security guards, drivers, and housemaids. House owners may rent out their BQ to tenants for a short or long period.

6.2.3 Activity represented at the Locus 9 Lot

Activity-related Artifacts:

The activity-related artifacts recovered from this family lot were found in the feature and non-feature areas of the yard. Since the floor of the main house structure was not excavated because of cement pavement, no activity is represented and detected. However, the initial testing conducted in Unit 001, which revealed the presence of Feature 2, a flower bed at the entrance of the house structure, produced some activity-related artifacts belonging to the food preparation and consumption category as well as personal items and household socio-economic activities. The excavation conducted in Unit 003 also revealed limited diagnostic activity-related artifacts associated with the staircase connecting the main house structure to the outbuilding. Like Feature 2, the flower bed, the activity-related artifacts found in this

feature belong to the food preparation and consumption category as well as personal items and household socio-economic activities such as yard gardening or related outdoor activities.

The excavations in Units 002 and 008, which consist of the entire foundation of the outbuilding, also produced a considerable number of activity-related artifacts that hint at the probable use of the structure. These artifacts include food preparation and consumption items, tool items, household socio-economic activity items, and leisure items made of various materials, such as ceramics, metal, and lithic. There are 41 imported ceramic vessels and two local ceramic vessels, an iron cooking pot lid, and five ground stone artifacts in the food preparation and consumption category. The tool items consist of seven writing slate fragments and a clothes-pressing iron plate, which signal laundry as a household socio-economic activity. While a button was classified under personal items, four pipes determined from 20 imported tobacco pipe fragments are linked with leisure activity. All these materials were collected from Level 1 of the area of the outbuilding, excluding the eight imported ceramic vessels and two local ceramic vessels found on the surface of the foundation filling before it was removed.

The interior of the outbuilding was excavated by removing the rubble fills overlying the floor as a single unit. In the process, we encountered a pit feature in the middle of the structure, containing a large volume of activity-related artifacts classified under the food preparation and consumption category. These artifacts include a high number of complete glass bottles and imported ceramic sherds and a low density of local ceramic sherds and glass bottle fragments. From this large material assemblage, a minimum number of 625 glass bottles, 112 imported ceramic vessels, and six local ceramic vessels were determined. The analysis of these artifacts revealed possible functions of the pit and the date when they likely entered the archaeological record.

The material remains recovered from the non-feature area of the yard, such as metal objects, local ceramic vessels, tobacco pipes, and stone implements, indicate that most of the daily activities of the household took place in the open area close to the house structure, while gathering spots under trees were located toward the southeastern edge of the house lot (the primary datum point). These artifacts are grouped under categories, such as food preparation and consumption category, personal items, and tools. They are associated with activities, such as household specialized craft activity, body adornment, transportation, yard gardening, household food processing, and education. Below, I examine the chronology and contexts of these artifacts, starting with the food preparation and consumption category.

Food Preparation and Consumption:

The food preparation and consumption artifacts in Unit 001 consisted of seven imported ceramic vessels. There are five whiteware vessels and two porcelain vessels. There are also five bowls, a plate, and a saucer in this ceramic collection. Hand-painted decorated vessels dominated the whiteware category, while the porcelain vessels had underglaze polychrome and gilded annular-edged decorations. The whiteware vessels include a hand-painted polychrome decoration thick line style (Gaudy Dutch) on a bowl, three cut-sponge, stamped polychrome decorations on bowls, and a cut-sponge, stamped polychrome decorations on a saucer. The porcelain vessels consist of an underglaze polychrome decoration on a bowl and gilded bone china (English/European) on a plate. Unit 003 also produced limited food preparation and consumption artifacts that fall under imported ceramics. The three imported ceramic vessels were whitewares, hollowwares, and hand-painted. These three vessels consist of a hand-painted green decoration (thick lines) and an annular decoration on a cup, a hand-painted polychrome decoration thick line style (Gaudy Dutch) on a bowl, and a cut-sponge, stamped decorations in brown floral and geometric patterns on a bowl. The maker's marks at the base of some of these imported ceramics indicate names of companies and production

places such as Dawson's Ceramics Ltd. Hull, England; K & C Ceramics, Sylvan Beach, New York; Caisy Pearson Pottery Co Manley, United Kingdom; and Brownhills Pottery Co, a pottery maker working in Corbridge in Staffordshire, England. These marks also show that some of these vessels date from the first or second quarter of the nineteenth century to the turn of the century.

The 41 imported ceramics recovered from Units 002 and 008 that encompass the entire outbuilding foundation consist of 21 plates, 13 bowls, four cups, two bottles, and a jug. Many ware types are represented, namely 36 whiteware, a pearlware, a yellowware, a porcelain, an unglazed earthenware, and a stoneware. The whiteware vessels, which dominate the ceramic assemblage (n=88%), have 22 hand-painted and 12 transfer-printed decorations on them. These hand-painted decorated whiteware vessels include five cut-sponge, stamped polychrome floral and geometric patterns on plates, seven cut-sponge, stamped polychrome floral and geometric patterns on bowls, two hand-painted polychrome decorations (thick lines) and annular decorations on cups, three hand-painted polychrome (thick lines) and annular decoration on a bowl, four hand-painted polychrome (thick lines) and annular decoration on plates, and a flow-blue hand painting on a plate. Production of spatter and sponge-decorated vessels began in the Staffordshire district of England in the 1780s, peaked from 1810 to 1840, and continued to the end of the century (McConnell 1999:11, 14; Robacker and Robacker 1978:32, 50). A standout specimen in the handpainted collection is a bowl with a rim band of red chain motif, with brown and green floral motifs. This *Camellia* design "has been attributed to Bo'ness, presumably to the Bridgeness Pottery of C.W. McNay" (Kelly et al. 2001:33, 48; Robacker and Robacker 1978:32). It was also used by a great variety of potteries in Scotland and England (Kelly et al. 2001:149, 207).

The transfer prints on whiteware vessels consist of seven underglaze transfer prints with polychrome decoration on plates, two underglaze transfer prints with polychrome

decoration on bowls, two underglaze transfer prints with polychrome decoration on cups, and an underglaze transfer prints with polychrome decoration on a jug. Unfortunately, none of the transfer-printed vessels match samples from collectors and/or previous archaeological discoveries. Only two whiteware plates are undecorated. There are Bristol glaze ginger beer bottles made in Bristol, England, and America between 1835 and 1900 (Noël Hume 2001:324), while the rim of the shell-edge pearlware plate has impressed lines colored green, which has a production date range circa 1830 until the second half of the century (Dutton 1989:92; Mrozowski 2000:288; Miller and Hunter 1990:109; Pezzarossi 2014b: 160).

The remaining type-variety represented include an unglazed red earthenware flask, a yellowware bowl decorated with annular bands of white; dendritic patterns in blue, an underglaze polychrome decorated European porcelain on a cup, an English brown stoneware bottle, and a green shell-edged pearlware on a plate. The unglazed red earthenware is most probably a flask. This distilling flask was probably made in Staffordshire, England. A similar vessel form made in London but different in size and decoration was recovered from the earliest contexts during excavations at James Fort in Jamestown, Virginia dating to the early seventeenth century (Straube 2001:47-49). However, the specimen from Regent dates to a later period, as it was found in a stone rubble covering the subfloor pit feature. The yellowware bowl is decorated with annular bands of white; dendritic patterns in blue. Yellowware vessels originated in Scotland and England at the end of the eighteenth century and were produced in places such as Derbyshire and Yorkshire until the 1870s. They were also produced in New Jersey, Kentucky, Pennsylvania, and New England in America in the mid-nineteenth century. It peaked in the 1860s and was widely produced in America by the 1880s, but production continued into the twentieth century (Slesin et al. 1997:137). Given that earlier yellow ware vessels were wheel thrown and later ones produced in molds, the

yellow ware bowl found in the outbuilding was produced using molds in the United States between 1860 and 1880 (Slesin et al. 1985:10, 1997:150-151).

An MNV of 112 vessels can be determined from the 526 imported ceramic sherds found in Feature 5, the subfloor pit. Body and base sherds of tableware, such as bowls and plates dominated the ceramic assemblage, but several ware types are represented (Figure 6.6). One hundred and two vessels are whiteware, while there are five stoneware, three glazed earthenware, and two porcelain vessels. There is also diversity in the vessel forms such as 34 plates, 54 bowls, two saucers, three cups, four bottles, two jars, two jugs, seven service platters, two chamber pots, a teapot, and a butter churn. These vessel forms show that there are 93 tableware and 15 kitchenware pieces. The eating vessels (90%, n=101), particularly bowls, constitute most of the imported ceramic assemblage. Four bowls have closures, and ten belong to matching sets of dishes. Two chamber pots and two inkwells are the only vessels in this ceramic assemblage unrelated to the food preparation and consumption category.

About half (48%, n=54) of the ceramic vessels are hand-painted, while the majority (77%, n=34) of the whiteware bowls have varied hand-painted decorations. The hand-painted decorations on whiteware bowls include 24 cut-sponge, polychrome stamped decorations: floral and geometric patterns, six hand-painted polychrome decorations in thick line style (Gaudy Dutch), and four hand-painted polychrome decorations (thick lines) and annular decorations. These hand-painted decorations extend to other whiteware tableware. The cut-sponge, polychrome stamped decorations: floral and geometric patterns appear on eight plates, a cup, and a jug. The hand-painted polychrome decoration (thick lines) and annular decoration is found on eight plates only, while the hand-painted polychrome decoration thick line style (Gaudy Dutch) is applied to a plate and a jug.



Figure 6.6: Type-variety of imported ceramics 2. First row: hand-painted monochrome and polychrome floral and geometric patterns with (thick lines) and cut-sponge decoration in purple and black, respectively. Second row: cut-sponge monochrome geometric design banded by blue annular lines, a green sponged background with red hand painting and cut-sponged stamping on the smaller flower, polychrome stamped decorations on whiteware bowls, and a green transfer-printed whiteware bowl. Third row: “Blue Willow” pattern on a whiteware chamber pot, an undecorated Whiteware service platter or tray, and a cut-sponge, monochrome stamped decorations: floral design on a whiteware cup. (Source: Photograph by the Author)

The names of manufacturing companies, locations, and the production period of some hand-painted vessels can be determined. For example, the blue-sponge soup bowl with overlapping circles of floral motifs was first produced in Staffordshire in Britain and adopted in France, the Netherlands, Germany, Belgium, Japan, Italy, Poland, Russia, and the United States, where production continued until the 1930s. Due to the heavy-bodied blue and white crude decoration, this vessel was possibly produced between 1840- 1860 (Kelly et al. 2001:6-8, 106; McConnell 1999:11; Robacker and Robacker 1978:150; Slesin et al. 1997:73, 100-101). There is also a plate or platter decorated with a Persian rose in blue without sponge printing. It is possibly made by George Jones and Sons Ltd., Stoke on Trent, England (Kelly

et al. 2001:58). A bowl has a printed crimson line around the rim with crimson “stalks” bearing green leaves and crimson flowers. This design is commonly found on vessels produced in Sri Lanka (Kelly et al. 2001:134-135).

Seven of the vessels with polychrome spatterware and sponge decoration and four vessels with monochrome spatterware decoration originated in the Staffordshire district of England. They were produced between 1780 and 1830 (McConnell 1999:11). These hand-painted vessels peaked from 1810 to 1840 and were exported across the globe, including West Africa (McConnell 1999:14; Robacker and Robacker 1978:32). Production continued to some degree until the third quarter of the nineteenth century (Robacker and Robacker 1978:50). Only a few marked pieces of spatterware have been found (Robacker and Robacker 1978:54). A bowl has red rim lines and large brown and green flowers next to paired blue flowers. The design on this vessel is fondly known as the Virginia pattern from the Fife pottery of Robert Heron in Kirkcaldy, which was produced from 1839 to 1930 (Kelly et al. 2001:42).

The remaining whiteware vessels have transfer-printed patterns, molded decoration, or were undecorated. The transfer-printed patterns on bowls include ten underglaze polychrome transfer prints and a flow-blue transfer print. There are two bowls with molded decorations, while one of the bowls has an Engine turned annular decoration. Only 9% (n=5) of the whiteware bowls were undecorated. The underglaze polychrome transfer prints also appeared on 11 plates and appeared on six service platters, two cups, a saucer, a jar, and two chamber pots. The most common underglaze blue transfer print was the traditional “Willow” pattern that appeared on a few plates, a service platter, and a chamber pot. Generally speaking, the Willow pattern on whiteware vessels dates from the mid-nineteenth century into the twentieth century (Ketchum 1983:161; W.L. Little 1969:180, 184-186), but the specimens recovered were possibly produced by E. F. Bodley & Son of Staffordshire circa

1880 (Collard 1967:383; Fleming 1923:258; Kelly 1999:68, 115). A similar floral design was found on two whiteware bowls with green and pink glazes. These types of pottery were produced in England and America. They are not marked, and difficult to distinguish between English and American potteries (Ketchum 1983:321). Six whiteware plates also have a matt green glaze. These vessels were possibly manufactured by firms such as the Weller and Roseville potteries in New Jersey and Ohio circa 1910 - 1920 (Ketchum 1983:166, 320-321).

A blue transfer-printed Rhine pattern appeared on two soup bowls and a service platter. These vessels were produced by F. Morley & Co., a nineteenth-century Canadian pottery company, and Edinburg by Kidston in the United Kingdom (Collard 1967:277, 279; Kelly 1999:190; Lang 1995:320; Wetherbee 1980:140). There is a flow-blue transfer print on a plate, while a blue sprigged decoration can be seen on three plates. There is a plate with molded decoration and an undecorated whiteware service ladder. The undecorated service platter has a maker's mark at the base. The mark suggests that it was probably produced by J. & G. Meakin Ltd., Hanley, between 1902 and 1903 (Godden 1964:427, 527-528; Henrywood 2002, 342; Robacker and Robacker 1978:151, 153; Wetherbee 1974:32, 1975:31, 1980:23; 1985:17-18, 22). J. & G. Meakin Ltd operated between c. 1859 to the present day (Godden 1964:427; Wetherbee 1980:29). Since the diamond-shaped mark with codes letters and numbers was discontinued after 1883, the prefix 'Rd. No 391413' makes this vessel a twentieth-century product (Collard 1967:326-327; Wetherbee 1974:32-33).

The other ware types represent a small portion (9%, n=10) of the ceramic assemblage. The stoneware vessels represented include two English brown stoneware inkwells, two English brown stoneware bottles, and an American gray salt-glazed stoneware with brown Albany slip on butter churn. The two stoneware vessels are Bristol glaze ginger beer bottles made in Bristol, England between 1835 and 1900 (Noël Hume 2001:324). They have a two-toned effect, with mustard on the top and off-white on the bottom half. A lead-glazed

earthenware cooking pot ('terres vernissées') with Jourdan Vallauris A.M. trademark on the exterior was also found. This vessel is made in France. It was widely available after 1873, but production continued well into the twentieth century. The porcelain vessels include an underglaze polychrome decorated European plate and an undecorated Bone China (English/European) on saucers. These two vessels date between 1830 and 1910, confirming the date range for this feature to the turn of the century. Brownware vessels were represented in the form of a teapot, a bowl, and a jar.

Many imported ceramic vessels were found in Level 2 of the excavated units located to the north (Units 007, 013, and 018) and west (Units 015-017) of the house lot. These units were positioned on the edges of the backyard and were located far away from the house structure. Some ceramic items (e.g., chamber pots and a washbasin fragment) with some molded decoration, possibly used for toiletry activities, were found in the western part (Unit 016) of the house locus. These were undecorated vessels, which would have been in common use before sewage and water lines were established in the village in the twentieth century. A ceramic washbasin consisting of two rim fragments refitted and marked "...RTINI" were recovered from Units 011 and 018 (Level 1). However, the form of the washbasin could not be determined from the small sherd fragments (Figure 6.7). Other ceramic vessels, particularly English brown stoneware writing ink bottles, were found within the units located close to the west wall of the house structure (Units 003-006) and under the rubble created by the collapsed wall of the house structure (Figure 6.8).

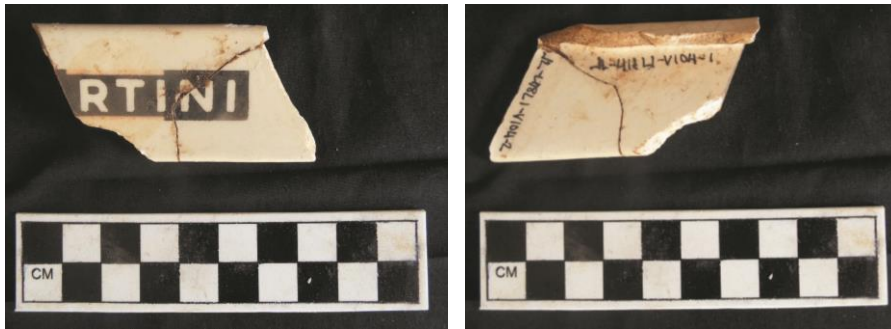


Figure 6.7: A ceramic wash hand basin marked "... rtini."
 (Source: Photograph by the Author)



Figure 6.8: English wheel-thrown English stoneware ink wells or bottles.
 (Source: Photograph by the Author)

The one hundred and ninety-six imported ceramic vessels consist of several type-variety, including whiteware, pearlware, stoneware, porcelain, yellowware, and glazed earthenware (Figure 6.9). There are 158 whiteware, 15 porcelain, 15 stoneware, four yellowware, two pearlware, and two glazed earthenware. Eating vessels such as 15 cups and six saucers constitute about 12% of the tableware category, while 84 plates and 70 bowls form the majority (79%, n=154) of the ceramic assemblage. Nearly a quarter (24%, n=17) of the bowls have closures, and a smaller number (n=15) belong to matching sets of dishes. The kitchenware items include seven jars, a jug, a butter churn, and two service platters, which would have been used to keep all kinds of liquid and non-liquid food items. The remaining storage vessels consist of six bottles, two crocks, and a drainer/wash hand basin. There is a porcelain or porcelaneous ware funnel with an unknown function.



Figure 6.9: Type-variety of imported ceramics 3. First row: A flow blue with cut-sponged decoration on a whiteware plate. Second row: A cable decoration on a whiteware plate. Third row: A red paste earthenware bowl. Fourth row: a pearlware bowl and lid fragments, with light yellow, green, and black bands, and finger-painted swirls.
 (Source: Photograph by the Author)

There are 58 whiteware bowls with varied decorations, including hand-painted polychrome decorations, three thick line styles (Gaudy Dutch), 12 hand-painted polychrome decorations (thick lines) and annular decorations, 21 cut-sponged stamped decorations, three underglaze transfer prints with polychrome hand painting, 13 underglaze polychrome transfer prints, a flow-blue transfer print, two molded decoration, and three Engine turned annular decoration. The 80 whiteware plates have hand-painted polychrome decoration, six thick line styles (Gaudy Dutch), eight hand-painted polychrome decorations (thick lines) and annular decoration, 12 cut-sponge, polychrome stamped decorations, ten underglaze transfer prints with polychrome hand painting, 22 underglaze polychrome transfer prints, two underglaze blue and red transfer print with molded decoration, six molded decoration, a polychrome brightly edged decoration, as well as 13 blue and green shell-edged decoration. The 11 cups have four cut-sponge, polychrome stamped decorations, two underglaze transfer prints with polychrome hand painting, four underglaze polychrome transfer prints, and an Engine turned annular decoration. There are four saucers with two cut-sponge, polychrome stamped decorations, and two underglaze polychrome transfer prints. There is a jug with cut-sponge, polychrome stamped decorations, and a service platter with underglaze polychrome transfer prints. The undecorated whiteware vessels consist of a cup, a saucer, and a service platter.

The fifteen porcelain vessels represented include two underglaze polychrome decorations, which appeared on bowls, three plates, and a saucer. There are also two undecorated bone china (English/European) cups, two bowls, and a bottle. A gilded bone china (English/European) cup, a hand-painted bone china (English/European) on a drainer/wash hand basin, and a molded decoration on the rim of a plate were recovered. There is a porcelain or porcelaneous ware funnel with an unknown function. Stoneware vessels consist of six white stoneware on jars, five English brown inkwells, two German buff-light paste earthenware with a clear lead glaze on crocks and a jar, and an American

gray salt-glazed stoneware with brown Albany slip interior on butter churn. These stoneware items were used to keep all kinds of liquids, including writing inks and beverages. There is a brownware with a clear lead glaze and red paste earthenware with a clear lead glaze decorated with white pipe clay sprig designs on a bowl. There is also pearlware with annular, earth-tone decoration on a bowl and pearlware with mocha decoration on a bowl. A few body and base sherds show the ‘blue circles’ or a distinct blue band or zone around the base but are not included in the vessel counts. The yellowware vessels include three bowls decorated with annular bands of white; dendritic patterns in blue applied on bowls, and a bowl decorated with turned and annular bands. Their distribution across the yard area suggests that they are kitchenware.

Many of the imported ceramics, particularly the spatter- and sponged-printed whiteware vessels, are readily identified. A polychrome sponge-printed bowl with a cow standing in the grass and a band of sponge printing around the rim stands out. It is certainly produced by the Bridgeness Pottery of C.W. McNay in Bo’ness. Hence, it is a Scottish piece (Kelly 1993:24-25; Kelly et al. 2001:13-15; Kelly 1993:24-25). Three vessels are decorated with sponge printing with several rows of squares or check patterns and a geometric hanging motif in the interior (Kelly et al. 2001:25). These vessels form a table set. The field team also identified a polychrome jug with a sponge print in brown with a fringed motif around the rim and a green and blue floral motif on the body. This rim motif is similar to some found on butterfly bowls from Clyde Pottery (Kelly et al. 2001:29, 50). Clyde Pottery Co. (LTD.) is located in Greenock, Scotland. The company was established by J. Arnold Fleming circa 1815 to 1913 (Godden 1964:154). While there is a Persian rose with a blue sponge print on a bowl (Kelly et al. 2001:44), another bowl has red rim lines and large brown and green flowers next to paired blue flowers. This vessel resembles a “Virginia pattern” from the Fife pottery of Robert Heron in Kirkcaldy (Kelly et al. 2001:42). Blue sponged decoration

covering nearly the entire whiteware appearing fairly smudged was also produced by England and American potteries in New Jersey and Ohio from 1860 to 1935 (Ketchum 1983:178, 228-229). A monochrome blue bowl, with a line around the rim, painted flowers, and sponged florets (Kelly et al. 2001:75) and a red banded bowl showing a bird in flight (Kelly et al. 2001:33) are unmarked. Hence their sources cannot be specified. However, a rice dish with a lattice motif with trefoil hangs from a red line at the rim, dating to circa 1879 – 1890. It was made in Sri Lanka (Kelly et al. 2001:124-126). A red spongeware border also appeared on a plate. This “Camellia design” is often marked as ADAMS and dates from the mid-nineteenth century to the early twentieth century (Kelly et al. 2001:55; Robacker and Robacker 1978:32, 80). W. Adams & Sons of Stoke was an important English producer in the 1860s. He was “reputedly producing some 70,000 dozen pieces a week for foreign markets”, which were exported in huge quantities across the globe, including West Africa (Slesin et al. 1997:73). Finally, a brown “fringed wheel” forms bands at the rim and base with a complex sponge with a crimson flower and green leaves on the front of the pitcher can be dated to the second half of the nineteenth century (Kelly et al. 2001:205).

Some transfer-printed whiteware vessels are also datable. One of the whiteware vessels has a garter mark with the firm’s name and initial: Lorne Ribbon T.B & CO, in the center of the mark and a late diamond Design label with a registration date: October 14, 1871. The Lorne Ribbon T.B & CO firm was in operation between 1868 and 1883 and later became Thomas Booth & Son, Burslem and Tunstall (Collard 1967:326-327; Dieringer and Dieringer 2001:6; Godden 1964:85, 527; Hughes 1959:173; Lang 1995:287, 360-361; Robacker and Robacker 1978:153; Wetherbee 1974:32-33, 1985:17-18). This English whiteware saucer has a brown transfer-printed Clyde pattern of the post-1860 date. There is also a brown transferware soup dish in the Vase pattern, produced by Thomas Booth & Son, which succeeded Royal Ribbon TB & Co. It was produced at the Knowles Works circa 1868

(Lang 1995:315). A whiteware soup bowl with a cable decoration border is another standout artifact. The printed trademark that appeared on the exterior part of the rim was in use after 1862 (Godden 1964:111, 527; Henrywood 2002:251; Robacker and Robacker 1978:86). A blue transfer-printed service platter was produced by F. Morley & Co., a nineteenth-century Canadian pottery company (Collard 1967:277, 279). The trademark on ironstone vessels was also important. The mark (an eagle) suggests an English origin for the vessel, but the mark was rarely used in the 1850s (Godden 1964:55; Lang 1995:247). Undoubtedly, the majority of the undecorated ironstone plates were made in England, while a few of them could have been made in America between 1860 and 1920 (Collard 1983:324; Dutton 1989:105; Ketchum 1983:179, 201; Majewski and O'Brien 1987:114). There are nine 'hotel ware' with an annular band around the rims (Kelly 1999:43). These vessels likely belong to a table set. The undecorated whiteware vessels are likely to post-date 1880.

The yard area also produced a brown stoneware bottle with "... VATT & LOVATT NOTTS ... LE ... (possibly HANLEY) HILLS" (Godden 1964:398). Lovatt and Lovatt pottery company is located at Langley Mill, near Nottingham. The company operated from 1895 to the present day. Since this firm was retitled "Lovatts Pottery Ltd" in 1931 and "Langley Pottery" in 1967, this stoneware vessel predates 1931 (Lang 1995:265). There is also an Albany slip stoneware butter churn (D. Armstrong 2003:178; Kelly 1999:60; Ketchum 1971:50-51; Webster 1971:211) and white stoneware vessels, which were produced in Staffordshire (Webster 1971:27). A small number of yellowware vessels are represented. These include a yellowware bowl with white banded decorations and three yellowware vessels with mocha seaweed bands. Many mocha seaweed and white banded yellow ware vessels were produced in America and Canada. These vessels appeared in 1830 but peaked in the 1860s and 1870s and remained in production until the 1930s (Ketchum 1983:155, 217; Slesin et al. 1997:70, 137). Since most yellowware vessels are not marked, it is challenging to

determine their specific dates. However, based on morphology, two yellowware vessels with turn lips and feet were produced around the 1860s (Slesin et al. 1997:138).

Nearly all the porcelain vessels are of English or European origin, and many dates between 1790 and 1910. These vessels were produced over a relatively long period, extending the occupation date of this family lot to the early twentieth century. The rims of two shell-edge decorated vessels have impressed lines colored blue and dated between 1830 and 1860, while three rims with an even edge and fairly uniform painted lines instead of impressed ones, lacking the feathery effect, fall between 1860 and 1890 (Miller and Hunter 1990:109; Mrozowski 2000:288; Pezzarossi 2014b: 160). The dates obtained from these shell-edge decorated vessels complement the chronology of other decorated vessels examined here. What the varied ceramic dates above tell us about the house's occupation is that the family lot was intensively occupied between 1880 and 1950. It could have been occupied as early as 1860 if the outbuilding was first built as a residence and the main house added upon gaining upward social mobility.

A miscellaneous object made from local ceramics was found. A ceramic oil lamp, probably mass-produced and imported, was recovered from Level 2 of Unit 015 (Figure 6.10). This non-vessel material is certainly associated with the inhabitants that occupied the building.



Figure 6.10: A ceramic oil lamp.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)

The entire section occupied by the stairs in Unit 003 provided non-diagnostic artifacts, such as local ceramic pot fragments reinforced by cement plaster on the exterior part. Seventy fragments were collected but could not be refitted to determine the form and size of the vessel. This ceramic vessel reflects yard gardening or represents an extension of the flower bed area in Unit 001. Two vessels were found on the surface of the location, identified as an outbuilding. The first vessel is a large dark brown pot with an everted rim of medium size (2-5cm) and a globular body. It has a brown color paste, a rough, irregular surface on the inside, and an even surface on the outside with the presence of a core (Orton and Hughes 2013:154). The core suggests that the vessel was fired in a reduced environment. There is no surface treatment and decoration, but there is use wear evidence of an abraded or worn surface as a result of use on the exterior-bottom of the pot (Rice 1987:234-235). The second vessel is a large dark brown pot with a medium-sized flared rim (2-5cm) and a globular body. It has a brown color paste, but no core is present, suggesting that it was fired in a low-heat environment and became oxidized, producing the brown color (Orton and Hughes 2013:152). The surface of the vessel is smooth on the interior but rough on the exterior to enable a firm grip of the vessel. A shallow groove-incising showing parallel lines decoration appears on the neck and shoulder of the vessel (Richard 1974:146; Shepard 1976:198-203; Sinopoli 1991:25-26), but no use wear evidence is visible.

Six vessels were found in the artifact feature in Unit 002 in association with numerous glass bottles in the artifact cluster (Figure 6.11). They are large pots produced, using coiling manufacturing techniques (Orton and Hughes 2013:126; Rice 1987:127-128; Rye 1981:68; Shepard 1976:57-59; Sinopoli 1991:17-20). Each vessel is characterized by sand-tempered paste and has a medium size (2-5cm) rim. Five of the vessels have everted rims. The vessels with everted rims are dark brown and have a brown paste color. They were fired in a low-heat environment producing brown color due to oxidation (Rye 1982:24-25, 114-117). The

only vessel with a direct rim is also dark brown and has a brown paste color. A grey vessel with an everted rim and a different paste color (ash) is an exception. It is unclear if the grey color results from the firing level or the source material for its production. This vessel is likely to have been fired in a reducing atmosphere (Orton and Hughes 2013:73, 152; Orton et al. 1993:133-135; Rice 1987:81; Shepard 1976:106; Sinopoli 1991:30). A core is present in three vessels. One of the vessels with a core has a direct rim. Four of the vessels have a rough, irregular surface on the inside and an even surface on the outside, while the remaining two vessels have uniform surfaces but are not smooth, with irregular or undulating patterns on the interior and exterior. There is no surface treatment applied to these vessels. Rather, impressed decoration such as an incision appears on the neck and shoulder of a pot with an everted rim and stamping on the interior of the rim of another pot with an everted rim (Orton and Hughes 2013:89-90).

There is no use-wear evidence, such as charring on the exterior and occasional abrasion or scratches in the interior, suggesting that they are non-cooking vessels. These vessels would have served as storage materials within the household, probably to keep liquid content, such as water, either indoors or outdoors.

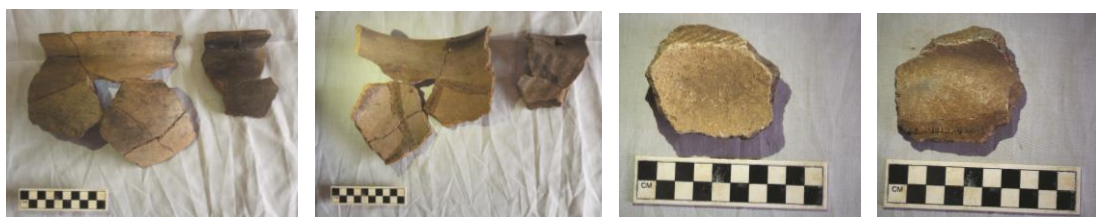


Figure 6.11: Local ceramic pots. Left: a dark brown pot. Right: a grey pot with impressed decoration on the interior of the rim.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)

More than half (65%, n=15) of the local ceramic vessels represented were found across the yard area, with most of these vessels found along the western and northern edges of the house lot (Units 007, 013, and 015 – 018). These vessels consist of 14 pots and a kettle

(Figure 6.11). There are 10 medium-sized (2-5cm) pots and four medium-to-large open-neck pots. Five of these pots have everted rims, two pots exhibit flared rims, and seven pots have direct rims, while the kettle is represented with a tall neck (Shepard 1976:228). The pots with flared and direct rims show more variations. There is a pot with a flared restricted rim and a pot with flared outward rim. The pots with direct rims consist of five pots with a direct rim vertical and two pots with a direct curving rim. While there are variations in the morphology of the pot rims, they were manufactured using coiling methods (Orton and Hughes 2013:126; Rice 1987:127-128; Shepard 1976:57-59; Sinopoli 1991:17-20). However, there is no direct correlation between the vessel rims and color. There are five black pots, six dark brown pots, a red pot, and a grey pot. A pot exhibits a brown to red and black color, indicating a fired cloud (Rice 1987:109). The kettle is red in color.

The color and temper of many pots bear marked similarities. Two of the black pots have micaceous temper paste and micaceous surface treatment, while the remaining three black pots are sand-tempered (Rye 1981:98). The six dark brown pots possess a brown paste. These vessels are fired in a low-heat environment producing brown color due to oxidation (Orton and Hughes 2013:123, 152; Orton et al. 1993:131, 133-135; Shepard 1976:81-83, 106). One of them has a rough, irregular surface on the interior and exterior, another one has a smoothed-out surface on the interior and exterior, and four have an even surface on the interior and exterior. The red pot has a robust orange ware, while the paste color of the grey pot cannot be determined due to firing at a reduced temperature (Shepard 1976:106). The paste color of the kettle falls within the robust orange ware category. A majority (87%, n=13) of the vessels had no surface treatment, and none had a core. Incision decoration appeared on one of the black pots with micaceous temper paste and on a dark brown pot with a brown paste (Figure 6.12; see Appendix 5). The remaining 12 pots were undecorated, while the kettle had a molded decoration on the neck.

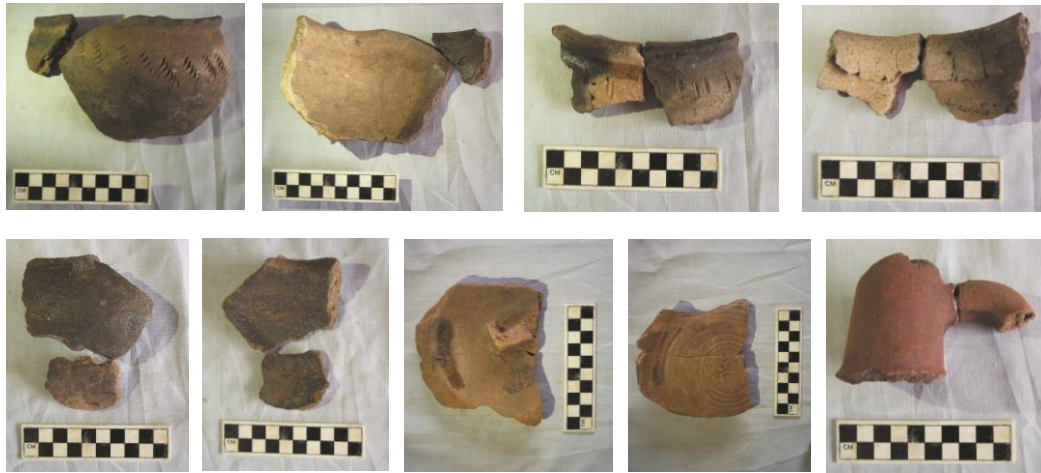


Figure 6.12: Some of the local ceramic vessels. First row: Dark brown pots with incision decoration on the neck. Second row: a black pot with micaceous temper paste, incision decoration on the neck, and a kettle handle with red paint or slip. (Source: Photograph by the Author)

Functions could be determined for some of the vessels. While only two pots show evidence of charring on the exterior and can be linked with cooking practices, the remaining 12 vessels would have served as storage materials within the household, probably to keep liquid content such as water either indoors or outdoors (Rice 1987:146; Shepard 1976:195-203; Sinopoli 1991:26). The small-sized pots were likely used for transporting various liquid contents, including locally brewed beer or medicinal herbs (Rice 1987:208-210; Sinopoli 1991:84). Two pot lids were found, but none could be linked to any of the identified pots. The first pot lid fragment survived but lacked a ledge, while two sherds were refitted to form another lid. This second lid has a knob at the center and a ledged rim approximately 2cm above the lip. One of the lids has punctate and incision decorations in the interior, while the other lid has a shallow groove-incising showing parallel lines in arcs.

Like the ceramic assemblages recovered from the King house lot, the surface treatments and decorative motifs found on the Regent ceramic assemblage suggest different local styles or traditions. However, there are limited local ceramics collections available for comparison. While these local ceramics reflect continuities with African food preparation and

consumption practices, they can also be used to discuss trade or exchange with local or Indigenous communities and their production at Regent Village. I explore the potential of this limited ceramic collection for understanding trade and exchange in Regent and its environments in the next chapter. Considering the spatial and temporal distribution of local ceramics and its association with imported goods across Levels 1 and 2 of the yard area, a mid-nineteenth century to the early twentieth century is offered. The eight vessels recovered from Feature 5, the subfloor pit in the center of the outbuilding in Unit 002, support to this implied date range.

The pit feature in the middle of the outbuilding contains many complete and near-complete glass bottles and some glass bottle fragments. A total of 625 vessels was determined in the glass bottle assemblage, consisting of 540 liquor containers and 85 non-liquor bottles. Two hundred and twenty-five glass bottles were found in Levels 1 and 2 in Units 007, 013, and 015-018 in the yard area, none within the house structure. These were non-liquor bottles. There are 95 pharmaceutical bottles, indicating the house residents' increased use of health and hygiene items. Other identified bottles include 22 toiletries, 32 cosmetic jars, and 63 storage bottles that once contained unknown contents. These storage vessels possibly had paper labels that did not survive in the archaeological records. Some of them might have contained culinary or cooking sauces and other related items. Thirteen clear glass writing ink bottle fragments were found in Levels 1 and 2 in Units 004-006, all near the house stone foundations. One of the whole bottles was labeled "STANLEY INK," and all of them have a cracked-off lip and untooled string rim, which suggests that they were manufactured about 1860 (Bond 1989b: 130: Figure 6.13).

Glassware was represented in various forms, such as 20 tumblers, eight stemwares, a decanter, three bowls, and two plates in the glass assemblage (Figure 6.14). These glassware fragments are used for beverage storage and consumption. Many of them were found in

fragmentary conditions in Level 2 of the yard area, specifically within Units 006-008. None was found across the house structure area or in the pit feature in the outbuilding. There are two lantern bulb fragments from Unit 007 and 012, respectively, located along the northern edge of the house lot. They are identified through the type of finish (i.e., ground) and form (bulb shape). One has a brand name written on it but is difficult to read. Archaeologists have reported the recovery of lantern shades, used for house lighting in historic period sites of the mid-nineteenth to the twentieth centuries (e.g., D. Armstrong 2022:344).



Figure 6.13: Glass inkwell or ink bottles with a cracked-off finish. (Source: Photograph by the Author)



Figure 6.14: Glassware assemblage. Left: Pressed glass bow lids. Right: decanter fragments. (Source: Photograph by the Author)

Two hundred and thirty-one wine bottle forms made up most bottles from the house locus, while 146 beer bottles and 163 gin case bottles were also represented (Figure 6.15).⁴ A range of manufacturing types in the 146 complete to near-complete bottle assemblage includes 52 turn mold, 17 dip mold, 22 two-, three- and four-piece mold, 23 machine-made, 28 flanged, and four fire-polished vessels. Other 394 glass bottle fragments from this house lot consist of rims, neck, shoulder, and finishes (e.g., lips), flat sides, and bases, which were analyzed and considered vessels. Many of these glass bottle fragments have mold seams that end at the shoulder or low on the neck, while some vessels have mold seams that end below the mouth due to the manual joining of a separate lip. Some of the bases also show evidence of manufacturing techniques with considerable diversity in the tooling and marking. These include pontil scars, sand pontil, indented base, bell-shaped, and slight mamelon (a rounded eminence found on the basal surface). The embossed sides and bases of some of these glass bottle fragments indicate possible contents such as J H Henkes Schnapps and a range of sources such as Canada, London in England, Edinburgh in Scotland, and Holland.

The turn mold bottles are cylindrical or round in the body. They show faint concentric rings rather than vertical side mold seams. These bottles often have deeply indented push-ups or kick-ups with mamelons or dots in the center of the base (Bond 1989:124; Jones 1971; Jones and Sullivan 1989; Miller 2000:8; Toulouse 1969:532). Turn mold bottles date between 1880 and 1915 (Jones and Sullivan 1989). Dip mold bottles can be cylindrical, square, or rectangular in body. They often have an applied finish and cup-bottom mold but lack embossing on the body. Dip mold bottles without embossing on the sides date from the mid-nineteenth century and could be much older, like until the early 18th century (Jones 1986; Jones and Sullivan 1989:24-27; Wilson and Wilson 1968). However, the dip mold bottles in

⁴ The colors represented range from olive green to dark green glass.

the excavated assemblage leave no distinct mold seams on the base or body, placing the production circa the 1850s⁵ (Toulouse 1968). The two-, three- and four-piece mold bottles have side mold seams that finish below the base of the applied finish. Generally speaking, these bottles were made for almost a century (1820 through the 1910s), but certain diagnostic features can be used to narrow the dating range (Miller and Sullivan 2000). There is an early Rickett's bottle with a sand pontil scar in the base. This bottle was likely manufactured in a "Ricketts" mold between the late 1830s and late 1840s (Jones 1986:98) but may have been used a few decades after production (Bond 1989b: 132; Jones 1983). A few other bottles have a key mold base that could be confused with post mold due to the deceptive appearance of a post-base mold. There are also some bottles with flared or flanged finish. Based on the context in which they were found, these bottles date to the second half of the nineteenth century (Lindsey 2023; Newman 1970:72; Toulouse 1969).

The remaining 23 liquor bottles are machine-made. These bottles have vertical mold seams that run from the base to the finished surface (Miller and Sullivan 1984:94; 2000:172). Early machine bottles have thicker mold seams. There are more Owens machine-made bottles due to a suction scar on the base than the non-Owens type automated machine-made bottles with a base devoid of suction scar (Bond 1989b: 124). The former post-dates the 1890s, while the latter date from 1905 to the 1920s. Many of the machine-made bottles have a crown finish and labeled bases. Hence, they must post-date 1900 (Bond 1989b: 124; Miller and McNichol 2012). There are four fire-polished bottles, which are also machine-made and likely date to 1905 to 1920. The snap case tool replaced the mouth-blown manufacturing technique. It was used in semi-automatic and automatic bottle machines, thus post-date 1884 (Lindsey 2023; Miller et al. 2000:8).

⁵ The majority of the case gin bottles were produced in a dip mold.

Some of the non-liquor bottles consist of round-bottom and torpedo-shaped bottle fragments that may have contained soda water (Figure 6.16). A few were labeled “Mineral Water” and “Aerated Water,” but none had a paper label. Instead, embossing is common. The 14 torpedo shape bottles contained sodas, such as ginger ale, revealed through the embossed letters on the sides of the bottles. The embossed letters also show that they were produced in places such as Belfast in Ireland and Wigan in England (Illinois Glass Co. 1903, 1908, 1911 cited in Lindsey 2023). Since the torpedo bottles produced in the early twentieth century have a crown finish, all of the bottles found had blob top and likely date to the late nineteenth century (Elliot and Gould 1988 cited in Lindsey 2023; Jones and Sullivan 1989:90). The three round bottom sodas or ballast bottles, which was the design that replaced torpedo bottles are of aquamarine tint, made in a two-piece mold, and have a blob top and the words “Ross’s” and “Belfast” embossed in large letters along the sides. They were produced by Ross’s Belfast Ginger Ale and Indian Tonic by W.A. Ross & Sons Limited, Belfast, Ireland. There are also two ginger ale ballast bottles embossed with an elongated wagon wheel and the letters E R & Co and a large “W” embossed in the bottom. The “ER & Co” is believed to come from a parent brand for these ginger ale bottles, but they were produced by CROMAC SPRINGS WHEELER & Co. LTD. BELFAST. The Society for Historical Archaeology’s Historic Glass website places the production dates for Ross’s Royal Belfast round-bottom sodas or ballast bottles between 1870 and 1889 (Lindsey 2023).

The other diagnostic non-liquor bottles include three near-complete bottles marked “R.R.R. Radway” on the flat side and “Entd Accord to Act of Congress” on the other side. These are medicinal bottles manufactured by R.R.R. Radway & Co. New York circa the 1880s. The Odysseys Virtual Museum catalog has a replica of these medicine bottles recovered from the wreck of the *SS Republic*. The bottle is described as “having once contained Radway’s Ready Relief proclaimed, ‘the best, quickest, and most important

remedial agent ever discovered.’ The product of New York’s Dr. Radway, it was said to have been sold by druggists in every village, town, and city in the United States, Canada, and the British Provinces, and its success ‘vouched for by thousands who have used it.’” (The Odysseys Virtual Museum). Some of these medicines and “cure-alls” were sold in rural areas (DeCorse 1984:22). Other pharmaceutical bottles containing medicinal contents, such as bitters, have applied tool finishes, which appeared in the last decades of the nineteenth century (DeCorse 1984:18-20). The rolled or folded rim finish was used on some medicinal bottles from 1870. Pharmaceutical bottles with inset panels postdate 1860 and names of different manufacturers began to appear by the 1870s (DeCorse 1984:16).

The remaining non-liquor bottle assemblage consists of cosmetic bottles, storage bottles, inkwells, and canning or fruit jars. The cosmetic bottles contained cologne or perfume and Vaseline. The cologne or perfume bottles exhibit tooled finishes widely available from the mid to late 1870s. In contrast, Vaseline containers are wide-mouthed. Production started in 1893 (Miller and Sullivan 1984:94, 2000:172). Some storage and ink bottles are characterized by cracking-off, bursting-off, and shearing finishes. Ink bottles with bursting-off necks are typically British and date from the 1890s to 1920 (Jones and Sullivan 1989; Munsey 1970). Similar ink bottles have been found on a c. 1880 shipwreck in Bermuda, early twentieth-century context at Waterloo Village in Sierra Leone, and in the early twentieth-colonial context in Ghana (DeCorse personal communication, 2022). The canning or fruit jars were made in post-bottom molds from the mid-nineteenth century until the 1900s.

Like the glassware recovered from the King house lot, the tumblers, stemware, decanter, bowls, and platters from this house lot are difficult to date due to their fragmentary conditions. However, their presence in Level 2 of the edges of the yard area places them within a nineteenth-century sheet midden context. Some of them are pressed glass, which

would likely place them from the mid-nineteenth century to the early twentieth century (Miller and Sullivan 1984:94, 2000:172). The lantern globe fragment has a ground rim finish, which places its production dates between the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century (Jones and Sullivan 1989:41-42; Miller et al. 2000). Some of the stemware also dates between the mid-nineteenth century and early twentieth century (Williamson and D. Armstrong 2019:103).

Liquor Bottles



Figure 6.15: The liquor glass bottle assemblage.

First row: Nineteenth-century tall and slender bulged neck wine or spirits bottles with sand pontil mark bases. Late nineteenth and twentieth-century liquor turn mold bottles with push-up or kick-up bases showing a mamelon/dot in the middle.

Second row: A nineteenth-century tall and slender bulged neck wine or spirits bottle with sand pontil mark bases and a tall, moderately slender wine or spirits bottle with iron pontil scar in the middle of the base.

Third row: Nineteenth-century beer bottles (post-1890s) with Owens scar on the bases and a machine-made bottle with the side mold seam curling over the heel, having a non-Owens type automated bottle machine base, probably dates from the early twentieth century.

Fourth row: A nineteenth-century case gin bottle (1870-1890 era) with beveled or flattened corners at the base, mostly likely imported from continental Europe, and a nineteenth-century olive green case gin bottle (1870-1890 era) with, most likely imported from continental Europe.

(Source: Photograph by the Author)

Non-Liquor Bottles



Figure 6.16: The non-liquor glass bottle assemblage.

First row: Three bottles containing Florida Water.

Second row: A twelve-panel bottle design with “Atwood’s Jaundice Bitters Formerly Made by Moses Atwood, Georgetown Mass and a bottle marked “R.R.R. Radway” on the flat side, and “Entd Accord to Act of Congress” on the other side.

Third row: A two-piece mold top bottle with a rounded bottom or ballast bottle containing mineral water or related content and torpedo-shaped bottles containing aerated water.

Fourth row: a blue storage bottle with a cracked-off lip and a six-panel storage bottle with a flat base.

(Source: Photograph by the Author)

The metal objects consist of three Kontri pots, two of which are pot lids recovered in Level 1 of Unit 003 (Figure 6.17). One was found in an intact condition.



Figure 6.17: An iron cooking pot lid found in an intact condition.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)

The metal utensils recovered from this house lot include seven iron cooking pots, two iron kettles, and a long iron cooking spoon. There are several iron cooking pot fragments (particularly two near-complete cooking pots) in Unit 004 (Level 2: circa 40 cm), Unit 009 (Level 2: circa 58 cm), and Unit 010 (Level 2: 66 cm). Six cooking pots were determined from the fragments. Some of the vessels have striation applied to their body at certain intervals. Only one of the cooking pots has a pointed foot, and six fragments have handles attached to them. The presence of a large pot rim in Level 2 of Unit 018 indicates that iron pots were also discarded on the edges of the house lot. There is also an iron cooking pot lid found in Unit 008 in a fragmentary condition, but it is unclear if this lid belongs to one of the six large-size cooking pots found across the non-feature area of the yard. The two iron kettles, represented by large fragments with a spout, were found in Level 2 of Unit 011. These kettles are undecorated. The long iron cooking spoon found in a fragmentary condition in Level 2 of Unit 015 confirms that cooking activities took place in the northwestern corner of the unit, where a red soil color patch representing evidence of burning is visible—labeled

Feature 10. These metal utensils are consistent with our expectations of the late nineteenth-century food preparations and consumption practices (Figure 6.18).



Figure 6.18: Iron cooking utensils. Left: the body of a cooking pot. Middle: fragments from a body and base of a cooking pot with a footed specimen. Right: a kettle with a spout.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)

Stone materials associated with socio-economic activities undertaken by house residents was found on this house locus. A grinding slab fragment and eight handstones were found in intact and fragmented conditions in Unit 001, Unit 003, and the outbuilding area (Figure 6.19). The lithic artifacts in Unit 001 are represented by two handstones that are two-handed. Both specimens are found in fragmentary conditions. These activity-related artifacts are fairly evenly distributed between Levels 1 and 2 of the unit. The lithic objects in Unit 003 include two handstones that are one-handed. The handstones were found in complete condition in Level 1. Five ground stone artifacts were also recovered from the outbuilding. They were found in Unit 002 only. There are four handstones and one grinding slab. The handstones were flat and one-handed and may have been used on the moderately worn grinding slab for food processing (Gokee 2012:200, 315). These artifacts were found in fragmentary form and appear to be of secondary deposition due to their distribution in the upper level of the outbuilding structure area. The size of the handstones ranges from 66.4 mm to 103.1 mm in length, 48.8 mm to 63.4 mm in breadth, and 34.6mm to 48.6 mm in height.

The grinding slab is fairly degraded and measures 154.1 mm long, 139.0 mm wide, and 34.6 mm high. Finally, two grinding slab fragments were recovered from Unit 011 in the yard area.

The fact that these artifacts were found in fragmented form and deposited between the house structure and the outbuilding—just about a 4 m distance from the house structure is interesting. One wonders why they are not discarded on the northern and western edges of the house lot where many other discarded artifacts were found. Despite the secondary deposition of these ground stone artifacts in feature and non-feature areas, their presence in various units indicates food processing within the yard area during the nineteenth century and early twentieth century (Babalola 2015:186-188; Chouin 2009:653-657; Gokee 2012:311, 593-594, 606-607; Marshall 2011:381, 441; Monroe 2003:272, 276; Norman 2008:259-260, 272-274).



Figure 6.19: Ground stone artifacts. First row: one- and two-sided handstones. Second row: one-sided handstones. Third row: grinding slabs.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)

Tools:

A clothing-pressing iron plate was retrieved in Level 2 of Unit 001, which produced Feature 2 but recovered in the section of the unit close to the outbuilding feature. There is also a clothes-pressing iron plate found in the outbuilding. These two artifacts and the remaining five found across the non-feature area of the yard signal laundry activity within the household that was commercialized. Five clothing-pressing iron plates were recovered from Level 2 along the western edge of the house lot (Figure 6.20). The relatively large number of clothing-pressing iron plates shows that laundry activity was commercialized. These activities reflect women as seamstresses and laundresses, although men could have also engaged in such activities. A small copper-alloy thimble was also found in Level 2 of Unit 016, suggesting sewing activities. Due to the small quantity, the sewing would have been done for personal purposes (mending clothes) rather than for commercial enterprise.

Four hoe blade fragments, two cutlasses, and three fruit pickers were found in Levels 1 and 2 of Units 009 – 012. Although no historical records indicate that yard spaces were turned into gardens at this time, these tools could have been used to tend garden crops in the yard area. The several flower potsherds found in Feature 2 lend support to this interpretation.

Two gunflints were found in Level 1 of Units 006 and 012. These two units are located on the northern edge of the house lot and received many artifact depositions due to sheet midden or erosion that move artifacts away from the areas close to the house structure. The first gunflint is grey-brown with white inclusions, while the second has an opaque, milky brown color. Both are British ‘platform’ or blade-type flints, introduced circa 1775 and remaining in production into the twentieth century (DeCorse 2011:38, 85; Gijanto 2010:540-544; Gokee 2012:588, 637; Goldberg 2018:230; Norman 2008:360-361; Richard 2007:627). They have extended edge wear, particularly the second one. The first specimen is relatively well preserved and measures 33.7 mm long, 5.9 mm wide, and 21.3 high. The second flint is

fairly degraded and measures 26.2 mm in length, 23.7 mm in height, and a breadth of 8.7 mm. Both specimens are spent, and the battered edges suggest use as strike-a-lights (Figure 6.21). They appear to have been used in a nineteenth-century context, possibly during the nascent colonial period.

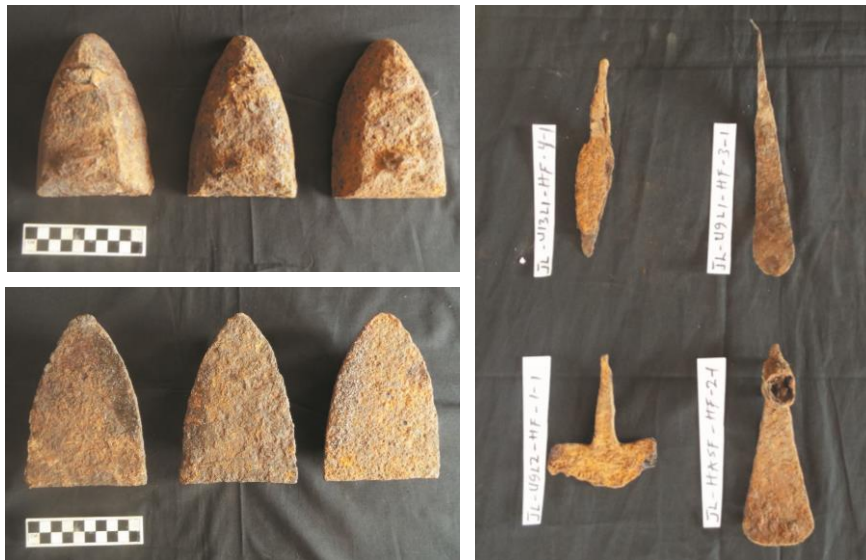


Figure 6.20: Hand metal tools. Left: clothes pressing iron plates. Right: Hoe blade fragments.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)



Figure 6.21: British platform or blade-type flints.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)

The recovered writing slate fragments are thin and exhibit handmade or manufactured parallel lines etched across a smooth blank surface. In Unit 003, three writing slate fragments were found at a lower depth of circa 30 cm. These writing slate fragments have permanent manufactured lines but do not exhibit any remnant writing. Seven writing slate fragments were also found in the outbuilding. They were fairly evenly distributed between Units 002

and 008. The writing slate fragments are easily identified through permanent manufactured lines, handwritten lines, and remnant writing (Swords 2008:46-47). Three fragments have permanent manufactured lines, two have handwritten lines, and one has remnant writing. Visual analysis revealed traces of remnant writing, “Joh...” (perhaps, Johnson) on a slate fragment, but the partial nature of the texts makes it difficult to determine the actual word (Figure 6.22). However, none of the slate fragments with permanent manufactured or handwritten lines were two-sided (Swords 2008:42-43). The remaining two slate fragments have smooth surfaces and modified edges but no written lines on them.

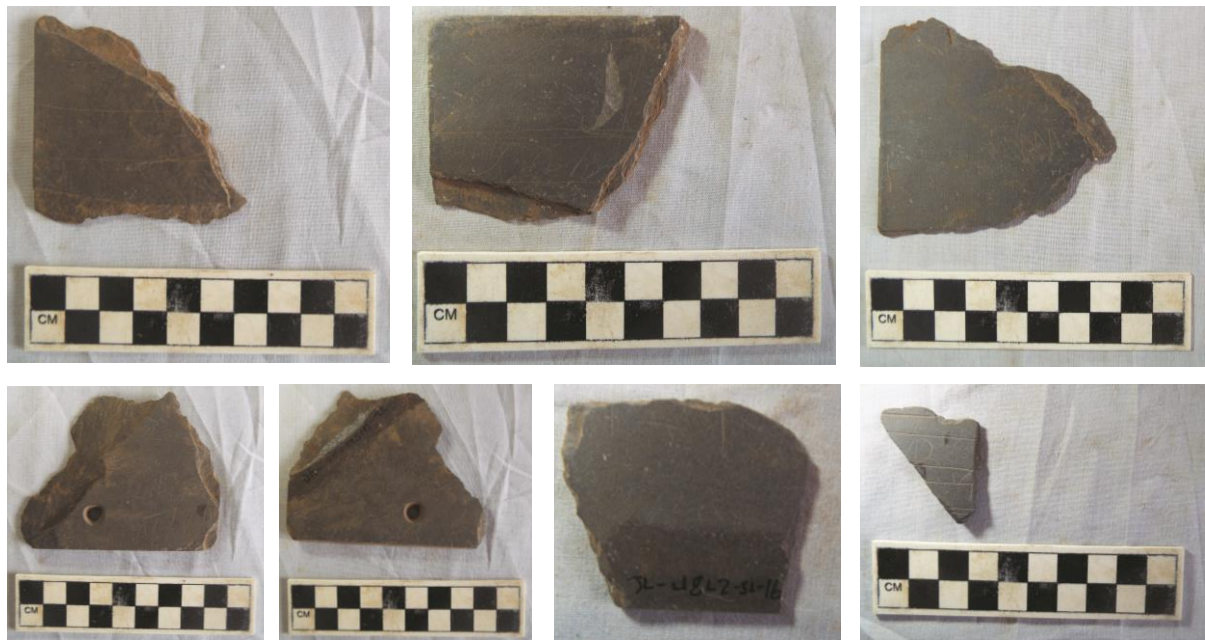


Figure 6.22: Writing slate fragments. First row: slate fragments with handwritten lines. Second row: slate fragments with remnant writing.

(Source: Photograph by the Author)

Thirty writing slates were recovered during the excavation of the non-feature area of the yard. None could be refitted. The highest number of these slate fragments come from Units 007, 012, and 015, located on the edges of the backyard area. They were evenly distributed between Levels 1 and 2. A few of them have holes either created by the manufacturer or forced holes that can be associated with the users. These writing slate

fragments are also identified through permanent manufactured lines, handwritten lines, and remnant writing.

The visual and microscopic analyses revealed traces of remnant writing such as “Mother,” “Lot, Lot,” “A,” and “B” on some of the slate fragments (Figure 6.22). The etching of scratches across the surface of the writing slate was also common in the slate assemblage. The etching may have been done with slate rocks or soapstone pens. However, none survived in the archaeological record (Swords 2008:58). “Pencils could also be made ... with a pure aluminum point attached to an enamel handle, for use with writing” (Montgomery Ward 1895:115 cited in Davies 2005:64). Three quarter (77%, n=23) of the slate fragments had lines without remnant writing, while less than a quarter (23%, n=7) consists of three slate fragments that had lines and remnant writing, two slates with remnant writing without lines, and two slates with no writing lines on them. Twenty-three of the lines on the slate fragments were permanently manufactured. These lines are carved on one side of the slate fragments. Only three slates exhibit traces that users drew lines. In such cases, both sides of the slate were used for writing purposes (Davies 2005:66; Swords 2008:42-43). For example, one of the slate fragments with lines looks similar to today’s graph paper (Swords 2008:47). The lines were handmade and might pass as a drawing rather than a graph sheet. There is also a slate fragment with a wavy line drawing.

Slate was mass-produced, sold cheaply, and used widely in educational and domestic contexts in the nineteenth century (Davies 2005:65). However, the use of paper gradually replaced writing slate in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries due to unhygienic issues (Davies 2005:66; Swords 2008:50). Since the wooden frame of the slate where maker’s marks are placed are not preserved in the archaeological record, precise dating of the recovered writing slate fragments is largely impossible (Swords 2008:20, 30). Like the dating of the writing slate at the King family lot, a patent issued for a “line maker” for writing slate

in 1889 placed the excavated items within the last decade of the nineteenth century and twentieth century (Swords 2008:47-48). The temporal distribution of these slate materials also indicates that they were used in both nineteenth and early twentieth-centuries contexts.

Personal:

The four personal items in Unit 001 are limited to three buttons. Two of the buttons are brass, and one is made of lead material. The two brass buttons were found across Levels 1 and 2 of the unit and are called mattress buttons. A two-hole, flat-sided lead button was also retrieved in Level 1 (Figure 6.23). The function and date of this button are currently unknown.

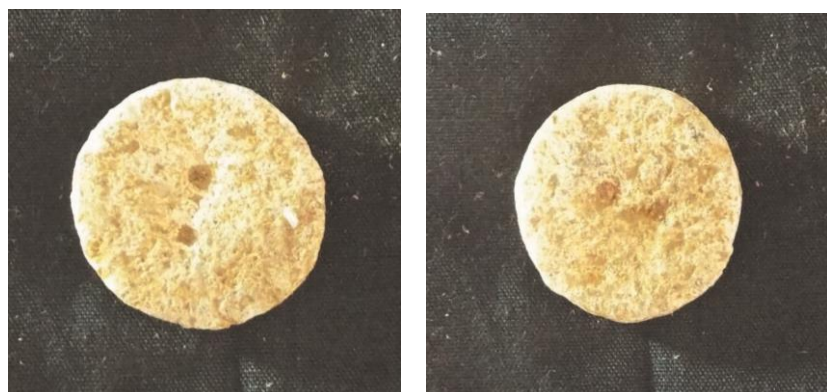


Figure 6.23: A two-hole, flat-sided lead button.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)

The metal artifacts linked with activities in the outbuilding are limited. The copper-alloy button found in Unit 008 Level 2 has a pre-1901 Royal Crown and was marked “CUSTOMS.” It is round in shape and has a diameter of 20.2 mm. It is large enough to be a coat button and was derived from a resident’s clothing. This button is gilded or once gilded. The design on this button matches one of the designs applied to British Royal Naval buttons used on uniforms or coats in the 1800s (Figure 6.24). The design includes drawings and writings carrying rank and affiliation. Based on the replica housed in the Royal Museums Greenwich, the back marker on this button reads “P & COS RD. DEC. 1.1847.” The earliest production of this button post-date 1847 and applied on a naval uniform or coat anytime between the late 1840s and 1900.



Figure 6.24: A gilt, domed button with a pre-1901 crown and inscribed "CUSTOMS" at the center.
 (Source: Photograph by the Author)

(Source: Royal Museums Greenwich)

The second copper-alloy button is also a gilt, domed button but has been flattened, possibly after deposition. There is a pre-1901 crown over a fowl anchor within a belt and buckle. The button is surrounded by a wreath and inscribed "ROYAL MARINE LIGHT INFANTRY." It was produced by Smith & Wright Ltd, Birmingham. Based on the replica housed in the Royal Museums Greenwich, it is certain that the button was applied on a uniform or coat linked with Naval service. This button pattern is common between 1855 and 1901 (Figure 6.25a). The production and the use of this button on uniform for the Royal Marine Artillery continued well into the twentieth century, but such specimens exhibit a post-1901 crown. The museum collection also revealed how the button was applied on a Frock or Tunic coat⁶ (Figure 6.25b).

⁶ The Frock and Tunic coats are made for the first and second lieutenants in the Royal Marine Light Infantry (Royal Museums Greenwich).



Figure 6.25a: Upper Left: A corroded domed button marked “Royal Marine Light Infantry” with a pre-1901 crown.
Lower Left: Sample of Replica in the Royal Museums Greenwich (Source: Photograph by the Author)

Figure 6.25b: Upper Right: A Tunic or red felted wool coat.
Lower Right: A Frock coat of blue wool (Source: Replica housed in the Royal Museums Greenwich)

Personal items also include 15 copper-alloy buttons and a belt clasp found in Levels 1 and 2 of various units across the non-feature section of the yard. The belt clasp has a pre-1901 Royal Crown, which could be linked to Naval service (Figure 6.26). This artifact suggests that one of the residents in the house locus worked as a member of the British Naval Patrol team. The belt clasp could have been used by the same resident who owned the two gilt, domed buttons found in Feature 3, the outbuilding area, and the yard’s non-feature area. The remaining metal buttons are called mattress buttons.

While I am unsure if they were used on mattresses, it can be assumed that mattress buttons were present. Similar mattress buttons have been found on Bunce Island (see DeCorse 2011:203). These mattress buttons were almost plain and occasionally embellished

with maker's marks or backmarkers. Mattress buttons were easily matched and mostly had two holes at the center associated with shanks. There are different types of shanks represented. These include (a) Omega-type, (b) Loop Shank, and (c) Staff-type. There is a button with an omega-type shank, two with a loop shank, and a button with a staff-type shank. These shanks and several perforations in the center revealed how the buttons would be attached. For the buttons with perforations, there are a set of three matching copper-alloy buttons with four holes, another set of three matching copper-alloy buttons with two holes, and a set of two matching buttons with a staff-type shank (Figure 6.26). Since shanks can be used to date buttons, the buttons with loop shanks and those that have at a time had a shank loop that has snapped off were possibly made in the second half of the nineteenth century (Ziesing 1989:148). The back markers (such as J. BARNES-HADLOW and "30") on some of these buttons also place their production date within circa 1800-1990.



Figure 6.26: Left: a copper alloy belt clasp. Right: mattresses buttons.
 (Source: Photograph by the Author)

The field team found partial bicycle remains, consisting of four-pedal and chain fragments in Level 1 of Units 009 and 016. The pedal and chain fragments suggest that one of the house residents owned and rode a bicycle (Figure 6.27a). Archival records and old photographs of the village also show the various means of transportation during the colonial period. People navigated the cultural landscape on foot, on bicycles, and on carts (Figure 6.27b). Other metal items include a pocket watch and a copper-alloy bell. While many of these items were recovered in Level 1 in the backyard area of the house locus, they might

have been used during the early or nascent colonial period and maintained for a long time. This may explain why they are not found in the earliest contexts of the house locus.

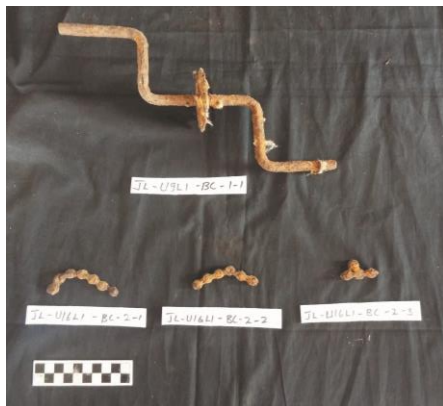


Figure 6.27a: Remains of a bicycle.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)



Figure 6.27b: A picture of the village showing the use of carts along Wilberforce Road.
(Source: Courtesy of Mr. Joshua Nicol and the Sierra Leone Web, Gary Schulze Collection)

The personal items also consisted of three mirror glass fragments found in Unit 003. They have a white color at the rear but do not co-join. These fragments were evenly distributed in the upper limit and lower depth of the unit.

Leisure:

The imported tobacco pipe fragments were randomly distributed across the foundation filling level in the outbuilding area. There are 17 stems and three bowls. None of the bowl bases have a spur, heel, or flattened surface. There is also an absence of embossed letters or alphabets on the stem and the spur. While many of the tobacco pipe fragments are plain, one of the tobacco pipes recovered from Level 2 of Unit 008 has a zoomorphic image on the stem pipe located at the lower portion of the bowl (Figure 6.27). A minimum of four tobacco pipes was determined from the stem and bowl fragments. There is evidence of burning on the interior surface of one of the bowls. Due to the absence of text marks coupled with the fragmentary conditions of the pipes, the name of the manufacturer(s) and location(s) cannot be determined.

One hundred and ninety-two imported tobacco pipe fragments were recovered from the non-feature area of the yard. These kaolin pipes are fragmentary, consisting of 35 bowls, 151 stems, as well as six stems and bowls with mouthpieces. They were randomly distributed across the yard area. There is a higher concentration of pipe fragments in Level 2 of Units 006 – 009 and 015 – 018. A minimum pipe count was made, and at least 40 tobacco pipes were determined within the assemblage. Many of the tobacco pipes are plain, with 15 of them decorated with geometric, anthropomorphic, and zoomorphic motifs. A tobacco pipe found in Level 2 of Unit 018 had an anthropomorphic form with a face on the front of the bowl (Figure 6.28). Three out of four complete to near-complete bowls recovered show clear evidence of burning.

The most common mouthpiece found in the tobacco pipe assemblage is a simple rounded end without a “nipple.” However, two mouthpieces have a flattened oval section at the tip. Six bowl bases have a thin, pointed “spur” to rest the bowl on, while the other 32 bases consist of fragments without a spur, heel, or flattened surface. Four pipes have an

embossed letter or alphabet on the stem and the spur. These are initials or lettering representing brand marks such as “15,” “F,” “I,” “B,” and “...04”. The use of an initial or partial letter is common in the assemblage, making it difficult to determine a letter or word. Due to the partial nature of the text marks, the name of the manufacturer and location cannot be determined. However, the shape of some of the complete and near-complete pipe bowls is revealing.

There was no attempt to measure the diameter of the bore in clay pipe stems (Courtney and McNiven 1998:49; Shott 2012:18-22). Instead, the question of the chronology of the tobacco pipe assemblage is examined through the narrow-pointed spur, maker’s marks, the shape of bowls, and the decorative motifs. The maker’s mark was placed either on the spur or along the length of the stem. All the letters are molded, imparted, and raised, with the top of each letter facing the bowl fronts. However, some of the maker’s marks are either unclear or incomplete and difficult to identify. Where the marker’s marks are clear, the identity offered must be considered tentative because similar samples have yet to be reported elsewhere in West Africa.

The spur at the base of the bowls is typically nineteenth-century because they are small, narrower, and pointed (Flood 1976:18 cited in Courtney and McNiven 1998:48; Walker 1967:188; Williamson 2006:336). The limitation of this dating method is that it broadly categorizes the specimens in less or more than a century and can be of little use in sites where stems are found in fragments (Williamson 2006:336). However, Scottish pipes manufactured by 1900 had mold numbers on their sides (Cook 1989a: 190). The pipe with letters “C” or “TD” and figures “2,” “3” ... “5” on the spurs were possibly made by MacDougall, Glasgow, Scotland, and William White and Sons (Humphrey 1969:18, 31-32). Humphrey (1969:18) “explained that [William] White [and Sons] advertised as being ‘the largest manufacturers,’ while the MacDougall form called itself ‘the largest export

manufacturer”” (cf. Walker 1968). These tobacco pipes date between 1867, when they were widely available, to 1900, when production has reduced drastically (Fleming cited in Humphrey 1969:18; Walker 1966:88). “I” was the common practice on spurs, but only one was found in this family lot. Given the shape of each letter, several English pipes produced by Scottish manufacturers are represented.

Regarding the angle of the bowl and stem, one of the pipes could be an imitation of the classic Dutch pipe with the bowl at a 135-degree angle to the horizontal. If true, this Dutch-cutty pipe would have been made by Thomas Davison Jnr and Co., Glasgow, in the late nineteenth century (Cook 1989b: 216; Courtney and McNiven 1998:48). Dutch pipes were very common with traders and smokers of all nationalities because they were of good quality and low prices. They were a major export to many places, including overseas (Walker 1975:166, 184 cited in Courtney and McNiven 1998:49). Other specimens have upright bowls at approximately 90 degrees to the stem, which indicate that they are English and possibly American nineteenth-century pipes (Gojak and Stuart 1999:40). For example, the vertical axis of the bowl of a pipe is roughly perpendicular to the stem, typical of English and Scottish nineteenth-century pipes (Courtney and McNiven 1998:45).

Only one of the tobacco pipes was decorated. There is a molded decoration around the bowl rim. The pipe has a small, upright, narrow bowl with a thin wall. It is likely an English or American pipe manufactured during the second half of the nineteenth century (Atkinson and Oswald 1972; Sudbury 2009; Orihuela and Viera 2016:388).



Figure 6.28: The diagnostic imported tobacco pipes. First row: a bowl and broken stem with molded decoration and an upright and narrow bowl with a thin wall, possibly of English and American origins. Second row: a bowl and stem with anthropomorphic decoration (image of a human face on the bowl) marked “15” and a “Funnel shape” or Dutch bowl form. Third row: A bowl fragment marked “F” and “I” on the spur, a tobacco pipe stem with a zoomorphic form, and a stem marked with a few blurred letters.
 (Source: Photograph by the Author)

Dating the Activity Areas of the Yard

For Feature 2, the flower bed area, some of the activity-related artifacts classified under the food consumption category (handstones, local ceramics) and items used for socio-economic activities (clothes-pressing iron plate) cannot be securely dated due to their local production, which precludes a production date range. In this context, the only trade imports used as dating devices are imported ceramic vessels. The presence of some handpainted polychrome whiteware vessels, particularly cut-sponge, stamped polychrome decorations suggest a late nineteenth-century date for the construction of the feature. Moreover, the spatial and temporal distribution of some personal items, such as buttons and glass mirrors, indicate that the use of the flower bed continued into the twentieth century. Daily activities related to household food processing, yard gardening, and personal tasks would have been carried out in this area.

Like Feature 2, the flower bed area, some of the activity-related artifacts found in Feature 3, the staircase area classified under the food consumption category (handstones, local ceramics), personal items (writing slate fragments, mirror glass), and items used for yard gardening (local ceramics) cannot be securely dated due to their local production and lack of maker's marks on the imports represented. A contemporaneous construction date suggested for the flower bed area possibly applies to the staircase. However, the presence of several local ceramic sherds with cement plaster on the exterior part makes this implied date a subject of further inquiry.

However, the dating of the sub-floor pit is straightforward because the imported ceramics and glass bottle assemblages exhibit diagnostic features. There were many type-variety dominated by cut-sponge applications in several colors, gilt-edge saucers, Albany slipware, and wheel-thrown stoneware bottles. The consistency in the ceramic ware types and glass bottles indicates a fast sequence of material accumulation in the middle of the

outbuilding. While the glass bottles and imported ceramics provide a late nineteenth-century date, the presence of a bone china saucer, embellished with a West Indian Regiment logo in the interior and marked by the words “Royal Worcester England” at the base with six dots added above the words “Royal” and “England” separately, and eight dots placed below the word “Worcester” securely dated to 1911 indicates the date after which (*terminus post quem*) the refuse must have been deposited (Godden 1964:698; Lang 1995:203, 375; Figures 6.29a & 6.29b). The earlier production of some of the glass bottles and ceramics found in the subfloor pit assemblage suggests extensive reuse, while the *terminus post quem* from this imported ceramic saucer also reflects the continuing use of the outbuilding in the early twentieth century (Mullins and Jones 2011:25).



Figure 6.29a: English Bone China saucer with the West India Regiment Logo – Royal Worcester England c. 1911.
 (Source: Photograph by the Author)

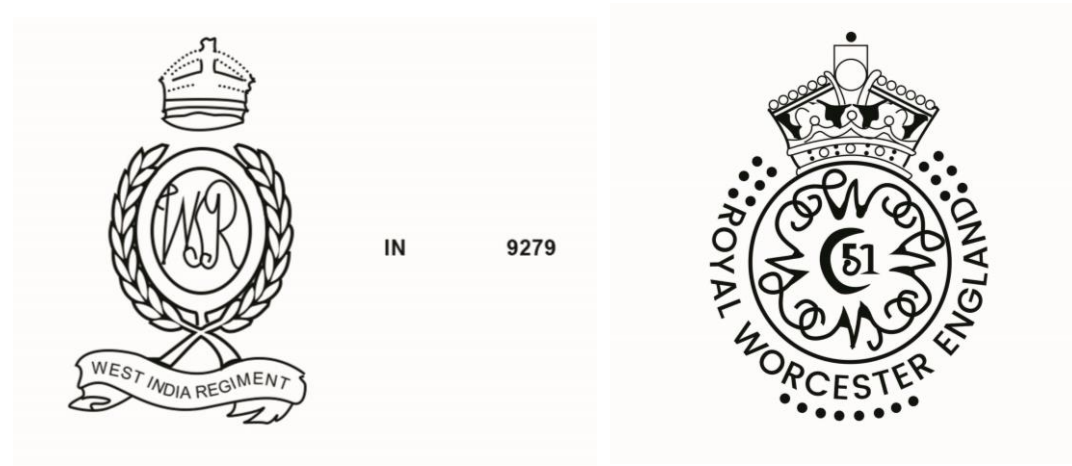


Figure 6.29b: The West India Regiment Logo – Royal Worcester England and the trademark at the base of the English Bone China saucer.
 (Source: Hand drawing by the Author and computer illustration by Abayomi Diya)

6.3 Summary

The artifacts recovered from the excavations at the King and Johnson house lots are consistent with their known occupation from the nineteenth century into the second half of the twentieth century. They spread over the yard areas, but dateable artifacts show that Level 1 is a twentieth to twenty-first-century deposit, while Level 2 ranges from the early to the late nineteenth century. The feature areas represent differentiated activities that are distinguished stratigraphically and temporally. Food production and consumption of imported ceramics dating to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were well-represented at both house lots in the form of kitchenware and tableware. Some aspects of this assemblage show that the inhabitants of both house lots did a great deal of cooking and dining on their own in and around the houses. Artifacts relating to student life (such as writing slates and stoneware inkwells), as well as field and yard hand tools (including cutlasses, hoes, and fruit pickers), were found. In addition to education and yard gardening, there seems to be an assemblage of artifacts related to occupations such as sewing, laundry, and military activities.

The material assemblages represent varied trade networks, availability and preference for goods, as well as differences in socio-economic activities and status. Regardless of the varying proportions of the artifact classes represented, the diversity in the material record indicates the incorporation of Regent Village into an increasingly global economy. Moreover, some locally-produced materials recovered confirms Regent's involvement in trade with neighboring settlements. These data provide a vivid illustration of a dynamic village landscape.

In the next chapter, I examine how certain imports presented in this chapter speaks to varied themes introduced in chapter 2, including exchange and trade, British anti-slavery, and nascent colonialism. I take insights from variations in architectural patterns and the dynamic

village landscape to engage topical issues such as entangled spaces, people, diasporic communities, and symbolic capital.

CHAPTER 7

THEMES AND INTERPRETATIONS IN BROADER CONTEXTS

7.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to offer a broader discussion and interpretations of topical themes such as colonial entanglements, trade and exchange, and household activities based on the assessment of archival and archaeological records. These topical themes are chosen due to their critical role in understanding local-to-global interactions. They offer us the opportunity to bring the archival records, excavated household assemblages, and settlement-wide survey data in conversation with the research questions and theoretical lenses introduced in the first two chapters. Through the topical themes, this chapter highlights key discussions such as anti-slavery, household economy, subfloor pits, diasporas, and related points that represent Sierra Leone's engagement with the wider Atlantic World, with particular reference to Regent Village.

I begin this chapter by discussing the house loci identified through pedestrian surveys and the architectural-related and activity-related artifacts presented in previous chapters. Focusing on the documented house loci and architectural-related artifacts, I explain how the different architectural styles reveal not just adaptation and village formation but also colonial entanglements, trade and exchange, and social statuses of house residents. Afterward, I provide a succinct discussion of how the liberated Africans and their descendants constructed the different architectural styles, how they lived in them, and how they understood the architectural patterns, including the gradual transformation of houses in the village over the years. Through the activity-related artifacts, I discuss trade and exchange, focusing on locally produced and imported goods obtained through the different types of trade introduced in Chapter 2 to reveal the relative degree of access to goods and the villager's involvement in trade and exchange systems that frame this dissertation on the entanglement of local to global

relations. I also indicate individual differences in material use between households under investigation. I conclude the chapter by examining of the household activities represented across the village and the activities in the two excavated house lots that served as in-depth case studies.

7.2 Architecture

7.2.1 Colonial Entanglements

Archaeologists have reported a dynamic environment in Northeast America where colonists and the colonized “lived together in a space that was an arena for a series of simultaneous cultural engagements” (Mrozowski 2009c: 142). What can we learn about colonial entanglements from the documented house loci and architectural-related artifacts represented at Regent Village? I answer this question by drawing on limited documentary sources and material assemblages to explain the implication of material culture in the processes of colonialism. I begin the discussion by revisiting Regent Village as a settlement or site of engagement with the wider Atlantic World. I establish this wide-scale connection through entanglements as a framework for understanding displacement, migration, resettlement, adaptation, and village formation in this new context. Here, I explain how some of the architectural styles and building hardware reflect dramatically different non-African architecture but also non-European.¹ Unlike historical cabins and stone buildings documented in Europe and North America,² there are no fireplaces and chimney stacks; thus, cooking was done in an open hearth to avoid smoke and grime. Some liberated Africans and their descendants, including the residents at the two excavated house loci, lived in foreign houses

¹ The board and stone houses are non-local in their outlook and not completely European in terms of their construction. Only the mud houses built by the early liberated African arrivals appear local.

² Europeans in Freetown lived in stone houses with brick or stone chimney bases. Only stone houses built by Europeans in Regent Village have chimney stacks, but none survived (Figure 1.7).

unlike any local construction and created sub-floor pits like those found on plantation sites in North America.

7.2.2 Identity: Issues of Class, Ethnicity, and Occupation

Scholars have examined how the architecture changed over time, differs between ethnic groups, and is affected by social and economic classes (e.g., D. Armstrong 2003, 2022; Bell 2005:446-460; Deetz 1996; Glassie 1975, 2000; Young 1991). They have offered interesting explanations of building construction styles, technological advancements, and the influences of “resources and capital on people’s decisions” (Young 1991:27). The type of architecture that a person lives in, the location of the house within the Colony, and its connection to the social class structure have been key areas of focus for historians over the years. Fyfe (1962) and Porter (1963) reported a similar trend in their work, but Peterson (1969) provides the most detailed information. Several historians have recently followed the trend to explain social classes in Freetown (e.g., see Dixon-Fyle and Cole 2006; Peterson 1969:283-284; Porter 1963; Spitzer 1974; Thayer 1991; Wyse 1989).

David Harvey’s (2001) notions of *fixed capital* and *collective symbolic capital* are deployed in this study to examine the unequal geography development and marks of distinction attached to some places in the Colony. Harvey (2001:83, 247-248) describes *fixed capital* as the various forms of architecture in the built environment that are immobile and long-lived investments, while the *collective symbolic capital* are marks of distinction connected with economic advantages and ‘cultural capital.’ The *collective symbolic capital* attached to places such as Freetown, for example, gives the city greater economic advantages relative to, say, Regent and other rural villages occupied by the liberated Africans and their descendants. These rural villages must raise their measure of symbolic capital to increase their marks of distinction (Harvey 2001:405-409). Below, I use these two notions of

investment coupled with the types of architecture to explain social class positions at Regent Village. I also weave the archival records with archaeological evidence.

Peterson (1969:283-284) illustrated how material possessions, specifically the type of house architecture that a person lived in and the location of the house within the Colony, symbolized class position. London's West End or Boston's Beacon Hill and the areas surrounding the original Granville Town are the material expression of upper-class position because they consisted of large houses and Government buildings, while the rural villages in the mountains and along the coast of Sierra Leone peninsula belonged to the lower status liberated Africans (see Porter 1963 for a similar view). Within rural villages such as Regent, a similar trend existed. The mud and grass roof houses belonged to the lower class, the middle class owned wooden frame houses with or without stone foundations, and the high class inhabited two-story stone houses³ (Fyfe 1962, 2007:26, 184-219; Peterson 1969:283-284; Porter 1963; Spitzer 1974; Thayer 1991; Wyse 1989). Europeans always lived in stone houses, but a few locals had such houses (Clarke 1863:323). In the 1831 census, three men owned stone-built houses, 15 owned frame houses, and the rest were mud and grass roof houses—of familiar style. Hence, the architectural aspect of the material records in this village also reflects economic and class division as wealthy people had built for themselves stone houses and may have had access to a more diverse array of things and items that survived in the form of a wide range of artifacts.

It is interesting to note that the field team identified three residential house loci built completely in stone material in the village during the pedestrian survey. However, these houses are not the same stone-built houses occupied in the 1830s because the 1891 census indicates that none of the stone houses in the village survived (Census 1891:18). The

³ Singleton (1988:348-357) provides details of housing on plantations in North America, indicating how enslaved Africans incorporated African building technology into the construction of mud-walled structures, shotgun houses, and square-shaped cabins during the slavery period.

censuses taken in the early twentieth century also show that the number of stone houses varied over time. A new stone house was constructed in the first decade of the twentieth century (Census 1911:37), and three more stone houses by the first quarter of the century (Census 1921:38). However, only a stone house was standing in the village in the 1930s (Census 1931:75). Frame houses built on stone foundations were the most common form of architecture that survived and was found in relatively large numbers (n=32). This finding outnumbered the 15 frame houses reported in the 1831 census indicating the growth of the village over time as well as its decline in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (Census 1891:18; 1911:37; 1921:38; 1931:75; CO 267/111). No tidy huts built with mud and grass roof can be seen on the village cultural landscape today due to the perishable nature of construction materials.⁴ Our excavations did not provide clear evidence of daub remains, which are the traces mud and grass roof houses might leave behind in the archaeological record.⁵ However, pictorial evidence reveals that mud houses were constructed along Wilberforce Road (Figure 1.8).

The pedestrian survey conducted across the village revealed more information about landscape changes elided in the archival records. The colonial-period houses once arranged in a somewhat linear fashion in each street, are now scattered due to some abandoned lots. This spatial organization shows that buildings are arrangements of space designed to facilitate a way of living (Johnson 2013). The houses and streets formed right-angled grids, which the colonists may have encouraged to improve village layouts and regulate sanitation and public health in the village and across the Colony. Apoh (2008:153, 251) reports a similar structuring of township into grid patterns at Todzi in Kpando and other areas in German

⁴ As no hut with a grass roof was found, different types likely succeeded one another over the years. However, none can be considered “transitional.” Some of the colonial-period house structures that stand today are heavily modified to meet the need of current living but are not transitional architecture. They continued to be occupied as family houses.

⁵ I have relied on surviving architectural elements, house descriptions in censuses, and old photographs of the village to determine village settlement patterns during the colonial period.

Togoland. At its infancy, the streets in the village were lined by blocks of mud-brick houses, roofed with thatch and daub. The use of mud brick in the construction of dwellings gradually declined, giving way to new building materials, house forms, and spatial organizations. These changes were limited to the villages of the coastal areas. However, they took place through the use of stone and wood materials with roofing tiles, rectangular house plans unlike the usual round huts with thatched roofs, and houses arranged along narrow streets in cadastral grids. Scholars have also reported the decline of the traditional method of house construction and the widespread of clapboards, shingles, and masonry in the Caribbean and the United States (Singleton 2010d: 164, 2015b: 107). It was possibly “part of the modernization and innovation that characterized the new domestic technology” (Beaudry and Mrozowski 1989c: 284).

If as I have argued in Chapter 3, the board and stone houses can be described as Victorian architecture because they exhibit characteristics of houses built during the Victorian period. The Victorian period, which replaced the Georgian (1714-1830) and late Georgian period (1830-1837), is the time that matches the reign of Queen Victoria of Great Britain from 1837 to 1901 (D. Armstrong 2011:90; Deetz 1996; Hall 2000; Law Pezzarossi 2020:125-148; Mrozowski 2020:49-67; Mrozowski et al. 2007b: 153; 2007b: 11). It was a period of expanding wealth in which building materials were affordable for many income levels, particularly the expanding middle class. The middle class could build rows of terrace houses of ephemeral materials. These houses have asymmetrical elements in the design, high gabled roofs with shingles, balconies, and small gardens (Bright 1984; Garvin 1981:309-334).

Many Victorian homes emerged in Great Britain but also in ex-British colonies such as Australia, New Zealand, and the United States of America because materials were mass-produced, affordable, and available to many due to the Industrial Revolution and the railroads

(Arnold and Morgan 1975 [1886], Peterson 1982:409-427). Such materials include several brackets, grey roofing slate, machine-made building parts, stained glass windowpanes (e.g., used in St. Charles Church), and hardwood floors. Victorian houses are made of vertical, horizontal, and diagonal clapboards that often appear plain, lacking big windows or fancy ornaments. It was adapted to fit local lifestyles and building materials. In the Sierra Leone context, these houses appeared in simple square forms. They are usually two to three stories houses, segmented into living rooms, halls, bedrooms, libraries, and service areas linked with staircases. But there are no detailed probate records to discuss furniture in the houses and the role of objects in the domestic interior. The use of plants in the flower bed at the entrance of each excavated house is noteworthy. Archaeologists have reported the use of ornamental plants and grasses as expressions of class identity in domestic contexts in North America in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, among other things (Mrozowski 2006; Mrozowski et al. 2008:701). The flower bed is consistent with the middling-class status of the house residents. However, as Governor MacCarthy would have imagined, Regent and other villages were not a perfect model of British architecture and settlement plans.

Over time, the increase in larger size of houses and the use of stone materials hint at wealthy people, such as merchants living in the village. However, it is important to note that there are no substantial differences in the quantity or quality of the available material data to suggest that people living in a section of the village held a lower status or had differential access to wealthy goods. This is likely due to the discovery of similar board houses and stone houses and relatively small sample artifact sizes collected from the pedestrian survey conducted across the village, thus making any comparison speculative. However, the 1831 census clearly revealed the diversity of the village's occupations (covered below) in the early nineteenth century. Also, it showed interdependence between households and support from the Liberated African Department. Based on this archival record, very few families were on

the upper-class ladder at Regent Village, with the majority at the lower rung of the social stratification scheme in the 1830s. However, the results of the pedestrian survey conducted across the village indicate that many descendants of the liberated Africans in this village gained upward social mobility and could fit into the middle-class position (see Okrafo-Smart 2007; Peterson 1969; Porter 1963:117 for a similar view). It is important to note that while individuals may gain upward social mobility, they could also fall in the social stratification system. The latter is supported by archival records such as land conveyances covering land sales and debts but is invisible in the archaeological assemblage found at Regent Village (Appendix 1).

If, as historians have argued that stone houses materialize high status, the two excavated house loci materialize middle-class status. These historians are correct about the configuration of houses and the construction materials used because such a picture is visible on the Regent Village landscape. However, the sole focus on social order or class differentiation raises further questions about how buildings were constructed, lived in, and understood by liberated Africans and their descendants. I return to Ingold's (1993) *form of dwelling* to explain how these buildings are used and experienced differently. For the broader village settlement, living in non-African houses may not be due to a desire to imitate Europeans and African American returnees in the Colony who had begun constructing the board and stone houses. Perhaps, some liberated Africans and their descendants built their houses in a similar style because they liked that style, not because they sought to imitate anybody or to rise the social scale. It could also be that they find houses of such style comfortable, affordable, durable, easy to maintain, or a combination of these factors.⁶ While some liberated Africans and their descendants served as apprentices to the Nova Scotians,

⁶ Architecture could signal status, ethnicity, function, and other factors (Mrozowski and Beaudry 1987:153-154).

Maroons, and other African American returnees in the Colony and learned technical skills such as carpentry, masonry, and shingle making, which may have impacted their choice of building materials, construction details, and style; I note that available building materials are set of resources while construction details and style are ways of “acting.” Once we see the story of architecture as “the study of acting[,] it shows us people... engaged with their surroundings in a critical way, people making their own histories in the face of authorities trying to make it for them” (Upton and Vlach ed 1986: xxiii cited in Johnson 2015:22). For example, Peter Hughes, a prosperous stonemason built a stone house in Regent during the early formative years of the village (CO 267/111:51; Fyfe 1962:169, 191; 2007:25-26).

The Colony, including Regent Village, emerged as a diasporic African settlement. However, the archival records and the material assemblages, particularly the architecture, are silent about ethnic identities. The 1831 census does not include the ethnicity of the inhabitants in the village, plus the names of the heads of households that were recorded cannot be used to trace their identities because once they are liberated, they take on new names, usually the name of the settlers who took them as apprentices or the names of those who paid money for supporting their resettlement in the village from Great Britain. Consequently, scholars have drawn on the 1848 census, S.W. Koelle’s *Polyglotta Africa*, and the point of departure of slave vessels captured by the British Royal Naval to explain the ethnic origins of liberated Africans in Sierra Leone (e.g., see Anderson 2020; Curtin 1969:231-264, Curtin and Vansina 1964:185-208; Koelle 1854). However, such useful information cannot be tied to specific house lots in Regent and other villages on the Sierra Leone peninsula. I have relied on the toponyms at Regent to explain the social formation in the village. For example, the toponyms of places within the village show that liberated Africans from various ethnic group clusters and created towns such as Aku Town on Jeremiah Street occupied by the Yoruba-speaking people, the Moccas lived in Mocco Town

along Gloucester Road, some of the Igbos settled in the Up-Soja area covering Fitzjames and Dadley Streets.⁷ These social formations are elided in the colonial archive and the archives of the new nation-state. Equally, they have no architectural markers or signatures on the local landscape. Rather, these material records (i.e., the spatial and architectural landscape) hint at economic statuses, household activities, fixed capital, and symbolic capital (Mrozowski 2010:24). With this in mind, the ethnicities of the liberated Africans who lived in the two excavated house loci are unknown. Similarly, the varied ethnic identities that may have co-existed within the village over the years cannot be convincingly determined from the material assemblages. I will return to the issues of ethnic identities when examining the artifact assemblage to explain if the artifact styles indicate ethnic identities or regional influence in the sections below.

Many architectural remains representing old board houses were recovered from the two excavated house lots. These architectural materials, alongside the documented house loci across the village, are linked with the varied form of trade operating in the village and across the Colony. Starting with the broader settlement, the wood used to construct the board houses would have been sourced locally because Regent's current location was once a thick secondary forest before the liberated Africans were sent there to establish a new village. The 1831 census shows that there were 36 sawyers in the village who would have brought down trees and prepared the local wood for house construction. Carpenters would have purchased the prepared wood for the construction of house frames, clapboards, flooring, upholstery, and cabinetry. There were 20 carpenters at Regent in the same census. The stone blocks used for stone houses and basements of some board houses might have been quarried locally from the bedrock and rock boulders in the village, which possibly served as raw materials. The clay

⁷ While the streets and non-residential areas in this village are named after people and places outside Africa, the water bodies (such as streams and rivers) are named after local people or events within the village.

material used for mud bricks and mud house construction would have also been sourced locally. In the 1831 census of Regent, there were 35 masons and a brickmaker. These masons and a brickmaker might be responsible for erecting some houses during the early colonial period. Some of the 188 laborers reported in the same census would have been involved in the making or setting of the mud bricks and stone blocks.

Turning to the two excavated house lots, the metal building hardware, such as window- and door-related artifacts and nails, reflect various forms of trade, especially intercontinental trade. These materials would have been imported through intercontinental trade, particularly from markets in Europe and the United States, and might have been retailed in local markets in Freetown. The preponderance of building hardware of a European style in these two house lots demonstrates the height of manufacturing power of such goods globally and how it was much easier to find them in mass quantities in Africa, including Regent Village, by the late nineteenth century. Many of the metal building hardware, particularly doorknobs, keys, hinges, and nails from the two houses, look alike, but there are slight differences in the proportions that were either used or survived. The slight difference in quantity possibly reflects site preservation issues rather than differences in construction techniques.⁸ They are both frame houses constructed on stone foundations, similar in size, and served as private residences. However, the outbuilding at the Johnson family lot is smaller in size.

7.2.3 Subfloor Pit Feature

The subfloor pit feature in the middle of the outbuilding at the Johnson family lot is very interesting. There are prehistoric examples of pits, particularly subfloor pits of varied kinds,

⁸ While there are no archival documents such as tax records and old photographs to ascertain that both houses look alike, the presence of the same classes of materials within the architecture-related artifact category hints at a similar architectural style.

used for storing produce in West Africa. However, no exact parallels of this historic example have been identified in West Africa. While stratigraphically difficult to interpret, the associated refuse reveals possible functions of the pit feature within the small outbuilding. On the one hand, the excellent condition of some of the glass bottles (n=146) suggests they might have been in storage rather than mere discard. In this case, the pit feature served to keep liquids cool and to conceal them to some degree. The mixture of these glass bottles with some local and imported ceramic vessels hints at household production of spirits or medicines and that both required some level of concealment, on the other hand. These two interpretations are interrelated, hinting at the use of the feature for household production of liquid items and their storage. It is very unlikely that the pit feature was reused as a refuse pit after the house abandonment.

The 1831 census indicates the number of apprentices and newly emancipated Africans residing with fellow liberated African families, the latter waiting for their abode to be completed. This archival record confirms the notion of a household beyond a nuclear family or kin-based relation, while the artifact cluster in the pit indicates intentional storage. Based on the artifact assemblage and limited archival record, the function of the subfloor pit at this house locus leans toward a storage area to keep personal and collective items in a non-kin-based household (Kelso 1984, 1986) and for medicine or spirit production to support the household.

Turning to the other side of the Atlantic, subfloor pits have been well documented on African American sites in Maryland, Virginia, and the Upland South. They are found underneath African American housing dating from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries (Chamber 1992; Ferguson 1992; Fesler 2004; Franklin 1997; Hall 1992; Kimmel 1993; Mouer 1991; Samford 1991, 1994, 2007; Singleton 1998b: 178-180; Young 1997). There can be more than one subfloor pit in a cabin, usually close to the fireplace hearth (Samford

2007:114). These pits are generally rectangular or square holes with straight sides and flat bottoms, cut into the subsoil clay under the houses. They may be lined with wood or stone and occasionally partitioned into two or more sections. Household items such as complete and near complete glass bottles, ceramic vessels, and metal objects are placed either on the flat bottom or on a raised earthen mound that has been created (Samford 1999:77-78, 81-85).

The diameter of the subfloor pit feature at the Johnson family lot is 1.6 m diameter. It is located within a small outbuilding with a dimension of approximately 4 m by 5.8 m, which is within the range of slave cabins documented in the Americas (e.g., Cabin 1 at the Bulow plantation in Florida) (Davidson and Ibarrola 2016; Ibarrola 2022:663). In contrast to American examples, the subfloor pit is round, unlined, and the depth of the feature is shallower than American examples. However, the circa 20 cm depth of the pit should be considered a minimum since the exact surface depth of the feature is unknown, as the top was identified at the bottom of an arbitrary level. Figures 7.1a & 7.1b show the plan view of the subfloor pit. The artifacts recovered included complete and nearly complete glass bottles, fragments of ceramic vessels, and iron cooking pots.



Figure 7.1a: Subfloor pit at the center of the outbuilding.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)



Figure 7.1b: The subfloor pit after the artifacts were removed.
(Source: Photograph by the Author)

Scholars researching African American housing on plantation sites in colonial America have offered varied interpretations of subfloor pits, including their use as root

cellars, storage areas to keep personal items in non-kin-based households, ancestral shrines connected to West Africa, or a combination of these functions (e.g., Ferguson 1992:56; Greer 2022; Davidson and Ibarrola 2016, Ibarrola 2022:663; Kimmel 1993; McKee 1992; Pluckhahn 2010:24; Samford 1999, 2007; Singleton 1995:124, 2001b: 108, 2010a: 189, 2010b: 706-707, 712, 714-715, 2010d: 165-166; Wilkie 1995, 1997; Young 1997:95). Given the absence of antecedents from archaeological contexts in Africa, the American features cannot be considered to represent an African continuity. Rather, they may represent an “African American” cultural practice. As Singleton (1999b: 2) rightly puts it, many of the interpretations of material culture obtained from African American sites through excavations are “overly simplistic” due to the search for African continuity in African American life, thus treating African American communities as bounded, capable of reproducing material aspects of African culture. Such interpretations ignore the complex social relations involved in the formation and maintenance of African American identity who were forced to occupy a subordinate position. (Armstrong 1999:175-176; DeCorse 1999:132-152; Posnansky 1999:21-37; Singleton 1999b: 6-12, Singleton and Bograd 2000:8).

7.3 Activity

7.3.1 Trade and Exchange⁹

As noted in Chapter 2, this dissertation takes exchange as an entry point to the capitalist world economy of the nineteenth century because cross-cultural exchange often entangles people in complex webs of social and economic relationships that enmesh local, regional, and global political economies. These three economic spheres, coupled with what I term

⁹ Historians have reported the use of coins— some copper pennies, struck by the Soho Mint, in Birmingham as currency in West Africa in the 1810s (Scanlan 2013:43; 2017:9-10). For instance, the Macaulay & Babington business used the copper pennies struck by the Soho Mint for transactions in the colony. None of the copper-pennies used for transactions in the Colony during the nineteenth century was recovered during fieldwork. All the foreign and locally minted coins found during the excavations of the two house loci and the pedestrian survey conducted across the village date to the twentieth century. Only two copper-alloy pennies pre-date 1960. These two coins have been analyzed in Chapters 5 and 6.

missionary-supported trade, are examined in this chapter through archival and archaeological records. The impressed decorative elements and production technique of locally-made ceramic vessels and metal objects distributed across the yard areas of excavated house loci relate to local and regional trade networks. At the same time, artifacts such as writing slates, stoneware inkwells, and glass ink bottles reflect educational pursuits encouraged by missionary-supported trade and what followed. The majority of the wine bottle fragments coupled with many imported ceramics, specifically serving and eating vessels, support the notion of active participation in intercontinental trade. This is verified by the presence of a wide range of decoration and ceramic ware types and imported tobacco pipes found at each house locus. I cover each form of trade extensively below.

Local and Regional Trade

The laboratory analysis results of metal objects and local ceramics lean toward local and regional exchanges. The range of metal objects such as hoe blades, cutlasses, clothing pressing iron plates, and fruit pickers are products of local metalworking, possibly produced at Regent Village or in neighboring villages, including Indigenous communities in the Northern and Southern Provinces. The 1831 census indicated at least 30 blacksmiths across ten liberated African villages (CO 267/111). Sam Smith is the only blacksmith at Regent Village and could have manufactured some of these metal objects. These objects could have also been produced by other liberated Africans that arrived in the village after 1831 and became blacksmiths or by blacksmiths in other liberated African villages, particularly Charlotte, Leopold, Gloucester, and Wilberforce, which are located within the Mountain District. The descendants of the liberated Africans in the villages and the Temne and Lokos who resided at Regent as tenants, not documented in the 1831 census, could have also made the metal objects. Since metalworking was carried out at Regent and several neighboring villages, the possibility of obtaining metal objects from the Northern Province and the

western side of the Southern Province is somewhat limited. However, such trade relations cannot be ignored because the Mandigos, Foulahs, and other races smelt the magnetic iron ore (Clarke 1863:349).

Turning to local ceramics, the decorative and non-decorative attributes found on the recovered vessels suggest different local styles or traditions. While the diversity represented reflects the diasporic nature of the village settlement, none can be safely tied to a specific ethnic group. Instead, they hint at multiple sources of production. Some of the local ceramics are fairly similar to the ceramic assemblages recovered through a surface collection at Wellington Village on the Sierra Leone peninsula (Newman 1966) and excavated ceramics in the Sierra Leone estuary (Amartey and S.H. Reid 2014; DeCorse 2014b) because they are low-fired. However, these local ceramics also show slight differences because they have no diagnostic features of grog (e.g., crushed shell inclusion). Instead, they frequently contain incised decorations made in geometric patterns on the internal and external parts of the vessels. These slight differences suggest there was no trade with potters in the Sierra Leone estuary where local ceramics with crushed shell inclusion are commonly found. Similarly, the ceramic tradition represented near Wellington consisted of the inclusion of crushed shells being used as temper but were mostly decorated, thus diminishing the possibility of trade with potters on the Peninsula (Newman 1966:20).

However, the various decorative and non-decorative attributes found on local ceramics recovered in Northern and Southern Provinces are illuminating. Pottery materials collected through surface surveys in the Northern Province are globular in shape and have flaring rims. Decorative motifs consisted of incised or impressed designs restricted to rim, neck, and shoulder areas (Atherton 1969:108; DeCorse 1989:136, 2012:294-295; Newman 1966:19). In the Southern Province, particularly in the southeast, pottery collected through surface surveys and limited excavations tends to have thicker bodies, constricted necks, and

flanges to aid the upright standing of vessels. A large geometric pattern is more common and applied over nearly the entire body of vessels (Hill 1970:164-179; Ozanne 1966:13, 32-34, 1968). The result of the ceramic analysis conducted in this study leans toward trade or exchange with Indigenous communities in the Northern Rivers (see DeCorse 1989) and possibly ceramics produced by Temne potters in the western side of the Southern Province. Clarke's (1863:323) report that the Susus, Temnes, and Foulahs traded with the population in the Colony lends support to this interpretation. While it is true that analysis of a type of material does not determine regional interactions, the different local styles or traditions represented in the ceramic assemblage point toward participation in a local or regional exchange sphere. Future research is needed to ascertain how different decorative elements on local ceramics can aid the measurement of both inter- and intra-societal interaction in Sierra Leone.

Considering that Indigenous groups within Sierra Leone were also enslaved and liberated, these locals could have produced such ceramics on the Peninsula, particularly at Regent Village, in a limited quantity for utilitarian use. It is also important to note that intermarriages were common among liberated Africans, including interactions with various ethnic groups in neighboring Indigenous communities. Hence local women from various ethnic groups taken into liberated African homes could have also produced these ceramics, thus reflecting different traditions.¹⁰ There is no record of a potter in all the liberated African villages on the Sierra Leone peninsula and the Banana Islands in 1831. While the census is also silent about women's occupations, a blacksmith's wife is usually a potter in many parts of West Africa. There are at least 30 blacksmiths in ten of the villages, including Regent (CO 267/111). The wife of Sam Smith, the only blacksmith at Regent Village in 1831, and/or the

¹⁰ It is difficult to ascertain the notion of learning or adapting decorative techniques by liberated Africans. However, based on the diversity in the ceramics, the social distances between the village and neighboring communities near and far appear to be close.

wives of blacksmiths that joined the village after 1831 could have been potters. Equally, the blacksmiths' wives in other liberated African villages may have engaged in pottery making. The Krios, Temne, and Lokos could have also produced these ceramic vessels in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Nevertheless, archival and archaeological records provide limited information on local production at Regent Village.¹¹ Future research is needed to ascertain where and possibly when the local ceramic vessels found in the two excavated house loci were produced since no local pottery was recovered from surface contexts during the pedestrian surveys.

It is important to note that this collection has no parallel with ceramic assemblages from neighboring countries, but these assemblages are also limited (Atherton 1969:21; Gijanto 2010, 2017; Goldberg 2018; Gokee 2012; Kelly 2019; Reilly et al. 2019:4-11; Richard 2007, 2018). Hence, a comparison of the local ceramic assemblage with previous research in neighboring countries in the broader region, particularly Guinea, Liberia, and Senegambia, is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

As many historians noted, the traders on the coast (e.g., the liberated Africans and their descendants) with access to imported goods shipped into the Colony expanded trade to the interior through the northern rivers of Rio Pongas and Rio Nunez to exchange imports with locally-made materials, moving goods in the commodity chain vice-versa (e.g., see Fyfe 1962:8, 65, 109; Kelly 2019:307-324). Therefore, goods arriving on the coast were also in demand in the interior by local communities, and these new imports were made available through retail networks that connect the coast with the interior. At this stage of research, it can be argued that the use of items such as local ceramic pots and bowls, iron farming implements, and other items further positioned the liberated Africans and their descendants as

¹¹ No one remembers any tradition of local ceramic production at Regent, but some locals note contemporary production of local pottery in neighboring villages such as Waterloo.

major players in community connections to regional and interregional political economies, as well as local production.

Based on the preceding discussion, the inhabitants of the two house loci had access to a range of materials made possible by the local-to-regional trade network and contributed to its development. However, the use of locally made goods between the two house loci is similar, except that the number of classes of locally made goods present in the Johnson family lot assemblage is higher than in the King family lot assemblage. I also note that there is no evidence to suggest that the house residents depended largely on locally made goods due to limited purchasing power, self-reliance, resistance to nascent colonialism, restricted access to imported goods, and/or scarcity of imported goods (D. Armstrong 1985:280). Instead, the residents used of a few metal objects for farming and yard gardening as well as locally made pots and bowls to complement the imported goods. Imported goods dominated the artifact assemblage and may have replaced local ceramic production in coastal Sierra Leone and its wider region.

Missionary-Supported Trade

Writing instruments such as slate tablets and slate pencils have been found or reported on historical-period sites over the years (Agbe-Davies 2001; Bigelow and Nagel 1987, Bower 1978; Clouse 1996; Gibbs and Beisaw 2000; Pena 1992). Historical sources suggest that educational materials were some of the imported goods shipped to Sierra Leone in large quantities during the colonial period. As Scanlan (2017:184) reports, “The Liberated African Department received enormous loads of clothing, tools, and heavy machinery that could not be produced in Sierra Leone... at their wholesale costs... School supplies like slates, notebooks, and ink were also shipped over by the ton.” The LAD also ordered “hats ... gowns and petticoats, trousers and braces-buttons, too, with needles, thread and thimbles, soap and smoothing-irons, even clothes-brushes” (Fyfe 1962:131). Among the high

frequencies from the two house loci are writing tools, such as writing slates, stoneware inkwells, and glass ink bottles, which provide evidence for the missionary-supported trade. The Liberated African Department received these imports to support liberated Africans in the areas of education, religion, and socio-economic activities. During the pedestrian survey, only four writing slates were found in the Primary School premises where schoolteachers and schoolchildren did their educational activities. However, more writing slates, stoneware inkwells, and glass ink bottles were recovered at the two excavated house loci. For example, the higher proportion of these materials in the Johnson family lot reflects their interest in Western education. They could have had a similar view of middle-class values and cultural sensibilities. Access to Western education and the opportunity to engage in high-salaried, white-collar jobs emerged as one of the ways in which settlers in the Colony, including the liberated Africans, gained upward social mobility (Spitzer 1989:15 cited in Blyden 2012a: 54).

Some missionaries in the Colony became cultural brokers between producers and retailers who had no knowledge of each other but were entangled in commodity chains that developed over the course of the colonial encounter. These cultural brokers, like Reverend Thomas Dove, facilitated the mutual working and procedures of exchange between liberated Africans and merchants in metropolitan Europe through credit arrangements. The beginnings of the missionary-supported trade did not only signal a new era of socio-economic interactions but allowed liberated Africans to procure imported goods based on credits and in larger quantities through which they gained upward social mobility. With support from missionaries in the Colony, some liberated Africans, like John Ezzidio, could negotiate their position within the foreign exchange networks.

Intercontinental Trade

In addition to the missionaries, the role of other individuals in commerce in Freetown influenced the level of access to foreign goods across villages in coastal Sierra Leone. These villages, including residents of Regent Village, had considerable access to imports because of the missionary support to order goods from firms in Great Britain. As shown in preceding chapters, the liberated Africans became significant consumers of foreign wines, and imported tableware from Great Britain and the Americas. Through what was consumed, I use the presence of certain types of material and the quantities of each type collected during the pedestrian survey and excavations to discuss the degree of access to goods or the level of involvement in trade networks and household economic differentiation.

Glass, imported ceramics, imported tobacco pipes, and gunflints are the main materials linked with intercontinental trade.¹² There is a limited occurrence of glass bottles during the pedestrian survey conducted across the village because they are often disposed of in non-traffic areas in individual house loci. However, it is safe to assume that the individual house loci documented during the pedestrian survey would have used varying degrees of liquor and non-liquor glass bottles. Due to their limited quantity and spatial distribution during the survey, it is impossible to discuss whether alcohol consumption was limited to social elites, whether the liquor trade became a mechanism of political power (e.g., Dietler 2018), or whether alcohol consumption eroded the local social fabric and class distinction (Stahl 2002) in this village in the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, the liquor trade considerably impacted local consumerism and local markets in the liberated African villages in the nineteenth century. Some authors have looked at the role of liquor in social life or

¹² A majority of the metal objects (e.g., nails and spikes, locking bolts and brackets, iron cooking pots, and kettles) were European mass-produced items. However, these materials cannot be safely linked with intercontinental trade for the early arrivals in the village. Undoubtedly, the Krios and the Indigenous groups that occupied the village in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries were fully enmeshed in the intercontinental trade and used a preponderance of foreign metal objects.

events among the Krios. By the end of the nineteenth century, Wyse (1989) notes that liquor was essential in certain ceremonies (e.g., *pull na do*, meaning naming ceremony among the Krio population) or local ritual practices such as liberation and annual festivals.

Liquor bottles heavily dominated the glass bottles at the two excavated house loci. However, a small number of cosmetic and pharmaceutical bottles and jars, as well as mineral water, were also represented. Tableware such as tumblers and stemware were almost absent. While glass assemblages often consist of fragments due to their breakability and discard in trash deposits, it is interesting to note that the assemblages from the two house loci produced complete vessels to near-complete vessels, with clear diagnostic features. However, glass fragments also occur in the glass bottle dumps encountered on both house loci.

Of the complete bottles and bottle fragments recovered, over 60% were vessels that once contained alcohol content, while 2-3% were bottles of the undetermined type of content. Together these account for more than half of the glass assemblage. The size of complete to nearly complete alcohol bottle assemblage (n=208) was remarkable, although characterized by a limited number of bottle types. The bottle types include four-sided, square bases, tall and slender bulged-necked, tall straight-necked, flanged, squat cylinder, and free-blown rounded shoulders. The colors represented range from olive green to dark green and blue, including white or colorless glass, which suggests diverse sources.

The case bottles in the glass assemblage (n=69) contain wine, spirits, or liquor produced and commercialized in the nineteenth century (Apoth 2019; D. Armstrong 2003; DeCorse 2001a:159-163; Richard 2007). Beer bottles (n=42) with Owens machine suction scars and other machine-made bottles were present in relatively large quantities (Bond 1989b: 124). Wine bottles (n=97) made up the largest category of identified bottle forms at

approximately 47% of the total bottle count.¹³ The scarcity of liquor bottles on nineteenth- and early twentieth centuries sites often attest to the importance of the temperance movement of the period (D. Armstrong 2022:28, 384; Mosher and Wilkie 2010:100; Mrozowski 2009b: 181). The paucity of such items in Harriet Tubman’s home (except in medicinal bottles and alcohol bottles found in builders’ trench associated with the construction of the brick house) is unsurprising because she was one of the supporters of the temperance movement (D. Armstrong 2022:317, 408). However, the preponderance of liquor bottles at the two excavated house loci at Regent shows that the temperance movement does not fit the Sierra Leone context. Instead, the clear and abundant presence of alcohol bottles offers a tantalizing view of the central importance of liquor in international exchanges and processes of colonialism or colonization in coastal Sierra Leone.¹⁴

Scholars have drawn on the extensive documentation of the liquor trade in historical records in coastal West Africa (e.g., see Akyeampong 1996, 2002; Apoh 2019; DeCorse 2001a:159-163; Dumett 1974; 2013:207-229; Heap 1996; van Den Bersselaar 2006; 2007; 2011, 2014 for reviews). These scholars report on both European liquor and locally distilled alcohol as central commodities traded on the Gold Coast, the Bight of Benin, and the Bight of Biafra during the nineteenth century. For example, as Richard notes with regard to the nineteenth-century Senegambia (2007:605), “the sheer magnitude of gin bottles also speaks to the dynamics of colonial capitalism, trade dynamics, and supply circuits.” In Freetown, cotton and spirits dominated the imports from Britain in the 1840s and 1850s (Fyfe 1962:257-258). In the last decade of the nineteenth century, Hamburg gin was imported on a

¹³ It is important to note that many specimens were listed as “wine bottles” based on their form and the olive color of the glass. While it is not certain that all the bottles described as wine bottles did actually contain wine, it is conceivable that many of them did, especially considering the use of liquor in several cultural events or ceremonies.

¹⁴ In Chapters 5 and 6, I described the manufacturing techniques as well as the imprinted and embossed sides of some liquor glass bottles at the two excavated house loci, which indicate production places such as Canada, England, Great Britain, Holland, Scotland, and the United States of America. Equally, the imprinted information and trademarks on some of the non-liquor bottles were diagnostic. They point to the Americas, specifically New York and Bermuda in the Caribbean.

large scale, while German cutlery and gunpowder supplanted British products in the Colony (Fyfe 1962:528).

While it is intriguing that glass bottles recovered from Regent Village excavations were near-complete and there are historical sources on the liquor trade, it is also possible that alcohol (such as palm wine or other locally-distilled liquor) was traded in these containers. A large number of glass bottles and their variety of forms at the Johnson family lot suggests some connection to household production of both spirits, perhaps sweet drinks and medicines. The distilling flask, recovered from the subfloor pit assemblage, might have been part of liquor production. Moreover, the abundance of glass bottles at the King family lot and the single deposition episode in the yard reflect their reuse on a regular basis, perhaps to prepare and sell locally produced spirits. There are also chances of domestic liquor production in perishable, non-glass containers with no archaeological visibility (for example, see Amartey's 2021 work on *Apeteshie* in coastal Ghana). The 1831 census indicates palm winemaker as one of the professions in the liberated African villages.

The recovery of many glass bottles in an almost intact condition in the discrete artifact cluster in the two excavated house loci suggests good preservation, and the space in which they were found shows that they were consumed locally and meant more than an index of colonial supply to the house residents. Some of these bottles may also represent gifts liberated Africans and their descendants received, which then find their way into intentional storage. While these bottles consist of liquor and pharmaceutical items, some may have been reused for the same and other purposes (e.g., for keeping condiments, food, oil, and kerosene). Kerosene, for example, was imported regularly from Boston and New York until the twentieth century (Fyfe 1962:528). Evidence of reuse can be determined through content analysis or the context within the site where the glass containers functioned. However, no chemical analysis of residues was performed on the glass bottles and other materials in the

artifact assemblage to determine how they were used.¹⁵ Relying on the context in which they functioned, these reused containers speak to the recontextualization of foreign objects into local social practices, a common practice in West Africa (Ogundiran 2001). Some rites and customs, such as the *komojade* naming ceremony for a child, *put stop* engagement ceremony, and *awujoh* a big feast done in honor of the dead and to appeal to the ancestors, involve the use of liquor, particularly case bottles containing gins.

Like glass, imported ceramics were recovered in large quantities during pedestrian surveys and excavations. However, unlike glass, the imported ceramics were found in fragments distributed across sites and easily detectable on the surface of the feeder roads that connect places within the village. The presence of a large number of imported goods, specifically imported ceramics, in this village is unsurprising because the period in question is when many low-priced European materials were shipped to colonies and rapidly distributed and used (D. Armstrong 1985:276; Collard 1983; Keyes 1930; Robacker and Robacker 1978:122; Slesin et al. 1997:73). “The back pages of the colonial newspaper, the Royal Gazette and Sierra Leone Advertiser, were full of advertisements for imported goods” (Scanlan 2013:302), while “a list of all of the goods for sale in Freetown, a census of the colonial population, and a price guide for shoppers at the Freetown markets” were printed on the Sierra Leone Almanac in 1822 (Scanlan 2013:351). Decorated china plates, as Fyfe (1962:530) notes, were sold in Freetown. There is a great deal of work done on the widespread presence of imported ceramics in nineteenth-century contexts on both sides of the Atlantic¹⁶ (e.g., George et al. 1982; Klose and Malan 2000; Lofstrom 1976; Majewski and O’Brien 1987; Miller 1974, 1980, Miller and Hurry 1983; Miller et al. 2000; Price 1979; Pyszka 2017). My research contributes to this discussion.

¹⁵ The reused bottles were discarded when broken in non-trafficked areas of the yard. The largest collections of glass bottles come from the Johnson house lot.

¹⁶ The British dominated the ceramic markets in the late nineteenth century (Majewski and O’Brien 1987:114; Miller 1980:1-2).

Similar imports were found at many house loci during the pedestrian survey, suggesting regularity in preference within the village. Also, it indicates uniformity in the distribution of mass-produced goods within the village house loci. Imported ceramic sherds, for example, are ubiquitous throughout the village. They are abundant in the excavated house loci and all colonial-period houses identified during the pedestrian survey, indicating that their use was not restricted to a particular class or group of people (Figure 7.2). The presence of similar vessels suggests they came from a common source and/or the villager were exploring similar markets.



Figure 7.2: Sample of similar imported ceramic vessels found at the two excavated house lots. Left: The Johnson family lot. Right: The King family lot. (Source: Photograph taken by the Author)

Their presence in the streets shows that imported goods found their way into many households and were discarded when broken. However, the limited amount of surface collections (n=72) is insufficient to make such a generalization. Although many imported ceramic sherds share similar decorative motifs, they represent a broad range of sponged and stamped decorations. The preference for sponged and stamped wares appears to be very interesting, as ceramics of these types are common to mid-to-late nineteenth house-loci throughout coastal West Africa (Collard 1983; George et al. 1982; Keyes 1930; Klose and Malan 2000; Robacker and Robacker 1978:122; Slesin et al. 1997:73).

The imported ceramic assemblages from the two excavated house loci have diverse manufacturers but are heterogeneous in their countries of origin. Many of these imported

ceramics were manufactured by potters in Britain, France, North America, and Asia from the late eighteenth through the twentieth century. However, nineteenth-century products from England and North America heavily dominated the imported ceramic inventories. The presence of European, American, and Asian materials in the excavated house loci in this village talks about far-flung trade connections.

Unlike the nature of assemblages from household archaeology in the Americas, tableware such as teacups (n=27), saucers (n=20), and a teapot from the two house loci was small in number—constituting about 10% (n=48). I argue that the large presence and use of hollowware (bowl forms) and flatware (plates) indicate that the liberated Africans appear to have selectively incorporated and recontextualized imported ceramics into local foodways, thus preserving some degree of cultural expression or practices on how food is served. While it could be argued that the mass production of European goods and rapid distribution to colonies in the nineteenth century made the goods available to people at increasingly lower costs (especially hand-painted whiteware bowl forms, which are considered the least expensive), it is equally important to note that such goods can only be acquired provided the residents in the households under investigation desired them, decided to acquire them, and if they had sufficient funds to purchase them. It has been convincingly argued by historians and anthropologists alike that the interactions between production knowledge and consumption knowledge are mutual and dialectical (see Appadurai 1986:41).

The predominant type in the imported ceramic assemblage in both house loci is whiteware, which constitutes approximately 80% (n=431) of the identified vessel counts. This is followed by stoneware (n=41) at 8% and porcelain (n=35) at 6%. This large amount of whiteware likely represents less stylish and more utilitarian dishes, while the small amount of porcelain suggests that it was a “special occasion” wares used less and broke less. The special occasion wares include gilded bone china bowls and saucers. This interpretation is

based on the assumption that the types of wares have basic differences and/or status distinctions. That all porcelain vessels in the assemblage are saucers and dessert/fruit bowls may suggest such expensive vessels¹⁷ functioned more in the role of status display than less stylish and more utilitarian whiteware plates or soup bowls.

What is in a set of dishes is debatable (Wetherbee 1980:33). While it could be a complete tea set comprising of a teapot/coffee pot and its companion such as creamer, sugar bowl, cups, and saucers; pitchers or jugs can come in different sizes but in similar patterns (Wetherbee 1980:33-35). Sometimes, we can only speculate on the pieces that form a set of dishes in the archaeological record. In our excavation, the field team included several vessels with similar decorative motifs or patterns regardless of different shapes or sizes represented as part of a table setting (Figure 7.3a & 7.3b).



Figure 7.3a: Some of the matching sets of dishes at the Johnson family lot.
(Source: Photograph taken by the Author)

Figure 7.3b: Some of the matching sets of dishes at the King family lot.
(Source: Photograph taken by Author)

¹⁷ Transfer-printed vessels are the most expensive in the material assemblage.

There are also slight differences in the imported ceramic assemblages from the two house loci. I note the differences in the proportion of type-variety (vessel forms, matching sets, and special occasion wares) to determine the relative degree of access to imported goods, if varied activities are represented, and if the living conditions of the residents vary. Archaeological studies have shown that families with low incomes will have limited ceramic forms and luxury items, while more affluent families would have purchased expensive items, diverse forms, but also non-necessity (Deetz 1977:51). Rice's (1989:115-116) review of the analysis of locally produced and non-local products recovered from six households at Metepec, a pottery-producing village in highland Mexico shows the limit of assuming that the quantity of 'tradewares' are signs of status. The wealthiest house, Rice (1989:115) notes, may not have the largest number of vessels and tradewares, what the household may show is "the highest diversity (richness) statistics (*H'*) and the highest evenness statistics." The household would have "different kinds of vessels and more equitable access to or acquisition of each of those vessels, than do any of the other households" (Rice 1989:115). The material assemblage analysis in this study provides a similar example.

The Johnson family lot assemblage represents a household with more opportunities to purchase different vessel forms (n=14) than the King family lot (n=10). Specific vessel forms such as funnel, teapots, wash hand basins, and service platters were found only in the Johnson family lot. The proportion of matching sets of dishes in the imported ceramic assemblages at the two house lots is also noteworthy. Among the ceramics recovered from the Johnson family lot, more matching sets (19%, n=23 sets of matching dishes consisting of 71 vessels) were present, compared to the lesser quantity (6%, n=4 matching sets of dishes comprising ten vessels) that can be identified in the King family lot imported ceramic assemblage. However, the inhabitants of the King family lot (22%, n=35) owned more special occasion wares (i.e., decorated transfer print and gilded ceramics) than the owners of

the Johnson family lot (13%, n=51). The huge differences between the two house loci could mean several things. On the one hand, it may reflect purchasing power and/or differential access to imported goods. It may signal differences in the number of residents in each household as well as the length of time each housing unit was occupied and abandoned, on the other hand (Battle-Baptiste 2011:113; Dutton 1989:89; Hirth 1993; Kramer 1982; Wilk and Rathje 1982; Yanagisako 2015:228-232).

For the Johnson family lot assemblage, the diversity of vessel forms in the matching dishes—particularly the whiteware plates and soup bowls could mean nearness of relatives, hand-me-downs, and selective appropriation, among other things. Given the lack of broader comparative data, one can speculate that the 23 sets of matching dishes may reflect the nearness of relatives who lived together in the same building. In this case, Regina Smith, Horton Johnson, Akigbade Johnson, and other relatives that may have lived on this lot, including their liberated African ancestors, would have used these dishes. The dishes could also mean that the houses were important gathering places for extended family get-togethers. The colonial period production dates (circa 1860 – 1960) for many of these matching sets of dishes and their depositional context, securely dated to post-1911 in the outbuilding, possibly represent a number of hand-me-downs for nearby relatives rather than discarded specimens at different intervals.¹⁸

The possibility of matching dishes as markers of a high degree of status cannot be ignored (Mrozowski 1984:44-45). In this case, they are ... “saved for best, only making its appearance on Sundays and special occasions” (Cruickshank 1982:15). For example, if the occupants in the King family house accorded a high degree of status to the matching dishes, the vessels are likely to have a far higher survival rate than those used for everyday purposes,

¹⁸ The sets are coming from the subfloor pit.

thus increasing their chances of heirloom than their discard. In this case, we are likely to have a picture of the affluent socio-economic status of the inhabitants of the King family lot despite the limited number of vessels and vessel forms entering the archaeological record. Alternatively, the residents in the King family lot may have a limited range of ceramic vessel forms because fewer people (perhaps nuclear families) occupied the house, or they could occasionally afford some extravagant purchases. Despite the differences in the vessel forms, which may suggest a slight margin of economic distinction, when other factors (discussed above) are put into consideration, the residents of the two house lots are likely representatives of the newly emerging cultural elites that settled and established themselves in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

Finally, I note a dramatic disproportion between local and imported ceramics in Chapters 5 and 6. However, this difference appears to be something other than a replacement process because the two assemblages are found together in a single unit and same level during excavations. Rather, the magnitude of imported ceramics speaks to the dynamics of colonial capitalism, trade dynamics, and supply circuits (Richard 2007) in Freetown at the time. It also illustrates the enmeshments of commodities obtained from local, regional, and global trade networks on a macro-scale (individual household level) and micro-scale (village level). The high frequencies of material assemblage from the two excavated house loci also suggest high-intensity direct trade, participation in diverse trade networks, and/or down-the-line exchange through institutions for gift-giving, bridewealth, inheritance, and so forth (Deetz 1996; Pezzarossi 2014b: 146-174).

The tobacco pipes found at Regent Village were typical nineteenth-century imported white clay pipes. Notably, no locally produced pipe was encountered during pedestrian surveys and excavations. This assemblage seems to contrast the collections retrieved from earlier settlements in the Senegambia, at Elmina and Savi on the West African Slave and

Gold Coasts (DeCorse 2001a; Gijanto 2017; Gokee 2012; Kelly 2016; Richard 2018). It, however, resonates with collections recovered in the nineteenth-century context in Rio Pongas in Guinea (Kelly 2019; Goldberg 2018) and Goree Island in Senegal (Thiaw 1999, 2011). Compared to other imported goods such as ceramics and glass, the pipe collection is small, but heterogeneous in nature. They are fragmentary, consisting of bowls, stems, and mouthpieces. Many fragments are decorated with geometric, incisions, and anthropomorphic or zoomorphic figures on the bowl and stem. These decorations may appear on the side of the stem, around the bowl, and/or at the base of the bowl. A few pipes have initials or lettering representing brand marks on them. The morphology of the bowl and stems, coupled with varied decorations, suggest they represent American and English pipes mass-produced and commercialized in the nineteenth century.

The tobacco pipes were found in relatively modest numbers in the yard areas of the excavated house loci. The paucity of tobacco pipes during the pedestrian survey is also remarkable. From a historical perspective, the practice of pipe smoking in West Africa has often been viewed as a result of Atlantic influences, thus serving as temporal markers. However, recent studies have convincingly argued for the practice of pipe smoking in the pre-Atlantic past, although recovered in the Atlantic context (Lawson 2003:266-267; S. K. McIntosh 2001; S. K. McIntosh et al. 2003; Richard 2007). European or American wholesalers imported tobacco from New York into Freetown in the second half of the nineteenth century using steamships. The supply peaked in the 1870s and 1880s but continued until the end of the century (Fyfe 1962:445, 478). The mass-produced tobacco pipes recovered at Regent reflect the colonial supply dynamics and circulation patterns for imported pipes in this coastal area. Their presence sheds more light on the nature of this area as a place of interaction between networks rather than simply a peripheral zone of capitalist world economies.

Like drinking and other social activities, tobacco represents leisure behavior (Cook 1989b: 220). Tobacco is mostly smoked but occasionally chewed (Clarke 1863:342). However, the costs of tobacco pipes and the place where the smoking occurred can reflect class (Beaudry and Mrozowski 1989c: 288). Scholars have shown that tobacco pipe smoking was available to men and women by the second half of the nineteenth century due to radical changes in “the leisure behavior of the middle and upper classes as well as in gender relationships” (Cook 1989:224). They noted that “the distinction between long and short-stem clay ... involved a social differentiation” (Cook 1989b: 216; also see Beaudry and Mrozowski 1989c: 288). “Gentlemen smoke long pipes, laborers smoke short ones” (Cook 1989b: 218; Mrozowski 2000:294). Based on the preceding, the “cutties” tobacco pipes¹⁹ recovered from the two houses reflect leisure and relaxation among emerging cultural elites. In an archaeological study of the settlement history of Indigenous groups in Sierra Leone, Hill provides a brief description of the smoking habits of people in the Sierra Leone River, indicating that both men and women were involved in smoking or drinking tobacco in local and imported pipes (Finch 1905:4 cited in Hill 1970:126).

Notably, lithic materials, such as gunflints and ground stone artifacts well represented in the excavation were rare in surface contexts. Only slates were the constant lithic materials encountered in both surveys and excavations. Lithic material use, modification, and reuse are visible at the two excavated house loci. The gunflints have been modified into strike-a-lights that hint at use and reuse as fire starters until discarded. The reuse of gunflints in this context is consistent with how Indigenous groups in America reused gunflints to a major degree, unlike British colonists (Mrozowski 2010:29; 2009a:145; Mrozowski et al. 2009:454-455; 2005:67-68). Some slate fragments were also found as reused items in the two house loci. These fragments exhibit grounded edges and forced holes. But how these modified slate

¹⁹ It is difficult to determine any evidence of purposeful cutting of the stem in the pipe assemblage.

materials function within each house locus is currently unknown. Nearly all of the ground stone artifacts (handstones and grinding slabs) were recovered from secondary contexts as reused materials. Some fragments of broken grinding slabs may have been refashioned into handstones, while broken handstones were possibly used as hammer stones.

Despite the evidence of reuse, all of the materials belong to the house lots in which they are found. There is no evidence of the reuse of materials from any previous settlements, and none of the two excavated house loci were founded on earlier sites that were destroyed and incorporated into the establishment of this village. While there is no evidence of the reuse of stone blocks from a dismantled architectural foundation, the liberated Africans and their descendants used and continue to use yard spaces similarly. The reuse and cleaning of domestic space continued over a long period, with refuse disposed of along the edges of the house lot. The Johnson family lot is the best example of this.

7.3.2 Household Activities

In what follows, I offer some interpretations of activities conducted across the village and at the household scale, drawing on the archival records and the activity-related artifacts recovered during the pedestrian survey and the excavations of the two house lots. The archival record on the village settlement provides important information through which a discussion on common activities such as craftwork, western education, and subsistence strategies, including provisional farming, can be made. The gradual resettlement and allotments of land to liberated Africans at Regent allowed residential groups across the village to engage in various subsistence and craft activities, such as bricklayers, brickmakers, carpenters, shingle-makers, sawyers, smiths, and tailors. The archaeological record confirms some of the occupations that appeared in the 1831 census, including gardening, sewing and laundry, and other specialized craftworks. It also revealed new household production tasks. In

addition to foodways and food preparation, the material culture suggests the domestic production of medicines or spirits that were traded to support the household. In particular, there is a possibility of household-level production of spirits or medicine on the Johnson family lot.

The 1831 census²⁰ of the village revealed the names and occupations of men that are heads of households and property owners. Women's name only appeared occasionally in some villages as widows (none at Regent), but their occupations are unspecified.²¹ There are a variety of occupations represented, but technical or skilled handwork activities, such as sawyers, shingle makers, masons, brick makers, boat makers, carpenters, blacksmiths, tailors, shoemakers, farmers, and agriculturists were common. There are also laborers. Since the liberated Africans embraced Western education, they could read and write and took part in civil service professions as school masters, teachers, constables, bailiffs, a goaler, and a writer. The number of liberated Africans involved in various occupations is shown in the table below (Table 3).

Laborers, farmers, agriculturists, sawyers, masons, carpenters, shingle makers, and tailors were the most common profession in the village. More occupations, such as seamstresses, hawkers, soap makers, fishermen, cooks, basket makers, palm winemakers, umbrella makers, gunsmiths, and hunters, reported in other liberated African villages were possibly carried out by some of the liberated Africans that arrived and settled in the village after 1831 and their descendants. These varied occupations and other local production activities, such as yard gardening and petty trading, make the house residents critical contributors to the village.

²⁰ The census did not indicate the population based on religion.

²¹ Since the census is silent about the occupation of women, we can only speculate what kind of occupations they were involved in.

Occupations	Total	Percentage
Farmer	122	23.80%
Agriculturist	55	10.70%
Trader	1	0.20%
Shinglemaker	17	3.30%
Laborer	188	36.60%
Writer	1	0.20%
Sawyer	36	7.00%
Tailor	13	2.50%
Mason	35	6.80%
Butcher	1	0.20%
Corper	1	0.20%
Baillif	1	0.20%
Brickmaker	1	0.20%
Boatmaker	1	0.20%
Carpenter	20	3.90%
Constable	5	1.00%
Shoemaker	4	0.80%
Blacksmith	1	0.20%
Goaler	1	0.20%
Schoolmaster	1	0.20%
Teacher	2	0.40%
Spinster	1	0.20%
Nil/Left Blank*	5	1.00%
Total	513	100.00%
*The occupation for five persons was left blank. This could be due to missed information, unemployment, disability, or aging.		

Table 3: The various occupations of liberated Africans (men or head of household) in Regent Village in 1831. (Source: CO 267/109; see the section on Regent Village on pages 50-68).

Masculine and feminine identities intersect with the occupations of liberated Africans and their descendants. Masculinity is often associated with power and gentility. In Sierra Leone, masculine status was a condition for obtaining Crown land and practicing agriculture. This occupation would have been done outdoors, far away from home. Other occupations, especially naval service, were limited to men and done far from home. While none of the West Indians from the second and fourth WIR and European military men in the Colony

lived at Regent Village (Fyfe 2007:21-36, also see CO 267/109), toponym and archaeological records confirmed that some liberated Africans were drafted into the British Royal Naval as volunteers in the mid-nineteenth century or afterward.²² Since men living in the Up-Soja area were also drafted into the British Royal Naval and more directly involved in the anti-slavery naval patrol tasks in forts and on the sea, their roles were outside the domestic space. For most of the nineteenth century, these men were in motion back and forth between their homes and ports throughout the peninsula and its environs.

In the early colonial period, women, particularly the Nova Scotians, were schoolteachers and traders (Fyfe 1962:101-103). Women were also involved in street hawking and assisted their husbands in producing goods in their homes (Fyfe 1956:118, 120; Wyse 1992:109). However, women do not just process what their husbands have produced at home but take them to public workspaces for sale, making them an integral part of the village economy. Their participation in the household economy may have included proper housekeeping (Beaudry and Mrozowski 1989c: 284). But after the Second World War, women were confined within households; some sold imported goods, while others managed laundries and gardens associated with households, which could also be considered essential work centers (Fyfe 1962:148; Steady 2006; Wyse 1989:41). Since women's roles became attached to households, their occupations tended to fall within the range of task and crafts such as sewing and laundry industry, petty trading, as well as yard gardening²³ (Battle-Baptiste 2011:128; Beaudry and Mrozowski 1989c: 282; Clarke 1863:330). Some of the local ceramic pots and stoneware storage vessels recovered from the two excavated house loci possibly reflect harvesting and preservation of agricultural produce bought or grown by house residents in the yard (D. Armstrong 2022:409). Other storage containers, such as

²² Their descendants were possibly involved in the First World War and Second World War.

²³ Schoolgirls were also involved in housekeeping, petty trading, laundry, and sewing education. They made shirts and trousers (Fyfe 1962:131, 379, 526).

baskets, may have also been used to keep foodstuffs (Pezzarossi et al. 2012:210). The dearth in the number of sewing items suggests individual rather than evidence of sewing education. The sewing was likely done alongside the laundry work (Mrozowski et al. 2005:65). Women in the Johnson family lot, for example, could support their household through the sewing and laundry work. Only in limited times would men have engaged in such activity (Clarke 1863:336). Thus, women work in the home and less in the field. The movement of men's work outside the home and women within it would change before the twenty-first century. Nevertheless, women continued to maintain the household and raise children.

Children would have performed errands and tasks in their homes. They could have also served as a cheap labor force for those who took them as apprentices in the Colony. However, the signature of children's activities is difficult to trace in the archaeological record (Baxter 2005; Swords 2008:70-71). Marginalization of children in archaeological research is common with a few exceptions (e.g., Battle-Baptiste 2001; Baxter 2005; Trovato 2016; Voss 2006; Wilkie 2003, 2006). Children in the two excavated house loci are active participants in the area of education (Swords 2008:72). They were identified through the material culture that indicates education and literacy, such as writing slate, stoneware inkwells and glass ink bottles, and imported ceramics. Antique ceramics collectors often consider plates with Antique 1884 Alphabet as Victorian Early Childhood vessels. This interpretation is too simplistic because such ceramic vessels also served as house decoration during the Victorian period (Coutts 2001). No toys were found. In her study of toys in nineteenth-century Rio de Janeiro, Lima identified kite as one of the games played by boys and denied to girls in Brazil (2012:63-78). Kite is also one of the games played in Regent Village today. It is considered a major symbol of the resurrection and celebration of Jesus Christ on Easter Monday of each year (Figure 7.4). Although this game has history, it is unclear if it was available to both boys and girls in Sierra Leone in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.



Figure 7.4: Soar to the Heavens: St. Charles Kite Competition held at Regent Village on Easter Monday, April 18, 2022. The judges are seated under the blue tent in front of the Primary School, and a portion of St. Charles Church appears on the right side of the image. (Source: Photograph taken by Author)

The adults would have occupied themselves with the “Warri” game, played with a board and seeds or counters. It is a game commonly played in southwest Nigeria, and a variant known as “Moko,” exists in the Cameroons (Anderson 2020:148; Fyfe 1962:170). Anderson posits that “the Warri/Oware board game [was] popular throughout West Africa,” and the term Moko used to describe liberated Africans from the Cameroons derives from the board game (2020:148). Clarke (1863:340) provides a good description and assessment of the game and compares it to backgammon or draughts. He notes that the game exists in “considerable variety, and is perhaps of higher merit than backgammon or draughts” (Clarke 1863:340). While several other games are in the Colony, Warri is their favorite and well-known for its amusement (Clarke (1863:340). A postcard shows a picture of two male adults playing the Warri game and three males (an adult and two young boys) watching the game in Sierra Leone (Figure 7.5a). An example of the same game in a contemporary context in southwest Nigeria is shown in Figure 7.5b. However, there is no archaeological visibility for this game in this study.

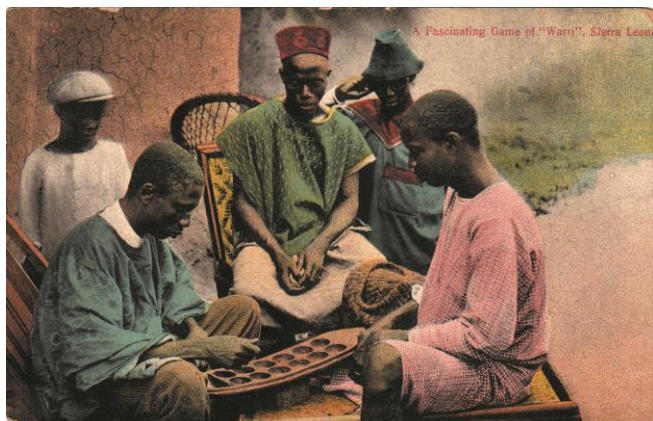


Figure 7.5a: Locals playing the Warri game in Sierra Leone.
 (Source: Courtesy of the Sierra Leone Web, Gary Schulze Collection)



Figure 7.5b: An example of the Warri game in southwest Nigeria.
 (Source: Courtesy of Mayowa Oyedokun Facebook Page. Image taken on March 24, 2023)

The locations of specialized and regular activities that were carried out within each house and associated yard spaces could be defined through artifact patterning and the presence of certain artifacts (D. Armstrong 1985, 1999:178-180, 2003; Carr 2001; Fergusson 1992; Gijanto 2010; Joseph 1989; Martin 1985; Singleton 1980; South 1977, 1978; Wheaton and Garrow 1985; for a critique see Farnsworth 1993; Potter 1991; Orser 1989). Some of the craft activities documented in the 1831 census left material remains on the surface. However, the evidence does not point toward the greater intensity of these craft activities across the village. The archaeological data also indicate that some of these economic activities occurred between the yard and residential areas. Due to the limited surface materials collected across the village, it is impossible to determine if craft production entails a political or cultural status marked by artifact style or differential access to exotic goods. What can be safely argued at this research stage is that the organization of the craft economy remains in some households, while the village grew in size due to the level of involvement in trade relations.

Scholars have noted the varied uses of yard spaces, particularly for craft production, gardening, animal husbandry, and leisure (e.g., Beaudry and Mrozowski eds. 1987a, 1989a). A majority of the liberated Africans and their descendants depended on yard cultivation for

subsistence activities, as indicated in Chapter 2, due to the British government failed attempt to establish a plantation economy in Sierra Leone. However, there is no archaeological evidence of farmlands in the village today. As I also noted in Chapter 1, the village experienced a major depopulation toward the end of the nineteenth century, with several homesteads leased to Temne and Loko tenants, who were farmers predominately engaging in subsistence farming in the village. Some of these tenants were palm winemakers, but not in the two excavated house lots. The material practices of these later settlements did not differ in terms of the settlement plan but quantitatively from those of earlier populations. The differences in quantity have nothing to do with distinct cultural backgrounds but possibly tie the tenants to small-scale farming rather than involvement in the trade.

The activity-related artifacts within the two excavated house loci revealed evidence of household socio-economic activities. The socio-economic activities include naval service, foodways, provisional farming, Western education, and specialized household craftwork such as sewing and laundry. Some leisure items indicate smoking as a part of domestic activities in the two house loci. Other artifacts recovered consist of personal items and health and hygiene, which are present in the two households.

Substantial quantities of imported goods from the excavated house lots emphasize subsistence strategies. The distributions of grinding slabs and handstones, iron tools for food processing, and pots for storage, cooking, and serving suggest that house residents engage in food practices. They were also involved in food preparation and would have used artifacts such as cooking pots and service ware. The frequency of small-size local ceramic pots and bowls could have been associated with general household tasks for preparing and consuming food and transporting and storing water. A long iron cooking spoon in fragmentary condition, several iron cooking pots, two pot lids, and two iron kettles are evidence of cooking practices. The kettles would have been used for boiling and cooking liquid or semi-liquid

foods (Pezzarossi et al. 2012:210). Regional earthenware bowls were found in higher proportion to iron cooking pots. These cooking vessels were fairly distributed across Levels 1 and 2 and feature areas at the two house lots. These data show the utilization of local ceramic cooking vessels and iron cooking pots, possibly imported. While it is difficult to tell if the variation between the local ceramics found at the two house loci indicate differences in temporal periods, it is easy to tell that there is differential access to specific types and preference for certain types. However, there is no clear evidence of activity specialization that requires specific vessel forms associated with specific decorative elements. The presence of many ground stone implements such as grinding slabs and handstones also indicates that the residents at the two house lots processed foodstuffs in the yard space. In fact, they did a great deal of cooking and dining on their own in and around the houses.

The diversity in the proportion of various food-related items at the two house lots is also striking. There is a relatively high proportion of items associated with food consumption (79%, n=613) and a relatively low percentage of beverage consumption items (27%, n=212), like liquor and soda bottles at the King family lot. Similarly, the Johnson family lot has a relatively high percentage of food consumption items (85%, n=1,240) and a low proportion of beverage items (42%, n=617), dominated by liquor bottles. Similar types of glassware and tableware were found in the two house loci, particularly among the imported ceramics, tumblers, and liquor glass bottles. For example, 20 similar imported ceramic vessels and five lids that match at least five vessels were recovered from both house loci. The distribution of tumbler fragments at the two house loci is almost the same, but the percentage of carafe and decanter is higher at the King family lot.

Finally, the proportions of bowls (44%, n=71) to plates (30%, n=48) consistently express a preference for bowls and an associated communal foodways pattern at the King family lot. However, the near-equal proportions of bowls (38%, n=164) to plates (40%,

n=151) at the Johnson family lot provide evidence for a different foodways pattern, possibly individual eating practices. It suggests an attempt to follow foreign dining rituals and table service (Dutton 1987:120; Voss 2019:28). The use of imported ceramics in larger quantities for domestic practices also speaks to the notion of colonial practices of domesticity during the later Victorian period (Pezzarossi 2014b: 148, 154). The larger presence of ceramic assemblage in the two house loci is consistent with some colonial sites in North America. Pezzarossi (2014b: 159) reports "a substantial economic investment in ceramics, especially tableware ceramics commonly used in food/drink consumption and entertaining" in a nineteenth-century Nipmuc household in Grafton, Massachusetts.

The other eating utensils, such as cutleries, were rare at both house loci. Nine cutleries were found at the Johnson family lot, while ten were recovered at the King family lot, showing their limited presence and use by residents of both house loci. There is little evidence to support the use of cutleries in the early colonial period, as the majority of forks and spoons found during the excavation possibly date to the late occupational phase of the houses and were removed from the material assemblage during laboratory analysis. The lack of cutleries during the earlier phase of the house occupation might have to do with economic and/or cultural factors. On the one hand, each house resident's financial status and social class may explain why cutleries did not appear in the material record. On the other hand, the maintenance of local dining practices must also be considered. As Peterson (1969:199) remarks, ... "although eating utensils nearly always graced the walls of the liberated African homes, they were only rarely used actually to assist the process of eating, fingers being far more often used."

Nevertheless, the use of imported goods influenced some changes in eating practices, as residents of the two house lots ate on individual plates and bowls of foreign origins and drank from cups than in calabashes. Therefore, the study of foodways requires a proper

examination of various factors such as the social, economic, and conditions surrounding the food that people eat and cook. The ways in which food is prepared, and the act of sharing a meal with other members of a family or community is a social practice (Law Pezzarossi and Mrozowski 2020:114-118).

The large number of glass bottles in the de facto refuse deposits indicate liquor production in the two house lots. The large-opening lead-glazed vessels could have also been used as fermentation vessels. Archaeological research at the Kaqchikel Maya community of San Pedro de Aguacatepeque in highland Guatemala has produced indirect evidence of (illicit) local liquor production through recovered artifacts, such as large, open-mouthed lead-glazed vessels used for fermentation and/or storage of liquid or semi-liquid food-drinks, including *chicha* in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Corcoran-Tadd and Pezzarossi 2018:91-92; Pezzarossi 2019d: 67-68, 2017:166-167, 2015a: 364-367, 2015b: 92, 95, 2014a: 225-227, 314-317; Pezzarossi and Kennedy 2019:664). This household-level production may have been used to support the household. Local liquor production could also have more than economic potential. It could also signify ritual practices, such as socializing or social gatherings as part of community formation and practices (Corcoran-Tadd and Pezzarossi 2018:90, 95; Pezzarossi and Kennedy 2019b: 666; Pezzarossi et al. 2012:224). Liquor production for medicinal purposes (Pezzarossi 2017:147, 162) is a possibility but a rare occurrence in this context.

Archaeological materials found in the two excavated house lots support provisional farming. The remains of blades from four iron hoes, two cutlasses, and three fruit pickers show that the residents of the two houses employed iron implements for agricultural tasks, possibly to tend garden crops in the yard space. Anderson (2020:112-113) notes that men received one or two plots of Crown land and farming implements to cultivate the land. The archaeological evidence reveals that the liberated Africans' lives were largely rural and

agrarian. Alternatively, the Temne and Loko tenants who moved into the village and continued agricultural practices for small-scale markets and subsistence consumption in the twentieth century might have used these tools.

There is direct archaeological evidence for sewing craft at the two excavated house lots, but not in quantities that one would expect for commercial purposes.²⁴ The remains of seven pressing iron plates and a copper thimble fragment provide evidence for craft specialization such as sewing and laundry work at the Johnson family lot. Due to a limited number of sewing materials, the sewing would have been done for personal purposes (mending clothes) rather than for commercial enterprise. In contrast, many clothing-pressing iron plates show that laundry activity was commercialized. These activities reflect women as seamstresses and laundresses, although men could have also engaged in such activities.

The fact that only a few items associated with clothing were recovered at the King family lot may reflect either the house residents cared well for their tools or engaged in civil service jobs rather than craft work. The latter seems plausible, considering that those who lived on this house lot in the early twentieth century served as a law clerk (William Anthony Osho Johnson) and a Royal engineer (possibly Ezekiel Thomas). John Robbin Mason was the only documented landowner before 1891 and was recorded as the Catechlot of the Native Pastorate Church in Sierra Leone. He possibly resided in Bathurst Village or left Regent Village for Bathurst after the house lot sale.

Many artifacts related to writing were found in the two house loci. These include writing slates, English stoneware inkwells, and glass ink bottles. There are many more stoneware inkwells, glass ink bottles, and writing slates at the Johnson family lot than at the King family lot. Various functions of these material items can be offered in this

²⁴ Nevertheless, none of the two houses provide evidence for multi-crafting as a strategy for diversifying productive activities.

archaeological context. One possible explanation is that they are used in the context of literacy and education by both children and adults. While these writing materials could signal children's activity in the two houses who received formal education at the primary school in the village, adults could have also used the writing slates for keeping track of trading supplies or debt. These material items, found in large quantities, may also suggest teaching occupation at the Johnson family lot. Given the domestic context, all of these interpretations are possible. The presence of these artifacts in the two house loci confirms that education was part of the household activities performed.

The recovery of copper-alloy Naval buttons and a belt clasp with pre-1901 British Royal Crown at the Johnson family lot highlight the presence of house residents that possibly joined the British Royal Naval as volunteers. The copper-alloy buttons recovered from the King family lot do not have a British Royal crown symbol, but some have a circular smooth background with an anchor or fowl anchor. These buttons, plus a badge marked "WHARF," were also likely attached to naval coats or uniforms due to the presence of shanks. The presence of a pocket watch associated with naval service lends support to this claim. Moreover, the local designation of the area excavated within the village as "Up Soja" indicates a hill-top settlement for military personnel. However, I offer this interpretation with caution because there is a paucity of military artifacts in the material assemblage, and some archival records are inaccessible in Freetown. Perhaps the descendants of these liberated Africans were drafted into naval service during the First and Second World Wars.

The remaining buttons are called mattress buttons, but these artifact samples may not adequately represent furniture items at the two house lots. While similar buttons have been found on Bunce Island (DeCorse 2011:203), ethnohistorical sources report that some liberated Africans and their descendants embraced Western clothing. However, the use of Indigenous clothing is not uncommon (Wyse 1979:232). In this case, these buttons could

have been used on Western dresses, reflecting social distinction in the early or nascent colonial period. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, Western dresses were no longer a determinant in terms of social distinction because everyone wore them (Wyse 1989).

The other personal items are associated with body adornment. These artifacts include cosmetic bottles and mirror glass. The proportion of these artifacts between the two house loci show similarities rather than differences. They are even in quantity and reflect in-house use rather than retail. Notably, no beads were recovered from the two house loci. The absence of beads may indicate low-economic status, lack of widespread availability, less occurrence of accidental loss of items, and/or low interest from house residents. It could also be a case that beads are no longer in fashion or restricted to political elites as symbols of wealth and status.²⁵ Despite relative access to imports at both houses, only a few items reflect individual adornment. While some spongeware vessels were “intended to be hung on the shelves of china cupboards” (Slesin et al. 1997:94), it is most probable that they served food consumption purposes in the two excavated houses rather than decorative vessels. The relative paucity of personal items at the Johnson family lot indicates that even with more access to imported goods, the majority of the house residents had little in the way of material wealth.

Like the tableware types, there is uniformity in the types of leisure items²⁶ found at the two house loci. Imported tobacco pipes are the only artifacts that can be clearly associated with leisure activity, but these items show variability in quantity. The Johnson family lot produced far more tobacco pipes (n=44) than the tobacco pipe assemblage (n=10) recovered at the King family lot. This large difference revealed more leisure activities, more individual involvement in leisure, and an increased degree of household participation in intercontinental

²⁵ The lack of beads in these houses and from surface context across the village could result from site formation processes and/or the preservation of archaeological materials.

²⁶ Liquor and soda bottles could have been discussed under the leisure category.

trade at the Johnson family lot. Nevertheless, the people in the two excavated houses enjoyed smoking. Undoubtedly, pipe smoking became a regular daily life and could have played a special role in house gatherings. The elderly possibly played the Warri game, while the children likely participated in kite competitions.

There is also a major difference in the proportion of personal health and hygiene bottles in the two house lots. Items related to personal health and hygiene items consist of pharmaceutical, cosmetic, toiletry, and ointment jars. There were only six health and pharmaceutical bottles at the King family lot. In contrast, the Johnson family lot has an array of health and hygiene bottles (n=98). The large number and content of the Johnson family lot pharmaceutical bottles suggest that older adults may have lived there rather than a household resident being a midwife or medical practitioner (Figure 7.6a & 7.6b). The vessels are varied in form, with labels or embossing written information indicating their use in treating specific illnesses or ailments and in-house use.²⁷ The lack of other medical-related artifacts lends support to this interpretation. All of the pharmaceutical vessels were imports, indicating house residents used Western medicine and had sufficient income or resources to purchase such items. Scholars have also reported the use of patent medicines and the consumption of certain liquor content due to their medicinal effects on plantations and industrial setting in North America (e.g., Singleton 1992:63 report on the Butler Island Plantation and Mrozowski et al. 1989 on the Boott Mills, Lowell). In his study of Harriet Tubman's life in freedom at Auburn, New York, D. Armstrong (2022:316-317) reports the presence of pharmaceutical bottles and other health-care-related items, including patent medicines and medicinal ointments from John Brown Hall, which indicate the aged or infirm older adults inhabited the building.

²⁷ Religion is also tied to healing but there is no priest of Ifa divination or herbalist in the census. However, herbalists were enslaved and reported in missionary archives (Anderson 2020:220).



Figure 7.6a: White stoneware vessels containing Western medicines recovered from the Johnson family lot. (Source: Photograph taken by the Author)



Figure 7.6b: A white stoneware vessel containing Western medicine recovered from the King family lot. (Source: Photograph taken by the Author)

Several chamber pots, washbasins, and glass bottles belong to toiletries vessels. These items were used at both houses until sewage and running water were established.

Archaeological investigations on historical period sites often reveal material evidence of sanitation, such as privy, water and waste piping, yard sweeping, and gardening (Beaudry and Mrozowski 2001:125; Mullins and Jones 2011:39-40). In this case, the material use record from the two house lots shows consistency, indicating the acceptance of Western hygiene.

Like European settlers, some liberated Africans struggled to adapt to the new living and health conditions, particularly during the rainy seasons. Colonists believed in the spread of miasma across the Colony, which fueled preconceived notions of bad air from “smells and mists” rising from the ground and seashore as likely causes of diseases, such as malaria and yellow fever (Fyfe 1962:150, 601-602). These negative stereotypes overlook the living and health conditions of villagers (Mrozowski et al. 1994:28). However, historical sources revealed that many liberated Africans did not live in very healthy conditions in the villages

because the spread of viruses and bacteria was common in the narrow slave-decks, and some were landed sick during adjudication. New diseases, such as ophthalmia, dysentery, and small-pox often broke out in slave ships and infected some people in the villages, including African Americans as well as European superintendents and managers (Fyfe 1962:130-131; 138-139; 150, 153). The sick at Regent received treatments from Macaulay Wilson, the apothecary, while liberated African “dressers” offered first aid services (Fyfe 1962:139). Apothecaries were qualified healthcare givers and gave prescriptions like physicians (DeCorse 1984:2). However, there is no clear evidence that public health diseases killed many people before the improvement of sanitation in the villages in the early twentieth century (Fyfe 1962:138-139, 602-603).

7.4 Archaeologies of Identity

Like the architectural remains, artifacts recovered during the pedestrian surveys and excavations across the village did not belong to a specific ethnicity. This may explain why archaeologists studying multi-ethnic societies have focused on searching for evidence of cultural interaction rather than isolating the archaeological markers of different cultural groups or essentialized notions of culture. They have analyzed architectural remains, dietary practices, and trash disposal patterns to discern cultural change and continuity (Deagan 1998; Lightfoot 1995; Lightfoot et al. 1998; Pezzarossi 2014b: 149-150; Singleton and Bograd 2000:3-21). In a similar vein, the presence and use of imported goods such as ceramics, tobacco pipes, and glass bottles indicate that the liberated Africans and their descendants accepted new material culture “not as a break with older practices but as a continuum ... that were expressed and interpreted along familiar lines of practice” (Mrozowski 2020:72). These artifacts are “by-products of decades of routines and everyday habits” (Law Pezzarossi and Mrozowski 2020:109) that allow us to tell stories of people’s lives.

As noted in the earlier chapters, there was a shipmate bond rather than kinship ties

among the early liberated African arrivals in the villages due to diversity in the composition of enslaved Africans in slave vessels. However, new kinship systems evolved due to intermarriage, needy persons, and religious connections. Instead of the shipmate bond that existed until their resettlement in the villages, kinship was eventually created by blood ties (e.g., son, daughter), politics (e.g., spouse, mother-in-law), and religion (e.g., godmother). Social exchanges also took place in communal practices when newly liberated Africans sent to the village lived with house owners from their ethnic origin until their abode was built and completed, thus building new bonds. The emergence of Kriodom, Anderson (2020:260) notes, is often attributed to “a colony-born majority, intermarriage, socialization, and tutelage in a westernized, Christian culture.” This new identity transcends ethnicity, religion, and class (Anderson 2020:258). It is, therefore, a case of what they are *becoming* in this new context rather than who they *were* before enslavement.

Nevertheless, the construction of identity in this context might have been influenced by their experiences of migration and enslavement, their life choices and decisions, the conditions in the Colony, their understanding of the new location, and the contemporary socio-political contexts in which they found themselves. This is because the village inhabitants were “embedded in the broader cultural fabric, however, their perceptions of that reality were invariably shaped by the different histories they had experienced before their entanglement” (Mrozowski et al. 2007a: 4). While some were enslaved and liberated in Sierra Leone would have considered themselves locals, the other arrivals in the villages might rarely have a sense of belonging before they fully adapt to the new environment and new local life. Some may have faced identity crises due to intermarriages and barriers to overcome, but all were British subjects. Their identities would have been fluid, neither African nor British, because social identities are not self-defined. Rather, they are shaped in an “endless web of relations to other groups” (Richard and MacDonald 2016:2), perhaps “best characterized as a

creole crucible” (Mrozowski 2010:17) because identities in colonial context are often interwoven because of intercultural interaction (Mrozowski 2010:23). This probably explains why the architectural forms and artifacts found in this multi-ethnic context are neither entirely African nor European. While ethnicity is in constant flux and may be difficult to pin down archaeologically, conveyances covering land ownership revealed more about the kinship ties that eventually emerged in the village throughout the nineteenth century and twentieth centuries (Appendix 1).

Since the archival record and household archaeological assemblages reveal cultural interactions with others in the village, it is safe to claim that the village inhabitants stressed their commonality and connectedness²⁸ to get on with their lives in this new setting. As discussed in Chapter 3, the relationship between neighbors using yard spaces shows the willingness to work toward common aspirations in the village (Mullins and Jones 2011:46). But I also hasten to note that different opportunities and choices existed for household members in this colonial setting (Lightfoot et al. 1998:199). This was clearly the case among the Indigenous populations of New England during the early stages of European colonialism and, in some instances, remains today (Gould et al. 2020). Therefore, the arrangement and use of space in the built environment, the organization of domestic activities, and refuse discard patterns in a multi-ethnic village settlement may vary. This is because people will reinterpret cultural practices in ways that suit their interests and make sense to other groups (Lightfoot et al. 1998:201). In this sense, the architectural and artifactual aspects of the material record evoke both collective and self-expression but are very much part of a larger global economy. They also represent “the simultaneity of and interwoven complexity of the social, historical and spatial dimensions of our lives, their inseparability, and often

²⁸ The entanglements of diverse liberated Africans with Indigenous populations in local villages in the interior, and the resettlement of freed Blacks in the Americas and European colonists of different nationalities and cultural backgrounds in the colony create ambiguous or complex multicultural backgrounds that require constant negotiation.

problematic interdependence” (Soja 2000:6-12 cited in Mrozowski et al. 2007a: 4).

However, limited archival records make linking a specific artifact to individuals in the two excavated house loci difficult. What seems clear is that communities were built and that households were different. The house residents surrounded themselves with imported goods and tried to maintain older traditional practices, which did show up in subtle ways. However, the abundance of inexpensive imported utilitarian goods suggests frugality or economizing (Dutton 1989:118; Mrozowski et al 1989:309; Pezzarossi 2014b: 169) by the emerging cultural elites. Alternatively, these artifacts may not necessarily indicate status (D. Armstrong 2022:216-217) because they may have received some of them from the LAD. Looking at the full picture of how the various households engaged in a variety of activities allowed them to live emerging cultural elite group lives.

7.5 Summary

This chapter has presented a discussion that links the historical and archaeological data to my research questions and conceptual frameworks employed in this study. It offered rich interpretations that speak to questions about displacement, migration, resettlement, and adaptation in a foreign setting under three major analytical concepts: colonial entanglements, cross-cultural exchange, and identity formation. I explained how architectural styles, building hardware, and the subfloor pit feature reflect colonial entanglements in this village. I then move across a range of scales—from individual lots (local) to regional (colony) and global processes (metropolitan) to illustrate what goods were traded and bought. The material assemblages analyzed in this study reflect varied trade networks, availability and preference for goods, socio-economic activities, and social statuses. The differences in the material assemblage between the two households provide additional insights into how colonialism unfolded that provide a more nuanced understanding of the process. Finally, I explained the central role of mundane things in rebuilding the lives of the house residents after resettlement

and the social conditions that surrounding their adaptation and survival in a foreign diasporic setting.

CHAPTER 8

FROM THE MARGINS OF COLONIAL HISTORY TO THE CENTER OF MODERNITY

8.1 Introduction

The period examined in this dissertation (1860-1960) is bracketed by the lives of the liberated Africans and their descendants, and to a lesser extent, the Temne and Loko groups that lived at Regent as tenants at the turn of the nineteenth century into the twentieth century. The evidence presented in the previous chapters demonstrates that the political economy of Regent Village emerged through various forms of trade that operated at the local, regional, and global levels. These social and economic processes that shaped and emerged at Regent allow us to pursue a larger question with the three interrelated questions or broad sets of objectives that I posed at the outset of this study. I asked how the diverse liberated Africans and their descendants adapted to a foreign diasporic setting. Turning to architectural history and archaeology, I examine the varied house construction to explain social formations, social statuses, and adaptation in the village. I also examine how the intersection of local, regional, missionary-supported, and intercontinental trade networks within this village enmeshed the liberated Africans and their descendants in the world capitalist economy of the nineteenth century through artifact assemblages. Finally, I interrogate these trade imports and locally made goods to reveal house residents' socio-economic activities, social statuses, and the relative degree of participation in trade networks.

I use archival, archaeological, and secondary historical literature at multiple scales to answer these questions. These multiple lines of inquiry help remedy the gaps in the archival records and allow movements between questions at local, regional, and global scales. The archaeological data collected across the village illuminates variability across households and provides some insight into the experience of people living near Freetown. It has also offered insights into the nature of foreign trade networks at the local level—individual household to

village settlement. I incorporate genealogical records of the two house loci where excavation was conducted, recognizing that extensive details are not always available. Intensive archaeological excavations in these two house lots yielded invaluable information regarding British anti-slavery, trade, colonial entanglements, and nascent colonialism. I review these themes, which have made it possible to address the various questions asked in this dissertation. I respond to these questions by summarizing interpretations developed throughout the preceding pages, highlighting issues to be addressed through future fieldwork. Some of my interpretations of the social lives of the liberated Africans and their descendants at Regent Village consolidate previous perspectives, while others are new, despite dealing with incomplete data. I also highlight the role of the descendant community, village leaders, and stakeholders in Sierra Leone cultural institutions in completing this research project.

8.2 Revisiting Key Themes and Interpretations

The details of this colonial encounter have been analyzed in the previous chapters. Here, I summarize the dissertation's main arguments and touch on the wider conceptual threads framing this study. I begin with a summary of the key themes and interpretations. The results of the pedestrian survey and archaeological excavations presented in Chapters 3-6 show how the settlement patterns emerged throughout the colonial period. I studied 41 residential and seven non-residential areas and conducted excavations at two house loci, which allowed an analysis of the occupations and social lives of house residents. As I have discussed in Chapters 3 and 7, the liberated Africans and their descendants in this village lived in foreign-style houses that were neither European nor local (excluding the mud houses), which have been interpreted in the light of multiple functions. Individuals choose specific classes of material culture (house-building materials or goods) to mark their place in society. The local expression of space and reconfiguration of the colonial landscape to create social groupings, which opposed private property ownership, was probably an unintended consequence of the

nascent British colonialism. This nascent colonialism would essentially become a means of justifying full-fledged colonialism (territorial and colonial control) in which the liberated Africans and their descendants were central to the colonial project.

Colonial entanglements were also at play in the artifactual assemblages. The liberated Africans and their descendants used and retained a preponderance of imported materials. But, as Dietler (2010:346) notes, we need to “understand how and why some objects and practices were incorporated into the daily lives of people, why others were rejected, and what the entangling consequences of this process were.” I have relied on the nature of the material assemblage to understand how items were acquired and consumed locally. The archaeological data shows that house residents accepted new imports and incorporated them into everyday practices. These findings reinforce the argument that hollowware (such as bowls and drinking vessels) was preferred at both house loci, while flatware (e.g., plates) was not uncommon. By recognizing what material goods were available and what was chosen, it is possible to understand the connection(s) between the social lives and economic spheres.

As I discussed in Chapter 7, the liberated Africans partially reinvented themselves with many imported goods and fewer locally made objects, individually and collectively, in this new context. The archaeological records across the village also suggest that the descendants of the liberated Africans by the late nineteenth century were fully engaged in the colonial economic networks. While the archaeological data are uneven and vary across households, it is still possible to examine economic interactions and variability in material inventories at a local scale. The results of the interactions reveal social formations and dynamic engagements with various trade networks. Thus, everyday life in the village is partly shaped by social interactions and individual access to resources, all made possible by more wide-ranging events and interactions. While the material assemblage recovered from the two excavated house loci is larger when compared to similar settler’s sites in North America, the

magnitude of the findings, particularly the imported goods does not serve as evidence of acculturation. Rather, they demonstrate the house residents' active participation in trade networks and entanglements with the emerging modern world (Pezzarossi 2014b: 148).

At a minimum, each household showed evidence of access to exotic goods. In domestic spaces, the liberated Africans and their descendants used a limited quantity of local cooking pots with a high volume of imported objects made and shipped from continental Europe and the Americas. But there is no great difference in using local goods between the two excavated house lots. The results suggest that the two households operated on a similar level. However, over time, the greater number of individuals in the Johnson family lot partly accounts for the difference in the number of imported vessels acquired. It is possible that the household residents saved money by purchasing cheap imported goods, particularly ceramics, because the assemblage is dominated by utilitarian products used for everyday life and living. With the port at Freetown still thriving, the mass production and consumption of alcohol, imported tableware, pharmaceutical items, and other goods continued. From the archaeological records, it is very clear that alcohol consumption was a major commodity in Sierra Leone since the opening of the Atlantic trade in the fifteenth century. This fact is easily corroborated by the archaeological assemblage at Bunce Island, where green glass bottles are the most pervasive import materials. The importance of this commodity is discussed in Chapter 7, which reveals that alcohol—mainly rum, brandy, or wine became a major trade item in the nineteenth century.

Fragments of alcohol bottles were found throughout the pedestrian survey and interestingly constitute a larger percentage of the artifact assemblage recovered from the two house lots. Wine, beer, and case bottles containing gin dominated the imported goods collected from the two house lots. The intriguing part of these assemblages is that they are complete to near-complete glass vessels with their form and function readily detectible. The

dark green color of the bottles, forms, and maker's marks indicate wine or case bottles. These bottles could be linked to spirits production and used to support households. In the case of pharmaceutical glass recovered, these bottles were predominantly nineteenth-century and indicative of Western pharmaceuticals. Their presence reveals an increasing openness to Western medicine. If anything, house residents used imported goods and had considerable access to imports. As more and more individuals could access wealth and imported commodities, their socio-economic statuses improved.

Across the village, imported ceramics is another material that was numerous and ubiquitous in the archaeological record. I have shown how imported ceramics spread across the surface of feeder roads and occasionally in un-swept yard areas in abandoned house lots. Hence, the trade items encountered during the pedestrian survey indicated local consumption rather than goods passing through the village. They were most likely materials bought and used by house residents. While the pedestrian survey did not produce a single local ceramic sherd, no house lot shows a complete absence of imported goods, especially imported ceramics. This suggests that locally made objects were never deployed as powerful symbols of resistance, self-reliance, and regeneration after liberation. Instead, they were used to supplement imported goods in individual house loci. The fieldwork did not provide clear evidence for traders' shops, but the archival records report the presence of at least a wealthy merchant named James George, living at Dadley Street, which is the neighboring street to Fitzjames, where the horizontal excavations took place (Fyfe 1962:257; PCAP 1/352).

The material records at the two excavated house loci also show that residents had access to and used some mass-produced imports obtained through supra-foreign exchange. The possible involvement of the residents of the two house loci in naval service associated with the anti-slavery and naval work may have afforded them access to such imports, which was also important in building the village settlement. For example, they had access to nails,

doors, hinges, bolts, and locks, which enabled them to build houses and embrace private property (Fyfe 1962:138). The abundance of liquor bottles, imported ceramics, and tobacco pipes also show that the residents of the two house loci under investigation were active participants in trans-oceanic exchanges, demonstrating their important role or position in the Atlantic economy of the post-abolition period. Historical records support that liberated Africans and their descendants drank fermented rum, palm wine, and tobacco (Clarke 1863:340). The few gunflints found at the two house loci are of British and French origins. They might have been acquired through intercontinental trade. Overall, the presence of many imported goods shows the nature of long-distance trade, particularly the British trade relations with the colony of Sierra Leone in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

8.3 Practicing Archaeology in Regent Village

This research project eventually sits on three pillars to build mutual respect and trust with the descendant community at Regent. The three pillars are relationship building, historical research, and interpretation or dissemination of information (Atalay 2006:280-310; Franklin et al. 2020:755; Gould et al. 2020; Mrozowski 2019b; Mrozowski and Gould 2019; National Summit on Teaching Slavery 2019). My research project began with a consultation with the village leadership team and quickly developed into a partnership due to the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic and the need to conduct fieldwork in such a challenging period (Figure 8.1). A deeper relationship with the village stakeholders and community members emerged.¹ With support from Reverend (Mrs.) Elenorah Jokomie Metzger, the Village Headwoman, I identified eight locals (three are descendants of the liberated Africans but all residents of Regent Village) who worked as paid volunteers on this project for about 15 months. The extended period spent on the field allowed me to spend time with locals and form a mutual respect and trust relationship.

I initiated some pedestrian surveys and excavations, aided by trained locals who were included in the field team. This approach provides active opportunities for descendants and other locals in the village to engage in the process of discovery, analysis, and interpretation. Training of local professionals and local involvement in archaeological practice is now a key feature of decolonizing the field of archaeology and anthropology (D. Armstrong et al. 2019b: 418). The local partnership further extended to data analysis and information dissemination. I maintained communication with the village leadership, sharing progress

¹ I involved the village leadership and locals in the decision-making processes, implementation, and dissemination of information.

reports with the landowners and Council of Elders on a regular basis to encourage transparency.



Figure 8.1: Practicing Archaeology at Regent Village.
Left: First Meeting with Regent's Council of Elders in the Community Center on February 17, 2020. (Source: Photograph taken by Francis Musa Momoh). **Right:** The team that did the heavylifting duties during the fieldwork. (Source: Photograph taken by a Regentonian)

At the end of my field research and laboratory analysis, the village leaders asked for a project talk at Fourah Bay College (FBC) campus of the University of Sierra Leone, which finally took place on March 4, 2022, after a series of postponements due to public health concerns. The Department of History and African Studies welcomed the idea of a project talk and requested a mini-exhibition to allow the audience to see some of the excavated artifacts, ask questions, or give feedback that may be helpful in the artifact identification process. Over 150 persons attended the event, with an audience comprising university professors, students, the two families whose family lots were excavated at Regent Village, the Regent Village Council of Elders, representatives from the Monuments and Relics Commission and Sierra Leone National Museum, and other distinguished guests. I provided a report about the findings at this event and discussed a few recovered artifacts. I outlined how archaeology provides information that (a) confirms what Regentonians and Sierra Leonean historians already knew, (b) contributes new datasets to the history of the colonial encounter, and (c) reveals changes in the village landscape that community members have not recognized. Following the lead of Ms. Isatu Smith, the former Chairman of the MRC, I encouraged

undergraduate students to consider picking a career out of archaeology and to apply for available opportunities.

The other objective of the project talk and mini-exhibition incorporated the voices of the descendant community, which included those who feel connected to the village, regardless of genealogical connection. The idea was to consider their point of view to develop a shared understanding and achieve innovative interpretations and/or reframe interpretations. Through the project talk and mini-exhibitions, I engaged the descendants and learners on campus as equal partners with a view to broaden the interpretation process (Figure 8.2). I also shared research materials with the descendant community for them to access the research results. For example, when I found an old picture of St. Charles Church, I shared the information with the members of the Parish Council. I also credited the information they provided in support of this research project. The discovery of the King's Yard in the village is a case in point. This multi-disciplinary research approach forms the basis of the historical interpretation offered in this dissertation.



Figure 8.2: Practicing Archaeology and Public Education. Top row: training locals on how to conserve artifacts. Second row: site visits by Ms. Isatu Smith, an on-site exhibition for the King family, and live broadcast of the on-site exhibition on Africa Young Voices (AYV) Television. Third row: laboratory visits by government stakeholders, including Madam Josephine Kargo and Mr. Charlie Haffner, and the live broadcast of the laboratory activities on AYV Television. Fourth row: the project talk and a mini-exhibition at Physics Theatre, Fourah Bay College (FBC) of the University of Sierra Leone. (Source: Photograph taken by the Author)

On the MRC side, the Salone Kontri Pot² team produced three recordings of the archaeological project, which included scenes of fieldwork and on-site exhibition, interviews in the laboratory during analysis work, and project talk and mini-exhibition on the FBC campus (Figure 8.2). These digital video files are housed at the MRC Office and available for viewing on their YouTube Channel and Facebook Page. The AYV Television broadcasted the footage, while the Salone Kontri Pot team shared copies with the School Heritage Clubs on WhatsApp platforms since schools were closed due to COVID-19 and students could not visit the archaeological sites and laboratory. At the onset of this project (February 2020), I contacted the Department of History and African Studies at the FBC campus about the possibility of having undergraduate students visit us on the archaeological sites occasionally. Dr. Sylvanus Spencer, the former Head of the Department (HOD), graciously agreed to this request and discussed the plans to bring students on tours to the archaeological sites with the faculty in the department. Due to the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic and the closure of universities across the country, this plan did not materialize because the pedestrian surveys and excavations were done during the peak (March 2020 – August 2020) of the pandemic period. Nevertheless, the MRC and the field team could engage with students and the general public through the various virtual platforms.³

After laboratory analysis and the project talk and mini-exhibition at the FBC campus, the artifacts were deposited in the Sierra Leone National Museum storage facility. The Council of Elders at Regent advised me to involve the two families whose house lots were excavated in the “handing over process” to avoid any future confusion or conflict of interests. Mrs. Justice Jamesina King, a representative from one of the families, was present, and the

² The Salone Kontri Pot is a heritage program organized and presented by the Monuments and Relics Commission staff to aid cultural heritage preservation across the country. The Salone Kontri Pot team also endeavors to engage primary and secondary school students in heritage preservation through the School Heritage Clubs and Heritage Education and Awareness Program (HEAP).

³ The project talk and mini exhibition on campus was the only time the field team had direct contact and conversations with students.

museum staff members were also in attendance. At the same time, members at Regent Village were represented by Allie Joseph Kanu and Umaru Kamara, two of the field team. Mr. Francis Musa Momoh received the artifacts on behalf of the MRC, while Mrs. Olivette Barnette of the National Museum accepted the artifacts and helped facilitate their storage in the museum, hinting at a possible exhibition in the near future (Agbelusi 2022: Figure 8.3).



Figure 8.3: The handing out of artifacts at the National Museum on November 17, 2022. **Left:** Mrs. Justice Jamesina King, Ms. Ollivette Barnette and other museum staff, and Umaru Kamara, one of the field crew. **Right:** Francis Musa Momoh and Oluseyi Odunyemi Agbelusi during the handing over event. (Source: Photograph taken by Allie Joseph Kanu)

8.4 Further Research and Future Directions

The current survey and limited excavations have shed light on local production, trade and exchange, settlement patterns, and change over time. In some cases, the interpretations offered in this dissertation raise questions or new directions rather than conclusive statements about colonial landscapes, village economies, and wider interaction spheres, making it necessary to include future research at Regent and its environs. At this dissertation stage, some of the interpretations offered are preliminary, which can be expanded and revised through further investigations and data analysis. Additional excavations at Regent Village would be necessary for a more complete comparison to access a greater sample of nineteenth-century deposits. Physical-chemical analysis of the local ceramics (e.g., XRF analysis) could also help ascertain sources and expand our knowledge about local production and regional trade networks. Organic residue analysis on the local ceramic vessel with food remains found in the King family lot also holds great potential to expand our knowledge of foodways in this house locus.

Related to the above study, excavating the King's Yard, considered the oldest part of the village, is also necessary. While this part of the village is deemed non-residential and has little to nothing to do with trade networks, the locale can offer more insight into issues of anti-slavery, freedom, and nascent colonialism. Working on this part of the village would also expand the temporal and geographical coverage area and include new historical narratives. In addition, locating sites pre-dating the establishment of the village settlement in the nineteenth century would be tantalizing, as this will offer a more complete history of the location under study.

Without research in other liberated African villages, assessing the relations between Regent and neighboring settlements remains difficult. Still, people across the village continued to engage in interregional exchange and maintain continuity in the day-to-day

economic and social life, despite the constant migration out of the village mentioned in Chapter 1. Further work at Regent and neighboring villages would better understand how the international commercial networks spread across the Sierra Leone peninsula and connect with trade in the interior. It would enhance our understanding of the trade networks in coastal Sierra Leone during the nineteenth century. For example, the current restoration and cultural resources management work on Bunce Island is providing a useful comparative dataset for the Regent assemblages since Bunce Island. However, a formerly slave-trading site also served as a quarantine base and timber factory in the nineteenth century. This dissertation research and those carried out elsewhere (Amartey and S.H. Reid 2014:3-11; DeCorse 2014b: 12-22) would be better understood within a regional comparative study.

Historians have reported that the trading activities in the northern rivers of Rio Pongas and Rio Nunez allowed the inflow of local commodities such as palm oil, rice, and other related food items from the interior to the coast. At this time, little is known regarding the effects of these local items on the daily lives of those residing at Regent and other villages on the Sierra Leone peninsula. Hopefully, future research will reveal answers to the role of items bought through commerce in the northern rivers or upriver instead of on the coast. The study of shipwreck sites, port cities, and trade may also add to our understanding of how the local political economies are entangled with the global political economy of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Schmidt and Mrozowski 1983:143-171).

While Regent Village and its environs await further study, this dissertation has examined British anti-slavery, trade, and nascent colonialism in Sierra Leone through a multi-disciplinary and multi-scalar perspective. By placing the colony of Sierra Leone at the center of analysis, this dissertation highlights the key role of African communities in international commerce. It provides a unique window to know the social and economic lives of the liberated Africans and their descendants in connection with colonists and missionaries

(cultural brokers) and producers in Europe and the Americas. It is clear from the numerous material classes examined in this dissertation, including the final observations described above, that liberated Africans and their descendants were directly connected to the broader regional and global events, which made them a major player in the capitalist world economy of the nineteenth century—shifting them from colonial periphery to the reproductive scene at the center of the modern world (Pezzarossi 2019c: 81-104).

Regent and other Liberated African villages once held marginal status, which has been overcome through global connections and technological changes in architecture, imported goods, and behavioral practice (Mrozowski 1993:101). The notion of space, analyzed through the study of buildings and landscape reveals, the complexity of how the race, class, gender, age, sexuality, and religion of diverse freed Africans, African Americans, and their descendants in the Liberated African villages helped shape the modern world (Blyden 1999:172; Mrozowski et al. 2007b: 145). As Senatore (2023:4) rightly notes, “Modernity is not an exclusively European phenomenon; it is inextricably linked to the colonies.” Similarly, Mrozowski (2009d: 392) has argued that “... the bounds of empire are not always so distant from the metropolitan core”. Hence, the people who lived and worked in the villages in the period of study were active participants in shaping their lives and the landscape in which they dwelled, thus creating and reinventing practices while contributing to the changing global political economy of the modern world (Beaudry and Mrozowski 1989c: 292). In short, the archaeological data recovered from Regent Village reveals a complex web of interaction between individuals of different cultures and histories and “the global connections of the actors who shaped its history” (Mrozowski 2009c: 142).

8.5 Conclusion: Krios in Sierra Leone and Beyond

As shown in Chapter 1, the liberated Africans and the Krios first lived in the rural villages on the Sierra Leone peninsula. But some eventually reconnect with their homeland in other parts

of West Africa, as well as the interior of Sierra Leone. I also explained how they faced issues of exclusion, particularly after the Scramble for Africa that made fully-fledged colonialism a reality. Despite the marginalization and steady out-migration, the Krios played important roles across British West Africa in the twentieth century (Blyden 1999:166-168; Wyse 1989:22). They traded with the neighboring Temne for subsistence and livelihood and up to the Gambia, Senegal, Guinea, Fernando Po, Cameroon, Gold Coast, Nigeria, Congo, and West Central Africa (Ajayi 1961; Clarke 1863:360; Fyfe 1956:117-118; 1962:424, 460-461, 525, 619; Wyse 1989:24-35). Some educated Krios that struggled to obtain employment in public and private establishments in Freetown went abroad. They sought ‘white-collar’ jobs or colonial civil service in other parts of West Africa like Nigeria and Ghana, where they got several positions in government offices (Anderson 2020:262; K.L. Little 1950:315; Thayer 1991:217; Wyse 1979:414; 1980:23). The Sàró, which is the ethnic label for the Krios in the southwestern part of Nigeria, became affluent merchants by trading kola nut, cocoa, cotton, and palm products from Nigeria to other West African states (Ogundiran 2020:392; Wyse 1989:21, 1992).

There was resentment between African Americans and the liberated Africans because the African Americans considered themselves well suited (due to access to literacy and Christianity) to uplift and ‘civilize’ Africans on the continent through the introduction of Christianity (Blyden 1999; 2006). Some early liberated African converts also felt the need to migrate into the interior and propagate the gospel⁴ (Fyfe 1962:289, 531). Through evangelical missions, among other things, African Americans, early liberated African converts, and Krios became the ‘cultural vectors’ (using Wyse’s words) to propagate the “Victorian Three C”— Civilization, Christianity, and Commerce to other parts of West

⁴ Some liberated Africans who made the Niger expedition in the 1840s also felt the need to convert locals in the Bight of Biafra to Christianity. However, Islam became one of the unintended consequences of colonialism in a Christian colony (Anderson 2020:249, 258).

Africa (Wyse 1982:323, 1989, 1992:107). Although many Krios complained and protested against British imperialism, a few supported the imperial mission (Wyse 1989:22-25). The spread of colonialism led to the creation of British West Africa, which existed until the 1960s when many countries, including Sierra Leone, gained independence from British colonial rule. Eventually, some prominent Krio politicians had opportunities in government service in Sierra Leone in the latter part of the twentieth century. They occupied important positions in the army and civil service during Sir Milton Margai and Sir Albert Margai's governments in Sierra Leone (Wyse 1989:117-120).

Finally, while there is a continuing decline in the number of Krios in Sierra Leone caused by migration, economic decline, and intermarriage, they continue to be a significant economic and political force. In many instances, Wyse claimed that "the Krios are not a lost people; an anachronism to be laughed out of existence" but rather that Kriodom would persist due to "the Krios' resilience and instinct for survival" (1989:125; also see Wyse 1979, 1980). More pessimistically, Fyfe (2006:32) commented, "If Kriodom does survive, it will be thanks to the creator of its myth, Akintola Wyse." Despite the debates on the use of the term Krio as a name for the new ethnic group, the dwindling number of the Krios, and their constant migration to many places around the world, social groups such as the Sierra Leone Krio Descendants Yunion (KDY) continues to reconnect and unite the Krios at home and in the diaspora (Blyden 2013:69). The KDY is a global organization, established to celebrate, enhance, preserve, and transfer Krio's history and heritage to the younger generation. The Union has many chapters in Sierra Leone and the United States. The KDY maintains specific connections with the Maroons of Trelawney in Jamaica and the Gullah/Geechee people of South Carolina and Georgia, who are often invited to participate in the Annual Family Reunion (The Patriot Vanguard Newspaper 2017). Some Union chapters in the United States, for example, KDU of Texas, provide health and education support for the residents of the

Sierra Leone peninsula (<https://www.kduoftexas.org/>). The Methodist Church in England also unifies many Krios who migrated to London in the 1960s and those who arrived after the turn of the present millennium (Shaka 2015:111).

ANTHROPOLOGY DEPARTMENT

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24 August 2023

Dear Reader,

For your notes: There are intentionally omitted pages in the Appendices.

I am writing to inform you that pages 404-477, containing Appendix 1, are intentionally removed from this online version due to the restriction of data for public viewing. Please be comfortably assured that this is not a typing error nor pages omitted or deleted accidentally.

Kindly refer to the bounded copy of the dissertation at Syracuse University or contact the author for access to the restricted data.

Please let me know if I can provide you with any further information.

Thank you for your patience and understanding.

Happy Reading!

Sincerely,



Oluseyi Odunyemi Agbelusi

**APPENDIX 2:
Stratigraphic profiles for the King family lot**

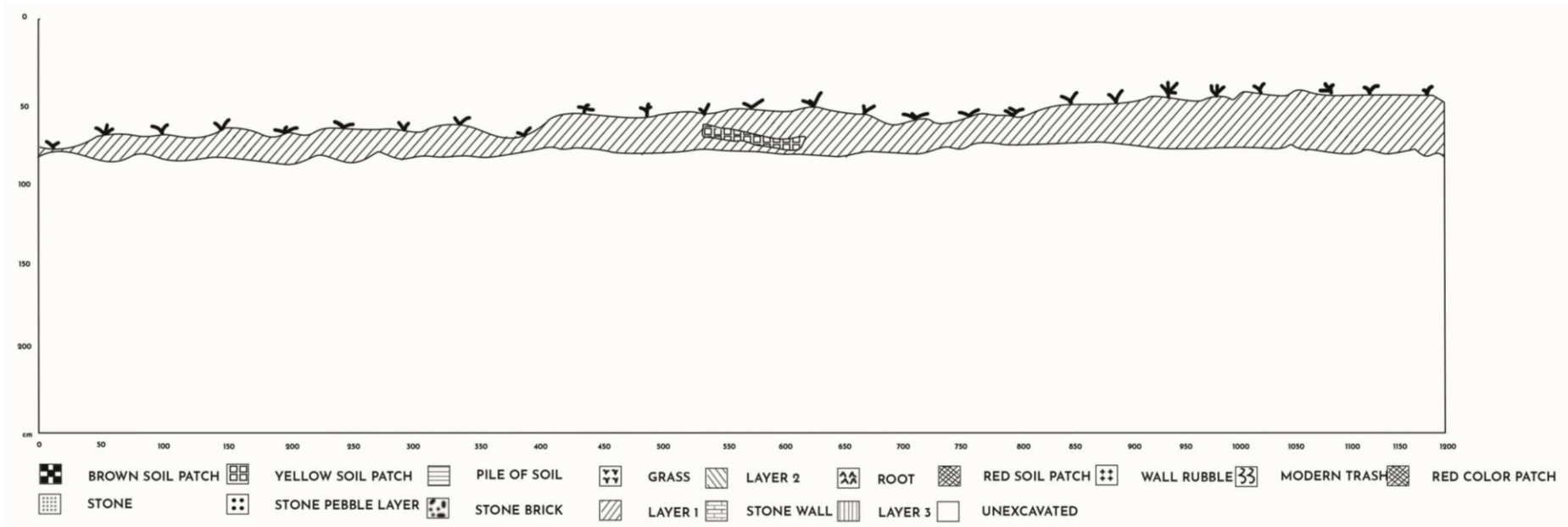


Figure A2.1: Stratigraphic profile for the north wall.

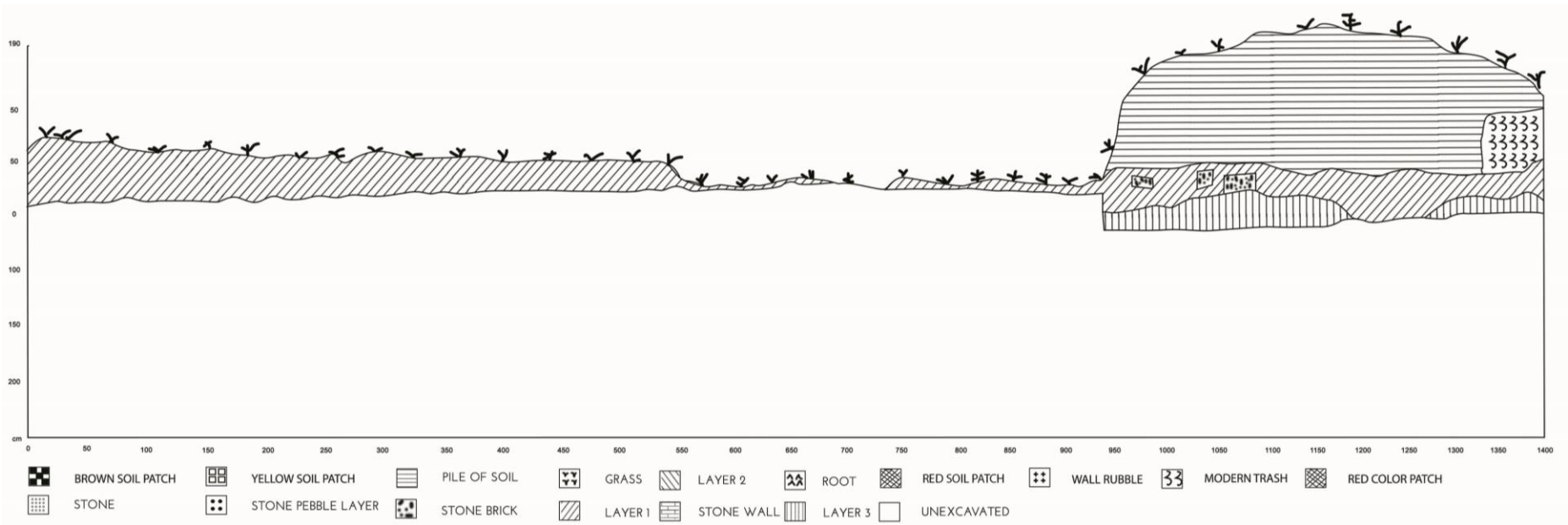


Figure A2.2: Stratigraphic profile for the east wall.

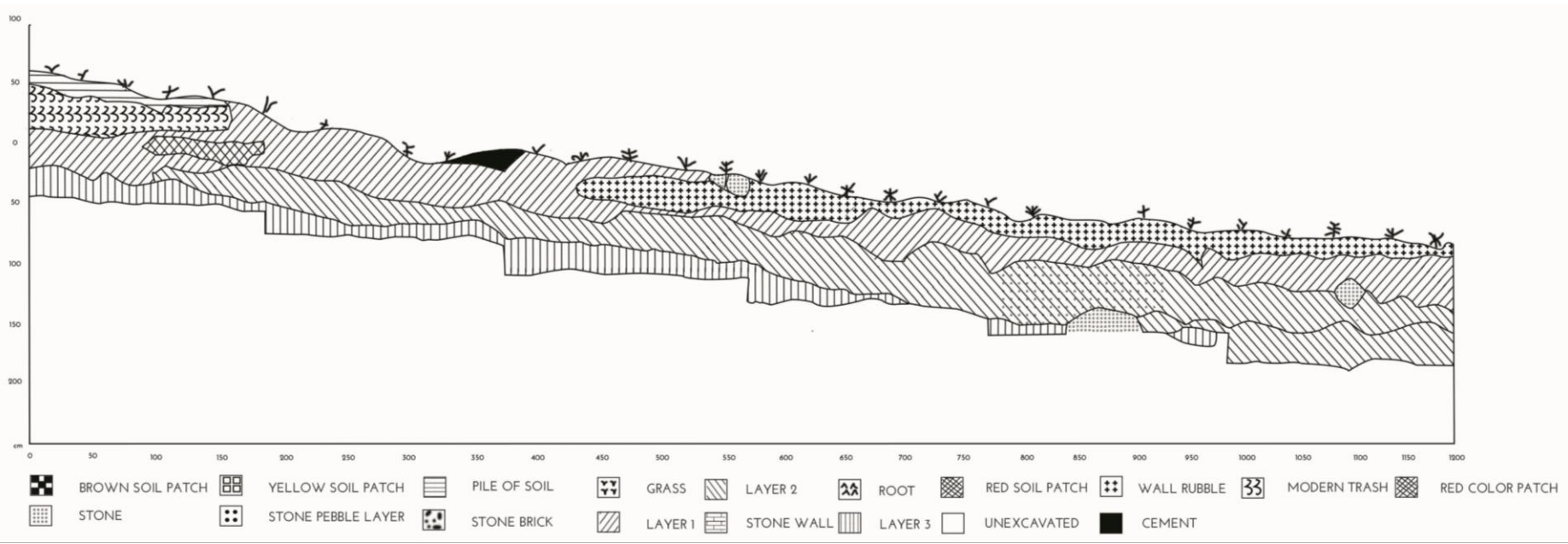


Figure A2.3: Stratigraphic profile for the south wall.

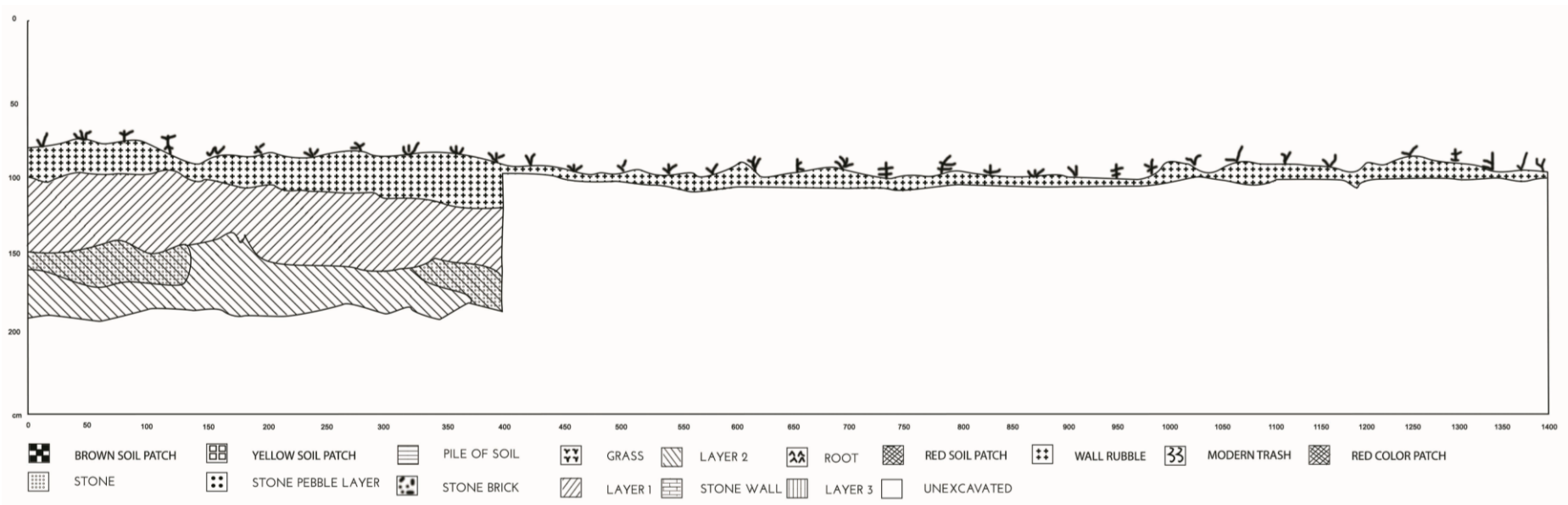


Figure A2.4: Stratigraphic profile for the west wall.

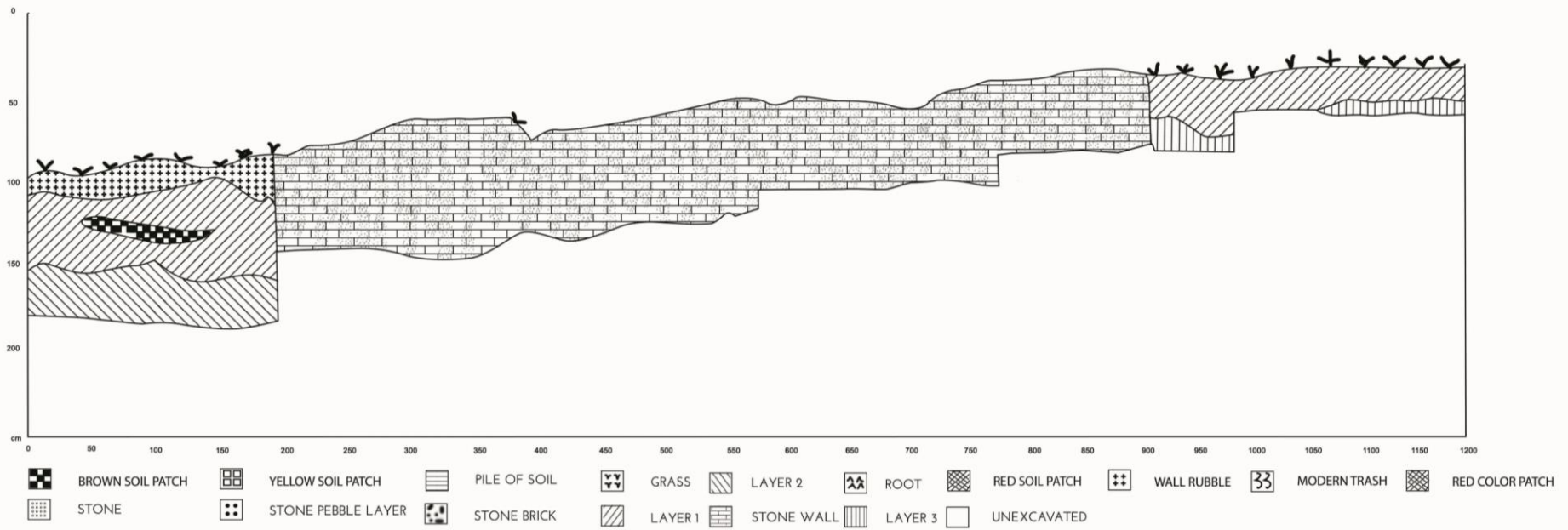


Figure A2.5: Stratigraphic profile for the house wall.

**APPENDIX 3:
Stratigraphic profiles for the Johnson family lot**

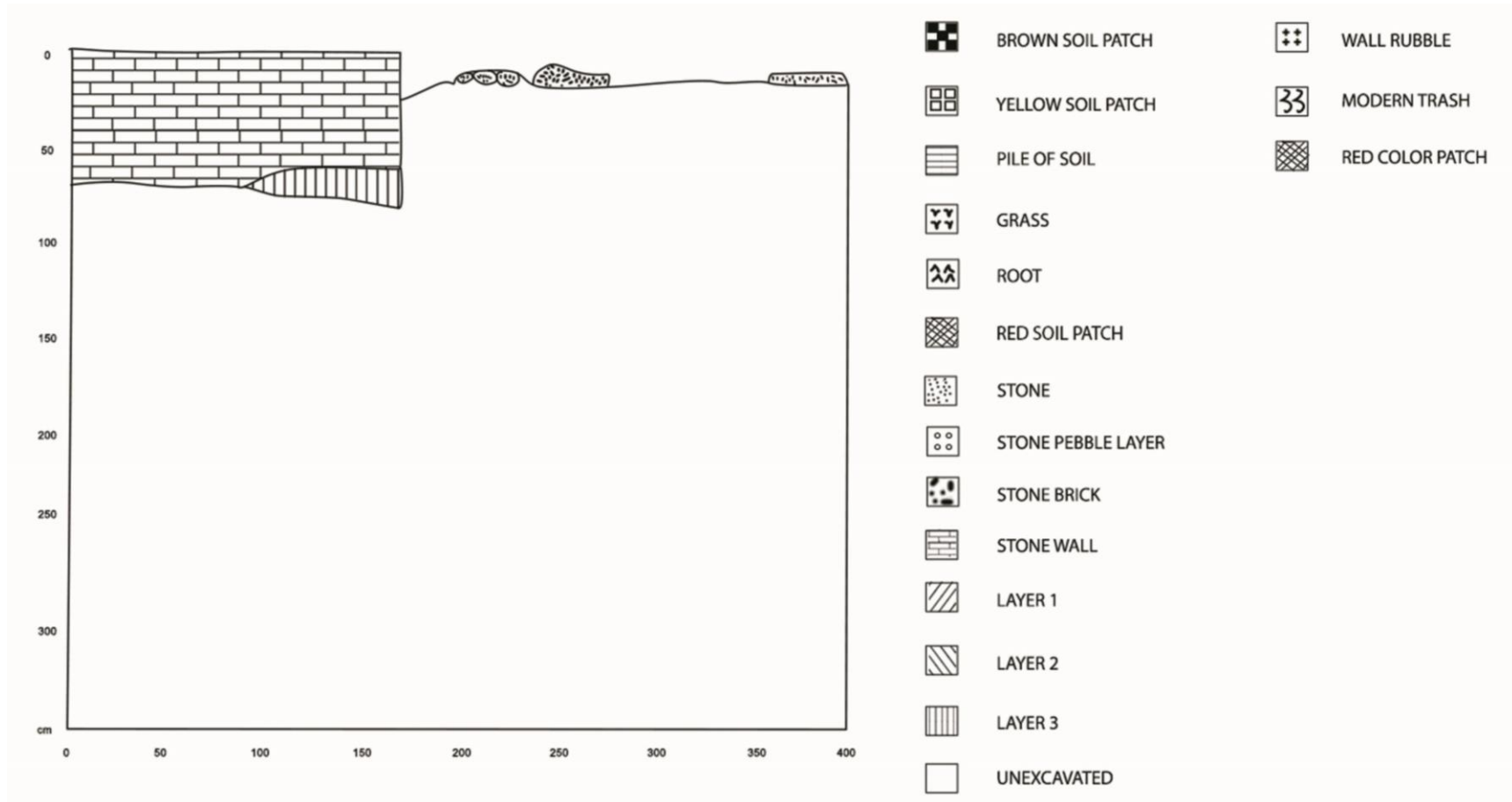


Figure A3.1: Stratigraphic profile for the north wall of Unit 001 (Test Unit)

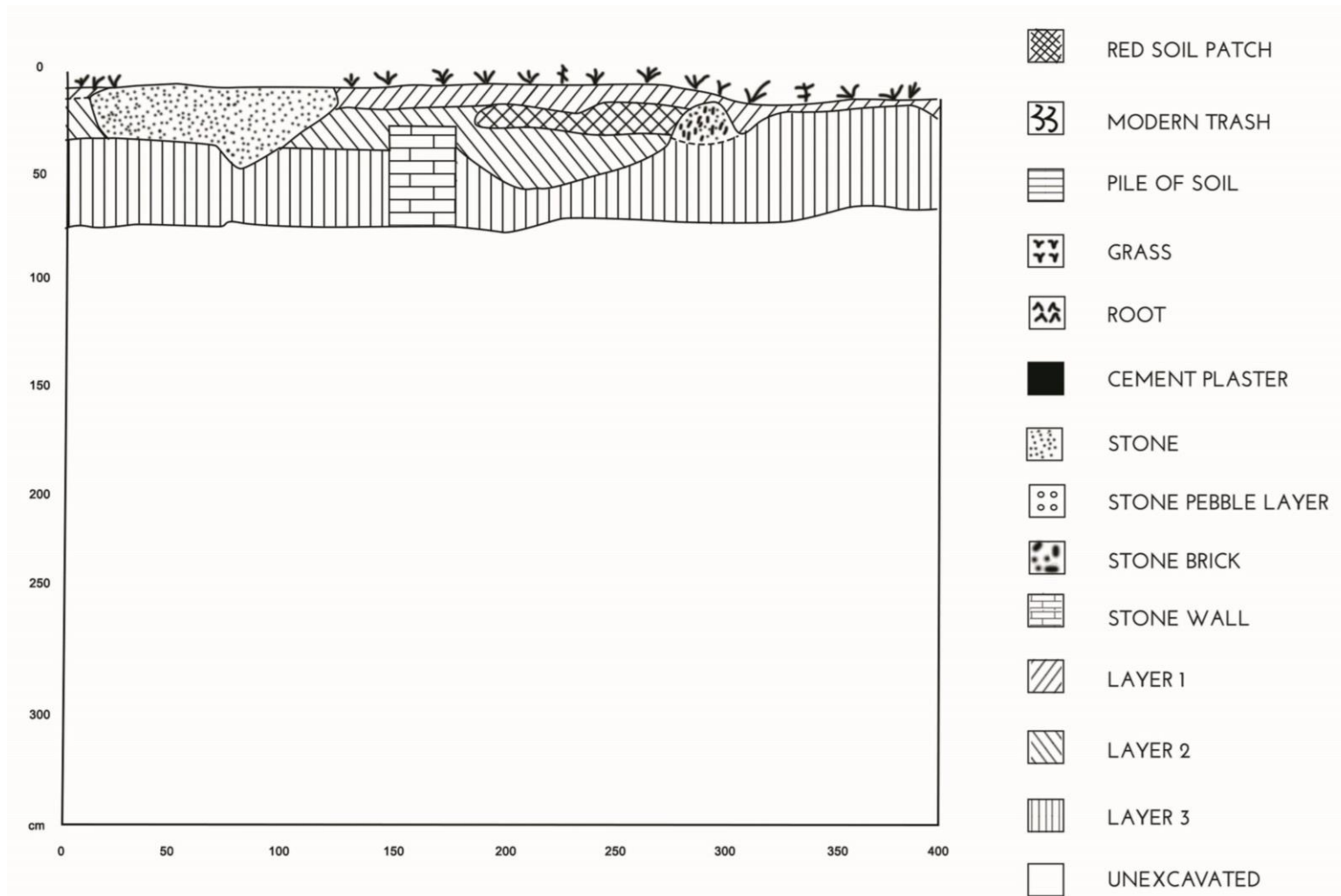


Figure A3.2: Stratigraphic profile for the east wall of Unit 001 (Test Unit)

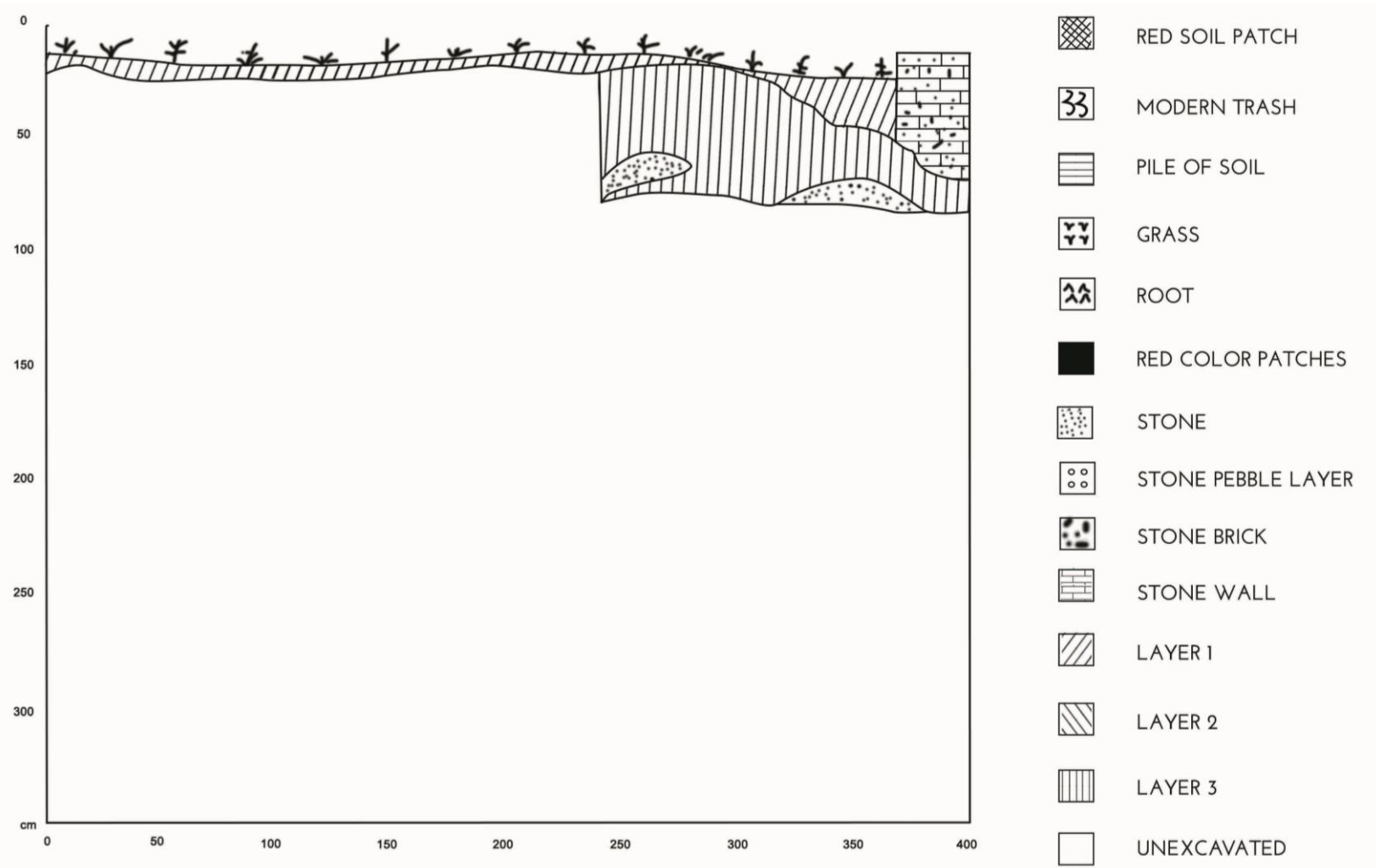


Figure A3.3: Stratigraphic profile for the south wall of Unit 001 (Test Unit)

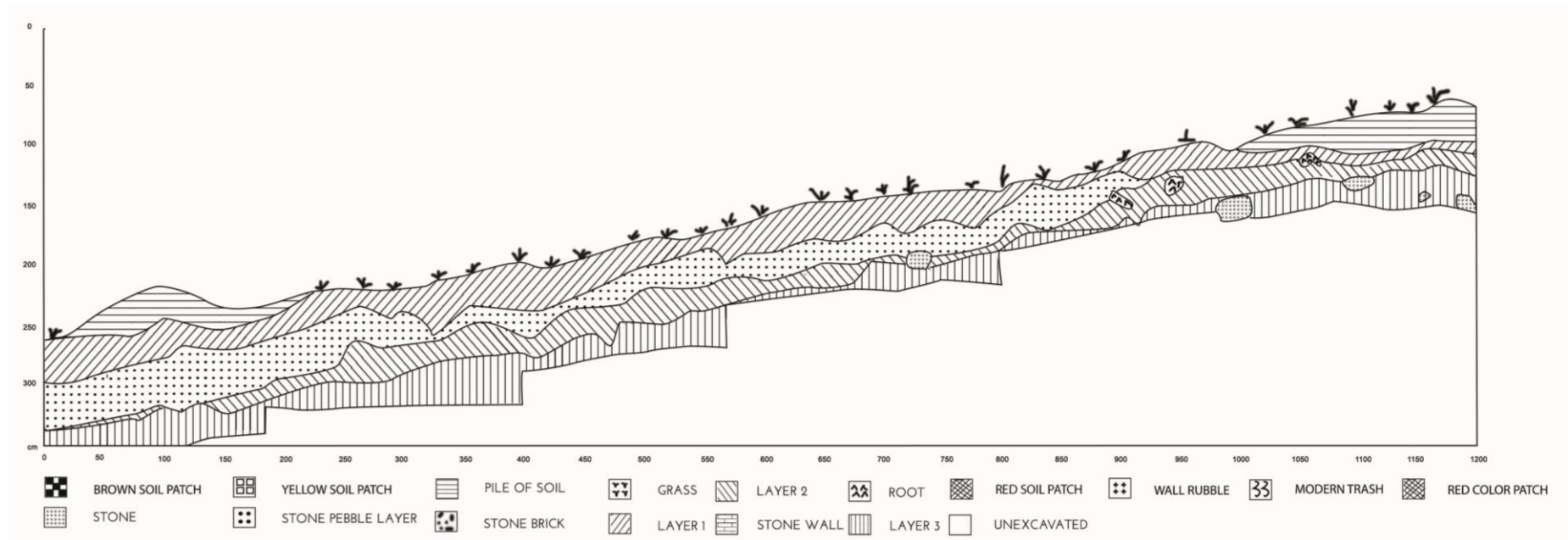


Figure A3.4: Stratigraphic profile for the north wall of the yard area.

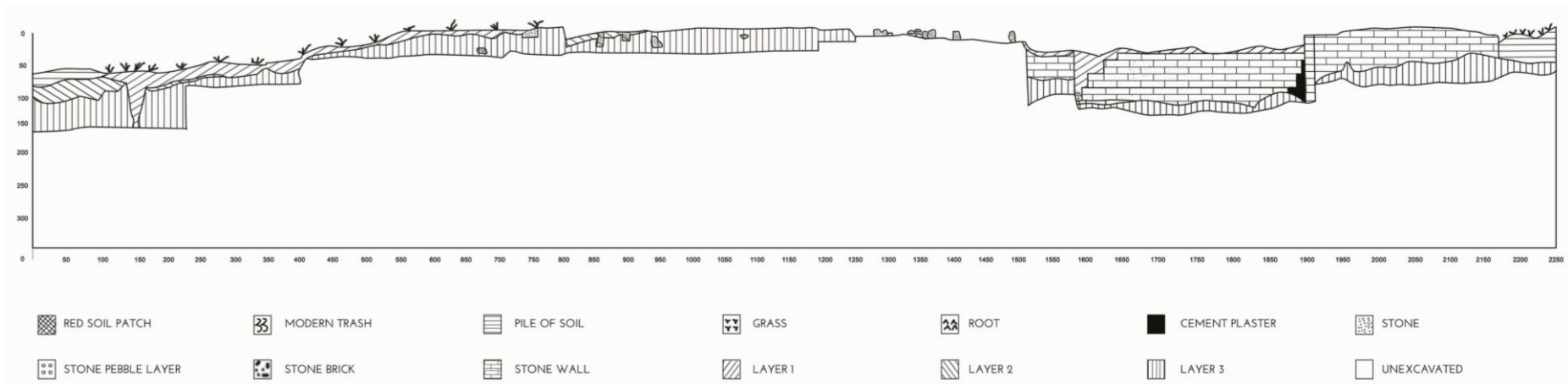


Figure A3.5: Stratigraphic profile for the east wall of the yard area.



Figure A3.8: Stratigraphic profile for the south wall of the yard area (PART A)

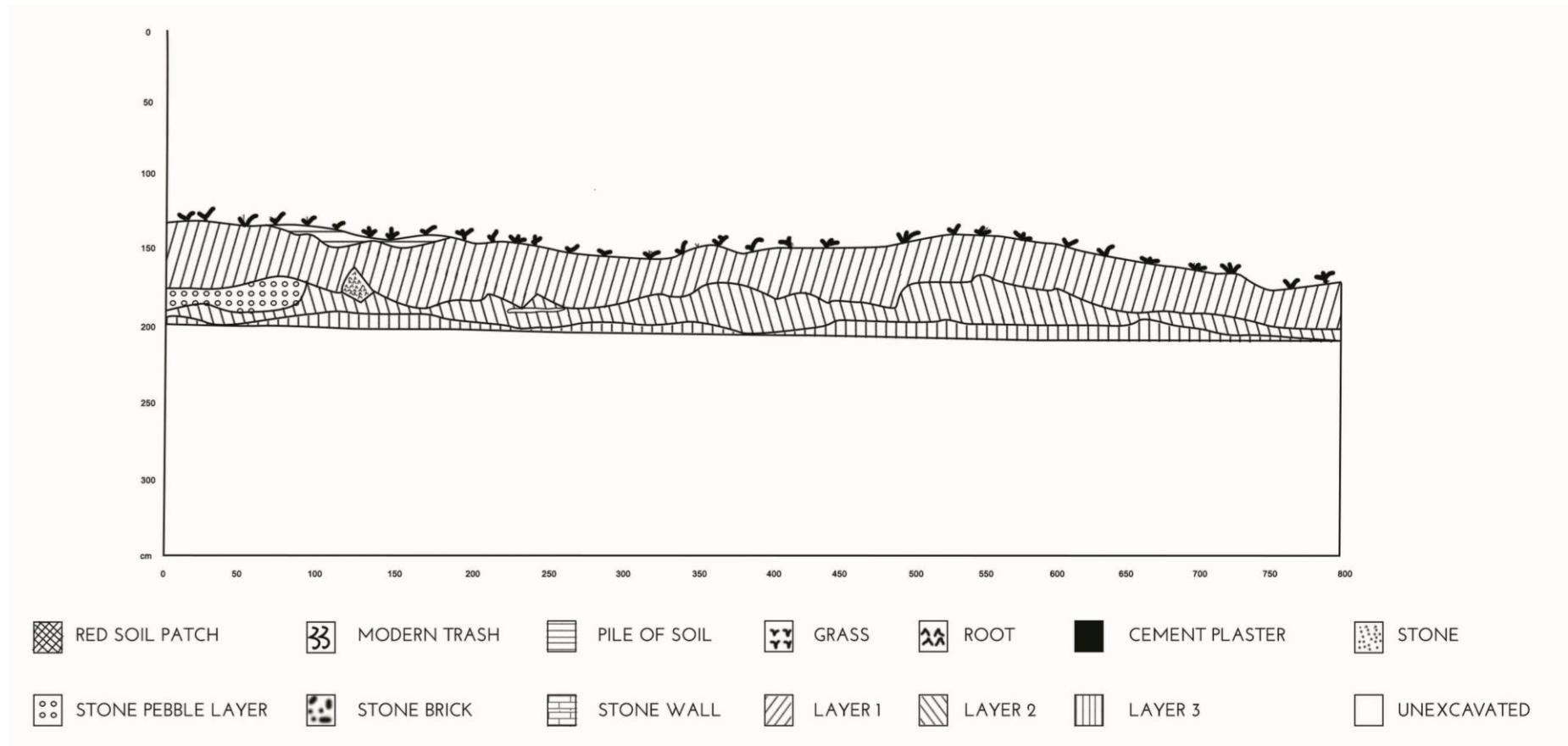


Figure A3.6: Stratigraphic profile for the west wall of the yard area (PART A)

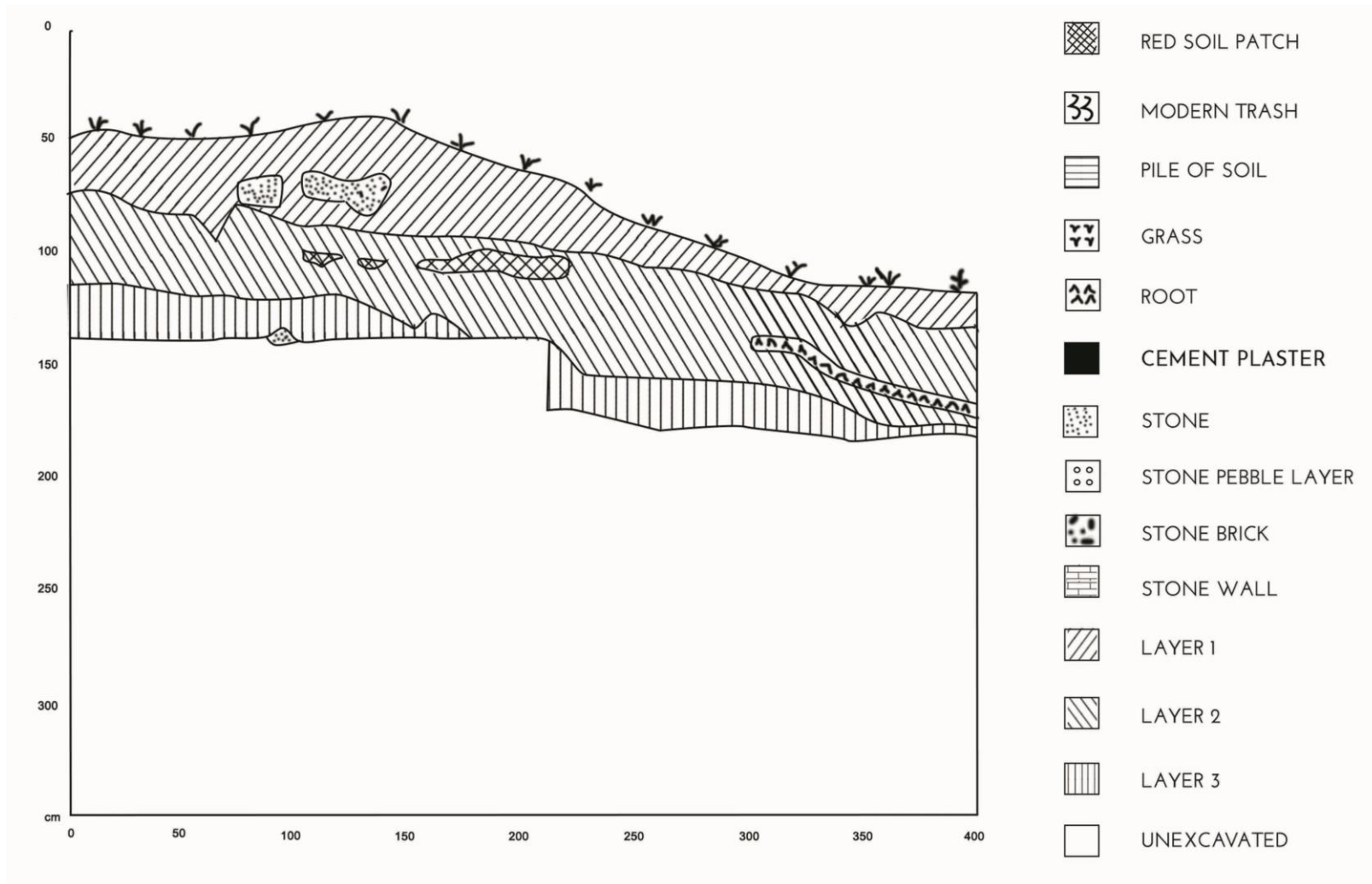


Figure A3.9: Stratigraphic profile for the south wall of the yard area (PART B)

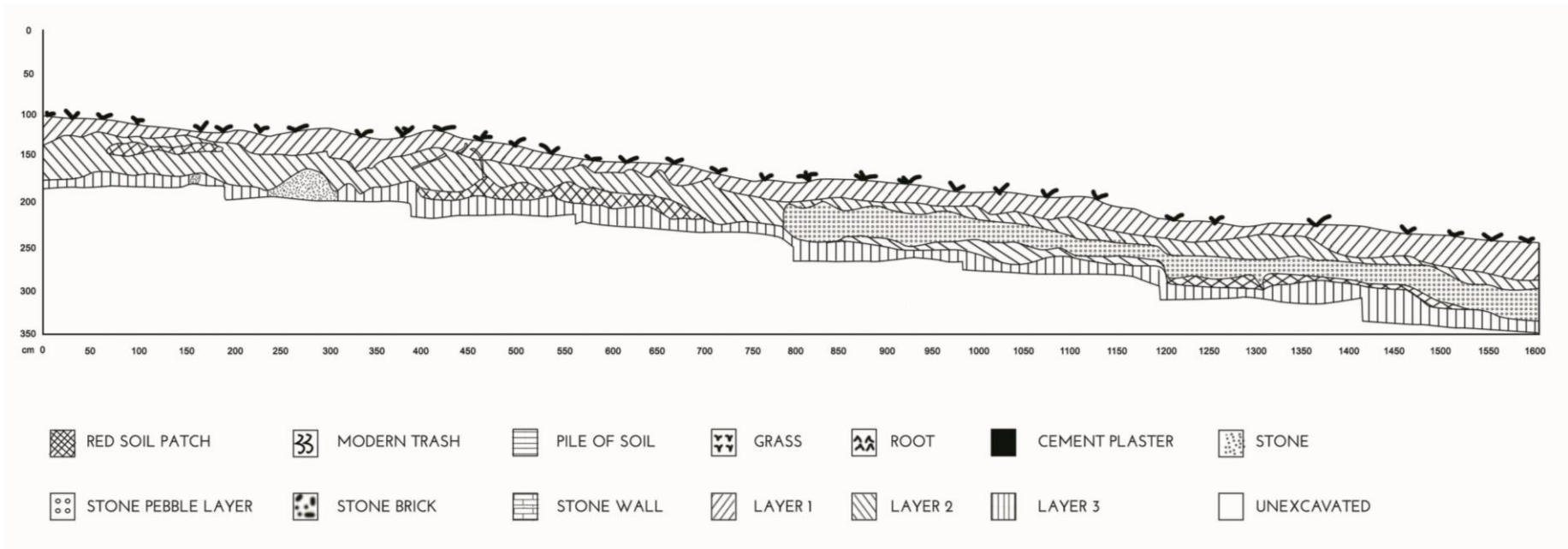


Figure A3.7: Stratigraphic profile for the west wall of the yard area (PART B)

APPENDIX 4:
Illustration of local ceramic vessel profiles and decorations

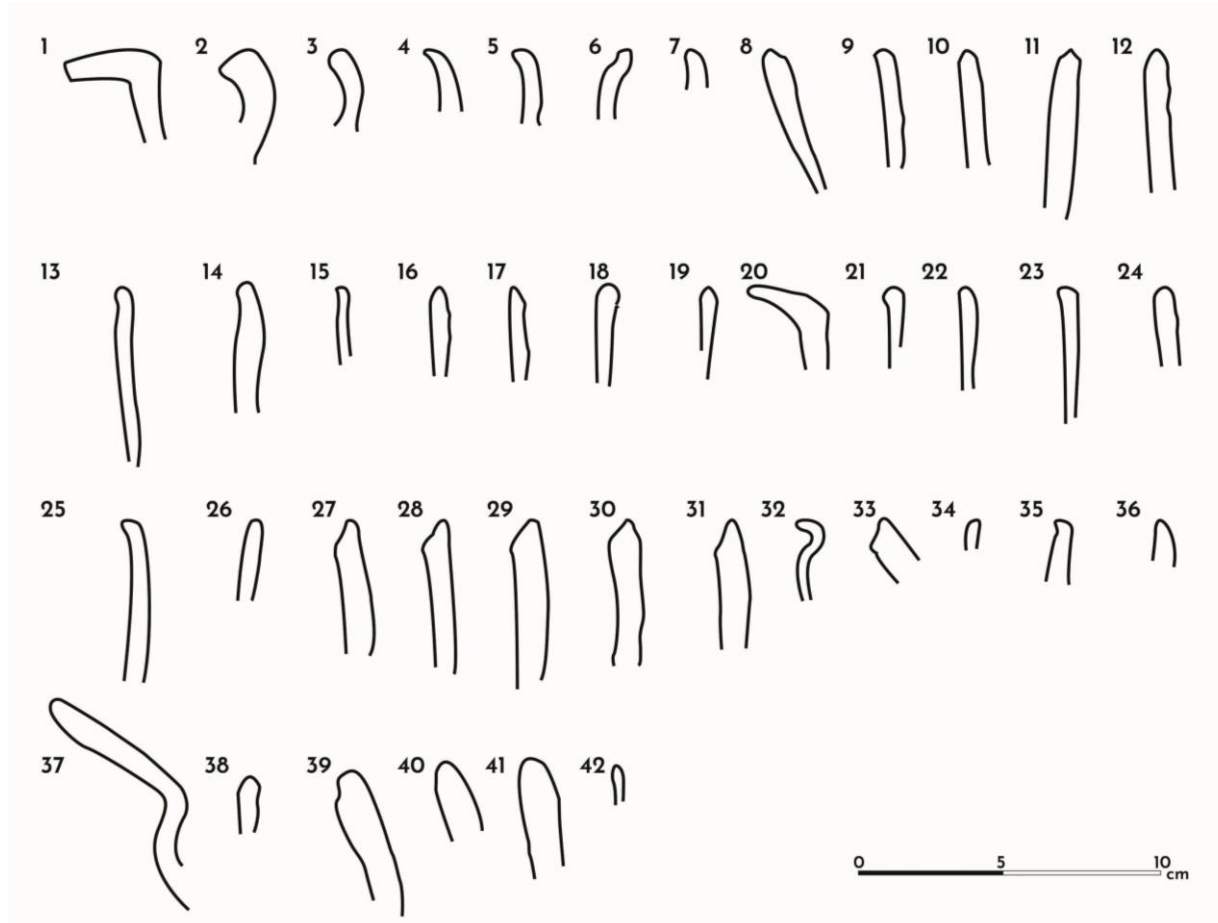


Figure A4.1: Profile of vessel counts recovered from the King family lot.

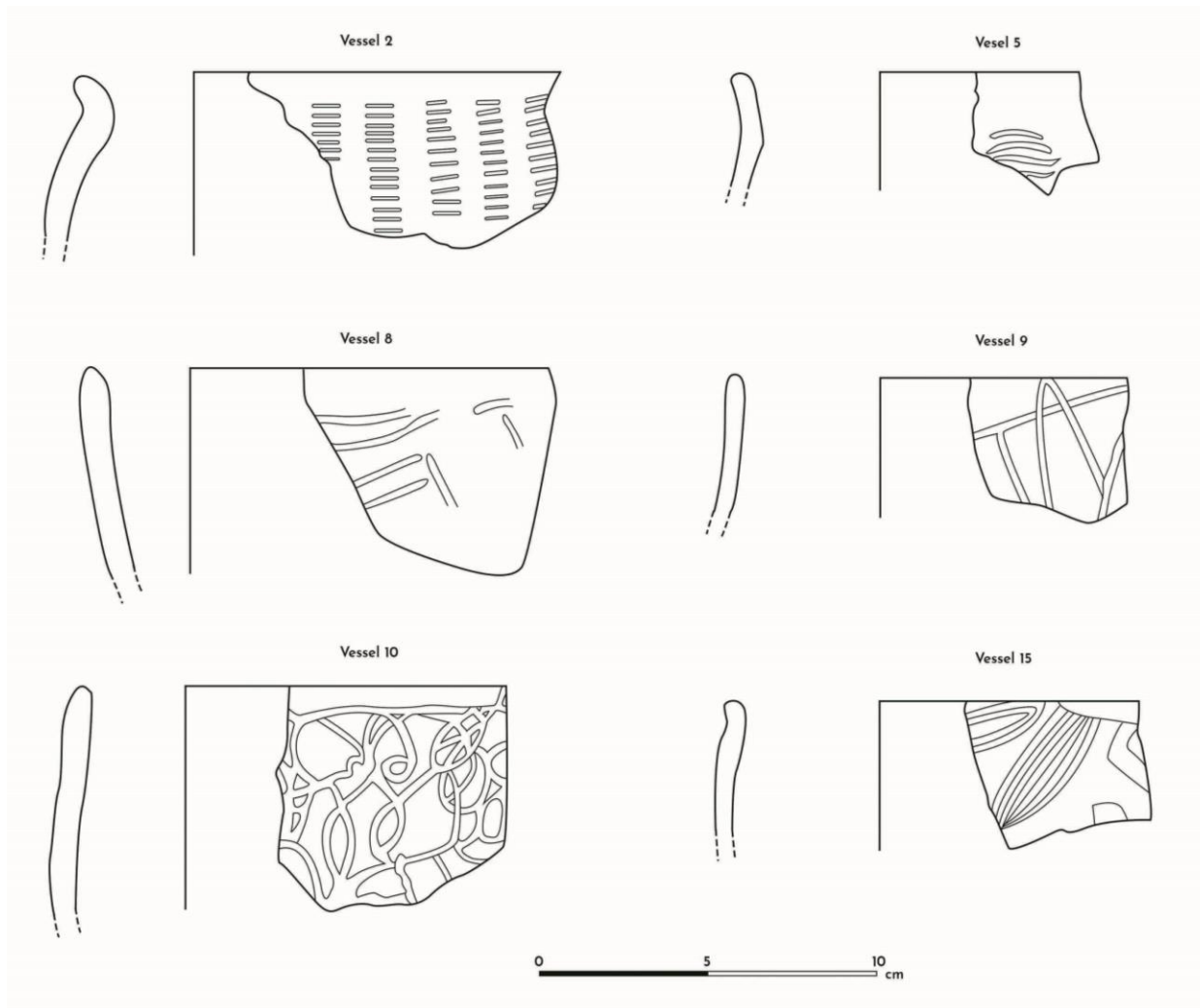


Figure A4.2: The decorations that appear on some of the vessel count (PART A)

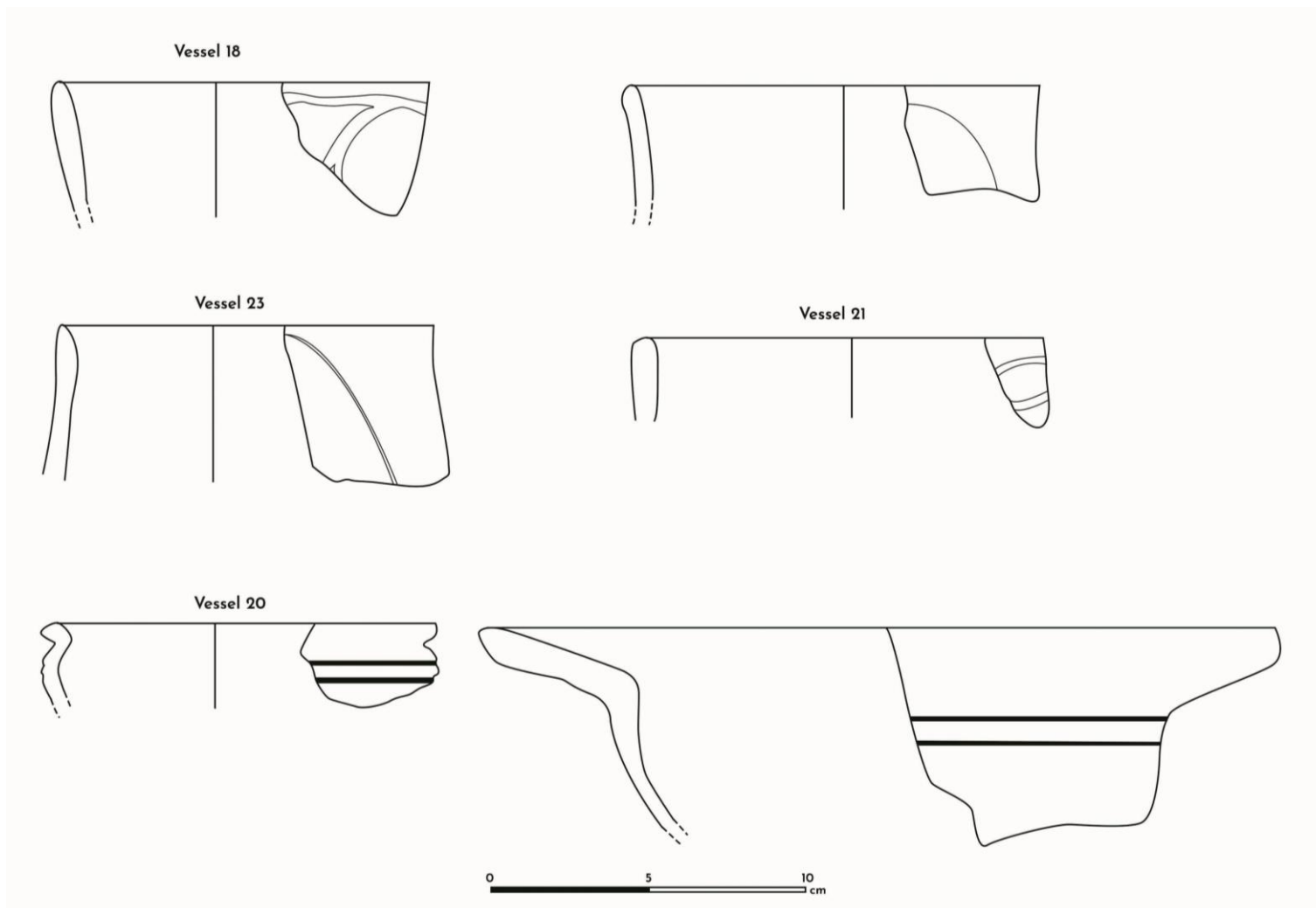


Figure A4.3: The decorations that appear on some of the vessel count (PART B)

APPENDIX 5
Illustration of local ceramic vessel profiles and decorations

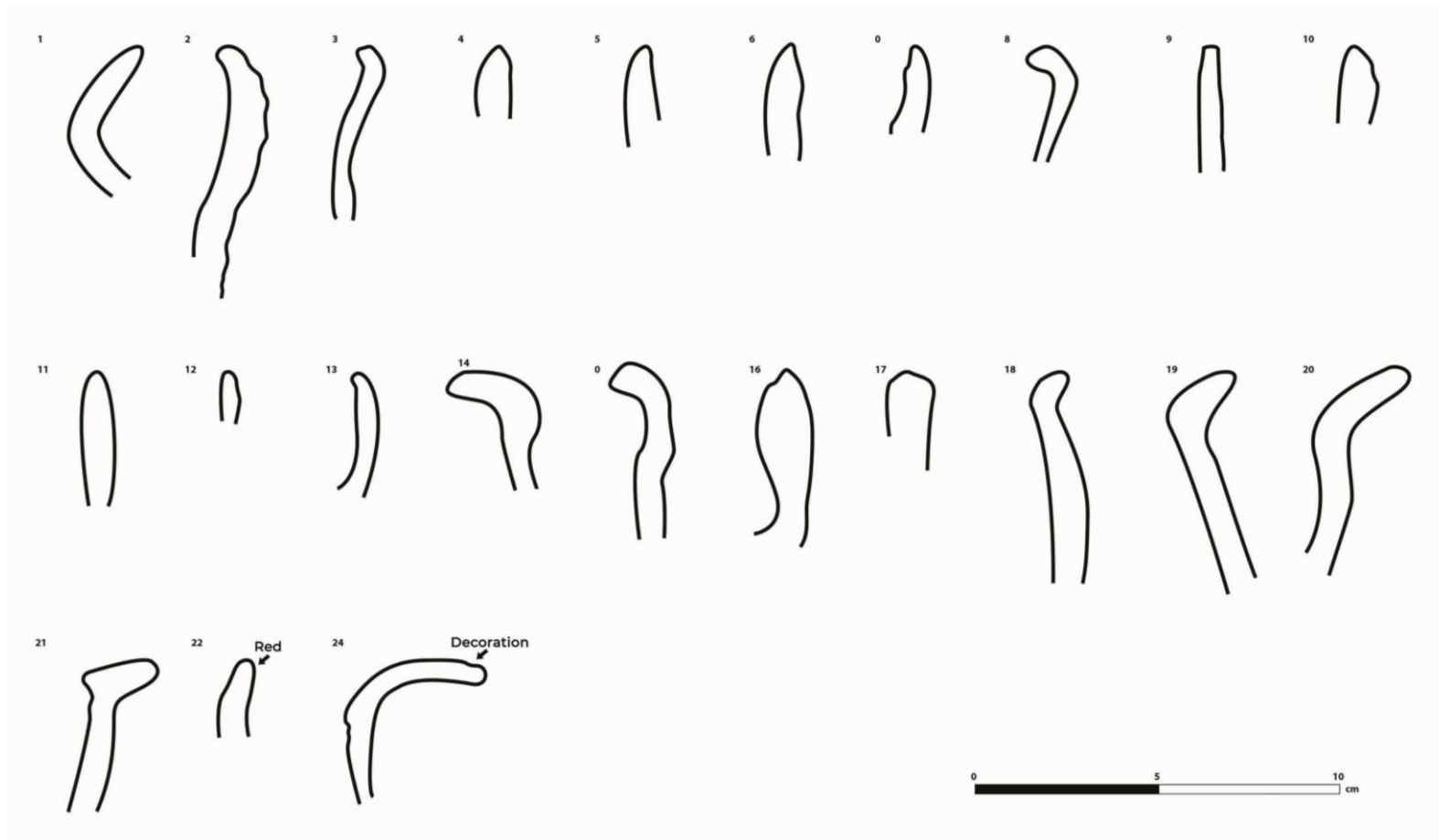


Figure A5.1: Profile of vessel counts recovered from the Johnson family lot.

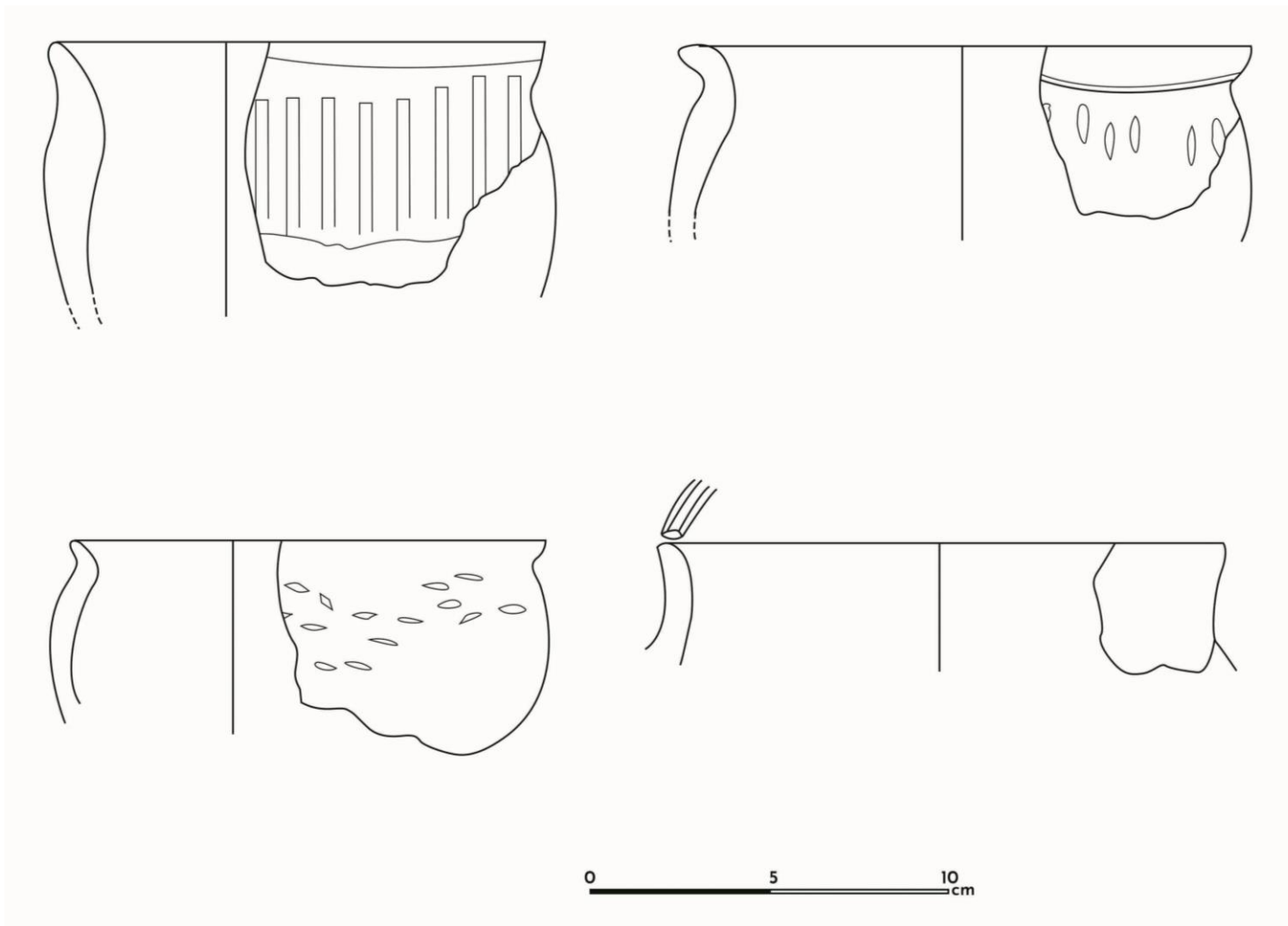


Figure A5.2: The decorations that appear on some of the vessel count (PART A)

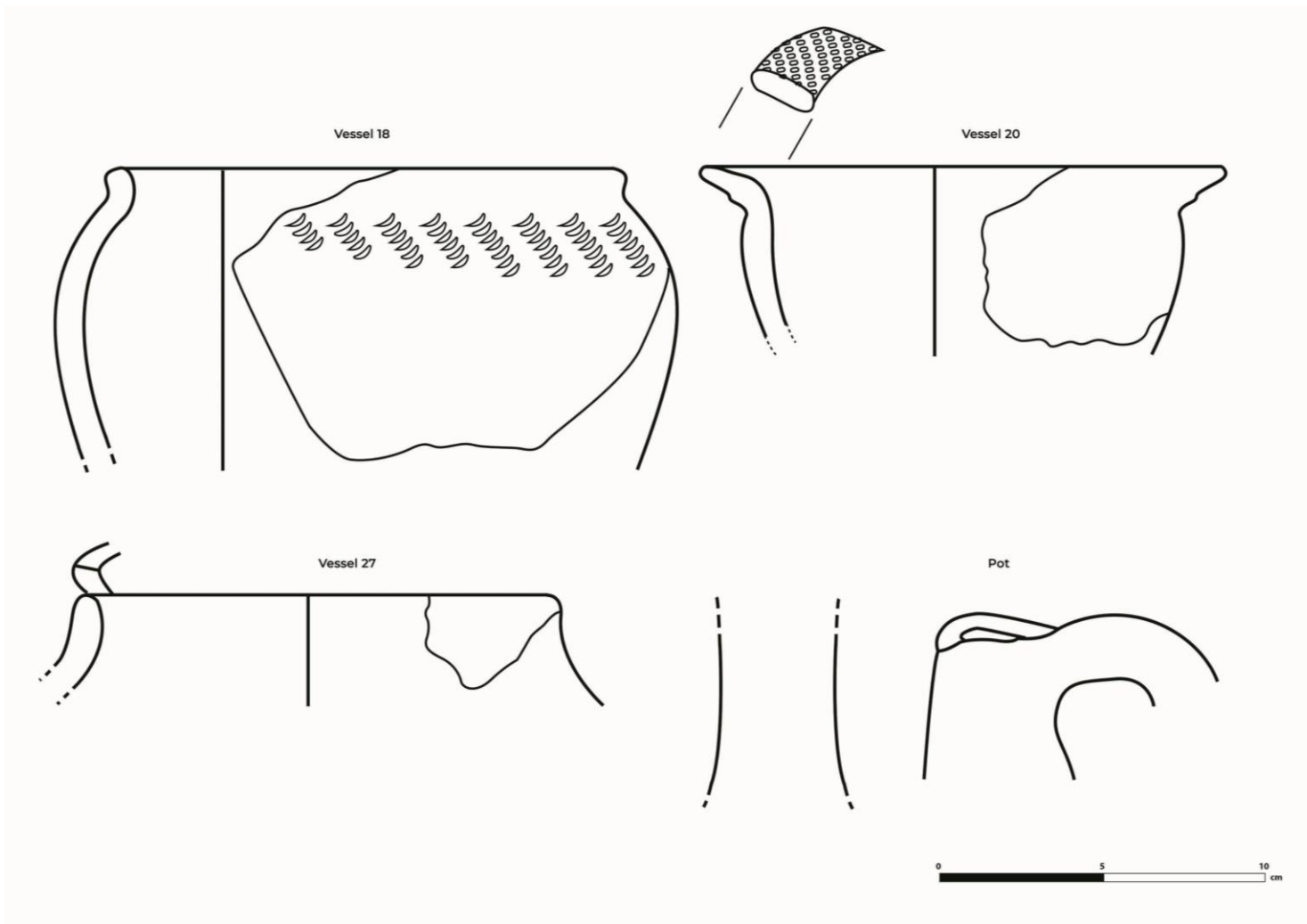


Figure A5.3: The decorations that appear on some of the vessel count (PART B)

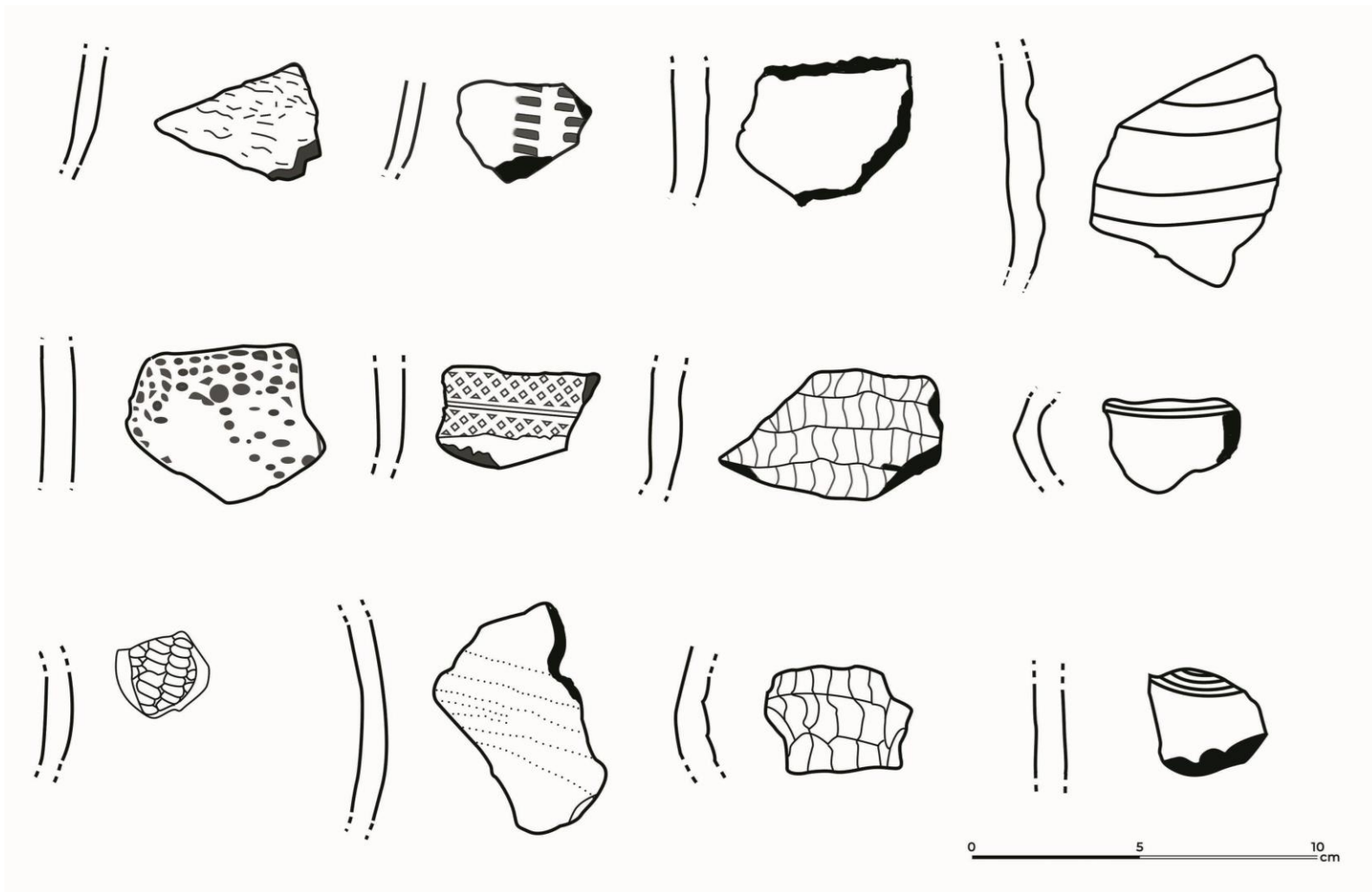


Figure A5.4: The decorations that appear on the body sherds (not included in the vessel count).

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1. Vol. I-IV 1856 – Regent Town (No street indicated)
2. Vol. 32. 1880 – Liverpool Street
3. Vol. 47. 1891 – Fitzjames Street
4. Vol 48. 1892 – Gloucester Road
5. Vol. 48. 1892 – Liverpool and Wilberforce Streets
6. Vol. 48. 1892 – Liverpool Street Opposite the Public Market
7. Vol. 49. 1892 – Gloucester Road
8. Vol. 49. 1892 – Liverpool Street
9. Vol 53. 1895 – At the junction of Jeremiah and Gulford Streets
10. Vol. 53. 1895 – Page 365(?)
11. Vol. 54. 1897 – At the junction of Jeremiah and Gulford Street
12. Vol. 56. 1897 – Wilberforce Road
13. Vol. 56. 1897 – Corner of Chapel and Victoria Streets

14. Vol. 73. 1904 – Pike Street
15. Vol 73. 1904 – Jeremiah Street
16. Vol. 76. 1907 – Pike Street
17. Vol. 77. 1906 – Rosamond Street
18. Vol. 78. 1906 – At the intersection of Rosamond, Gulford, and Jeremiah Streets
19. Vol. 79. 1903 – Between Gloucester Road and Clarence Street
20. Vol. 79. 1906 – Gloucester Road
21. Vol. 80. 1908 – Gloucester Street
22. Vol. 86. 1911 – Liverpool Street
23. Vol. 87. 1911 – Jeremiah Street
24. Vol. 87. 1911 – Gloucester Road
25. Vol. 88. 1913 – At the corner of Liverpool Street and Gloucester Road
26. Vol. 89. 1911 – At the junction of Rosamond, Gulford, and Jeremiah Streets
27. Vol. 89. 1911 – Jeremiah Street
28. Vol. 90. 1914 – Gloucester Road
29. Vol. 91. 1914 – Liverpool Street
30. Vol. 92. 1907 – Liverpool Street
31. Vol. 98. 1917 – Gloucester Road
32. Vol. 105. 1921 – At the junction of Gulford and Rosamond Streets
33. Vol. 114. 1926 – At the junction of Wilberforce Road and Pike Street
34. Vol. 118. 1928 – King Street
35. Vol. 118. 1928 – Jeremiah Street
36. Vol. 120. 1930 – Jeremiah Street
37. Vol. 120. 1930 – Gloucester Road
38. Vol. 120. 1930 – In the corner of Wilberforce Road and the road leading to Sugar Loaf
39. Vol. 120. 1930 – Jeremiah Street
40. Vol. 123. 1927 – At the corner of Fitzjames Street and Gloucester Road
41. Vol. 125. 1932 – Farboh Farm at the junction of Old Bathurst Road and Wangala Stream
42. Vol. 127. 1936 – At the Junction of Victoria and Chapel Streets
43. Vol. 130. 1937 – Liverpool Street
44. Vol. 134. 1931 – Dadley Street
45. Vol. 134. 1942 – Dadley Street
46. Vol. 139. 1938 – At the junction of Rosamond and Gulford Streets
47. Vol. 139. 1942 – Fitzjames Street
48. Vol. 139. 1942 – Dadley Street

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EDUCATION

- August 2023** **Ph.D. in Anthropology**, Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York, USA.
- May 2020** **MA in Anthropology**, Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York, USA.
- August 2016** **MSc in Conservation Studies**, University College London, in Qatar (UCL Qatar).
- December 2012** **BA in Archaeology**, University of Ibadan, Ibadan, Nigeria.

ACADEMIC POSITIONS

- 2023** **Assistant Professor of Anthropology**, the Columbian College of Arts and Sciences, the George Washington University (Start Date: Fall Semester).
- 2022 – 2024** **Post-Doctoral Research Associate and Lecturer in the Carter G. Woodson Institute for African-American and African Studies (IAAS)**, University of Virginia (Declined).

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- 2022 – 2023** **Teaching Assistant**, *The Archaeology of and in the Modern World* (Spring semester)
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- 2018 – 2019** **Teaching Assistant**, *Peoples and Cultures of the World* (Spring Semester)
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- 2013 – 2014** **Teaching Assistant**, *Conservation of Natural and Cultural History Specimens* (Spring Semester)

RESEARCH/WORK EXPERIENCE

- 2020 – 2021** **Director** - Archaeological Project at Regent Village, Freetown Peninsula, Sierra Leone.
- 2018** **Director** - A Preliminary Archaeological Project at Tasso Island, Sierra Leone.
- 2018** **Student** - Syracuse University Archaeology Field Program at Trents Plantation, Barbados.
- 2017** **Consultant, Collections Care Department**, National Museum of Qatar.
- 2016** **Internship: Archaeological Materials Science Laboratories Assistant**, University College London, Qatar.
- 2016** **Internship: Objects Conservation Laboratory**, Heritage Malta, Malta.
- 2015** **Internship: Objects Conservation Laboratory**, Heritage Malta, Malta.
- 2015** **Internship: Conservation Department**, 3-2-1 Qatar Olympic and Sports Museum.
- 2015** **Internship: Data Handling and Input for Metal Africa Website**, University College London, Qatar.
- 2015** **Internship: Sudan Project Assistant and Data Entry**, University College London, Qatar.
- 2013 – 2014** **Field Archaeologist and Laboratory Assistant** - Oduduwa Grove, Ile-Ife, Nigeria. University of North Carolina, Charlotte).
- 2013 – 2014** **Field Archaeologist** - Wessex Archaeology, England Azzura Company Project on the Benin City Wall and Moats.
- 2010 – 2012** **Site Supervisor** - Excavations at Igbo Olokun Grove, Ile-Ife, Nigeria. Rice University, Texas.
- 2010 – 2012** **Student Researcher** - Orile-Owu (Osun), Igbo-Eji (Esie), Aba Ajibode (Ibadan), Nigeria.

ACADEMIC WORKSHOPS

- 2023** **Scientific Writing Workshop for Graduate Students**. Co-sponsored by Women in Science and Engineering (WiSE) and the Graduate Student Organization (GSO) at Syracuse University.
- 2022** **Write Winning Grant Proposals: National Science Foundation (NSF) Focus**. Organized by Syracuse University's Office of Research.
- 2020** **Archaeological Illustration**. Organized by Jack Scott (Scott the Creative). 51stThe Society for Historical Archaeology (SHA) Annual Conference, New Orleans, La.
- 2020** **WKS-06: An Introduction to Doing Research with The Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (DAACS)**. Organized by Jillian Galle, Lynsey Bates, and Leslie Cooper. 51st The Society for Historical Archaeology (SHA) Annual Conference, New Orleans, La.

PUBLICATIONS

Journal Articles and Book Chapters

Agbelusi, Oluseyi O.

2015 Archaeological Education in Nigeria: Concepts, Methods, Challenges and Recommendations.” In *Students in Archaeology: A Global Perspective*, edited by Claire Smith and Jordan Ralph, pp. 220–245. *Special Issue Archaeologies* 11(2). Springer, New York.

2014 Afro-Brazilian Influences on Indigenous Yoruba Architecture: The Ibadan Example. *West African Journal of Archaeology* 39: 61 – 77.

2014 In Search of the Ancestors: A Preliminary Archaeological Reconnaissance of Orile-Owu, Nigeria. *Anistoriton* 13: 1–11. Electronic Copy. Available at: <http://www.anistor.gr/english/4>

Book Reviews

Agbelusi, Oluseyi O.

2020 Review of *Revelations of Dominance and Resistance: Unearthing the Buried Past of The Akpini, Akan, German, and British at Kpando, Ghana* by Apoh, Wazi (2019). Sub-Saharan Publishers. *African Archaeological Review* 37: 523–525.

2016 Review of *The Ethics of Cultural Heritage*, edited by Ireland, T. and J. Schofield (2015). Springer. *Ethical Archaeologies: The Politics of Social Justice*: 4, 1–219. *Dig It: The Journal of the Flinders Archaeological Society* 3: 92–94.

Entry in Encyclopedia

Agbelusi, Oluseyi O.

2016 Yatenga. In *African Kingdoms: An Encyclopedia of Empires and Civilizations*, edited by Saheed Aderinto. ABC-CLIO Greenwood, USA.

Newsletter

Appiah-Adu, Siaw, **Oluseyi O. Agbelusi**, Samuel Amartey, and David A. Okanlawon

2021 Pandemic or ‘Plandemic’?: Graduate Study and Research in the COVID Era. *Society of Black Archaeologists* 21-23.

PRESENTATIONS AND LECTURES

Sean H. Reid¹, **Oluseyi O. Agbelusi**², Samuel Amartey³, Francis M. Momoh⁴

2023 Revisiting Terrestrial and Maritime Cultural Landscapes in Coastal Sierra Leone. 55th The Society for Historical Archaeology Conference. **Co-Paper Presenter** (Virtual).

Agbelusi, Oluseyi O.

2023 Freedom Narratives: Illegal Slavery, Liminal Spaces, and Nascent Colonialism on the Freetown Peninsula. 55th The Society for Historical Archaeology Conference. **Paper Presenter** (Virtual).

Agbelusi, Oluseyi O.

2022 Recording the Lives of Liberated Africans in a Diasporic Settlement at Regent Village, Sierra Leone, 1808-1896. The 16th PAA Congress in Zanzibar, Tanzania. **Paper Presenter** (Virtual).

Agbelusi, Oluseyi O.

2021 Recent Archaeological Research in coastal Sierra Leone: Prospects and Challenges in a Pandemic and Post-Conflict Era. 64th Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association. **Paper Presenter** (Virtual).

Agbelusi, Oluseyi O.

2021 British Anti-Slavery, Trade, and Nascent Colonialism on the Freetown Peninsula, Sierra Leone. Maxwell African Scholars Union, Syracuse University. **Paper Presenter** (Virtual).

Agbelusi, Oluseyi O.

2021 'Black Lives Matter and Archaeology'. The World Archaeological Congress Virtual Inter-Congress. **Co-session Organizer** (Virtual).

Agbelusi, Oluseyi O.

2021 'When Travel Is Impossible: Perspectives on Students Research in the times of COVID-19.' WACSC Proposal for the World Archaeological Congress Virtual Inter-Congress. **Co-session Organizer** (Virtual).

Agbelusi, Oluseyi O.

2020 WAC, WACSC, and You: Building the Next Generation of Students in Archaeology. The Archaeology Society of the National University of Ireland, Galway, Podcast Series. **Guest Speaker** (Virtual).

Agbelusi, Oluseyi O.

2020 Exchange, Entanglement, and 'Freedom': British Anti-Slavery and Nascent Colonialism in coastal Sierra Leone in the Age of Revolution. 53rd The Society for Historical Archaeology Conference. **Paper Presenter**.

Agbelusi, Oluseyi O.

2019 'Grabbing Today, Losing Tomorrow; Challenges Of Cultural Heritage Management In West Africa.' 16th West African Archaeological Association, University of Ghana, Legon-Ghana. **Co-session Organizer**.

Agbelusi, Oluseyi O.

2019 Public Education as a Veritable Tool for Preserving and Conserving Archaeological Sites On Tasso Island And Freetown, Sierra Leone. 16th West African Archaeological Association, University of Ghana, Legon-Ghana. **Paper Presenter**.

Agbelusi, Oluseyi O.

2019 From Coast to Interior: A Preliminary Archaeological Investigation of Krio Settlements in Sierra Leone. 52nd The Society for Historical Archaeology Conference. **Session Organizer and Paper Presenter**.

Agbelusi, Oluseyi O.

2016 Revisiting the Past: A condition assessment of old archaeological materials for future re-analysis, re- interpretation, and conservation. The 8th World Archaeological Congress, Kyoto, Japan. **Poster Presenter**.

Agbelusi, Oluseyi O.

2016 T08-V: ‘Practicing Heritage’, under the theme ‘The Public, Heritage and Museum.’ The 8th World Archaeological Congress, Kyoto, Japan. **Co-session Organizer.**

Agbelusi, Oluseyi O.

2016 Assessment of Museum Collection Storage in Ibadan, Nigeria: Its Implications for Archaeology, Conservation and Museum Practices. ICON ’16, Birmingham, UK. **Poster Presenter.**

Agbelusi, Oluseyi O.

2013 In search of the Ancestors: A Preliminary Archaeological Reconnaissance of Orile-Owu, Nigeria. The 7th World Archaeological Congress, Jordan. **Paper Presenter.**

ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION/LUNCHEON

2021 Roundtable Discussion: Ethics Bowl to Go: The Student Experience Live session. 54th The Society for Historical Archaeology (SHA) Virtual Conference.

2020 Roundtable Luncheon: RL7: Grant Writing, organized by Eric Schweickart (University of Tennessee, Knoxville) and Eric Johnson (Harvard University). 53rd The Society for Historical Archaeology (SHA) Annual Conference, Boston, Massachusetts.

DEBATING AND PUBLIC SPEAKING

- 2019** **The 52nd SHA Student Ethics Bowl**, St. Charles, Missouri. Winning Team
- 2018** **The 51st SHA Student Ethics Bowl**, New Orleans, Louisiana. Runner-Up Team
- 2016** **The 8th WAC International Student Ethics Debate**, Kyoto, Japan. Winning Team
- 2013** **The 7th WAC International Students Ethics Debate**, Amman, Jordan. Semi-finalist Team

MEDIA INTERVIEWS

- 2021** **Archaeological Laboratory Tours at Hamilton Village**, AYV TV, Sierra Leone.
- 2020** **On-site Exhibition at the King’s House Lot, Regent Village**, AYV TV, Sierra Leone.
- 2020** **IDMS – “Shared Cultures, Shared Heritage, Shared Responsibility,”** Facebook Live.
- 2014** **Televised interview at the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA)**, Ile-Ife, Channel 39 UHF.
- 2013** **Radio Broadcast Interview at Orisun FM - 89.5**, Oke Itase, Ile-Ife, Nigeria.

GRANTS, FELLOWSHIPS, AND AWARDS

- 2023** **Graduate Teaching Assistantship**, Department of Anthropology, Syracuse University.
- 2022** **Graduate Dean’s Award for Excellence in Research and Creative Work**, The Graduate School at Syracuse University (The 4th Annual Competition).
- 2021 – 2022** **Dissertation Completion Fellowship**, The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation and the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS).
- 2021** **Summer Dissertation Fellowship**, The Graduate School at Syracuse University.
- 2020 – 2021** **Graduate Teaching Assistantship**, Department of Anthropology, Syracuse University.
- 2020** **Goekjian/Maxwell African Scholars Union Research Grant**, Summer support for fieldwork.
- 2019 – 2020** **Graduate Fellowship**, Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University.
- 2019** **SHA Harriet Tubman Student Travel Award**, 52nd The Society for Historical Archaeology Meeting, St. Charles, Missouri.
- 2019** **Graduate Student Organization Travel Grant, Syracuse University**, 52nd The Society for Historical Archaeology Meeting, St. Charles, Missouri.
- 2018** **The Royal Air Maroc - African Studies Association (ASA) Student Travel**, Doctoral dissertation research project in coastal Sierra Leone.
- 2018 – 2019** **Graduate Teaching Assistantship**, Department of Anthropology, Syracuse University.
- 2018** **Maxwell Dean’s Summer Fellowship**, Syracuse University - Support for fieldwork.
- 2017 – 2018** **Graduate Fellowship**, Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University.
- 2016** **World Archaeological Congress Travel Award**, 8th WAC Conference in Kyoto, Japan.
- 2016** **University College London, Qatar Professional Development Award**, ICON ‘16: Turn and Face the Change: Conservation in the 21st Century, Birmingham.
- 2015** **University College London, Qatar Professional Development Award**, 3rd IIC Student Conference in Warsaw, Poland.
- 2014 – 2016** **University College London, Qatar Award for Cultural Heritage**. Full Scholarship for a Master’s degree in Conservation of Cultural Heritage.
- 2013** **World Archaeological Congress Travel Award**, 7th WAC Conference in Jordan.

- 2013** **West African Journal of Archaeology Travel Grant**, West African Archaeological Association 13th Colloquium, l'Université de Cocody, Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire.
- 2012** **Ekiti State Scholarship Award** for the completion of Bachelor's Degree in Archaeology.
- 2010** **Best Student Award** in the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Ibadan, Ibadan, Nigeria.

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

- 2022** **Member of Review Team**, The 9th World Archaeological Congress Student Committee (WACSC) Paper and Poster Competitions, Cubex, Centrum, Prague, Czech Republic.
- 2021-2022** **Student Representative**, World Archaeological Congress (WAC) – Executive Level.
- 2020-Present** **Student Fellow**, the Royal Anthropological Institute (RAI).
- 2018-2020** **Chair**, the World Archaeological Congress Student Committee (WACSC).
- 2016-2018** **Vice-Chair**, the World Archaeological Congress Student Committee (WACSC).
- 2016-2020** **Student Representative for Western Africa region** on the World Archaeological Congress Student Committee (WACSC).
- 2016-Present** **Member of Review Team - *International Journal of Student Research in Archaeology***.
- 2018-2019** **APTC Student Subcommittee Liaison**, Curation and Collections Management (SHA).
- 2019** **Student Volunteer**, The Society for Historical Archaeology (SHA), St. Charles, Missouri.
- 2018-2019** **Graduate Students Faculty Representative**, Department of Anthropology, Syracuse University.
- 2018** **Student Volunteer**, The Society for Historical Archaeology (SHA), New Orleans.
- 2016** **Student Volunteer**, The 8th World Archaeological Congress (WAC), Kyoto Japan.
- 2013-2014** **President**, Editorial/Media Community Development Group at Ile-Ife, Nigeria under the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) Programme.
- 2013** **Student Volunteer**, The 7th World Archaeological Congress (WAC), Amman, Jordan.
- 2011-2012** **Deputy Editor-in-Chief**, Archaeology and Anthropology Students Association (ASSA) Press Organization, University of Ibadan, Ibadan, Nigeria.

MEMBER

- World Archaeological Congress (WAC)
- Royal Anthropological Institute (RAI) – Student Fellow
- Society of Africanist Archaeologists (SAfA)
- Society of Black Archaeologists (SBA)
- African Studies Association (ASA)
- West African Archaeological Association (WAAA)
- American Institute for Conservation (AIC)
- International Council of Museums – Committee for Conservation (ICOM-CC) – Friend
- International Institute for Conservation (IIC)

SKILLS

Archival and Archaeological Field Research:

- Archaeological Field Excavations
- Conservation Methods
- Archival Research
- Database Management
- Teaching

Archaeological Material Science and Laboratory Analysis:

- Optical Microscopy and 3D Stereomicroscopy
- Digital X-ray imaging
- Portable X-ray Fluorescence Spectroscopy (pXRF)
- Scanning Electron Microscopy-Energy Dispersive Spectroscopy (SEM-EDS)
- Fourier Transform Infrared Spectrometer (FTIR)
- Digital photography and 3-D modeling of museum objects
- Multi-spectral Imaging (UV, IR, Raking) and Reflectance Transformation Imaging (RTI)

Languages: English (Excellent), Yoruba (Excellent), Krio (Intermediate), French (Basic).

Hobbies: Writing and Drawing, Visiting Museums and Tourist Centres, and Playing and Watching Football.

REFERENCES

Dr. Christopher R. DeCorse, Doctoral Advisor

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