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DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

This dissertation investigates the shift from slavery to freedom in Antigua by examining the landscapes and lifeways of enslaved and free laborers at Green Castle Estate during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Taking a diachronic approach to the past, I examine the production of landscape at Green Castle Estate and in Antigua to contextualize how the social relations of slavery and freedom unfolded in this specific geography. I argue that landscape did not merely serve as a backdrop to the success of sugar in Antigua but was carefully manipulated to ensure the success of that industry on the island. Amidst these landscapes of sugar and slavery, Afro-Antiguans lived and worked on plantations and developed cultural practices that stood in opposition to dominant cultural ideologies. In examining domestic refuse associated with enslaved and free laborers at Green Castle Estate, I offer insights into how the practices of daily life and consumption were influenced by the overarching social relations of slavery and freedom in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Additionally, I draw on archival records to highlight how Antigua's unique approach to emancipation in 1834 reshaped the lives of planters and laborers alike. In doing so, I argue for the importance of local contexts in studies of Caribbean plantations and how historical processes unfold in these contexts amidst changing social relations.

Landscape, Labor, and Practice: Slavery and Freedom at Green Castle Estate, Antigua

By

Samantha Anne Rebovich B.A. Barnard College 2005 M.A. Syracuse University 2008

DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology in the Graduate School of Syracuse University

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Chapter One

Historical Trajectories and Modern Positions: The Dialectics of Scale in Antigua

1.1 Introduction: Antigua and the Modern Economic Crisis

On March 16, 2008, Bear Stearns, one of the largest investment banks in the United States merged with JP Morgan Chase after a devastating collapse blamed on a sub prime mortgage crisis (Sorkin 2008a). Most people now associate this event with the beginning of the economic crisis of 2008-2011, a crisis from which the global economy has not yet recovered. By the autumn of 2008, a barrage of bank and business failures followed in Bear Stearns's footsteps. Lehman Brothers filed for bankruptcy while Merrill Lynch was acquired by the Bank of America (Sorkin 2008b). Mortgage financiers, Fannie May and Freddie Mac were taken over by the United States government (Labaton and Andrews 2008). Other large companies also fell including the insurance giant, AIG, and the carmaker, General Motors. Seemingly within weeks the global economy began to crumble leading to an \$85 billion bailout program instated by the U.S. government (Andrews, et al. 2008). Amidst the turmoil, people began questioning the effectiveness of capitalism as an economic system (Berenson 2008).

It was in this climate that I began fieldwork in Antigua in September 2008. My research examines the changing landscapes and daily lives of enslaved and wage laborers at Green Castle Estate, a sugar plantation that was in operation from 1677 through the early twentieth century. In comparing the differences between how enslaved and wage laborers lived and worked in Antigua in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, I hope to shed light on how people are able to retain strong cultural resiliency and innovation in the face of coercive social systems such as slavery and the spread of capitalist social

relations. Upon embarking on fieldwork, I did not realize how much the modern economic crisis would resonate with my own research.

As I left the United States amidst growing concerns about the economic climate in the country and the world, I could not help but wonder how the economic crisis would play out in Antigua. The Antiguan economy is largely dependent on tourism and, in the English Harbour area, where I lived and worked with the Antigua and Barbuda National Parks Authority, the yachting industry sustains the community from November through May as large, private and charter yachts dock in Antigua for six months. Myriad businesses in the English Harbour area depend on yacht patronage and the money made within the six-month season usually sustains the community for an entire year. Upon my arrival to Antigua, people were keeping abreast of global events with guarded optimism. Most people thought the "super rich" who owned and chartered yachts might emerge unscathed from the economic crisis, giving Antigua the much-needed business for the year.

Indeed, the 2008-2009 season started on a good note in Antigua. The Antigua Charter Yacht Show, held in December 2008, boasted its largest show to date. Though most of the yachts did not get as many charters as they normally would have, this fact seemed to bode well for Antiguan businesses. Boats took advantage of extended dock time to have extra maintenance done on board, thus employing local woodworkers and boat workers. Boat captains and crew continued to patronize local restaurants and bars during their stay. Despite the gloomy global economy, and reports of overall decreases in tourism, Antigua appeared to be doing relatively well given the conditions and its vulnerable position in the global economy.

Then, on February 17, 2009, the economic crisis hit Antigua directly. Sir Allen Stanford, a Texas businessman and Antiguan citizen was charged over an \$8 billion fraudulent investment scheme (Krauss, et al. 2009b). Stanford's international investment bank is housed in Antigua and he also owns stakes in the Bank of Antigua (now the Eastern Caribbean Amalgamated Bank [ECAB]). In addition, Stanford is an avid cricket fan and personally started a 20/20 Cricket Series in the Caribbean, sponsoring many of the contests in Antigua, and providing affordable tickets for events at least once a year in the country. Stanford is a household name in Antigua and was generally favored among the public for the work he had done promoting cricket in the country, providing jobs for Antiguans with his companies, and for maintaining the grounds at the country's airport (Krauss, et al. 2009a). News of his arrest suddenly pushed the country into panic.

Following the announcement of Stanford's arrest, Antiguans flocked to the Bank of Antigua, hurriedly removing their life's savings from accounts at the bank (Antigua Sun [AS] 2009). The rush on the bank caused the Eastern Caribbean Central Bank (ECCB) to take over the Bank of Antigua to try to prevent people from closing accounts, all the while reassuring Antiguans that the Bank of Antigua had always been backed by the ECCB and its assets were safe (New York Times [NYT] 2009a). Meanwhile, the Stanford International Investment Bank was closed, as nearly all of its assets were lost in the fraud scheme. American news reports argued that most of the money in that bank was invested by foreigners and made reference to visits from wealthy Colombian citizens to Antigua to secure their assets (NYT 2009b). This thinly veiled suggestion that Stanford and the Antiguan government were harboring funds for drug traffickers

overshadowed the news of hardworking Antiguans who lost their life's savings through investing in Stanford's Investment Bank.

While most of the international media focused on the turmoil in Antigua's banking industry, Antiguan media emphasized the impact Stanford's charges had on the country and the people who worked for his companies on the island. Stanford was the largest private employer in Antigua and was second only to the Government of Antigua and Barbuda in the number of Antiguan employees. Perhaps more devastating to daily life in Antigua was the demise of Stanford's companies, and the overnight unemployment of thousands of Antiguans in an already shaky economy. Throughout 2009 Stanford's former employees sought compensation for their termination and guarantees on their pension funds.

The timing of Stanford's arrest was fateful because it occurred only several weeks before Antigua's national elections and the state of the Antiguan economy became a strong point of contestation between Antigua's two political parties, the Antigua Labour Party (ALP) and the United Progressive Party (UPP). The UPP, who had control of the Antiguan Parliament at the time of Stanford's arrest, argued that the ALP had turned a blind eye to Stanford's activities during their tenure in office, which lasted from Antigua's independence in 1981 until the UPP took control of the government in the 2004 elections. Meanwhile, the ALP blamed the onset of the economic crisis in Antigua on the UPP, arguing their inattention to economic matters prompted the decline in tourism that the country was experiencing. Though the UPP was able to clinch control of the government again in the March 2009 elections, they hold the majority in the government by only one seat and in March 2010, after appeals from the ALP about

election conduct, an Anguillan judge ruled that three of the UPP seats won in the 2009 elections were invalid due to the incompetence of the Electoral Commission as polls were opened up to six hours late in several of the constituencies under question (Observer 2010). One of the invalid seats was that of the Prime Minister, Baldwin Spencer. The ALP would continue to argue that the UPP was responsible for the economic downturn in the country and on April 8, 2010 held the "Black March," a protest originally organized to symbolize the death of the economy under the hands of the UPP (Observer 2010). The event held greater significance having come just after the ruling by Judge Louise Blenman on March 31, 2010 and ALP members and supporters turned the protest into one against the UPP government and the Prime Minister.

What becomes glaringly clear in these events is the way Antigua is deeply intertwined in the global economy and that these connections have very strong consequences for Antiguans and their lives. Perhaps most striking are the ways in which the modern Antiguan economy has become completely reliant on the global trends of tourism and banking. Antigua's economy almost entirely relies on the service industry now and, in the face of the global economic crisis, places like Antigua are the first to feel the pinch as travel and vacationing are some of the first cuts people make. In addition, Antigua's privileged position as the home to Stanford's banks and businesses was ruined overnight upon his arrest and charging with fraud. That this would occur several years after the United States shut down a lucrative offshore gambling enterprise only exacerbates the economic crunch in the country and increases animosity between the small island nation and the most powerful country in the hemisphere (Rivlin 2007). It

also forces the country to rely more and more on tourism as the sole source of economic income for the country.

Antigua's tangling in the global economy today is not much different than it was several hundred years ago, and it is because of Antigua's history as a British sugar island that it is increasingly dependent on tourism for its survival. Antigua has always been a player in the global economy, yet has had to work very hard at maintaining a position in that economy. Throughout the colonial period, Antigua was one of Britain's most important sugar colonies in the Eastern Caribbean, yet Antiguan planters struggled to bring Antigua to prominence and to maintain that position throughout the eighteenth century. Amidst the decline of the Caribbean's dominance in the production of sugar, Antiguan planters continually negotiated the colony's position within the global economy and manipulated social relations in Antigua to ensure the success of the sugar enterprise, in which so much had already been invested.

This dissertation focuses on the shift from slavery to freedom in Antigua by examining the landscapes and lifeways of enslaved and free laborers at Green Castle Estate, one of the island's most profitable sugar plantations. In seeking to understand the past lifeways of laborers, the social relations between planters and laborers comes to the forefront in struggles over power and resistance as each group tried to shape their lives. While planters sought to coerce laborers in daily life to maximize profits, laborers negotiated their social positions through resistance to planter ideals and created unique social identities and relationships. An archaeological examination of the domestic spaces of laborers gives insights into how laborers would have subverted planter power through daily practice.

Central to this study of an Antiguan plantation are the ways in which the social lives of planters and laborers are deeply entwined with both local and global processes, much like the lives of modern day Antiguans. While Antigua may seem like a small island whose livelihood is completely dependent on global market forces, Antigua's economy has played a strong role in shaping markets in the Caribbean and throughout the Atlantic. The dialectics of scale necessarily play a large role in a critical examination of Antigua's past. Through such an examination, the ways in which people reacted to situations that shaped their lives demonstrate the resilience of human agency and social relations.

1.2 Positioning Antigua in the Greater Atlantic: Research Setting

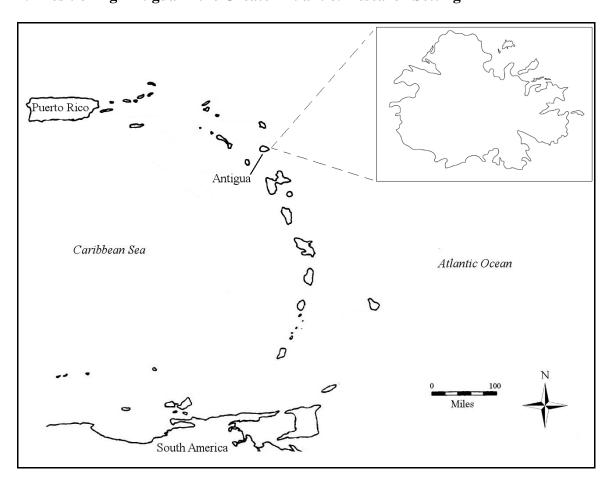


Figure 1.1 Map of Antigua within the Eastern Caribbean region

Antigua enjoys a rather peculiar position in both the geology and history of the British Caribbean. Located in the Northern Lesser Antilles (Figure 1.1), Antigua served as the seat of the colonial government of the British Leeward Islands and was one of Britain's most profitable sugar islands in the Leewards (Engerman 1996; Goveia 1965). The geological and environmental conditions of Antigua, though, make it a rather formidable environment for the production of sugar and its rise to political importance is the result of a careful strategy to improve Antigua's influence in the sugar industry.

The island of Antigua is modest in size, being only 22 by 17 kilometers (14 by 11 miles) consisting of a total area of 280 kilometers (108 miles). Antigua's geology is unique in that, while many of the islands of the Caribbean are either limestone or volcanic formations, Antigua consists of both limestone and volcanic portions of the island, separated by a central plains region (Multer, et al. 1986:1-4). Thus, soils throughout the island are extremely variant ranging from limestone marls in the northeast to thick clays in the southwest. The southwest, volcanic region consists of intrusive and extrusive igneous rock that creates a rugged terrain of "calc-alkaline volcanic rocks, including andesite and basalite flows of pyroclastics" (Weiss 1994:4). The Central Plains Region cross-cuts the island and is characterized by clay, sandy tuffs, marine and fresh water chert, mudstone, conglomerates, limestone, and silicified wood and carbonates (Martin-Kaye 1969; Multer, et al. 1986; Weiss 1994). The limestone formation along the northeast of the island is an area of moderate to rugged karst terrain and consists of limestone, limy mudstone, and claystone (Multer, et al. 1986; Weiss 1994:5). In addition, rainfall, a necessity for agricultural production, is in short supply in Antigua.

Yearly estimates of rainfall indicate the island averages approximately 45 inches of rainfall per annum, yet this is highly variable throughout the island (Hill 1966).

The environment of Antigua has also been vastly affected by European settlement and the influences of the plantation system on the island's ecology. Upon settlement, nearly the entire island was deforested and today only a small portion of the island's natural forests exists in Wallings, in the southwest of the island (Dyde 2000:14-15). Following deforestation, most of the island's land was converted to plantations and the majority of these properties produced sugar (Dyde 2000:20; Gaspar 1985:66-68). Yet, as early as 1721, British colonists noted the impacts of deforestation and agricultural production on the environment of Antigua as the passing of the "Body Ponds Act" prevented the felling of trees around a series of natural water reservoirs (Multer, et al. 1986:4-19).

In addition to having a particular geological and environmental history, Antigua historically held a unique position within the British Caribbean. First, Antigua was a vital colony for the British because of its centrality in the north of the Lesser Antilles, earning it the position of being the seat of the colonial government of the Leeward Islands and a major refit station for the Royal Navy (Crewe 1993). Furthermore, Antigua was in a somewhat precarious position as it is directly north of the French island of Guadeloupe. This position, though, heightened Antigua's military importance in monitoring French trade and movements throughout the Caribbean and highlights the social interactions between the two islands as Antiguans often obtained water from Guadeloupe, particularly during times of extreme drought (Dyde 2000:69). During the eighteenth century, when Antigua became the most profitable sugar island in the Leeward

Islands, the economic importance of Antigua, coupled with its political position, made it one of the most powerful islands in the British Caribbean.

Today, Antigua, along with its sister island of Barbuda, is an independent nation in the Commonwealth of Nations, having gained independence on November 1, 1981. The population is approximately 80,000 people with 30,000 people living in the capital city of St. John's. Like many islands of the Caribbean, tourism dominates the economy and the majority of the population works in the service sector.

1.2.1 Green Castle Estate

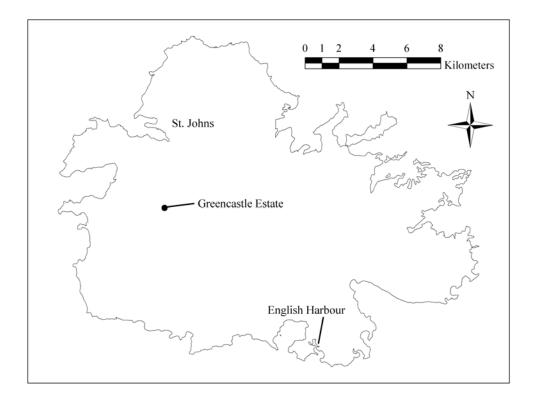


Figure 1.2 Green Castle Estate locator map

Green Castle Estate provides a unique opportunity to study the lifeways of Afro-Antiguan laborers during slavery and following emancipation for several reasons (Figure 1.2). First, the long-term occupation and production of sugar at the Estate make it ideal for a diachronic study of the periods of slavery and freedom in Antigua. Further, its prominence as one of the wealthiest and largest plantations on the island gives insights into how planters would have manipulated landscape and labor to ensure the continued success of sugar despite challenges to the system of slavery, declines in the sugar market, and internal social resistance.

Green Castle Estate also has a particularly interesting history that demonstrates the ways in which the social relations of power within the plantation are continually contested, manipulated, and influenced by broader regional and global forces. Green Castle Estate was founded in 1677 and, on Christmas morning 1701, the estate owner, Major Samuel Martin, was killed by his enslaved laborers. The estate was inherited by Martin's son, Colonel Samuel Martin who, in 1750, wrote the first edition of his *Essay Upon Plantership* in which he espoused his plans for sound plantation management. The *Essay* would go through seven editions and be reprinted twice following the publication of the final edition. In the 1830s, on the cusp of emancipation, Green Castle Estate served as a site for a school to educate enslaved young adults and to prepare them for the transition to freedom. Following emancipation, Green Castle Estate continued to produce sugar, maintained a large labor force that lived on the estate, and it was only in the twentieth century that the estate finally ended sugar production after a hurricane destroyed the crop (Agnes Meeker, personal communication 2007).

Today, estate lands are largely owned by the government of Antigua and leased to local pastoralists and agriculturalists. Just south of the estate complex, though, resides Green Castle Hill, one of the country's largest hills. Green Castle Hill is a national park, designated for its natural beauty as the hill presents magnificent views of the island. It is also an area of cultural heritage as a prehistoric, Amerindian site is located on top of the

hill and the controversial "megaliths" of Antigua are present as well (Antigua National Parks 2010). Despite the hill's designation as a national park, the hill has been quarried for stone for over ten years. Currently three companies quarry the hillside and have purchased land surrounding the hill that belonged to the former estate. Not only does the quarrying destroy the hillside, but the quarrying companies have also impacted the site of the Estate and are threatening the protected, national park. The estate site was being considered for development for tourism but the adjacent stone quarrying, coupled with the lack of historic remains on the site, resulted in the proposal being dropped.

I conducted fieldwork at Green Castle Estate with the assistance of Dr. A. Reginald Murphy of the Antigua and Barbuda National Parks Authority from 2007 through 2009. With the assistance of the University of Calgary Field School under the direction of Dr. Tamara Varney and Mr. Beau Cripps, a team of field school students excavated the site during the 2007 and 2008 summer field seasons. Additional fieldwork was completed by myself with the assistance of Mr. Nigel Bardoe and Mr. Wasim Braithwaite from January through July 2009.

This brief historic overview of the events at Green Castle Estate demonstrate that the plantation is a site of continual social struggle. This struggle is inextricably linked to broader social processes including the system of slavery, the shift from slavery to freedom in Antigua, and a commitment to sugar production. Green Castle provides an especially fascinating research site to examine the social relations between planters and laborers during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As the social milieu of Antigua changed during this time period, the events at Green Castle demonstrate a concerted effort to navigate social changes within a plantation community. The modern day

struggle between preservation and a growing construction and building industry in

Antigua highlight the continued scales of social influences in Antigua from the broader
ideals of conservation and heritage to more local debates of tourism versus industry.

Antigua has held a prominent position in both the historical and modern

Caribbean. Its position as a wealthy sugar island and the seat of the colonial government made it a vital component of Britain's sugar enterprise in the Eastern Caribbean. Further, its successful tourism and, until recently, banking industries have made Antigua a strong player in the Caribbean economy today. Yet, Antigua has always been in a precarious position in relation to the global market. Antigua is highly dependent on global market trends and deeply entrenched in its relations with other countries as it seeks to carve out a niche for itself in the postcolonial world. An appreciation for the complexities of scale is necessary for any study of Antiguan life, past or present. It is only in situating Antigua within the larger geopolitical community can we begin to grasp at an understanding of its specific social relations and historic events.

1.3 The Dialectics of Scale

Scholars of the Caribbean repeatedly note the complex negotiation of scale that must occur in any study of the Caribbean region. Sidney Mintz (1974; 1985a), for instance, argues repeatedly for an approach to the Caribbean that prioritizes local processes, but does so within view of a dynamic global environment that vastly influences lifeways in the Caribbean through fluctuations in trade, colonial relations, and burgeoning markets. Similarly, Michel-Rolph Trouillot (1988) argues not only for how considerations of local processes must be linked to broader phenomena, but further how global processes must be interpreted in tandem with their manifestations within particular

locales. In this light, global transformations do not occur unless they do so within specific geographies in a complex web of social relations that is linked, to various degrees, with other processes. In the Caribbean, for instance, arguments have been made that distinctly attribute the rise of capitalism in Europe to Caribbean agricultural production (e.g. Menard 1997; Tomich 1990; 1991; 1994; 2004; Williams 1944). Further work highlights the specific role sugar played in creating the importance of the Caribbean region and catapulting a burgeoning global trade dependent on Caribbean agriculture and its use of slavery (e.g. Mintz 1985b; Sheridan 1974). Other approaches favor local processes and lifeways that emerge within changing social relations, usually through studies of creolization (e.g. Armstrong 2003; Mintz and Price 1976; Palmié 2006). Each of these approaches, though, recognizes a distinct context of Caribbean islands within an emergent global economy characterized by a complex series of social relations throughout the Atlantic.

Though the individual islands of the Caribbean are small, their vitality in agricultural production led to fierce competition between European powers to claim islands during early European expansion and colonialism in the Americas and spurred the continual reliance on the production of cash crops—especially sugar and coffee—for export throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Engerman 1996; Gaspar 1985; Gaspar and Geggus 1997; Goveia 1965; Mintz 1974). Mintz (1974) argues the complex social relations within the Caribbean stem in large part from the interactions of indigenous peoples of the Caribbean, European colonists, and enslaved Africans. At once, then, the Caribbean is a site of complex cultural interactions. While the interactions of these diverse groups makes for multiple social relations, these disparities

become increasingly heightened due to the impositions of colonialism and slavery that occurred rapidly throughout the Caribbean. The British Caribbean was almost immediately transformed for the production of cash crops using the plantation as the center of production (Sheridan 1974; Mintz 1985b). This immersed the islands of the British Caribbean into the complex works of an emerging global capitalism. Within this system, both Europe and the Caribbean would become increasingly dependent on each other. In this light, any analysis of Antiguan society must include a careful tacking between these scales of inquiry, noting that while broader social processes shaped the trajectories of sugar production in Antigua, local populations—including planters and laborers—were not completely susceptive to such influence and sought to shape their destinies according to their own goals, ideas, and value systems.

1.4 Research Goals

This dissertation examines the social relations of planters and laborers during the periods of slavery and freedom at Green Castle Estate, Antigua. Using a diachronic approach, I examine the daily lives of enslaved and free Afro-Antiguans and interpret them in tandem with an analysis of the ideals and plans of Antiguan planters during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. I argue that an analysis of the manipulation and use of space alongside an examination of the daily practices of laborers helps to shed light on the social relations between planters and laborers. The research agenda for this project can be broken down into two main goals.

1.4.1 *Landscape Analysis*

The first research goal of this project is to understand how the landscape of

Antigua and the built environment of the plantation were transformed and manipulated

for the sugar industry. Landscapes are relational spaces in which meaning is produced through the relationships between people, resources, and places (Thomas 2001:180). In studying landscape, I draw attention to the ways in which the geological, ecological, and geographic space of Antigua is imbued with cultural ideologies that maintain specific social relations throughout Antigua's history. Thus, rather than viewing the island of Antigua and the plantations within the island as backdrops for the social relations of slavery, I instead approach the landscape as a meaningful space in which social relations are built within a social space that was constructed, in the case of Antigua, to serve the burgeoning sugar economy. Sugar production was an agricultural enterprise that vastly changed the landscape of Antigua and led to the building of myriad sugar works including windmills, boiling houses, and storage centers. In addition to the built environment of production, planters and laborers alike lived on plantations and, as such, plantations sites are a complex arrangement of living and working quarters that include estate houses, slave villages, sugar fields, and provisioning grounds. Increasingly, archaeologists have drawn attention to landscape and examined how landscapes were constructed, manipulated, and lived in to better understand the experiences of past peoples.

Within the plantation context, landscape has emerged as a central focus in seeking to understand the experiences of enslaved laborers. Planters very much manipulated spaces within the plantation to optimize production, oversee laborers, and maintain control over the enslaved labor force. At Green Castle Estate, Colonel Samuel Martin demonstrates a particular interest in optimizing the use of space through landscape manipulation as evidenced in his writings in *An Essay Upon Plantership*. In the absence

of historic maps of the estate, archaeological survey coupled with archival evidence from Martin's *Essay* provide the only glimpses into recreating the historical landscape of the plantation. Such analysis can give great insights into how the use of space would have affected the daily practices of planters and laborers alike and points to avenues of resistance for enslaved laborers within the confines of the plantation.

In addition to examining the specific built environment of the plantation, an analysis of how the landscape of the island of Antigua changed in response to the burgeoning sugar market offers further insights into how social relations in Antigua were constructed within this landscape. The success of sugar, coupled with vast investments of wealth into the production of sugar on the island, resulted in some very fundamental changes to the physical and ecological landscape of Antigua. Such changes also reflect and in turn influence social conditions on the island too, as land becomes consolidated to favor large plantations, movement between plantations becomes restricted, and towns and marinas develop to support the sugar trade. The use and manipulation of space becomes a vital component in understanding how Antiguan planters sought to continually ensure the success of sugar and how laborers were able to resist dominant ideologies within these spaces.

1.4.2 *Daily Practice*

Daily practice offers a means for interpreting how both enslaved and wage laborers lived and worked at Green Castle Estate and how they negotiated their social positions in Antiguan society. Archaeology provides a particularly strong vantage point for examining the processes of daily life through artifacts excavated in domestic refuse. Quotidian materials including ceramic sherds, glass fragments, and items of personal

adornment can give great insights into the types of activities in which people engaged. Not only can they provide a glimpse into the daily activities of past peoples, but they can also lend insight into the nature and extent of local, regional, and international production, exchange, and consumption. Even enslaved laborers often had access to a relatively wide variety of items that may have been produced on the estate, purchased in markets throughout the island, or obtained from planters. Such items reflect the complexity of the scales of interaction within Caribbean societies as consumer goods are purchased, used, and reused in different contexts.

As this project examines changes in lifeways during the periods of slavery and freedom for Afro-Antiguan workers, a comparative analysis of the daily practices of enslaved and free laborers is essential. Excavations in loci associated with the slave and wage laborer occupation of Green Castle Estate provide datasets for a comparative analysis of daily practice on the estate. By examining different domestic assemblages associated with the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, interpretations of how the material conditions of life changed alongside broader social processes including emancipation, the decline of the sugar market, and specific policy changes at Green Castle Estate can be made. These datasets can help inform an interpretation that seeks not just to understand how such large social pressures affected the practices of daily life but rather how the negotiations of daily life also influence the policies, attitudes, and social relations that shaped Antiguan society during these time periods.

1.5 Theoretical Commitments

This examination of eighteenth and nineteenth-century plantation life in Antigua is necessarily framed by several theoretical approaches. First, it is framed in dialectical

thinking that draws on a relational philosophy in examining the social relations of slavery and freedom in Antigua. Second, it draws on Marxist approaches to the past to better conceptualize the competing social forces that were at play in Antigua's shift from slavery to emancipation. Finally, it is centered on materiality studies that help shed light on how material culture is used reflexively to create and sustain cultural meaning through daily practice. Each of these theoretical commitments helps to situate the historical and archaeological data within the contexts of daily life and social relations in eighteenth and nineteenth-century Antigua.

1.5.1 Dialectical Thinking and the Antiguan Past

In response to William Green's (1996) critique of the use of dialectical analysis in Caribbean history, O. Nigel Bolland (1996:108) argues that dialectical theory provides the "most useful framework for examining systems of domination." In making these arguments, Bolland does so from a vantage point that highlights the relationship between planters and laborers to examine the social processes around the shift from a slave-holding society to a "free" society following emancipation in Antigua in 1834.

Specifically, Bolland argues that an examination of the shift from slave to wage labor in Caribbean societies must concede that first, slavery and freedom are not antonymous but rather two different modes of labor and social control and, second, that the actions of planters and laborers are reflective of their competing value systems.

In large part, Green's (1996) critiques of dialectical analysis stem from his misunderstanding that the emphasis on binary relationships in dialectical reasoning ignores the many social interactions in Caribbean society aside from that between planter and laborer. Bolland (1996:108), though, does not deny that these social relations take

place within a broader social totality and instead contends that it is precisely a dialectical approach that allows for a more comprehensive understanding of plantation life within this broader totality.

The debate between Green and Bolland on the use of dialectics highlights several misconceptions about dialectics and perhaps sheds some light on the relative paucity of the use of dialectics in American archaeology. First, Green's portrayal of the dialectic as reliant on binaries misinterprets the relational philosophy of dialectics while his insistence that the focus on binaries undermines an understanding of social totality ignores the reliance on scale and totality as inherent to dialectics. In general, Green (1996) falls victim to common misinterpretations of dialectics and he then uses these to argue against its usefulness in researching the Caribbean past. However, a more nuanced understanding of dialectics demonstrates its vitality, as Bolland (1996) also demonstrates. Namely, three central concepts of dialectics—the relational philosophy, the interrelation of parts and the whole, and contradiction and change—are vital to its methodology and provide strong vantage points for the study of the Caribbean past.

First, dialectics is framed in two ways. It is, at once, both epistemology and ontology. As epistemology, dialectics is a method for explaining relationships between entities throughout time (Marquardt 1992:103). In addition to providing an epistemology, though, dialectics is also ontology, a worldview. In this light, the world behaves dialectically and social processes are understood as relationships between entities working at different scales and over time (Marquardt 1992:103-104). Using

¹ Dialectics is by no means absent from archaeological research. See Delle 1998; Matthews 2005; McGuire 1992; McGuire and Wurst 2002; McGuire et al. 2001; O'Donovan 2002; Richard 2007, 2009; and Wurst and Fitts 1999, for research that explicitly incorporates dialectical thinking into archaeological inquiry.

dialectics allows for a method to study social relations and an ontological framework through which to interpret those relations within a larger social totality.

At its core, dialectics rely on a relational philosophy that contends, "elements, things, structures, and systems do not exist outside of or prior to the processes, flows and relations that create, sustain or undermine them" (Harvey 1996:49). This perspective prioritizes the relationships between entities rather than focusing on the entities themselves. In this light, by their very nature, "entities" are defined by the relations of which they are a part. Thus, an "entity" may have a different purpose, character, or motivation depending on the vantage point of a particular relationship in which it participates. Rather than understanding human society as constitutive of distinct entities such as cultures, institutions, and persons, a dialectical approach contends that society is a historical construction reliant on the social relations that link peoples and their worlds.

In addition to the relational philosophy of dialectics, the theory of internal relations contends that the parts and the whole are mutually constitutive and codependent (Ollman 1990:38). Much like the previous discussion of scale, then, archaeological inquiry must not prioritize any one unit of analysis such as the site or the region but instead should focus on the ways in which each consistently manipulates and influences the other. This approach also takes into account the ways in which different parts continually shape each other. For instance, one cannot exclusively examine how global forces influence local processes without understanding how local processes themselves shape broader trends.

Finally, contradiction and change are also vital to any dialectical approach. The dialectic assumes that contradicting forces will continually come to the forefront of the

social relations that shape human society (Marquardt 1992:105; Ollman 1990:49). Contradictions occur within social structures at different levels of hierarchy and serve as a strong point for dynamism and change within systems (McGuire 1992:95). Since an understanding of history is vital to interpretations of social systems in dialectical thinking, change becomes a point of departure for examining how social forces transform societies in different ways and why certain social relations prevail over others (Harvey 1996:50). Such an approach can lend interesting insights into the nature of social change, then, between the periods of slavery and freedom in Antigua.

1.5.2 Marxist Approaches to Understanding Caribbean Societies

Research on the Caribbean argues for the uniqueness of Caribbean slave societies as a series of social relations within a burgeoning global, capitalist economy and contends the dichotomy between precapitalist and capitalist societies must be broken down.

Perhaps most notably, Eric Williams (1944) argues for a direct link between Caribbean slavery and the emergence of industrial capitalism in his work, *Capitalism and Slavery*. Here, Williams contends that the wealth created through the use of slave labor in the sugar economy throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries fueled the growth of industry in Britain, resulting in the subordination of labor to capital and the emergence of a truly capitalist economy. While Williams links the use of slavery to capitalism, the two are still distinctly separate in his arguments. Thus he does not explicitly provide a framework through which slavery can be understood as part of a burgeoning capitalist world economy.

Sidney Mintz (1974) follows Williams in linking Caribbean slavery with capitalism. Yet, Mintz (1974:64) argues strongly not just for how Caribbean slavery

influenced the emergence of capitalism, but perhaps more so for the ways in which capitalism shaped the institution of slavery within Caribbean societies. He states, "It was the combination of slavery—from the capitalist perspective, an archaic form of labor—with European overseas capitalism that gave to the New World situation its special, unusual, and ruthless character" (Mintz 1974:64). For Mintz, then, the link between Caribbean slavery and British capitalism is one of inextricable social relations. One cannot be understood or analyzed without some consideration of the other.

More recently, Dale Tomich (2004) makes similar arguments very strongly in the essays throughout his volume, *Through the Prism of Slavery: Labor, Capital, and World Economy*. Specifically, Tomich (2004:4) calls for a complete eradication of the dichotomies between precapitalist and capitalist modes of labor organization because of the limits they place on studies of Caribbean slavery. In an analysis of the explicit theoretical problem of situating slavery within Marxist perspectives of capitalism, Tomich (2004:4) argues for "a method for conceptualizing market and production relations as constructs, at once theoretical and historical, that are capable of comprehending the specificity and complexity of local histories within processes of world economy." In doing so, Tomich (following Lukacs [1971]) contends that it is through Marx's method, rather than his research or theses, that one should approach a study of capitalism that is inclusive of slavery.

For Tomich, then, an analysis of slavery must include its situation within capitalist relations, but perhaps more strikingly, capitalist relations must be considered with an understanding of slavery. Here, Tomich highlights what Sayer (1987) has dubbed the "violence of abstraction" in pointing to the social relations that Marx

sidelined in his analyses. In seeking to overcome the fragmentation inherent in many discussions of slavery, Tomich (2004:28) contends:

Instead of moving from history toward higher levels of theoretical specification and synthesis, it entails going *against the grain of Marx's classical theoretical presentation* in order to reincorporate into the field of analysis those 'historical contingencies and disturbing accidents' that were eliminated in the process of abstraction. By moving from 'rational abstractions' toward engagement, appropriation, and theoretical reconstruction of diverse historical relations excluded by the logic of Marx's presentation, we may comprehend the historical complexity of world capitalist development [emphasis in original].

Ultimately, Tomich's approach seeks to analyze a diverse set of social relations through the interactions and intersections of these relations. Such an approach not only seeks to integrate studies of slavery within broader relations of capital, but also allows for a less fragmented approach to studying the shift from slave labor to wage labor within particular locales.

One of the ways that slavery and freedom in Antigua can be analyzed is by understanding each as a form of labor and social control. To do so, a revisiting of Marx's value theory, and the ways more recent scholars have refined his approach, is helpful.

Marx's (2003 [1867]) theory of value is outlined in the first volume of *Capital*. Here, through a detailed analysis of the processes of production and exchange, Marx concludes that value is *only* created by human labor. While this point may seem conclusive, throughout *Capital*, Marx continually analyzes the social relations that dictate labor and therefore guide the creation of value. For Marx, the question becomes, if one assumes an equal exchange for items of equal value—such as raw materials, machinery for production, and human labor—how does the capitalist profit? Throughout *Capital*, Marx repeatedly demonstrates that it is through the exploitation of labor, and the value-

creating nature of labor, that capital is able to prevail in separating the laboring class from wealth.

For Marx, then, labor clearly becomes the means through which value is created and capitalism creates distinct social relations whereby the laborer often has no other choice but to sell his labor-power and thus become locked into a system of subordination in which he can never own the *product* of his labor. Marx's point is to demonstrate the falsities of freedom in capitalist societies. Capitalism is a set of social relations that produces a specific form of subordination all the while trying to guise that subordination within ideologies of individuality, freedom, and consumerism (Hirschman 1997; Johnson 1996; Orser 1996; Perelman 2000).

While Marx is largely concerned with demonstrating how capitalism subordinates people through the exploitation of labor, he introduces very complicated concepts that are crucial to the maintenance of capitalist society and therefore influence social relations in multiple ways. In David Harvey's 2006 *The Limits to Capital*, Harvey seeks to reconcile some of the ambiguities and seeming contradictions within Marx's work. Specifically, Harvey (2006a) sets out to integrate the *spatial* dimensions of capital through landscapes and the built environment and examines how geography structures the development of capitalist production and, with it, social relations.

Central to this project is a revisiting of Marx's value concept and Harvey (2006a:1-38) dedicates his first chapter to understanding Marx's Value Theory. Like Marx, Harvey (2006a:1) begins his analysis with a discussion of the commodity and the values inherent within it, namely use-value, exchange-value, and value itself. Harvey (2006a:2) is quick to point out that the relations between these three concepts of value are

what are important when examining the commodity within capitalist society. Thus, all three concepts must be in place in order for commodities to function within society.

One of the strengths of Harvey's method is that, rather than explaining phenomena as the workings of capital, as Marx often does, which could lead to interpretations of capital as self-perpetuating, Harvey highlights the ways in which capital must be *actively* recreated. Thus, value, while being an inherent character of the commodity, is also dependent on the market, not just in the realm of exchange-value, and it is also predicated on the existence of money, as a necessary commodity for expressing value (2006a:9). In addition, surplus-value is not simply created in the processes of production because the realization of labor power results in the creation of more value than is paid for that labor power, but specifically because the capitalist *ensures* the workers will create more value than they earn (2006a:22).

In these examples, Harvey emphasizes the ways in which capital must actively reproduce the conditions under which capital survives. This includes not just the processes of production or the survival of the working class, but also the class relation between capital and labor (Harvey 2006a:24). Harvey (2006a:24) highlights this aspect of capitalist (re)production as the "root of the Marxian value theory" and argues "the value theory is an expression of this class relation." Thus, Harvey is able to emphasize the ways in which these mandates of capitalism permeate throughout society and interweave within capitalist systems of production. In this light, the existence of nearly any social form within capitalist societies can be read as being integrated within that society. Thus, as Henderson (2004:455-456) points out, Harvey argues for social change through the reconstitution of various socio-cultural institutions within capitalism, rather

than their mere destruction. Though Henderson (2004:456) critiques Harvey here for differentiating between these features and the capitalist mode of production as a whole (Henderson argues for an approach that sees these differences as themselves "helping to constitute the form labor takes"), Harvey's point is still salient in stressing the revolutionary character of capital, namely, its ability to transform existing social structures to perpetuate the seeming "natural" tendencies of capital. This, however, does not contradict with Harvey's arguments for the social processes inherent in the recreation of capital, but rather highlights capitalist ideologies as serving to augment such processes.

Further, Harvey (2006a:39-97) gives substantial treatment to the mechanisms of production, distribution, exchange, and consumption and the ways in which these are necessarily interwoven aspects of capital and its realization. His insights into "productive consumption" and "consumptive production," though brief, present seducing suggestions regarding the nature of the reproduction of the working class and how the acts of domestic work, though separate from the production of surplus-value, are undeniably connected with capitalist production and value, itself (Harvey 2006a:80). That is, in the recreation of the working class, capitalism recreates the means through which commodity production and value (as Harvey [2006a:46] has argued as the relation between capital and labor) is produced. In doing so, Harvey underscores labor, broadly construed, as the underlying action that constitutes all aspects of society (except, perhaps for the capitalist). Thus, even within the capitalist mode of production, unproductive labor is necessary for productive consumption of various goods. Harvey brings to light the processes of production and consumption as dual aspects intertwined with the ultimate creation of value.

Throughout this entire discussion, though, the necessity for the system to reproduce itself brings crisis to the forefront as a continual threat to the capitalist mode of production. But, rather than suggest crisis is a burden capitalism must face from time to time, Harvey (2006a:82) instead argues that crisis is a continual threat to capitalism and that equilibrium is not the *status quo*, but rather reflective of a continued, active battle set against imbalance and inevitable crisis. In this light, capitalism hardly seems "natural" and one marvels at how fetishism masks these inner workings of capital to such an extent.

At the end of David Harvey's 2006 *The Limits to Capital*, he calls attention to the ways in which dialectical thinking, does not necessarily reach new conclusions, but rather spurs further inquiry and new avenues of questioning. In this discussion, he argues that research should increasingly conceptualize the world in new lights: "The opening of new questions to be answered, new paths for enquiry to take, provokes simultaneously the reevaluation of basic concepts—such as value—and the perpetual re-casting of the conceptual apparatus used to describe the world" (2006a:446). Interestingly, Harvey highlights *value* as one of the key concepts that should be continually reevaluated in light of new avenues of inquiry. The ways in which such a concept could be reconstituted, stems from the historical materialist approach Marx advocates and presents in *Capital*, a position Harvey (2006a:450) reiterates in stating, "Theory begins when we put these historically-grounded categories to work to forge new interpretations."

Throughout *Limits* though, Harvey does not fully ground his work in any strong historical analysis. This stands in contrast to the ways in which Marx (2003:222-286, 351-475) uses industrial, nineteenth-century Britain as the focus of his analysis and then draws heavily on the social conditions of that context in his chapters on the Working-Day

and Machinery. Harvey's use of various moments in the historical landscape of capitalism largely focuses on using such information to clarify the theoretical points he makes and his work is not strongly grounded in one historical circumstance. Henderson (2004:450) argues that, at times, Harvey's seeming lack of particulars is the result of "Marx's own copious historical references as an uncited backdrop." Yet Henderson (2004:459) also contends that Harvey misses opportunities to push his interpretations of value even further, perhaps, as he argues into other conceptual spheres, those "fundamentally concerned with that other 'noisy sphere', the staging of people's radically irreconcilable duality and the abject circuits of things, relations, and ideas that may result."

Indeed, while Harvey's work seeks to present a rather cohesive account of the ways in which the myriad relations inherent in capitalist production themselves consist of "radically irreconcilable" forces, his discussion centers largely on how the fundamental concept of "accumulation for accumulation's sake" creates such problems. That is, the internal logic of capitalism necessarily creates its own demise because of the unsustainable nature of such an irrational system. Henderson is correct in suggesting Harvey push the envelope further in seeking to understand the ways in which these manifest within individuals and shift focus to how values themselves create certain "active moments" in society. Yet, throughout his work, Harvey does draw on specific historical moments to conceptualize various concepts and, in doing so, himself hints at the potential ways in which such concepts could be reconstituted.

As discussed above, a strictly Marxist approach to the past does not limit interpretation of social phenomena solely to economic motivations. Instead, Marx argues

that such conditions are entirely contingent on the social and historical context of a given society. Ultimately, a Marxist approach towards understanding the Antiguan past holds saliency for several reasons. First, Marx's emphasis on labor as central to the shaping of social relations is particularly pertinent in comparing Antiguan society during the periods of slavery and freedom because, at its most fundamental level, the shift from slavery to emancipation was a shift in the nature of labor on the island. In addition, Marx's prioritizing of the social relations of production outline a methodology that can inform how the social relations of slavery created a foundation for the social relations of capital to emerge following emancipation. Indeed, it is at the change in the system of labor that the vulnerabilities and strengths of both societies come to light in determining how particular social relations prevail and others change from slavery to freedom in Antigua.

1.5.3 Materiality Studies

Inquiries into the relationships between peoples and objects have held a prominent position within anthropological research and theorizing. In the early twentieth century, the works of Mauss (1954) and Malinowski (1922) highlighted the ways in which objects hold particular cultural salience and, therefore, how objects are conceived, produced, and used are highly variable and contingent upon context. Often, such work is linked to research of traditional exchange systems and, particularly in traditional Pacific Island societies, research has demonstrated that the cultural meaning ascribed to certain objects inextricably links them to persons, in essence, making them inalienable (Strathern 1988; Weiner 1992).

While Marx argues for the complete alienation of objects through the fetishization of the commodity in capitalist production, recent research has sought to make a case for

the positive social meanings ascribed to and embedded within objects, even within capitalist societies. Not only do objects hold meaning, but also the acts of production, exchange, and consumption, then, become particularly relevant in understanding the social relations that are embedded within these myriad processes (Henare, et al. 2007; Miller 1998; Tilley, et al. 2006).

In *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* Arjun

Appadurai (1986:3) asserts that "commodities, like persons, have social lives," and, in
doing so, seeks to demystify the social relations that are masked in commodities.

Appadurai's approach is noteworthy for archaeologists because archaeological data is
inherently material and research in consumption has often drawn heavily on Appadurai's
concepts.

The strength of Appadurai's argument lies in seeking to unravel the social relations inherent in consumption. For Appadurai (1986:31), consumption becomes a meaningful human action and is contingent on a series of social practices and not merely human needs. Furthermore, drawing on a Maussian approach to exchange, Appadurai argues that the value of an object can be attributed to the social relations involved in the exchange. In contending that politics link value and exchange, Appadurai (1986:57) contextualizes the social relations of consumption within broader social relations of power. Thus, in noting how objects are linked to social practices such as display, knowledge, and connoisseurship, Appadurai comments on how these objects then, in turn, influence social relations. Exchange is not just about creating and maintaining social relations but also about creating and maintaining different social relations that often propel inequality within society. The meanings ascribed to objects, and associated

with persons through consumption and the acquisition of objects, must be understood in tandem with the historical, cultural, and social contexts in which they were consumed. Thus, for Appadurai, an object has a "social life," and may have different meanings throughout its life. Therefore, Appadurai breaks down the gift/commodity dichotomy and argues for a more fluid understanding of objects, one that accounts for the ways in which objects can serve as gifts and commodities, and hold various other meanings throughout its life.

While Appadurai's approach to objects may seem to hinge on a rather idiosyncratic interpretation of both Mauss and Marx, it instead draws on the social complexities inherent in the works of both these theorists; points often overlooked by staunch adherents to specific theoretical paradigms. Yet, other Marxist approaches to materiality call for research that similarly breaks down the dichotomies of gift and commodity so ardently maintained in anthropological inquiries. Bill Maurer (2006) for instance, calls for Marxist studies of materiality that move away from a Marxist "empiric" and instead examine the convergence of myriad social relations, meanings, and formations that accompany objects. Here, Maurer (2006) argues for a breaking down of Marxist analytic categories, divisions between theory and practice, and calls for an examination of the research enterprise itself within studies of materiality. More strikingly, though, Maurer calls attention to an approach that highlights specific capitalist ideologies in relation to material conditions and social relations. For instance, Maurer (2006:23-24) highlights time as serving a specific function within capitalist society and notes how time becomes inextricably linked with the labor process, the built

environment, and the conditions of materiality as a concrete force that shapesd lives and social relations within a specific context.

These approaches to materiality present a strong approach for interpreting archaeological deposits within the plantation for several reasons. First, it immediately recognizes that the importance of objects is not inherent within the object itself, but contingent on the social relations and past activities associated with the object.

Furthermore, in recognizing the multiplicities of meanings embedded within objects, and the resultant intersections of multiple levels of social relations, it argues for a deeply contextual approach to interpreting the past through material culture. Finally, in recognizing that material culture can be imbued with multiple meanings, it also recognizes that material culture can influence worldviews, social relations, and past human action. Further, these processes are inherently linked to the social relations of power, and social inequalities, particularly in the context of the plantation, must be at the forefront of interpretations of the competing meanings of action, exchange, and material culture.

1.6 Organization of Dissertation

The rest of this dissertation explores how the social relations of Antigua, articulated through its landscape and the practices of daily life of its laborers, have changed throughout time alongside broader social, economic, and political changes in the Caribbean and the Atlantic World. In **Chapter Two** I focus on the changing landscape of Antigua and the built environment of Green Castle Estate throughout the eighteenth century. Here I use landscape theory coupled with landscape analysis of both the island and the plantation to offer a glimpse into how space becomes inextricably linked with the

Antigua in a prominent position of economic and political power by the middle of the eighteenth century were not the result of historical accident but rather reflect the careful planning and work of Antiguan planters. This work can be traced in the changes to the landscape of Antigua and at Green Castle Estate, specifically.

Chapter Three presents an interpretation of the daily lives of enslaved laborers at Green Castle Estate based on archaeological research. Here I use recent theoretical perspectives on material culture to present an argument for how the domestic assemblages from the slave quarters at Green Castle can offer a glimpse into the lifestyles of enslaved laborers and the ways in which they resisted the colonial regime of slavery, despite the power of landscape in shaping their lives.

Chapter Four offers insights into the transition between slavery and freedom in Antigua and describes the unique social relations of post-emancipation Antigua.

Drawing from archival resources including laws, court cases, and travel accounts, I highlight how Antigua's unique approach to emancipation, that is, immediate emancipation, created social anxiety. I also emphasize the preemptive measures taken by the Antiguan legislature to maintain social order and labor control following emancipation. In doing so, I argue that the "Antigua Model" created, rather than subverted, resistance and social instability in the immediate aftermath of emancipation and demonstrate how these changes affected nineteenth-century Antiguan life even after legislative changes were made.

An analysis of post-emancipation life among free laborers at Green Castle Estate based on archaeological evidence is the focus of **Chapter Five**. Here, I highlight

changes to the landscape of Green Castle Estate that occurred in the nineteenth century and examine the assemblages associated with the domestic activities of wage laborers to interpret how post-emancipation life differed from slave life. Indeed, social changes aside from the shift from slavery to freedom may have affected the lives of nineteenth-century laborers, yet the distinct changes evident at Green Castle Estate lend credence to the importance of the shift from slave to free labor on the island.

In **Chapter Six** I present a comparative analysis of the lifeways of enslaved and free laborers at Green Castle Estate. I demonstrate how shifts in daily practice and consumption were linked to broader processes such as the emergence of the social relations of capital in Antigua and an increasing consciousness of modernity. I shift the scale of inquiry away from the plantation back into the scope of the island and region. Finally, I offer a summation of the research findings of this project and point to avenues for future research.

Chapter Two

Building a Sugar Island: The Landscapes of Slavery in Antigua

"And if this whole island naturally diversifyed by numberless little hills and dales, were planted with avenues along all the high roads; and the summit of every barren hill crowned with clumps of trees, it would be the most magnificent garden the world could ever boast of since that of Eden..." –Samuel Martin, *An Essay Upon Plantership*, 1750

Samuel Martin dedicates considerable attention to landscape production in his work, An Essay Upon Plantership. As noted above, Martin is concerned with not only improving the landscape of his own plantation, Green Castle Estate, but also emphasizes the benefits of careful landscape planning throughout the island of Antigua. For Martin, landscape manipulation consists of coupling the "natural" diversity of the island with prescribed and purposeful changes for its improvement. Though Martin's call to recreate the Garden of Eden on Antigua invokes images of beauty and tranquility, he is also quick to point out more practical benefits of these landscape improvements. For Martin, the physical beauty of planting trees serves the dual purpose of providing shade for his livestock and for travelers on the road, though, notably, not for his enslaved laborers (Martin 1750:17-18). In this discussion of the benefits of tree planting, Martin brings to light two sides of landscape: its imagery and façade and the underlying source of its production and maintenance. In Antigua, Martin's Essay specifically discusses the production of sugar alongside more aesthetic approaches to landscape. Interestingly, Martin does not divorce the two, but sees improvements in the management and production of sugar on his plantation as serving also to enhance that other side of landscape, its pristine, often labor-free, views of idyllic agriculture and sanitized production.

At first glance, Martin's Essay is particularly intriguing in the context of landscape studies because he seemingly exposes the "hidden" aspects of landscape production—labor and scenes of unsightly agricultural and industrial production alongside those aspects that serve to mask them—gardens, pastoral imagery, and benevolent social relations. Landscape studies have long upheld the notion that space and the built environment are actors in complex webs of ideology and the key to naturalizing the power inherent in ideologies is to keep it hidden (Lefebvre 1991 [1974]; Leone 1984; 2005; Mitchell 1996). Martin appears to be sabotaging his own interests, yet he is not. By the time Martin's Essay was published in the middle of the eighteenth century, Antigua had been producing sugar for one hundred years and had become deeply entrenched in a regional and global market of sugar, slaves, and wealth. Rather than take Martin's Essay to expose the dual processes of landscape production and representation, instead his Essay should be interpreted as part of an ongoing effort to maintain the seeming stability of Antigua's sugar industry amidst an ever-changing global economy that was unpredictable at best.

Both historical and archaeological analyses of Caribbean islands tend to acquiesce to the inevitability of sugar's success in the region. Indeed, the sugar industry quickly became the preferred enterprise in Antigua. As the island was converted into vast stretches of sugar plantations, the social relations of production that accompany sugar growth, refinement, and rum production shaped Antiguan society, economy, and politics throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The success of sugar in Antigua was by no means inevitable but rather the result of continued efforts to ensure its success by planters who manipulated Antigua's landscape and social relations. Antigua's place in

England's Caribbean sugar enterprise developed alongside regional agricultural trends, vast changes to Antigua's ecological layout, and amidst social struggles that continually shaped Antiguan society. Landscape, as a relational space in which meaning is created, becomes a useful tool for understanding the *spatial* relations of production. It becomes an arena that is manipulated to continually ensure the success and profitability of sugar in Antigua in the face of changing international attitudes towards the sugar economy, slavery, and the Caribbean in general.

2.1 Landscape Studies

Studies of landscape have long been a central focus of archaeological inquiry. One of the first contributions to an archaeological approach to landscape was Cyril Fox's 1932 The Personality of Britain. In his approach to landscape, Fox (1932) sought to understand the geographic and ecological factors that shaped Britain's "personality" and how this, in turn, would have shaped the lives and cultures of prehistoric humans in Britain. By the middle of the twentieth century, landscape studies in archaeology were perhaps best characterized by inquiries into human settlement within landscapes (Willey 1956, 1968). These studies emphasize landscape by examining how settlement patterns point to cultural practices, subsistence strategies, and political and economic networks within regions. The study of landscape also pointed to different scales of archaeological analysis from site-specific inquiries to more regionally based research (Flannery 1976; Trigger 1968). Following the cultural ecology approach of Steward (1955), approaches to landscape, which adhere to processual paradigms, increasingly focused on the role of the environment in shaping human culture and creating demographic pressures (Binford 1996; Sanders, et al. 1979).

With the advent of post-processual approaches to archaeology in the 1980s, archaeological research generally moved away from an approach that credited interpretations of human cultures solely to environmental factors and sought to emphasize the social influences that shaped human practice (Brumfiel 1992; Hodder 1982, 1986). Approaches to landscape archaeology shifted to emphasize the cultural, symbolic, and ideological meanings ascribed to landscapes, yet these interests were central to pre-processual approaches as well. For instance, prehistoric archaeologists have moved beyond considering the landscape as merely an environmental or economic resource for past peoples and, instead, highlight the symbolic importance of landscapes by revisualizing sites, monuments, and resources beyond site-based interpretations (Ashmore and Knapp 1999; Bender 1992; 1993; Rothschild 2003; Thomas 2001). The work of historical archaeologists presents an opportunity for more nuanced interpretations of landscapes because the multiples lines of evidence employed by historical archaeologists offer insights into how the built environment and landscape construct social relations in different ways. In particular, recent archaeological studies of landscapes on plantations reveal the ways in which the plantation was very much a built environment in which surveillance, efficiency and, ultimately, profitability were priorities.

One of the first studies that explicitly focuses on landscape and the built environment in plantation contexts is James Delle's 1998 *An Archaeology of Social Space: Analyzing Coffee Plantations in Jamaica's Blue Mountains*. Delle analyzes changes in the landscapes of coffee plantations in late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Jamaica in relation to the transition from a mercantile economy to a competitive,

capitalist mode of production. Coupling extensive archival data, including historic maps and plantation records, with archaeological survey and mapping of plantation remains, Delle interprets transformations in the built environment in relation to the shift from an economy reliant on sugar to coffee and the change from slave to wage labor. Delle's (1998) work provides a strong framework for how archaeological studies of landscape can contribute to understandings of how social relations within a specific region are altered in response to broader social processes.

More recent research draws on the influence of Delle's work to undertake more ambitious studies. Daniel Hicks's 2007 "The Garden of the World": An Historical Archaeology of Sugar Landscapes in the Eastern Caribbean similarly examines changes in the built environment in relation to various periods of colonial history in St. Kitts and St. Lucia. Hicks argues for four distinct periods of landscape change in the Eastern Caribbean: enclosed landscapes, sugar landscapes, "improved" landscapes, and Atlantic legacies. Hicks links these landscapes to broader ideologies associated with early colonialism, profitability, paternalism, and social preservation. While Hicks incorporates archaeological excavation in this research to understand how built environments were changed and manipulated throughout time, the scope of this project necessarily sacrifices a truly nuanced account of landscape change within a particular locale. Though Hicks draws on archaeological evidence from two islands, he draws on archival evidence from a variety of islands throughout the Caribbean. Further, though Hicks seeks a regional analysis in his work, in only conducting research on two islands, he does not adequately treat the region. Yet, in seeking to conduct a regional analysis, he undermines the ways the specific settlement, colonization, and social processes within St. Kitts and St. Lucia

may have shaped social relations within these islands and how this influences landscape change over time.

Studies focusing on specific plantations that couple landscape and spatial analysis with localized archaeological investigations have been more successful in interpreting the complex intersections between social space and social life. Drawing from Foucauldian (1995 [1975]) ideas of discipline and surveillance, archaeologists have highlighted how plantations manipulate lines of vision to simultaneously oversee and hide enslaved laborers (Epperson 2000), reinforce social and racial inequalities (Epperson 1999a; Gibson 2007; Singleton 2001), and proliferate dominant colonial ideologies (Leone 1984; 2005). These works note that enslaved laborers could have reimagined these landscapes differently than the intended meanings of planters who often sought to survey, yet distance, laborers through a manipulation of the built environment. Yet, only Singleton (2001) attempts to interpret how laborers may have done so. In studying an enclosed slave village on a Cuban coffee plantation, Singleton (2001) argues that though enslaved laborers were confined within a wall over three meters high, enslaved laborers manipulated space within these confines and may have conducted African-derived cultural practices. For Singleton (2001:110), such practices serve as cultural resistance to the dominant, oppressive culture because individuals were able to participate in shared activities that "critique the power of the dominant" and "create a world removed from the oppression of everyday life." This case not only provides an extreme example of labor control within the landscape, but also provides an important move towards considering how different populations negotiated such spaces.

This appreciation of landscape as itself a focus of study in interpreting past social relations and ideologies complements archaeological assemblages recovered from subsurface excavations by highlighting how material culture relates to lived experiences within a particular space. Despite the variety of approaches to landscape, even within plantation contexts, most of these studies focus on how dominant ideologies, values, and power relations are expressed in the landscape and therefore imposed on the masses. In this light, archaeologists run the risk of interpreting landscape as merely a reflection of these ideological phenomena rather than an active creation that itself helps to create, manipulate, and sustain social relations. It is precisely within and often because of the substantive nature of landscapes that various social relations arise. Rather than read the seemingly unconscious, yet prevalent, ideologies in landscapes, historical archaeologies of landscape should emphasize how landscapes are *created* to portray and represent various ideologies and how these landscapes in turn shape social relations to maintain ideologies. Instead of placing humans as seemingly helpless figures within imposing landscapes of ideology, I hope to show how past actors continually shape and manipulate landscapes to maintain and resist dominant ideologies in the face of an ever changing society.

Archaeological approaches to landscape draw heavily on the work of historical geography. In the 1990s, several geographers were seeking to reassert the *material* conditions of landscape and highlight the need to return to landscape not as a post-modern ideology but rather as a concrete space to be studied (Mitchell 1996; Olwig 1996). Indeed, as Don Mitchell (1996: 4-5) points out, "it is impossible to talk about ideology...without examining and explaining the spaces that give that ideology currency

and serve as its referent." This call to refocus landscape studies on the material conditions of landscape brings to light two important points that are lost in the quest to continually find the ideological concepts in landscape. First, in returning to the material space and structure of landscape, researchers must realize that there are natural—geological and ecological—and cultural limits to how landscape is constructed and used. Further, it is not just through spaces that ideology gains currency, but also through and because of human actors that create, give meaning to, and use those spaces.

Mitchell's call falls in line with much of the original work on landscape from which more recent archaeological research has drawn theoretical standpoints. Perhaps most notably, Henri Lefebvre's 1991 [1974] *The Production of Space* deconstructs the political, ideological, and technological aspects of space in arguing that "(*Social*) *space is a (social) product*" (Lefebvre 1991:26; emphasis in original [1974]). Yet, in doing so, Lefebvre in no way undermines the physical and material conditions of landscape in favor of its other meanings and functions. If anything, Lefebvre appreciates the spaces that are created to give the political, ideological, and technological meanings inherent within landscapes their particular locale:

But ideologies do not produce space: rather, they are in space, and of it. It is the forces of production and the relations of production that produce social space. In the process a global social practice is brought into being, comprising all the diverse activities which, at least up to now, have characterized any society: education, administration, politics, military organization, and so on. It follows that not all localization should be attributed to ideology. 'Place' in society, high society *versus* the lower depths, the political 'left' and 'right' – all these apparent forms of localization derive not only from ideology but also from the symbolic properties of space, properties inherent to that space's practical occupation [Lefebvre 1991:210 (1974)].

Here Lefebvre highlights several important aspects of space and the ways in which society infiltrates these spaces. First, Lefebvre argues for the concrete production of space by people within a society. In doing so, he stresses the human action necessary to produce space and also argues for the different use of different spaces. In this sense, the production of space relies on the "practical" properties of that space, but also on the social forces that dictate the use of it. Further, he argues that different spaces will take on meaning differently. Thus, not all space can be interpreted to maintain the same ideological or political purposes.

Yet, Lefebvre (1991 [1974]) also distinctly places the production of space within a capitalist framework. In this light, all spaces can be imbued with the ideologies of capitalism, yet this overarching framework is continually reliant on diverse landscapes, peoples, and institutions. While Lefebvre argues for the different ways in which localization can shape landscapes and ideologies, it is also this adaptability and flexibility that allows for the pervasiveness of capitalist relations in different societies.

David Harvey makes a similar point his 2006 *The Limits to Capital*. Harvey (2006a:373-412) emphasizes the power of space in structuring social relations, yet situates the production of space within a distinctly capitalist framework and as serving capitalist needs. Harvey's argument centers on how geography can limit capital by restricting flows of capital, labor, and products. Harvey (2006a:383, 398-401) notes, too, that various "social infrastructures" influence the laboring class and, thus, become a vital aspect to reproducing capital. While, these infrastructures include very concrete, spatial institutions such as neighborhoods, schools, and churches, the social and cultural activities produced within these arenas also develop and accumulate a specific knowledge

among populations, all for the benefit of capital (Harvey 2006a:400-401). Here, then, the built environment intersects with a variety of social influences and, for Harvey, these all work to actively perpetuate capital. Indeed, like Lefebvre, Harvey contends that these spatial components are neither neutral nor accidental, but instead highly situated within specific social motivations and goals. Elsewhere, Harvey (2000; 2006b) elaborates these ideas to demonstrate the effects of the production of space in uncovering how uneven geographic development has deepened social inequalities within society.

While both Lefebvre (1991 [1974]) and Harvey (2006a) argue for the ways in which space is produced through social relations and institutions within a capitalist framework, neither completely concedes that such social relations are omnipotent in the creation of space and in imbuing that space with meaning. Rather, Harvey (2006b) makes a strong argument for the ways in which new meanings can be appropriated within spaces to create new cultural syntheses in resistance of dominant ideologies.

Ultimately, space becomes a mechanism to both reinforce and disguise dominant cultural ideologies. Yet, at the same time, space is also a particular locale in which new meanings can develop. In highlighting the material conditions of space alongside the social relations that introduce ideologies and power relations, historical archaeologies of landscape can produce much more nuanced and interesting interpretations of the past without prioritizing an ever-evasive search for ideology.

Indeed, it is this very type of approach to landscape that is necessary for an interpretation of how space shaped social relations in Antigua's past. Though Antigua was settled and grew into prosperity during a time of seemingly endless European expansion in the Americas and wealth production through agricultural enterprise, there

are very concrete limits to the ways in which Antigua could have gained prosperity in this time period. While Antigua's geological and ecological characteristics presented several challenges to successful agricultural enterprise on the island, its political and economic position in relation to other British colonies in the Eastern Caribbean also greatly affected the trajectory of Antigua's success. I argue that these ecological and political limits shaped the course Antiguan planters would take in seeking to produce wealth and those decisions, in turn, built the Antiguan landscape in a way that would structure Antigua's relations around the quest for profitability through sugar production, a reliance on slave labor, and the increasing power of wealthy planters as large plantations took over the landscape of the island. Furthermore, Antigua's success in sugar production and the use of the plantation system was not inevitable and does not reflect a natural propensity for success in sugar. Instead, I argue it is the result of prescribed decisions and the violent imposition of racist and unequal social relations that ensured the success of sugar in the face of changing global and economic forces. Antigua's landscape was not merely a backdrop in this series of events, but rather were shaped to serve them.

2.2 The Appeal of Sugar: Antigua's Early Settlement

In the early seventeenth century, as European powers clamored for ownership of the Caribbean islands, sugar had not yet made its mark on the region. Though the islands of the Eastern Caribbean are small in size, and were overlooked by the Spanish who sought mineral wealth in the larger islands of the Greater Antilles, the English, French, and Dutch recognized the potential for agricultural production throughout the Caribbean and fiercely competed to maintain their holdings in the region (Engerman 1996; Gaspar 1985; Gaspar and Geggus 1997; Goveia 1965; Mintz 1974). The British Caribbean was

almost immediately transformed for the production of cash crops using the plantation as the center of production (Mintz 1985b; Sheridan 1974). This entrenched the British Caribbean into the complex works of an emerging global capitalism, a system in which both Europe and the Caribbean would become increasingly dependent on each other. At first, many islands ventured into tobacco production, seeking to compete with the already successful Virginian industry, yet by the middle of the seventeenth century, sugar had taken hold in Barbados and the other islands of the Caribbean soon followed its example (Dunn 1972:46-83).

Though Antigua was Britain's most profitable sugar island in the Leeward Islands by the turn of the eighteenth century, the early settlement of the island in no way foreshadowed its future success. First spotted by Columbus during his second voyage in 1493 (Dyde 2000:8), Antigua was settled in 1632 by British settlers from St. Christopher under Letters Patent under the decree of King Charles I (Dyde 2000:13). Agricultural production was the goal of settlement, yet the initial settlers were wrought with the task of clearing the land that was wooded up to the water's edge (Dyde 2000:14-15). Drought also plagued Antigua throughout its early settlement (Dunn 1972:117). Within nearly ten years, though, agricultural production was underway in Antigua and tobacco was being grown on the island in 1643 (Dyde 2000:16). In addition to tobacco, other cash crops were planted on the island in its early settlement including indigo, cotton, and ginger, yet by 1655 sugar had been introduced to the island (Dyde 2000:20; Gaspar 1985:66).

Throughout the second half of the seventeenth century, the popularity of sugar increased as a group of elite planters arrived and, seeking to mimic the success of sugar production in Barbados, began to change the forested landscape of Antigua into a series

of sugar plantations. Upon the arrival of Christopher Codrington, the renowned Barbadian sugar planter, Antigua's sugar industry reached new levels of production. Codrington established his central plantation, Betty's Hope, in Antigua and also acquired the entire island of Barbuda off of Antigua's north coast as a provisioning plantation to support his sugar plantations (Gonzalez de Scollard 2009). The magnitude of Codrington's enterprises catapulted the Antiguan sugar market and, as early as 1708, Antigua accounted for over half of the slave population in the Leeward Islands and over half of the Leewards' sugar output (Dunn 1972:141; Gaspar 1985:68).

The success of sugar in eighteenth-century Antigua diminishes the challenges and failures of the enterprise throughout the seventeenth century. Although the arrival of Codrington, alongside a wealthy group of planters, boosted Antigua's sugar industry through a tremendous investment of capital, it was only through violent and persistent dedication to sugar that the early settlers of Antigua were able to build a successful sugar island for the eighteenth century.

Albeit sugar was introduced to the island in 1655, a point in history that seems to mark the beginning of Antigua's rise to power, the only 1,200 settlers who inhabited Antigua were threatening to abandon the island entirely in 1656 (Dunn 1972:122). In 1666, during the French wars in the Caribbean, the French raided Antigua and managed to encourage enslaved laborers to revolt and leave the island (Dunn 1972:124; Dyde 2000:21). In addition, sugar works were burned and plantations were destroyed in the attacks (Dunn 1972:124). Only the reorganization of the militia following the French invasion in 1666 and the arrival of permanent military reinforcements stabilized Antiguan society in the aftermath of the French invasion (Dyde 2000:21). Following the

resettlement of the island after the Treaty of Breda in 1667, over fifty percent of the planters on Antigua owned tracts of land of less than fifty acres and by 1678 only about half the arable land throughout the island was patented (Dunn 1972:130). These reports stand in stark contrast to the seeming inevitability of sugar's success following its arrival in 1655.

Yet, by 1678, drastic shifts in Antigua's small population demonstrate the increasing move to an economy and society dependent on sugar production. Though Antigua's population was just 1,200 in the 1650s, that number had grown to 4,480 by 1678. Perhaps more telling though is that nearly half the population (2,172) consisted of enslaved Africans (Dunn 1972:127). Among those, only six Antiguan planters held as many as 60 slaves, and only forty-seven percent of households were slave-holding (Dunn 1972:128-129). These data demonstrate that Antiguan society was still strongly diversified along class lines in the seventeenth century, a point that speaks to the questionable profitability of large-scale agriculture on the island during this time.

From its initial settlement through the 1670s, the population of Antigua had been largely transient. In the 1670s, the Dutch invasion of Suriname spurred the arrival of several wealthy planters, including Major Samuel Martin and William Byam, who would begin to form a more permanent planter class on the island (Dunn 1972:130; Gaspar 1985:66). Still, even the 1670s did not mark the commencement of sugar's heyday in Antigua. Throughout the last decades of the seventeenth century, crisis hit the sugar industry throughout the entire Eastern Caribbean as sugar prices fell, sugar taxes rose, and continued wars with France made property vulnerable, slave supplies irregular, and the entire fate of the British Caribbean uncertain.

Although the decision to pursue a sugar industry in Antigua may have seemed extremely beneficial within the regional context of sugar production in the Eastern Caribbean, largely due to the success of the enterprise on Barbados, implementing agricultural production in Antigua was fraught with many obstacles. Ecological and social challenges threatened the sugar enterprise in the first decades of its development, yet planters persevered in making sugar work in Antigua (Dunn 1972:122-124; Dyde 2000:21; Gaspar 1985:66). The deforestation of Antigua and the preference of using military force to maintain social control on the island are violent approaches to maintaining the social structure. Antigua's rise in importance in the last decades of the seventeenth century draw further on the instability of the sugar industry and the social relations it creates. It is only through misfortunes throughout the Caribbean and the shifts in capital that instability creates could Antigua become the most powerful sugar island in the Leeward Islands and, in doing so, cement its own landscapes and social relations in unforeseen ways.

2.3 Building a Sugar Island

In 1678 only half of the arable land in Antigua was being cultivated and only half of the planters on the island were producing for profit (Dunn 1972:127). Thirty years later, in 1708, Antigua was the most profitable sugar island in the Leeward Islands, accounting for over half the sugar output and half the slave population in these islands (Dunn 1972:141). Until the 1670s Antigua's sugar output had always lagged behind Nevis's and St. Christopher had served as the seat of the colonial government in the Leeward Islands. In the last decades of the seventeenth century, though, Antigua would achieve both of these honors and, what's more, maintain them throughout the eighteenth

century. How, in thirty years, did Antiguan planters so drastically alter the fate of the island?

The final decades of the seventeenth century were particularly tumultuous for the Eastern Caribbean. Wars with France continued to plague the region and sugar taxes rose considerably alongside additional commission agents' fees and shipping costs (Dunn 1972:131). In addition, the governance of the Leeward Islands was as turbulent as ever. The period between 1678 and 1708 saw eight colonial governors in the islands (Dunn 1972:131-137). Governors either found the Leewards unmanageable or instead, like Codrington, embarked on self-financed battles to capture French islands; battles that only enraged planters further who feared increased competition if French islands were annexed (Dunn 1972:134-135). Amidst this turmoil, Antigua would seize the opportunity to rise to power. Due to its incredibly shaky start as a colony, Antigua had been easily overlooked throughout the seventeenth century, particularly in the wars with France in which the more profitable and politically important islands of Nevis and St. Christopher were the focus (Dunn 1972:137-141). Drawing upon this oversight, Antigua would be able to surpass its fellow Leeward Islands by profiting from their misfortune. It is only because of the wars with France, indeed not in spite of them, that Antigua was able to become so profitable. As St. Christopher and Nevis were pillaged and destroyed by the French, Antigua soon became the only continually producing sugar island in the Leewards during the French Wars.

Throughout the last decades of the seventeenth century, as the British and French continually battled in the Eastern Caribbean, Antigua managed to emerge relatively unscathed and, indeed, better by the wars. Because Antigua was so sparsely settled and

lagging so far behind Nevis in its sugar production in the 1670s, the island was not the focus of French attacks and this oversight created an opportunity for wealthy planters to invest large amounts of capital into the island and create its sugar boom. Indeed, while this boom cannot solely be attributed to planters such as Christopher Codrington, a large investment in capital was necessary to transform Antigua into a profitable sugar island (Gaspar 1985:66). In the 1670s planters started to invest in Antigua in a very concrete way. More land was granted to wealthy planters and larger estates soon outnumbered the smaller farms that dotted the landscape in its initial settlement. This transformation marked a huge change to Antigua's physical and social landscape. With the rise of large plantations came the shift from indentured, European labor to enslaved, African labor. The rise of plantations not just physically changed the landscape of Antigua in overtaking small farms, but also drastically altered its social landscape almost overnight. Such a great changeover was needed yet also resisted. In altering the scale of production on the island vast amounts of cheap labor were necessary, yet a society overwhelmingly enslaved and mistreated is unstable at best, and throughout the last decades of the seventeenth century, colonial legislation would still seek to increase the white population of the islands by creating incentives for indentured labor throughout the Caribbean. Though planters, many of whom served on local government, recognized the benefits of a more socially equal society (if one could call the presence of indentured servants "equal"), the importance of their profits overshadowed any potential social threats and the slave population of Antigua rocketed during this time period. Whereas the population of whites in Antigua only increased by a few hundred, from 2,308 in 1678 to 2,892 in 1708, the population of blacks increased by over five hundred percent, from 2,172 people

in 1678 to 12,960 in 1708 (Dunn 1972:141). No other island in the Leewards would match Antigua in growth during this time period as the number of whites decreased on the three other Leeward Islands during this time period and the black population also grew only in St. Christopher and Montserrat, to 3,294 and 3,570 people, respectively (Dunn 1972:141). As is evident, within the thirty years from 1678 to 1708 the *scale* of Antigua's sugar production dramatically changed.

What becomes strongly apparent during this time period is that the large, wealthy planters who had arrived in Antigua in the 1670s greatly profited during the French wars and increasingly pushed out small farmers. The records of St. Mary's Parish, Antigua highlight tax levies for 1688, 1693, 1696, and 1706 and demonstrate this trend (Dunn 1972:142; Oliver 1894:394-397). The transience of the community becomes strongly apparent as three quarters of the people inhabiting the parish in 1688 are gone by 1706. Though, often, the least successful planters abandoned their enterprises, nearly half of the poorest planters in 1706 had resided in the parish since 1688. Most active, though, were the wealthy planters who continually bought and sold land throughout this time period, and almost consistently increased the size of the enslaved population on their estates. The trend towards increasing estate size and power though is undeniable. In 1688, 53 people were taxed for land and this was consolidated to 36 people in 1706 (Dunn 1972:142-143). In the same time period, the number of slaveholders increased from 16 to 30 alongside the number of enslaved laborers per estate as 16 planters held more than twenty laborers and 4 planters held more than one hundred (an increase from just 6 planters and no planters, respectively in 1688) (Dunn 1972:142-143). Whereas, the number of acres in production decreased from 5,811 in 1688 to 5,660 in 1706, the sharp

decline in the number of planters in the Parish as well speaks strongly to the consolidation of estates to a fewer number of more wealthy planters who increased their landholdings, enslaved laborers, and production during this time period (Dunn 1972:143).

In addition to the consolidation of land, there was increased investment in the built environment of estates during this time period as well. Planters increasingly shifted from wooden, cattle mills, to stone-built windmills and boiling houses. The increased consolidation of land and estates alongside a shift to more permanent sugar works radically altered Antigua's physical and social landscapes. Though more enslaved laborers resided on individual estates, as these escalated in size they increasingly became separated from laborers on other estates. In addition to these parish-wide changes, elements of landscape production and the built environment within individual estates became a focus as planters designed plantations not just for maximum agricultural and industrial efficiency, but also to create and maintain a social order within the plantations in an effort to keep enslaved laborers under control. These changes were palpable at Green Castle Estate, where a continued attention to landscape production highlights not only the efforts made at creating Antigua's sugar landscape, but also how that landscape is continually negotiated and contested, often violently, in the face of the social injustices that are inherent within Antigua's sugar society.

2.4 Green Castle Estate

The Martin family was the model of British imperial success. Coming from a prominent Anglo-Irish family, Colonel George Martin was instrumental in the British colonization of Suriname and settled there with his family seeking success in economic endeavors in the middle of the seventeenth century. After settling in Suriname, the

family was forced to relocate following the Dutch invasion of the colony and George's son, Major Samuel Martin moved his family to Antigua where, in 1677, he established his sugar plantation, Green Castle Estate in St. Mary's Parish (Gaspar 1985:66). The 1678 census of Antigua documents only five individuals at Green Castle including 1 white man and 1 white woman (presumably Samuel Martin and his wife), and 2 black men and 1 black woman (Oliver 1894:1x). The original property purchased by Martin was approximately 550 acres of land, but at the height of productivity at Green Castle in the eighteenth century, the plantation consisted of 600 acres of land, at least 400 of which were dedicated to sugar planting (Gaspar 1985:96; Sheridan 1960:132). Major Samuel Martin was instrumental in the colonial government of Antigua as he was a member of the Assembly by 1686 and was made Speaker of the Assembly in 1689. In 1697, he was listed as a member of Council (Oliver 1894:1xvi). Samuel Martin's position in the local government may have contributed to the rapid success of his plantation. Green Castle was one of the estates that greatly profited in the last decades of the seventeenth century, as Major Martin quickly added to his landholdings, increased his enslaved population, and profited handsomely off the sugar trade. By the end of the seventeenth century, the estate boasted two windmills, highlighting the scale of production underway (Figure 2.1).

While Green Castle quickly arose as one of the largest and most profitable sugar plantations on the island, the management skills of Major Samuel Martin are called into question when he was killed by his enslaved laborers on December 25, 1701 (Gaspar 1985:185). According to historic accounts of the incident, the laborers rebelled, killing Major Martin with their field hoes while he was still sleeping because he did not grant them their Christmas holiday (Gaspar 1985:185). Other accounts contend that refusal of



Figure 2.1 Green Castle Estate from the Northeast. Watercolor painting by Nicolas Pocock, 1804. Courtesy of the Museum of Antigua and Barbuda.

the holiday marked the culmination of a series of harsh treatments committed by Major Martin against his enslaved laborers (Dyde 2000:44). Still, other documents reveal the surprise of members of Antigua's elite planter class at the event, commenting that Major Samuel Martin must have performed some grave mistreatment of his workers since they came from the most gentile of the African tribes (Dyde 2000:44). While Major Samuel Martin was killed in his bed, his wife and children fled into the sugar fields where they were kept safe (Dyde 2000:44).

Following the death of Major Samuel Martin, it is unclear what repercussions were taken against the conspirators who killed him.² Additionally, it is unclear what impact Major Samuel Martin's murder had on the productivity and life at Green Castle Estate in its immediate aftermath. In the first decades of the eighteenth century, various

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 $^{^{2}}$ Dyde (2000:44) remarks one was killed by a neighbor who came to the scene after Martin's wife and children ran for help.

managers oversaw the estate, including relatives and friends of the Martins, as Major Martin's eldest son finished his education abroad (Sheridan 1960:128). The estate would rebound from the murder of its founder under the management of his son, Colonel Samuel Martin throughout the second half of the eighteenth century, yet the management of Colonel Martin offers insights into the extent of manipulation and coercion that had to be employed to maintain seeming stability within the plantation.

As Green Castle prospered in the late seventeenth century alongside a greater island-wide consolidation of estates and shift to a culture of sugar production in Antigua, the violent death of Major Samuel Martin highlights the instability of that culture before it had even seemingly completely developed. All the historical responses to Martin's death indicate a problem with his management, placing the blame on the individual rather than questioning the inherent system of slavery that had been employed as sugar production took hold in Antigua. As Antigua was overlooked by external foes during the late seventeenth century, it had to face growing internal challenges that only highlight the precarious nature of sugar production and the contradictions inherent within this burgeoning system.

2.5 Struggling to Maintain Sugar's Success

While Antigua had made a mark for itself in the Caribbean sugar market in the late seventeenth century, its rapid rise to success did not secure its position as the most profitable and politically important island in the Leeward Islands, but rather only highlighted how much was at stake in maintaining this position. Such an increase in production led to incredibly quick and substantial increases in Antigua's population, particularly its slave population, and a devastatingly rapid deforestation of the island and

building of sugar plantations. Though the immediate outcome of such work might be a sudden surge in profitability for the island's sugar industry, Antiguan planters would soon have to contend with environmental problems and social situations that undermine the very foundation of the sugar culture.

At a very fundamental level, Antigua is not necessarily well suited for sugar production due to its highly variable geology and its frequent droughts. The almost absolute deforestation of the land for sugar production only exacerbated ecological challenges to sugar production. Water is in scarce supply in Antigua and yearly estimates of rainfall indicate the island averages only 45 inches of rainfall per annum, yet this is highly variable throughout the island (Hill 1966; Oliver 1894:vii-viii). Deforestation amplified droughts, a phenomenon that Samuel Martin (1750:18) notes in his writing, yet was also addressed earlier, in 1721, through the passing of the "Body Ponds Act." This legislation protected natural water reservoirs on the island and prevented the felling of trees around them (Multer, et al. 1986:4-19). Deforestation also contributed to soil erosion on an island with a distinct geology that already created fluctuating outputs of sugar. Soils throughout Antigua are extremely variable due to the various geological formations of the island (Multer, et al. 1986:1-4). These range from limestone marls in the northeast to thick clays in the southwest. Sugar production throughout the island was inconsistent and variability in soils coupled with persistent droughts only further challenged the success of sugar production on the island. Planters employed various techniques to fertilize their soils and rotate crops so as not to exhaust the land, yet the anxieties around such issues further indicate the rather forced production that planters sought to reap of Antigua's fragile environment (Martin 1750, 1765, 1773, 1785). In

addition, the deforestation of the land coupled with most of the arable land being dedicated to sugar production made Antigua very reliant on imported timber and provisions. Most of these goods came from England's North American colonies (Sheridan 1960:127; Sheridan 1974).

Perhaps more alarming for Antiguan planters, though, was the organization of enslaved laborers against the entire regime of slavery and sugar on the island. In 1736, a slave conspiracy for an island-wide revolt was uncovered in Antigua (Gaspar 1978, 1985). The plot, if successful, would have resulted in the overthrowing of the Antiguan government and the establishment of a free state for the formerly enslaved population. Capitalizing on celebrations correlating with the coronation of King George II on October 30, 1736, the enslaved population sought to attack and kill the white inhabitants on Antigua. The plot was uncovered resulting in a brutal display of punishment and execution against those believed to be involved in the conspiracy.

Following the uncovering of the plot, swift and, often unjust, judgment was passed in a series of courts created by the Antiguan planters. Most enslaved laborers who were suspected of involvement in the conspiracy were executed without question, though some escaped execution by agreeing to be witnesses and testify against other enslaved individuals. In just over a month, thirty-four slaves had been executed in horrid displays of public torture and spectacle (Gaspar 1985:27). White Antiguans reacted to the conspiracy with a fervid violence, hoping to quell any further insurrections through a display of ruthless force and brutality:

Day after day during the closing months of 1736 and in early 1737, through ritualistic executions that included torture, the authorities were determined to teach the slave population that it was futile to rebel. Many white spectators of

such public expression of deliberate cruelty regarded themselves as the real executioners; they indulged a lust for revenge and at the same time found reassurance in the righteous rigor of punishments that vanquished the enemies they feared. Every execution, every head exposed on a pike, reminded or warned whites to be wary of their slaves and at the same time symbolized that, at least for the time being, slaves were reduced to impotence. The slaves themselves may have got a different message [Gaspar 1985:26].

Gaspar's point, that the enslaved may have gotten a different message entirely is extremely pertinent. Obviously enslaved laborers recognized the injustices and cruelties of the slave system in Antigua. The revolts against Major Martin and the island-wide plot reflect the desperation that enslaved laborers must have felt as they sought violent means to overthrow a system from which they could not profit and could barely survive.

Antiguan planters not only executed enslaved laborers swiftly and punished others in the immediate aftermath of the conspiracy, but also began to seek compensation for "lost property" if their laborers were executed (Gaspar 1985:38). In addition, planters who served on the special court convened to try suspects in the conspiracy complained on December 20, 1736 that their own affairs and estates were suffering from the amount of time being spent on the trials (Gaspar 1985:27). A new court was convened to continue trying people well into 1737. Interestingly, following the conspiracy, the Antiguan legislation did not pass laws that would enable more harsh punishments for enslaved laborers (Gaspar 1985:40). This stands in stark contrast to other British islands that almost always amended legislation in favor of more strict laws against enslaved laborers following acts of revolt or rebellion (Gaspar 1985:40).

The Martin family was not immune to the conspiracy or its aftermath. Both Colonel Samuel Martin and his brother Josiah served on the court that tried suspects following the conspiracy (Gaspar 1985:27). Furthermore, enslaved laborers from Green

Castle, as well as Josiah's estate, were tried and executed or banished (Gaspar 1985:24, 36, 47-48). At least two of Martin's laborers testified in the courts against other enslaved laborers and escaped execution (Gaspar 1985:36). In addition, Colonel Martin's manager, William Chapman, was called into the court as a witness in the conspiracy (Gaspar 1985:48). The experiences of the Martins probably reflect those of other wealthy planters too. Many were already involved in government or military service and were called in to serve on the courts following the conspiracy. Additionally, enslaved laborers from many large estates on the island were accused and executed for being involved in the conspiracy (Gaspar 1985:27).

The Antiguan Slave Conspiracy of 1736 and the resulting aftermath reflect the fragility of colonial society and the ways in which control and resistance shaped the social milieu of the era. The tensions between punishing those involved and the subsequent loss of property on the part of planters also speaks to ways in which slavery and sugar truly drove Antiguan society. Yet, amidst all this social turmoil, Antiguan planters never questioned the institution of slavery or the culture that had emerged because of the sugar industry. Instead, they only sought to protect that industry through continued violence and coercion of enslaved laborers. No other widespread revolts plagued Antigua in the eighteenth century and while the historical record is decidedly mute on revolts and rebellions following the 1736 conspiracy, this is not to say enslaved laborers accepted the regime of slavery after the spoiling of the 1736 plot. In the wake of the 1736 slave conspiracy, Antigua's sugar industry continued to grow and in the middle of the eighteenth century, Antigua reached its peak in sugar production. Despite the continued growth in the sugar industry, the culture and practice of sugar production and

the ensuing social relations it created were by no means stable and were consistently manipulated throughout the eighteenth century as well.

2.6 Sugar's Heyday

In the third quarter of the eighteenth century, Antigua reached its peak in sugar production. The slave population of the island reached its height at 37,808 people in 1774 (Sheridan 1960:127). In addition, the consolidation of estates continued, resulting in Antigua's sugar industry being reliant on a number of wealthy planters with large estates (Figure 2.2). The tax records of St. Mary's Parish, for instance, show that by 1767 all 65 taxpayers were slave owners and a third of them (22) owned over 100 enslaved laborers. The number of total enslaved laborers in the parish also ballooned to 5,610 (from 1,150 in 1706) and the total number of acres under production was up to 12,350 (from 5,660 in 1706) (Dunn 1972:141; Oliver 1894:394-397).

By the middle of the eighteenth century nearly all of the arable land on Antigua was being used for sugar production. With further land expansion on the island impossible, the only way to increase production was to intensify the output from individual plantations through improved agricultural techniques. Indeed, it is during this time period that Colonel Samuel Martin began his *Essay Upon Plantership*, an agricultural treatise that was updated seven times throughout the eighteenth century. Martin's *Essay* became a popular agricultural treatise in Antigua and throughout the Leewards as all seven editions were published and the final edition was reprinted twice



Figure 2.2 The 1742 Baker map highlights the transformation of Antigua to an island of sugar plantations. Here, St. Mary's Parish is highlighted.

following Martin's death. Not only does Martin's *Essay* espouse agricultural advice but it also speaks strongly to the social relations of sugar during the eighteenth century. Though Antiguan planters had quelled the attempted revolt in 1736, Martin's *Essay* demonstrates that the inequalities and inconsistencies of the social relations of production in Antigua were still sources of anxiety and much-needed attention in Antigua's heyday of sugar.

2.7 Landscape Production at Green Castle Estate

In 1750, when Colonel Samuel Martin returned to Green Castle Estate after an extended stay in England, he found his plantation in disarray. His sugar fields were in squalor, he had lost some of his enslaved laborers due to disease and death, and his sugar works were nearly in ruins. Rather than abandon his plantation, Colonel Martin began a process of reform and restoration that would make Green Castle Estate one of the most

profitable sugar plantations in Antigua. Martin's attention to management on his plantation represents a shift away from the violent impositions of slave society that were practiced in Antigua throughout the first half of the eighteenth century. Instead, Martin's approach is a turn to paternalism (Sheridan 1960; Zacek 2007). Yet this seeming turn to a more benevolent approach to slavery was not without its problems. First, though Martin advocated improved treatment of his enslaved laborers, he never questioned the system of slavery itself. In addition, Martin's reform in the management of his plantation was not centered on improving the lives of his enslaved laborers, but rather in improving the profitability of his estate through successful sugar and rum production. Improving the lives of his enslaved laborers was merely a means towards that goal. Finally, Martin not only advocated reform within plantations as beneficial to improving slave society, but also argued planters needed to take a more active role in colonial society in general. In this light, Martin's opinions go beyond improving his own estate and instead called for social reform throughout Antiguan society to improve the island's wealth and prosperity within the plantation.

Central to Martin's arguments are physical changes to the landscape of the plantation. Martin was startlingly clear on specific measures planters should take to improve the layout of sugar fields, buildings associated with production, and living quarters alike. For Martin, landscape became a vital component to changing the social relations within Antigua. While, on the one hand, landscape seems an obvious choice for Martin's improvements because he was actually concerned with improving the physical layout and efficiency of his plantations, his *Essay Upon Plantership* reveals a concern not just with landscape for agricultural efficiency but also for its impact on social relations.

Landscape becomes deeply intertwined with the social relations of labor within Martin's plantation and he sought to use landscape production alongside labor management to improve the social relations within his plantation. Though Martin seems to have made suggestions for plantation management that would improve the quality of life of his enslaved laborers, a close reading of his *Essay Upon Plantership* reveals that these suggestions are a thin veil for a new kind of social control that still sought to maintain Martin's superiority and complete command over the workings within his plantation.

2.7.1 Samuel Martin's Essay Upon Plantership

At first glance, Colonel Martin's *Essay* is simply an agricultural treatise offering advice on how to maximize plantation production. Indeed, Martin's *Essay* does focus on these issues, offering recommendations on the acreage of land that should be allocated for sugar versus provisions, adequate workloads for enslaved laborers and cattle, and methods of rum production (Martin 1785). By the seventh edition of the *Essay*, Martin's advice came after years of experimentation on his plantation and reflected actual results specific to Antigua's climate and soils. In the face of these changes, Colonel Martin did increase the productivity and sugar output of Green Castle through his reforms and management (Sheridan 1960; 1974). He argued that he never could bring production to the level it was prior to his absenteeism, however, his accounts demonstrate an increase in production that are seemingly due to the techniques he espoused in his *Essay* (Sheridan 1960:137-139).

More deeply, though, Martin's *Essay* can be read for its social implications, as the organization of labor on plantations and the control of the large, enslaved labor force were pertinent to maintaining the success of the sugar industry on Antigua. Martin had

witnessed considerable opposition and resistance to the colonial sugar society throughout his lifetime. In addition to the murder of his own father, the unveiling of the 1736 Slave Conspiracy plot on Antigua in which enslaved laborers planned to kill the Anglo-elite of Antigua at a ball celebrating the coronation of King George II, led to the execution, exile, and imprisonment of large numbers of the island's enslaved laborers (Gaspar 1985:3-20). Colonel Martin served on the judicial board overseeing the trials of many of the accused in the year following the unveiling of the plot (Gaspar 1985:27). Thus, Martin witnessed direct threats to British economic, political, and social interests in Antigua and these experiences influenced his *Essay Upon Plantership* in various ways.

First, Martin devoted considerable attention to the treatment of the enslaved laborers in his *Essay* with reference to the amount of labor they should undertake. Martin (1785:2) noted that labor should be contingent on the laborer's sex, age, and health, and that hard labor should be coupled with light labor so not as to exhaust the enslaved laborers:

it is evident from experience, that he who feeds his negroes well, proportioneth their labour to their age, sex, and strength, and treats them with kindness and good nature, will reap a much larger product, and with infinitely more ease and self satisfaction than the most cruel Egyptian task-master, who starves his negroes, or chastises them with undue severity.

Martin also made recommendations for work that should be done by cattle, such as hauling sugar canes that specifically should not be done by enslaved laborers. While his primary argument is that carts drawn by cattle and oxen allow for a more efficient transportation of greater quantities of sugar cane, he also noted the benefits for the health and wellbeing of his laborers. Though Martin seems to be arguing solely for increased

efficiency on his plantation, he strongly took into account the work conditions of his labor force speaking to social issues rather than just purely economic issues.

Colonel Martin also addressed the living conditions of his enslaved laborers and suggested laborers live in cabins spaced adequately apart to prevent the spread of fire between cabins, but also to allow a sufficient supply of air to flow through each cabin to ensure health. He promoted cleanliness in cabins and new clothing to be given to workers routinely. He also suggested allotting enslaved laborers sufficient land for provision gardens for their own recreation and because of the poor quality of imported provisions. Martin hired a doctor to oversee the health and wellness of his workers, too. These aspects of his *Essay* take into account the welfare of the enslaved laborers, but the suggestions Colonel Martin offered for health and wellness also play largely into issues of social control on the plantation and maintenance of slave interest in the plantation workings.

Colonel Martin (1785:3) recommended keeping slave cabins at "due distance" and to inspect cabins frequently to be sure they are clean, in good condition, and watertight:

there are also other means equally necessary to strength, and the longevity of negroes, well worth the planter's attention: and those are, to chuse airy, dry situations for their houses; and to observe frequently that they be kept clean, in good repair, and perfectly water-tight for, nastiness, and the inclemencies of weather generate the most malignant diseases. If these houses are situated also in regular order, and at due distances, the spaces may at once prevent general devastations by fire, and furnish plenty of fruits, and pot herbs, to please an unvitiated palate and to purify the blood.

Though Martin suggested these practices to maintain the health of the enslaved laborers and prevent diseases these same practices—separation of slave quarters and continual

inspection—are also means of monitoring the labor force and maintaining control of this population on the plantation.

Additionally, Colonel Martin recommended allotting some of the planter's best land for provision gardens for the enslaved labor force. Provisioning land should be allotted to each male laborer and the amount of land should be in proportion to the size of his family:

Some of his most fruitful land should be allotted to each negro in proportion to his family, and a sufficient portion of time allowed for the cultivation of it; but because such allotment cannot in long droughts produce enough for his comfortable support, it is the incumbent duty of a good planter to have always his stores well filled with Guinea corn, yams, or eddas, besides potatoes growing in regular succession... [Martin 1785:2].

These recommendations speak to several aspects of the social milieu Martin wished to create on his plantation, and within broader colonial sugar society. First, Martin encouraged health and wellness among his enslaved laborers not just so they can be productive field hands, but also to encourage the successful repopulation of his laborers through pregnancy. Upon Martin's return to Antigua, he purchased nearly fifty enslaved laborers who were teenagers, nearly half of whom were male, and the other half female. Martin actively sought out young laborers not just for their labor power, but also for their reproductive potential (British Library 2008:6; Sheridan 1960:129). His approach appears to have been successful as a 1774 travel account states that at least 52 of Martin's female laborers were pregnant (Schaw 2005:104 [1776]). Through these accounts, Martin was actively encouraging propagation and maintenance of family units within the enslaved population on his plantation. Additionally, in allotting provisioning land on his plantation according to family size, Martin created incentives that not only encouraged

his workers to have large families, but also continually tied them to his land, ensuring they would remain his workers. In doing so, he sought to create slave interest in the physical landscape of the plantation, and in the overall plantation production and welfare (Hirschman 1997).

Martin continually updated his *Essay* throughout the seven editions to report on the successes and failures of agricultural techniques and made new recommendations in later editions to reflect these reports. Particularly interesting, are the ways in which Martin changed the types of labor he gave to enslaved laborers. For instance, Martin discusses the ways in which his land had to be continually fertilized and soils replenished following the harvesting of sugar cane. In the last edition of his *Essay*, Martin (1785:17-18) reports that it is common practice for women to spread dung and marl in the fields, using baskets to carry the materials to fertilize the fields. Yet, he argues that it is much more effective for planters to train male laborers to use pitchforks because it will decrease the amount of time it takes to fertilize the field and results in a more even distribution of the fertilizers throughout the field (Martin 1785:17-18). Here, Martin demonstrates that he continually sought ways to increase the efficiency on his plantation and, in doing so, he changed the gendered division of labor on his estate while also advocating skilled labor among his male enslaved laborers.

Elsewhere, in discussing the techniques of rum production, Martin presents a technique of boiling molasses by the touch (1773:48). Workers would have to sample a bit of hot molasses to make sure it had been boiled down to a specific level before it was ready to be fermented for rum production. This task was normally left to white overseers because it was considered a skilled task, yet Martin (1773:48) advocates training

enslaved laborers in this process. In a later edition, Martin (1785:23-24) revisited this technique, arguing that two laborers are better than one in testing the molasses. While these comments may seem trivial, they demonstrate that Martin began to train his laborers in the skilled areas of sugar and rum production. For Martin, this allowed him to avoid having to use white, wage labor to perform skilled tasks, but also reveals the ways in which he thought laborers should be increasingly trained and given more responsibilities in the overall workings of the plantation.

Thus, while Colonel Martin's *Essay Upon Plantership* presents sound advice for plantation management and agricultural efficiency, it also presents interesting insights into the type of slave society Martin advocated. Additionally, it demonstrates the ways Martin sought to create slave interest and investment in the plantation system, an enterprise from which enslaved laborers did not profit. Still, in allotting provision land to his laborers, encouraging large families within his work force, and seemingly providing mechanisms to support these large families, Colonel Martin sought to create a means through which his laborers would be actively invested and interested in maintaining plantation order, efficiency, and production.

The insights provided by Martin's *Essay* highlight the tactics he employed at Green Castle Estate to control the enslaved labor force there. While Martin's advice is unambiguous and unwavering in its insistence on the benefits of this approach, his concerns for the social relations on his plantation suggest he was fully aware of the capacity for slave resistance to his models. Though he argued for planter paternalism and benevolence towards the enslaved population, a closer reading of his text demonstrates he actively sought to control the behaviors of enslaved laborers through tactics such as

surveillance, continual inspection, and the use of material incentives such as provision lots. Ultimately, Martin's reforms, that seek to further control and oppress the enslaved labor force at Green Castle Estate, may have had unforeseen outcomes as enslaved laborers interpreted Martin's reforms differently than he had intended.

As is evident, Martin dedicated considerable attention to caring for the enslaved laborers on his estate. Yet, he never questioned the continued use of slave labor in Antigua and all the practices he proposed, including proper treatment of enslaved laborers, allocation of provision grounds, and access to doctors, are all still centered on the plantation and contribute to continued sugar production alongside the seeming concerns for the quality of life of enslaved laborers. Martin's reforms and management at his plantation appear to have been effective in increasing the profitability of Green Castle Estate throughout the eighteenth century and also served as a model for paternalistic relations between planters and enslaved laborers (Zacek 2007).

2.7.2 Positioning Martin and his Essay in the Atlantic World

Colonel Samuel Martin's *Essay Upon Plantership* is a treatise that espouses good management, improvement, and planter paternalism towards enslaved laborers. Martin was not alone in writing an essay on agricultural management and his work not only fits into a genre of Caribbean planter treatises, but also coincides with a wider philosophy of "Improvement" that is seen across the British Atlantic during this time period (Tarlow 2007). Indeed, the area of agricultural reform was one of the greatest contexts in which ideas of improvement took hold throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, yet the notion of "Improvement" extended into most areas of life in this time period.

Improvement in the modern era was more than personal or local betterment, although those could be strategies through which it was pursued. Improvement was a cross-cutting ethic, directed not only at the improvement of agricultural production, although this has been a major focus of archaeological and historical work, but also at the moral, intellectual and physical improvement of the self, of the labouring people, of society, of production and of the human environment. Improvement was regarded in the nineteenth century as an ethical imperative. In general, instances of 'Improvement' were regarded as contributing to a larger product: the wholesale transformation, if not of the nation, then at least of one area or one aspect of it [Tarlow 2007:16].

Thus, throughout the British Atlantic various treatises and manuals on different methods of "Improvement" offered advice on how to effectively manage plantations and other areas of life. Martin's *Essay* fits neatly into this genre because, though agricultural improvement is the main focus of his work, the methods he proposed cut across the lines of agricultural, economic, and social improvement on his plantation.

Throughout the Caribbean, numerous planter manuals were used as references for planters seeking to improve their plantations. Indeed, the practice of writing agricultural treatises can be traced to Francis Bacon's 1625 essay, "Of Plantations" in which he offers a program for planting in the colonies and for systematic settlement and exploration (Yow 2001:330). Treatises and manuals by sugar planters dominate agricultural works from the Caribbean and include pieces such as John Stewart's 1823 manual, Thomas Roughley's 1823 *Jamaica Planter's Guide*, and Leonard Wray's 1848 manual (Higman 2001:80-82). On Jamaican coffee plantations, the most widely consulted manual was Pierre-Joseph Laborie's 1798 *The Coffee Planter of Saint Domingo* (Higman 2001:159). Like Martin, these treatises address issues of plantation landscape to maximize efficiency, methods of agriculture, and ways to improve the division of labor for increased production.

What is noteworthy about Martin's *Essay* is that it was printed relatively early in the history of Caribbean planter manuals and that it afforded Martin fame and notoriety not just in Antigua, but also throughout the Caribbean and even back in Britain. By June of 1758 Martin had completed the first round of improvements to his plantation and noted that other plantations on the island followed the "common rules of plantership, now generally established by my example and advice" (Sheridan 1960:137). As his reputation grew, Martin became the attorney for many absentee planters in Antigua and introduced his innovations to other plantations as well (Sheridan 1960:137). Martin's reputation soon spread to other sugar islands. Young planters visited Antigua to serve apprenticeships under Martin and went on to develop successful plantations of their own throughout the Caribbean (Sheridan 1960:138). One noteworthy student of the Martin school of agriculture was Walter Tullideph who moved from Edinburgh to Antigua to study under Martin and then stayed on the island to manage his own successful plantation (Sheridan 1957, Sheridan 1960:137).

Another means of examining Martin's popularity throughout the Atlantic World is in examining the publication of his *Essay*. The first three editions of his *Essay* were published in Antigua, but the fourth and fifth editions were also printed in London (Sheridan 1960:137). The final two editions were printed in Antigua, but the seventh and final edition was reprinted at least twice: "In 1792, it was reprinted in the *Annals of Agriculture*; in 1802 it was reprinted, together with James Grainger's 'The Sugar-Cane, a Didactic Poem,' by a publisher in Jamaica" (Sheridan 1960:137). Each of the reprints contains statements referring to the influence of Martin's *Essay* and includes commentary by authors from St. Christopher and Jamaica (Sheridan 1960:137).

It becomes clear that Samuel Martin was very popular in Antigua and well known throughout the Eastern Caribbean because of his *Essay*. In Antigua, he was also influential in society through his work in the colonial government and in his role as an attorney for many absentee planters on the island (Gaspar 1985:27; Sheridan 1960:137). Martin was known, too, throughout the Atlantic World due to his *Essay* and also because of how his family was strategically placed within the British Empire. His younger brother, Josiah, who had managed Green Castle in the early eighteenth century, moved to Long Island, New York in 1767 where he owned a provisioning farm (Hibbard 1997). Samuel Martin's son, also named Josiah, became the colonial governor of North Carolina on the cusp of the American Revolution (Hibbard 1997:5). Upon Samuel Martin's death, his son, Henry Martin inherited Green Castle Estate along with lands in England and Ireland (Schaw 2005:265 [1776]). It is clear the Martin family held considerably interests throughout the British Atlantic World and they took advantage of the connections this afforded them.

While Martin espoused many ideas of plantation management in his *Essay*, the question arises as to how much he followed the tenets he presented. The physical landscape and built environment of the plantation should reflect the ideas presented in his *Essay*. In addition, the reactions of enslaved laborers to these reforms becomes a point of interest, as their lives were very much affected by the changes Martin created on the plantation. In the absence of historic maps of the estate, archaeological survey and excavations provide insights into the past landscape of Green Castle Estate. In addition, landscape paintings from the early nineteenth century present an image of the estate

following Samuel Martin's reforms and offer another glimpse into the ways in which planters would have wanted their plantations *represented*.

2.7.3 Archaeological Survey and Architectural Evidence

As discussed above, archaeological research has given great insights into how plantation spaces were manipulated to promote increased efficiency, profitability, and control through surveillance and the organization of the built environment. Samuel Martin's *Essay Upon Plantership* emphasizes his priorities in maintaining control on the estate and landscape analysis suggests Foucauldian (1995 [1975]) principles of surveillance and panoptic landscapes can be applied to Green Castle Estate.

Archaeological surveying and mapping of the historic remains of Green Castle

Estate demonstrate that the topography and built environment of the plantation create an

arena through which labor could be carefully controlled and manipulated (Figure 2.3).

The estate house resided on the highest hill on the property and faced east, allowing for a direct view of the sugar works—including two windmills and a boiling house—and the sugar fields (Figure 2.4). Slave houses were situated behind the planter's house along the north and northeast sides of an adjacent hill. This spatial ordering highlights the tensions between hiding the labor force, yet maintaining control through surveillance over the enslaved population, a trend that has been noted elsewhere in archaeological approaches to landscape (Delle 1998; Epperson 1999a, 2000). Most notably, in his work on Thomas Jefferson's plantation, Epperson (2000) demonstrates how Jefferson created a landscape in which he could survey the enslaved population and hide them from view from different rooms in his home. These vantage points highlight different aspects of Jefferson's plantation that he would have wished to display to

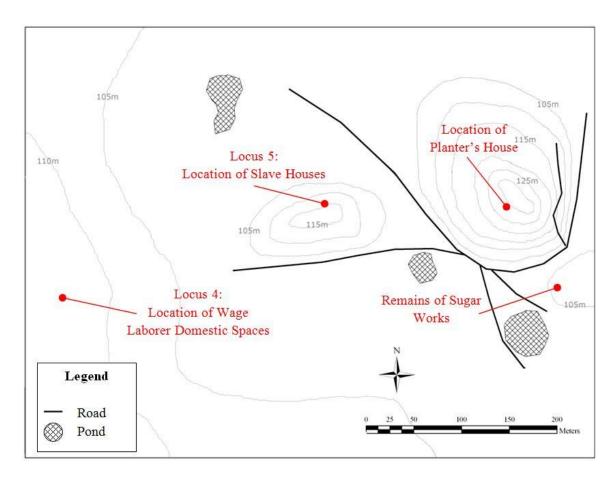


Figure 2.3 Survey Map of Green Castle Estate highlighting the relation of the Planter's House to the Sugar Works and Slave Houses



Figure 2.4 Green Castle from the Southwest, Watercolor painting by Nicolas Pocock, 1804. Courtesy of the Museum of Antigua and Barbuda

visitors, such as his gardens, yet an area such as the slave village would be one that simultaneously needed to be hidden from the gaze of visitors, yet accessible for his own surveillance of the enslaved population. A similar design may have been in mind at Green Castle Estate. In situating the enslaved population behind and downhill from the planter's house, this area would not infringe upon the gardens surrounding the planter's house and guests would not have to pass by the slave village in visiting the estate. Additionally, views of the sugar works and fields, areas that Samuel Martin may have wished to exhibit to visitors would have been easily accessible from the planter's house. Views of the slave village, too, were available to Martin from the back of his house where he may have restricted the gaze of visitors.

Of particular interest is the layout of the slave village, especially since Samuel Martin specifically argued for proper spacing between slave houses and seemingly had a strong interest in maintaining family structure through living arrangements within the slave population alongside a concern for cleanliness and health throughout the slave village. Unfortunately, the remains of only one slave housing structure was definitively identified at Green Castle Estate, though interesting insights into the potential layout of the slave village can be interpreted from the modern landscape of the estate. Excavations revealed a high quantity of domestic refuse dating to the late eighteenth century in Locus 5 of the estate. Here, clear-cut terracing of a hillside is accompanied by several clusters of stone remains.

While it is possible that the stone remains are remnants of house foundations and platforms, the high presence of stone throughout the site coupled, with evidence for historic stone quarrying alongside continual modern stone quarrying that is threatening

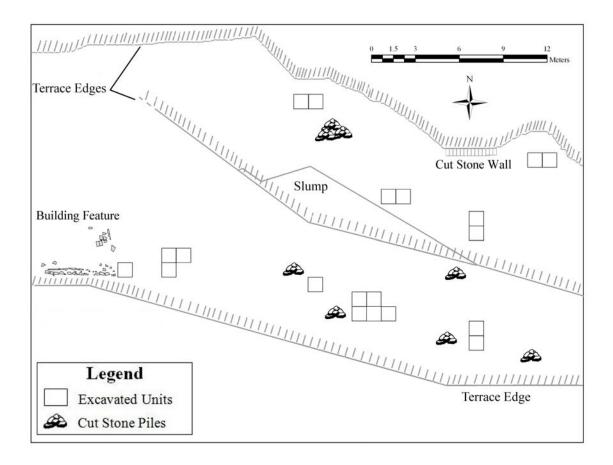


Figure 2.5 Map of Locus 5 including excavated units and stone remains

the site, presents many questions as to the provenience of stone found throughout the site. Locus 5 exhibits several stone piles that include cut and naturally formed stones along the terraced platforms of the hillside (Figure 2.5). The abundance of domestic refuse alongside the presence of stone remains suggests that Locus 5 was the location of several house structures inhabited by enslaved laborers. Yet, it is difficult to ascertain whether each pile of stone specifically represents the location of a past structure. The upper terrace includes the remains of a building feature along with five stone rubble piles. The stone piles are relatively evenly spaced across the terrace and might suggest there was some order to the placement of houses.

Though the layout of the slave village is conjectural due to the lack of multiple, distinct house structure remains for spatial analysis, there is evidence for at least one structure in Locus 5. Notably, a stone foundation and remnants of a stone floor were found along the first terrace adjacent to units 45 and 46 (Figure 2.6 and 2.7).



Figure 2.6 Remnants of a stone foundation at Locus 5

Mapping of the foundation indicates the building is approximately 3 by 5 meters in size. Stone floor pieces are evident along the eastern wall of the building and might indicate an entrance. The stone foundation of the building also lends evidence that the floor of the interior of the building was wooden, as the foundation would have supported wooden beams across the floor (A. Reginald Murphy, personal communication 2009).

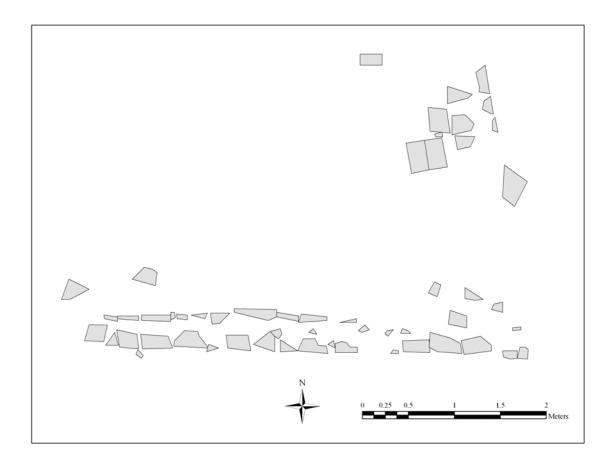


Figure 2.7 Locus 5 Building Feature, mapped stones in situ

Stone foundations were common in traditional, wattle and daub houses in Antigua in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Nicholson 2007:71). Walls were constructed using a series of wooden posts that were then plastered with mud and set upon stone foundations. While most houses had dirt floors, wooden floorboards were used in some houses to help keep interiors dry. Coconut leaves, sugar cane leaves, and grass coupled with additional wooden branches were used as roofs (Figure 2.8).

The presence of at least one house structure accompanied by the high density of domestic refuse alongside visible landscape manipulation in the terracing of the hillside to create housing platforms provides strong evidence for this area being the location of

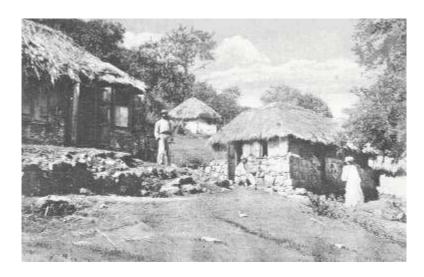


Figure 2.8 In the early twentieth century, wattle and daub houses were constructed using stone foundations.

slave dwellings. Unfortunately, given the lack of clearly defined, additional house structures, it is difficult to ascertain whether the house structure at Locus 5 is indicative of typical slave houses at Green Castle Estate or whether it was considered a unique house, perhaps used by an overseer. What becomes clear is that careful manipulation of the landscape was made to create a space for enslaved laborers to live. This space is connected to the rest of the plantation through its relationship to the planter's house from which the planter could monitor activity in the slave village. While little archaeological evidence lends insight into the nature of slave housing at Green Castle Estate, in at least one case, a stone foundation suggests the presence of sturdy, permanent housing in which enslaved laborers would live. This lends credence to Samuel Martin's ideas of reform and management on his plantation because it suggests he was investing in the housing of his laborers by terracing the land and in the presence of a clearly defined stone housing foundation dating to the eighteenth century.

While the archaeological evidence cannot fully demonstrate that Martin indeed practiced what he preached in creating the landscape and built environment of Green

Castle Estate, other representations of the estate, namely landscape paintings, can also lend insights into the physical spaces of the plantation. During a visit to Antigua in 1804, Nicolas Pocock painted several watercolor paintings of Green Castle Estate that highlight different views of the plantation. While landscape paintings are by no means unbiased sources of information, the paintings can be used to consider the ways in which planters wished to *represent* their estates. Using these paintings, in tandem with Samuel Martin's *Essay* and archaeological evidence of past landscapes, can help to highlight that these representations of landscape are just as important as actively creating these landscapes in reality.

Pocock's renditions of Green Castle Estate were painted in 1804, approximately two decades following the final edition of Martin's *Essay Upon Plantership*. No historical or archaeological evidence from the late eighteenth century suggest substantial changes were made to the landscape of Green Castle Estate following Martin's reforms in the third quarter of the century. Further, the substantial investments he made in rebuilding sugar works, suggesting strategies for planning the slave village, and his precise instructions on crop rotations suggest that major changes to the landscape of the plantation would have required an effort similar to that made by Martin himself in the middle of the eighteenth century. Therefore, it is highly likely the views painted by Pocock represent the plantation as Martin had designed it. In addition, archaeological survey confirms that, in general, Pocock's paintings are accurate in their portrayal of the *placement* of major building features, such as the planter's house and the sugar works, within the plantation landscape. Survey, though, also demonstrates the extent to which

Pocock often exaggerated the landscape of Green Castle in order to aggrandize the image of the estate.

The Museum of Antigua and Barbuda has prints of three of Pocock's paintings and two of the paintings are reprinted in an edition of Janet Schaw's (1921 [1776]) travel account of her visit to Antigua, during which she visited Green Castle Estate. All of the paintings highlight the sugar works of the estate, especially the two windmills. Every one of the three paintings displays the windmills in some way. The windmills are most prominently displayed in Pocock's view from the Northeast of the Estate (Figure 2.9).

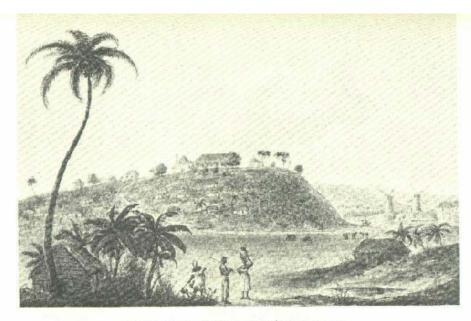


Figure 2.9 Green Castle from the Northeast. Watercolor painting by Nicolas Pocock, 1804. Courtesy of the Museum of Antigua and Barbuda.

The painting portrays Green Castle Hill in the background of the Estate and highlights the estate's windmills and planter house with sugar fields in the foreground. What is most striking in comparing the watercolor paintings with archaeological survey is the extent to which the hillsides are exaggerated, giving them a much more impressive and imposing nature in the paintings than they are in reality. Though the placement of the windmills in

relation to the estate house corroborates with the windmill foundation remains and the estate house remains, the hills on which both the windmills and estate house reside are enlarged to appear higher and more dramatic than they are.

This exaggeration is perhaps more apparent in comparing Pocock's views from the south and southwest of the estate with the landscape today. In these views, the hillside on which the estate house sat becomes more impressive, dominating the landscape and suggesting a panoptic vantage of the entire plantation. While the estate house indeed resided on the tallest hill within the property, it is by no means as large as portrayed in the watercolors. In addition, the reprints in Janet Schaw's (1921 [1776]) account are markedly different from the copies of the originals held in Antigua (Figure 2.10).



The Green Castle Plantation from the south.

The front, showing the house and outbuildings at the top and the negro buts on the slope of the hill, with two windmills and the refinery at the right.

From a water-color drawing by Nichelas Pocock, 1805.

Figure 2.10 In the reprint of the watercolor painting in the 1921 edition of Janet Schaw's account, the hillside on which the planter's house sits is even more exaggerated.

These images of Green Castle Estate serve to highlight the effectiveness of sugar production at the site while at the same time emphasizing the almost pastoral beauty of the estate. Though the sugar works—windmills and boiling house—are highly prominent within the paintings, human labor is decidedly absent, or obviously staged within the paintings. Laborers are portrayed in each of Pocock's paintings, yet in peculiar ways. For instance, Pocock's view from the Northeast features two enslaved people of African descent working in the sugar fields with hoes. Such work, though, would have required the majority of Martin's laborers. Thus, through focusing on the industrial efficiency of the sugar works, Pocock is able to ignore the labor of individuals who are purposely hidden in the landscape paintings of the estate.

Instead of emphasizing the laboring individuals who worked on the estate, Pocock deftly focuses on sugar production through the sanitized viewpoint of technology with a focus on the sugar works. In doing so, Pocock himself highlights the very characteristics of landscape at Green Castle that make it an effectively constructed environment for sugar production. Most notably, Pocock's view from the estate house presents the line of vision from the estate house to the sugar fields (Figure 2.11). In this painting, the sails of a windmill pass through the frame as the viewer admires the neatly divided agricultural fields of the estate.

Pocock's paintings of Green Castle Estate almost glaringly demonstrate the priorities planters made in representing their plantation. The images of Green Castle emphasize the grandiose estate house and the sugar works. Secondary emphasis is placed on the agricultural fields themselves, as they are only the main focus of Pocock's view

from the estate house. Yet even this view prioritizes the estate house as it demonstrates the view from that vantage point.

Pocock's paintings also make it clear that the images of the plantation are completely sanitized in the complete absence of the realities of the lives of enslaved laborers in the representations. Two figures are portrayed as laborers working in the



Figure 2.11 View from the Estate house looking East. Watercolor painting by Nicolas Pocock, 1804. Courtesy of the Museum of Antigua and Barbuda.

fields in the four paintings and these are obviously only *representations* of labor, as the actual labor being performed would have required the bulk of the enslaved laborers on the estate. The view from the Estate house shows a line of workers presumably walking to the fields, yet they are merely stick figures within the landscape. Slave housing is portrayed in Pocock's view from the Southwest, yet they are subdued as they blend into the hillside on which the estate house resides. Interestingly, archaeological evidence does not confirm the presence of slave houses along the slopes of the hillside as portrayed by

Pocock. These dwellings, described as "huts" in the caption for the painting in Schaw's account, could have been made of wattle and daub and therefore have left scant archaeological evidence (Figure 2.10). The position of the dwellings on a hillside also increases the likelihood that erosion of materials would make archaeological findings in the area scant. Still, the prevalence of domestic materials dating to the eighteenth century on the adjacent hillside in Locus 5 suggests that similar materials would have been found along the hillside in Pocock's painting if so many households were present there. In this light, it is possible that the slave village was out of the view of Pocock's landscape and he placed them within the landscape of the estate so they would be visible.

What becomes abundantly clear in both the landscape production and its representation at Green Castle Estate are the ways in which both Martin and Pocock seek to create imagery of highly ordered, efficient, and pristine landscapes. Pocock emphasizes the estate house and sugar works in his paintings of Green Castle Estate while noticeably ignoring images of the enslaved labor force and the endless work they would conduct on the plantation. Though Martin gives attention to the enslaved laborers at his estate in his *Essay*, his advice for betterment in the plantation marks a sharp departure from events that occurred on the plantation during his father's management of the estate. In seeking to present ways to improve the lives of enslaved laborers on the plantation, Martin never questioned the institution of slavery itself, nor did he comment on how the enslaved laborers reacted to and received the changes he implements at his estate. Martin's *Essay*, then becomes another *representation* of landscape. Its readers are meant to assume his reforms worked and created a better plantation. Changes to the landscape, to work schedules and tasks, and to the treatment of enslaved laborers—such

as the allotment of provision land and distribution of clothing—are all portrayed as working towards the betterment of the plantation. For Martin, great plantation management and his own virtues promoted the betterment of enslaved laborers on his estate.

Yet, the multiple editions of his *Essay Upon Plantership* demonstrate the ways in which Martin was forced to *continually* reevaluate his own management in seeking to maintain successful sugar production at Green Castle Estate. He repeatedly changed methods of agriculture on the estate, shifted workloads between males and females, and sought to achieve maximum efficiency on his plantation (Martin 1750, 1765, 1773, 1785). These are part of ongoing changes at Green Castle Estate that speak to the dynamic nature of social life within the plantation setting. Though Martin emphasized agricultural production and efficiency he could not ignore the details of the quotidian as he addressed seemingly mundane aspects of daily life such as slave housing, provisioning, and families. That the success of the plantation was dependent on the enslaved labor force cannot be ignored and Martin's portrayal of himself as a paternal planter with an active concern for colonial society served as a model for other planters to emulate. Martin was trying to present a guidebook not just for sugar production, but also for the social relations of slavery.

2.8 Conclusions

The ways in which Martin addressed various aspects of plantation life and landscape production, and then revisited them in the subsequent editions of his *Essay Upon Plantership* presents a very different, yet still vital, approach to landscape production in Antigua. In the early settlement of the island, landscape production relied

consistently on developing the land for agricultural production. By the last quarter of the seventeenth century, the arrival of wealthy planters led towards a trend of consolidation of land as the landscape was transformed into large sugar plantations. Yet, by the time Martin was making reforms at Green Castle Estate, most of the arable land in Antigua had already been transformed into sugar estates. By the middle of the eighteenth century, planters had to look within their plantations for ways to increase their profits and Martin's *Essay* serves as a strong case study in examining how planters might have gone about doing so.

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, though, landscape was a vital aspect of the social, political, and economic positions Antigua would take.

Antigua's position within the Leeward Islands, coupled with the decisions Antiguan planters made in creating the sugar landscape of Antigua, established Antigua as the most profitable and powerful sugar island in the Leeward Islands throughout the eighteenth century. Yet, as I have argued, that position was the result of first, the careful creation of sugar landscapes, and second, the continued manipulation of those landscapes in order to maintain the coercive regimes of slavery and sugar within Antiguan society.

While here I have focused on the ways in which white, colonial planters shaped the landscapes of Antigua to benefit sugar production and maintain control over enslaved laborers, the actions of enslaved laborers have been largely absent in this analysis of landscape production in Antiguan society. Though enslaved laborers were not instrumental in the decisions made in landscape production in Antigua, it was their labor that shaped these landscapes. Furthermore, though Antiguan planters such as Martin may have created landscapes to display their power and wealth in sugar production, enslaved

laborers also lived and worked within these spaces and the question arises as to how they would have interpreted such landscapes. In the absence of historical records that highlight the viewpoints of enslaved laborers, their material culture becomes a means of interpreting the practices of daily life on the plantation. In the next chapter, I analyze the archaeological evidence associated with slave domestic life to offer a lens into how enslaved Afro-Antiguans created their own landscapes in resistance to the colonial regimes of slavery in Antigua.

Chapter Three

Slave Labor and Daily Practice: Excavations within the Slave Village

Throughout the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the physical landscape of Antigua was altered to accommodate the emergence of large sugar plantations. At the same time, the social landscape of the island drastically changed as tens of thousands of enslaved Africans were imported to labor on the island's sugar plantations. Amidst these landscapes of sugar, the enslaved population carved out lifeways for themselves that drew on West African cultural practices and traditions and reimagined them within the coercive regime of slavery in Antigua. How enslaved peoples would have created meaning in these landscapes and practiced cultural resilience in opposition to the dominant ideologies of colonialism is the focus of this chapter.

Archaeological excavations in domestic areas associated with enslaved laborers offer a purview into the daily practices of laborers at Green Castle Estate. Material culture that was used in everyday practice points to the types of activities people engaged in such as foodways, recreational, and social activities. The ways in which enslaved laborers organized their daily activities and negotiated the built environment of the plantation for their benefit comes to the forefront of an examination of daily practice. In analyzing how the lives of enslaved laborers were structured by labor and landscape at Green Castle Estate, the areas in which enslaved laborers were able to control their own lives become highlighted. This evidence demonstrates that a rich, Afro-Antiguan culture developed among the enslaved laborers at Green Castle Estate and that this culture may have helped enslaved laborers develop a sense of community in opposition to that of the colonial elite.

3.1 The Archaeological Landscapes of Green Castle Estate

Archaeological fieldwork began at Green Castle Estate in the summer of 2007. Initial pedestrian survey of the site resulted in the designation of seven loci within the site of potential archaeological interest. These loci were identified through the use of historic representations of the plantation, local knowledge of the estate, and the presence of surface features within the site (Figure 3.1; Table 3.1). As this project is interested in comparing the lifeways of laborers during the periods of slavery and freedom in Antigua, loci with archaeological remains that might be associated with the enslaved and wage laborer populations of the estate were given priority in subsurface testing.

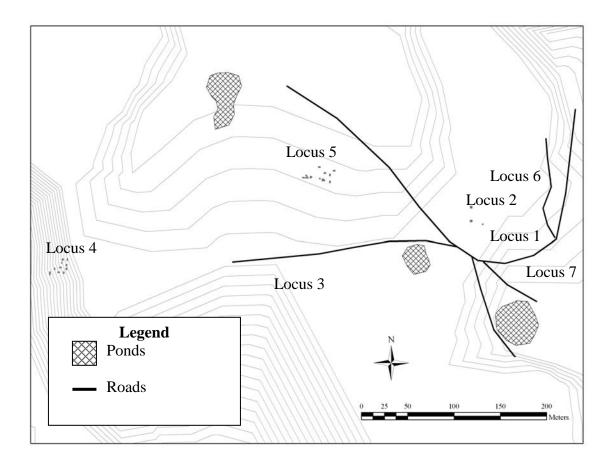


Figure 3.1: Site map of Green Castle Estate highlighting the seven loci of potential archaeological interest.

Locus Number	Description	Subsurface Testing	
Locus 1	Site of the Planter's House	No	
Locus 2	Potential Site of Slave	Yes	
	Housing		
Locus 3	Potential Site of Wage	No (Destroyed between the	
	Housing	2007 and 2008 field	
		seasons)	
Locus 4	Wage Laborer Domestic	Yes	
	Spaces		
Locus 5	Terraced Enslaved Laborer	Yes	
	Domestic Spaces		
Locus 6	Outbuilding and garden	No	
	areas associated with		
	Planter's House		
Locus 7	Site of the sugar works	No	
	including buried windmill		
	foundations and boiling		
	house remains		

Table 3.1: Loci identified at Green Castle Estate

In the summer of 2007 a shovel testing program was initiated to determine the presence, extent, and nature of subsurface deposits at Green Castle Estate. Three loci were targeted in this program in the hopes that substantial archaeological deposits would be present and warrant additional excavation. Loci 2, 4, and 5 were tested during the 2007 shovel testing program and informed the excavation of units during the following field season. Shovels tests in all three loci revealed the presence of intact archaeological deposits. The deposits at Loci 2 and 4 were relatively shallow (between 20-40 cm deep) while at Locus 5 shovel testing revealed deposits as deep as 50-70 cm.

In the summer of 2008, unit excavations were conducted in Loci 2 and 4 to identify the presence of distinct house features, develop a greater sense of the spatial distribution of artifacts within each locus, and begin to collect data relating to the daily practices of enslaved and wage laborers at the estate. Six units were excavated in Locus 2 resulting in scant archaeological deposits dating to the nineteenth century. This area

had been targeted for archaeological investigation because it was designated as the site of the slave village in one of Pocock's renderings of the estate. The archaeological evidence does not support this interpretation because the artifact assemblage dates to the postemancipation period and therefore excavations in Locus 2 were halted.

Unit excavations at Locus 4 were also conducted during the summer of 2008 and resulted in the identification of discrete domestic deposits dating to the third quarter of the nineteenth century. The archaeological evidence corroborated the local knowledge that this was a site of domestic activity among wage laborers in the second half of the nineteenth century. A total of six units were excavated during the summer of 2008 and an additional 14 units were excavated in this locus during the 2009 field season. No distinct house features were identified in the excavations, yet the artifact assemblage from this locus consistently dates to the second half of the nineteenth century and suggests this area of the estate was used as domestic quarters for wage laborers in the post-emancipation period.

Unit excavations at Locus 5 were conducted during the 2009 field season in an attempt to identify the domestic spaces of enslaved laborers. The locus was targeted because of the presence of distinct terracing along the hillside, possible building remains, and the presence of cultural deposits, as evidenced by shovel testing. A total of 20 units were excavated along two terraced platforms of Locus 5 resulting in the recovery of an artifact assemblage that dates to the late eighteenth century. In addition, a single building feature was identified. As multiple, distinct house or building structures were not identified in archaeological investigations, excavations in both Locus 4 and Locus 5

focused on obtaining a representative sample of the archaeological deposits by sampling across the area of each locus.

In my discussion of the archaeological assemblages from Green Castle Estate, I focus on the material recovered from unit excavations in Locus 4 and Locus 5. These excavations provide discrete archaeological deposits that can be closely associated with the post-emancipation lifeways and the enslaved laborer lifeways, respectively, on the plantation. Thus, in this chapter I discuss the archaeological deposits from Locus 5 in my interpretation of enslaved laborer lifeways at Green Castle Estate. The archaeological assemblage from Locus 4 is the focus of discussions of post-emancipation life in Chapter 5.3

3.2 Living within the Landscape of Green Castle Estate

Throughout the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the geography of Antigua, and Green Castle Estate specifically, was transformed into a landscape of sugar and slavery. Though the enslaved laborers of Green Castle Estate lived in an environment designed for maximum efficiency in sugar production, they also worked to create better lives for themselves within the plantation. While a discussion of landscape in Antigua is useful for understanding how planters manipulated the built environment of plantations to maximize sugar production and control the slave population, it is one-sided in that it does not examine how the enslaved would have negotiated these landscapes to subvert the ideology of the dominant. It is necessary then to consider who the enslaved laborers at Green Castle Estate were, how they might have tried to exert their own

³ A more detailed discussion of fieldwork methods can be found in Appendix A while discussion of artifact analysis and interpretation is located in Appendix B.

influence over the built environment of Green Castle Estate, and how they created new meanings in the spaces of labor and life within their own community.

3.2.1 Identifying the Enslaved Population of Green Castle Estate

Research into the African Diaspora poses a series of theoretical and methodological challenges for historical archaeologists. One of the most challenging areas for historical archaeologists is in ascertaining to what extent the material culture of enslaved laborers reflects and informs identity formation for enslaved Africans and their descendants. To put it another way, to what extent can specific components or attributes of material culture be considered to be influenced from African cultures and, in this sense, is there a material culture that is indicative of peoples of African descent?

Throughout the Americas, enslaved Africans and their descendants lived and worked in a variety of cultural, social, and geographical contexts. While few would argue that enslaved Africans and their descendants lost all aspects of their particular West African cultures during the Middle Passage and through the processes of slavery, many are also hesitant to agree with Herskovits's (1933) standpoint that the cultural traits and practices of those of African descent can be directly linked to African practices (Armstrong 1985, 2001; Armstrong and Kelly 2000; DeCorse 1999; Hauser 2001, 2009; Hauser and DeCorse 2003). Instead, many researchers, especially in archaeology, argue for processes of creolization in discussing the cultural practices of peoples of African descent in the Caribbean (Armstrong 2001; Mintz 1974, 1985a; Mintz and Price 1976). Through these processes, people would use the underlying values of their cultural systems and reinterpret them in new social settings and locales to create new cultural practices. Central to these studies are the cultural and historical contexts in which new

practices arise. If any inferences into whether Afro-Antiguan cultural traits or practices can be linked to African-derived practices, they must occur with an understanding of the cultural milieu from which enslaved Africans arrived in Antigua.

Enslaved laborers in Antigua were largely Coromantees brought from the Gold Coast of West Africa and of the Akan language group (Gaspar 1985:89-90). This, in itself, is a potentially problematic characterization of the enslaved laborers who were brought to Antigua because it is already an historical interpretation of a population that may have included several, distinct West African ethnic and culture groups. Historical accounts of the origins of enslaved Africans tend to emphasize the trade post from which they were purchased and brought across the Atlantic and do not necessarily correlate with the specific region from which people originated (DeCorse 1999:135). In addition, historical accounts tend to emphasize the ethnic similarities of enslaved laborers within a particular American or Caribbean locale. As DeCorse (1999:135-136) argues, such an approach is problematic:

At best these categories can be considered to represent broadly inclusive ethnolinguistic groups. Studies of plantation records similarly suggest that owners perceived slave populations to be ethnically homogenous. These generalized perceptions contradict documentary accounts and African oral traditions that indicate slaves were obtained from numerous populations.

Indeed, historical sources relating to Antigua present convoluted accounts of African ethnicity and identity in the Antiguan context. In general, planters in Antigua seemingly preferred Coromantees because they came from the most "gentile of African tribes" (Dyde 2000:44). Distinctions between African ethnic groups in Antigua are characterized only in terms of Creole versus African-born laborers. In the early

nineteenth century, one travel account notes the hostility between Creole, Afro-Antiguans and African, free apprentices who are "Congo" and "Guinea" (Murray 1825:256). It is difficult to determine whether such ethnic designations are even remotely accurate in pointing to possible places of origin for Africans who were brought to Antigua. It is furthermore problematic to assume that hostilities between Creole, Afro-Antiguans and African-born apprentices are the result of ethnic or cultural differences. Such hostilities, if they existed, might be attributed more so to the differing statuses in Antiguan society of enslaved, Creole Afro-Antiguans and free, African-born apprentices than to distinct ethnic or cultural differences.

Just as the historical accounts of ethnicity and African origins of enslaved laborers in Antigua are problematic, so too are sources that describe Afro-Antiguan lifeways. The majority of source material on Antigua in the periods of slavery and post-emancipation are travel accounts written by British visitors to the Caribbean and Americas (Murray 1825; Schaw 2005 [1776]). In the post-emancipation period, in particular, there is an increase in emancipation travel literature that seeks to report on the nature and success of emancipation (Gurney 1840; Lanaghan 1844; Sturge and Harvey 1838). This is particularly true of Antigua, having been one of two islands in the British Caribbean to switch to immediate emancipation and therefore being a model for emancipation throughout the British Caribbean. The question arises as to what extent do the historical documents on Antigua give insights into the nature of life and cultural practice among Afro-Antiguans during both the periods of slavery and freedom. As products of their own historical contexts, European observations and accounts of Antigua were

undoubtedly influenced by ideology and ethnocentrism and a critical approach must be undertaken in using such materials to assist in interpretations of archaeological evidence.

Still, recognizing that these historical documents are themselves part of a specific genre of writing helps to situate them within their own sociohistorical context and a critical interpretation of historical and archaeological evidence in tandem can help to prevent shortcomings in interpretations of Afro-Antiguan lifeways in the past.⁴

In approaching the historical archaeology of enslaved and wage laborers at Green Castle Estate, I take a viewpoint that draws heavily on processes of creolization. Similar approaches have been employed throughout the Caribbean to understand cultural transformations in specific ethnohistorical contexts (Armstrong 2001; Armstrong and Kelly 2000). Armstrong and Kelly (2000:379) make this point in arguing for the development of African Jamaican identities on Seville Plantation, Jamaica: "The enslaved came from many different African backgrounds, yet they created and maintained a spatial arena for their activities that in time developed into a unified African Jamaican identity." Following this viewpoint, I concede that, though enslaved laborers would have drawn heavily on their own knowledge of cultural practices and traditions in reshaping their lives in Antigua, the archaeological evidence recovered from Green Castle Estate does not necessarily point to specifically West African cultural practices. Instead, I characterize the material culture from Green Castle Estate as indicative of Afro-Antiguan cultural practices. In doing so, I hope to highlight how enslaved Africans, that may have come from a variety of cultural milieus in West Africa, created a shared, Creole culture that speaks more to the reshaping of their lives in Antigua. I discuss the

⁴ A more detailed discussion of the specific historical resources used in this project and the problems and challenges of doing so can be found in Appendix A.

extent to which some of these cultural practices can be related to traditions drawn from West African influences in my interpretations of individual artifact classes.

3.2.2 The Use of Space for Enslaved Laborers

Archaeological studies of slave villages in the Caribbean and American South have given great insights into the use of space by enslaved laborers. Even though planters often controlled the layout of slave villages and the design of house structures, enslaved laborers adopted these spaces to accommodate the cultural practices in which they engaged.⁵ For instance, planters often placed slave villages within the landscape of the plantation where enslaved laborers could be easily monitored from the planter's house or overseer's house (Armstrong and Kelly 2000; Delle 1998; Epperson 1999a; 2000). To subvert the potentially constant gaze of the planter, enslaved laborers found innovative ways to maintain their cultural traditions. In Virginia, for instance, enslaved laborers hid items of great cultural and personal value in subfloor pits within their houses (Samford 1999). Though the village could have been under constant surveillance and slave houses were regularly inspected, enslaved laborers were able to exercise cultural practices within dwellings and found a means to hide such activities from planters. Similar manipulations of space took place in the Caribbean. Archaeological evidence points to activity areas behind slave houses that might have provided privacy from surveillance by planters and overseers (Armstrong and Kelly 2000:385). On a Cuban coffee plantation, enslaved laborers were locked in the slave village following work where a wall prevented them from engaging in activities outside of this area. The enclosed village, though, offered a

⁵ While at Green Castle Estate, Martin (1785:3) makes specific recommendations for how slave houses should be built within the landscape, other archaeological studies suggest that the construction of slave villages may have been controlled by the enslaved laborers themselves as evidenced by the organization of houses that resemble the layout of West African compounds (Armstrong 1985, 1999; Fesler 2004).

space in which enslaved laborers could exercise cultural autonomy and create a world outside of the purview of planters (Singleton 2001). Such research demonstrates that enslaved laborers were able to find spaces, even within the most controlled landscapes, to subvert the implications of slavery and engage in cultural activities they preferred.

Since most of the archaeological research that focuses on enslaved laborers uses domestic spaces to address research questions relating to identity and daily practice, the nature of past households has necessarily been given much attention in archaeological inquiry. Rather than examine individual households within a slave village, some archaeologists argue for an approach to households that considers the entire slave village as a household complex within the larger plantation (Barile 2004; Franklin 1997). Evidence for community-based, cooperative practices such as pooling of resources and labor within the slave village drives this approach (Franklin 1997:51-52). This research also emphasizes the relations and interdependency of households on each other (Barile 2004:122).

Additionally, one of the strongest arguments this research has made is for the inclusion of yard space in examinations of household activity areas, especially on plantations (Armstrong 1985, 1990; Armstrong and Kelly 2000; Battle 2004; Gibson 2007; Higman 1998; Joseph 1989; Pulsipher and Goodwin 1999, 2001; Wilkie and Farnsworth 2005). While yard spaces have long been an area of archaeological investigation due to their use as refuse sites (South 1977), archaeologists also emphasize yard space as a focus of past activity. In many cases, yard space becomes a center of domestic activity more so than house structures. Armstrong and Kelly (2000:382) make a strong case for this in their study of Seville Plantation in Jamaica. In examining

changes to the layout of the slave village throughout the eighteenth century, Armstrong and Kelly (2000:382; 390) argue for the ways that the organization of houses shifted to include greater yard space for household activities. Such evidence suggests that, in situations where enslaved laborers were given some autonomy in the organization of the slave village, they might have drawn on concepts of the built environment that are similar to the organization of West African courtyards and compounds (Armstrong 1985, 1990; Armstrong and Kelly 2000; Fesler 2004). In discussing the use of space within and around slave houses DeCorse (1999:151) argues for an approach to African dwellings that considers them as "a series of decent-sized rooms adjacent to a large open living space, rather than as a cluster of isolated houses." In this case, the use of space within the slave village might be an important signifier of African-influenced cultural practices because "change in the material used for housing is less significant than how space was utilized within a structure" (DeCorse 1999:151). In this light, a consideration of space throughout the slave village becomes vital in understanding how enslaved laborers lived within the spaces of the plantation and how they might have drawn on the values of West African cultures in creating cultural practices in Antigua.

Though this project does not specifically use households as a unit of analysis, previous research does help frame interpretations of how enslaved laborers used space and built community at Green Castle Estate. First, considering the slave village itself as a sub household within the greater plantation context provides a point of departure for approaching the Locus 5 assemblage. With the exception of one house structure, individual houses were not identified at Locus 5, yet distinctly terraced housing platforms and clusters of cut stone, coupled with domestic refuse dating to the late eighteenth

century, indicate the site of at least a part of the slave village (Figure 3.2). The inability to precisely identify the location of multiple, distinct house structures at Locus 5 makes the comparison of households within the slave village problematic, yet when considering the area as a collective community of enslaved laborers, the archaeological evidence points to how enslaved laborers created a shared identity centered around daily practice.

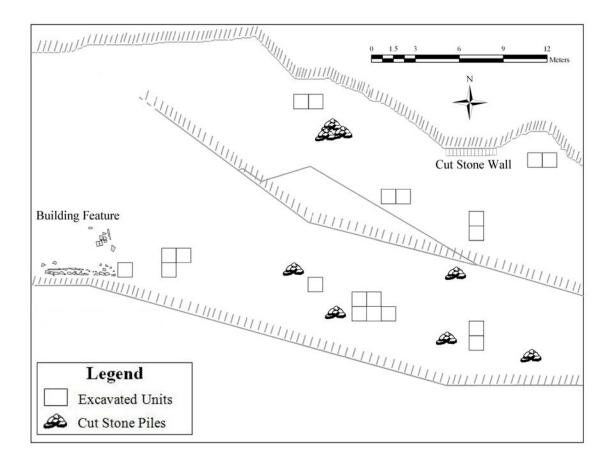


Figure 3.2: Map of Locus 5

Furthermore, while the lack of clearly defined house structures makes any discussion of the use of space within the slave village difficult, the distribution of artifacts throughout the housing platforms of Locus 5 might point to site formation processes that can lend insights into domestic activities (Figure 3.3). For instance, one unit was placed within the building feature at Locus 5 and only four artifacts were

recovered from this unit. In contrast, the excavation of three contiguous units two meters east of the building feature resulted in the recovery of 23% (458) of the artifacts from the upper housing platform. This difference might point to how space was used in the past. Whether this trend indicates a practice of performing domestic activities outside in yard space or is merely the result of depositing refuse outside is difficult to determine. Additionally, there is strong archaeological evidence throughout the Caribbean for the practice of yard sweeping, resulting in the clustering of artifacts around the outskirts of yard spaces (Armstrong 1991; Armstrong and Kelly 2000; Pulsipher and Goodwin 1999, 2001).

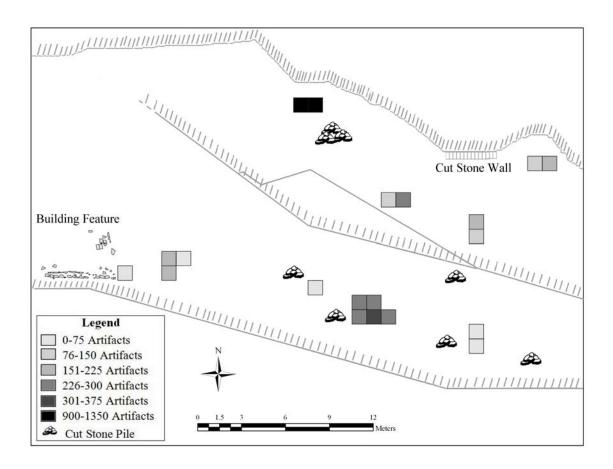


Figure 3.3: Artifact Distribution within Locus 5

While discussions of the use of space within the slave village at Green Castle

Estate are difficult given the lack of definitive architectural evidence, the archaeological assemblage from Locus 5 points to ways in which enslaved laborers would have been able to create cultural meaning in the spaces of life and labor on the plantation. Items associated with domestic activities highlight how people exercised agency, despite the impositions of slavery, and created a collective identity in opposition to the dominant ideologies of colonialism in eighteenth-century Antigua.

3.3 Daily Practice at Green Castle Estate

One of the greatest strengths of archaeological research is the ability to examine the seemingly mundane, to find meaning in the quotidian, and to highlight the importance of daily practice (Dietler 1998:289; Silliman 2001:384; Stahl 2001:17). It is at the interstices of material culture and daily activities that interpretations of past lives, cultural practices, and meaning come to the forefront of archaeological study. Archaeologists have drawn heavily on theories of practice and agency including the works of Roy Bhaskar (1979), Pierre Bourdieu (1977), Michel de Certeau (1984), and Anthony Giddens (1984) to develop practice-centered approaches to archaeological interpretation. Within archaeology, many studies often conflate agency and practice, examine how practice is a form of agency, and focus on a particular aspect of agency such as identity formation or resistance. This variety of approaches represents not just tensions in

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⁶ One of the most prevalent approaches to agency is concerned with identity formation in the past. These approaches contend the individual is the center of agency, identity, and meaning, yet also recognize that the individual must be situated within a specific context (Barrett 2001). One of the strengths of such research lies in the contention that individuals, and thus identities, are complex, fluid, and subjective and individuals will exercise decision-making in relation to the intersections of various aspects of identity (Meskell 1999; 2001). While these points are relevant and crucial for understanding individual action, it is questionable whether archaeological data lends itself to this type of interpretation. Further, as Brubaker and Cooper (2000) contend, identity studies in archaeology are becoming irrelevant because of the increasing ambiguity of the term and the appropriation of it in studies that are more relevant to issues of gender,

commitments to specific theoretical approaches, but perhaps more so demonstrates the limits of archaeological data in making such interpretations (Dobres and Robb 2000; Hodder 1982).

In fact, the "turn to agency" in archaeology has come under critique recently (Patterson 2005). Thomas Patterson (2005) argues this trend in archaeological theory coincides with the emergence of neoliberalism in the late twentieth-century global economy and is a reflection of our own ideas of individualism rather than an attempt to understand people's conceptions of themselves in the past. He argues that approaches to agency reflect neoliberal concepts of individualism including (1) individuals' pursuit of their own interests, (2) the reliance on information to make rational decisions, (3) the exercise of choice in the market, and (4) that social relations are the consequences of individual goals (Patterson 2005:376). Patterson's point is that the viewpoints taken in studies of agency are more reflective of recent ideals and models of human action and that these draw from a specific political stance. He does not reject an agency approach in archaeology, but instead calls for a more critical examination of the contexts in which theories emerge and what implications these might have on our understandings of the past.

One of the ways archaeologists might be able to overcome such obstacles is to critically examine human practice by contextualizing it more deeply within the social relations of the past. In doing so, archaeologists can better assess to what extent past

resistance, practice, and collective action. Another approach to agency in archaeological research focuses on the role of resistance as a point of agency against dominant cultural ideologies. In this light, research that has focused on disenfranchised populations including women, peoples of African descent, and of lower economic statuses has pervaded this literature (Delle, et al. 2000; Galle and Young 2004; McGuire and Paynter 1991). Research on the African Diaspora has given considerable attention to the role of resistance, particularly in relation to the lives of enslaved laborers and maroons (Epperson 1999b; Funari 1999; La

Rosa Corzo 2003; Mathis and Weik 2005; Rowlands 1999).

activities are agency-driven. For instance, archaeologists should take into account the whole spectrum of daily activities people engage in, not just those that might serve them, but also activities that were imposed on them, such as labor. Within the plantation context, labor schedules and regimes were strictly imposed on laborers and an understanding of how those activities structured daily life is necessary to examine how practice is affected in the dialectic of structure and agency.

Practice should also be approached with a consideration for how different activities take on meaning within specific cultural and historical contexts. For instance, Jeanne Arnold (2000:14) argues that daily activities intersect to create ideologies, reproduce social relations, and maintain the social relations of power, and all of these variables impact the lives of past peoples. In examining the shift from kin-based economies to hierarchically-based political chiefdoms, Arnold (2000:14) examines how labor relations cut across different areas of people's lives by arguing, "the social properties of labor relations and their important ideological, kinship, and political ramifications are accorded equal standing with their more obvious economic properties." Arnold contends it is exactly the non-economic properties of labor relations that allowed for the manipulation of social networks to reshift society to a hierarchically based system along the North American Pacific Coast.

Stephen Silliman (2001:381) takes a similarly holistic approach in addressing daily practice among Native Americans in California. He takes a practiced-centered approach to aspects of daily life by including processes of labor in interpretations of practice: "To complement the existing perspectives on labor and colonialism, I submit an approach that takes into account not only the form and implementation of labor but also

the small-scale daily activities of individuals negotiating, appropriating, living in, and suffering through particular labor regimes. That is, I conceive of labor as practice."

Silliman is interested in the relations of labor and how people could use their labor to manipulate their social positions. Silliman conceives of labor as a form of daily practice and argues that past actors were strongly aware of the value of their labor-power and thus appropriated it for their own use in domestic contexts and in maintaining indigenous cultural practices. While this is problematic in that it tends to draw on a rather idiosyncratic understanding of labor, Silliman points to ways in which Native Americans were able to use their labor-power for their own benefit, outside the realm of the Spanish missions.

These archaeological approaches to the social relations of labor and their connections to practice and agency provide an interesting point of departure for an archaeological investigation of enslaved laborer lifeways at Green Castle Estate. First, labor relations and the processes of labor played an integral role in the lives of enslaved individuals as their daily schedules were, in many ways, dictated by the regimes of labor and seasonal cycles of sugar production at Green Castle Estate. Highlighting the nature of labor as a crucial component within the context of slavery more deeply contextualizes the daily practices of past actors. Particularly in the plantation context, the processes of daily practice and domestic activities must be interpreted in light of labor cycles and take into account how past lives were shaped by these multiple factors. In examining the material culture of enslaved laborers at Green Castle Estate, I hope to highlight how the multiple roles and responsibilities of laborers would have influenced their daily practices

and emphasize how people carved a unique niche for themselves within the regimes of sugar and slavery in Antigua.

3.3.1 Labor Schedules at Green Castle Estate

Labor schedules at Green Castle Estate were entirely dependent on the cycle of sugar production. In his *Essay Upon Plantership*, Samuel Martin provides a clear outline for when sugar should be planted in the field and this, in turn, guides the schedule of sugar harvesting, cane grinding, and the production of sugar in the sugar works of the estate. He suggests:

In still soils where canes require most age, half the quantity of land intended for the crop should be planted in June, July, August and September: but in hot loose soils in September, and October: and the whole planting season conclude with the month of January, when the tops of the first canes cut, may furnish the last pieces planted. By strict observance of this method, the canes will be at full maturity in the proper season for yielding most sugar, which is from the first of January (if the weather permits) to the last day of June. But by grinding later, we hazard not only the destruction of our wind-mills by hurricanes, but make bad sugar, at infinite expence of time and labor, both of negroes and cattle, when the juice of canes becomes weak and waterish [Martin 1750:30].

During the season of sugar planting, laborers would usually work in the sugar fields from sunrise to sunset. Soils had to be continually hoed and tilled and Martin (1785:17-18) makes specific recommendations for fertilizing his soil with dung and mixing it with various degrees of marl to maintain a soil conducive for sugar production. Once sugar cane was planted, members of weed gangs would maintain the crop, weed plants from the fields, and ensure the crop did well.

The sugar harvest began a season of intense labor for the enslaved as sugar cane had to be cut, hauled from the field to the sugar works, and immediately ground and processed for sugar making. Martin (1750:30) warns against waiting too long to process

the sugar canes, as the sugar would not be of superior quality. While the season of harvesting and producing sugar placed a very large demand on the labor of the enslaved, Martin advocated an approach that would alleviate some of the stresses of the work period. For instance, he argues for investment in large sugar works that can accommodate the sugar crop appropriately in order to finish boiling sugar before ten o'clock in the evening and to prevent distilling rum after sunset (Martin 1750:49). Thus, while it is evident the demands on the time of the enslaved population is greatly heightened during the harvest and processing months from January to June, Martin appears to have at least tried to streamline production at Green Castle to increase productivity and efficiency and place less demands on his enslaved laborers.

In addition to the cycles of labor related to sugar production, there were also labor cycles tied to growing provisions on the estate. Martin (1785:2) advocates allotting land for each of the families on his estate and enslaved laborers also worked on the estate's provision grounds, which supplied the entire population of the estate, a common practice in Antigua. The maintenance of provision grounds often alternated with the season of sugar production to ensure that ample hands were available for the sugar harvest and to work in the sugar works. Plantations could grow enough foodstuffs to provide provisions for between six to ten months a year (Sturge and Harvey 1838:29). Thus, there was continual work on the estates throughout the year, not just in sugar production but also in growing provisions and in maintenance on the estates.

Amidst such demanding schedules, the question arises as to how much time enslaved laborers would have had for themselves and in creating cultural traditions.

Archaeological evidence points to a variety of activities in which enslaved laborers would

have engaged in their homes and communities. Yet, documentary resources point to the restrictions the daily labor schedule placed on enslaved laborers. For instance, following emancipation, some women would remain home during the morning to prepare food for their husband and families and only go to work following the mid-morning meal (Sturge and Harvey 1838:19). This practice did not occur during the period of slavery and it is described as one of the advantages of wage labor because it offered a greater degree of flexibility in work schedules. Still, the material culture excavated from Green Castle Estate points to a rich cultural tradition among the enslaved laborers exercised in the practices of daily life.

3.4 Foodways at Green Castle Estate

One of the most important examples of daily activities at Green Castle Estate is the practice of foodways among enslaved laborers. The material culture associated with foodways is ubiquitous in the archaeological record and Green Castle Estate is no exception. Artifacts relating to foodways comprise 77.91% (3484) of the artifact assemblage from Locus 5. Ceramic vessels, metal utensils, glass container fragments, and faunal remains offer insights into the practices of food procurement, preparation, and consumption.

Yet, more so than merely an act of necessity, foodways offer a means of understanding how enslaved laborers at Green Castle Estate created cultural traditions and secured a niche for themselves in trying to control their social lives on the plantation. Archaeological research has long emphasized the importance of foodways in the lives of enslaved laborers. In his work on the foodways of enslaved laborers on Virginia plantations, Larry McKee (1999:235) emphasizes the role foodways would have had in

the lives of enslaved laborers in arguing, "Forged from African traditions, plantation deprivation, and active innovations, foodways played a major role in the way slaves took charge of the conditions of their lives." In this light, an examination of foodways can point to how enslaved laborers at Green Castle Estate controlled one aspect of their lives to create a cultural tradition that reflected their African ancestry and took advantage of resources available to them such as house gardens and provision grounds.

3.4.1 Food Procurement and Preparation

Archaeological evidence for food procurement at Green Castle Estate is relatively scant. Faunal remains make up only 4.25% (148) of the foodways assemblage from Locus 5 and identification of faunal materials was very difficult due to the extremely minute size of the faunal remains (Figure 3.4). Yet, some insight into food procurement can be gathered from the faunal collection. Evidence of domesticated mammals, such as cow (Bos taurus) and pig (Sus) remains, is present in the faunal collection (Figure 3.5). Historical evidence suggests that enslaved laborers raised animals, especially pigs, on plantations (Pulsipher and Goodwin 1999:19; Sturge and Harvey 1838:48). Historical accounts in Antigua, though, point to fish as a preferred staple in the diet of enslaved laborers. Imported fish rations, such as herring and cod were provisioned to enslaved laborers by planters (Lanaghan 1844:31-32). Additionally, locally procured fish was a common feature at the markets in Antigua (Sturge and Harvey 1838:25-26). The historical record suggests enslaved laborers took advantage of marine resources and fished locally to supplement their diets. Only 18% (27) of the faunal material from Locus 5 consists of shell remains. Of these, most were the remains of the West India Top Shell (Cittarium pica). Several fish remains include the pharyngeal teeth of the parrot fish

(*Scaridae*). While the faunal evidence does not provide much insight into the nature of food procurement at Green Castle Estate, there is greater archaeological evidence for food preparation among enslaved laborers at Green Castle Estate.

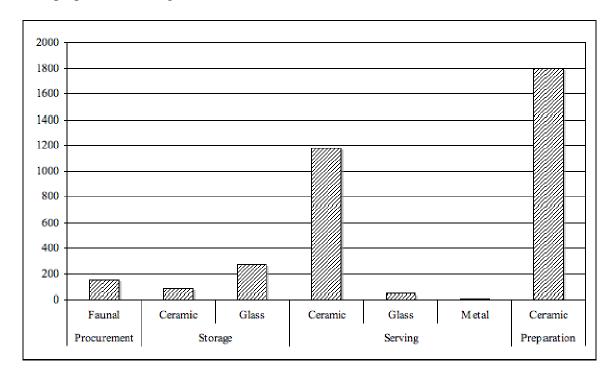


Figure 3.4: Distribution of subcategories of foodways-related artifacts.

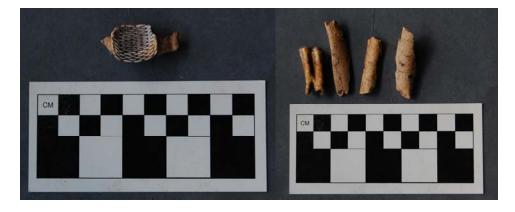


Figure 3.5: Faunal material from Locus 5 includes the remains of the parrot fish as well as cow and pig.

Artifacts used for food preparation constitute the majority, 51.55% (1796), of the food-related artifacts from Locus 5 (Figure 3.4). The propensity of Afro-Antiguan ceramics, largely used as cooking pots, accounts for the emphasis on food preparation in the Locus 5 assemblage. Afro-Antiguan wares are hand-built, low-fired, and locally-produced earthenwares that were made and used by peoples of African descent throughout the historical period (Handler and Hauser 2009; Nicholson 1990; Petersen, et al. 1999). Though these types of ceramics are common throughout the Caribbean region, the Antiguan wares are understudied and this poses methodological problems because of the strong tendencies for idiosyncrasies between and even within individual island pottery traditions.⁷

Afro-Caribbean ceramics are ubiquitous on historical sites throughout the Caribbean region (Armstrong 1985; Handler 1963a, 1963b, 1964; Handler and Lange 1978; Hauser 2001; 2009; Heath 1988; 1991; Olwig 1985; Smith 1995). Though the term suggests a regionally-based ceramic tradition, it describes the pottery's association with peoples of African descent and does not point to any specific similarities in the ceramics themselves such as manufacturing technique, decoration, form, or function (Hauser 2001:88). Most archaeologists agree that traditions of pottery making in West Africa may have influenced the development of Afro-Caribbean ceramic traditions throughout the Caribbean, but the wares are highly variable throughout the region. While it is helpful to recognize these wares as descending from a similar tradition, critics warn against classifying them as a single type and point to the idiosyncrasies in both West

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⁷ Important exceptions are Desmond V. Nicholson's (1990) classification of Afro-Antiguan ceramics and Petersen, et al.'s (1999) comprehensive study of vessels from sites throughout the island. Additional ethnohistoric contributions to studies of Afro-Antiguan ceramics are Handler's (1964) initial study of modern pottery making in Antigua and Handler and Hauser's (2009) more recent revisiting of modern pottery production sites in Antigua.

African and Caribbean ceramic traditions (DeCorse 1999; Hauser 2001, 2009; Hauser and Armstrong 1999; Hauser and DeCorse 2003).

Even designating ceramics as "Afro-Antiguan" holds potential methodological and interpretive dilemmas. The name suggests continuity throughout the island's pottery tradition(s) and through time. While some preliminary research has been conducted to develop a classification system for the Afro-Antiguan wares and to try to identify changes in them over time, this research is problematic (Nicholson 1990; Petersen, et al. 1999).

The most recent and comprehensive study of Afro-Antiguan wares examines sixty-five vessels from twenty-six archaeological sites and "find spots" (Petersen, et al. 1999). However, most of the vessels examined in this study do not come from archaeological contexts and therefore many of the dates assigned to specific vessels are purely conjectural. Therefore, it is nearly impossible to determine whether any differences in the vessels under study are due to distinctive pottery traditions or changes in a single tradition over time. Additionally, most of the vessels with known proveniences were recovered in a relatively small area of Antigua, English Harbour, and most of these vessels were found on sites related to British military operations including Nelson's Dockyard, the Naval Hospital, and various military buildings associated with the fort at Shirley Heights. These sites are not typically associated with Afro-Antiguans, though some Afro-Antiguans were recruited for forced military service in the West India Regiment and some enslaved laborers may have been used as domestic servants within military complexes (Crewe 1993). However, the presence of such ceramics probably points more so to the use of these ceramics by white Antiguans as well as AfroAntiguans. Ultimately, the uneven sampling of sites and questionable accuracy of time periods sampled in this study of Afro-Antiguan ceramics is problematic for making conclusions about how the differences between ceramics indicate syncretism in traditions and through time.

Indeed, many of the analyses Petersen, et al. (1999) conduct on the Afro-Antiguan vessels highlight the similarities between vessels, but this might be due more to their approach to the ceramics in areas such as manufacture, form, and function. First, Petersen, et al. (1999:158-160) define Afro-Caribbean ceramics very broadly with relation to manufacturing techniques, arguing these wares were handmade and fired in an open fire and not a kiln. While this might be helpful in distinguishing the manufacturing techniques of Afro-Caribbean ceramics in the historical context of the Northern Lesser Antilles, these manufacturing techniques also applied to a number of Amerindian pottery types in the prehistorical and protohistorical periods of the Caribbean history and does not necessarily distinguish the Afro-Caribbean ceramics on the basis of manufacturing (Murphy 1999). In addition, "Afro-Caribbean" wares are well documented to have included wheel-thrown varieties and are not exclusively hand built on several islands, most notably Jamaica and Barbados (Handler 1963a, 1963b; Handler and Lange 1978; Hauser 2001, 2009).

In addition, in analyzing the forms of Afro-Caribbean ceramics, Petersen, et al. (1999:182-183) use only very "generic" forms to describe the vessels they encounter. They classify vessels as jars, bowls, and griddles. Among the Antiguan vessels Petersen, et al. (1999:168, 182-187) studied, most of the vessels were classified as restricted jars without handles. In addition, bowls, griddles, unrestricted jars, and both restricted and

unrestricted jars with handles were also identified among the Afro-Antiguan collection (Petersen, et al. 1999:168, 182-187). The presence of soot on many of the restricted jars suggests they were used as cooking vessels (Petersen, et al. 1999:184). Bowls were most likely used as cooking vessels as well (Petersen, et al. 1999:183-184). While this generic categorization might help in trying to classify a broad range of ceramics from the different islands of the Northern Lesser Antilles, these terms are not necessarily helpful in linking form with function and are often counterintuitive. For instance, many of the vessels classified as "jars" are probably better classified as pots. While it might appear these authors take a generic approach to vessel form classification in order to avoid imposing interpretations of function on vessels that might not be accurate, the term "jar" is also inaccurate because it suggests a "necked (and therefore restricted) vessel with its height greater than its maximum diameter" (Rice 2005:216 [1987]). Most of the "jars" that Petersen, et al. (1999:168) classify, then, would best be described as bowls (Rice 2005:216 [1987]).

An area in which this study of Afro-Caribbean ceramics provides more insights, is in sourcing the production of these ceramics. Petersen, et al. (1999:178-179) examined temper in the ceramics from Antigua and concluded that the type of temper used in the ceramics is consistent with the geology of the island and therefore argue that all of the ceramics found in Antigua were produced there. This analysis, though, misses an opportunity to examine differences within the Antiguan production of ceramics, especially when considering the island's highly variable geological regions (Multer, et al. 1986:1-4).

In my discussion of the Afro-Antiguan ceramics excavated from Green Castle

Estate, I try to provide a more thorough discussion of the attributes of this pottery type

and point to preliminary interpretations of the likelihood of different pottery traditions

within the island during the eighteenth century. This research is based on a more refined

analysis of vessel form and function based on several attributes. A more thorough

discussion of the analysis of Afro-Antiguan ceramics can be found in Appendix B.

Afro-Antiguan ceramics make up 51.38% (1805) of the ceramic assemblage from Locus 5 and 35% of the total Locus 5 artifact assemblage. This collection lends insights into the nature of the manufacture of these ceramics, as there is no evidence of wheelthrown pottery in the Locus 5 assemblage. There is marked evidence on a majority of the vessels for the use of coiling in manufacture. This is evidenced by breakage in pottery sherds that occur at coils in uneven firing as well as at least one instance of coils being poorly smoothed and therefore evident in the sherd. While there is evidence of coiling in the manufacture of these ceramics, this does not suggest this was the only type of manufacturing technique used in the production of Afro-Antiguan ceramics. Other manufacturing techniques such as slab molding and pinching and pulling may have been employed as well. Ethnographic accounts of twentieth-century pottery making in Antigua highlight pinching and pulling as the primary manufacture technique (Handler 1964; Hauser and Handler 2009). In addition, uneven surfaces prevail in the Afro-Antiguan ceramic collection from Locus 5 and suggest that the pots were only partially evened and smoothed.

Furthermore, the ceramics recovered from Locus 5 at Green Castle Estate also point to the use of open fires as opposed to kilns in pottery manufacture. An

overwhelming majority of the ceramic sherds exhibit clouding as a result of uneven firing that is common in open fire environments (Table 3.2).

	Oxidized	Reduced	Unidentifiable	Total
Number of Afro-Antiguan Sherds	153	1649	3	1805

Table 3.2: Oxidation and Reduction in Afro-Antiguan Sherds in Locus 5

A more nuanced review of the forms and functions of Afro-Antiguan sherds can be assessed from the Locus 5 collection. Over 90% (1630) of the Afro-Antiguan ceramics excavated from Locus 5 are body sherds (Table 3.3). 9.53% (173) of the sherds are rim sherds, the majority (51.74%, 89) being everted rims. 34.30% (59) of the rims are straight rims and 13.95% (25) are unidentifiable rim types. Only one base sherd and one handle sherd were found in the Locus 5 excavations.

Completeness	Number of Sherds
Straight Rim	59
Everted Rim	89
Unidentified Rim	25
Body	1630
Base	1
Handle	1

Table 3.3: Completeness of Afro-Antiguan Sherds from Locus 5

Rim sherds give the greatest insights into the form of vessels (Figure 3.6). The 89 everted rims suggest that the most common vessel form is a bowl with a restricted neck, most probably used as cooking pot, though the rims also point to some jars that were probably used in water storage. The average neck diameter for vessels with everted rims is 18.12 cm. The range of neck diameters for everted rims is from 10.0 cm to 22.0 cm. Three everted rim sherds demonstrate vessels with neck diameters of 12.0 cm or less. It is most likely these represent restricted jars and were used for water storage. Vessels

with larger neck diameters, ranging from 14.0 to 22.0 cm, are likely larger, open-mouthed vessels probably used in cooking.

Straight rim sherds also give insights into the nature of vessel form and function. The average neck diameter for vessels with straight rims is 17.89 cm. Straight rims represent bowls that were both restricted and unrestricted. The two straight rims with rim diameters of 12.0 cm or less are unrestricted and suggest that these vessels may have been small bowls. The remaining 19 straight rims sherds in which rim diameters could be determine have larger diameters between 14.0 to 22.0 cm, with 15 sherds having diameters between 20.0 and 22.0 cm. These rims are restricted and point to a different style of large, restricted, open-mouthed vessels that were most probably used as cooking vessels.

Evidence of post-manufacture burning lends additional evidence to the use of Afro-Antiguan ceramics as cooking vessels. 14.74% (266) of the sherds exhibit signs of post-production burning. In addition, the lack of decorations on the Afro-Antiguan vessels points to their use in utilitarian practices. 88.98% (1606) of the sherds were bisque, that is, unglazed or unslipped. The remaining sherds were thinly slipped with 6.32% (114) having an interior slip, 1.11% (20) having an exterior slip, and 3.32% (60) being slipped on both the interior and exterior surfaces. Only six sherds were decorated and each of these was incised by free hand with a plain band design (Figure 3.7). The overwhelming lack of decoration on the Afro-Antiguan vessels is a trait also noticed by Petersen, et al. (1999:185-187).

Based on the Afro-Antiguan ceramic collection from Locus 5, there is evidence for more than one tradition of pottery making in Antigua during the eighteenth century.

While this discussion of Afro-Antiguan ceramic types is extremely preliminary, it offers a point from which more detailed studies of Afro-Antiguan ceramics can develop more nuanced typologies that distinguish more specific traditions within Afro-Antiguan ceramic production. I have distinguished three types of pottery traditions in Antigua based on manufacturing technique, surface treatment, and other attributes.

Type I consists of Afro-Antiguan ceramics that are bisque (that is, unglazed and unslipped) and were manufactured by coiling and slab molding. They tend to be poorly smoothed and unburnished. Sherd thickness in these ceramics is greater than 7 mm and all vessels are utilitarian cooking pots.

A total of 834 Type I sherds are present in the Locus 5 assemblage. One hundred one of the Type I sherds are rim sherds and, among these, 52 are everted, 19 are straight, and 10 are unidentifiable rim types. The single base sherd in the Locus 5 Afro-Antiguan assemblage is also Type I. Ninety-nine of the Type I sherds exhibit evidence of burning on the exterior of the sherds, 16 were burned on the interior surface of the sherd, and 8 exhibit evidence of burning on both the interior and exterior of the sherds.

Type II consists of Afro-Antiguan ceramics that are bisque and were also manufactured by coiling and slab molding. These ceramics tend to be better smoothed and evened and, in general, are much thinner than the Type I ceramics, with sherd thickness of 7 mm or less. The paste tends to be harder than the Type I ceramics as well.

A total of 704 Type II sherds are present in the Locus 5 assemblage. Thirty-four of the Type II sherds are rim sherds and, among these, 10 are everted, 16 are straight, and 8 are unidentifiable. Ninety-six sherds exhibit evidence of burning on the exterior of the vessel, 8 exhibit evidence of burning on the interior of the vessel and 12 exhibit evidence

of burning on both the interior and exterior of the vessel. Five hundred eighty eight were unburned.

Type II consists of Afro-Antiguan ceramics that are slipped. These sherds were slipped with a red clay that ranges in color from bright red to a deep red brown. The clays used to slip the sherds may have come from different clay sources on the island, however, this cannot be verified in this study. The bulk of these sherds here manufactured by coiling, however there is some evidence of slab molding as well. The past is relatively soft and the sherd thickness ranges from 5 mm to 14.7 mm, however only 12.04% (23) sherds have a thickness ranging from 10.1 mm to 14.7 mm.

A total of 191 Type III sherds were excavated the Locus 5. Thirty-four of these sherds were rim sherds with 8 being everted, 20 being straight, and 7 being unidentifiable. Only 22 Type III sherds exhibit evidence of burning, all on the exterior of the vessel. Nineteen of these are slipped on the interior of the vessel while 3 are slipped on both the interior and exterior of the vessel.

This typological system for Afro-Antiguan ceramics is preliminary, yet seeks to identify trends within the Afro-Antiguan assemblage that might point to different traditions of pottery making on the island. Certainly, much additional research on these ceramics must be conducted to verify the presence of types along the clustering of attributes outlined above. Petrographic analyses, for instance, can lend greater insights into clay sources for pottery manufacture that might point to different manufacturing centers within the island. Still, the archaeological evidence from Locus 5 does suggest there are distinct traditions of pottery making in Antigua during the historical period.

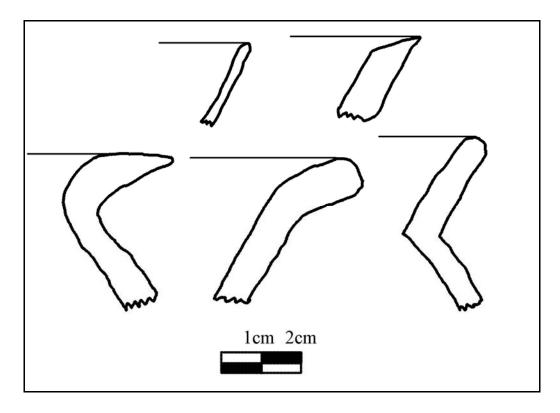


Figure 3.6: Common rim types among Afro-Antiguan ceramics including straight rims and everted rims

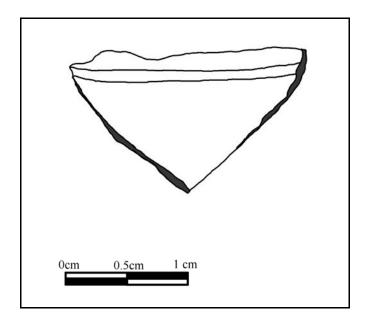


Figure 3.7: Plain band decoration on an Afro-Antiguan ceramic sherd (MAH-15-09-3178) $\,$

Historical evidence emphasizes the role of Afro-Antiguan pottery in cooking as Afro-Antiguans are described as "making pots for boiling their victuals, *yubbas*, (or frying-pans,) water-jars, and several other utensils" (Lanaghan 1844:4; emphasis in original). The use of traditionally made pottery may have been preferred by enslaved Antiguans because it was familiar to them and allowed them to prepare foods in traditional ways as well. In their examination of slave foodways at Clifton Plantation in the Bahamas, Wilkie and Farnsworth (2005:111) argue, "Foodways are simultaneously one of the most pliable and most conservative of cultural practices. New ingredients and techniques can be quickly incorporated to suit differing access to resources, yet meal structure, preparation, and service can remain remarkably intact." In this light, enslaved laborers could have drawn on traditional cooking techniques and incorporated local provisions and foodstuffs to create new, Creole dishes.

Much of the historical evidence of the types of foods enslaved laborers cooked describes porridges or stew-like meals that take advantage of locally produced crops and items that were provisioned by planters. For instance, as early as 1650, enslaved Antiguans made a dish called Loblolly, which was made by pounding maize with a mortar and boiling it in water until thickened (Bridenbaugh and Bridenbaugh 1972:45). In addition, references to women boiling food for children or making stews also characterize the dishes enslaved laborers cooked and consumed. One travel account

⁸ Interestingly, Lanaghan (1844:44) describes "yubbas" as frying pans. At first glance, the term "yubba" might be interpreted as a misspelling of the more common term, yabba, used in the context of Afro-Jamaican wares to describe both a specific form of vessel (usually a wide-mouthed bowl) and a type of vessel (used to describe ceramics made by peoples of African descent). However, the form of a "frying-pan" does not describe the form of vessels commonly referred to as yabbas and therefore might be an idiosyncrasy of historical, Antiguan terminology. Hauser (2009:122-128) provides a more thorough evaluation of the use of the term yabba, in archaeological research. In Antigua, the term "restricted jar" has used to describe vessels that are similar in form to Jamaican yubbas, however I classify them as cooking pots (Petersen, et al. 1999).

states, "The old woman having seen [the children] well arranged, returned for the pot, which was placed in the centre, and contained various ingredients, as yams, potatoes, corn-flour dumplings, herrings, with a good supply of water, &c., forming a kind of 'ollapodrida'" (Lanaghan 1844:31-32; emphasis in original). Such a type of dish is reminiscent of a similar style of dish in West Africa in which a starch staple is served with a soup or stew and very little meat (DeCorse 1999:150-151, 2001:104). The faunal evidence from Locus 5, though scant, might also corroborate such an interpretation of Afro-Antiguan foodways. Patterns of very small faunal remains, similar to those found in the Locus 5 assemblage, were found in other plantations in the Caribbean and suggest meat was cut into small pieces so that bone marrow might seep into stews during cooking (Armstrong 1990; Wilkie and Farnsworth 2005). A similar trend might have occurred at Green Castle Estate, though small bone fragments might also signify food consumption practices rather than food preparation.

The archaeological and historical evidence points to a preferred style of cooking and cuisine that draws on West African influences, yet adapts cooking techniques to locally-produced and procured foods. In addition, at Green Castle Estate, where Samuel Martin (1785:2) allotted land for families for provisioning, enslaved laborers may have had greater control over the types of foods they ate, and grew foods in provision grounds and house gardens that they favored. The ways in which food was prepared and what was eaten may have become a strong point of collective identity and community formation on plantations, in opposition to the cuisine of planters and white colonists. For instance, historical documents point to the types of food enslaved laborers were provisioned by planters such as eddoes, yams, corn, and herrings or mackerel (Lanaghan

1844:31; Sturge and Harvey 1838:47-48). At Christmas, enslaved laborers were given an additional supply of salt pork and wheat flour (Lanaghan 1844:31). Such a cuisine probably stood in stark contrast to that of planters and while planters may have favored the economy of giving laborers less costly foodstuffs, the enslaved may have reappropriated their provisions to create Creole dishes that not only drew on traditional preparation methods, but also fostered a practice of cooking and a collective sense of identity that stood in opposition to that of the planters.

3.4.2 Food Serving and Storage

Items relating to food serving comprise 35.30% (1230) of the artifacts relating to foodways in Locus 5. These artifacts include vessels such as bowls and plates that would have been used in consuming food as well as drinking glasses, teawares, and utensils (Table 3.4). Food service items are important to an interpretation of foodways because they demonstrate how food was served and subsequently eaten among the enslaved laborers at Green Castle Estate. Food serving items also lend additional insights into the types of foods and dishes enslaved laborers may have eaten.

Artifact Type	Vessel Type	Number of Fragments
Ceramic	Bowl	173
	Lid	3
	Plate	200
	Saucer	8
	Serving Dish	3
	Teacup	16
	Unidentified: Tableware	649
	Unidentified: Teaware	127
Glass	Drinking glass	1
	Stemware	1
	Tableware, unidentified	44
Metal	Utensil Handle	5
Total		1230

Table 3.4: Summary of vessels excavated relating to food serving from Locus 5

The majority of ceramic food service items consists of tablewares made of imported, refined white earthenwares such as creamware (758) and pearlware (371). Vessels include bowls, plates, saucers, teacups, and serving dishes (Figure 3.8). Many ceramic sherds (649) are unidentified tableware fragments, yet are also included in the food service analysis. Several serving items were also made of glass. Glass serving items include stemware (1) and a drinking glass fragment (1) (Figure 3.9). In addition, unidentified tableware items, most probably drinking glasses, were also part of the glass assemblage (44). Metal utensil handles (5) were also excavated in the Locus 5 assemblage (Figure 3.10).



Figure 3.8: Ceramic sherds related to food serving include (from top left) a creamware plate sherd, a pearlware bowl sherd, a pearlware handle sherd, a pearlware bowl with dendritic patterns, and the molded rim of a salt-glazed stoneware plate.



Figure 3.9: Two fragments of glass drinking glasses



Figure 3.10: Lead utensil handle fragments from Locus 5.

In addition to food serving items recovered in the archaeological record, organic items that do not preserve archaeologically were also probably used in food serving among the enslaved community. Historical evidence points to the widespread use of hollowed out calabashes. Such calabash bowls would be used as drinking vessels (Murray 1825:240-241) and as bowls for serving stews and soups (Lanaghan 1844:31).

Artifacts relating to food storage comprise 8.90% (310) of the food-related artifacts from Locus 5 (Table 3.5). Most of the food storage items would have been used for beverage storage and consist of glass bottle fragments, the majority consisting of mouth blown, dark olive, wine bottle fragments (150). Glass bottle fragments comprise 86.77% (267) of the food storage assemblage. While most of these consist of dark olive, wine glass fragments, these bottles were probably continually reused for beverage storage, especially for water. Water is in scarce supply in Antigua and while plantations had large cisterns to support their populations, enslaved laborers probably saved vessels to keep water supplies in and near their homes (Gonzalez Scollard 2008:83). A relatively small number of ceramic vessels were used for food storage. Fragments of stoneware beakers and storage jars, and slipware pitchers comprise only 13.23% (41) of the food storage assemblage from Locus 5.

Artifact Type	Vessel Type	Number of Fragments
Ceramic	Beaker	3
	Bottle	1
	Milk Pan	4
	Mug/Can	20
	Pitcher/Ewer	5
	Storage Jar	8
Glass	Bottle, beer	6
	Bottle, case	1
	Bottle, unidentified	112
	Bottle, wine style	150

Table 3.5: Summary of vessels relating to food storage from Locus 5

3.4.3 Foodways as Practice

The salience of foodways in the daily lives of enslaved laborers is strongly demonstrated by the ubiquity of items relating to foodways uncovered in archaeological excavations. The procurement, preparation, and consumption of food were a vital component of daily life among enslaved laborers.

Yet, more so than merely being a means of survival, foodways is an important cultural practice that highlights the social relations of power within the plantation. Food became a means through which planters could manipulate laborers by offering them incentives, such as access to provision grounds and special rations for holidays, or, alternatively, punish laborers by withholding provisions (McKee 1999:227). At Green Castle Estate, Martin (1785:2) is decidedly clear in stating his motivation for providing provision grounds to his laborers is to encourage large families and tie laborers to the estate. Though Martin may have wished to increasingly tie people to his land through provision grounds, enslaved laborers took great advantage of this access and used it to create new cultural meanings through growing their own food items, preparing Creole dishes, and consuming them (Mintz 1997; Wilkie and Farnsworth 2005:210).

Foodways may have been an area of daily life over which enslaved laborers could exercise a relative amount of autonomy. At Green Castle Estate, where enslaved laborers had their own provision grounds, enslaved laborers may have been able to exercise choice in the types of food they grew and, subsequently, how they prepared their dishes. Still, the archaeological evidence for foodways at Green Castle Estate probably also points to how this aspect of daily life was affected by the low economic status of enslaved laborers. Most of the ceramics recovered in the Locus 5 excavation are among the cheapest available in Antigua at the time, a point I discuss further in my discussion of consumption among enslaved laborers later in this chapter. Therefore, the limited resources enslaved laborers had access to might have structured the practices of foodways. This does not mean, however, that the practices enslaved laborers engaged in did not take on significant cultural meaning within the context of the Afro-Antiguan slave

community at Green Castle Estate. Armstrong and Kelly (2000:374) make a similar argument for enslaved laborers in Jamaica: "Artifacts and the spatial pattern of activity areas held connotations for the African Jamaican community that reflect preferences, choices, and negotiated responses to social conditions that are only incidental to cost and status." In this light, we cannot dismiss the possibility that foodways became an arena through which enslaved laborers were able to develop Creole cultural practices and that these were very important to the enslaved population.

3.5 Personal Activities

In addition to foodways, enslaved laborers spent time in recreation and in personal activities at Green Castle Estate. The historical record does not offer many suggestions as to how enslaved laborers may have spent their free time or what types of recreation they may have enjoyed. Indeed, the sources that do allude to the activities of enslaved laborers are decidedly biased in their discussions of how enslaved laborers spend their time and often offer suggestions for planters on how to prevent enslaved laborers from engaging in social activities that not only distract from work, but might create unrest among the enslaved community. For instance, dancing appears to be a favored activity among enslaved laborers because it becomes an activity planters and missionaries try to prevent in the period leading up to and just after emancipation. Enslaved laborers would celebrate the end of the sugar harvest season with dancing and livelihood, yet at least one planter discouraged it and sent for the minister to quell the celebration (Thome and Kimball 1838:42). Following emancipation, the legislature passed social laws that specifically target dancing as an act that is punishable by law. Unfortunately, such social activities do not lend themselves well to archaeological

investigation. Dancing leaves no archaeological traces, yet material evidence from Locus 5 suggests the enslaved laborers at Green Castle Estate engaged in other personal activities for recreation, leisure, and livelihood.

3.5.1 Recreation and Leisure Activities

Archaeological evidence for recreation activities is present at Green Castle Estate. Items relating to personal activities such as recreation, beauty practices, and hygiene compose 4.70% (210) of the Locus 5 assemblage (Figure 3.11). One of the most prevalent artifacts associated with recreation are tobacco pipe fragments. White ball clay pipe fragments compose 2.98% (148) of the Locus 5 assemblage. All of the tobacco pipes are fragments of imported, British pipes. Nearly half (48%, 71) of the pipe artifacts are stem fragments, yet bowl fragments also make up a considerable portion of the pipe assemblage, comprising 47.30% (70) of the artifacts. Five of the tobacco bowl fragments have been identified from known British bowl forms using the typology outlined by Atkinson and Oswald (1969) (Figure 3.12). Three fragments were identified as type 27, dating to 1780-1820 and two fragments were identified as type 25, dating to 1700-1770 (Atkinson and Oswald 1969). In addition to tobacco pipes, chert and flint fragments and flakes were recovered in archaeological excavations and were probably used as strike-a-lights in smoking and starting fires for other domestic activities.

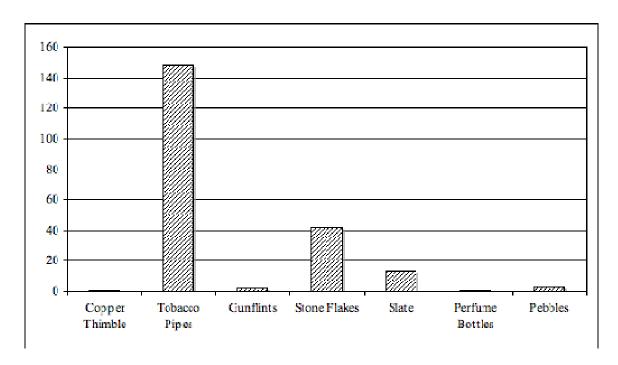


Figure 3.11: Artifacts Relating to Personal activities including recreation, beauty and hygiene

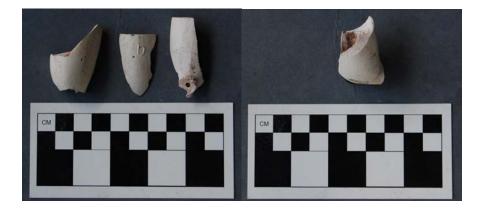


Figure 3.12: British tobacco pipe bowl fragments; type 27 on left and type 25 on right.

Whereas the percentage of tobacco pipes does not constitute a relatively large percentage of the total artifact assemblage from Locus 5, this does not necessarily suggest that smoking tobacco was an uncommon practice among enslaved laborers. Tobacco pipe fragments would find their way throughout domestic spaces and not necessarily be confined to trash heaps or other socially designated areas for garbage. Tobacco was one

of the first crops grown on the island (Dyde 2000:16) and on Montserrat, where a similar history of agricultural production took hold, tobacco continued to be grown in small quantities by planters and enslaved laborers alike for personal use throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Pulsipher and Goodwin 1999:17). Homegrown tobacco would give enslaved laborers an opportunity to produce and consume items for recreation and leisure and could be tended alongside provisions grown in house gardens and on provision plots.

In addition to smoking, archaeological evidence also points to other activities in which enslaved laborers may have engaged. The presence of writing slate fragments in Locus 5 suggests that some of the enslaved laborers at Green Castle Estate were literate. In the first decades of the nineteenth century, a day school for enslaved children was opened at Green Castle Estate, yet some members of the enslaved population may have been literate in the late eighteenth century as well (Blouet 1990:632). Church missionaries, particularly Methodists and Moravians, were extremely active in educating enslaved laborers in Antigua in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and enslaved laborers at Green Castle Estate may have taken advantage of these opportunities to gain literacy.

Other artifacts point to personal activities that may have served the dual purpose of recreation and helping to sustain the enslaved community. One copper thimble was recovered from Locus 5 hinting that enslaved individuals may have been sewing at Green Castle Estate (Figure 3.13). The recovery of only one thimble suggests that sewing may have been done only for personal use such as in making or repairing clothing for oneself or one's family rather than on a larger scale to produce items for sale. In addition, two

English chert gunflints were recovered in Locus 5 (Figure 3.14). No historical evidence suggests Samuel Martin armed his enslaved laborers, yet enslaved laborers may have had access to firearms to hunt to supplement the provisions grown on the estate and allocated to the enslaved by Martin. Yet, faunal remains do not suggest any wild game hunting, as wild animals, aside from fish, are absent from the faunal assemblage. The gunflints were most probably used as strike-a-lights by the enslaved in domestic activities, yet it is unclear how they would have obtained them.



Figure 3.13: Copper alloy thimble from Locus 5



Figure 3.14: Fragments of English chert that were probably used as strike-a-lights from Locus 5

Despite the limitations placed on their daily lives through long work schedules and the need to sustain themselves through food procurement and preparation, enslaved laborers were able to participate in several recreational and personal activities. Whereas

the archaeological evidence points to activities such as smoking, sewing, and writing, it is also important to consider activities that may have been commonly enjoyed by enslaved laborers but do not leave archaeological markers such as dancing and singing.

Ultimately, it becomes clear that the enslaved were able to engage in activities for their personal enjoyment, relief, and survival despite the coercive regiments placed on them through labor on the plantation.

3.5.2 Personal Adornment, Hygienic and Beauty Practices

There is a relative paucity of archaeological evidence of items associated with personal adornment and beauty and hygienic practices among the enslaved population of Green Castle Estate. Items associated with personal adornment include two molded metal buckle fragments and two buttons (Figure 3.15). One button is an undecorated, incomplete copper button with no holes. The shank has been broken off the button. The other button is a complete, pewter button that exhibits an alpha-style shank and was manufactured by being stamped. A single, wound glass bead was recovered from a shovel test in Locus 5 (Figure 3.16). The glass bead is simple, spheroid bead that is colorless. Artifacts associated with the beauty and hygienic practices of enslaved laborers are also lacking in the Locus 5 assemblage. Only one fragment of a glass perfume bottle was excavated. Three, smooth stone pebbles were recovered and were probably used in laundering clothing.

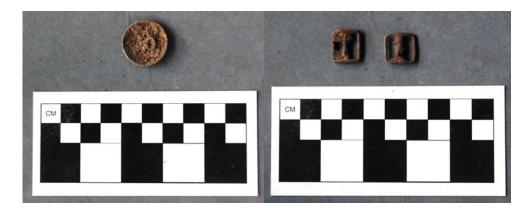


Figure 3.15: Pewter Button (MAH-15-09-2462) and Ferrous Metal Buckles (MAH-15-09-2199; MAH-15-09-5159) from Locus 5

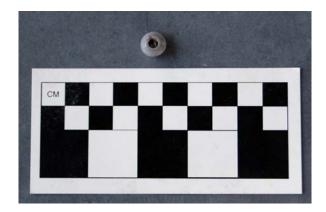


Figure 3.16: Wound, colorless glass bead from Locus 5 (MAH-15-07-560)

Though the archaeological record does not offer many insights into how enslaved laborers would have attended to their appearances through personal adornment and hygiene, historical records point to some ways that enslaved laborers may have dressed. Samuel Martin (1785), for instance, seems to have provided the enslaved laborers at Green Castle Estate with clothing routinely throughout the year. Accounts from travelers to Antigua also lend insights into how the enslaved presented themselves. For instance, upon observing a group of Antiguans at a church service, one traveler comments that the women's "dresses [were] remarkable for neatness and simplicity" (Sturge and Harvey 1838:16). The enslaved laborers at Green Castle Estate, then, probably were highly conscious of their appearances and were engaged in activities of personal hygiene,

beauty, and adornment yet were restricted due to their social status and the poverty associated with it. Still, adornment and hygiene cannot be judged solely on the presence of such artifacts including perfume bottles and clothing adornments. The enslaved may have relied heavily on organic materials for hygienic and beauty practices and drawn on locally grown flowers and herbs. Furthermore, enslaved laborers may have crafted items of adornment such as beads and buttons out of organic materials and these items may not be represented in the archaeological record from the site. For instance, archaeological evidence on the neighboring island of Guadeloupe points to the use of buttons fashioned from coconut shells (Gibson 2007:261). A traveler to Antigua just following emancipation notes that a woman made a talisman necklace for her infant out of plaited horsehair because the child's neck was limp (Sturge and Harvey 1838:29). In this light, Afro-Antiguans not just drew on organic materials for adornment but also imbued them with deep spiritual and cultural meaning.

Ultimately, the archaeological record offers a glimpse into the personal activities of enslaved laborers at Green Castle Estate and points to the types of activities, such as smoking, sewing, and writing, that people would have engaged in during their free time. The relative paucity of archaeological evidence for personal activities, though, does not suggest that leisure and recreation were absent in the lives of enslaved laborers. As stated earlier, historical evidence strongly suggests dancing was a favored activity among enslaved laborers and dancing, along with singing, would not leave archaeological traces. Despite the restrictions of the labor schedules at Green Castle Estate, enslaved laborers were able to seize control of some aspects of their lives including foodways, recreational

activities, and personal adornment. Enslaved laborers negotiated their social lives to create cultural meaning within the landscape of slavery in Antigua.

3.6 Evidence for Slave Consumption

The importance of local markets in the Caribbean has been the focus of much recent historical and archaeological research. Whereas early studies of plantations tended to assume the material goods associated with enslaved laborers were provisioned by planters (e.g. Spencer-Wood and Heberling 1987), it has been widely demonstrated that enslaved laborers had access to local markets and surplus production from house gardens and provisioning plots offered enslaved laborers purchasing power. Historical research demonstrates the vitality of these markets in creating social relationships and in allowing enslaved laborers to find alternatives to the minimal provisions and goods planters provided for the laborers on their estates (Beckles 1991; Beckles and Shepherd 1991; Berlin and Morgan 1991; 1993; Mintz 1983; Mintz and Hall 1960; Mintz and Price 1976). Mintz and Hall (1960) go further to argue that the system of own-account production by enslaved laborers constituted a proto-peasantry that allowed for the transition to free society and the widespread development and expansion of peasantries in the Caribbean in the nineteenth century.

Historical archaeology has greatly contributed to this discussion because market production tends to have highly visible material components. Archaeological research emphasizes the ways in which enslaved laborers gained some autonomy over the material conditions of their lives through production of goods, exchange and consumption at local markets. While it is strongly argued that much of the material culture of enslaved

⁹ Archaeological research that contributes to this in the Caribbean includes Armstrong 1985; 1990; 1999; 2001; 2003; Farnsworth 1996; 1999; 2001; Gibson 2007; Goodwin 1982; Handler and Lange 1978; Hauser

laborers in the Caribbean was acquired through own-account production or through exchange, the question arises as to what choices people would have made in consuming products. How can consumption, within the context of slavery, be understood to give insights into how cultural meaning is created and imbued through material culture?

One of the early pitfalls of consumption theory focused on examining consumption as merely a reflection of monetary wealth and as an indicator of socioeconomic status (Moore 1985; Otto 1977; Spencer-Wood 1987). Though this research demonstrates how archaeological deposits might be interpreted in lieu of consumption processes, there are several shortcomings in this research. Most notably, Suzanne Spencer-Wood's 1987 Consumer Choice in Historical Archaeology presents a series of essays that take a consumer-oriented approach in interpreting historic house sites. While most of the authors in this volume base their interpretations on George Miller's (1980) price indexing of nineteenth-century ceramics, an approach that seeks to classify ceramics in historically-relevant categories as opposed to those imposed by archaeologists, the interpretations within the volume directly link the price value of ceramics to consumer choice, class, and identity. This approach makes several problematic assumptions. First, it contends that consumers will always purchase items within their class position, an argument that actually undermines consumer choice and the often irrational or spontaneous consumption decisions past actors may have made. In addition, it assumes equal access to items throughout the time period and does not account for different markets and availability of items to different populations due to social, geographic, or political circumstances (Wurst and McGuire 1999). Finally, while

Miller's index provides a strong account of the monetary value of ceramics, these early consumption studies assume that this will be directly translated into social value for consumers. Such an approach denies the different values that different people may have had and completely prioritizes monetary worth within consumption practices.

More recent approaches to consumption attempt to move beyond economic-based interpretations of consumption, particularly among enslaved populations on plantations (Heath 1997; 2004; Howson 1995; Wilkie 1999; 2001; Wilkie and Farnsworth 2005). These studies try to take into account how consumption could have been a culturally significant practice as people purchased goods that had particular cultural saliency for different reasons. This work, though, is often problematic because of its approach to ideas of West African cultural traits and practices. For instance, Wilkie and Farnsworth (2005:263-288) discuss imported, European ceramics recovered from Clifton plantation in the Bahamas in relation to ceramic patterns and vessels that they argue are common in West Africa. They argue that the specific vessels the enslaved purchased would have had characteristics that resonated with cultural meanings from West Africa. This approach undermines the idiosyncrasies of West African cultures and the cultural ingenuity and changes that may have occurred in the Bahamas. An argument for preferred styles and types that reflect a newfound Afro-Caribbean (or, the case of Wilkie and Farnsworth, Afro-Bahamian) identity would more strongly take into account the processes of cultural change within the specific contexts of individual island histories in the Caribbean.

The purchasing power of enslaved laborers in the Caribbean must also examine the social and economic forces that affect laborers' access to the market and the types of goods that are available within markets. For instance, in Antigua, the largest slave

market took place on Sundays in the capital of St. John's, yet not everyone could make the journey to town weekly. Smaller markets emerged throughout the island and oftentimes peddlers would sell goods on the side of roads throughout the island, as this practice became outlawed on the cusp of emancipation.

In addition, the extent to which enslaved laborers exercised consumer *choice* is a complicated question. For instance, modern notions of consumer choice are based on the assumption that different options are available for purchase, and more so that several options within the same price range are available (Miller 2001). Such a luxury may not have been available to planters in Antigua who were dependent on imported goods from England, much less to enslaved laborers who would not have been the target audience of many imported wares. An approach to consumption, then, must strongly situate consumption within specific historical and social contexts. For instance, Howson (1995:32) argues for an examination of consumer choice in nineteenth-century Montserrat that considers how cultural meaning may be ascribed to objects because of the social relationships involved in the acquisition and use of objects. That is, the value or importance of an object might have been more closely tied to its method of manufacture, the social networks used to acquire the object, or the ways in which it was used in daily practice, as opposed to monetary worth.

Ultimately, these studies demonstrate that archaeological inquiries can have a strong purview into past consumption practices, even within the plantation context. The vitality of archaeological inquiry in this area provides an interesting departure point for examining how the consumption practices of laborers can speak to broader social issues such as identity formation, resistance, and agency within the social relations of the

plantation. This approach prioritizes the material record and recognizes that while material culture might hold varied meaning, it also influences social life through recursive meaning and in creating social relations.

3.6.1 Ceramics at Locus 5: Acquisition, Consumption, and Markets

An examination of the artifact assemblage from Green Castle Estate suggests enslaved laborers had the freedom to acquire items on their own, yet how they did so and how much choice laborers would have had in their access to consumer goods must be taken into consideration. The overwhelming number of ceramics in the Locus 5 assemblage provides a point of departure for examining how consumer power may have factored into the lives of enslaved laborers at Green Castle Estate. The ceramic assemblage consists of a variety of imported, refined earthenwares and locally-produced Afro-Antiguan wares. Both ceramic types contribute to a discussion of consumption.

A total of 27 imported ceramic ware types were identified in the Locus 5 ceramic assemblage (Figure 3.17). These wares range from English coarse earthenwares to Chinese porcelain. In addition, 8 decorative techniques were employed on imported, refined earthenwares including transfer printing, hand painting, and molded decorations (Figure 3.18). The wide range of wares coupled with a wide variety of decorative techniques employed points to a variety of ways in which enslaved laborers may have acquired these ceramics. The ceramic assemblage at Green Castle Estate demonstrates that enslaved laborers possessed and used a variety of ceramics of different styles and wares. Therefore, I suggest that enslaved laborers may have acquired these items in several ways. First, the ceramics found at Locus 5 could have been acquired through

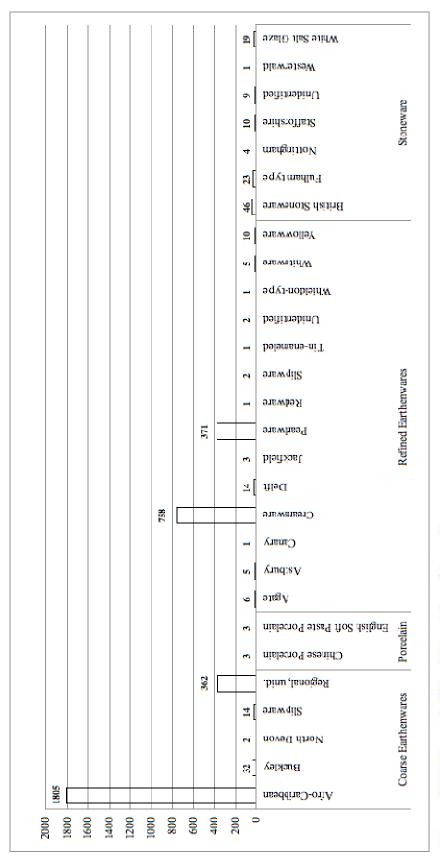


Figure 3.17 Ceramic Ware Types from Locus 5

direct purchase through exchange in various market opportunities in Antigua.

Additionally, enslaved laborers may have been given single pieces of ceramics from planters as items within sets were broken or went out of style.

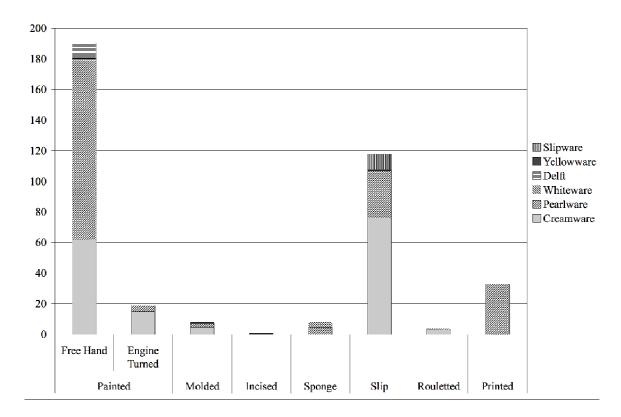


Figure 3.18: Summary of decorative techniques on imported, refined white earthenwares from Locus 5

Drawing on the interpretation that the majority of the imported ceramics at Green Castle Estate were acquired by enslaved laborers by their own accord, the question then arises as to how the assemblage can be interpreted in the framework of consumer power in Antigua in the eighteenth century. While many consumption studies rely on Miller's (1980, 1991) price indexing to interpret how costly ceramics would have been to past consumers, some researchers in the Caribbean have found that it is more effective to use Miller's index as a framework from which to divide ceramics into four general categories: plain wares, minimally decorated wares, handpainted wares, and transfer print

wares (Farnsworth 1996; Wilkie and Farnsworth 1999; 2005). Such an approach takes into account the relative pricing of ceramics during this time period and accounts for costs of importation by categorizing ceramics according to relative price indices rather than focusing on specific wares and decorative techniques.

Within the Locus 5 assemblage, the majority of decorated wares are imported, refined white earthenwares, though several sherds of stoneware and porcelain were decorated as well. When dividing the ceramic assemblage according to the relative cost indexing employed by Wilkie and Farnsworth (2005) in the Bahamas, it becomes abundantly clear that most of the imported ceramics recovered from Locus 5 fall into the categories of the least expensive ceramics (Figure 3.19). Undecorated ceramics make up 69.25% (903) of the imported ceramic assemblage. Category 2 ceramics, which include molded edge decoration, slipware, shell edge, and sponged decorations comprise 15.34% (200) of the ceramic assemblage. Category 3 ceramics, that exhibit handpainted decorations, account for only 6.67% (87) of the assemblage and Category 4 transfer prints comprise the final 2.91% (38) of the imported ceramics. As the relative cost indexing demonstrates, despite the wide variety of ceramic wares and decorative techniques on the ceramics, the majority of ceramics excavated are still inexpensive.

Several factors might contribute to this distribution of ceramics. First, the prevalence of undecorated, imported wares might speak more to the availability of these wares than to a particular preference for them among the enslaved population. Laborers who could not attend the weekly market in St. John's may have relied on peddlers who traveled to plantations throughout the island, or on a network of trade among enslaved laborers who did not invest in attempting to resell expensive wares on estates. Still, the

abundance of undecorated, plain wares might also represent a general trend to import more cheap wares to Antigua and speak to a scarcity in the Antiguan market of more expensive, highly decorated wares.

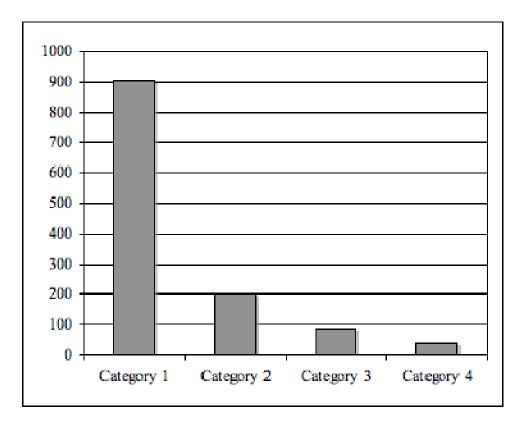


Figure 3.19: Cost indexing of imported, refined white earthenware ceramics from Locus 5.

Yet, the presence of expensive, decorated wares such as transfer printed ceramics and handpainted porcelains speaks to the high degree of purchasing power at least some members of the enslaved population possessed. These account for the most expensive category of ceramics available to people. The variety of colors and designs exhibited on these ceramics also suggests they were not merely provisioned to enslaved laborers by planters or overseers upon breaking but rather were actively purchased by laborers. For instance, though the majority of decorations are blue, the most common color of ceramic

decorations throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth century, the ceramics excavated from Locus 5 exhibit a variety of colors such as green, black, yellow, and mulberry, and also include pieces of polychrome, handpainted wares. In addition, the stylistic elements of ceramic decorations are equally varied ranging from shell edge rims, to botanical and landscape scenes, and a variety of painted bands (Figure 3.20). This evidence suggests that ceramic items were not purchased as part of a set but instead were acquired individually.

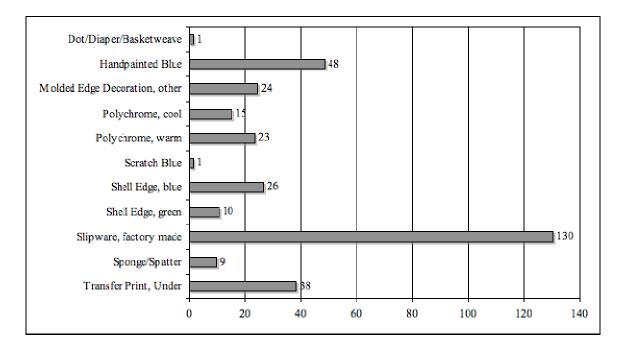


Figure 3.20: Genres of stylistic elements on Locus 5 imported, ceramics.

A discussion of consumption among the enslaved laborers at Green Castle Estate is not just limited to imported, European ceramics but also includes locally-produced wares. Afro-Antiguan wares make up an overwhelming 51.38% (1805) of the ceramic assemblage and 35.40% of the total artifact assemblage from Locus 5. Historical and ethnographic evidence points to Sea View Farm Village as the center of production of Afro-Antiguan wares in both the historical and modern periods (Handler 1964; Handler

and Hauser 2009; Petersen, et al. 1999). Yet, the ubiquity of these ceramics on historic sites throughout the island suggests that there were multiple production centers on Antigua in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. There is no evidence that suggests Afro-Antiguan wares were produced at Green Castle Estate such as evidence of clay mining, kiln sites, or the presence of any "waster" ceramics that indicate poorly fired or constructed vessels. Therefore, it is suggested that the Afro-Antiguan ceramics recovered at Green Castle Estate were acquired from intra-island trading either through markets or peddlers in Antigua.

The large presence of Afro-Antiguan wares excavated at Green Castle Estate indicates that enslaved laborers were actively choosing to purchase and use these goods over other items available on the market or being provided by the planters at Green Castle Estate. This interpretation is also corroborated by historical accounts that describe Afro-Antiguan wares as pottery that was made by enslaved laborers for their own use (Lanaghan 1844:4). Only six of the Afro-Antiguan sherds were decorated and all of these sherds were incised by hand. This follows similar trends throughout the Caribbean and the southern United States in which pots associated with peoples of African descent generally lack surface decoration, with some notable exceptions (Armstrong 1990; Ferguson 1992; Hauser and Armstrong 1999; Petersen, et al. 1999).

The prevalence of ceramics in the Locus 5 assemblage, coupled with the vast amount of historical information related to cost indexing, makes the ceramic assemblage one of the most useful datasets in examining consumption among the enslaved population at Green Castle Estate. The variations in types of ceramic wares and decorations lend

insights into where and how items were acquired by the enslaved population and what types of ceramics were preferred and actively chosen by laborers for personal use.

3.6.2 Discussion

While the discussion of the ceramic assemblage from Locus 5 lends considerable evidence to how enslaved laborers at Green Castle Estate may have exercised consumer power and choice in acquiring ceramics, the question arises as to what type of cultural meaning and salience was ascribed to such materials.

Perhaps one of the best ways to approach these issues is to examine how the artifact assemblage from Locus 5, as a whole, speaks to the processes of consumption. Ceramics dominate the artifact assemblage from Locus 5 and thus received the most attention in discussions of consumption. Yet other artifacts, such as glass tablewares and items relating to recreation and personal adornment may also have been acquired through consumption. However, these represent a considerably small proportion of the artifact assemblage from Locus 5, especially in comparison with the ceramic assemblage. Perhaps more telling than what enslaved laborers did purchase and acquire then, is what they did not.

The paucity of items of personal adornment, items relating to recreational activities, and relatively expensive items related to personal hygienic and beauty practices, such as perfume, is glaring in comparison with the large amount of ceramics purchased and used by enslaved laborers. While items relating food procurement, preparation, and consumption are more vital to survival than other items, the presence of such large quantities of these items cannot be explained by necessity alone. While historical evidence does not specifically point to the practice of food preparation and

dining as preferred communal activities among Afro-Antiguans, following emancipation, there is evidence for how Afro-Antiguans banded together to protect individuals by pooling resources for survival (Sturge and Harvey 1838:34-35). Social networks would have been present during the period of slavery as well, and it was in sharing the experiences of labor and life on plantations that strong social bonds were created.

In this light, following Howson's (1995) arguments, perhaps consumption itself is not imbued with much cultural meaning but it is rather the practices and activities that take place around and with items before and after they are purchased that creates cultural meaning. For instance, the process of acquiring purchasing power, through producing surplus provisions and goods on the plantation, and the subsequent use of items in cooking and dining within the slave community might have been much more culturally salient practices than the act of consumption itself. In addition, consumer choice among the enslaved laborers at Green Castle Estate might not rest in prioritizing specific colors or decoration types, but rather in how those items could be imbued with cultural meaning in their use. Wurst and McGuire (1999:195-196) make a similar point in arguing for the fluidity of production and consumption and emphasizing the social relations such actions create: "People produce things to consume, consume things to produce, consume things in the process of social reproduction, and produce social beings and social relationships. Thus, the issue is not what people buy, but the social relations that enable and constrain what they buy."

3.7 The Dialectics of Social Life during the Period of Slavery

In this chapter, I have argued for the ways in which enslaved laborers at Green Castle Estate were able to create lifeways that served their own benefit, despite the

coercive regime of slavery in Antigua. The relative freedom enslaved laborers were able to exercise in their daily practice through working provision grounds, having access to goods through consumption and trade, and in creating Afro-Antiguan cultural practices stands in stark contrast to the perfectly manipulated landscape and management plan Samuel Martin perpetuates on his plantation through his *Essay Upon Plantership*. How, then, do the competing interests of planters and enslaved laborers unfold in the social relations of daily practice at Green Castle Estate?

While Samuel Martin makes prescribed recommendations for landscape design and labor control at Green Castle Estate, he also provides laborers with various means through which they could exercise their own control over aspects of their lives. For instance, he allots provision grounds to enslaved laborers at the estate. In doing so, he alleviates himself of part of the responsibility of providing food for his enslaved laborers, yet this action may have had unforeseen circumstances for Samuel Martin and his enslaved laborers. Providing provision grounds for enslaved laborers gives Afro-Antiguans a degree of freedom in choosing which crops to plant, and this in turn influences additional aspects of their lives including the types of food they will eat and how they prepare it. Furthermore, access to provision grounds offered an entry point to local markets and exchange networks for enslaved laborers who would have been able to use surplus goods raised in provision grounds to trade and barter. These activities, in turn, resulted in the development of social networks with other enslaved laborers on neighboring estates and, perhaps, even further throughout the island. What becomes clear in the seemingly simple example of providing provision grounds to enslaved laborers is that such an activity presents many opportunities for social relations to

develop and change and these unforeseen consequences may have strongly contradicted with the goals of Samuel Martin and the ways in which he sought social control on his estate. This presents a strong arena for contradiction within the social relations of power at Green Castle Estate. While, on the one hand, Samuel Martin is trying to control his enslaved laborers and continually tie them to the estate he has also created a means through which enslaved laborers can create social networks and become less entangled in the power relations of the estate by gaining purchasing power outside of the confines of the estate.

It is within these contradictions of the social relations of power that agency comes to the forefront of the study of the past. While Samuel Martin may have taken actions based on his goals on the plantation, the dynamics of social life in Antigua meant that people would have taken opportunities to take advantage of the situations presented to them. Even though Samuel Martin sought to tie his laborers to the land, he may not have anticipated the degree of freedom this gave them in island-wide markets. Along a similar vein, enslaved laborers may not have recognized how planters would take advantage of the traditions of own-account provisioning during the period of slavery to create postemancipation legislation that put increased burdens on the formerly enslaved. Ultimately, it is in these interstices of motivation and outcome that social life occurs.

3.8 Conclusions

The material culture of enslaved laborers at Green Castle Estate demonstrates that, despite the restrictions imposed on them through the landscapes of labor and sugar, enslaved laborers were able to sustain lifeways that may have drawn on some West African traditions in creating new cultural meanings in Antigua. Such lifeways were

highly dependent on the social relations among members of the slave community at Green Castle Estate and on social networks throughout the island. Access to provision grounds and house gardens, provided to alleviate the amount of imported goods Samuel Martin would have to provide to his workers, were taken advantage of as venues for daily autonomy in producing goods for personal consumption and in producing surplus goods that gave enslaved laborers purchasing power in local markets. In addition, the prevalence of local markets and economic networks throughout Antigua gave enslaved laborers an opportunity to exercise their purchasing power and gain some control over the material conditions of their lives. This material culture was then imbued with meaning through the practices of daily life within the slave community.

While Mintz and Hall (1960) argue for the ways in which the ubiquity of provision grounds and local markets helped ease the transition to freedom in the post-emancipation Caribbean by creating a proto-peasantry, post-emancipation Antigua was a unique case. In the next chapter, I highlight how the shift to emancipation in Antigua was wrought with social anxiety as planters feared the degree of freedom the formerly enslaved would gain from emancipation. Whereas the proto-peasantry that Mintz and Hall (1960) describe may have been useful for helping the formerly enslaved carve new lives for themselves following emancipation on islands such as Jamaica, the landscapes of sugar would prevail in post-emancipation Antigua where the island's planters took prescribed measures to ensure the continued coercion of the laboring class and, in some cases, placed greater restrictions on people's rights following emancipation.

Chapter Four

Shifting to Emancipation: The Antigua Model

From Antigua's initial settlement through the eighteenth century, Antiguan planters and the colonial government had taken strong measures to ensure the success of sugar on the island. In addition to manipulating the landscape of Antigua in favor of large sugar plantations, planters cunningly devised incentives to continually tie enslaved laborers to plantations and maintain profitable sugar production on the island. Though the Antiguan sugar enterprise continually grew throughout the eighteenth century, with the slave population reaching its height at 37,500 enslaved people in the 1770s and sugar production soared throughout the middle of the eighteenth century, by the turn of the nineteenth century sugar was on the decline (Dyde 2000:65, Sheridan 1976).

Antiguan planters had done much to secure sugar production within Antigua, yet they still had to contend with regional and global shifts that would affect Antigua's sugar economy. On the one hand, social revolutions throughout the Atlantic impacted global trade. The American Revolution cut off trade between the North American colonies and the British West Indies, leading to an economic crisis in the Caribbean (Sheridan 1976). The Haitian Revolution and the French Revolution left France's colonies in the Caribbean vulnerable and Britain's attempt to claim the remaining French colonies failed, effectively diminishing Britain's naval power in the Caribbean (Duffy 1997).

In addition, the increasing pressures of abolitionism started to impact British policy and, with it, the nature of labor on the plantations. The issuance of a British Bill for the gradual abolition of the slave trade, further threatened the vitality of the Antiguan economy that, although faltering, was still very much dependent on sugar as its largest

commodity for trade and an enslaved labor force for its production (Dyde 2000:103). The institution of slavery was threatened with the complete abolition of the slave trade in 1807, the founding of the Anti-Slavery Society in 1823, and finally, the emancipation of all slaves in the British Empire in 1834 (Dyde 2000:103-105; 131-136).

Although sugar would still dominate the Antiguan economy until the rise of tourism in the twentieth century, emancipation marked a strong shift in the social landscape of Antigua. Once again, Antiguan planters were confronted with a huge threat to the sugar industry in Antigua. Unlike many of the British Caribbean colonies, Antigua switched to immediate emancipation on August 1, 1834, foregoing a four-year period of apprenticeship enacted by all of the other British islands, with the exception of Bermuda (Bolland 1996). In order to maintain the vitality of sugar on the island, Antiguan planters devised several strategies to keep the formerly enslaved working and living on the plantations. The measures taken demonstrate a new order of social control that builds on the commitment to sugar already embedded in the physical and social landscapes of Antiguan society.

In light of the uniqueness of both Antigua's pre- and post-emancipation society, an analysis of the social relations of freedom in Antigua presents an interesting case study for examining in what ways the *principles* of abolition were exercised in the *practice* of emancipation. While formerly enslaved laborers were liberated from the social relations of slavery, the social relations of wage labor and capital were introduced to Antigua. Antigua becomes a particularly interesting geography then to examine what freedom is for the formerly enslaved and how it is practiced. Following emancipation, the Antiguan legislature, prompted by Antiguan planters, create a series of laws to restrict labor and

social rights for the formerly enslaved. In the context of such stringent social laws that characterized the shift to freedom in Antigua, the question arises as to what extent the formerly enslaved were free in the face of the Antigua Model for emancipation. While one cannot deny the emotional role of freedom in Antigua, the continued coercion of the formerly enslaved leads to a strong question as to whether the material conditions of life changed much in the decades immediately following emancipation. In this light, the statuses of enslaved laborers versus free, wage laborers need to be deeply contextualized in Antigua's unique post-emancipation society. In examining post-emancipation Antigua, I focus on the periods just prior to emancipation, the 1830s, and the first several decades following emancipation, 1840-1870. This time frame considers the historical processes that shaped the social relations of freedom, namely legislation and court cases, and also considers the archaeological deposits at Green Castle Estate associated with free, wage laborers in the post-emancipation period.

4.1 Abolition versus Emancipation: A Philosophical and Social Problem

Whereas abolition was a philosophical issue regarding the rights of humans, emancipation was a social problem involving the implementation of a society in which everyone was afforded the same rights. Abolition, then, became an issue with which few could disagree. As revolutions throughout the Atlantic espoused Enlightenment principles of individuals' freedoms and rights, white Europeans could no longer support claims for slavery that argued for the inferiority of African peoples based on intelligence, religion, or behavior. Emancipation posed a severe social problem, though. Thousands of formerly enslaved would enter society as free citizens and theoretically, should have been afforded the same rights as any individual within that society. Yet, nineteenth-

century British society was decidedly unequal and the debates surrounding abolition and emancipation soon turned to ones that argued for how social inequality could persist in a society in which its citizens were politically equal.

4.1.1 Abolitionism and the Rhetoric of Freedom

During the late eighteenth century, abolitionist sentiment began to take root in British society. Drawing on the spirit of the revolutions that shook the Atlantic World in the late eighteenth century, including the American War of Independence, the French Revolution, and the Haitian Revolution, British citizens began to reevaluate what it was that made them "free" (Brown 2006; Davis 2006; Drescher 2009; Geggus 1997; Holt 1992). In many cases they turned to philosophers of the time, perhaps most notably John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty*. Yet, one of the ways that English citizens could identify their own freedom was in comparison with the enslaved laborers of Britain's West Indian colonies. Thus, in many ways, an identity of British freedom developed around the status of not being enslaved.

As abolitionism began to take hold in England, though, arguments against slavery soon focused on the horrors of slavery and the Middle Passage, and appealed to a sense of shared humanity with enslaved laborers in gaining support for abolition of the Slave Trade and, eventually, of slavery throughout the empire. In addition to appealing to the humanity of enslaved laborers, abolitionist rhetoric drew heavily on religious philosophy and likened enslavement to acts of murder (Merrill 1945:385). Soon, abolitionism, alongside amelioration, became part of a Christian initiative to help elevate the masses of

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¹⁰ While much research focuses on abolitionism as a distinctly late eighteenth-century phenomenon, and distinguishes it from the "antislavery" rhetoric of the seventeenth century, Donoghue (2010) makes a strong case for reconsidering seventeenth century "antislavery" movements as foundational for the abolitionist movements of the eighteenth century. Here, though, I largely focus on the rhetoric of abolitionism in the late eighteenth century.

enslaved laborers through education and conversion to Christianity. While missionary groups had been active among enslaved populations in the Caribbean throughout the eighteenth century, a new fervor for education was seen as a way to prove the humanity of enslaved laborers, and a new rhetoric of paternalism developed in which it became a Christian duty to help improve the lives of enslaved laborers (Blouet 1990).

Despite the moral arguments abolitionists often used against slavery, they always had to contend with the economic interests of planters. Whereas abolitionists argued on moral grounds, planters argued on economic grounds and the economic evidence in favor of slavery often outweighed the moral evidence against slavery (Merrill 1945:389). Planters argued that the abolition of slavery would ruin the sugar industry because planters would not be able to afford to hire wage laborers and maintain profits.

Interestingly, the economic argument would soon switch to one that favored abolition rather than sustaining the institution of slavery. In *The Wealth of Nations*, Adam Smith (2001 [1776]) argues against slavery as an archaic system that hindered profits. Along a similar vein, slavery became viewed as an institution that threatened capitalist development and, with it, human progress (Davis 1984). Many historians argue that the success of abolitionism is only due to the economic decline of sugar plantations in the Caribbean and an increased desire of West Indian planters to relieve themselves of the responsibility of caring for their slave populations (Fogel and Engerman 1989; Ryden 2001; Williams 1944). Indeed, Antiguan planters themselves made arguments for wage labor, arguing it was cheaper than slave labor (Sturge and Harvey 1838:20).

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¹¹ Seymour Drescher's 1977 *Econocide: British Slavery in the Era of Abolition* and 1987 *Capitalism and Antislavery: British Mobilization in Comparative Perspective* argue against William's (1944) model by suggesting that the abolition of slavery occurred when sugar profitability was at its height in the British Caribbean. Though Drescher (1977; 1987) demonstrates the sustained profitability of sugar at the turn of

Amidst the debates around abolition, the question of freedom comes to the forefront of philosophical discussion. Whereas Enlightenment principles of freedom, individualism, and property are emphasized in the late eighteenth-century Atlantic revolutions, even within the philosophical debates surrounding British abolitionism, these ideas are murky at best. British citizens defined their own freedom in opposition to chattel slavery and, as economic arguments began to be introduced into abolitionist debates, it becomes clear that the freedom and interests of a specific group of people, namely wealthy planters, are more important in deciding the fate of enslaved laborers than any question of their individual freedoms.

These debates begin to accentuate the *practical* problem of emancipation. While abolition could be argued purely on moral terms, how emancipation would be enacted became a very real problem for Caribbean planters. The arguments on abolition shed some interesting light as to what practical issues with emancipation would take priority in deciding policies.

4.1.2 Creating a Free Society: The Practice of Emancipation

Whereas abolition could be largely viewed as a moral, philosophical problem, the problem of emancipation, that is creating a free society, was a practical issue. A distinctly unequal society reliant on a system of slavery would, theoretically, be shattered and become a society in which all individuals shared basic freedoms. Yet, as the debates surrounding abolition demonstrate, the interests of the wealthy were given priority in helping to determine whether to abolish slavery and what it meant to be free was largely based on not being enslaved.

the nineteenth century, he does not adequately consider how capitalism created new social relations of labor that reinvigorated the sugar market and served planters' interests in sustaining that economy throughout the nineteenth century.

Free society offered political rights to the formerly enslaved that had not been granted to them before. It granted people the right to own property, including land, and the freedom to choose employers and to sell their labor power of their own accord.

British society in the nineteenth century, though, was vastly unequal and this is largely due to the ways in which the social relations of capital created hugely disparate economic inequality that infringed on many of the political freedoms individuals were supposedly granted. For instance, while free society granted people the right to own land, as capitalism dissolved the social relations between serfs and lords; economically, capitalism in many ways prohibited land ownership because people were dependent on selling their labor power for wages that could barely sustain them.

This contradiction between the political rights of freedom and the economic inequality capitalist relations created comes to the forefront of understanding how the political ideologies and economic realities of freedom took shape in nineteenth-century societies. "Prefigured in Britain's experience, too, was the difficulty of maintaining a distinction between political equality and the equality implied in the freedom to contract one's labor. The recognition of the universality of certain traits in human nature was not intended to invite social pretensions from the lower orders. The sameness of human striving did not imply equality of conditions among all people." (Holt 1992:38). Thus, freedom for the formerly enslaved was the freedom to enter into labor contracts. "Free" society throughout the British colonies did not guarantee the formerly enslaved the same political rights as white colonists nor did it assume an improvement in living conditions or an increase in wealth among the formerly enslaved. Indeed, many of the institutions

that would develop to help ease the transition to freedom throughout the Caribbean sought to quell the advancement of the formerly enslaved.

One of the most anticipated fears of the shift to emancipation was idleness and unrest among the formerly enslaved. At its heart, emancipation was a labor issue (Holt 1992:33-34). Policymakers in Britain feared that the newly freed workers throughout the British colonies would resort to idleness. Tied to this concern was the idea that low population densities would increase the propensity of idleness because people would not be coerced into working if they could squat and provision themselves on free land (Holt 1992:45). In order to avoid these dangers, colonial policymakers devised a system in which the formerly enslaved would be trained to be motivated as free laborers, that is, the apprenticeship system (Holt 1992:45). The apprenticeship system maintained that laborers would continue to work for their masters for customary allowances of food, clothing, and shelter, yet a portion of the workers' weeks would be allotted for their own use (Holt 1992:49). During this free time, though, laborers were expected to work on plantations, either their own or another, for a wage and this system would be enforced by a series of magistrates (Holt 1992:49). In transitioning to freedom, then, the formerly enslaved would be trained to live as free workers, motivated by the earning of a wage.

In large part, the apprenticeship system was designed in response to the social situations of Jamaica, though it was implemented throughout the entire British Caribbean, with the exceptions of Antigua and Bermuda. Jamaica, as the largest and most profitable sugar-producing island in the British Caribbean became a strong focus for guiding colonial policy. An 1831 slave revolt in Jamaica, in which enslaved laborers attempted to drive out white planters so they could harvest the sugar crop for their own profit,

demonstrated a new facet of the enslaved labor force that had previously been ignored (Holt 1992:13-17). The 1831 "Baptist War" in Jamaica contrasted from 18th-century revolts in that it was largely non-violent and demonstrated the level of education, organization, and camaraderie that was at work within the enslaved community. Colonial policymakers realized that "the unique character of the 1831 revolt seemed to prove that the cultural advancement of slaves, their access to information, and the continued agitation of the slavery issue in Britain and the colonies guaranteed that another, possibly more successful revolt would occur, and soon" (Holt 1992:18). Immediate emancipation, coupled with the apprenticeship system, would be the only effective means of maintaining profitable sugar operations throughout the British Caribbean.

As emancipation loomed in Antigua, Antiguan planters took strong measures to ensure that, despite the rhetoric of freedom, Antiguan society would remain decidedly unequal. Shunning the apprenticeship system, Antiguan planters denied Afro-Antiguans many of the rights that the newly acquired freedom should have afforded them. While, in large part, emancipation became a policy issue in the aftermath of the 1831 Jamaican revolt, the Amelioration Acts of 1823 prompted a series of social reform that caused colonial government to reevaluate the social relationships of power leading up to emancipation.

4.2 The Shift to Freedom: Antigua in the Early Nineteenth Century

As it became obvious that the period of slavery in the British Empire was coming to an end, the individual colonies of the British Caribbean were wrought with the task of trying to prepare for emancipation. Though the British government had taken some measures to attempt to ease the transition to emancipation, the particular nuances of each

Caribbean colony allowed for colonists to create their own social programs to aid in the transition to freedom and for legislatures to create laws as they saw fit. Antigua was no exception and, despite some social and educational programs sponsored by various religious groups, the Antiguan legislature took extreme measures to ensure the social relations of slavery would continue following emancipation. The laws of the colony in the years just prior to emancipation reflect the various anxieties Antiguan planters and legislators had in facing the shift to emancipation. These laws provide interesting insights into how Antiguan planters and lawmakers tried to manipulate Antiguan society through continued coercion of the formerly enslaved population in their pursuit to maintain the profitability of sugar on the island.

4.2.1 Lawmaking in Antigua on the Cusp of Emancipation

Subtle changes to the laws of Antigua begin a decade prior to emancipation and seek to constrict the few liberties enslaved laborers had during the time of slavery. For instance, a law entitled, "An Act for More Effectively Preventing the Profanation of the Lord's Day," passed on May 21, 1824, does not seek to ensure religious practice among Antiguans, despite its title (Antigua and Barbuda National Archives, St. John's, Antigua [ABNA], The Laws of Antigua [LA]). Instead, the law is a direct assault on the "slave markets" held throughout the island, the largest being held in the capital of St. John's, that were traditionally held on Sundays, the only day off for enslaved laborers on the island. The law states:

Whereas the practice of exposing goods, wares, and merchandise for sale in stores, warehouses, and shops upon the Lord's Day is not only scandalous in itself and irreverent to Almighty God, but cannot fail in a political point of view to prove extremely injurious to the welfare of the inhabitants at large by corrupting the morals of the lower orders...[ABNA, LA].

Here, the legislators have made no pretense in attempting to conceal the true purpose of the law being passed. Instead, the law immediately addresses the problem of slave markets, argues for the religious implications of allowing such practices to continue and also attempts to make a humanitarian appeal in arguing that the law seeks to protect the morality of enslaved laborers by ensuring they are properly observing the Sabbath [ABNA, LA].

In addition, the law also points to petitions from Antiguan planters as encouraging the passing of the law. It states:

a large portion of the inhabitants have lately very laudably marked and recorded their reprobation of this practice by a petition to the House of Assembly very properly detailing the evils which are likely to arise from it, and praying that an Act may be passed for inflicting such very penalties upon effects as may have the desired effect of putting a more exemplary and decided prohibition to it, and it is but *just to the well-disposed that their interests should be protected against any attempts that may be made by the more menacing and avarious to undermine them* [ABNA, LA; emphasis added].

This particular law makes it abundantly clear that in the face of emancipation, the Antiguan legislature took extreme measures to ensure the interests of Antiguan planters. Seeking to put an end to Sunday markets, Antiguan planters were attempting measures to reduce intra-island trade among enslaved laborers, a practice that, if successful, would no doubt also inhibit laborer movement between plantations and disrupt social relations among the enslaved community. In addition, restricting the slave markets increases laborer dependence on the planters to provide them with goods necessary for survival and also restricts people's ability to earn money, continually keeping them impoverished and in subordination to planters.

While the initial 1824 law would seem to end the prospect of slave markets, it must not have been entirely effective as, in 1831, an additional law was passed to cease Sunday markets. On February 18, 1831, "An Act for More Effectively Enforcing a Due Observance of the Lord's Day," was passed and it prohibited all Sunday markets (ABNA, LA). The new law is more specific as to what constitutes an offense and it also outlines specific punishments for offenders. The law states:

all Sunday markets shall absolutely cease and be hereby further declared unlawful, and that no persons whosoever shall on that day be permitted to show forth or expose or offer for sale in any of the markets, roads, streets, lanes, wharves, or any other places either in the towns of this Island or in any part thereof, or in the Islands adjacent and thereto belonging, any articles of any description whatsoever...[ABNA, LA].

Punishments for those caught selling goods on Sundays were harsh and included forfeiture of goods, fines of twenty shillings, and imprisonment for thirty days for people who could not pay the fine (ABNA, LA). The law also stipulates that individuals who are caught purchasing items at illegal Sunday markets are subject to the same penalties.

Not surprisingly, as Antiguan society moved closer to emancipation, more legislation was passed to continually restrict the rights of enslaved laborers in anticipation of social problems Antiguan planters expected following emancipation. One of the most important issues was the allocation of wages and how workers' rights would apply to the formerly enslaved.

"An Act for Enabling Labourers, Artificers, and Servants to Recover by Summary Process their Wages from their Employers" was passed less than two months before emancipation, on June 21, 1834 (ABNA, LA). This Act replaced an older act from 1685 and cites "the change of circumstances on this Island" as rendering the old act inadequate

in dealing with the impending emancipation of enslaved laborers and the vast changes to the labor force this shift would cause (ABNA, LA). The law stipulates that a justice of the peace is to hear cases of missed wages and make judgment on these cases as long as a complaint is filed within thirty days of having missed wages and the wages do not exceed five pounds (ABNA, LA). Laborers could only appeal to justices of the peace in the capital of St. John's, though, making it nearly impossible for workers to file complaints without missing at least one day's wage.

In addition to laws concerning laborers' rights, the Antiguan legislature also passed laws concerning social conduct on the cusp of emancipation. "An Act for the Punishment of Idle and Disorderly Persons, Rogues, and Vagabonds, Incorrigible Rogues, or other Vagrants in this Island," passed on July 5, 1834, stipulates that any person on the island who is able to work must work, regardless of whether that person is willing (ABNA, LA). People who are idle, that is, "every common prostitute wandering in the public streets or public highways or in any place of public resort, and behaving in a riotous and indecent manner, and every person wandering abroad, or placing himself or herself in any public place, street, highway, court, or passage to beg or gather alms, or causing or procuring or encouraging any child or children so to do," are to be arrested and given up to one month of hard labor in the jail (ABNA, LA). Furthermore, idleness did not have to be witnessed by a justice of the peace, but rather an accusation of idleness from a single witness would be enough to sentence a person to jail.

As these laws demonstrate, the shift to emancipation was not just a shift in the type of labor force being used in Antigua, but perhaps more so it marked a shift in the type of society Antigua would have. Antiguan planters clearly saw how emancipation

would affect the control they had over the enslaved population and sought to create measures to maintain the social order that existed under slavery. To do so, they not only passed labor laws to maintain control over the soon to be formerly enslaved as a labor force but, perhaps more importantly for the planters, also sought to restrict the social rights of the formerly enslaved. In doing so, they restricted freedoms of movement among the formerly enslaved and ensured they would continue to work on sugar estates.

At the same time that Antiguan planters were seeking further means to coerce the enslaved population after emancipation, enslaved laborers were seeking education as a means to safeguard their rights in Antiguan society. Enslaved laborers saw the value in literacy and education as it allowed them to better understand and protect their rights and gave them access to property ownership and other legal rights that were unavailable without a Christian education. Yet, as Antiguan legislators continually restricted the rights of enslaved laborers, and enacted laws to continue to do so after emancipation, the formerly enslaved were given very few rights following emancipation and the incredible ability of Antiguan planters to maintain the social relations of slavery following emancipation led to the lauding of the "Antigua Model" from the British government and attempts at propagating the model throughout the British Caribbean (Bolland 1996; 1999).

4.2.2 The Role of Education

In the early nineteenth century, the education of enslaved laborers became a source of great concern for Antiguans. On the one hand, abolitionists and missionaries argued that education would help ease the transition to a free society by creating a better

citizenship of formerly enslaved laborers. Indeed, one traveler to Antigua expresses this sentiment in 1825:

It cannot be urged too often or too strongly that the instruction of the young is the great object which should engage the attention of all well-wishers to the negro population; towards this deep and prolific centre all the forces of philanthropy ought to converge; for *here* that may be done safely and certainly which at another time and under other circumstances will be always attended with some danger and most commonly with no success. *Schools for the children of slaves are the first and chief step towards amelioration of conditions and morals in every class of people in the West Indies* [Murray 1826:259-260; emphasis in original].

Yet, planters argued education would only lead to increased subversion and revolt from enslaved laborers. Still, many missionary groups throughout the British Caribbean educated enslaved laborers through mission-supported schools. Such endeavors won support from a few paternalistic planters who thought it was their duty to Christianize and educate the enslaved population.

In Antigua, Moravians and Methodists had been particularly active in education in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Blouet 1990:630). By 1824, British government officials and abolitionists were convinced uneducated, enslaved laborers would be a threat to social stability following emancipation and the Church of England created two bishoprics in the West Indies specifically to oversee the educational initiative in the region (Blouet 1990:629-630). The Church of England opened a boys' day school and a separate girls' day school in the Parish of St. John's where enslaved children were taught reading, writing, and arithmetic along with practical skills such as sewing and straw hat-making (Blouet 1990:630-631).

Sunday schools were also very common in Antigua, as they did not conflict with the work schedules of enslaved laborers. By 1830 there were at least fourteen Sunday schools in Antigua including five Anglican schools, five Methodist schools, and four Moravian schools (Blouet 1990:631). In addition to Sunday schools, evening and noon schools were also common in Antigua and enslaved laborers would continue their education on estates, usually being taught by a fellow laborer (Blouet 1990:631). While planters were not obliged to allow schooling to be conducted on the plantation, some planters were proactive in allowing education among the enslaved laborers and would open schools on their estates or allow missionaries to visit estates for teaching. Notably, a day school for enslaved children was opened at Green Castle Estate (Blouet 1990:632).

Amidst the surge in the availability of education for enslaved laborers, the question arises as to how people reacted to education. Many enslaved laborers were eager to attend school, especially adults. This has been attributed to a desire to gain literacy, as many enslaved children became literate, and a desire to learn about their rights as enslaved laborers (Blouet 1990:635). For instance, many enslaved laborers feared Britain would grant them freedom but planters on the island would withhold their rights (Blouet 1990:635). A desire to keep abreast of the political changes in Antiguan society provided a strong incentive to be educated for enslaved people. In addition, enslaved laborers recognized the link between education and rights, even among free citizens. The right to give evidence in court, for instance, was dependent on having a Christian education (Blouet 1990:635). Education was also seen as necessary for property ownership (Blouet 1990:635).

Similar educational efforts were also underway throughout the British Caribbean. In large part, this movement was tied to the Amelioration Acts of 1823 (Blouet 1985; 1990). Bishoprics intended solely to oversee the education of the enslaved were established in Jamaica and Barbados (Blouet 1985). By 1830, there were days schools for enslaved children on nearly every British Caribbean island. The curriculum of these schools was modeled on the British National System which paced an emphasis on morals and religious education alongside the skills of reading, writing, and arithmetic (Blouet 1985:129). In large part, throughout the British Caribbean, Sunday Schools were more popular than day schools and preferred by planters. They did not interfere with the work schedules of enslaved laborers and, in some cases, Sunday Schools focused on oral education, a practice favored by planters who were in opposition to enslaved laborers learning skills such as reading or writing (Blouet 1985:129-130).

What becomes clear in the decades prior to emancipation is that the enslaved population embraced education in the West Indies. Doing so gave them a greater sense of control over their lives, as they were more easily able to keep abreast of the politics of the time and understand and protect their rights. In the face of these changes, Antiguan planters saw their control over the enslaved population waning. In order to regain that control, planters would take advantage of the Antiguan legislature to create laws to continually subjugate the enslaved population despite the shift to emancipation.

4.3 Post-Emancipation Antigua: "The Antigua Model"

On the cusp of emancipation, as enslaved Afro-Antiguans were preparing for the shift to freedom with education and learning, Antiguan planters were able to enact legislation to further restrict the rights of laborers by prohibiting Sunday markets,

limiting how laborers could appeal for missed wages, and by creating strict laws relating to social conduct. These measures were passed to help ensure that the formerly enslaved would continue to work on sugar plantations following emancipation.

Indeed, the continued success of the sugar enterprise on the island has been attributed to Antigua's unique system of strong coercion immediately following emancipation (Bolland 1996; 1999). While many islands in the British Caribbean used the system of apprenticeship following emancipation in 1834, in which formerly enslaved laborers would still remain on sugar plantations as "apprentices" to ease the transition to freedom, Antiguan planters rejected the apprentice system and voted for immediate emancipation (Bolland 1996:109). Antiguan planters argued immediate emancipation was in their best interests, yet sought to keep this quiet, because they feared the British government would not compensate them for their enslaved laborers:

One of them gave us some interesting information respecting the passing of the Abolition Bill, by the local legislature. It appears that the proprietors of Antigua deserve less credit than they claim for this beneficent measure. It was first proposed at a meeting of proprietors, by a planter, who produced statements to show, that under a free system he would have to pay wages to one third only of the negroes whom he should be required to support as apprentices; and that he could work his estates equally well by free labour, at a less expense. The proposition excited some commotion at first. The cry was raised that he was betraying the secrets of the planters, and that if this came to the ears of government, they would get no compensation. A persuasion, however, of the superiority of the free system gained ground in future discussions, and now the most bigoted adherents of slavery acknowledge that free labour is best and cheapest [Sturge and Harvey 1838:20].

Though Antiguan planters advocated immediate emancipation, they bound laborers to estates through strict labor contracts. The Antiguan legislature developed a series of contracts that legally bound laborers to estates and specific periods of labor (Bolland

1996:109). The contracts did not need to be written, but could be oral as long as two witnesses were present. Laborers also suffered a loss of wages for missing work, even with a viable excuse, and repeated absences could result in imprisonment for up to three months with hard labor.

Antigua is also credited with introducing the wage/rent system in the British Caribbean in which planters served as both employers and landlords as formerly enslaved individuals continued to live in cabins inhabited during slavery and work provision grounds on estates (Bolland 1996:109). Thus, laborers were expected to comply with planter demands in several areas as noncompliance could result in eviction and imprisonment.

The Antiguan legislation was considered so harsh that colonial overseers in London overruled the Antiguan legislation and enacted a series of less harsh (though only slightly) labor laws (Bolland 1996:109). Under these acts oral labor contracts were only valid for a year and could be terminable at a month's notice (Bolland 1996:109). In addition, under these changes, the existence of a tenement was eligible as legal evidence of the existence of a tenancy contract between the laborer and his landlord (Bolland 1996:109). Limits were set on the length of workdays, too, with laborers working nine hours a day for a wage of nine pence a day, with one day off every week or two (Bolland 1996:109). Though these new acts were an improvement of labor and living conditions over those passed by the Antiguan colonial legislature, wage laborers were still very impoverished under this system and it has been argued that the *material* conditions of life for the formerly enslaved would not have changed much immediately following emancipation (Bolland 1996:109).

4.3.1 Lawmaking in Post-Emancipation Antigua

Indeed, it becomes clear that there are continued struggles over laborer rights and the social relations between planters and laborers in the decades following emancipation. Just a year after emancipation, on August 6, 1835, "An Act for the better adjusting and more easy Recovery of the Wages of Servants in Husbandry, and of Artificers, Handicraftsmen, and other Labourers employed upon Estates, and for the better Regulation of such Servants, Artificers, Handicraftsmen, and other Labourers" was passed (ABNA, LA). This law superceded the 1834 law and created more provisions for laborers, namely the ability to appeal to Justices of the Peace throughout the island and not just in the capital of St. John's. However, the law also decrees that employers are able to file complaints about laborers "concerning any midsdemeanor, miscarriage, or ill-behaviour" (ABNA, LA). Additionally, laborers found guilty of any of these offenses were subject to up to a month of jail time with hard labor.

While the 1835 Act purports to provide easier means for laborers to appeal for missed wages, it also clearly outlines the circumstances in which laborers forfeit their right to a wage. The Act stipulates,

[Any laborer] who shall absent himself or herself from the service of his or her master, mistress, or employer without a reasonable excuse, or who shall willfully neglect or refuse to perform his or her ordinary duty or allotted work, or who shall damage the property of his or her master, mistress, or employer by any unlawful act or culpable neglect, or endanger the same by a careless or improper use of fire, or who shall ill-use any cattle or other live stock that shall be intrusted to his or her care, shall be considered to be guilty of a misdemeanor within the intent and meaning of this Act [ABNA, LA].

Here, the law makes it clear that the rights of employers are valued much more than those of laborers. The many reasons for which an employer can deny a laborer wages are

outlined very clearly. On the other hand, the rights of workers are not clearly defined and even though the Act stipulates that laborers are able to appeal for lost wages, it only mandates that the Justice of the Peace hear and determine all "complaints, differences, and disputes" (ABNA, LA). It appears the law has created many instances in which an employer has the right to deny a worker wages but none in which a laborer could claim lost wages.

This Act only applied to laborers on estates. Therefore, less than a month later, on August 24, 1835, an additional Act by the same name was passed to include all laborers on the island, not just those on sugar estates (ABNA, LA). Further clarification of worker's rights, or lack thereof, is made in "An Act for Better Regulating Menial Servants" passed on September 14, 1835 (ABNA, LA). It stipulates menial servants be grouped under "general hiring" and therefore be subject to the same laws as laborers in the two previous acts.

Interestingly, children also become a labor force to exploit following emancipation. In the period of slavery, the children of enslaved laborers would themselves automatically be enslaved and owned by the planter who owned the child's mother. Yet, following emancipation, children were free to work outside of estates and therefore apprenticeship laws were created in Antigua to regulate children to apprenticeships. While many children conducted agricultural labor alongside their parents, apprenticeship offered children another avenue of employment that would not have been available during the period of slavery. It also provided an opportunity for guardians and churchwardens to relieve themselves of the responsibility of taking care of orphans and other children. On July 15, 1843, "An Act to authorise the binding of

Apprentices, and to regulate Apprenticeships within this Island" was passed, creating a law:

to authorise and empower parents, reputed parents, guardians, and others to bind infants under the wage of twenty-one years as apprentices to any crafts, trades, or occupations, and also to permit and suffer all persons engaged in such crafts, trades and occupations to receive and take such infants as apprentices, and to establish certain rules and regulations for the good ordering of all matters appertaining thereto [ABNA, LA].

The law stipulates that apprentices in Antigua would follow apprenticeship laws created in England that mandate children be at least ten years of age before entering an apprenticeship and protects apprentices from misuse by their masters, yet also allows masters to charge apprentices with misbehavior and to extend the period of servitude if apprentices miss periods of their indenture (ABNA, LA).

The implementation of an apprentice law in the decades following emancipation demonstrates the need to provide for a growing class of free laborers. The children of free, wage laborers were no longer bound to work on sugar estates but, in some cases, had the option of becoming apprentices and learning a trade. While many of these trades still served the production of sugar in Antigua, the island society was moving towards one in which the labor force was given more freedom of movement.

In the decades following emancipation, Antiguan laws did not solely focus on the issues surrounding labor specifically, but, like the decades prior to emancipation, also addressed issues of social behavior and control. On April 24, 1858, "An Act to extend the Provisions of an Act, intituled 'An Act for the Punishment of Idle and Disorderly Persons, Rogues, and Vagabonds, incorrigible Rogues, or other Vagrants in this Island" was passed (ABNA, LA). As the title suggests, the law expands on the July 1834 law

that forced people to labor and prohibited idle behavior. Whereas the 1834 law forbade idleness in that people were deemed idle if they were found begging for alms, the new law expands the legal definition of idleness to include any kind of loitering. The law states:

every person being able to maintain himself or herself by work and found idling in the public streets, highways, or other public places, and having no reasonable excuse or cause for being so found idling, and all persons found remaining in the public streets, highways, or other public places without good and sufficient cause, or congregating therein after being warned by an peace officer to move on or disperse, and all persons sitting in any public street other than the usual and customary market-place for the purpose of vending any article whatsoever, shall be deemed and taken to be idle and disorderly persons within the intent and meaning of the said recited Act [ABNA, LA].

The Act also convicted people for exposing themselves in public and carrying guns or other offensive weapons, including a cutlass, a tool common in agricultural labor (ABNA, LA). The law went further to prohibit public dancing without a license and gives peace officers the right to enter households in which there is dancing or other amusement, such as gaming (ABNA, LA). Finally, the Act made keeping a "disorderly house to the nuisance of those in its vicinity," a crime. Most of these crimes were punishable with fines; however, inability to pay fines subjected an individual for up to three months in jail.

The 1858 Act greatly expands on the 1834 Act in prohibiting the social freedoms of people in Antigua. Whereas the 1834 law appeared to prohibit idleness as a means to

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¹² Though, the term "disorderly house" tends to connote houses of prostitution or brothels in the United States, in the Antiguan legislation of this time period, the phrase is probably used in light of the Disorderly Houses Act of 1751 in which a "disorderly house" refers to one in which the general public peace is disturbed by the activities that go on within the house. A special emphasis was placed on gaming and betting as being indicative of "disorderly houses" as well as general misconduct, but no specific references to prostitution are made.

ensure the availability of a labor force for Antiguan planters, the 1858 law directly assaults the social lives of Antiguans and prohibits many activities. It seeks to control how and when people congregate by prohibiting dancing and gaming in households without a special license. It also directly influences the daily lives of people by extending the power of the law to the household. The stipulation that a "disorderly house" was against the law affects how people live in their own households and the law does not specify what specifically constitutes a "disorderly house." Therefore, it gives almost complete power to colonial authorities to regulate how people live, including what types of activities are appropriate within the household, and how people conduct themselves, even within their own home.

As is evident, the use of legislation to coerce the Afro-Antiguan population occurs throughout the decades following emancipation. It is clear that Antiguan planters and the Antiguan legislature worked to continue a social system of control over not just the methods of labor, but also and more strikingly the lives of the formerly enslaved.

While an examination of the legislation passed in the decades just prior to and following emancipation can give a glimpse into how Antiguan planters sought to manipulate social relations in the period of emancipation, several questions arise. First, were such laws passed in anticipation of social problems or in response to them? That is, were the social situations the laws speak of actually reflective of the behavior of Afro-Antiguans, or were they merely situations white planters wished to avoid or assumed people would engage in based on racial sentiments? One of the datasets that might point to addressing these issues is the court record. While court cases reflect the biases of white Antiguans in prosecuting Afro-Antiguans, they also point to the laws and situations

white Antiguans prioritized and can lend insights into what their priorities were in charging people with crimes. It also gives some insights into the activities of Afro-Antiguans as they lived and worked in the newly freed society and resisted the impositions of the Antiguan legislature.

4.3.2 Court Cases in Post-Emancipation Antigua

Charges brought before the Antiguan Court give a glimpse into the types of offenses Antiguans were committing, and also point to the types of offenses the Antiguan justice system prioritized by charging people and making rulings in court. Following emancipation, a large number of court cases were brought before the Antiguan Court, yet does not necessarily suggest a rise in social unrest.

In the lobby he was introduced to the Chief Justice of the island, who said, in the course of a few minutes' conversation, that it was not to be supposed that crime had really increased because there were now heavy calendars. Cases came before the magistrate which were formerly decided by the masters. The peaceable and orderly conduct of the people had exceeded his anticipations; and there was no one he believed, who would deny, that the general result of Emancipation had more than equaled his expectations [Sturge and Harvey 1838:37].

The shift to emancipation, then, would seemingly ensure the rights of the formerly enslaved by requiring that disputes be arbitrated in a court of law as opposed to under the judgment of planters. Yet, the types of cases that were brought to the Antiguan courts following emancipation strongly suggest that white planters who now served as employers and landlords took advantage of the judicial system in charging Afro-Antiguans for crimes.

Court cases from 1839 through 1846 are documented in the Antigua and Barbuda National Archives (ABNA, Court Records 1839-1846 [CR]). No court cases from 1842

were listed and cases heard in 1833 and 1834 were recorded together. Four hundred sixty-nine cases were heard over the seven-year period and 92 individual charges were made against people in these cases. The cases have been divided into topical categories in order to analyze the types of crimes being tried in court and whether these relate to issues of labor, domestic life, social activities, or other social problems.

The majority of cases (196) are concerned with social and romantic relationships contingent on the definition of marriage (Table 4.1). For instance, 69 cases of concubinage were brought before the court with over half of these cases (39) being charged in 1839 (ABNA, CR). In all cases, women were charged with concubinage and it is unclear what the specific nature of concubinage is in each case. Though charges of concubinage might suggest these women were in relationships with white planters, in

Charge	1839	1840	1841	1843/44	1845	1846	Total
Adultery	3	1	5	2	3	11	25
Adultery and Concubinage	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Brawls with Concubinage	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Concubinage	37	5	10	1	3	13	69
Fornication	4	7	6	0	1	23	41
Fornication and Illegitimate	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Child							
Fornication and Living	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
together							
Fornication and Pregnancy	0	0	7	3	2	35	47
Non-proven Concubinage	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Pregnancy	0	0	0	0	0	6	6
Privy to Pregnancy of her	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Daughter							
Attempt at Violent	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Seduction							
Attempt to Seduce a	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Woman from Fidelity							
Total	44	13	29	9	10	91	196

Table 4.1 Court cases relating to social and romantic relationships

some cases, women may have been in romantic relationships with Afro-Antiguans of a higher social status such as plantation overseers or managers. One case of non-proven concubinage was brought before the court in 1839. Other charges relating to social and romantic relationships include charges of adultery, fornication, pregnancy out of wedlock, and one woman was charged with being "privy to the pregnancy of her daughter," and presumably trying to protect her daughter by keeping the pregnancy a secret (ABNA, CR). In addition to these charges, there are two cases relating to seduction, including a man being charged with violent seduction and a man charged with attempting "to seduce a woman from fidelity" (ABNA, CR).

These court cases point to a specific interest in maintaining a social order in which there are strict social rules about whom it is appropriate to enter into a relationship with and how that relationship is to be conducted. As many Afro-Antiguan women were charged with concubinage and adultery, it becomes clear that the Antigua legislature frowned on mixed-race relationships. While this, in large part, is due to racist sentiment, at least one account argues that immoral whites threatened the advancement of Afro-Antiguans. While visiting a school for Afro-Antiguan girls following emancipation, travelers were alerted to the fate of three of the most promising students. "Dreadful evils are occasioned to some of these scholars, from the lax morals of *a part* of the white inhabitants of the colony. Within the last three months, three girls have left the school in consequence of having formed improper connexions with white men" (Sturge and Harvey 1838:17-18; emphasis in original). Inappropriate relationships between races in Antigua, then, disrupted the social order of society following emancipation.

In addition to preventing mixed race relationships, the Antiguan legislature also sought to prohibit relationships between members of different social classes by punishing concubinage. As Antiguan society slowly moved towards one that was dependent on several social classes, and not just the distinction between planter and enslaved laborer, the social etiquette surrounding the mingling of different social classes became more complicated. If the Antiguan legislature could regulate social and romantic relationships, then it could attempt to shape society and keep different social groups distinct from one another and limit upward mobility within society.

One hundred two cases were heard in court relating to social problems, with 32 individual charges being brought to the court (ABNA, CR; Table 4.2). These charges include bad language, inappropriate behavior in church, and making mischief. Many of the charges address behaviors that are prohibited in the 1858 Act regarding Social Conduct and Idling but are not specifically outlined in the 1834 Act (ABNA, LA). Therefore, it might be likely that the 1858 Act reflects complaints and charges that had been filed in the two decades following emancipation and they were thus incorporated into the 1858 law. For instance, four charges are related to dancing including dancing and making mischief, dancing at brawls, fighting at a dance, and dancing without leave of manager (ABNA, CR). In addition to issues of dancing, many charges are brought up regarding the Sabbath and churchgoing including bad behavior, conduct, and language in church or Sunday School, defamation of a church, Sabbath breaking, and fighting in Church (ABNA, CR). Other charges relate to idleness and behavior in public spaces such as a case brought against a man for sitting and idling in town, a charge for rudeness about

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Disobedience to Summons 0 1 0 0 0 1
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Disturbance in Sunday School 0 2 2 0 0 4
Feard against the Church 0 0 2 0 0 2
Fighting at a Dance 0 0 0 1 0 0 1
Fighting in Church during 0 0 0 0 0 2 2
Services
Fined before a Magistrate 0 0 1 1 3 9 14
Impotance of sitting and idling $0 0 0 0 1 0 1$
at Parson's gig
Improper Language 0 0 0 0 0 3 3
Interference to Return People 1 0 0 0 0 1
Language in Church 0 0 0 0 1 1
Leaving her House Improperly 0 0 0 1 0 0 1
Making Mischief 0 0 0 1 0 0 1
Rudeness about the waters tub 0 0 1 0 1
Rudness during Divine Service 0 0 0 0 4 4
Sabbath Breaking 0 1 0 0 13 14
Witchcraft 0 0 1 0 0 1
Total 3 11 27 11 7 43 102

Table 4.2 Court cases relating to Social Conduct

the water tubs in town, and a person being charged with being a busybody and causing disruptions (ANBA, CR). In addition, one woman was charged with witchcraft in 1841 and an individual was charged with interfering with returning people to estates in 1839 (ABNA, CR).

These court cases speak to ways in which the Antiguan courts influenced the social relations of power in Antigua. By deciding what types of behavior to try in court, the justice system set a precedent for what freedoms people would be afforded following emancipation and, at the same time, informed the legislature by setting legal precedent in creating laws. In general, these charges reflect a desire to control various aspects of people's lives by regulating social decorum in various public situations. Some charges do regulate personal and domestic activities and, as noted earlier, also infringe upon people's relationships by mandating whom it is appropriate to have a relationship with and who it is not.

In addition to crimes relating to social relationships and social conduct, there are many charges brought before the court relating to crimes such as trespassing, theft, and fighting and assault (ABNA, CR; Table 4.3). Only one charge of trespassing was brought before the court in 1843-1844 (ANBA, CR). Men were charged with trespassing, though, while trying to reestablish social networks by visiting wives and other family members on different estates (Sturge and Harvey 1838:26). Ninety-nine cases of abuse, assault, and fighting were heard in the court in this period, with 70 people being charged with brawls (ABNA, CR). Thirty-two cases of theft were brought to court and, in most cases; small items were stolen most probably for survival (ABNA, CR). For instance, one person was charged with stealing yams to eat while another was charged

with stealing food to feed his pig. In another case, a person was charged with stealing a fishpot and one person was charged with stealing lumber. Nine cases of stealing cane were brought to the court and 1 case of canebreaking (ABNA, CR). Interestingly, stealing cane was common during the period of slavery and it is only after emancipation that it becomes a crime punishable by law (Sturge and Harvey 1838:35-36). In each of these cases, it appears theft was employed as a means to ensure survival either by

Charge	1839	1840	1841	1843/44	1845	1846	Total
Burglary	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Canebreaking	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Habitual Theft	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
House of Correction	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
House of Correction:	0	0	0	0	0	4	4
Stealing Canes							
Stealing Cane	0	1	1	0	1	2	5
Stealing	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
Stealing a Pistol	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Stealing Plants for Pig	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Stealing Yams	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Theft	0	2	0	0	1	6	9
Theft of Fishpot	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Theft of lumber and house	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
of correction							
Theft: 3 offenses	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Trespass and Conviction	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Abuse	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
Abuse and Assault	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Assault	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Brawls	0	10	27	23	1	9	70
Brawls and Fighting	0	0	0	0	0	10	10
Brawls and Language	0	0	0	4	0	0	4
Brawls on Sabbath	0	0	0	4	0	0	4
Fighting	0	0	0	0	0	4	4
Fighting after decisions of	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Church							
Violent Assault	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Total	0	15	31	35	7	44	132

Table 4.3: Court cases relating to theft, fighting, and assault

procuring food products or items seen as vital to individuals. There were, for instance, no cases in which money or items of great worth were stolen, with the exception of there being one case where an individual was charged with stealing a pistol (ABNA, CR). In many instances, it can be argued that petty theft occurred.

Domestic disputes are also heard in the court and 30 charges were made in the Antiguan court between 1839 and 1846 (ABAN, CR; Table 4.4). Fourteen of these cases include some kind of charge of mistreatment or abuse towards the wife whereas 9 include a charge of fighting or abuse towards the husband. One woman was charged with separating from her husband and there were two cases of family brawls (ABNA, CR).

Charge	1839	1840	1841	1843/44	1845	1846	Total
Beating and Abandoning	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Wife							
Brawls and Beating Wife	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Brawls with Husband	0	0	4	0	0	0	4
Brawls with Wife	0	0	4	0	0	1	5
Breach of Marriage	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Contract							
Cutting Husband	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Disobedience to Husband	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Family Brawls	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
Fighting with Husband	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
Fighting with Wife	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Illtreatment of Wife	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Living in Adultery	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Malpractices to Wife	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Mistreatment to Wife	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Separation from Husband	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Treatment to Wife	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
Total	2	2	11	1	3	11	30

Table 4.4: Court cases relating to domestic disputes

Interestingly, there are only 9 cases relating to labor disputes from 1839 through 1946 (ABNA, CR; Table 4.5). Four cases of improper language to servants were brought before the court, along with 2 charges of abusive language to helpers and 3 cases of abuse

to helpers. All of these charges were heard between 1839 and 1841. All of these complaints are against employers and no specifically labor-related cases were brought before the court in which an employer charged a laborer. However, it is highly likely employers charged a variety of other charges, such as theft and indecent behavior, against laborers. It is telling that such a small number of cases were brought to the court against employers. What's more, the lack of such charges from 1843 through 1846 suggests employers were not found guilty or the consequences of bringing an employer to court far outweighed the benefits. Laborers not only lost wages when they missed work to press charges, but no doubt also suffered repercussions and punishments from planters such as loss of work or eviction as most laborers were also tenants on estates.

Charge	1839	1840	1841	1843/44	1845	1846	Total
Abuse to Helpers	2	0	1	0	0	0	3
Abusive Language to	0	1	1	0	0	0	2
Helpers							
Improper Language to	4	0	0	0	0	0	4
Servant							
Total	6	1	2	0	0	0	9

Table 4.5: Court cases relating to labor disputes

Most people who were found guilty of crimes were charged fines as punishment. Yet the fines could be hugely restrictive on the lives of free laborers who were getting a minimal wage already. For instance, one boy was charged with stealing a piece of sugar cane and charged a fine of seven dollars, the equivalent of three months of wages (Sturge and Harvey 1838:21-22). In some cases, plantation managers would pay for laborers' fines and then take a percentage out of their wages until the amount owed was reimbursed. This occurred in at least one case in which a laborer, who had been sick for over a week and therefore missed a week's wages, was forced to steal yams to prevent

starvation (Sturge and Harvey 1838:35). In most cases, however, fines were paid through a collection from the convicted person's family and friends (Sturge and Harvey 1838:34-35).

Ultimately, these court cases demonstrate, to some extent, how the postemancipation legislation in Antigua was enforced and, in some instances, how the types
of cases brought before the court influenced additional legislation in the decades
following emancipation. It becomes abundantly clear that the lives of people were
manipulated in various ways to maintain a certain social order following emancipation.
People were restricted in the types of people with whom they could associate and in the
types of activities in which they engaged. In addition, crimes that were tolerated prior to
emancipation, or at least seemingly tolerated, such as stealing cane, were now punishable.

Following emancipation, through new legislation and the enforcement of these laws, Antiguan planters were able to maintain a society in which many of the social relations of slavery still dominated the social landscape of Antigua. In many ways laborers were still highly dependent on planters and the sugar enterprise on the island. The lack of viable employment off estates forced people to continue to work on sugar plantations and the new system of tenancy further tied people to plantations by forcing people to use their wages to pay their employers for rent.

4.3.3 Planters' Viewpoints on Emancipation

Antiguan planters express, in no uncertain terms, the benefits of emancipation on their estates. In several cases, the shift to emancipation appears to have saved estates that were in debt because of the compensation that was given to planters for the loss of their property, that is, the relinquishing of enslaved laborers to freedom.

Several properties in this situation were on the point of being abandoned. Nothing could have saved them but a legislative measure of Emancipation...On the passing of the Emancipation Bill, the compensation money enabled the mortgagees to make some settlement of the affairs; superfluous hands, or rather mouths, were dismissed; the cultivation resumed with a fair prospect | of success; and 'the agent has been a happy man ever since.' With regard to the general welfare of the colony, he told us that the proprietary body are more prosperous than before. Some estates have thrown off their load of debt, others have passed into the possession of capitalists, by whom their cultivation can be more effectively carried on [Sturge and Harvey 1838:44-45].

Similarly, at least 8 estates that had ceased production during the period of slavery were able to reinstate sugar production following emancipation (Gurney 1840:52-53).

In addition to being able to relieve themselves of debt, Antiguan planters were able to save money following emancipation on labor. One of the complaints that come to the forefront of labor relations during slavery was the lack of productivity of enslaved laborers. Following emancipation, planters were able to employ only as many laborers as they needed.

Now a subsequent and somewhat extensive enquiry has led us to the conviction, that on most of the properties of Antigua, and in general throughout the West Indies, one-third only of the slaves were operative. What with childhood, age, infirmity, sickness, *sham* sickness, and other causes, full two-thirds of the negro population might be regarded as dead weight. And further, the number of free laborers employed for the same quantity of work, is now decidedly less than this third. We may therefore fairly reckon that the pecuniary saving, on many of the estates in Antigua, by the change of slave for free labor, is at least *thirty per cent* [Gurney 1840:58; emphasis in original].

In addition to saving money on the number of laborers they had to employ, the costs of hiring wage laborers were far cheaper than the costs of sustaining the enslaved population and supplying them with food and clothing. One account states, "[Enslaved laborers'] average weekly expense of clothing and allowances was twenty-seven pounds. [The

planter] has now double the amount of effective labour; namely, fifty-seven persons, whose wages amount only to fifteen pounds weekly" (Sturge and Harvey 1838:32). The overall economy of the wage labor system over the slave labor system does not just rest on the actual outcomes of Antiguan planters but is also suffused with capitalist sentiment. One traveler to Antigua argues:

Besides this affair of arithmetic, however, there is the general consideration, that slavery and waste are twin sisters, whereas freedom is married to economy. Under the generous stimulus of equal liberty, short methods of labor are invented, machinery is introduced, every man black and white is thrown upon his own exertions, and into the whole community *co-operation* infuses *wealth* [Gurney 1840:58; emphasis in original].

In this light, the bolstering of the profitability of Antiguan plantations due to the decrease in costs relating to labor is only one aspect of economy that will result from the shift to free, wage labor. Other tenets of capitalist progress, namely the reduction of labor and the introduction of machinery, are cited as movements that will naturally occur as a result of the shift to wage labor.

Indeed, in many ways, planters felt great relief as the shift to wage labor relieved them of the responsibility of maintaining their own labor force. Whereas during the period of slavery, planters had to provide food and clothing for their laborers and were concerned with their overall health, at least to the extent that health affected labor, the switch to wage labor placed the responsibility of the reproduction of the labor force on the laborers themselves and gave the planters considerable freedom in being able to choose from a wider pool of laborers in deciding whom to hire. In general, emancipation for enslaved laborers also became an emancipation from responsibility for the planters: "Many [planters] speak in emphatic terms of the annoyances they have escaped by the

change, and of the comparative comfort with which they now manage their estates. The measure has been felt to be one of emancipation of masters as well as slaves, from a most oppressive bondage..." (Sturge and Harvey 1838:64).

Overall, planters did not suffer due to the loss of their enslaved laborers, but on the contrary, appear to have prospered with the switch to emancipation in Antigua. Following emancipation, exports in sugar and rum increased in Antigua in comparison with the last five years of slavery (Table 4.6; Gurney 1840:67-68). Costs of managing plantations were cut on average by at least one-fifth from the cost of doing so during the period of slavery (Sturge and Harvey 1838:64). Furthermore, the continued success of sugar production in Antigua following emancipation led to a large increase in the value of property on the island in just a few year's time (Gurney 1840:54-55; Sturge and Harvey 1838:31)

	1829-1833	1834-1838	Difference
Sugar	12189 Hogsheads	13545 Hogsheads	+1356 Hogsheads
Molasses	3308 Puncheons	8308 Puncheons	+5000 Puncheons
Rum	2468 Puncheons	1109 Puncheons	-1359 Puncheons

Table 4.6: Differences in sugar, molasses, and rum exportation in the five years just prior to and following emancipation.

The success of Antigua's system of coercion after emancipation led to the propagation of "the Antigua Model" in other British Caribbean colonies such as Jamaica and Barbados. In these islands, though, the shift to emancipation was seen as less successful than in Antigua in the eyes of the planters. In trying to propagate the Antigua Model abroad, it is clear that Antigua's unique approach to emancipation was only successful in Antigua because of the landscapes of sugar that had been carefully created

in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries on the island. These landscapes could not be reproduced on other islands.

4.4 Propagating the Antigua Model Abroad

In the aftermath of emancipation in Antigua, the question arises as to why the Antigua Model of emancipation was so successful on the island and how Antigua's experience with emancipation compares with other islands in the Caribbean region.

By all accounts, the Antigua Model was very successful on the island. The series of strict labor and social laws meant to continually coerce the formerly enslaved to work and live on sugar estates, appears to have been extremely effective. There is a lack of civil unrest and revolts throughout the nineteenth century in Antigua and it appears the transition to freedom in Antigua went well. Yet, despite being free, Antiguan laborers were forced to continue to labor and live under conditions that were seemingly not much different from those imposed during the period of slavery.

One of the biggest contributors to the success of emancipation in Antigua was the lack of options for formerly enslaved individuals on the island. Antigua's small size, and complete deforestation during early colonization, left very little options for wage laborers on the island. Plantations occupied most of the arable land on the island and very little other employment opportunities were available on the island. This, in large part, reflected the ideal situation for colonial policymakers who argued low population density was one of the biggest threats to the success of "freedom" throughout the British Caribbean (Holt 1992:45). Other analyses similarly characterize the shift to emancipation as one of colonial administration and measure its success in terms of the

continued profitability of the plantation system as opposed to the improvement of lifeways for the formerly enslaved (Green 1976).

Antigua, then, was well situated to be the model for post-emancipation success. The almost complete use of land in Antigua for sugar estates affected the trajectories of social life for Afro-Antiguans during the periods of both slavery and freedom. For instance, there is almost no tradition of marronage in Antigua unlike other British Caribbean islands such as Dominica and Jamaica. The lack of available land for use by Afro-Antiguans also left little room for peasant lifeways to emerge as they did on other islands of the Caribbean (Beckles 1997; Marshall 1996; Mintz 1996). In large part, these geographic limitations of space and land use on Antigua led to the vast success of the harsh labor contracts after emancipation. Laborers literally had no where else to go on the island and, in most cases, were given no other option than to remain as wage laborers on the estate where they had been formerly enslaved. Antigua was well suited for immediate emancipation and the continued success of sugar from a colonial perspective.

This trajectory of post-emancipation lifeways stands in contrast to experiences in other parts of the British Caribbean that were influenced not just by policies relating to emancipation but also to the specific social relations of slavery within particular islands. For instance, islands such as Jamaica, in which there was a long history of marronage and peasant lifeways during the period of slavery, had markedly different experiences of post-emancipation society than Antigua. In Jamaica, laborers were able to increase production of provisions and procurement of locally-grown foodstuffs following emancipation, resulting in a dramatic shift in dietary practices from the period of slavery to post-emancipation (Armstrong 1990:274-275). This shift marks both a decrease in provisions

allocated by planters on the estate and an increase in local production of marketable provisions (Armstrong 1990:276). This trend, though, is contingent on the availability of land for provisioning off the estates, an opportunity not afforded to Antiguan laborers where arable provision grounds were still largely confined to estate property.

In addition, the system of apprenticeship in Jamaica met varying degrees of success in terms of controlling the labor force, and often incited specific forms of punishment against laborers who resisted the new system of labor. During the period of apprenticeship Jamaica laborers consistently refused to work more than the required weekly hours, refused to work for a wage on their "free" day, and increasingly argued for better working conditions (Holt 1992:61). One of the ways the colonial government sought to combat the resistance of apprentices was through a system of punishment in workshops. A series of workshops throughout the island of Jamaica, constructed during the period of slavery for convicted peoples of African descent, were expanded following emancipation (Altink 2001). During the period of slavery, these workshops were reserved for people how had committed serious crimes, but following emancipation apprentices who committed petty offenses "ranging from neglect of work to theft and running away" were sentenced to the workshops (Altink 2001:41). The development of workshops as a system of punishment circumvented the clause in the Abolition Act that forbid planters to punish their former slaves (Altink 2001:41-42). Still, the workshops enforced a series of inhumane punishments against apprentices including "flogging, a short allowance of food, extra time on the [treadmill], the stocks and solitary confinement" (Altink 2001:42). The Jamaican workshop system sought to deter

apprentices from resisting the new form of labor through harsh punishments that mirrored much of the inhumane treatments towards enslaved laborers.

Resistance to the apprenticeship system was not isolated to Jamaica, but rather was common throughout the British Caribbean and methods of dealing with the apprenticed workforce varied from island to island. One of the greatest areas of contention among the workers was with the ambiguity of the status of "apprentice" as the formerly enslaved demanded to be fully free:

There was widespread opposition to the apprenticeship system from the apprentices, who wanted complete freedom; many of them considered it a conspiracy on the part of local elites to keep freedom from them. In St. Kitts, martial law had to be declared and the militia was also needed in Montserrat; there was disorder in Essequibo, Guiana, and hundreds demonstrated in opposition to apprenticeship in Port-of-Spain, Trinidad (Bolland 1981:594).

St. Kitts witnessed a series of organized riots to protest the apprenticeship system (Frucht 1975). In part motivated by news of full emancipation in Antigua, St. Kittian workers organized *en masse* to strike following emancipation on August 1, 1834 (Frucht 1975:205). When martial law was imposed on the workers, many fled into the mountains where several maroon settlements had been established during the period of slavery (Frucht 1975:210-212). Eventually the colonists forced the apprentices back to the sugar estates by burning their settlements and driving them out of the mountains with military force, yet workers continued to resist the apprentice system by reluctantly working and challenging planters and magistrates (Frucht 1975:212).

Despite the adoption of the apprenticeship system by most of the other British

Caribbean islands, and the particular nuances of the shift to emancipation on each island,

Antigua in large part served as the model of free society within the British Caribbean

(Bolland 1981; 1996; 1999). Two aspects of the Antiguan approach to emancipation were attempted, with varying degrees of success, in other parts of the Caribbean: the contract system and the wage/rent system.

In both cases, the Antiguan systems were not as effective throughout the Caribbean as they were in Antigua. This is demonstrated most pertinently in the effects of the wage/rent system throughout the Caribbean. The wage/rent system was adapted differently throughout the British Caribbean. For instance, in Barbados laborers were able to occupy a house rent-free in exchange for working five days a week, yet in Jamaica laborers were forced to pay a part of their wages for rent and rent prices were highly variable throughout the island in some cases were based on the number of people living within a house (Bolland 1981:596). The cost of rent in relation to wages earned was also greatly variable throughout the British Caribbean with rent ranging from about 20% of wages in Tobago and Barbados to up to 48% in Jamaica (Bolland 1981:596). Planters similarly met mixed degrees of success in collecting rent and oftentimes resorted to withholding rent from laborers' wages (Bolland 1981:596-597).

In general, the Antiguan approach to emancipation met mixed degrees of success on other British Caribbean islands. In large part, this has been attributed to the availability of land on different islands and the opportunities that affords the formerly enslaved. For instance, planters were able to maintain control over the labor force and ensure a steady labor supply on islands such as Antigua, Barbados, and St. Kitts where plantations occupied most of the arable lands on these islands and population density was high (Bolland 1981:600). In places such as Jamaica, Trinidad, and Guiana where land was more readily available, laborers consistently emigrated from estates and formed

peasant communities, sustaining their families through small-scale provisioning and internal markets (Bolland 1981:600).

Land not just allowed for alternate lifestyles but also served as a huge bargaining point for wage laborers in Jamaica (Armstrong 1990:51; Hall 1959). Exorbitant rent could be negotiated because laborers were not as bound to living on the plantations as in Antigua. In addition, Jamaican laborers rejected the dual role of the planter as employer and landlord and instead more successfully argued for the freedom to choose an employer (Armstrong 1990:51). In the face of these demands, Jamaican planters were forced to divorce wages from rent payment, yet the number of wage laborers living on the estates where they were employed declined steadily throughout the nineteenth century (Armstrong 1990:51). Such opportunities for land ownership in Antigua only came several decades following emancipation when sugar prices fell, forcing planters to rescind property, then freeing up affordable land for laborers. Still, even then, many laborers rented plots from churches and missionary groups rather than purchasing their own land (Sturge and Harvey 1838:31).

The availability of land, though, does not solely explain the trajectories of postemancipation societies throughout the British Caribbean. In the case of Belize, then
British Honduras, land was readily available for the formerly enslaved to inhabit
following emancipation, yet mahogany lords were able to effectively control the labor
force and maintain a steady supply of labor (Bolland 1981:602). Bolland (1981) argues
for social factors that influenced labor control including labor contracts, tight control of
trade and imports, and a system of wage payment and debts that almost ensured laborers
would spend their advanced wages and thus be held in debt to mahogany lords. Like in

Antigua then, mahogany lords in Belize ensured that laborers would have no other options but to remain dependent on the systems of labor, wages, and coercion that they had designed.

While post-emancipation Antigua was marked as a success among planters and the colonial elite, the question arises as to how emancipation affected the lives of laborers in Antigua. How were their lives changed following emancipation and what freedoms were they now granted as free, wage laborers? For instance, amidst the series of strict labor and social laws following emancipation, some have argued the material conditions of life for the formerly enslaved would not have changed much following emancipation (Bolland 1996:109). Considering Antigua's unique system of social control then, one must reevaluate the notion of enslaved versus free, wage laborer and recontextualize these social positions within Antiguan society during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

4.5 Green Castle Estate in Post-Emancipation Antigua

Throughout the period of social change from slavery to freedom in Antigua, sugar production continued at Green Castle Estate. While Samuel Martin died in the late eighteenth century, the estate was inherited by one of his heirs, Sir Henry Martin. Henry Martin seemed to share a passion for planting and plantation improvement with Samuel Martin as a travel account speaks to how he continued to develop ways to increase the efficiency of labor and production at Green Castle Estate.

At Green Castle, an estate of Sir Henry Martin's, there was a simple and ingenious plan for diminishing the labor of the negros in carrying the bundles of canes up the acclivity on which the mill is built. Two light revolving cylinders were mounted, one at the foot of the ascent, the other at the top; canvass was tightly stretched over both and from one to the other, and ledges of wood fastened

across this bridge of communications, against which the junks of canes rested. The axle of the upper cylinder was connected with the moving power, and thereby, as it went round, brought up the canes in constant succession to the hands of the boatswain or feeder of the mill [Murray 1825:261].

It is likely, then, that during the early nineteenth century, life and labor continued at Green Castle Estate in much the same way it had under the management of Samuel Martin. Yet, Green Castle Estate also became a site of a mission school for enslaved laborers just prior to emancipation (Blouet 1990:632). Thus, though sugar production continued at Green Castle Estate, Henry Martin was progressive in providing enslaved laborers access to education at his plantation, a process that contributed to the shift to emancipation in Antigua.

Following emancipation, the historical record does not offer many insights into the nature of life and production at Green Castle Estate, though sugar production continued at the plantation through the first half of the twentieth century. As Samuel Martin offered his enslaved laborers incentives such as provisioning grounds and, given the lack of free land for settlement following emancipation, it is highly likely many of the laborers that had been enslaved at Green Castle Estate continued to live and work there following emancipation. Yet, as I will argue in the following chapter, the formerly enslaved at Green Castle Estate were able to take advantage of opportunities available under the new system of freedom to improve their lives and exercise agency in forging a new pattern of lifeways in post-emancipation Antigua.

4.6 The Politics of Categorization

In his ethnographic research on modern-day peasantries in Dominica, Michel-Rolph Trouillot (1988) notes the difficulties of working with a term such as "peasant."

"Peasant," he argues, conjures images of medieval, European peasants and therefore any discussion of modern-day peasantries connotes an archaic lifestyle, one surely to be obsolete once overthrown by the engulfing expansion of a new form of global capitalism. As Trouillot demonstrates, though, peasantries are existing and dynamic forms of social relations that persist not *in spite* of an expanding global capitalism, but, in some cases, *in response* to it. For Trouillot, then, the problem becomes our conceptualization of what constitutes a peasantry and, rather than focus on what a peasant *is* (or rather, what we think a peasant is), Trouillot (1988:3-5) calls for an approach that critically examines the social relations and processes through which one *becomes* a peasant.

A similar approach should be taken in examining the shift from slave to wage labor and in associating shifts in social relations that occur alongside this change in labor organization. The categories of "enslaved laborer" and "wage laborer" should not be taken as *a priori* definitions of past populations, but rather critically reevaluated within a specific socio-historical context. Indeed, the shift from slavery to freedom marked a huge ideological and emotional shift for laborers who were now given the power to sell their labor power, reconstruct families, and control their own lifeways to a greater degree. Yet, the continued acts of coercion, subordination, and racism by British-Antiguan planters who sought to maintain a tight control on the Antiguan labor force, should not be ignored in examining wage laborer lifeways in nineteenth-century Antigua.

Early categorizations of enslaved laborers created a series of characteristics that defined being an enslaved laborer. For instance, some of the most prevalent definitions of enslaved laborers argue that the enslaved, being property themselves, could not own property such as land (e.g. Cohen 1978). Such categorization had been useful in

examining slave societies comparatively and in juxtaposing slave societies with newly emergent capitalist societies in which wage labor served as the principle organizing factor of labor and society. More recent research, particularly in the Caribbean, though, has highlighted the prevalence and vitality of slave markets in island economies (Beckles 1991; Beckles and Shepherd 1991; Berlin and Morgan 1991; 1993; Mintz 1983; Mintz and Hall 1960; Mintz and Price 1976). Historical archaeology has further demonstrated the persistence of own-account production and highlighted the complex social networks created through processes of production, exchange, and consumption among laborers. ¹³ This example is not meant to undermine the strong systems of coercion imposed upon enslaved laborers, yet demonstrates that pre-conceived stipulations for what constitute an enslaved laborer should not be assumed, but instead evaluated and situated within its historical, cultural, and social context. Myriad social actions, relations, and networks were employed by enslaved laborers to negotiate their social positions within a highly subversive colonial culture.

Similarly, one's status as a free, wage laborer does not necessarily imply freedom of movement, freedom to choose an employer, or the freedom to own land. Instead, the social relations of the post-emancipation Caribbean have been described more so as the "freedom to starve" than the ideological ideas of freedom espoused by Enlightenment thinkers. Indeed, Antigua's post-emancipation history is characterized by a consistent series of legislation meant to create continued control of land and labor by planters.

Archaeological work that focuses on these issues include Armstrong 1985, 1990, 1999, 2001, 2003;
 Farnsworth 1996, 1999, 2001; Ferguson 1991, 1992; Gibson 2007; Goodwin 1982; Handler and Lange
 Hauser 2001; Hauser and Armstrong 1999; Haviser 1999; Heath 1997, 1999a, 1999b; Howson 1995;
 Reeves 1997; Singleton 1985, 1995, 1999; Wilkie 1999, 2001; and Wilkie and Farnsworth 1999, 2005.

In light of these circumstances, an approach to freedom in Antigua that assumes an immediate and profound material shift in laborer lifeways could be problematic. While there were, no doubt, vast changes in laborer lifeways and the ways they viewed themselves following emancipation, Antiguan planters took extreme measures to continuously control the labor force on the island. The shifts in status between enslaved and wage laborer, then, perhaps can be understood best not as a change in social position so much as a change in social relations. Indeed, during both the periods of slave and wage labor, the values of planters and laborers were continuously pitted against one another. Yet, the periods of slave and wage labor also largely contributed to defining the relations between planter and laborer, and these shifting relations—and associations with power and agency—should also impact the daily practice of both planters and laborers as they each sought to preserve their interests in the face of these changes.

Thus, following the call from Trouillot (1988:3-5), the historical archaeology of wage laborers in Antigua should examine how the formerly enslaved *become* free as opposed to assuming that the shift to emancipation marked a profound change in the material and social lives of laborers in Antigua.

4.7 Conclusions

It becomes glaringly evident that Antiguan planters and the legislature took extreme measures to continually coerce the formerly enslaved population following emancipation. In addition to creating strict labor laws that made free laborers almost entirely dependent on planters for wages and access to land for households and provisioning grounds, planters also greatly restricted the social activities in which the formerly enslaved were allowed to engage. Amidst these changes, Antiguan planters

were able to continually profit off of sugar production in the years following emancipation. In many ways, the introduction of free labor created a society in which the planters were relieved of many of the responsibilities of maintaining the health and welfare of the laboring class. Laborers were now responsible for acquiring their own food and clothing, no longer had access to doctors on estates, and had to compete for work as they became dependent on a wage for survival.

Rather than create a society of free and equal individuals, then, Antiguan planters successfully managed to transform Antiguan society into one that was still highly based on social inequality, but through economic class rather than political freedom. Yet, as both the Antiguan legislation and court cases demonstrate, the political freedoms of the formerly enslaved were infringed upon, even if they were done so legally and under the guise of seeming freedom. In light of these developments, the question arises as to what freedoms the formerly enslaved did enjoy following emancipation. As I have argued earlier, enslaved laborers were able to gain some degree of autonomy and cultural freedom in the face of the coercive landscapes of slavery. In the next chapter, I turn to the domestic assemblages of free, wage laborers at Green Castle Estate to demonstrate that, despite post-emancipation measures of subversion, wage laborers were also able to resist the impositions of Antiguan society and gain several degrees of autonomy in the mid-late nineteenth century.

Chapter Five

The Materialities of Freedom in Post-Emancipation Antigua

Antigua's post-emancipation society was, in many ways, very similar to the society that existed under slavery. For the most part, the formerly enslaved continued to live and work on the estates on which they were enslaved. Antigua's unique wage/rent system of labor and living ensured that laborers would be continually tied to plantation lands and would continue to provide a labor force for the sugar industry in Antigua. Yet, despite the strict labor and tenancy laws that the Antiguan legislature passed in the decades surrounding emancipation in Antigua, slowly the society would shift from one that largely mirrored the social relations of slavery to one in which laborers gained more rights and freedoms.

Following Trouillot's (1988:3-5) call to understand how the enslaved *became* free, the historical archaeology of free, wage laborers at Green Castle Estate provides a glimpse into this process. An historical archaeology of wage laborers at Green Castle Estate gives insights into the daily practices of wage laborers and social relations on the plantation through changes in daily life and consumption patterns from the period of slavery. In addition, a comparison of the artifact assemblages of enslaved and free laborers at Green Castle Estate provides a direct means of contrasting the practices of Afro-Antiguans during slavery and following emancipation. In this light, the ways in which free, wage laborers sought to carve out new lifestyles for themselves amidst the coercive society of post-emancipation Antigua comes to the forefront of understanding what it meant to be free following emancipation.

5.1 Post-Emancipation Landscapes

The physical landscape of Antigua had been drastically manipulated from the island's initial settlement through the period of slavery. The land had been deforested to make way for agricultural production and throughout the first half of the eighteenth century, as the sugar industry gained ground throughout Antigua, small landholdings were consistently bought by wealthy planters who shaped the landscape of Antigua to one dominated by large sugar estates. By the end of the first quarter of the eighteenth century, most of the arable land on the island was being used in sugar production.

As demonstrated in the previous chapter, the carefully constructed sugar landscapes of Antigua allowed for a post-emancipation society in which, for the most part, laborers were still bound to the plantations on which they had been enslaved. In large part, the unavailability of land is what contributed to the so-called success of the Antigua Model of emancipation. With nowhere to go, the formerly enslaved were forced to remain on sugar estates where they lived and worked. Yet, in the decades following emancipation, slowly the landscapes of sugar in Antigua would shift to accommodate the newly freed labor force and create a society in which free laborers had greater agency in choosing employers and homes for themselves and their families.

One of the first shifts towards greater freedom of movement in Antigua occurred in the first few years following emancipation as churches and missionary groups leased land for Afro-Antiguans. For instance, the Moravian missions leased some of their land to laborers on adjoining estates, providing a cottage and a quarter acre of land for each tenant (Sturge and Harvey 1838:31). Travelers to the island remark that Afro-Antiguans regarded it as a privilege to rent land from the church and report that people worked the

land well and kept their properties orderly (Sturge and Harvey 1838:31). Though, in 1838, there were only three such settlements providing property for lease to laborers on the island, the system was lauded and plans for expansions throughout the island were underway. Additional mission sites, such as the Grace Hill Moravian site in St. Paul's Parish, were preparing land to lease to laborers as well (Sturge and Harvey 1838:33-34).

Churches and missionaries not only provided land for tenancy, but also actively taught aspects of independent peasantry to children in day schools. For instance, one of the Moravian missions specifically set aside land for children to till: "A part of the mission land has been also appropriated to the children of Brother Morrish's infant school, who have little gardens to cultivate in their spare time. They are thus brought up to associate pleasurable instead of painful ideas with agricultural employments" (Sturge and Harvey 1838:31). The Moravian Church, then, actively prepared the next generation of laborers for work not only in the sugar fields, but also in working house gardens and provision grounds, as laborers were responsible for providing their own foodstuffs after slavery.

In addition, while many estates appear to prosper following emancipation, some sugar estates dissolve and the land was sold off to churches or missions, and in some rare cases, directly to laborers (Gurney 1840:52-53; Sturge and Harvey 1938:33-34). One account gives some insight into how Afro-Antiguan laborers created households for themselves on newly purchased plots:

The laborers in the neighborhood bought up all the little freeholds with extreme eagerness, made their payments faithfully, and lost no time in settling on the spots which they had purchased. They soon framed their houses, and brought their gardens into useful cultivation with yams, bananas, plantains, pine-apples, and other fruits and vegetables, including plots of sugar cane...I visited several of the

cottages, in company with the Rector of the parish, and was surprised by the excellence of the buildings, as well as by the neat furniture, and cleanly little articles of daily use, which we found within [Gurney 1840:63-64].

As soon as opportunities became available for the formerly enslaved to purchase property and maintain their own households, they took advantage of them. For many, the acquisition of property became a way to better support their families. In most cases, post-emancipation wages were insufficient to support a family that had previously been cared for under the system of slavery. One laborer reported the trouble he encountered supporting a family of six on his wages: "The substance of his statement was, that their wages of one shilling currency, a day, (about fivepence-halfpenny sterling,) were not sufficient to maintain them. He had a wife and six children, and an old mother, to support; of whom, two of the children only were able to earn any thing. They could not manage without 'minding' their little stock' (Sturge and Harvey 1838:26). In addition to having to support children, many families also had to support elderly family members who could no longer work and earn a wage for themselves. In some cases, children as young as fifteen leased land from missions to provide housing and gardens for their kin (Sturge and Harvey 1838:31).

It is among these small enclaves of free landholdings that Antiguan villages began to take shape within the landscape of the island. For instance, by 1840, the lands tenanted by free laborers around the Grace Hill Moravian missionary become the village of Liberta, so named to celebrate the freedom of its inhabitants (Gurney 1840:63). Neighborhoods of free landholdings also sprung up around the capital of St. John's and English Harbour where additional work could be found as mechanics or craftsmen (Gurney 1840:64; Sturge and Harvey 1834:31). Slowly, the landscapes of Antigua began

to shift to reflect a post-emancipation society in which laborers were given some freedom of movement away from plantations.

While landscapes of freedom slowly developed outside of plantation holdings, the built environments within plantations also shifted in the period following emancipation. Several planters undergo efforts to improve the living conditions of laborers on their estate by remodeling houses in the former slave village and providing more land for laborers to grow provisions. Travel accounts provide a glimpse into how postemancipation housing conditions on estates were characterized:

The houses are now very comfortable; consisting of one, and sometimes two rooms, of from ten to fourteen feet square, and kept very clean, a few of which are furnished with a four-post bed, and other household goods. Each kitchen is a little detached shed, thatched, and without chimney, apparently so ill adapted to culinary processes, that it is difficult to imagine how the villages escape an occasional conflagration. The huts are also thatched with canetrash, thrown on in a very slovenly manner, but the interior roof is constructed of strips of palm leaves neatly plaited [Sturge and Harvey 1838:28-29].

These improvements to laborer housing not only reflect attempts made by planters to keep laborers on estates, but perhaps also reflect changes in the family structure that accompanied the shift to emancipation. Since people were no longer completely bound to specific estates, more families may have lived together and needed larger living spaces to accommodate all family members in one house.

While initially planters wanted to keep the formerly enslaved on estates to ensure a steady supply of labor for sugar production, this view soon becomes outdated as planters begin to see the advantages of a free market for labor on the island. In some ways, planters were still very much responsible for laborers who remained on plantations and had to provide laborers with housing and, in some cases, medical care (Sturge and

Harvey 1838:46). Soon, the lack of land for laborers to form villages becomes a hindrance to sugar production rather than an asset:

No extra labour, therefore, is in the market, except that the planters occasionally hire the Saturdays of the people from neighbouring properties. Every estate maintains its full complement of labourers, both in and out of crop. There are no independent villages whatever, and though the people have the strongest desire to acquire what they call 'a plot of land,' meaning about an acre, yet great obstacles exist, because there are no suitable spots, except parts of actual estates, which the proprietors are unwilling, or unable to dispose of. The island can never realise the full benefits of the new system, till there *are* such villages, which would be to the planters as reservoirs of surplus labour, enabling them to employ many or few hands, according to their actual wants [Sturge and Harvey 1838:46-47].

Whereas immediately following emancipation, planters feared not being able to keep a large enough labor force on their estates to maintain sugar production, soon the number of laborers resident on their estate becomes prohibitive for planters who need fluctuating amounts of labor throughout the year.

While the development of free villages throughout the island may have been an asset for planters who looked to shed extra labor from their estates, the advantages to Afro-Antiguan laborers as well cannot be denied. The opportunity to own land and maintain a household free from the constraints of plantation life and the gaze of planters was an immense freedom for the formerly enslaved. Not only were people able to maintain their own households and landholdings, but it also gave them an opportunity to form families and live and work together for their mutual benefit, in ways that were never possible during slavery. Such a shift in lifeways would have been one of the greatest victories for the formerly enslaved in a post-emancipation society.

Despite the impositions of post-emancipation society in Antigua, gradually the landscape of the island shifted from one of sugar and slavery to a landscape of free labor.

While planters aspired to create a society in which there were "two great classes of landlords and yeomen," the ability for the formerly enslaved to own land marked a great shift in the social relations of Antigua (Sturge and Harvey 1838:66). Land ownership created a space for laborers away from the confines of the plantation in which they could create their own households and maintain families in ways never possible under the regime of slavery. In spite of all the restrictions of post-emancipation Antigua on the social lives of the formerly enslaved, in many ways the household became an autonomous unit in which Afro-Antiguans could practice their own cultural traditions and raise families outside of the coercive system of slavery.

5.1.1 Shifts in the Landscape of Green Castle Estate

Following emancipation, the formerly enslaved laborers of Green Castle Estate continued to live and work there. Whereas Samuel Martin and his successors seemingly managed their plantation benevolently and provided many opportunities for enslaved laborers, such as access to education and provision grounds for families, the question arises as to whether the formerly enslaved would *want* to remain on the estate following emancipation. While some areas of free landholding emerged in Antigua in the years following emancipation, none of these early villages were near Green Castle Estate. Therefore, it is highly likely that the majority of the formerly enslaved population of the estate remained at Green Castle as tenants and laborers in the decades following emancipation. Indeed, some laborers lived on the Estate until the second quarter of the twentieth century when the Bendals Sugar Factory closed (Smith and Smith 1986:140).

Changes to the landscape of Green Castle Estate occur in the decades following emancipation that speak to some of the newfound freedoms laborers wished to exercise.

For instance, archaeological investigations at Locus 4 resulted in the recovery of domestic refuse that dates to the post-emancipation period in Antigua, to approximately 1850. This suggests that free laborers lived in a space approximately 300 meters away from the slave village of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Figure 5.1). This shift moves the domestic spaces of laborers further away from both the planter house and sugar works of the estate, to a valley where the surveillance of laborers would have been hindered compared to the location of the slave village.

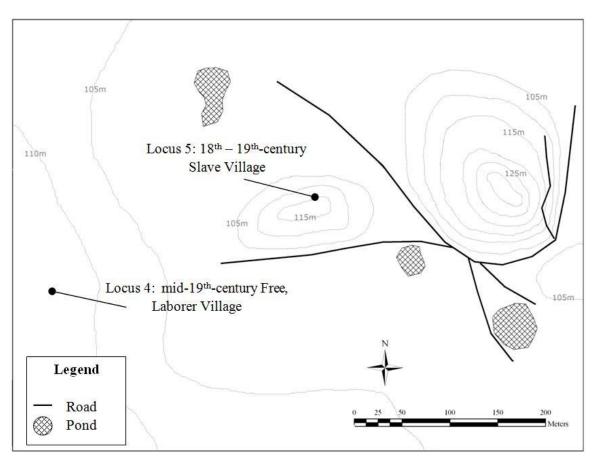


Figure 5.1: The Green Castle Survey Map demonstrates the movement of wage laborer households away from those of enslaved laborers.

Such a move might speak to several changes in the social lives of laborers following emancipation in Antigua. First, the shift might speak to a desire to move away from planters and the working of the plantation as laborers wanted to create a home life

that was distinct from the workings of the plantation. Further, the newly formed domestic houses may have been closer to the provision grounds laborers already worked and may have offered a more convenient environment to work such lands. Such a move would further emphasize the distinction between domestic work and wage labor by creating greater distance between the plantation and the home, and the various work activities associated with each place. Finally, more land may have been available along the southwest of the plantation to build bigger houses to accommodate more family members as households were created based more so on family relationships in the period following emancipation. Whereas some planters improved houses in the slave village, the laborers at Green Castle might have taken the opportunity to build new houses rather than improve old houses associated with slavery. The construction of new house structures would have allowed for greater freedom to build dwellings that better reflected the changing social relations of domestic spaces and the personal needs and tastes of the people who lived there.

While no distinct archaeological evidence of wage laborer house structures at Green Castle Estate can corroborate these claims, the movement of laborers within the landscape demonstrates that there were substantial changes to the living quarters of laborers following emancipation. Furthermore, given the propensity of planters to relieve themselves of responsibilities regarding their workforce following emancipation, it is likely laborers would have been given some degree of autonomy and decision-making in building these new domestic spaces for themselves.

5.1.2 Insights into Free Laborer Lifeways: Archaeological Investigations at Locus 4

Archaeological investigations at Locus 4 began in the summer of 2007. Pedestrian survey and shovel tests were employed to determine whether there were significant cultural deposits at the locus that might give insights into the past lives of free, wage laborers at Green Castle Estate. In the summer of 2008, 6 units were excavated in Locus 4 resulting in the recovery of domestic refuse preliminarily dated to the second half of the nineteenth century. An additional 14 units were excavated at Locus 4 throughout the 2009 field season.

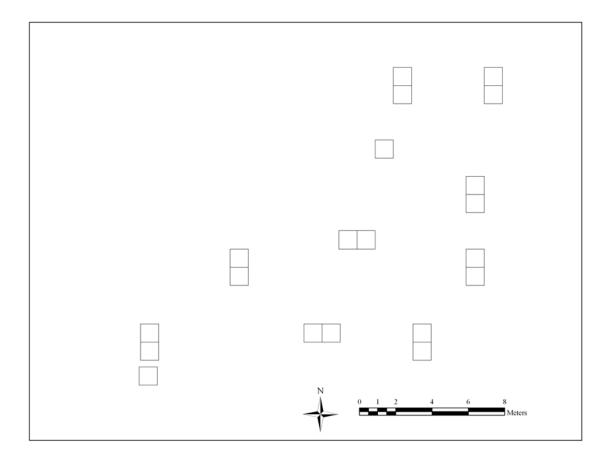


Figure 5.2: Units excavated at Locus 4 during the 2008 and 2009 field seasons.

Excavations at Locus 4 lend some insights into the nature of post-emancipation life at Green Castle Estate as well as site formation processes in this locus. First, as the

contours at Locus 4 demonstrate (Figure 5.2), Locus 4 is at the bottom of a steeply sloping hillside. Therefore, it is highly likely that the presence of artifacts is not the result of direct depositional processes, but of erosion of cultural materials down the hillside over time. Thus, the houses in which free laborers resided may be further uphill than the location of archaeological materials in Locus 4. However, no house structures were identified in Locus 4, though there is evidence of historic stone quarrying along the hillside. The excavated material from Locus 4 dates to the third quarter of the nineteenth century and therefore positions this locus within the post-emancipation landscape of Green Castle Estate. This is corroborated by local histories that suggest free laborers lived in this area of the estate as well (Agnes Meeker, personal communication 2007). Ultimately, Locus 4 provides insights into the daily lives of free laborers at Green Castle Estate through domestic deposits dating to the post-emancipation period.

While archaeological evidence that gives insights into the nature of postemancipation house structures is scant, domestic refuse associated with wage laborers at
Green Castle Estate demonstrates how the daily lives of laborers changed in the years
following emancipation. The formerly enslaved took great advantage of the new
opportunities available to them such as greater access to markets, increased autonomy in
their domestic lives, and more educational opportunities. Archaeological evidence of
daily practice demonstrates how Afro-Antiguans actively changed their lives in the postemancipation period in spite of continued coercion and restraints by the colonial
legislature.

5.1.3 The Historiography of Post-Emancipation Antigua

In large part, the historical resources that provide a glimpse into postemancipation Antiguan lifeways were written by abolitionists who were often associated with Christian traditions or missionary groups. Travelers to the British Caribbean during the post-emancipation period sought to examine and report on the nature of postemancipation societies, often with particular reference to the lifeways of the formerly enslaved, Afro-Caribbean people.

One of the most comprehensive accounts of post-emancipation life in Antigua is from Joseph Sturge and Thomas Harvey's 1838 *The West Indies in 1837: being the journal of a visit to Antigua, Montserrat, Dominica, St. Lucia, Barbadoes, and Jamaica; undertaken for the purpose of ascertaining the actual condition of the Negro population of those islands.* This account give insights into the post-emancipation societies of several of Britain's Caribbean islands and, in the case of Antigua, offers glimpses into the everyday lives of newly freed Afro-Antiguans.

However, the travel account also points to the inherent biases of its authors, most notably Joseph Sturge. Sturge, a staunchly anti-slavery Quaker, was opposed to the system of apprenticeship throughout the Caribbean (Hobhouse 1919:42-43). This is reflected in his work as he describes the horrors of the apprenticeship system on the British islands (Sturge and Harvey 1838). Yet, his portrayal of Antigua is decidedly benign, especially in comparison with the other British Caribbean islands. In light of his political leanings, it becomes clear that Sturge favored the Antiguan system of immediate freedom over the apprenticeship system practiced on the other islands and thus his descriptions of Antigua might reflect this bias. Still, Sturge and Harvey's (1838) account

of Afro-Antiguan lifeways are detailed and point to both what they deem to be shortcomings of Afro-Antiguan life and practices they laud. Thus, it is clear that while the Antiguan switch to freedom is preferred over the system of apprenticeship, Antiguan society certainly has a long way to go in ensuring the freedoms and rights of the formerly enslaved.

Sturge not only championed the formerly enslaved throughout the British Caribbean but also advocated the rights of the working class in Britain (Hobhouse 1919:58-60). Certainly his viewpoints on the plight of the working class in England also influenced how he viewed West Indian societies. In this light Sturge was able to see and critique several social systems in which people were exploited and oppressed.

5.2 Post-Emancipation Domestic Lives

One of the greatest changes that occurred in Antigua following emancipation is the creation of households in which families lived and worked. Family units that had been torn apart during the period of slavery, with family members living and working on different estates, were able to join together following emancipation (Smith and Smith 1986). While some family members still lived and worked on different estates, postemancipation Antigua marks a period in which the formerly enslaved were able to rebuild family connections, take care of family members who were no longer able to work, and envision greater futures for children who were able to attend school. This shift created a new household sphere in which domestic activities were distinctly removed from the labor of the plantation, and domestic life became a much more distinctive arena in which laborers could exercise their own rights and traditions with their families.

At Green Castle Estate, Samuel Martin (1750) advocated the creation of families within the slave community. This might suggest that enslaved laborers created households around family units during the period of slavery and post-emancipation households at Green Castle might not reflect such a marked change in household structure as they might on other plantations on which there is clear evidence for the rebuilding of families following emancipation (Smith and Smith 1986). There are, however, many other ways in which the daily lives of laborers changed following emancipation and this is reflected in the domestic deposits at Green Castle Estate.

The shift to emancipation and wage labor created an opportunity for people to choose to divide their time between the household and the plantation. For instance, in some cases, women began to take smaller wages in order to spend time at home attending to domestic activities. One travel account notes such a shift: "Our guide, an intelligent black, told us that the people worked as well as formerly; but that many of the women did not now come into the field before breakfast, as they staid at home to prepare the morning meal for their husbands and children" (Sturge and Harvey 1838:19). White colonists encouraged this shift in behavior, deeming it a moral advancement of Afro-Antiguans. One account argues, "[Afro-Antiguans] are, however, in a rapid course of improvement...They are acquiring domestic habits. Marriages are more frequent. Husbands and wives begin to dwell together, and mothers of families to withdraw from field labour to their household affairs,—germs of rising character, which contain most encouraging promises of advancement" (Sturge and Harvey 1838:69). The ability to create and maintain a household was an activity that was never afforded much time during the period of slavery, as all adult laborers were assigned to work throughout the

plantation. Wage labor gave some people an opportunity to opt out of full-time work to tend to domestic activities, so long as they could afford to do so.

This change would have made a marked impact on the practices of daily life for laborers. While it may be assumed women, more so than men, took advantage of staying home to tend to domestic activities such as cooking, laundering clothes, and tending to house gardens, such a change would also greatly affect the daily practices of men, even if they worked full time on the plantation. Being able to live in households with families, in which one family member could maintain the household, creates leisure time after work for other members of the household. People would then have been able to spend more time with their families and in other pursuits rather than engaging in domestic duties following work, as in the period of slavery. While not all women would have been able to attend to domestic activities following emancipation, as the need for a wage superceded the importance of domestic work, the historical record does point to an important shift in the division of labor between men and women that began to develop following emancipation.

The material culture of free, wage laborers at Green Castle Estate provides evidence of how the domestic lives of the formerly enslaved changed following emancipation. Greater access to markets alongside shifts in the practices of daily life result in an archaeological assemblage that is distinctive from that from the period of slavery.

5.2.1 *Post-Emancipation Foodways*

One of the greatest shifts that occurs in the material culture of laborers after emancipation is in items relating to foodways. Artifacts relating to foodways comprise

70.00% (1612) of the artifact assemblage from Locus 4 and include items such as glass and ceramic vessels for food storage and serving, faunal materials, and ceramic cooking items. Free, wage laborers appear to have placed a greater emphasis on serving and dining as opposed to food preparation (Figure 5.3). Items related to food preparation including Afro-Antiguan ceramics that were used as cooking pots and as coal pots, a ceramic stove-like vessel, comprise only 7.26% (117) of the artifacts relating to foodways. Items relating to serving comprise 46.59% (751) of the artifacts relating to foodways.

Serving items dominate the artifacts relating to foodways from Locus 4 and include a variety of tablewares such as bowls, plates, and serving dishes, as well as teawares such as teacups and saucers (Table 5.1). Of the identified tableware vessels, bowls are the most prevalent (94) yet plates are also relatively common (74). Such an assemblage points to two distinct changes in how people ate and dined following emancipation. First, the prevalence of serving items points to greater consumer power to buy ceramic and glass items for dining and, second, it also suggests a preference for more fancy and permanent dining wares over organic materials such as the calabash (Figure 5.4).

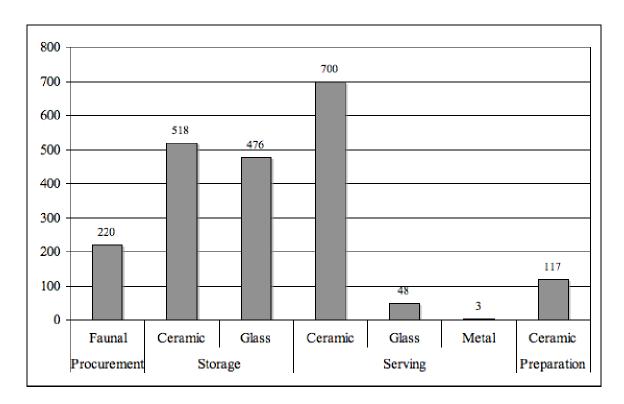


Figure 5.3: Sub-categories of artifacts relating to foodways from Locus 4

Artifact Type	Vessel Type	Number of Fragments
Ceramic-Tableware	Bowl	94
	Plate	74
	Serving Dish	5
	Unid: Tableware	462
Ceramic-Teaware	Saucer	3
	Teacup	2
	Unid: Teaware	60
Glass	Tabelware, unid.	48
Metal	Spoon	3

Table 5.1: Vessels relating to food serving from Locus 4 excavations.



Figure 5.4: Locus 4 ceramics include a handpainted pearlware bowl fragment, two sponge painted bowl fragments and one annularware bowl fragment.

In addition, a large proportion of items relating to foodways consist of storage items such as jugs, pitchers, storage jars, and a variety of glass jars and bottles (Table 5.2). These items comprise 32.51% (524) of the foodways assemblage and include a variety of types of materials ranging from coarse earthenwares and stonewares to glass bottles in a variety of shapes and sizes such as olive green "wine-style" bottles, case bottles, and bell jars (Figure 5.5).

Artifact Type	Vessel Type	Number of Fragments
Ceramic	Bottle	1
	Jug	2
	Lid	1
	Mug/Can	7
	Pitcher/Ewer	1
	Storage Jar	1
	Unid: Utilitarian	35
Glass	Bell Jar	1
	Bottle, beer	59
	Bottle, case	1
	Bottle, liquor	7
	Bottle, mineral	75
	Bottle, unid.	221
	Bottle, wine style	106
	Container, unid.	6

Table 5.2: Items relating to food storage from Locus 4 excavations.



Figure 5.5: Storage vessel fragments include salt-glazed stoneware sherds.

In addition to the evidence for food storage, preparation, and serving, faunal evidence recovered from Locus 4 gives some insights into what types of foods free laborers had access to and were consuming (Figure 5.6). Nearly half (45.45% [100]) of the faunal assemblage consisted of shells, 13 of which were from the West Indian Top Shell (*Citarrium pica*). Fish were also represented in the faunal collection, including 13 fish vertebra and the maxilla of a parrot fish. Only 6 pieces of mammal remains and 2 rodent remains were recovered from Locus 4. 44.55% of the faunal remains were unidentifiable due to the minute nature of the faunal remains. In general, the large percentage of sea creatures in the faunal collection points to an increase in the practice of supplementing diets through local fishing. As laborers could no longer rely on provisions of salted fish from planters, it is likely they fished more themselves or turned to local fisherman to purchase fish to supplement the provisions they grew in their provision plots and house gardens.



Figure 5.6: Faunal remains from Locus 4 include mammal bone fragments and West Indian Top Shell (*Cittarium pica*) fragments

These shifts in foodways point to several changes in the lives of free laborers that occurred following emancipation. First, the artifacts relating to foodways reflect a much greater use of imported, European ceramics such as pearlwares, whitewares, and stonewares. While this shift might reflect a greater availability and access to imported ceramics, the nature of these ceramics points to a change in the practices surrounding foodways.

The amount of items relating to food serving and storage suggests a greater interest in these aspects of foodways as opposed to food preparation. Several changes in laborer lifeways following emancipation lend insights into why there is an emphasis on food serving and storage.

Free, wage laborers could no longer rely on receiving provisions from planters as they did during the period of slavery. Though, at Green Castle Estate, enslaved laborers had access to provision grounds, the presence of artifacts relating to food storage following emancipation suggests a greater concern with preserving foodstuffs. Historical

accounts also stress how the formerly enslaved were responsible for growing their own foodstuffs following emancipation. "Now, they provide themselves with what they like; and are therefore better, if less abundantly fed" (Sturge and Harvey 1838:47-48). Even if wage laborers were given the opportunity to grow food items they preferred, the inability to receive food rations from planters was a problem that some workers could not prepare for as free laborers. In the court cases discussed in the previous chapter at least one case highlights how a laborer resorted to stealing food because he had been sick and could not earn his wages, grow food items, or afford to purchase food (Sturge and Harvey 1838:35). Additionally, providing food for elderly Afro-Antiguans who could not work to earn a wage, was a widespread social problem following emancipation: "The most painful feature in the state of Antigua at the present moment is, the destitute condition of the old and infirm, owing to the absence of a legal provision for them, and to the present distress from the long period of drought" (Sturge and Harvey 1838:33). It becomes clear that following emancipation, as laborers were responsible for providing themselves with food, a greater interest in food storage would be necessary and is occurring at Green Castle Estate, as evidenced by the high presence of food storage vessels in the Locus 4 assemblage.

The high percentage of items relating to food serving suggests greater importance was placed on the act of dining in the period following emancipation. As some women were given more freedom to remain home to do domestic work, the dynamics of how domestic work was performed must have changed as well. Whereas in the period of slavery, greater emphasis seems to have been placed on the activities surrounding food preparation, in the post-emancipation period, items relating to food serving have priority

in the archaeological record. Food preparation was still a vital component of foodways, yet as the nature of households changed, domestic activities were divided along gender lines and a greater distinction between work on the plantation and work at home was created. In this light, it appears the act of dining might have become a more important activity relating to foodways than the act of food preparation.

Though there is a small emphasis on food preparation, as evidenced by only 7.26% (117) of the food-related artifacts being used for food preparation, this does not completely suggest the importance of food preparation was undermined following emancipation. Wage laborers may have shifted the types of vessels they used for cooking, such as turning to cast iron pots instead of locally-produced Afro-Antiguan wares, yet still maintained a strong cultural tradition around food preparation. In fact, following emancipation, a greater appreciation for foodways in general may have been fostered, as it became an aspect of life that was now completely controlled by the formerly enslaved.

Still, there is evidence for a change in how food was cooked following emancipation. In the late nineteenth-century, coal pots become a popular vessel made from Afro-Antiguan ceramics (Handler 1964:151; Hauser 2009:113; Heath 1988:114). Coal pots similarly are common in late nineteenth-century contexts in Jamaica (Hauser 2009:140). Coal pots are used as portable hearths on which coals are burned and cooking pots are placed directly into the hot coals (Figure 5.7). Only one ceramic sherd from Locus 4 is from a coal pot, yet the increasingly prevalence of coal pots throughout the second half of the nineteenth century in Antiguan pottery traditions demonstrates a shift in cooking technique. Rather than using hearths that were embedded in the landscape of

the village, the use of coal pots allows for the movement of cooking activities throughout the landscape. Furthermore, though in the modern context Afro-Antiguan pots, yabbas, are used with coal pots, nineteenth-century Afro-Antiguans may have used European cooking vessels such as imported ceramics or cast iron pots as cooking temperatures were more easily regulated in coal pots as opposed to open fires and hearths. Ultimately, the nature of food preparation changed following emancipation, though the relative of lack of archaeological data relating to food preparation does not suggest it became a less important cultural practice.



Figure 5.6: A modern coal pot. Courtesy of Jeremy Bardoe.

5.2.2 Personal Adornment

One of the greatest shifts the historical record notes in the practices of the formerly enslaved is in the area of personal adornment. As free laborers were given greater purchasing power, clothing and accessories appear to have been a favored way to exercise that power. One travel account notes the dramatic shift in the dress style of the formerly enslaved:

They are also much better dressed. Many make themselves ridiculously fine on Sundays. It is not uncommon, on that day, to see *ladies*, who toil under a burning

sun during six days of the week, attired on the seventh in silk stockings, and straw bonnet, with parasol, and gloves; and the *gentlemen* in black coats and fancy waistcoats. This extravagance is partly owing to the absence of an intermediate class for them to imitate [Sturge and Harvey 1838:47-48; emphasis in original].

While such accounts discuss how free laborers dressed up for church on Sunday, they are also judgmental in describing such adornment as "ridiculously fine" and in suggesting Afro-Antiguans dress to imitate the upper class of Antiguans, when it is not their place to do so. Instead, they should imitate an "intermediate class."

Additional travel accounts point to similar changes in the style of dress of the formerly enslaved. One account remarks that Afro-Antiguans, who had previously labored in the rain during slavery, now avoid attending church during poor weather. He argues, "The reason is curious. They now have shoes and stockings which they are unwilling to expose to the mud" (Gurney 1840:60; emphasis in original). The same account also describes the fancy dress that wage laborers were able to afford for celebrations, as they encountered a wedding party in their travels: "We overtook a wedding party. Both bride and bridegroom were common laborers on the estate. The bridegroom was attired in a blue coat, handsome waistcoat, with a brooch, white pantaloons, and Wellington boots—the bride in a vast pink silk bonnet, lace cap, and white muslin gown with fashionable sleeves!" (Gurney 1840:66). These travel accounts most likely focus on the dress of Afro-Antiguans because it is one of the most visible changes seen in the practices of the formerly enslaved. While the accounts ridicule Afro-Antiguans for emulating the high class of Antiguan planters and having "fashionable sleeves," for the formerly enslaved, dress may have been a symbol of status that allowed them to exert that, at least on principle, as free Antiguans, they had access to the same

rights and privileges as white Antiguans. For the formerly enslaved, too, dress may have been one of the most visible means they could exert this newfound status.

Archaeological evidence for personal adornment in Locus 4 is small, but striking. Four fragments of metal boot heel cleats were recovered, along with two clothing clasps and four grommets (Figure 5.8; Figure 5.9). A variety of buttons, manufactured from shell, glass, metal, and bone were excavated, along with two wound glass beads (Figure 5.10). Both beads are spheroid in shape and one was manufactured from dark olive glass while the other is made of an opaque, white glass (Figure 5.11). All of these items are related specifically to clothing and dress and suggest that clothing was an area in which wage laborers invested to display their social status as free laborers. In addition, remnants of bluing powder, used in laundering clothes, was recovered from Locus 4. This might suggest that alongside increased use of clothing, especially fancy dress for Sundays and special occasions, came further domestic responsibilities, such as washing more clothing, that accompanied the ownership of fine items.



Figure 5.8: Metal boot heel cleat fragment.



Figure 5.9: Metal clasp and two grommets for clothing.



Figure 5.10: Buttons excavated from Locus 4 include buttons made from glass, shell, metal, and bone.

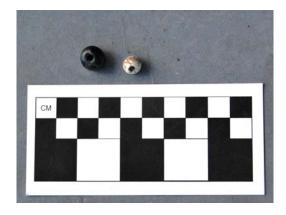


Figure 5.11: Glass Beads from Locus 4 include a dark olive, wound bead and an opaque white, wound glass bead.

5.2.3 Health, Hygiene, and Beauty Practices

In addition to changes in personal practices associated with adornment, there appears to be a shift in the practices relating to health, hygiene, and beauty among free laborers at Green Castle Estate. Following emancipation, the health and hygiene of the formerly enslaved comes under great scrutiny. During the period of slavery, many planters hired doctors to work on estates to attend to ill laborers. Indeed, historic accounts lament the number of enslaved laborers that were ill, or feigned illness, and left planters short-handed in the fields: "What with childhood, age, infirmity, sickness, sham sickness, and other causes, full two-thirds of the negro population might be regarded as dead weight" (Sturge and Harvey 1838:58; emphasis in original). Following emancipation, though, a dependence on wages led to the need to labor regardless of whether one was sick. One Afro-Antiguan woman, who had been known to avoid work during slavery, summarizes her predicament in a travel account: "One of the most worthless women on the property, once always pretending sickness and inability to work, had become as industrious a labourer as any on the estate. He asked her on one occasion the reason of the change in her habits. She replied, significantly, 'Me get no money then, massa''' (Sturge and Harvey 1838:57).

This need to work may have facilitated an increased interest in health among the formerly enslaved. This resulted in changes in daily practice, such as avoiding rain. "It was stated in the course of the debate, that the negroes are much more careful of their health than formerly. They did not use to mind working in the rain, but now a shower sends them flying in all direction for shelter" (Sturge and Harvey 1838:38). This change in behavior might be due more so to less strict labor policies following emancipation, but

it is interesting to consider in light of health and daily practice. It is also reflected in the archaeological record. The presence of bluing powder, used to launder clothes, may have also contributed to shifts in hygienic practices. Furthermore, one ceramic chamber pot fragment was excavated.

In addition, fragments of perfume and medicine bottles are present in Locus 4, pointing to changes in the practices surrounding beauty and health. Nine fragments of bottles, representing at least six different vessels, were recovered (Figure 5.12).



Figure 5.12: Medicine bottle top and perfume bottle body and base from Locus 4. 5.2.4 Recreational Activities

Items relating to personal and recreational activities account for 3.56% (82) of the Locus 4 assemblage and present interesting insights into the lives of wage laborers at Green Castle Estate. Only 33 British tobacco pipe fragments were recovered from Locus 4, suggesting that smoking became a less popular activity following emancipation. Nine chert and flint fragments were also excavated and were probably used as strike-a-lights for smoking or starting fires for domestic uses. Yet, wage laborers engaged in other activities. Sewing, as evidenced by one copper thimble, was practiced by at least one laborer (Figure 5.13). Additionally, several of the free laborers at Green Castle were

probably literate as one lead pencil, three glass, ink bottle fragments, and 10 pieces of writing slate were recovered (Figure 5.14). One fired, lead musketball was also excavated. Though the carrying of weapons was illegal following emancipation, laborers may have had access to firearms for hunting.



Figure 5.13: Copper alloy thimble.



Figure 5.14: Lead pencil fragment.

Interestingly, an iron alloy keyhole was recovered in excavations and it was probably part of a small chest or cabinet (Figure 5.15). This points to an interest in safeguarding items such as money or items of value. The presence of this keyhole leads to some interesting questions about the nature of social relationships within the wage laborer village. On the one hand, the keyhole might indicate that some households were wealthier than others and therefore felt a need to safeguard valuable items to prevent

stealing from within the village. Alternatively, laborers may have collectively owned a safe box to keep money and other items inside to protect the assets of the community as a whole from planters or other individuals. Still, the keyhole is interesting in that it points to lifestyles that are increasingly material and that greater value becomes placed on the material objects that wage laborers are now able to acquire such as money or other items of importance.



Figure 5.15: Iron alloy keyhole.

5.2.5 Discussion: Increased Domesticity—Agency or Coercion?

Following emancipation, both the historical record and archaeological evidence from Locus 4 point to distinct changes in the daily lives of the formerly enslaved, most notably through an increase in domestic, household activity that becomes distinctly separate from plantation labor. Historical accounts describe the formation of a well-defined domestic life in which marriage becomes more important to family life, families reside together in the same household, and women tend to domestic activities such as household maintenance, food preparation, and childcare, while men work for a wage. The archaeological evidence from Locus 4 demonstrates changes in the daily practices of wage laborers following emancipation that corroborates the shift towards increased domesticity. Changes in foodways alongside shifts in personal adornment and the need

to safeguard items suggest an increased division of domestic activity from labor, in the sense that it is used to earn a wage.

This increasing dichotomy between the domestic sphere and the laboring spaces of the plantation becomes a point from which to examine how freedom manifests in postemancipation Antigua. This separation of the domestic household and the workplace creates distinct spaces of private and public activity that did not exist in such sharp dichotomy during the period of slavery. The question arises, though, as to whether this became a point of increased agency for wage laborers and a site of freedom within the post-emancipation landscape or a further means to subvert the newly formed laboring class through veiled capitalist relations.

The creation of distinctly domestic spaces on the plantation served as a strong point of agency for the formerly enslaved. Increasingly, households consisted of families that did not necessarily have the opportunity to live together during the period of slavery. After emancipation, some women had the option to stay home from work in the fields to perform domestic activities and this, in turn, reshaped the daily practices of family life for many Afro-Antiguans. Domestic activities became more divided along gender lines, yet women were able to devote more time to investing in households and creating spaces in which Afro-Antiguans had a large degree of autonomy to engage in preferred cultural activities and traditions.

At the same time, though, the development of a strong division between the domestic and laboring spaces of life also benefits planters and imposes new forms of social relations in Antigua. Recent scholarship draws on Marxist theory to suggest that the household becomes another space in which capitalist social relations pervade daily

life. For instance, Perelman (2000:41) argues that the activities performed in the household are not "outside of capital" but rather still within the social system of capitalist relations. First, household production entails the manufacture of petty commodities in the home for either small-scale sale or personal use. Second, household production consists of the actual reproduction of the working class through the domestic activities that occur in the household. Both of these aspects of household production, though, become vital to the overall reproduction of the working class, as labor power for capital, in that they become intimately tied to the amount of wages laborers receive, influence the amount and types of commodities purchased by the working class, and ultimately become the source for the renewal of labor power. Though, as Marx (2003:536) contends, daily practice and household economies are out of the direct relations of capitalist production, they are continually structured by these relations through the very measures outlined above.

This argument holds strong implications for the ways in which social scientists approach the study of daily practice and domestic economies. With the publication of Pierre Bourdieu's 1977 *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, the practices of daily life became a means of examining how people negotiate their lives and actions within dominant structural forces including cultural ideologies and social processes. In this light, daily practice and household economies become a strong means of evaluating how individuals work and act within the household and seek to resist the influences that structure their lives outside of it. If, though, the household also becomes a site for capital, the processes by which people reproduce their own social and cultural practices within the household, and seemingly outside of the direct relations of capitalist production, come into question. In this light, the household becomes a site of struggle, a continual point of negotiation of

the various identities and actions of individuals within prevailing ideologies and social structures.

Viewing the household as a site within the pervasive influence of capital, too, breaks down the dichotomy between work and home espoused by various studies of domestic activities (Beaudry, et al. 1991; Yentsch 1991). If capitalist social forces are continually structuring the household, then the dichotomies between the fields and home, and production and consumption, are negated and should instead be viewed as a continuum through which capitalist relations have varying degrees of influence. Viewing the home as a site of leisure, then, becomes merely another means of capitalist ideology masking the continued exploitation of wage laborers in innovative and shifting ways (Johnson 1999; Leone 1995; 1999; 2005).

Though the household may have been an arena in which the social relations of freedom were able to subvert free laborers by placing greater demands on them for their own survival, it is unlikely the formerly enslaved shared this viewpoint. Instead, free laborers took great advantage of being able to create households and new domestic lives following emancipation. The ability to own land and provide for their families of their own accord no doubt was a huge site of freedom for laborers. Additionally, the ability to increasingly separate the home from work served to create a space in which laborers could share their time with family in leisure activities following work. Ultimately, even though laborers had huge struggles following emancipation, the right to live in their own homes and produce for themselves allowed for greater agency in the ability to choose how they would live.

5.3 Developing a Consuming Population

In addition to marked changes in the areas of domesticity and household life, the formerly enslaved laborers of Green Castle Estate had greater purchasing power following emancipation. The onset of wages changed the fabric of the internal economy of Antigua from one based, to a large extent, on own-account production and direct trade and barter to a system in which the exchange of money became the heart of economic transactions. Consumption became a vital component of the new society that provides increased profits for planters and helps elevate the newly formed laboring class.

As discussed earlier, one of the greatest changes that occurred in the daily lives of the formerly enslaved was that they no longer received food rations from planters on estates. Following emancipation, planters relished in no longer having this responsibility and took advantage of the situation by selling provisions, that wage laborers often tilled and managed, to the plantation workers.

A purchasing and consuming population is beginning to be formed within the island itself. The sale of ground provisions to their labourers is already become a source of profit to estates. A negro will sometimes go to the store-keeper to buy a gallon of molasses, and though this retail sale is at present more troublesome than profitable to proprietors, it will eventually become a source of revenue to them [Sturge and Harvey 1838:44].

Thus, food items, that had been provided during the period of slavery had to be purchased and doing so on the estate only gives a worker's wages back to the employer.

While some planters developed stores on their estate to take advantage of laborers who needed items, especially food, for survival, internal markets prevailed following emancipation. Despite the strict legislation that forbade Sunday markets just prior to emancipation, Saturday markets were legitimate and, as workers were given "free

Saturdays" in addition to Sundays for worship, free laborers could take advantage of the market without being charged with profaning the Sabbath.

Following emancipation, there seems to be a dynamic shift in the consuming power of the formerly enslaved. Whereas enslaved laborers attended markets to *sell* items they had produced of their own account, wage laborers attended market to *purchase* items.

We went this morning through the market, which was largely attended. Almost every sort of eatable commodity was exposed for sale; fruit, fish, meal, besides bundles of sticks and grass, cotton prints, &c. &c. The scene was a highly animated one, but the proceedings were conducted with great order. Previously to the abolition of slavery, the market was principally supplied by the agricultural peasantry, with articles of their own raising; but now this class are more generally buyers than sellers; and a large proportion of the merchandise is of foreign growth or manufacture [Sturge and Harvey 1838:25].

Access to money not only improved the purchasing power of wage laborers but also placed greater emphasis on the consumption of *imported* items as opposed to locally-produced items. This seeming shift in the preference for imported items over locally-produced items may not just reflect the changing desires of wage laborers but also speak to pointed efforts to reduce own-account production by laborers.

A Police Act came into operation about a fortnight ago, which affords an illustration of the new forms in which oppression will learn to exhibit itself in the West Indies; one of its clauses prohibits country people form bringing their goods to market without a pass from the manager of the estate on which they reside. Unless they are provided with this pass, the police seize and confiscate their property, whether it be produce, poultry, or other stock of their own raising, or grass and wood collected on the estate, by the manager's permission [Sturge and Harvey 1838:25-26].

While many wage laborers probably wished to take advantage of their purchasing power by acquiring imported items for use, the measures taken by the Antiguan legislature to prohibit markets and prevent people from bringing local products to the market to sell suggests that elite Antiguans wanted to influence the decisions Afro-Antiguans made in the markets and placed greater emphasis on imported goods as opposed to locally-produced items. This trend not only increases trade to the island but also discourages own-account production among laborers, making them increasingly dependent on their wages as the only means to procure items for personal use.

In many cases, historical accounts suggest the majority of items purchased by the formerly enslaved revolve around foodways. Wage laborers increasingly purchased imported food items for daily use and for special occasions.

Nor can it be doubted that the personal comforts of the laborers have been in the mean time vastly increased. The duties on imports in 1833, (the last year of slavery) were £13,576; in 1839, they were £24, 650. This augmentation has been occasioned by the importation of dry goods and other articles for which a demand, entirely new, has arisen among the laboring population. The quantity of bread and meat, used as food by the laborers is surprisingly increased. Their wedding cakes and dinners are extravagant, even to the point, at times, of drinking champagne! [Gurney 1840:62].

The emphasis on special occasions is a point repeated in various historical accounts. In addition to laws that forbade dancing following emancipation, travelers to Antigua remark on the popularity of balls among the formerly enslaved, and how consumption factors into these events.

Dances are a great source of demoralisation. They sometimes aspire to suppers, and even champagne, so called; and most absurdly give sums of four or five dollars for the honour of opening the ball, besides money to their partners. This tempts to robbery [Sturge and Harvey 1838:48].

In both the cases of weddings and balls, the formerly enslaved rely on imported items to mark celebrations. These social activities also intersect with practices regarding foodways as suppers, wedding dinners, and celebrations all center on food and dining. Interestingly, historical accounts suggest a shift in foodways towards a preference for imported items that would have been associated with planters during the period of slavery. The formerly enslaved, then, were finding a means through which they could assert their equal status with planters. By having the purchasing power to acquire expensive, imported foodstuffs and by co-opting celebrations such as weddings and balls, free laborers exerted their status by demonstrating they too engaged in the activities that formerly distinguished planters from enslaved laborers.

5.3.1 The Material Culture of Free Laborers and Consumption

The overall artifact assemblage from Locus 4 lends much insight into the practices of consumption among wage laborers at Green Castle Estate in the second half of the nineteenth century. First, within the Locus 4 assemblage, there is a more even distribution between different classes of artifacts when examined by material (Figure 5.16). For instance, ceramics, glass, and metal artifacts comprise 33.54% (876), 31.13% (813), and 24.12% (630), respectively of the Locus 4 assemblage. This points to a wide diversity of items that were being acquired by wage laborers for different uses, as opposed to the focus on ceramics, as in Locus 5.

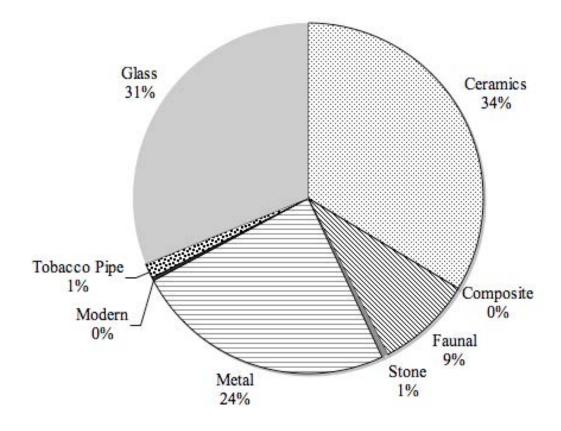


Figure 5.16: Locus 4 artifact percentages by artifact material.

Ceramics, again, provide a point of departure for examining how wage laborers exercised their purchasing power in the market. Imported, refined, white earthenwares comprise 74.12% (648) of the ceramic assemblage fro Locus 4. Collectively, imported ceramics comprise 84.21% (736) of the ceramic assemblage. This highlights a strong preference and use of imported ceramics over locally-produced wares and points to the purchasing power wage laborers had following emancipation. Additionally, 23 ceramic ware types were found in the Locus 4 assemblage, and suggest laborers took advantage of the diversity of imported wares that were available following emancipation (Figure 5.17).

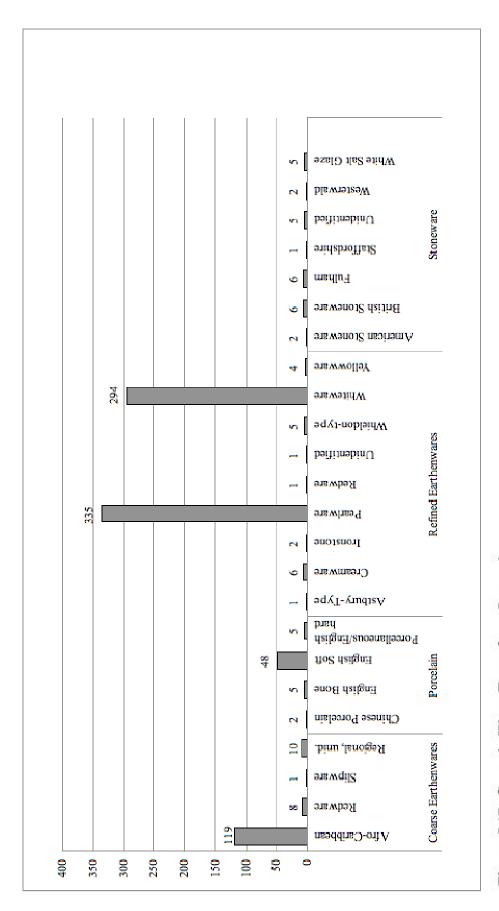


Figure 5.17: Ceramic Ware Types from Locus 4.

Laborers purchased ceramics that exhibit a range of decorative techniques and stylistic elements (Figure 5.18). For instance, ceramics that were incised, molded, and rouletted were present, but preference for handpainted and transfer-printed ceramics dominate the Locus 4 assemblage. Not surprisingly, blue decorations dominate the ceramic decorations, yet a variety of colors including green, mulberry, pink, brown, and black, in addition to polychrome, handpainted vessels, are also present in the Locus 4 assemblage. While the most frequent stylistic element on ceramics is a plain band design, botanical and floral elements are also common and might represent a preferred style of ceramic serving ware (Figure 5.19).

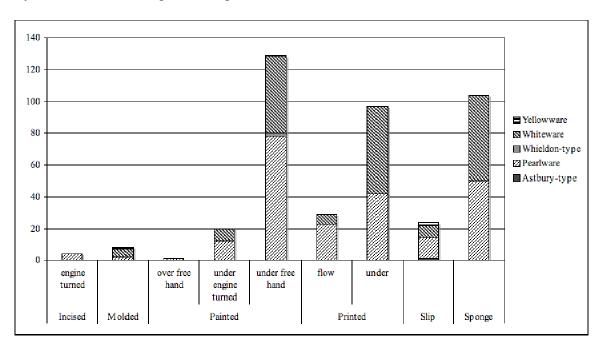


Figure 5.18: Decorative techniques on imported ceramics from Locus 4

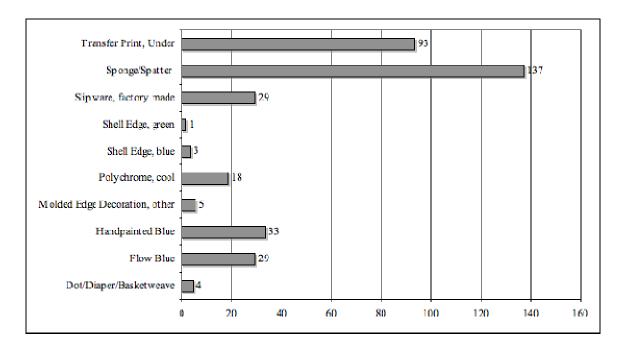


Figure 5.19: Stylistic Genres on imported ceramics from Locus 4.

In addition to ceramics, the propensity of glass and metal artifacts also speaks to an area of consumption among free laborers. The relatively high quantity of glass in the Locus 4 assemblage, especially the increase in glass tablewares, demonstrates that people were exercising wide purchasing power. Furthermore, the presence of metal boot heel cleats suggest people had greater access to items of personal adornment and took advantage of their purchasing power.

While some insights into personal choice in consumption, such as through common ceramic decoration types can be made, in general, the consumption practices of post-emancipation laborers demonstrates a trend of using purchasing power to acquire status items with higher visibility among the community. For instance, the emphasis on items relating to food serving over that of food preparation suggests greater importance was place on dining. Additionally, an emphasis on personal adornment in both the

historical and archaeological records shows laborers were investing in their personal appearance. Both serving items and personal style become arenas that are highly visible.

While some archaeologists have critiqued the emphasis on interpretations that speak to the visibility of material culture, these criticisms stem from the tendency to conflate visibility to more problematic assumptions such as a conflation of cost and social value (Mullins 2004:206-207). Instead, the visibility of consumption practices and material culture should be used to highlight how people could fight against dominant ideologies. For Paul Mullins (2009:210) this should be the focus of interpretations of consumption and material culture for archaeologists: "Yet even the most data-rich examination of an individual's life or some material moments mean little or nothing anthropologically if they are not clearly positions within and against dominant structural influences, regardless of how those structural influences registered in everyday experience." In this light, the consumption practices of wage laborers highlights the ability for people to assert their status as free laborers, who had access to the same markets and items as planters, in highly visible ways. Whereas this might seem like a shift towards "acculturation," in which the formerly enslaved are now buying into the market of European goods available to them, I suggest this shift marks a bold assertion of a new, free identity by Afro-Antiguan laborers. In the face of continued subversion following emancipation, Antigua laborers harnessed their purchasing power to demonstrate to planters that they were indeed politically equal and sought to assert an identity of economic equality as well through the purchase of highly visible items such as serving wares and clothing. Though Antiguan planters had tried to continually coerce

them, Antiguan laborers demonstrated that they too had rights and market accessibility and would choose to take advantage of them.

5.4 Conclusions

Post-emancipation landscapes and material culture highlight how free laborers in Antigua began to carve out lifeways for themselves independent of plantation workings. Despite the legislation and measures Antiguan planters took to try to continually coerce laborers, within the decades following emancipation the society would shift to reflect the change in labor structure and the freedom of the formerly enslaved.

Within the years following emancipation, free villages would slowly take root in areas surrounding mission lands and as plantations were slowly sold off to laborers.

Even within plantations, improvements to houses and, in the case of Green Castle Estate, the building of new houses demonstrate how the landscapes of sugar and slavery would shift to one of freedom and allow greater movement and mobility among free laborers.

Additionally, greater emphasis on domestic lifeways and a more distinct separation between domestic spheres and work spheres developed as women were able to stay home from the fields and attend to domestic lives.

The material culture of free laborers speaks to these changes in life. The emphasis on serving items marks a shift in the cultural importance surrounding food preparation to one surrounding food serving and dining. Additionally, the purchasing power of free laborers is evidenced by the high propensity of imported goods that inculcate daily life for wage laborers.

Amidst these changes, free laborers were able to gain greater control of their lives through the creation of households and greater attention in domestic affairs. Further, in

asserting their freedom and purchasing power through dress and personal adornment, the formerly enslaved were able to convey that they were indeed free and had access to the same rights and privileges planters had. No matter how much planters continually tried to subjugate the laboring population, they would repeatedly demonstrate their rights through highly visible aspects of daily life.

Chapter Six

Being Enslaved and Becoming Free: The Dialectics of Life in Antigua

The dynamics of social life in Antigua during the periods of slavery and freedom created a world in which planters continually tried to coercively control the lives of laborers, both enslaved and free. Yet, in both the periods of slavery and post-emancipation, Afro-Antiguans were able to create strong cultural traditions that asserted a unique, Afro-Antiguan identity in the face of colonial ideologies. The activities of daily life among Afro-Antiguan laborers, though, changed dramatically from the period of slavery to freedom and each period demonstrates how Afro-Antiguans manipulated their social positions, and took advantage of opportunities presented to them, to create better lives for themselves and their families.

6.1 Comparing the Daily Lives of Enslaved and Free Laborers

One of the advantages of the archaeological evidence recovered from Green Castle Estate is the opportunity to compare assemblages that date to the periods of slavery and post-emancipation. This is an innovation for plantation archaeology in Antigua because it provides evidence of the daily lives of enslaved laborers and wage laborers. Previous research on plantations in Antigua only examines the lives of wage laborers in the late nineteenth century (Gonzalez Scollard 2008). The landscape of Green Castle Estate, wherein there are distinct areas of domestic refuse dating to the periods of slavery and emancipation, allows for a comparative approach that examines how lifeways changed for Afro-Antiguans from the period of slavery to freedom.

The archaeological deposits from Locus 5 and Locus 4 give insights into the lives of enslaved and free laborers, respectively, at Green Castle Estate because they consist of

domestic refuse related to the activities of daily practice. One of the areas in which both enslaved and wage laborers engaged was in the practice of foodways, though the archaeological evidence suggests the practices may have changed between the periods of slavery and freedom in Antigua.

	Locus 5 (Period of Slavery)		Locus 4 (Post-Emancipation)		
	Number of Artifacts	Percentage	Number of Artifacts	Percentage	
Food-Faunal	148	4.25%	220	13.65%	
Food Storage	310	8.90%	524	32.51%	
Food Serving	1230	35.30%	751	46.59%	
Food Preparation	1796	51.55%	117	7.26%	

Table 6.1: Comparison of Foodways Artifacts from Loci 5 and 4.

Items relating to foodways comprise 77.91% (3484) of the Locus 5 assemblage whereas they comprise 70.00% (1612) of the Locus 4 assemblage. There are also considerable differences in the distribution of items relating to foodways within subcategories such as food storage, food serving and food preparation (Table 6.1). For instance, items relating to food preparation comprise an overwhelming 51.55% (1796) of the foodways artifacts from Locus 5 whereas only 7.26% (117) of the foodways artifacts from Locus 4 fall within that category. This suggests there was a substantial shift in the ways in which Afro-Antiguans prepared food in the period of slavery and after emancipation, as evidenced from the archaeological deposits in Loci 5 and 4.

Additionally, there is a drastic change in the amount of artifacts relating to food storage over these two periods as well. While items relating to food storage only comprise 8.90% (310) of the foodways artifacts from Locus 5, they comprise 32.51% (524) of foodways items from Locus 4.

While there is not as dramatic a shift in the overall percentage of artifacts relating to food serving from the periods of slavery and freedom (items relating to food serving comprise 35.30% [1230] and 46.59% [751] of the foodways assemblages from Locus 5 and Locus 4, respectively), there are distinct changes in the types of items used for food serving. The vessel types used for food serving do not change significantly over time (Table 6.2), however, there are considerable changes to the decorative techniques used on ceramics which might point to differences in the availability of items over time, but also to the increased consumer power Afro-Antiguans had following emancipation (Figure 6.1).

		Locus 5 (Period of Slavery)		Locus 4 (Post-Emancipation)	
Artifact Class	Vessel Type	Number of Artifacts	Percentage	Number of Artifacts	Percentage
Ceramic	Bowl	173	14.07%	94	12.52%
	Lid	3	0.24%	0	-
	Plate	200	16.26%	74	9.85%
	Saucer	8	0.65%	3	0.40%
	Serving Dish	3	0.24%	5	0.67%
	Teacup	16	1.30%	2	0.27%
	Unid: Tableware	649	52.76%	462	61.52%
	Unid: Teaware	127	10.33%	60	7.99%
Glass	Drinking glass	1	0.08%	0	-
	Stemware	1	0.08%	0	-
	Tableware, unid.	44	3.58%	48	6.39%
Metal	Spoon	0	-	3	0.40%
	Utensil Handle	5	0.41%	0	-

Table 6.2: Vessels relating to food serving in Locus 5 and Locus 4.

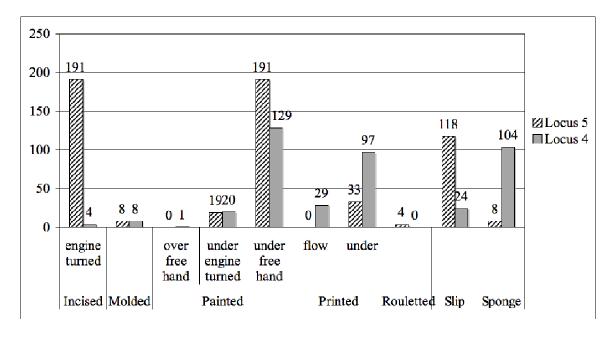


Figure 6.1: Decorative techniques used on ceramics relating to food serving from Locus 5 and Locus 4.

There is evidence for change in the types of ceramics Afro-Antiguans acquired and used during the periods of slavery and freedom at Green Castle Estate based on the decorative techniques used on imported ceramics. For instance, ceramics with incised and slip decorations were prevalent in the Locus 5 assemblage but not in the Locus 4 assemblage, suggesting they may have fallen out of favor with Afro-Antiguans. While hand painted ceramics were common in both assemblages, transfer printed and sponge painted ceramics were more prevalent in the Locus 4 assemblage. These changes undoubtedly speak to the availability of imported wares over time and differences in overarching trends in imported ceramics, but might also lend evidence to the increased consumer power of Afro-Antiguans following emancipation.

Transfer printed ceramics are among the most expensive to purchase. Thus, the dramatic increase in the percentage of transfer printed ceramics in the Locus 4 assemblage, when compared with the Locus 5 assemblage, suggests a marked change in

the consumption power of Afro-Antiguans occurred following emancipation. Yet, there is still a great variety in the ceramic assemblage, and not much evidence for consistency of ceramic type, style, or decoration within the assemblage. Therefore, it is likely Afro-Antiguans were acquiring ceramics one at a time (as opposed to purchasing sets) after emancipation as well. Still, there is a strong emphasis within the post-emancipation assemblage from Locus 4 on imported ceramics as the percentage of locally-produced Afro-Antiguan wares is much smaller in the Locus 4 assemblage (7.26%) as opposed to the Locus 5 assemblage (51.55%). This is consistent with reports that the Afro-Antiguan pottery tradition declined in the nineteenth century (Petersen, et al. 1999), though new vessel forms continued to be introduced throughout the nineteenth century and the pottery is still produced and used today.

Evidence for personal activities practiced among Afro-Antiguans changes slightly between the period of slavery and freedom as well. Archaeological evidence in both Locus 5 and Locus 4 suggests that Afro-Antiguans smoked tobacco, engaged in sewing, and may have been literate because of the presence of writing slate in both loci and a lead pencil fragment in Locus 4. The archaeological evidence for Locus 4, though, hints at how the lives of Afro-Antiguans may have changed following emancipation. For instance, the presence of one iron alloy keyhole from a small cabinet or box points to an increased interest in protecting items of value. Additionally, there is a significant decline in the number of tobacco pipe fragments in the Locus 4 assemblage (33) from the Locus 5 assemblage (148).

The archaeological evidence from Locus 5 and Locus 4 demonstrate that there are distinct changes in the artifact assemblages that suggest significant changes in some areas

of daily life for Afro-Antiguans over the periods of slavery and freedom in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This evidence points strongly to a shift in the presence of locally-produced items, namely Afro-Antiguan ceramics, to imported ceramics. While this change was influenced by the availability of imported ceramics in Antigua and by the relatively limited purchasing power of Afro-Antiguans, the extent of the differences of the assemblages also points to changing attitudes towards consumption, the influx of capitalist social relations, and an increasing consciousness of modernity.

6.2 Situating Consumption within the Social Landscapes of Slavery and Freedom

Afro-Antiguans at Green Castle Estate were highly active in local markets during both the period of slavery and following emancipation. While there is no evidence for the large-scale production of local items at Green Castle Estate, such as ceramics, there were opportunities for Afro-Antiguans to engage in markets as producers and consumers. For instance, surplus foodstuffs, grown in provision grounds and house gardens during the period of slavery, may have given enslaved Afro-Antiguans an entry point into local markets to trade or barter for other items, such as locally-produced ceramics or imported goods. Following emancipation, the formerly enslaved were given more access to market opportunities and there is a marked increase in the amount of imported ceramics in the post-emancipation artifact assemblage at Locus 4.

While I have previously discussed the differences in the artifact assemblages, and given insights into how this evidence might be used to interpret the daily lives of enslaved and free laborers at Green Castle Estate, it is also interesting to consider how these changes in daily life are related to shifts in the broader social relations in Antigua and economic networks and systems throughout the British Atlantic. Thus, in situating

the practices of daily life and consumption within the regimes of slavery and freedom in Antigua, I hope to shed light on how Antiguan society shifted in the face of capitalist expansion and increasing modernity.

One of the most glaring differences in the artifact assemblages from Locus 5 and Locus 4 is the vast difference in the amount and percentage of Afro-Antiguan ceramics between the two assemblages. Afro-Antiguan ceramics account for over 35% (1805) of the total artifact assemblage from Locus 5. Only 119 Afro-Antiguan sherds were excavated from Locus 4, comprising only 4.56% of the Locus 4 assemblage. This vast decrease in the amount of Afro-Antiguan ceramics from the period of slavery to freedom was interpreted in light of changing practices relating to food preparation among enslaved and free laborers at Green Castle Estate. The context of the social relations of slavery and freedom, though, might also give insights into why this change occurred and how it altered the consumption practices of Afro-Antiguans.

During the period of slavery, in the eighteenth and early nineteenth-centuries,

Antiguan planters were caught in the contradictions of the slave society they helped
create. On the one hand, planters tried to continually control and monitor the enslaved
labor force by manipulating the landscapes of their plantations, enforcing strict labor
regimes, and creating incentives to bind laborers to the estate. Yet, planters also held
great responsibility in maintaining the slave population as a labor force. In the
discussions surrounding the decision by Antiguan planters to switch to immediate
emancipation, it becomes clear that planters were happy to relieve themselves of the
burdens of maintaining the slave population on their estates. It is thus highly likely that,
in the period of slavery, planters realized they too benefited from the local markets and

slave networks that emerged because it relieved them, at least to an extent, of some of the responsibilities of providing food, clothing, and other services towards maintaining the slave population.

It is within this environment that local crafts industries and economies flourished.

Enslaved laborers held markets on Sundays and several island pottery traditions

developed as well. Both the historical and archaeological records, however, point to how
the local economy would change following emancipation.

As discussed in Chapter 4, amidst the changes to the legislation of Antigua that occurred surrounding emancipation were prescribed efforts to restrict the movement of laborers and limit local markets. In 1824 a law was passed to end the traditional Sunday slave market and an 1831 law was put in place to better enforce the 1824 law (ABNA, LA). In addition, by 1838 there were laws in place to further restrict local production for sale by prohibiting people to bring goods to local markets without a pass from the manager of the estate on which they worked (Sturge and Harvey 1838:25-26). In these cases it is clear that these initiatives are proposed and supported by the planters on the island. Following emancipation, then, planters sought to quell a local marketplace that they had encouraged in the period of slavery.

In fact, the decades following emancipation highlight the tensions in Antiguan society between preserving social relations and lifeways that had been in place during the period of slavery and in forging new social relations that were better situated for the social relations of capital that emerged with the introduction of wage labor. While markets and consumption are one area in which this is evident, another is in the shifting landscapes of Antigua.

During the eighteenth century, Antigua's landscape was altered to one of large sugar plantations in which nearly all of the arable land on the island was used for sugar cultivation. Following emancipation, planters took advantage of this situation to continually tie laborers to the estate, yet soon recognized the shortcomings in this system as well. While the opportunity to own land was a huge advantage for the formerly enslaved in creating autonomy in their lives, it also provided benefits for planters who were able to more freely purchase the labor-power of individuals without having to solely hire individuals who lived on their estates. Thus, while the built environments of sugar were in many ways fixed in Antigua, the mobilization of labor within these landscapes in the post-emancipation period offered a means for planters and laborers alike to negotiate the social relations between each other.

As is evident, the shifts in the landscapes of Antigua and the material culture of Afro-Antiguans over the periods of slavery and freedom on the island are not just reflective of changes in lifeways among laborers but also highlight how labor relations and the social relations of production and consumption between planters and laborers changed during this time period as well. These shifts point to ways in which Antiguans created a post-emancipation society that translated the rhetoric of freedom into the practice of emancipation on the island. The ways in which emancipation unfolded in Antigua are unique within the context of the British Caribbean and reflect the complex negotiations of social life that accompanied this shift within this particular locale.

6.3 Research Findings

Throughout this dissertation, I have sought to demonstrate the ways that Antiguan planters manipulated the landscapes and social relations of Antigua to ensure the success

of sugar production on the island despite the challenges they faced. Planters greatly transformed the natural environment of Antigua by deforesting the island to make way for agricultural production. Additionally, by the end of the first quarter of the eighteenth century, wealthy planters had changed Antigua from an island of small landholders to one dominated by large plantations that produced sugar at a mass scale. Accompanying this shift in the physical landscape of the island was a vast change to the social makeup of the island's inhabitants as well. As large-scale sugar production took hold in Antigua, planters need vast supplies of labor and turned to enslaved African labor to meet this need. In doing so, planters created a social landscape in which they were in the minority and, in order to maintain social control, resorted to violent coercion to continually subdue enslaved laborers.

Yet, enslaved Afro-Antiguans recognized the injustices of the slave society and continually sought means to subvert the social system of the dominant. This occurred through organized acts of violent resistance to white planters, as evidenced by the killing of Major Samuel Martin in 1701 and in the Slave Revolt Plot of 1736. Though, white planters and colonial elites were able to quell these acts of insurrection, they could not maintain absolute control over every aspect of slave life.

As the archaeological evidence from Green Castle Estate demonstrates, enslaved laborers were able to exercise a considerable degree of personal freedom and choice in the practices of daily life. Enslaved laborers placed great emphasis on building cultural traditions around daily activities such as food procurement, preparation, and dining, and held consumptive power as evidenced by the presence of personal and household items that would have been acquired through trade, barter, or purchase. Amidst these traces of

material culture, it becomes readily apparent that, through the practices of daily life, enslaved laborers at Green Castle Estate were able to create vibrant cultural traditions that drew on West African influences to shape lifeways for themselves in Antigua.

In the early nineteenth century, Antiguan society began to face the immanent change to freedom for the tens of thousands of enslaved laborers on the island. While morally, pro-slavery advocates had little to stand on to continue to promote the system of slavery, on a very practical level, the shift to emancipation posed many social problems for the island and its economy. Planters worried they would not be able to maintain a sufficient number of laborers on their estates following emancipation and therefore enacted a series of strict legislation that continually tied laborers to their estates.

Additional legislation focused on controlling the social lives of free laborers by restricting the activities they could engage in, the people with whom they could associate, and, to an extent, the way their households should be managed. Ultimately, planters sought to create a post-emancipation society in which they could enjoy the benefits of free labor—such as a reduction in expenses as free labor was cheaper than slave labor—but also rely on the security of the slave system—by guaranteeing a steady supply of labor on their estates.

Though, in many ways, planters tried to maintain the social relations of slavery in post-emancipation Antigua, free Afro-Antiguans found opportunities to exercise freedom and create lifeways for themselves that departed from the impositions of slavery. When land became available, laborers bought plots to build houses and plant provisions to sustain their families. Some women opted out of field labor to attend to domestic activities and create households that reflected the needs and preferences of Afro-

Antiguans. Furthermore, Afro-Antiguans took great advantage of their purchasing power in acquiring imported goods such as serving dishes and clothing.

While both enslaved and free laborers sought to subvert the system of the dominant, white plantocracy and create cultural traditions and practices that were meaningful to them, the archaeological record suggests they went about this process differently, and this might speak to the ways Afro-Antiguans exerted their agency and identity in opposition to the ideology of the dominant over these two periods of Antiguan history. During the period of slavery, the social position of Afro-Antiguans was, in many ways, concrete. Racial slavery dictated that Afro-Antiguans would be enslaved. While there were free Afro-Antiguans in Antigua, for the most part, Afro-Antiguans were an enslaved people and there was little to no chance for social mobility within Antiguan slave society. Following emancipation, though, the formerly enslaved were free and therefore, at least on principle, equal to white planters and should have been afforded the same basic rights whites enjoyed. Yet, this was never the case. Instead, enslaved laborers had to become free, and this plays out in Antiguan society in a variety of ways. White planters and missionaries sought to educate Afro-Antiguans in the ways of citizenship and civility and encouraged increased domesticity according to English models of family and household structure. The ways Afro-Antiguans exerted their freedom and status within Antigua society, though, did not always fall in line with the expectations of white planters.

Though planters and missionaries encouraged marriage and increased domesticity among Afro-Antiguans following emancipation, the households Afro-Antiguans created do not necessarily comply with the expectations of the dominant ideology. Instead, Afro-

Antiguans created households to reestablish family connections, create and control a private aspect of daily life, and own the means for their own survival. Therefore, while on the surface Afro-Antiguans appeared to be complacent in accepting the practices of white colonists in daily life, from another vantage point, Afro-Antiguans were ensuring that they would be able to control their own lives and destinies in carving out spaces for themselves within the constraints of free, Antiguan society. The different material cultures associated with the enslaved and wage laborer occupations of Green Castle Estate reflect how Afro-Antiguans employed different tactics to exert degrees of control over their own lives within two different systems of social control.

6.4 Avenues for Future Research

There are many areas in which the social relations of slavery and freedom can be further researched to gain a greater understanding of social life in eighteenth and nineteenth-century Antigua. One of the most fundamental ways in which this can be achieved is in addressing similar research questions on different plantation sites throughout the island. Numerous plantation sites are rich with archaeological deposits and, due to political and practical constraints, this is a neglected area of archaeological inquiry on the island. The only other plantation site in Antigua on which laborers were a focus of archaeological research is Christopher Codrington's estate, Betty's Hope (Gonzalez Scollard 2008). There is much more information that can be gathered on laborer lifeways on Antiguan plantations such as the nature of slave houses, inquiries into slave village layouts, and additional data that relates to the daily lives and domestic activities of laborers on plantations.

Archaeological research on different plantations throughout the island would also lend greater insights into the construction of landscapes in the eighteenth century and landscape change throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth century. More detailed studies of the built environment of plantations in Antigua can contribute greatly to the historical archaeology of landscapes on the island.

Additionally, archaeological research into the nature of planter's houses and practices would also contribute to interpretations of social relations in Antigua. In addition to shedding light on the practices of planters, this type of research can provide comparative data for examinations of laborer houses and lives. For instance, the presence of imported goods or locally-produced Afro-Antiguan wares in the context of planter's houses can point to the amount of access people had to imported goods and trade and speak to differential access to goods across classes rather than just within the laboring population of the estate.

Furthermore, more nuanced research on Afro-Antiguan ceramics is vital for a historical archaeology of Antigua. Ethnographic evidence only points to one production center, Sea View Farm, for Afro-Antiguan wares. Yet, the ubiquity of these ceramics on historical sites throughout the island speaks to multiple production centers. More research into this area can point to differences in the ceramics, which in turn, can lead to detailed inquiries into the nature of manufacturing technique, vessel form, and stylistic elements on these types of wares throughout the island.

In tandem with the research on Afro-Antiguan ceramics, a greater understanding of the nature of internal economies in Antigua can point to how social networks were created and sustained across the island. Factors such as access to natural resources and

proximity to urban centers such as St. John's or Falmouth and English Harbour might influence differential access to goods and market economies on the island and this, in turn, can help inform archaeological research in this area.

Though plantation archaeology is not new to the Caribbean region, in many ways it is still in its infancy in Antigua. I hope this study has demonstrated the vitality of examining the social relations of slavery and freedom through archaeological inquiry and drives additional research in this area.

6.5 Conclusions

Ultimately, I have sought to shed light on how Antigua's unique position within the British Caribbean created the opportunity for a sugar society that developed in unforeseen ways. Antigua's success in sugar was the result of careful manipulation on the part of planters in the landscape of the island, the politics of the Eastern Caribbean, and the social relations of Antiguan society itself. Yet, Afro-Antiguans, who lived and worked within the slave and post-emancipation societies of Antigua, could not be completely coerced into complacency in these systems from which they could not benefit. Instead, in both slaveholding and post-emancipation Antigua, Afro-Antiguans continually negotiated their social positions to create means to better their lives and exercise control over their destinies. By examining the landscapes of Green Castle Estate, and Antigua more broadly, coupled with a discussion of the material culture of enslaved and free laborers, I have tried to demonstrate how the ideologies of the dominant culture are actively created within society, yet also continually subverted as they create arenas in which people can negotiate their social positions. It is in the

interstices of intent and action that agency comes to the forefront and creates historical processes that shape the social relations of life in Antigua.

Appendix A

Methodology

A.1 Survey and Mapping Methods

Research at Green Castle Estate was carried out from 2007-2009. It was initiated in March 2007 when I took a preliminary research trip to visit the site and secure permissions to conduct archaeological fieldwork there. In the summer of 2007, I conducted a pedestrian survey of the site with local historian, Agnes Meeker, where historical building remains of the planter's house, cisterns, and remnants of the boiling house were identified. Additional pedestrian survey was conducted with Dr. Carney Matheson, Lakehead University, and two field students to identify additional areas of archaeological significance; especially remains of dwellings associated with the enslaved and wage laborer occupations of the site. During the survey, seven loci were identified to distinguish areas of past activity within the site such as the site of the planter's house, sugar works, and potential sites of enslaved and wage laborer dwellings.

Locus 1 is the area along the highest hill within the site where the planter's house was situated. Piles of cut stone are situated on the hill, yet these are piled together and suggest the site may have been looted for architectural materials in the twentieth century. A historic cistern still resides on the top of the hill, corroborating this as the site of the planter's house. Minimal surface scatter is present in Locus 1, though several imported, refined white earthenware ceramics dating to the nineteenth-century are present.

Locus 2 is an area of sloping hill on the south face of Locus 1. This area was designated because of the images of slave dwellings in Nicolas Pocock's painting in this area. No surface scatter was identified during pedestrian survey, yet this area was

targeted for shovel testing because of the historical representations of the site that suggest it was the location of slave huts.

Locus 3 is an area in a valley just north of a construction road cut for stone quarrying adjacent to Green Castle Hill and southwest of Locus 2. Surface remains include red bricks and cut stones that might be indicative of housing foundations. Locus 3 was destroyed in between the 2007 and 2008 summer field seasons to make a pond for construction associated with modern stone quarrying.

Locus 4 is located along the southwest edge of the site and is an area of steeply sloping hill. A recently cut road exposed surface scatter of ceramic and glass refuse and it is reported that wage laborers lived in this area in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Agnes Meeker, personal communication 2007).

Locus 5 exhibits terracing along the north-northwest face of a hill adjacent to

Loci 1 and 2. Cut stone lines the terraces in some places and in some areas serves as a

retaining wall. The high presence of surface scatter and cut stone suggests this was an

area of domestic activity and the stone remains might be indicative of house structures.

Locus 6 is an extension of Locus 1 along the ridge of the highest hill within the site. It is designated because of the possibility of outbuildings and domestic activities associated with the planter's house.

Locus 7 designates the area in which remains of sugar works are present. Two windmill foundations were identified, but are currently being covered by a modern construction project. The remains of the boiling house include a low-lying stone wall. In addition, the remnants of a historic well or damn are present near a small pond.

Following the pedestrian survey, a shovel testing program was conducted in the summer of 2007 to assess the presence and extent of subsurface deposits. As this project is interested in the lives of enslaved and wage laborers, Loci 2, 4 and 5 were included in the shovel testing program to identify areas of enslaved and wage laborer domestic activity.

During the summer of 2007, shovel tests were conducted in three loci of the site. Tests were conducted using both flat and spade shovels. Tests were conducted using 10-centimenter arbitrary levels to allow some control for vertical provenience of artifacts and to expedite excavations without knowledge of natural stratigraphy within the site. All excavated soils were screened using a ¼-inch mesh screen. All artifacts were collected in the field and taken back to the Field Research Centre laboratory for cleaning, analysis, and prepared for storage. Field notes recorded the nature of deposits during shovel tests including soil types, artifact types and densities, and any additional information.

Locus 2 was targeted for shovel testing because historic landscape paintings depict the presence of slave quarters along the hillside. Twenty-four shovel tests were conducted in this locus on a five-meter grid to determine the extent of artifact distributions within this area (Figure A.1). Shovel tests revealed that cultural deposits ranged between 30-40 cm deep and yielded a range of architectural materials (particularly brick, tile, and mortar) and a range of refuse including ceramic fragments, glass fragments, and faunal remains.

In addition, 7 shovel tests were conducted at **Locus 5**, the terraced hillside.

Cultural deposits here were considerably deeper than in Locus 2, ranging from 50-70 cms

deep. Shovel tests in this locus yielded a higher density of artifacts, especially of locally produced Afro-Antiguan ceramics.

Finally, 4 shovel tests were conducted at **Locus 4**, an area with a high density of surface scatter and associated with the wage laborer occupation of the site. These shovel tests resulted in relatively shallow deposits ranging from 20-30 cms deep and yielded artifacts largely associated with domestic refuse including ceramic vessel fragments, glass bottle fragments, and faunal remains.

Mapping of Green Castle Estate took place in several phases. During the summer of 2007, preliminary site mapping and sketches were made largely based on the results of a pedestrian survey of the site. A site datum was established in Locus 2 and two baselines were established to provide provenience and spatial control of the shovel testing program undertaken at Locus 2. Loci data were established at loci 4 and 5 were baselines were also established to help mitigate shovel testing programs in these loci.

During the summer of 2008, the site and loci data were all relocated and the original baselines in each locus were reestablished. Grids were extended in loci 2 and 4 to include areas of unit excavation and all units could be tied into the original loci data and baselines established in 2007.

Systematic mapping of the entire site was undertaken with the assistance of Mr. Beau Cripps using a surveyor's transit. The corners of each unit excavated during the 2008 field season were mapped and each individual locus datum was tied into a comprehensive site map. Additionally, points were taken to develop a topographic map of the site.

During the 2009 field season, all additional units were integrated into the preexisting locus grids. Detailed mapping of the building feature at Locus 5 was undertaken with the assistance of Mr. Nigel Bardoe and Mr. Wasim Braithwaite. Individual stones in the feature were mapped and integrated into the locus and site maps.

All data from site mapping was entered into a Geographic Information Systems (GIS) program where a comprehensive site map was created.

A.2 Excavation Methods

Excavation of one-by-one meter, standard archaeological units commenced in the summer 2008 field season. Drawing on evidence from the shovel testing program from the summer of 2007, Loci 2 and 4 were targeted for excavation during the 2008 field season. Units were excavated using standard mason trowels with the exception of the final levels of units where shovels and picks were used to excavate one additional arbitrary 10-centimenter level to ensure that sterile soil had been reached. Every attempt was made to excavate the units following natural stratigraphy, however shovel tests suggested that there was no discernible change in natural stratigraphy. Similarly, unit excavation yielded no distinct natural stratigraphy and therefore units were excavated using 10-centimenter arbitrary levels. No features were found during excavations, as such, no specific excavate methods regarding features were necessary. Scale plan view and profile drawings were recorded for all units and each level of excavation was documented using digital photography.

All soil excavated from units was screened through ¼-inch mesh by hand. All artifacts recovered from units were collected. Complete artifacts, or particularly dense

artifact concentrations, were plotted in a scale plan view on the unit level form to analyze artifact distribution within the units.

During the summer of 2008, a total of 12 one-by-one meter units were excavated based on artifact distribution as determined from the results of shovel testing conducted the previous summer and for site preservation.

Six one-by-one meter units were excavated in **Locus 2** where artifact densities were higher as evidenced by shovel tests. The excavation of units revealed that cultural deposits were decidedly more shallow than initially determined by shovel tests (ranging between 20 and 30 cms) and, though containing refuse including ceramic vessel fragments, glass bottle fragments, architectural remains, and faunal remains, these excavations suggest considerable erosion of cultural deposits as it is located on a hillside. Furthermore, based on the recovery of diagnostic artifacts (including imported ceramics and glass bottles), these deposits date to the middle and late nineteenth century and, therefore do not represent the domestic activities of enslaved laborers.

In addition, six one-by-one meter units were excavated in **Locus 4**, an area associated with wage laborer occupation, because of activities by a local stone quarry that are encroaching on this area of the site. Cultural deposits in this area are relatively shallow, ranging from 20-25 cms deep and there is evidence of erosion of midden deposits down the hillside in this locus as well. Yet, the units excavated here yielded a high density of nineteenth-century refuse including a wide range of imported and locally-produced ceramics, glass bottle fragments, and items of personal adornment including beads and buckles. In addition, exposed bedrock in this locus exhibits signs of historic stone quarrying.

From January through July 2009 additional fieldwork was undertaken at Locus 4 and Locus 5. Locus 4 and Locus 5 were targeted for additional research for several reasons. First, Locus 4 demonstrated a relatively high concentration of domestic materials associated with the mid-late nineteenth century during the 2008 field season. As such, it became an area of focus for the insights it could lend into the daily practices of wage laborers at Green Castle Estate. Locus 5 was targeted for additional excavations for several reasons as well. First, shovel tests excavated during the summer of 2007 demonstrated the presence of high concentrations of domestic refuse and relatively deep (50-80 cm) cultural deposits. Additionally, the presence of terracing for housing platforms presented highly suggestive evidence that Locus 5 was the site of historic houses or dwellings. As the majority of material culture recovered during shovel tests dated to the late eighteenth century, the area was interpreted as a site of slave houses.

As such, several measures were undertaken to guide continued archaeological excavations at Locus 4 and Locus 5. First, a more nuanced pedestrian survey was conducted to more specifically demarcate the area of each locus. At Locus 4 the presence of surface scatter coupled with the presence of a natural gully and a recently cut road helped to delineate the locus. At Locus 5, housing platforms were used to delineate the space and two well-defined housing platforms that exhibit cut stone remains constitute the Locus. A 5% sampling strategy was then undertaken at each locus. Using probabilistic sampling, units were placed based on the results of shovel tests and excavations within units. An effort was made to sample across the area of each locus, but in cases where units exhibited particularly dense artifact concentrations, excavations continued adjacent to units. In most cases, two-by-one meter samples were taken, yet

each of these were excavated individually as single, one-by-one meter units to allow for spatial control.

In 2009, twenty one-by-one meter units were excavated at Locus 5 and fourteen additional units were excavated at Locus 4. Each unit was excavated following standard archaeological procedures, using the methods described in the 2008 fieldwork. The only exception is that in cases where units were adjacent to previously excavated units and cultural deposits ceased within the first several centimeters of a level, units were not excavated an additional level of sterile soil, as soil sterility had already been demonstrated in adjacent units.

A.3 Artifact Analysis

All artifacts excavated from Green Castle Estate were collected and brought to the laboratory for processing. All ceramic, glass, and stone were washed using water and a soft-bristled toothbrush and then air-dried. Faunal material and artifacts made of metal were dry brushed using a soft-bristled toothbrush. Following cleaning, artifacts were divided into material classes for more detailed analysis based on artifact type including: ceramic, glass, metal, faunal, tobacco pipe.

Artifacts were analyzed using a database created specifically for the Green Castle material that draws heavily on the relational database model designed by DAACS. As such, detailed information concerning an artifact's manufacture was documented. Within the database, all artifact attribute information is tied to the artifact's provenience within the site. A detailed explanation of each material of artifact analysis is presented below.

A.3.1 Ceramic Analysis

Ceramic analysis was one of the most detailed aspects of artifact analysis of the Green Castle collection. Every ceramic sherd recovered from the Green Castle excavations was provided a unique artifact identification number. Artifact attributes were then collected and placed into a ceramic table including type of ceramic ware, vessel form, sherd completeness, usewear, decoration, and measurements were taken pertaining to the artifact's size and weight.

If a ceramic sherd was decorated, additional information regarding the type and technique of decoration was placed in a specific Ceramic Decoration Table, linked to the artifact's ceramic form through its unique artifact identification number. Decoration was classified according to the terminology used in the DAACS database to maintain consistency within analysis and to develop a system to expand the database for use in artifact analysis across sites in Antigua.

Special attention was given to sherds of Afro-Antiguan wares found throughout the site. Namely, the paste color of sherds was documented using a Munsell chart to classify past colors. Additionally, sherds with obvious inclusions were noted in the ceramic table.

A.3.2 Glass Analysis

The analysis of glass materials recovered from Green Castle Estate was also highly detailed. Each glass sherd measuring greater than 20 mm in length was assigned a unique artifact identification number. Non-diagnostic sherds measuring less than 20 mm in length were grouped according to glass color and analyzed together. Information was recorded regarding the type of material, color, form, and completeness of glass sherds. In

addition, information regarding manufacturing technique such as mold types was recorded as well as information pertaining to post-manufacture use as evidenced by weathering and burning.

Additional tables were also used to classify more information regarding specific glass vessels and attributes. For instance, glass decoration and glass mark tables were employed to document specific decorative techniques and lettering on glass fragments. A glass bottle table was used to record detailed information regarding sherds of glass bottles such as element of the bottle, manufacturing technique, and shape of the element. These attributes were used to identify the types of bottles found on the site and to ascertain dates for these artifacts.

A.3.3 Faunal Analysis

Faunal materials were analyzed with the assistance of Dr. Tamara Varney. While much of the faunal material recovered from excavations was minute and therefore severely limited the extent of analysis, some data was recovered from faunal material at the site. In cases where information could be gathered from faunal remains, attributes including taxon, bone element, weight, and indicators of use such as butchering marks and evidence of chewing or breakage were recorded.

A.3.4 Metal Analysis

A general artifact table was used to analyze metal artifacts from Green Castle Estate. Diagnostic metal artifacts such as nails and pieces of hardware were assigned individual, unique artifact identification numbers. Non-diagnostic metal artifacts such as corrosion/rust and unidentified hardware fragments were grouped together and analyzed collectively under one identification number.

Attributes recorded include artifact form, material and manufacturing technique. In the case of nails, nail completeness (head, shank, and tip), nail head type (when applicable), modification, and nail lengths were recorded. For all metal artifacts, object length, width, height, and weight were recorded along with post-manufacturing modifications.

A.3.5 Tobacco Pipe Analysis

Each fragment of a tobacco pipe was assigned a unique, artifact identification number. Artifact material and paste color were recorded, along with the completeness of the pipe and manufacturing technique. When applicable, bowl type, bowl base type, and mouthpiece type were analyzed. Bowl fragments were analyzed for bowl shape, height, volume, and rim diameter when such measurements could be obtained from the artifact. Stem fragments were analyzed and stem diameter, bore diameter, and length were recorded.

Additional tables were used to document tobacco pipe attributes such as decoration and marks. For decoration and marks, the motif, location on the pipe, and technique were noted.

A.3.6 Bead and Button Analysis

Beads and buttons recovered from Green Castle Estate were analyzed using separate tables for each. Each bead and button was assigned a unique artifact identification number. Beads were analyzed based on material and manufacturing technique. Additional attributes such as bead structure, form, shape, end treatment and diaphaneity were recorded. If beads were decorated, specifics including the type of

decoration, applied color, and type of casing were recorded. For all beads, length, width, height, and weight were recorded.

Buttons were analyzed and information regarding manufacturing technique, button type, button shape, and material were recorded. In addition, specific information regarding the material, manufacturing technique, and color of button faces and shanks were recorded, if applicable. Additional attributes include the type of eye of the button, as well as the presence of any decorations. For all buttons, length, width, height, and weight were recorded as well.

A.4 Archival Research

Archival research contributed to my understanding of landscape production at Green Castle Estate and the periods of slavery and freedom in Antigua more generally. In 2007, archival research was conducted at Columbia University, New York, where copies of the first, fourth, fifth, and seventh editions of Samuel Martin's *Essay Upon Plantership* are available. During the summer of 2007, preliminary archival research was conducted in Antigua at the Antigua and Barbuda National Archives and at the Museum of Antigua and Barbuda. Following this preliminary research, several collections were targeted for additional research in the autumn of 2008 based on research goals.

First, as landscape analysis is central to this project, I was interested in examining historic maps of Antigua. The National Archives has only one map available, dating to the nineteenth century. However, the Museum of Antigua and Barbuda, the Dockyard Museum, and private collectors in Antigua house copies of eighteenth century maps, most notably the 1742 Baker Map that documents all of the sugar estates on the island. The Dockyard Museum collection offered additional insights into the nature of landscape

change in Antigua as it houses Vere Oliver's 1844 *History of Antigua* in which tax and landholding records from throughout the eighteenth century are recorded. In addition, the Dockyard Museum houses numerous historic travel accounts, particularly following emancipation that offered insights into the nature of domestic life and Antiguan society just prior to and immediately following emancipation.

Second, as it became apparent that post-emancipation Antigua was characterized by a large degree of social control, I became interested in understanding how legislation and judicial proceedings reflected this trend and shaped Antigua life. The Antigua and Barbuda National Archives hold records on all Antigua legislation and original court records from 1839-1846 (with the exception of 1843). With the assistance of Dr. Marion Blair, I was able to consult these records and they contribute greatly to my discussion of Antiguan emancipation.

While the personal papers and correspondence of the Martin family would have been helpful in interpreting social lives at the estate, the Martin family correspondence is only available at the British Library. Unfortunately, archival research at the British Library could not be undertaken during the research schedule for this project, therefore materials relating to comparable estates in Antigua during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were consulted to draw parallels to the Green Castle material.

Appendix B

Results and Artifact Summaries

B.1 Artifact Totals: Green Castle Estate

In total, nearly 10,000 artifacts were recovered from Green Castle Estate during the scope of this project (Table B.1). This includes artifacts recovered from Loci 1, 2, 4, and 5 during pedestrian survey, shovel testing, and unit excavations.

Material Category	Locus 1	Locus 2	Locus 4	Locus 5	Total
Ceramics	9	390	907	3833	5139
Composite	0	0	5	0	5
Faunal	0	257	226	150	633
Glass	2	427	827	483	1739
Metal	0	421	630	862	1913
Organic	0	0	0	20	20
Stone	0	12	21	65	98
Synthetic/Modern	0	18	8	0	26
Tobacco Pipe	0	47	34	165	246
Total	11	1572	2658	5578	9819

Table B.1: Artifact Totals from Green Castle Estate

Artifacts from Locus 4 and Locus 5 unit excavations were used in the interpretation of lifeways of enslaved and wage laborers in Antigua and are discussed in more detail below.

B.2 Locus 5 Unit Excavation Artifact Summaries

Excavations at Locus 5 yielded a variety of material culture dating from the late eighteenth through the early nineteenth centuries. The majority of the materials recovered from this locus are ceramics, making up 68.9% (3513) of the artifacts recovered from this area. Metal artifacts compose 15.36% (783) of the collection whereas glass artifacts represent 8.20% (418) of the material culture recovered. Collectively, tobacco pipes

(152), stone artifacts (63), faunal material (150), and organic artifacts (20) represent the remaining 7.55% of the artifacts recovered.

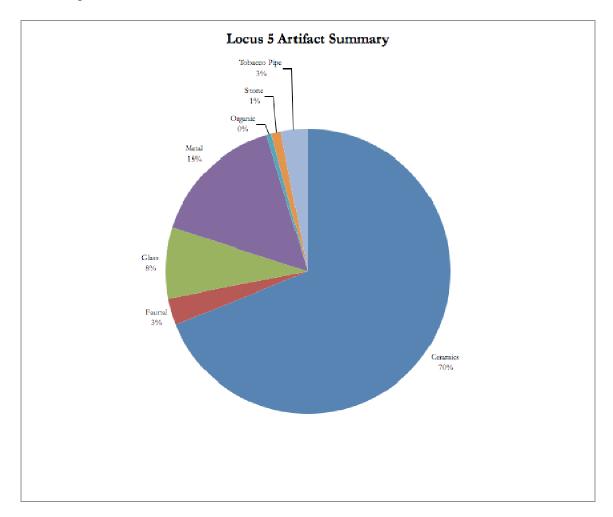


Figure B.1: Summary of Artifact Classes excavated from Locus 5

B.2.1 Ceramics at Locus 5

As stated above, ceramics comprise 68.9% (3513) of the artifacts recovered from Locus 5. There was a wide variety of ceramics recovered from Locus 5 including coarse earthenwares, porcelains, refined earthenwares, and stonewares.

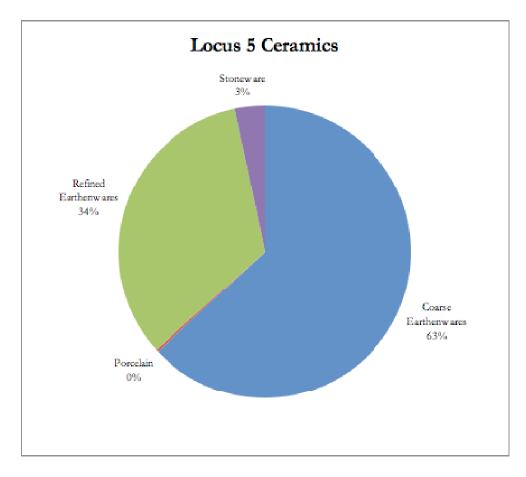


Figure B.2: Overview of Ceramics by ware-type from Locus 5

Imported, refined white earthenwares make up 33.56% (1179) percent of the ceramic assemblage from Locus 5 and largely date to the eighteenth century. Twelve types of refined earthenwares were identified in the Locus 5 assemblage and eleven of them were used in calculating a mean ceramic date for the assemblage of 1797. Though a wide variety of wares were identified, the majority of refined earthenwares were sherds made of creamware and pearlware. Creamware sherds comprise 64.29% (758) of the refined earthenwares excavated from Locus 5. Pearlware sherds comprise 31.47% (371) of the refined earthenwares. A variety of refined earthenwares including tin-glazed delftware (14), yellowware (10) and Agateware (6) comprise the remaining 4.24% of the refined earthenware sherds from this locus.

33.25% (388) of the refined white earthenware assemblage consisted of decorated sherds which contributed to the calculation of a mean ceramic date of 1800 for decorated sherds. A variety of decorative techniques were exhibited in the refined white earthenware assemblage from Locus 5 including incising, molding, painting, printing, rouletting, slip, and sponge.

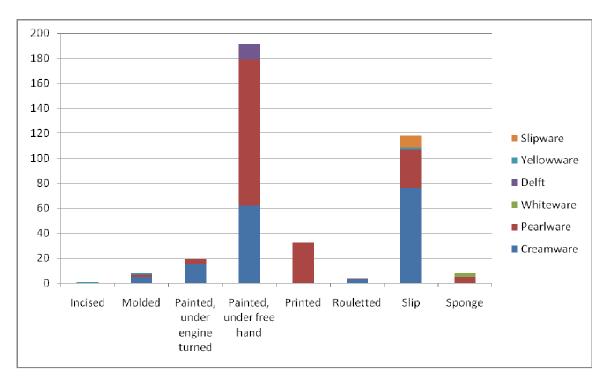


Figure B.3: Summary of Decorative Techniques on Refined White Earthenwares

Stoneware ceramics comprise only 3.22% (113) of the entire ceramic assemblage from Locus 5 and British stonewares including Fulham type (23), Nottingham (4), Staffordshire (10), and unidentified British stoneware (46) comprise 73.45% of the stoneware assemblage. White Salt glazed stoneware dinnerware comprises 16.81% (19) of the stoneware sherds excavated from Locus 5. Only two white salt glaze sherds are decorated and they both exhibit molded rims.

A total of six porcelain sherds were excavated from Locus 5: three of which were Chinese porcelain and three of which were English soft paste porcelain. All three Chinese porcelain sherds were decorated with blue handpainting and two of the English soft paste sherds were handpainted in blue as well.

Coarse earthenwares comprise 63.05% (2215) of the ceramic material excavated from Locus 5. One of the most prevalent coarse earthenwares in the Locus 5 assemblage is Afro-Antiguan wares. Within the Locus 5 assemblage at Green Castle Estate, 81.49% (1805) of the coarse earthenwares are Afro-Antiguan wares. Afro-Antiguan ceramics comprise 35% of the total assemblage from Locus 5. Over 90% (1630) of the Afro-Antiguan ceramics excavated from Locus 5 are body sherds. 9.53% (172) of the sherds are rim sherds, the majority (51.74%, 89) being everted rims. 34.30% (59) of the rims are straight rims and 13.95% (24) are unidentifiable rim types. Only 1 base sherd and 1 handle sherd were found in the Locus 5 excavations. The prevalence of everted rims suggests the majority of the vessels are restricted jars.

In addition, 88.98% (1606) of the sherds were unglazed. The remaining sherds were thinly slipped with 6.32% (114) having an interior slip, 1.11% (20) having an exterior slip, and 3.32% (60) being slipped on both the interior and exterior surfaces.

Only six sherds were decorated and each of these were incised by free hand with a plain band design. The overwhelming lack of decoration on the Afro-Antiguan vessels is a trait also noticed by Petersen, et al. (1999:185-187).

In corroboration with Petersen, et al.'s findings, there is clear evidence for the use of hand coiling in the production of Afro-Antigua wares. Several sherds exhibit evidence of coiling on sherds that were poorly smoothed and burnished.



Figure B.4: Evidence of coiling on Afro-Antiguan sherds

B.2.2 Locus 5 Glass Summary

Glass artifacts compose 8.2% (418) of the total artifact assemblage from Locus 5. Glass artifacts were catalogued giving priority to the method of manufacture and on the vessel form of the artifact. These attributes contribute to an interpretation of the dating of the site and to an understanding of vessel function and use. Here, I will give an overview of the glass assemblage from Locus 5 and highlight several of the glass artifacts that stand out within the assemblage.

The majority of the glass artifacts were manufactured using a technique labeled as "mouth blown." Mouth blown glassware is not machine made nor was it made using a press mold (Jones and Sullivan 1985:17). Indeed, mouth blown glassware is characterized more so by the lack of distinctive features that would signify the material was free blown, molded, or machine made and also includes vessels that may have been made using a variety of techniques on different components of the vessel (Jones and Sullivan 1985:17). 54.55% (228) of the glass recovered from Locus 5 is mouth blown. The absence of traits characterizing free blown or molded manufacture might be due to the nature of the glass assemblage from Locus 5. The majority, 86.36% (361), of the

glass sherds recovered from Locus 5 are body sherds. In addition, many sherds were very small in size, averaging 22.71 mm in length along the longest axis.

There is not a wide variety of vessel forms among the mouth blown glass as 92.54% (211) of the glass sherds are bottle fragments. 51.31% (117) of the sherds are dark olive, wine bottle fragments. 39.47% (90) of the sherds are unidentified bottle fragments. The ambiguity of what types of bottles these sherds may have come from rests in the variety of colors of these sherds, and their small size and thickness. The average size of the unidentified bottle fragments is 21.38 mm while the average thickness of these sherds is only 2.60 mm. A total of 4 of the mouth blown glassware sherds were identified as fragments of a case bottle (1 sherd), a beer bottle (2 sherds), and a perfume bottle (1 sherd). One glassware sherd was identified has being a piece of stemware while only 6 sherds were identified as having been pieces of unidentified tableware. The remaining 4.39% (10) of the mouth blown glass artifacts were unidentified as they were too minute to distinguish vessel forms.

A small percentage of the glass assemblage from Locus 5, 4.78% (20), was manufactured using mold blown techniques. Mold blown glass vessels are made by blowing hot glass into a mold until it fills the mold (Jones and Sullivan 1985:23). The mold blown vessels from Locus 5 were manufacture with the use of a contact mold (Jones and Sullivan 1985:23). These artifact sherds from Locus 5 exhibit evidence of molding including mold seams along the vessel.

A majority, 50% (10), of the mold blown glass assemblage were sherds from dark olive, wine bottles. 35% (7) of the sherds were fragments of unidentified bottles. One sherd is a fragment of unidentified tableware and 2 sherds are unidentified.

In addition, several of the glass artifacts from Locus 5, only 3.35% (14), were free blown. These vessels were made entirely without the use of molds (Jones and Sullivan 1985:22). Other characteristics of free blown vessels including asymmetry, lack of seams and evidence of molding, along with flowing lines and smooth exteriors, allowed for the identification of free blown vessels at the sherd level (Jones and Sullivan 1985:22). All of the 14 free blown sherds were pieces of dark olive, wine bottles. The majority of these sherds, 6, were base fragments while 4 were body sherd and 1 sherd consisted of portions of the body and base. Two sherds were bottleneck sherds while 1 sherd was a piece of the bottle finish.

Machine made vessels are made exclusively from automatic machines and are characterized by the prevalence of mold seams throughout the vessel (Jones and Sullivan 1985:35-39). Only nine machine made vessel sherds were excavated in Locus 5. Three sherds were from modern beer bottles, two sherds were from unidentified modern bottles, two were fragments of modern tableware and two sherds were unidentified. All of these fragments were excavated in topsoil or in units with evidence of disturbance.

35.17% (147) of the glass artifacts recovered from Locus 5 was manufactured using unidentifiable techniques. There are several challenges to identifying the manufacturing techniques of these artifacts. First, these sherds are too minute to identify manufacturing technique. The average size of these glass artifacts is 19.84 mm along the longest axis and only 2.11 mm thick. Further, the majority, 61.80% (91) of these artifacts exhibit patination that limits the extent of analysis on the glass sherds. Nevertheless, some artifact attributes can be determined from these artifacts in the absence of solid evidence of manufacturing technique.

Unfortunately, 59.86% (88) of these artifacts are also of unidentifiable vessel form. Based on sherd color, it is highly likely that most of these sherds are from bottles as 62.5% (55) are green in color and 3.41% (3) are olive green. 21.60% (19) of these sherds are colorless and may be bottle fragments as well. 12.5% (11) of the glass sherds have an indeterminate color as patination obscures the original color of the sherds.

23.81% (35) of the glassware artifacts of unidentifiable manufacture are identified as fragments of tableware vessels. These tableware fragments average 18.30 mm in length and 1.11 mm in thickness. With the exception of 1 blue sherd and one unidentified sherd, all of the tableware glass is colorless. One sherd (0.68% of the assemblage) has been identified as a fragment of a drinking glass.

8.84% (13) of the unidentified manufactured glass artifacts are fragments of unidentified bottles and 6.12% (9) are fragments of wine bottles. One fragment is classified as a fragment of a beer bottle.

The overwhelming majority of the glass artifacts from Locus 5 are bottle fragments. Within the glass assemblage, 86.36% (361) of the artifacts are body sherds. 4.31% (18) are bottle shoulder fragments while 4.07% (17) are fragments of the base of vessels. A very small percentage of the assemblage consists of bottle finish, neck, or vessel rim fragments (1.44% [6], 2.15% [9], and 1.67% [7], respectively).

B.2.3 Metal Artifacts from Locus 5

Metal artifacts compose 15.36% (783) of the artifact assemblage from Locus 5. The majority, 69.18% (54) of the metal artifacts were composed of ferrous nails and nail fragments. Of the ferrous nails, 27.36% (148) were machine cut, 24.40% (132) were handmade, 19.22% (104) were machine drawn or wire nails, and the remaining 27.02%

(157) were of an indeterminate manufacturing technique. 100 of the 104 modern, machine drawn nails were excavated from Units 15 and 16 where there is clear evidence of modern disturbance to the site. Remnants of a black plastic bag along with two modern soda can tabs were found within the same context and it is most probable that someone dropped the bag of nails while working on the site. From this evidence, it is clear that the overwhelming majority of nails excavated within historic context are machine cut or handmade nails.

The rest of the metal artifacts represent an array of miscellaneous artifacts without any substantial percentage of other artifact type. 22.51% (176) of the metal artifacts consist of ferrous metal hardware of indeterminate forms. This is largely due to the levels of corrosion to the ferrous metal. A variety of artifact forms compose the remaining 8.31% of the metal artifacts including fragments of barrel hoops (2.94%, 23), handles of metal eating utensils (0.64%, 5), as well as pieces of corrosion and slag. Interestingly, the most prominent items of personal adornment were constructed of metal and include two molded buckle fragments and two buttons.

B.2.4 Tobacco Pipes, Faunal Materials, and Stone Artifacts from Locus 5

The remaining 7.55% of the Locus 5 assemblage is composed of tobacco pipe fragments (152), faunal materials (150), and stone artifacts (63).

Tobacco Pipes make up 2.98% (152) of the Locus 5 assemblage. With the exception of two tobacco pipe fragments of an unidentified manufacture type, all of the tobacco pipe artifacts are fragments of molded tobacco pipes made from imported, white earthenware. Nearly half (48%, 71) of the tobacco pipe artifacts are stem fragments. The average bore stem diameter is 1.81 mm or 4.59/64th inch. Drawing on Binford's (1962)

straight-line regression model for determining the mean date of tobacco pipe manufacture based on bore diameter, the mean date of the tobacco pipe assemblage from Locus 5 is 1756.24. Based, on the tobacco pipe stem data, then, the tobacco pipe assemblage can be dated to the middle of the eighteenth century.

Tobacco bowl fragments, though, make up a considerable portion of the tobacco pipe assemblage, comprising 47.30% (70) of the artifacts. Five of the tobacco bowl fragments have been identified from known historical bowl forms (Atksinson and Oswald 1969). Three fragments were identified as type 27, dating to 1780-1820 and two fragments were identified as type 25 dating to 1700-1770 (Atkinson and Oswald 1969). In addition to the pipe stem and pipe bowl fragments, two complete pipes and three artifacts that consisted of bowl, base, and stem were excavated from locus 5. In general, the tobacco pipe assemblage dates to the second half of the eighteenth century.

Faunal materials make up only 2.94% (150) of the Locus 5 assemblage. Identification of faunal materials was very difficult due to the extremely minute size of many faunal remains. Yet, some insight was made into the nature of the faunal collection. Only 18% (27) of the faunal material from Locus 5 consisted of shell remains. Of these, most were remains of the West India Top Shell (*Cittarum pica*). Several fish remains include the pharyngeal teeth of parrotfish (*Scaridae*). In addition to sea creatures, the faunal remains included some evidence of domesticated mammals including (*Bos taurus*) and pig (*Sus*) remains. In general, the faunal assemblage is very small.

Stone artifacts comprise 1.24% (63) of the Locus 5 assemblage and include chert and flint flakes, pieces of slate and quartzite. Chert, honey flint, and gray flint artifacts

comprise the bulk of stone assemblage representing 26.98% (17), 20.63% (13), and 19.05% (12) respectively. Two chert gunflints were found in the Locus 5 excavations. Slate fragments compose 20.63% (13) of the stone assemblage. As the slate fragments are relatively small (averaging 38.73 mm in length and 19.84 g in weight) and were found in two sets of four congruous units, it is unlikely they were used in roof tiling or throughout the domestic spaces associated with enslaved laborers. One piece of quartz and one piece of quartzite along with 3 smooth pebbles were also among the stone assemblage.

B.2.5 Beads and Buttons from Locus 5

One wound glass bead was recovered from Locus 5. It is a spheroid bead made from colorless glass. The bead exhibits patina on its exterior surface.

Two buttons were recovered from Locus 5 excavations. One is an incomplete cut button made from copper alloy. The shank has been broken off. The other is a complete, pewter, stamped button with an Alpha-style shank.

B.3 Locus 4 Unit Excavation Artifact Summaries

Excavations at Locus 4 yielded a variety of material culture dating from the nineteenth century. The majority of the materials recovered from this locus are ceramics, making up 33.54% (876) of the artifacts recovered from this area. Glass artifacts compose 31.13% (813) of the collection whereas metal artifacts represent 24.12% (630) of the material culture recovered. Faunal materials comprise 8.65% (226) and tobacco pipes represent only 1.26% (33) of the Locus 4 assemblage. Composite artifacts (0.19%, 5), stone artifacts (0.80%, 21) and synthetic/modern artifacts (0.31%, 8) compose the rest of the Locus 4 artifacts.

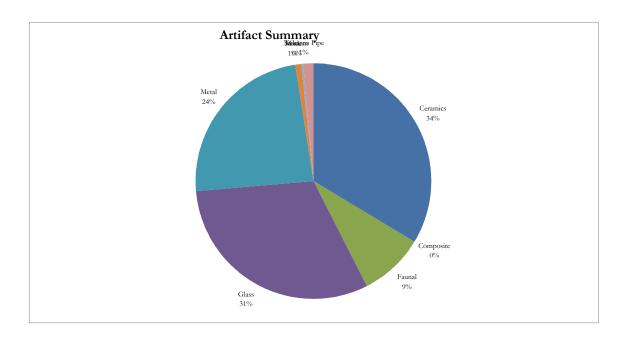


Figure B.5: Summary of Artifact Classes excavated from Locus 4

B.3.1 Ceramics at Locus 4

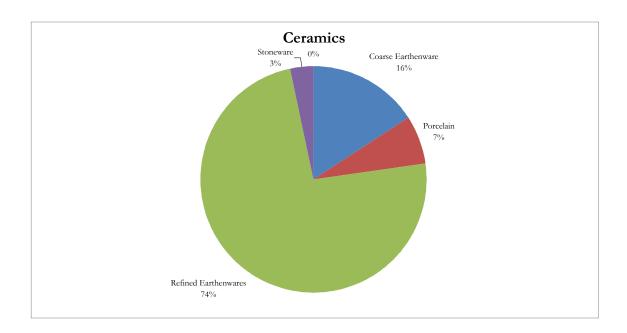


Figure B.6: Overview of Ceramics by ware-type from Locus 4

As stated above, ceramics comprise 33.54% (876) of the artifacts recovered from Locus 4. There was a wide variety of ceramics recovered from Locus 4 including coarse earthenwares, porcelains, refined earthenwares, and stonewares.

Imported, refined white earthenwares make up 74.14% (648) percent of the ceramic assemblage from Locus 5 and largely date to the nineteenth century. Eight types of refined earthenwares were identified in the Locus 5 assemblage and all of them were used in calculating a mean ceramic date for the assemblage of 1833. Though a wide variety of wares were identified, the majority of refined earthenwares were sherds made of pearlware and whiteware. Pearlware sherds comprise 51.70% (335) of the refined earthenwares excavated from Locus 4. Whiteware sherds comprise 45.37% (294) of the refined earthenwares. A variety of refined earthenwares including Astbury-type (1), creamware (6), ironstone (2), redware (1), Whieldon-type ware (4), and yellowware (4) comprise the remaining 2.93% of the refined earthenware sherds from this locus.

66.34%% (430) of the refined white earthenware assemblage consisted of decorated sherds which contributed to the calculation of a mean ceramic date of 1846 for decorated sherds. A variety of decorative techniques were exhibited in the refined white earthenware assemblage from Locus 5 including incising, molding, painting, printing, slip, and sponge.

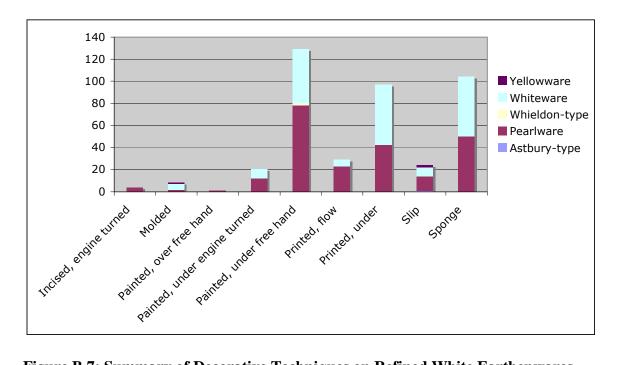


Figure B.7: Summary of Decorative Techniques on Refined White Earthenwares

Stoneware ceramics comprise only 3.20% (28) of the entire ceramic assemblage from Locus 4 and British stonewares including Fulham type (6), Staffordshire (1), and unidentified British stoneware (6) comprise 46.43% of the stoneware assemblage. White Salt glazed stoneware dinnerware comprises 17.86% (5) of the stoneware sherds excavated from Locus 4. Only two white salt glaze sherds are decorated, one of which is molded, the other exhibits sponged decorations.

A total of 60 porcelain sherds were excavated from Locus 4, the majority (80%, 48) were English Soft Paste Porcelain. Additional porcelain sherds include Chinese porcelain (2), English Bone China (5), and Porcellaenous/English Hard Paste (5). Two of the Chinese porcelain sherds, four of the English Soft Paste sherds, and give of the English Hard Paste sherds were decorated. All were handpainted, with the exception of one sherd of English Soft Paste which was molded.

Coarse earthenwares comprise 15.79% (138) of the ceramic material excavated from Locus 4. The majority (86.23%, 119) were Afro-Antiguan wares. Unidentified, regional coarse earthenware (10), redware (8), and slipware (1) comprise the rest of the coarse earnthenware assemblage from Locus 4.

B.3.2 *Locus 4 Glass Summary*

Glass artifacts compose 31.13% (813) of the total artifact assemblage from Locus 4. 16.72% (135) of the glass artifacts were mouth blown. 96.30% of the mouth blown glass sherds are bottle fragments. 42.96% (58) are dark olive, wine bottle fragments. 47.41% (64) of the sherds are unidentifiable bottle fragments. The ambiguity of what types of bottles these sherds may have come from rests in the variety of colors of these sherds, and their small size and thickness. Additional mouth blown bottle fragments within the Locus 4 assemblage include a case bottle (1), ink bottles (3), mineral bottles (1) and a perfume bottle (1).

15.24% (123) of the glass assemblage from Locus 4 was manufactured using mold blown techniques. 53.66% (66) of the mold blown bottle fragments were unidentifiable and 34.15% (42) were wine bottle fragments. Additional bottle fragments represent beer bottle (1), mineral bottle (1), and perfume bottles (6). Evidence of a container (2) and tableware (1) were also present.

A relatively large portion (32.59%, 263) of the glass artifacts from Locus 4 exhibit patterns of machine manufacture. 27.76% (73) of these consist of mineral bottles while 21.67% (57) of these consist of twentieth-century beer bottles. 29.66% (78) of the bottles were unidentifiable.

35.44% (286) of the glass artifacts from Locus 4 were manufactured using unidentifiable techniques. This is largely due to the ubiquity of small body sherds that will not necessarily indicate evidence of manufacture. 81.82% (234) of glass artifacts of unidentifiable manufacturing technique were also unidentifiable by vessel form. 11.89% (34) of the unidentified glass artifacts were tableware sherds, along with 4.55% (13) being unidentified bottles and 1.40% (4) being wine bottle fragments. One glass container fragment was identified.

The majority of the glass artifacts from Locus 5 are bottle fragments (59.60%, 481). Within the glass assemblage, 88.23% (712) of the artifacts are body sherds. 2.48% (20) are bottle shoulder fragments while 2.60% (21) are fragments of the base of vessels. A very small percentage of the assemblage consists of bottle finish (20), neck (25), or vessel rim fragments (4).

B.3.3 Metal Artifacts from Locus 4

Metal artifacts compose 24.12% (630) of the artifact assemblage from Locus 5. The majority, 45.19% (282) of the metal artifacts were composed of ferrous nails and nail fragments. Of the ferrous nails, 47.87% (135) were machine cut, 34.40% (97) were machine drawn or wire nails, 1.06% (3) were handmade, and the remaining 16.67% (47) were of an indeterminate manufacturing technique.

41.99% (262) of the metal assemblage consists of hardware fragments. The rest of the metal artifacts represent an array of miscellaneous artifacts including boot heel cleat fragments (4), barrel hoop fragments (3) clothing clasps (2), grommets (4), hinges (2), a keyhole (1), a musketball (1), a lead pencil fragment (1), and fragments of a spoon (3).

B.3.4 Tobacco Pipes, Faunal Materials, and Stone Artifacts, and Miscellaneous Artifacts from Locus 4

The remaining 11.22% of the Locus 4 assemblage is composed of tobacco pipe fragments (33), faunal materials (226), stone artifacts (21), composite artifacts (5), and synthetic/modern artifacts (8).

Tobacco Pipes make up 1.26% (33) of the Locus 4 assemblage. All of the tobacco pipe artifacts are fragments of molded tobacco pipes made from imported, white earthenware. Nearly half (48.48%, 16) of the tobacco pipe artifacts are bowl fragments. Stem fragments comprise 45.5% (15) of the tobacco pipe assemblage. The average bore stem diameter is 0.76 mm or 1.85/64th inch. Drawing on Binford's (1962) linear regression model for determining the mean date of tobacco pipe manufacture based on bore diameter, the mean date of the tobacco pipe assemblage from Locus 5 is 1861.07. Based, on the tobacco pipe stem data, then, the tobacco pipe assemblage can be dated to the second half of the nineteenth century. The remaining tobacco pipe fragments consist of one bowl-base fragment and one complete bowl.

Faunal materials make up only 8.65% (226) of the Locus 5 assemblage. Identification of faunal materials was very difficult due to the extremely minute size of many faunal remains. Yet, some insight was made into the nature of the faunal collection. 45.45% (100) of the faunal remains consisted of shell fragments. While most of these (87) were unidentifiable, 13 were the remains of the West India Top Shell (*Cittarium pica*). Several fish remains including 13 vertebra and one pharyngeal teeth fragment of the parrotfish (*Scaridae*) were identified. Mammal remains include the fragment of one cow (*Bos taurus*) tooth and one cow vertebra. In addition, one rodent

bone was identified and a tooth and mandible from small, unidentified mammals were also present. Unfortunately, due to the minute nature of the faunal material, 44.54% (98) of the faunal remains were unidentifiable.

Stone artifacts comprise 0.80% (21) of the Locus 5 assemblage and include chert and flint flakes, pieces of slate and quartzite. Slate writing tablet fragments comprise the majority (45%, 9) of the stone assemblage. Chert flakes comprise 30% (6) of the stone materials while grey flint (2) and honey flint (1) represent 10% and 5% of the assemblage, respectively. 2 quartzite fragments complete the stone assemblage.

Composite artifacts make up 0.19% (5) of the Locus 4 assemblage and consist of a sample of bluing powder used in laundering clothes, shell-tempered mortar, and one modern battery found on the surface of a unit. Synthetic/modern artifacts also consist of materials found in disturbed surface contexts of Locus 4 and include 5 pieces of plastic.

B.3.5 Beads and Buttons from Locus 4

A total of 4 beads were excavated from Locus 4 and they were all made of glass. Two were wound beads, one was drawn, and one was manufactured using unidentifiable techniques. One bead (MAH-15-08-1027) is a simple, round bead that was made of blue glass. The bead is opaque and is patinated. MAH-15-08-1300 is a simple round bead made out of opaque black glass. The manufacturing technique employed for this bead is indeterminable. MAH-15-08-1527 is a simple round bead made out of dark olive glass. It is wound and exhibits no sign of patination. MAH-15-09-4097 is a drawn bead that was made of orange glass. It is opaque and cylindrical in shape with evidence of sawing as an end treatment. The bead exhibits no patination but is weathered.

A variety of buttons were recovered from the Locus 4 excavations. Buttons were manufactured from bone, shell, glass, metal, and synthetic materials and exhibit a variety of manufacturing techniques such as cut/carved, molded, and stamped.

B.4 Functional Analysis

Artifacts from the Locus 4 and Locus 5 unit excavations were also grouped according to functional purposes based on five functional categories: foodways, personal adornment, personal activities (including hygiene and beauty practices), utilitarian activities, and architectural materials. All diagnostic artifacts were included in the functional analysis.

Subcategory		Type of Artifact	Total
Food		Faunal	148
Storage	Ceramic	Beaker	3
		Bottle	1
		Milk Pan	4
		Mug/Can	20
		Pitcher/Ewer	5
		Storage Jar	8
	Glass	Bottle, beer	6
		Bottle, case	1
		Bottle, unid.	112
		Bottle, wine	150
Serving	Ceramic	Bowl	713
_		Lid	3
		Plate	200
		Saucer	8
		Serving Dish	3
		Teacup	16
		Unid: Tableware	649
		Unid: Teaware	127
	Glass	Drinking glass	1
		Stemware	1
		Tableware, unid.	44
	Metal	Utensil Handle	5
Cooking	Ceramic	Pipkin	1
-		Afro-Antiguan wares	1795
Total		-	3484

Table B.2 Locus 5 Foodways Artifacts

Personal Adornment	Total	Personal Activities	Total
Buttons	2	Copper Thimble	1
Molded Buckle	2	Tobacco Pipes	148
Quartzes	3	Gunflints	2
Bead	1	Flakes	42
		Writing Slate	13
		Bottle, perfume	1
		Laundering pebbles	3
Total	8	Total	210

Table B.3 Locus 5 Personal Adornment and Personal Activities Artifacts

Utilitarian	Total	Architectural	Total
Barrel Hoop	23	Hinge	1
Chain Link	1	Nails	542
Lead Container	1	Copper Nail	4
Hardware	176		
Utilitarian, misc.	23		
Total	224	Total	547

Table B.4 Locus 5 Utilitarian and Architectural Artifacts

Subcategory	,	Type of Artifact	Total
Food		Faunal	220
Storage Ceramic		Bottle	1
		Jug	2
		Lid	1
		Mug/Can	7
		Pitcher/Ewer	1
		Storage Jar	1
		Unid: Utilitarian	35
	Glass	Bell Jar	1
		Bottle, beer	59
		Bottle, case	1
		Bottle, liquor	7
		Bottle, mineral	75
		Bottle, unid.	221
		Bottle, wine	106
		Container, unid.	6
Serving	Ceramic	Bowl	94
_		Plate	74
		Serving Dish	5
		Unid: Tableware	462
		Saucer	3
		Teacup	2
		Unid: Teaware	60
	Glass	Tableware, unid.	48
	Metal	Spoon	3
Cooking	Ceramic	Coal Pot	1
Č		Afro-Antiguan wares	116
Total		-	1612

Table B.5 Locus 4 Foodways Artifacts

Personal Adornment	Total	Personal Activities	Total
Boot Heel Cleats	4	Disk/Coin	2
Clothing Clasp	2	Keyhole	1
Grommet	4	Musketball	1
Ring?	1	Pencil	1
Buttons	18	Top?	1
Beads	4	Thimble	1
		Rake	1
		Stone flakes	20
		Tobacco Pipes	33
		Bottle, ink	3
		Bottle, perfume	9
		Chamberpot	1
		Bluing Powder	1
		Windowglass	7
Total	33	Total	82

Table B.6 Locus 4 Personal Adornment and Personal Activities Artifacts

Utilitarian	Total	Architectural	Total
Barrel Hoop	3	Hinge	2
Cap	1	Joint with Bolt	1
Chain Link	14	Nails	282
Clamp	1	Screw	1
Hardware	262	Mortar	3
Hardware, unid.	9		
Hook	2		
Hose Clamp	1		
Lead	4		
Metal Link	3		
Metal Rim	1		
Stake	1		
Wire-Copper	2		
Wire-Iron Alloy	5		
Total	309	Total	289

Table B.7 Locus 4 Utilitarian and Architectural Artifacts

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CURRICULUM VITAE

EDUCATION

2008-present Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Anthropology

Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY. Concentration: Historical Archaeology

2008 M.A., Anthropology

Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY.

2005 B.A., Anthropology

Barnard College, Columbia University, New York, NY.

Thesis: Finding Common Ground: The Presentation and Reception of

Function and Relevance at King Manor Museum

Honors: Magna cum laude

GRANTS AND AWARDS

2010	Recipient, Maxwell Dean's Dissertation Fellowship, Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University
2008	Recipient, Fulbright IIE Grant, U.S. Department of State
2008	Recipient, Roscoe Martin Scholarship, Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University
2007	Recipient, Maxwell School Summer Fellowship, Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University
2007	Recipient, Maxwell Summer Dean's Research Grant, Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University
2007	Recipient, Outstanding Teaching Assistant Award, the Graduate School Syracuse University

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EXPERIENCE						

2011-present	Assistant Director, Heritage Department, Antigua and Barbuda National Parks Authority, English Harbour, Antigua
2010-present	Associate Editor, Caribbean Connection Journal, The Field Research Centre, English Harbour, Antigua
2008	Teaching Fellow, Teaching Assistant Orientation Program, The Graduate School, Syracuse University
2008	Head Teaching Assistant, Department of Anthropology, Syracuse University Introduction to Biological Anthropology, Professor Shannon Novak, Spring Semester
2007	Head Teaching Assistant, Department of Anthropology, Syracuse University Global Encounters, Professor Cecilia VanHollen, Fall Semester
2007	Teaching Fellow, Teaching Assistant Orientation Program, The Graduate School, Syracuse University
2007	Head Teaching Assistant, Department of Anthropology, Syracuse University Introduction to Historical Archaeology, Professor Douglas Armstrong, Spring Semester
2006	Head Teaching Assistant, Department of Anthropology, Syracuse University Introduction to Cultural Anthropology, Professor Maureen Trudelle Schwarz, Fall Semester
2006	Teaching Assistant, Department of Anthropology, Syracuse University Introduction to Historical Archaeology, Professor Douglas Armstrong, Spring Semester
2005	Teaching Assistant, Department of Anthropology, Syracuse University Introduction to Archaeology & Prehistory, Professor Christopher DeCorse, Fall Semester

2004 Archaeology Education Assistant, King Manor Museum, Jamaica, NY

2004 Intern, World Archaeological Congress, New York, NY

PRESENTATIONS

2011	Becoming Free: Enslaved and Wage Laborer Lifeways at Green Castle Estate, Antigua. Paper presented at the XXIV Congress of the International Association for Caribbean Archaeology, Fort de France, Martinique.
2009	"From Africans to Antiguans": The Material Culture of Enslaved and Wage Labourers. Paper presented at the XXIII Congress of the International Association for Caribbean Archaeology, Jolly Harbour, Antigua.
2008	Experiential Archaeology: The Dig at Atlantis. Paper presented at the Sixth World Archaeological Congress, Dublin, Ireland.
2008	"To Do Right to Those Who Suffer Wrong": Slave Management Reform and Slave Responses at Green Castle Plantation, Antigua. Paper presented at the Society for Historical Archaeology Conference, Albuquerque, NM.
2007	Embracing Slavery: Presenting the Past in New York Museums. Paper presented at the American Anthropological Association Conference, Washington, DC.
2007	A Spatial Analysis of Slavery: The Martin Plantations of Antigua. Paper presented at the XXII Congress of the International Association of Caribbean Archaeology, Kingston, Jamaica.
2007	Building Connections: Comparing the Eighteenth-Century Martin Family Estates in Antigua and Long Island, N.Y. Paper presented at the Built Environment of Atlantic Slavery Workshop, Fernand Braudel Center, Binghamton University, Binghamton, NY.
2007	Mythological Pasts in an Archaeological Present: The Dig at Atlantis. Paper presented at the Society for Historical Archaeology Conference, Williamsburg, VA.
2006	Whose House is This? Reconciling the Museum, Archaeology, and the Community at King Manor. Poster presented at the American Anthropological Association Conference, San Jose, CA.
2006	Whose House is This? Reconciling the Museum, Archaeology, and the Community at King Manor. Paper presented at the Northeastern Anthropology Association Conference, Albany, NY.

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

2009 *Co-Director*, National Parks Antigua

Mount McNish Plantation, Antigua, West Indies

Project Director: A. Reginald Murphy, Antigua National Parks

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Green Castle Estate, Antigua, West Indies

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2006 Teaching Assistant, Syracuse University Field School

Harriet Tubman Home, Auburn, NY

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2005 Crew Chief, Hofstra University Field School

King Manor Museum, Jamaica, NY

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2004 Student, Hofstra University Field School

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SERVICE ACTIVITIES

2009	Con	gress	Organi	izer,	XIII	Con	gress	of	the	Into	ernational	Association	n for

Caribbean Archaeology, Jolly Harbour, Antigua

2007-2008 Secretary, Graduate Student Organization, Syracuse University

2006-2008 Senator, University Senate, Syracuse University

2006-2008 Graduate Student Representative, Senate Committee on Administrative

Operations, Syracuse University

2006-2007 Secretary, Anthropology Graduate Student Organization, Syracuse University

2005-2007 Graduate Student Representative, Student Organization Recognition Committee,

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MEMBERSHIPS

2006-present American Anthropological Association

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