

Community Dynamics and Social Status at the Brimstone Hill Fortress National Park, St. Kitts, West Indies

Brimstone Hill Fortress Archaeological Project Report No. 28

Submitted to
The Brimstone Hill Fortress National Park Society, St. Kitts West Indies

By

Jenny Camp

Department of Anthropology
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee

June 2007

(Originally submitted as a Master's thesis in the Department of Anthropology, University of Montana, July 2006)

COMMUNITY DYNAMICS AND SOCIAL STATUS AT THE
BRIMSTONE HILL FORTRESS NATIONAL PARK,
ST. KITTS, WEST INDIES

by

Jennifer B. Camp

B.S. University of Montana, Missoula, 2004

M.B.A. University of Montana, Missoula, 2005

presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Master of Arts

The University of Montana

July 2006

Approved by:

Chairperson

Dean, Graduate School

Date

Camp, Jennifer B. M.A., July 2006

Anthropology

Community Dynamics and Social Status at the Brimstone Hill Fortress National Park, St. Kitts, West Indies

Chairperson: Todd M. Ahlman

Archaeological investigations at the Brimstone Hill Fortress, one of the largest British military complexes in the Caribbean, have focused primarily on recording the role enslaved Africans had in the fort's construction and maintenance. Brimstone Hill was a multiethnic community occupied by British officers, enlisted men, and enslaved Africans. Recent excavations have begun to consider all occupants of Brimstone Hill in order to understand and interpret the organization of slave life and also to examine the interactions between slaves and British soldiers. To date the archaeological investigations at Brimstone Hill are the most extensive and provide the best data set for studying the role that enslaved Africans played in the British military.

This research addressed how social status and inequality within the context of a British military organization is observed in the archaeological record.

Differences in the ceramic artifact assemblages between enslaved Africans and British military officers from an area of the fort designated as BSH 3 were examined. Ceramic artifact analysis has suggested that there were very little differences between the officers and the slaves in terms of ceramic wares and decoration types. Comparison of slaves and officers using CC index values revealed that slaves had more expensive ceramics than the officers. This suggests that slaves could have viewed ceramics as status indicators and purchased their own ceramics accordingly. The most significant difference occurred in the vessel forms recovered. Officers tended to have a larger variety of vessel forms, rather than simply more expensive ones. The diversity of vessels forms were one way that the officers were able to display their wealth and status to the Brimstone Hill community.

The spatial arrangement of structures associated with one particular area of the fort was analyzed to demonstrate how the British officers arranged their living space in order to control the daily lives of slaves and demonstrate their power to the Brimstone Hill community. The physical layout of structures and a series of walkways and gated entrances allowed the officers to monitor surveillance, control access, and reinforce their power and authority to the Brimstone Hill community.

Acknowledgments

I want to thank my thesis committee members, Todd Ahlman, Kelly Dixon, and Bambi Douma, for their support and guidance throughout my research. Particular thanks to Gerald Schroedl, University of Tennessee professor and director of archaeological studies at Brimstone Hill, for providing the data needed for this thesis. Archaeological investigations at Brimstone Hill Fortress have been made possible by the Brimstone Hill Fortress National Park Society, the University of Tennessee, Earthwatch, the National Geographic Society, and the University of Montana.

Table of Contents

LIST OF TABLES	VI
LIST OF FIGURES	VII
CHAPTER 1	1
CHAPTER 2	5
HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE CARIBBEAN	5
<i>African American Archaeology</i>	5
REASONS FOR STUDYING AFRICAN AND AFRICAN DESCENDENT COMMUNITIES IN THE CARIBBEAN	8
<i>The African Diaspora</i>	8
<i>Cultural Transformations and Community Studies</i>	9
<i>Bioanthropological Studies</i>	10
<i>Critical Analysis</i>	10
<i>Public Interpretation</i>	11
THEMES IN THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH OF ENSLAVED AFRICANS	11
<i>Living Conditions</i>	12
<i>Status Differences</i>	13
<i>Dominance and Resistance</i>	14
<i>Cultural Identity</i>	15
HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE BRITISH CARIBBEAN	16
CHAPTER 3	19
HISTORY OF THE BRIMSTONE HILL FORTRESS	19
THE BRIMSTONE HILL FORTRESS COMMUNITY	27
CHAPTER 4	32
HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY AT THE BRIMSTONE HILL FORTRESS	32
<i>BSH 1</i>	36
<i>BSH 2</i>	38
<i>BSH 3</i>	41
<i>BSH 4</i>	43
EVIDENCE FOR ENSLAVED AFRICANS AT BRIMSTONE HILL	43
CHAPTER 5	45
EXPECTATIONS	48
CHAPTER 6	51
<i>Ceramic Ware Types</i>	52
BSH 3 CERAMIC WARE ANALYSIS	55
BSH 3 VESSEL FORM ANALYSIS	58
BSH 3 DECORATION TYPE ANALYSIS	62

CHAPTER 7	65
CERAMIC CLASSIFICATION	65
MEAN DATE FOR THE CC INDICES	66
DECORATIVE TYPES	67
<i>CC Ware</i>	<i>68</i>
<i>Shell Edged Decorated Wares</i>	<i>68</i>
<i>Sponge Decorated Wares</i>	<i>69</i>
<i>Dipped Wares</i>	<i>70</i>
<i>Underglazed and Enamelled Lined Wares</i>	<i>71</i>
<i>Band and Line Wares</i>	<i>71</i>
<i>Painted and Enamelled Wares</i>	<i>72</i>
<i>Willow Ware</i>	<i>72</i>
<i>Transfer Printed Wares</i>	<i>73</i>
<i>Stone Chinas</i>	<i>74</i>
<i>White Granite Wares</i>	<i>74</i>
<i>Gold Banded Earthenware</i>	<i>75</i>
<i>Basalt Ware</i>	<i>75</i>
<i>English Porcelains</i>	<i>75</i>
CC INDEX VALUES FOR BOWLS, TEAS, PLATES, AND PLATTERS	79
<i>CC Index Values for Bowls</i>	<i>79</i>
<i>CC Index Values for Teawares</i>	<i>81</i>
<i>CC Index Values for Plates and Platters</i>	<i>82</i>
CC INDEX ANALYSIS OF THE BSH 3 ASSEMBLAGE	83
<i>CC Index Analysis for Bowls</i>	<i>83</i>
<i>CC Index Analysis for Teawares</i>	<i>84</i>
<i>CC Index Analysis for Plates</i>	<i>86</i>
<i>CC Index Values for Platters</i>	<i>87</i>
<i>Comparison of CC Index Values</i>	<i>89</i>
CHAPTER 8	92
PANOPTICISM AT BRIMSTONE HILL	93
CONTROLLED ACCESS AT BSH 3	95
CHAPTER 9	97
BIBLIOGRAPHY	104

List of Tables

TABLE 1: CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT FOR ENSLAVED AFRICANS	29
TABLE 2: TEMPORAL PERIODS FOR CERAMIC WARES.....	51
TABLE 3: CERAMICS ARTIFACTS RECOVERED FROM BRIMSTONE HILL.....	52
TABLE 4: VESSELS BY WARE FOR OFFICERS AND ENSLAVED AFRICANS AT BHS 3.....	55
TABLE 5: VESSELS FORMS FOR OFFICERS AND ENSLAVED AFRICANS AT BHS 3.....	59
TABLE 6: DECORATIONS FOR OFFICERS AND ENSLAVED AFRICANS AT BSH 3.....	63
TABLE 7: MAIN DECORATION CATEGORIES	76
TABLE 8: MAIN DECORATION CATEGORIES RECOVERED AT BSH 3	77
TABLE 9: CC INDEX VALUES FOR BOWLS	80
TABLE 10: CC INDEX VALUES FOR TEAWARES	81
TABLE 11: CC INDEX VALUES FOR PLATES AND PLATTERS.....	82
TABLE 12: OFFICERS' CC INDEX VALUE FOR BOWLS	83
TABLE 13: SLAVES' CC INDEX VALUE FOR BOWLS	84
TABLE 14: OFFICERS' CC INDEX VALUE FOR TEAS	85
TABLE 15: SLAVES' CC INDEX VALUE FOR TEAS	85
TABLE 16: OFFICERS' CC INDEX VALUE FOR PLATES.....	86
TABLE 17: SLAVES' CC INDEX VALUE FOR PLATES	87
TABLE 18: OFFICERS' CC INDEX VALUE FOR PLATTERS	88
TABLE 19: SLAVES' CC INDEX VALUE FOR PLATTERS	88

List of Figures

FIGURE 1: LOCATION OF ST. KITTS AND NEVIS	19
FIGURE 2: ST. KITTS	20
FIGURE 3: HARVESTING SUGAR CANE ON ST. KITTS	21
FIGURE 4: AREAS OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS AT BRIMSTONE HILL	33
FIGURE 5: 1791 ROYAL ENGINEERS MAP	34
FIGURE 6: 1790S WATERCOLORS BY LT. JAMES LEES	35
FIGURE 7: BUILDING IDENTIFICATIONS FOUND ON THE 1791 ENGINEERS MAP	39
FIGURE 8: ARTIFACTS SUGGESTING THE PRESENCE OF ENSLAVED AFRICANS	43
FIGURE 9: VESSELS BY WARE FOR OFFICERS AND ENSLAVED AFRICANS AT BSH 3	56
FIGURE 10: VESSEL FORMS FOR OFFICERS AND ENSLAVED AFRICANS AT BSH 3	60
FIGURE 11: SHELL EDGED PLATES RECOVERED FROM BSH 3	69
FIGURE 12: DIPPED WARES RECOVERED FROM BSH 3	70
FIGURE 13: TRANSFER PRINTED WARES RECOVERED FROM BSH 3	74
FIGURE 14: DECORATIONS FOR OFFICERS AND ENSLAVED AFRICANS AT BSH3	78
FIGURE 15: COMPARISON OF CC INDEX VALUES	79
FIGURE 16: COMPARISON OF CC INDEX VALUES AT BSH 3	89
FIGURE 17: LAYOUT OF BSH 3	94
FIGURE 18: CONTROLLED ACCESS AT BSH 3	95

Chapter 1 ***Introduction***

Archaeologists began to study enslaved Africans in the United States in the 1960s. Since then, African diaspora archaeology has developed into one of the most popular research areas in historical archaeology (Singleton 1995:119). African diaspora archaeology, the archaeological study of slavery and of all black-occupied sites, involves the use of material cultural to interpret the lives of African descendants in the New World. The southeastern United States and the Caribbean provide contexts for examining the lives of enslaved people in the New World.

Within the historical archaeological research of enslaved Africans, the primary theme that arises is the study of social inequality. In the Caribbean, studies addressing social inequality are typically based on slavery within plantations, with few studies examining urban, military, and freeman sites. The Brimstone Hill Fortress, one of the largest British military complexes in the Caribbean, provides archaeologists with a unique opportunity to examine social inequality within the context of a military organization.

The Brimstone Hill Fortress, located on the island of St. Kitts, was a multi-ethnic community occupied by British officers, enlisted men, enslaved Africans, and other distinct groups (Schroedl and Ahlman 2002a, 2002b; Schroedl 2005a). Archaeological excavations between the years of 1996 and 1999 focused on the role enslaved Africans had in the construction and maintenance of the fort (Schroedl 2000; Schroedl and Ahlman 2002a, 2002b). In 2004 and 2005, the

project goals were expanded to consider all occupants of Brimstone Hill, allowing researchers to evaluate social status and inequality among members of the community.

The objective of this research is to assess how social status and inequality among members of the Brimstone Hill community can be observed through the material culture associated with the different occupants of the fort. The two primary social classes at Brimstone Hill are British military personnel and enslaved Africans. To determine whether or not status differences between the two social classes exist, the ceramics from one area of the fort are analyzed because ceramic materials have been shown to be effective tools in assessing social status (Miller 1980, 1991; Adams and Boling 1989). While social inequality inherently existed between British military personnel and enslaved Africans, the material culture can help assess whether these differences are apparent in the ceramic assemblages associated with these groups.

A second analysis in this study focuses on the spatial arrangement of structures at Brimstone Hill to understand how the position of structures and the division of space on the landscape were used to communicate power and class relations. The spatial arrangement of structures associated with the officers and enslaved Africans can add insights into how the officers designed the fort in order to control the enslaved community and maintain their authority.

Archaeological investigations concerning enslaved Africans within the context of a British military organization in the Caribbean are limited (Watters

2001). To date the archaeological investigations at Brimstone Hill are the most extensive and provide the best data set for studying the role that enslaved Africans played in the British military. This thesis will develop an understanding of status and social inequality among British military personnel and enslaved Africans in a British military organization. The subsequent chapters are outlined as follows.

Chapter 2 evaluates the current state of historical archaeology in the Caribbean by first looking at the rise of African American archaeology in the United States and the reasons for studying enslaved Africans and African descendant communities. This is followed by the main themes in archaeological research of enslaved Africans. The state of historical archaeology in the British Caribbean concludes this chapter.

In Chapter 3 the history of St. Kitts and the Brimstone Hill Fortress is discussed, including the reasons for the construction of the fort, skirmishes that occurred, and finally the abandonment of Brimstone Hill. The enslaved community at Brimstone Hill and the use of slaves by the British military is also examined.

Chapter 4 describes historical archaeological investigations conducted at Brimstone Hill, including the goals of the project, methods used, and the types of artifacts recovered. Excavations have taken place in four areas of the fort and each site is briefly described. The certain types of artifacts used to determine the presence of enslaved Africans is then discussed.

Chapter 5 outlines the research questions to be addressed in the following chapters. To better understand social status among members of the

Brimstone Hill community, examination of the ceramic artifact assemblages and the spatial arrangement of the structures from one area of the fort are conducted.

Chapter 6 first explains the ceramic artifact assemblages and different ceramic ware types recovered at Brimstone Hill. This is followed by analyses based on ceramic ware, vessel form, and decoration type between the British officers' and enslaved Africans' ceramic assemblages from one site of the fort designated as BSH 3.

To illustrate social status through ceramics, Chapter 7 consists of an analysis based on a ceramic classification system developed by George L. Miller (1980, 1991). This type of ceramic classification will allow the site to be scaled in terms of expenditures on ceramics, possibly indicating socioeconomic differences among members of the community.

Chapter 8 discusses the spatial arrangement of the structures and features from BSH 3 to illustrate the ways in which the British officers manipulated space in order to display their power and authority to the rest of the Brimstone Hill community.

Chapter 9 concludes with the results of this study and directions for future research. Overall, this thesis will present the ways that archaeological research and artifacts from the Brimstone Hill Fortress address issues relating to social status and inequality within the context of a British military organization.

Chapter 2

Historical Archaeology and Social Inequality in the Caribbean

Historical Archaeology in the Caribbean

It has been stated that many North Americans underestimate the importance of the Caribbean in the history of the United States (Farnsworth 2001:xvi). Before Jamestown's founding in 1607, Spanish towns, plantations, and trade were flourishing in the Caribbean. Between the 15th and 19th centuries, the events in the Caribbean had a direct impact on the American mainland and without these island colonies, many of the mainland colonies could not have been established and maintained (Farnsworth 2001:xix).

Until recently, the history of the Caribbean has focused on the social and economic history of people of European ancestry who once claimed ownership of both the land and the enslaved Africans who worked there (Armstrong 1999:173). However, the growing popularity of African American archaeology in southern United States has helped increase the interest in historical archaeology of enslaved people in the Caribbean (Farnsworth 2001:xvi).

African American Archaeology

The origin and growth of African American archaeology can be attributed to black activism, the passage of historic preservation legislation, the emergence of an archaeological interest in American ethnic groups, and the increased use of archaeology in the public interpretation of historic sites

(Singleton 1995:120). For instance, archaeological research at Fort Mosé in Florida and at the African Burial Ground in New York was both supported by the African American community. At Fort Mosé local black leaders were able to lobby for funds to help support the archaeological research and establish a traveling exhibit. At the African Burial Ground the black community contributed to the decision making process that helped make the site a National Landmark.

The passage of historic preservation laws and the rise of cultural resource management (CRM) is also an important component in the growth of African American archaeology (Singleton 1995:121). CRM projects constitute most of the archaeological research conducted at African American sites. While CRM does help facilitate research at many sites that otherwise would have been overlooked, the research questions asked and the data collected are often limited in scope. Additionally, due to time and monetary constraints the descendant communities are often not consulted.

The 1960s and 1970s provided an “intellectual premise” for the archaeological research of sites occupied by African American and other ethnic groups (Singleton 1995:121). An outcome of this trend was an increasing interest in the archaeological investigations of groups that are not often documented in the written record, which has become a major goal in historical archaeological research.

Finally, interpreting archaeology to the public has helped to increase public awareness of African American life (Singleton 1995:122). Both the

restoration and interpretation of sites can be used to inform the general public and descendant communities about slavery and plantation life.

The most dominant cultural influence in the Caribbean is African and African-descendent, and for the past few decades there has been an increasing interest in the archaeological research of African sites (Haviser 1999:4).

Starting in the 1970s and continuing into the present, scholars and researchers have begun to highlight the contributions of Africans and their descendants in the Caribbean (Armstrong 1999:173). The rise of historical archaeology in the Caribbean is also due to the growing interest that Caribbean people have in recording, preserving, and promoting their cultures (Farnsworth 2001:xvi). Many islands in the Caribbean are young, independent nations that are trying to support their national identities by establishing their role in creating the island's landscape in which they live (Farnsworth 2001:xix). Historical archaeology has the ability to provide insights into how the Caribbean has been shaped by people of the region.

Caribbean archaeology takes an interdisciplinary approach, combining archaeological, historical, anthropological, geographical, and ethnohistoric perspectives (Watters 2001:88). Archaeologists have the advantage of examining the material record that has been left by the people of slavery, and this data can be used to evaluate and interpret the social and cultural life-ways of enslaved people in the Caribbean (Armstrong 1999:174).

Reasons for Studying African and African Descendent Communities in the Caribbean

Since the mid 20th century, regional histories have begun to highlight the contributions that Africans and their descendants had in the Caribbean (Hall 1959; Brathwaite 1971; Dunn 1973; Mintz 1974; Higman 1976, 1984). Archaeological research can supplement these histories by providing perspectives on enslaved Africans' experiences in the Caribbean based on the material record that has been left behind (Armstrong 1999:174). Douglas Armstrong outlines five reasons for studying African and African-descendent communities in the Caribbean (Armstrong 1999:174). First, archaeological and ethnohistoric research allows us to examine how African heritage and culture was transplanted, changed, and replaced. Second, archaeological investigations of slave settlements can be useful in examining processes of cultural transformation associated with the development of Afro-Caribbean communities. Third, burial and mortuary studies provide a way to understand biological and social conditions that affected the lives of enslaved Africans. Fourth, critical analysis allows archaeologists to better understand social structure, economics, and power relations between Africans and Europeans in the Caribbean. Finally, the data gathered from these studies can be used to educate the public.

The African Diaspora

When studying enslaved Africans and their descendants, one goal is to examine how African heritage was transplanted, changed, or supplanted in

the Americas (Armstrong 1999:175). At the onset of archaeological research of enslaved Africans, the objective was to identify whole, intact African survivals in the New World. However, cultures were not brought intact to the Caribbean and elements of African heritage developed in new African-Caribbean cultural settings. For example, archaeological evidence has demonstrated that African people maintained religious beliefs, social institutions, and subsistence patterns after they were forced into slavery (Singleton 1995, 1999; Schroedl and Ahlman 2002). The displacement, modification, and survival of African heritage is a major research goal in the archaeology of slavery (Singleton 1985:3).

Locating areas once occupied by slaves is relatively simple and fortunately, for archaeologists, there are an abundance of historical records and maps that indicate these areas (Armstrong 1999:176). Efforts can then be focused on artifacts, structural remains, and dietary refuse associated with enslaved people in order to interpret Afro-Caribbean life.

Cultural Transformations and Community Studies

Cultural transformation is “an interaction model that presents cultural change in terms of active (rather than passive) responses to social, historical, and environmental conditions” (Armstrong 1999:178). Enslaved Africans dealt with oppressive conditions that often included cultural disruption, subjugation, and isolation from their African heritages. The people of slavery negotiated these harsh conditions by incorporating elements of cultural continuity within systems of culture change. Archaeologists have the ability

to examine materials left behind by the slaves and the settings in which these materials were used. This information can then be used to better understand the daily lives of slaves. The relationship of activities and the use of space can be used to help answer questions relating to the power structure of the plantation. The study of cultural change in plantation settings should not be limited to Africans. Rather studies should address questions related to the interaction between groups, such as the overseers, planters, and slaves (Armstrong 1999:180).

Bioanthropological Studies

Mortuary practices and skeletal remains can provide detailed information on slave nutrition, health, pathology, and demography, along with insights into social life and customs (Handler et al. 1989; Armstrong 1999:180). The analysis of slave skeletons in the Caribbean has indicated that slaves faced nutritional and health problems (Armstrong 1999; Courtland et al. 1999; Khudabux 1999). Archaeological evidence, combined with bioarchaeological studies, can be used to understand the biological and social conditions affecting the health and daily lives of enslaved Africans.

Critical Analysis

Critical analysis, based on Marxist thought, assumes “that people create, use, modify, and manipulate their symbolic capabilities, making and remaking the world they live in” (Leone 1986:416). Critical archaeology can be used to examine social structure, economics, and power relationships

between Africans and Europeans in order to understand social status and inequality. In the Caribbean, economic and power relationships are clearly seen in the spatial relationships between parts of the plantation (Armstrong 1999:182). For example, slave villages were located in an area of the plantation in order to maximize the return from slave labor and at the same time maximize the planter's control and authority.

Public Interpretation

Archaeologists have a responsibility to share their findings with African American descendant communities (Armstrong 1999:184). As the role of the public increases within archaeology, more and more descendant communities are becoming interested in learning about their history through archaeological resources. Fortunately, in the Caribbean the majority of plantation studies have been geared toward both the intellectual community and the people of the islands in which research was carried out (Armstrong 1983; Pulsipher and Goodwin 1982, 1988; Handler et al. 1989; Schroedl 2005b). This allows researchers to teach descendant communities about the relationships between the archaeological record and the community's history.

Themes in the Archaeological Research of Enslaved Africans

Four main themes arise in the archaeological research of enslaved Africans: living conditions, status differences, dominance and resistance, and cultural identity (Singleton 1995:123). These themes relate to the concept of social inequality. Social inequality refers to culturally prescribed

communication of status differences based on any combination of power, prestige, or wealth. Through the examination of living conditions, such as housing and foodways, and the material culture associated with enslaved Africans, archaeologists can better understand the ways in which status differences between slaves and slaveholders were displayed in the archaeological record. Research at Brimstone Hill provides a different aspect of social inequality since it is a military site, rather than a plantation.

Living Conditions

Archaeological investigations of slavery most often yield evidence and information on aspects of living conditions (Singleton 1995:123). Living conditions frequently concentrate on housing and foodways, but the use of space, household equipment, personal possessions, and information on health and hygiene can also be examined.

Slave quarters are usually the focus of archaeological research of slavery (Singleton 1995:123). Details on the size, materials used, construction methods, and how enslaved people lived in and modified their domestic spaces are some of the types of information that can be gathered by examining housing (Deetz 1977; Ferguson 1992).

Foodways “encompasses all activities related to food, from procurement activities to preparation, serving, and consumption” (Singleton 1995:124). Information on foodways comes from food remains recovered during excavations and from the study of equipment used for procuring, processing, and serving food. Zooarchaeological analysis can be used to

determine the types of animals consumed, the cuts of meats preferred or available, and occasionally how food was prepared. Slave nutrition, as well as social and cultural factors that influenced enslaved people's foodways are examined. Social and cultural factors include differential access to food supplies, food as an expression of cultural identity, and food as a means of social control (Singleton 1995:126).

At Brimstone Hill, information on living conditions can be used to understand how enslaved Africans lived in and organized their domestic spaces. Additionally, the investigation of living conditions at Brimstone Hill can provide insights into the slaves' quality of life by examining recovered artifacts such as ceramics, faunal remains, and personal possessions. This material culture can then be used to determine if status differences between slaves and military personnel existed.

Status Differences

Dietary and other material variations among enslaved Africans and slaveholders have often been attributed to class or status distinctions (Singleton 1995:126). Differences in the artifact assemblages between planters, overseers, and the enslaved community can be evidence of status distinctions. Evidence of status can be examined through faunal remains associated with different occupants of the plantation and also through artifacts, particularly imported ceramics. Ceramics have been shown to be effective tools in determining social status (Miller 1980, 1991; Adams and Boling 1989). Imported British wares are the predominant wares during the

late 18th century and 19th century and are found at most sites occupied by enslaved Africans (Singleton 1995:127). At Brimstone Hill, the investigation of status differences through recovered artifacts such as ceramics can be used to determine if social status differences between the slaves and military personnel existed.

Dominance and Resistance

The importance of power relations to plantation archaeology was first brought into prominence by Charles Orser (1988) and has continued to be a growing area in the archaeology of slavery. Based on a Marxist analysis of class struggle, Orser placed a greater emphasis on economic power relationships in plantation studies (Singleton 1995:128). Planters were able to exclude slave quarters from the formal landscape of the plantation, resulting in a reflection of their dominance. Enslaved people often resisted this dominance by constructing hidden spaces within their dwellings. This example shows how dominant groups exerted their power and how subordinate groups resisted such power (Singleton 1999:5). The analysis of power relationships can enhance our understanding of cultural interaction and can provide access to the lived experiences of enslaved Africans. The examination of the spatial arrangement of structures on the landscape at Brimstone Hill can provide insights into how the military officers were able to display their dominance to the enslaved community.

Cultural Identity

Enslaved people were forced to live in an oppressive society; however, they maintained a separate cultural identity in light of the dominant culture around them (Singleton 1995:130). Evidence of cultural identity is derived from artifacts resembling African origin and heritage. Two artifact classes, folk beliefs and practices, and handcrafted pottery, are important to the study of enslaved Africans since they indicate that enslaved Africans maintained aspects of their African heritage after being forced into slavery.

Artifacts such as cowry shells, beads, pierced or perforated coins, polished stones and pebbles, and reworked glass and ceramic objects, are suggestive of folk beliefs and practices (Singleton 1995; Young 1996; Fennell 2003). Based on ethnographic analysis, oral history, and speculation, archaeologists are able to offer interpretations for these objects since their true meaning is only known to the people who created and used them.

Handcrafted pottery, termed Colonoware in the southern United States and Afro-Caribbean ware in the Caribbean, represents non-European, often locally produced wares found at most sites associated with enslaved Africans (Singleton 1995:131). Afro-Caribbean ware and other artifacts representing the expression of African traditions are often regarded as evidence for cultural patterns used to resist the dominance of Europeans (Schroedl and Ahlman 2002b:38). Cultural identity studies remain an important part of the archaeology of slavery. The occurrence of artifacts such as Afro-Caribbean ware and ceramic discs at Brimstone Hill can provide insights into how

enslaved Africans sought to maintain aspects of their African heritage and create a distinctive Afro-Caribbean culture.

Historical Archaeology in the British Caribbean

Living conditions, status differences, dominance and resistance, and cultural identity studies relate to the concept of social inequality. In the Caribbean, the most common example of archaeological investigations involving social inequality relate to enslaved Africans living in sugar plantations (Watters 2001:90). At first, archaeologists approached plantations as “the world the slaves made” rather than the world that the planters created and controlled (Singleton 1999:13). Today, archaeologists are examining the inherent power relations and social inequality within plantation contexts (Orser 1998; Armstrong 1999; Delle 1999; Singleton 2001).

The majority of archaeology is conducted on islands that are or once were under British rule since Great Britain possessed more island colonies in the Caribbean during the colonial era than any other European power (Watters 2001:82). Archaeological investigations have also been conducted in the French Caribbean and the work undertaken in this area can be used to understand the complexity and diversity of past experiences in the Caribbean (Kelly 2004:9).

The British Caribbean or British West Indies is made up of small islands in the Eastern Caribbean Sea, mainly those in the Lesser Antilles island chain. Great Britain established permanent presence in the early 17th century with the settlement of several small islands. St. Kitts was the first to

be settled in 1623. Barbados was settled in 1627, followed by Nevis in 1628, and Montserrat and Antigua in the 1630s. These and other British island colonies played an important role in England and the New World's economy (Hamilton 1996:3).

It has been stated that research in the Caribbean must expand past sugar plantations (Armstrong 1999:187). Since plantations have been the focus of study, historical archaeology has neglected other segments of colonial society in the British West Indies (Watters 2001:91). Research related to overseers, indentured servants, merchants, soldiers, and other white components of the society is rare. Lack of archaeology at urban, commercial, and military sites is the principal reason for the research status of these other components of society.

The British Caribbean offers an excellent opportunity for archaeological research at historic military complexes. These impressive military works often remain generally intact or at least in good states of repair since they have been a focus of historic preservation (Watters 2001:95). Historical archaeologists researching military sites can investigate rarely studied segments of society such as European soldiers and sailors, local militiamen, civilians who serviced the military, slaves of the British West India regiments, slaves either owned by the military or furnished by local plantations to construct the fortifications, and families of the soldiers stationed there. Archaeological investigations have been conducted at military forts on islands such as Antigua (Cripps 2003) and Nevis (Morris et al. 1999). Archaeological research at the Brimstone Hill Fortress, one of the

largest British military complexes in the Caribbean, considers all the people who lived and worked there, creating the opportunity to address questions related to social status and inequality as outlined above in the research themes and reasons for conducting African Diaspora archaeology.

Chapter 3 ***Historical Context***

History of the Brimstone Hill Fortress

The islands of St. Christopher (commonly known as St. Kitts) and Nevis are located 350 kilometers southeast of Puerto Rico in the Leeward Islands (Figure 1). The forested volcanic mountains, coastal plains, dry scrub, golden beaches, and warm waters attracted the islands' first settlers from South America 5,000 years ago and still attract tourists today. During Christopher Columbus's second voyage to the Caribbean in 1493, he bestowed his own name on the island even though he did not actually land there.



Figure 1: Location of St. Kitts and Nevis

Brimstone Hill, located on the northwest coast of St. Kitts, is the result of an up-thrust of igneous rock formed by underlying volcanic forces (Figure 2).

Brimstone Hill is not geologically related to and remains isolated from the mountainous ridge that runs down the center of the island (Smith 1994:73).

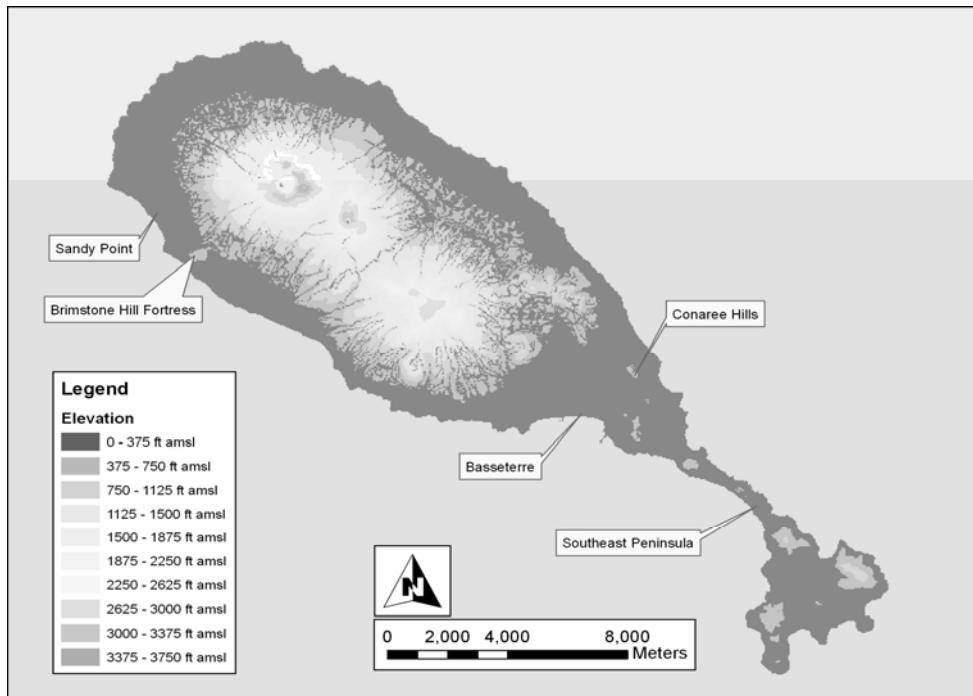


Figure 2: St. Kitts

Like many of the Leeward Islands, St. Kitts' greatest economic value lies in its fertile soils (Ahlman and Schroedl 2004:1). Plantations in the Caribbean accounted for 80 percent of the imports into England from the Americas in the late 17th century. A single crop, sugar, dominated the import trade from the Caribbean (Gosden 2004:132). Sugar cane was grown on St. Kitts from the 1640s until 2005 (Figure 3). By the early 18th century, St. Kitts became one of the most dominant and prosperous of all the Leeward Islands because of the quality and quantity of sugar harvested on the island (Hubbard 2002:9). Enslaved Africans were the labor source used in the cane fields and by the late 18th century enslaved Africans outnumbered Europeans 20 to 1

(Cox 1984). The economic value and strategic location of St. Kitts caused numerous conflicts between the British and the French throughout its history.



Figure 3: Harvesting sugar cane on St. Kitts

Little is known of Brimstone Hill before the European settlement on St. Kitts in the early 17th century (Smith 1992:10). St. Kitts became the first permanent British settlement in the Caribbean in 1623 when Sir Thomas Warner and a small party arrived and established themselves on the island (Matheson 1987:1). A year later a group of French, whose ship had been badly damaged in an encounter with a Spanish galleon, arrived at St. Kitts and were allowed to stay under Warner's orders, also making St. Kitts the first French settlement in the Caribbean.

In 1627, a formal treaty between the British and the French was signed resulting in a joint settlement on the island (Matheson 1987:1). The British occupied the middle of St. Kitts and the French the opposite two ends of the

island (Smith 1994:75). During that time Brimstone Hill would have been situated in the central, British part of the island. Initially, an agreement was made between the British and the French to share the limestone deposits on Brimstone Hill. However, the British gradually began to see the limestone as entirely their own property (Smith 1992:12). This joint settlement caused tension due to the increasing competition between the two powers for control over economic resources, particularly sugar, in the eastern Caribbean (Smith 1994:75).

The first skirmish on St. Kitts between the British and French occurred in 1629. The battle was an almost bloodless affair and the existing differences were settled through discussion and compromise (Matheson 1987:1). St. Kitts was also attacked by the Spanish in 1629. The Spanish looted and destroyed property and drove many of the French and British settlers from the island. The Spanish did not remain on the island and the settlers quickly returned. In 1666 a battle was fought between the British and the French resulting in the French taking brief control of St. Kitts. The French were forced to return St. Kitts to the British in 1667 (Matheson 1987:2). In 1689 another battle was again won by the French and as a result many of the British were shipped out of the island.

The strategic value of Brimstone Hill was recognized in 1690 during the War of the Grand Alliance (Matheson 1987:2; Smith 1992:12). During this war the French had successfully captured the nearby coastal British Charles Fort. The British mounted cannon on the side of Brimstone Hill and were in firing range of Charles Fort. The British were able to fire down on the French garrison, eventually forcing the French to surrender (Smith 1992:12). Dragging guns up the steep slopes of Brimstone Hill was difficult, but was successfully

accomplished with the proficiency of Governor Codrington's "Trusty Regiment of Sailors."

This event led the British to view Brimstone Hill in a new light and construction of the fort soon began. The British began to develop Brimstone Hill's military potential by constructing numerous barracks, buildings, structures, and walls (Schroedl 2005a). Permanent gun positions were strategically placed on Brimstone Hill and by 1699 Brimstone Hill had 18 cannon (Smith 1992:14). In 1702 Britain and France were again at war in St. Kitts. In this battle, the French were forced to surrender due to the superior British forces (Matheson 1987:2). In 1706, while the construction of Brimstone Hill continued, there was yet another attack by the French. The French invaded the British part of St. Kitts and took possession of the island for only a short time (Smith 1992:14). In 1713, by the Treaty of Utrecht, St. Kitts was ceded to the British (Matheson 1987:2).

During the invasion in 1706 some civilians had joined the military forces on Brimstone Hill for safety. This suggested to the British that Brimstone Hill could be used as a place of refuge in the event of further attacks on the island (Smith 1992:14). In fact, some suggest that Brimstone Hill served no military purpose at all and that its main function was a place of retreat during wartime (Buckley 1998:77). To create a place of refuge, the defenses of Brimstone Hill were greatly enlarged and made into a fortress under Lieutenant-General Mathew in the mid-1720s (Smith 1992:15). During this time, the free inhabitants of St. Kitts were allowed to build houses on Brimstone Hill that could be used as a place of refuge in times of war (Smith 1992:17). These refuge fortresses were not

unusual in the Caribbean. The neighboring island of Nevis had one as early as 1699.

Construction of Brimstone Hill continued into the 1730s. This task involved great difficulties and incredible feats of engineering (Smith 1992:27). In order to achieve the desired results, large amounts of rock and soil had to be moved and money for the work was difficult to obtain (Smith 1992:17). Slaves were conscripted from plantations to work on the project. Without this labor, hardly anything would have been accomplished. By 1734 Brimstone Hill had 63 cannon (Smith 1992:20). Additionally, the defense became more organized and more internal buildings were added. By 1753, Brimstone Hill had 70 cannon, over 4,000 rounds of ammunition, and a large quantity of hand grenades to use against enemy attempts at infiltration.

In 1782 the French attacked St. Kitts with 8,000 soldiers and 31 warships, taking possession of the fort briefly until the island was restored to the British by the Treaty of Versailles in 1783 (Matheson 1987:3). During the month long battle nearly 1,000 British troops took up position within Brimstone Hill (Smith 1992:21). These troops included parts of the 1st or Royal Scots and 15th or Yorkshire Regiments, detachments of the Royal Artillery and Engineers, and a group of Royal Navy Sailors (Smith 1994:89). At the onset of the battle, the French quickly sealed off the fortress by encircling Brimstone Hill with artillery batteries. Initially the British were able to return fire against the French cannon emplacements below. However, the food and powder supplies at Brimstone Hill were limited and quickly diminished (Hubbard 2002:98). After three weeks of bombardment by the French, a large section of the target wall of Brimstone Hill

collapsed, breaching the fort's defenses. As a consequence, the British were forced to surrender Brimstone Hill and all of St. Kitts and Nevis to the French.

After the British regained control of the fort in 1783, massive renovation and construction took place. A plan was developed to repair the damaged structures and learn from the deficiencies of past planning by designing an improved layout of defenses (Smith 1992:26). The overall goal was to design the fortress so that it could resist and survive a regular siege and also be powerful enough to defend the Sandy Point anchorage at long range (Smith 1992:26). The busiest years of reconstruction happened during the 1780s and 1790s. During this time, the Royal Engineers, a small corps of officers specializing in designing military works, designed the remodeled fortress and managed the construction (Smith 1992:36). British military engineers designed the fort. However, virtually all construction, renovation, and maintenance was accomplished by enslaved Africans before emancipation and black laborers after 1838 (Schroedl 2005a). The way Brimstone Hill looks today is a result of the extensive construction that occurred during the late 18th century at the fort.

Occasionally, the construction was undertaken by British military artificers. However, hard manual labor was considered harmful to the health of European troops in this tropical zone (Smith 1992:37). Thus, the majority of construction was carried out by enslaved Africans who were provided with living accommodations either on Brimstone Hill or in the vicinity. Slave laborers were derived either from sugar plantations on a fixed duration basis or from people enslaved directly by the St. Kitts government (Smith 1994:91). According to Smith (1992) during the busiest times, over a hundred such workers might be on

the site. They included many skilled men such as stone masons, carpenters, and fetchers and carriers of building materials.

In March of 1805 St. Kitts was again invaded by the French under General La Grange and a fleet of 12 warships (Smith 1994:100). Basseterre and part of the island were briefly occupied by the French, but British title to the island was retained by their sustained occupation of Brimstone Hill (Smith 1992:43). In 1806 a second attack occurred, this time under the control of Prince Jerome Buonaparte of France. The naval force advanced against British shipping moored in the waters off Sandy Point, which was under the protection of Brimstone Hill (Smith 1994:101). Eventually, the fortress guns drove off the French (Smith 1992:43).

Brimstone Hill, along with all British garrisons in the Caribbean, remained on alert throughout the Napoleonic wars (Smith 1992:44). There was no apparent threat from the French in the Eastern Caribbean during this time (Smith 1994:103). The success of Britain in the Napoleonic Wars confirmed British dominance in the Eastern Caribbean and as a result, many of the British defenses began to slip into decay (Smith 1992:44). Brimstone Hill Fortress was actively maintained for some years to come and more renovations took place in the 1830s (Smith 1992:44).

During the 1840s, Brimstone Hill's role as a coastal defense began to diminish with the reduction in importance of the anchorage of Sandy Point (Smith 1992:45). In 1853, as part of a general review of the defense of British possessions in the Caribbean, the garrisons of St. Kitts, Dominica, Grenada, St. Vincent, and Tobago were ordered to be withdrawn. Brimstone Hill was

abandoned as a place of defense and turned over to the St. Kitts government. The soldiers were sent to Barbados and subsequently served in the Crimean War (Matheson 1987:4; Smith 1992:45). Wooden buildings were sold at public auction and all cannon were removed that could be sold as scrap iron (Matheson 1987:4).

It has been stated that the scene today surrounding Brimstone Hill is very similar to the way Brimstone Hill looked at the end of the 18th century (Buckley 1998:75). The sugar cane fields that border Brimstone Hill make up a “checkerboard of brown, yellow, and green patterns” as they did in former times. The cut leveled terraces on the mountainside and the impressive buildings and fortifications that still remain on the landscape are a testimony to the labor of enslaved Africans who lived and worked there. Since the 1960s, the Brimstone Hill National Park Society has been dedicated to restoring and preserving the fort and interpreting it for the public. St. Kitts remained a British colony until its independence in 1983.

The Brimstone Hill Fortress Community

Brimstone Hill Fortress was a multi-ethnic community with British military personnel; members of the St. Kitts militia; soldiers of the First, Third, and Fourth British West India Regiments; Africans from the Corps of Black Military Artificers and Pioneers and from the Corps of Embodied Slaves; civilians; military wives; and children occupying the Fortress (Schroedl and Ahlman 2002a:3; Schroedl 2005a).

Between the years of 1700 and 1780 almost a million slaves were taken to the British West Indies (Gosden 2004:120). The use of enslaved Africans as a labor force most likely started in the initial construction of Brimstone Hill in 1690 (Schroedl 2005a). In the 1730s, the St. Kitts Assembly identified enslaved Africans as providing the labor for the construction of the fort. Starting in 1732, the Assembly devised a plan to generate funds for the island's defenses. The St. Kitts Assembly generated inexpensive labor by taxing plantation owners, purchasing slaves referred to as Public Negroes, and passing legislation that either urged or directly ordered plantation owners to temporarily send their slaves to work on the projects.

Lists of enslaved Africans employed at Brimstone Hill were complied as early as 1735 (Schroedl 2005a). These lists included the individual's name, parish or origin, estate of origin, person sending the slave, and valuation. The conditions for employment negotiated by the military and civil government included the amount to be paid to the slave owner, the type of work to be performed, provisions for food and shelter, medical care for on-site accidents, and life insurance against accidental death. The conditions for employment are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1: Conditions of Employment for Enslaved Africans

Condition for Employment	Outcome
Amount of Payment to the Slave Owner	One to Three Shillings Per Day
Type of Work the Slave was to Perform	Hauling, Construction, Clearing Brush, Cleaning
Provision of Food and Shelter	Provided by the Military while On-the-Job
Medical Care for On-the-Job Accidents	Army and Civilian Doctors Hired
Life Insurance Against Accidental Death	Slave Owners Compensated

The major building episode at Brimstone Hill occurred in the 1780s to 1790s (Schroedl and Ahlman 2002a:4). In order to reduce costs, the military established a group of slaves that became known as the Corps of Black Military Artificers and Pioneers (Buckley 1998; Schroedl 2005a). The Corps of Black Military Artificers and Pioneers were owned by the British military and represented both skilled and unskilled laborers, respectively. These enslaved Africans were used for mason and carpentry work, as well as for general construction and maintenance needs. A second group of enslaved Africans were hired from plantation owners to assist in domestic duties, such as cooking, cleaning, and gathering wood (Schroedl and Ahlman 2002a:4). Research indicates that during the time of major restoration, more than 200 enslaved African workers were likely present at the fort (Schroedl 2005a). The British army also recruited pioneers for military service. The pioneers were either assigned to the West India Regiments to serve elsewhere in the Caribbean or were servants for the military officers (Schroedl 2005a).

In the late 18th century, maintaining troop levels became a concern for the British army due to high mortality rates and the reluctance of colonial governments to form militia units (Schroedl and Ahlman 2002a:4). The result was the creation of all African military units. Three regiments of black militia served at Brimstone Hill: the Corps of Embodied Slaves, and the First, Third, and Fourth British West India Regiments (Schroedl and Ahlman 2002a:4).

The Corps of Embodied Slaves were a militia formed from plantation slaves. These soldiers were armed, outfitted, compensated, and received food allowances from the colonial government (Schroedl 2005a). In 1795, fifty black militia were stationed with the regular troops at Brimstone Hill (Buckley 1998; Schroedl and Ahlman 2002a:4). The British West India Regiments were recruited from local plantations or were purchased in Africa by the army (Schroedl and Ahlman 2002a:5). The West India Regiments were provided with salaries, living accommodations, and pensions comparable to those provided to white troops. However, they were often required to work as laborers or pioneers (Buckley 1998). The British military also used local contractors as well as hired free white and black local craftsman. This practice occurred more frequently after emancipation.

The British officers and soldiers at Brimstone Hill led distinctive lives from African soldiers and laborers (Schroedl and Ahlman 2002a:5). Officers had their own living quarters and rarely participated in physical labor, with the exception of record keeping and supervising daily drills. White soldiers lived in barracks and participated in military drills and guard duties. African soldiers also lived in

barracks. African laborers were temporarily housed in barracks, huts, and the buildings in which they worked. As for food provisions, the African soldiers and laborers received three quarters of the same food rations provided to the British soldiers (Buckley 1998).

The slaves and soldiers at Brimstone Hill Fortress represented distinct ethnic groups and were forced to live together in a highly structured society (Schroedl and Ahlman 2002b:39). The material culture associated with the fort's different occupants has the potential to answer questions regarding cultural and personal identity relating to social status and inequality at Brimstone Hill (Schroedl and Ahlman 2002a, 2002b). In particular, the material culture associated with the British military personnel and enslaved Africans can be examined in order to illustrate how status differences are observed in the archaeological record. The spatial arrangements of structures and features on the landscape can also be examined to indicate the ways in which the British officers displayed their power and authority to the enlisted men and enslaved Africans.

Chapter 4 ***Archaeological Investigations at the Brimstone Hill Fortress***

Historical Archaeology at the Brimstone Hill Fortress

In cooperation with the Brimstone Hill Fortress National Park Society, archaeological excavations at Brimstone Hill were conducted from 1996 to 1999 and in 2004 and 2005 by the University of Tennessee Department of Anthropology. In 2005, University of Montana students assisted with the project. According to Gerald F. Schroedl, University of Tennessee professor and director of archaeological studies at Brimstone Hill, four aspects make the Brimstone Hill project significant. First, until 1996, no previous archaeological studies had occurred at Brimstone Hill. In general, the history and archaeology of the colonial period of St. Kitts is poorly known in relation to neighboring islands. Second, the project focuses on the role enslaved Africans had in constructing and maintaining the fort. The archaeology conducted at Brimstone Hill is the first in the Caribbean to emphasize slavery in the context of British colonial military organization. Third, the project goals have expanded from examining enslaved people to consider all of the people who lived and worked at the site, such as the British officers. Fourth, the project is significant to the descendent communities in St. Kitts since the dominant cultural influence in the Caribbean is African and African-descendant.

Excavations have taken place in four areas of the fort, designated as BSH 1, BSH 2, BSH 3, and BSH 4 (Figure 4). Between 1996 and 1999, the goal

of the project was to document the contribution of enslaved Africans at the fort (Schroedl 2000:21). The 2004 and 2005 excavations began to consider all occupants of Brimstone Hill in order to understand and interpret the organization of slave life and also to examine the interactions between slaves and British soldiers (Schroedl 2005b).

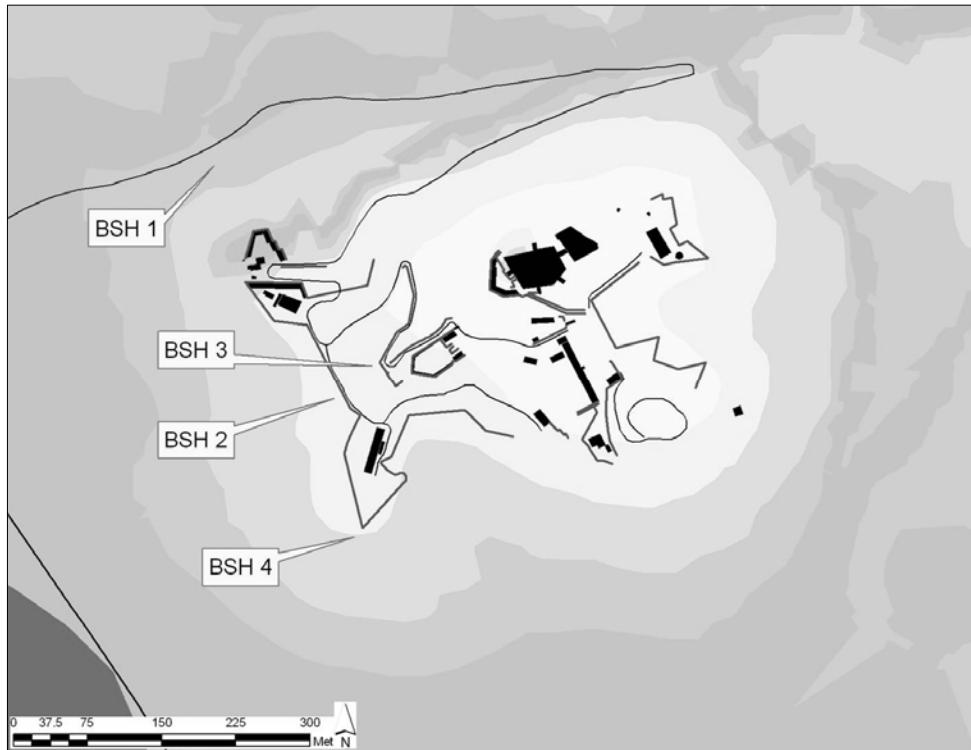


Figure 4: Areas of Archaeological Excavations at Brimstone Hill

All excavations consisted of one by one-meter units which were excavated in arbitrary 10 centimeter levels as measured from a datum point assigned an arbitrary elevation of 100 meters. All sediments were screened through 1/4-inch hardware cloth and recovered artifacts were placed in paper bags labeled with the appropriate provenience information. Selected soil samples were additionally screened through 1/8-inch and 1/16-inch hardware cloth to recover small animal bones, especially fish. Soil and flotation samples

were taken to recover botanical and faunal remains. Artifacts were cataloged and analyzed in St. Kitts. Artifact classes include: ceramics, glass, smoking pipes, metal, nails, construction material, faunal remains, and miscellaneous artifacts such as buttons and musket balls. Individual artifacts were identified, described, and coded for entry into Excel spreadsheets for analysis. Ceramic artifacts in particular were first washed, dried, and then placed in plastic bags labeled with the appropriate information. Attributes for each ceramic sherd recovered were then recorded. Attributes include ceramic ware type, vessel form, vessel portion, interior decoration, exterior decoration, date of manufacture, and size.

Available records provided little information concerning where African laborers and military units lived at Brimstone Hill (Schroedl 2005a). Only a 1791 map of the fort prepared by the British Royal Engineers indicates the locations of work or residential areas used by slaves (Figure 5).



Figure 5: 1791 Royal Engineers Map
(Original available at the St. Kitts Archive.)

Additionally, two mid-1790s watercolors attributed to Lieutenant James Lees also show locations occupied by enslaved Africans (Figure 6). The 1791 map is the best evidence available concerning the specific locations where enslaved Africans lived and worked at Brimstone Hill and thus is the main guide used in the archaeological investigations (Schroedl 2005a).

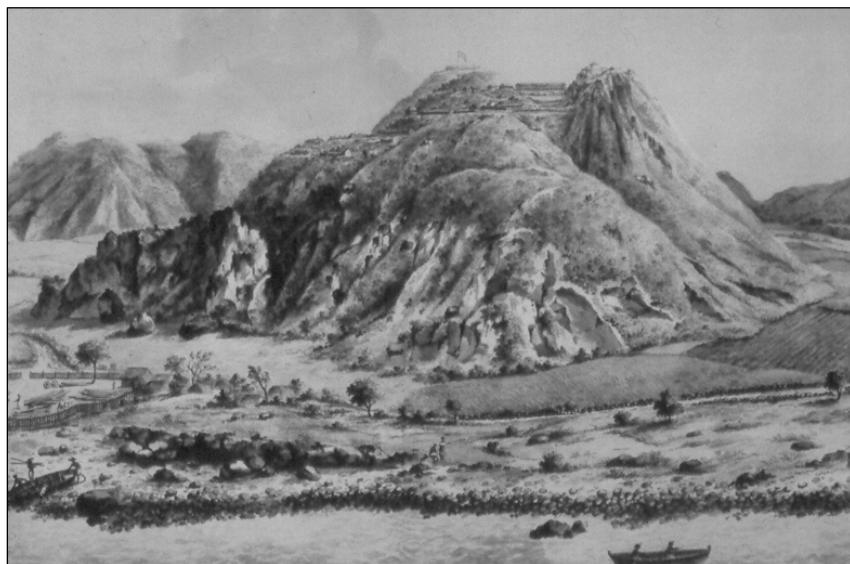


Figure 6: 1790s Watercolors by Lt. James Lees
(Originals held by the Brimstone Hill Fortress National Park Society, Basseterre, St. Kitts.)

BSH 1

BSH 1 is located at the northwest base of the fort adjacent to the main entrance road (Figure 4) and excavations were conducted there in 1996. The 1791 map indicates that this was an industrial area where slaves worked and possibly lived (Schroedl 1997:5). BSH 1 contains a well, lime storage building, lime kiln, and two buildings of unknown function, designated as Structures 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, respectively. One of these buildings may have served as a carpenter's shop. These structures are associated with the preparation and storage of lime that was used to manufacture mortar used in the construction of the fort and were likely built during the 1780s and 1790s. A total of 27 units were excavated, which produced 3,145 artifacts (Ahlm and Schroedl 1997:11).

Structures 1 and 3 were not excavated. Structure 1, the well, is located adjacent to the north side on the main road. The area surrounding the well was cleared of vegetation and measurements and photographs were taken (Schroedl 1997:6). Structure 3, the lime kiln, is located 30 meters southeast of Structure 2. The kiln consists of a large cylindrical open topped structure with two supporting buttresses and draw holes (Schroedl 1997:10). The kiln represents either a draw or flare type kiln.

Structure 2, the lime storage building, is located adjacent to the main road and is approximately 50 meters from Structure 1 and 30 meters down slope from Structure 3. Excavations indicated that this structure had a hard-packed mortar floor and was originally roofed with slate shingles (Schroedl 1997:7). A total of 2,491 artifacts were recovered. Wire nails, metal roofing

fragments, and machine made bottle fragments suggest that this building was used into the late 19th and early 20th century (Ahlman and Schroedl 1997:12). The small number of domestic and personal artifacts recovered indicates that this structure was part of an industrial complex (Ahlman and Schroedl 1997:13). Additionally, Structure 2 produced no evidence of slave occupation (Schroedl 1997:9).

Structure 4 consists of a stone foundation adjacent to the north side of the road and 50 meters east of Structure 2. The north, south, and west walls are visible from the surface (Schroedl 1997:13). A total of 643 artifacts were recovered (Ahlman and Schroedl 1997:11). Excavations at Structure 4 showed no indications that the building was used as a domestic structure or barracks by either slaves or members of the Brimstone Hill garrison due to the small number of personal and domestic artifacts recovered (Schroedl 1997:13; Ahlman and Schroedl 1997:17). This structure was possibly used to monitor personnel and materials entering and leaving the fort.

Structure 5 is located adjacent to the road and is 70 meters from Structure 4. Most of the features have been lost due to erosion and the encroachment of the fort's access road (Schroedl 1997:14). A corner portion of the foundation wall and other wall remnants are visible and excavations produced evidence of a mortar and stone floor. A total of 82 artifacts were recovered (Ahlman and Schroedl 1997:11). The function of Structure 5 is undetermined, but its purpose it most likely similar to Structure 4 in that it was involved with monitoring movement in and out of the fort (Schroedl 1997:15).

Very few artifacts were directly attributed to slave occupation and almost no evidence for domestic activities were recovered at BSH 1 suggesting that this site was not used for habitation (Schroedl 1997:19). Enslaved Africans surely conducted activities in this area, but archaeological excavations produced little evidence of their presence (Schroedl 2005a).

BSH 2

BSH 2 is an area located adjacent to the stone defensive wall that joins the Orillon and Magazine Bastions on the west side of the fortress (Figure 4) (Schroedl 1997:16). The goals of the excavations were to locate four structures that the 1791 map indicates were used by slaves and craftsmen. These buildings also appear on the watercolor by Lieutenant Lees (Schroedl 2005a). The structures were identified on the 1791 map as a workshop, kitchen, and two hospitals (Figure 7). The workshop and one hospital have been completely excavated. Efforts to locate the second hospital and kitchen were unsuccessful and no unambiguous evidence of either structure has been detected (Schroedl 2000:13). The steep slopes suggest that the second hospital may have been lost due to erosion (Schroedl 2000:11).

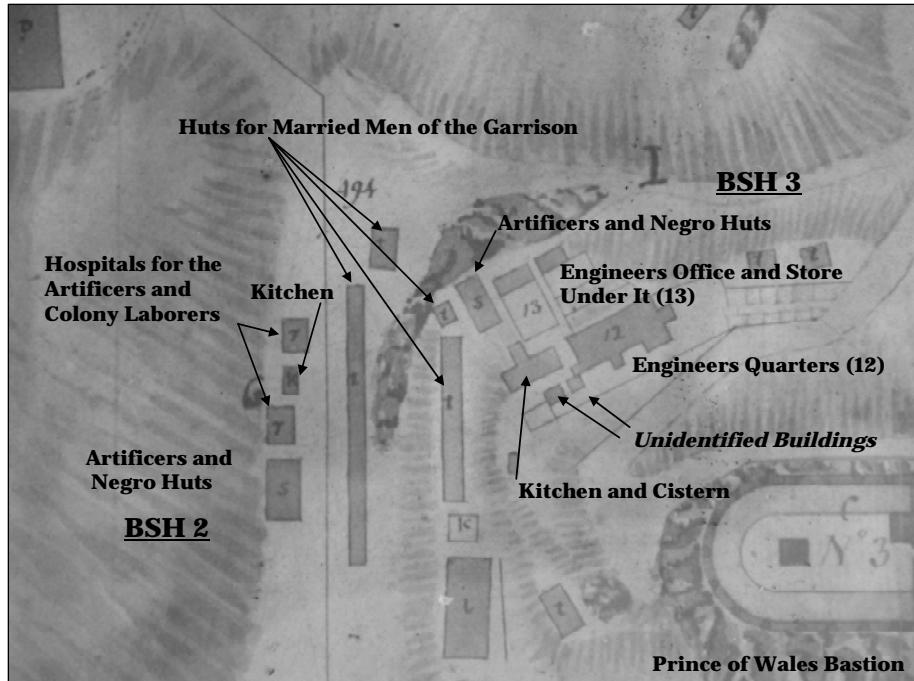


Figure 7: Building Identifications Found on the 1791 Engineers Map

The 1791 map indicates that the hospital is located between the kitchen and the workshop. The hospital foundation is 6.5 meters long and approximately 5 meters wide and consists of a mortar and stone foundation and a hard-packed mortar floor (Schroedl 1997:9). A 30 centimeter wide exterior mortar sill runs the length of the east wall and a segment of the south wall (Schroedl 2000:10). No wall openings were detected and much of the west wall and floor has been lost due to erosion. There is a square post mold near the east wall and an oval burial pit was found adjacent to the exterior of the south wall (Schroedl 2000:11).

The workshop building is 2 meters south of the excavated hospital. The foundations are stone and rubble measuring 60 centimeters thick and a mortar sill runs along the north and east wall (Schroedl 2000:12). The floor consists of hard-packed mortar. There are multiple burials that intrude this structure. A burial pit was cut through the east wall. Bone discs and manufacturing debris

were recovered adjacent to the exterior base of the east wall indicating that bone processing and manufacturing occurred outside of the building (Klippel and Schroedl 1999; Schroedl 2000:13). During the day this area would have been shaded by both the fortress curtain wall and the east wall of the building (Schroedl 2000:13).

Excavations of the two structures at BSH 2 have produced valuable data relating to both the British Army and enslaved Africans (Schroedl 2005a). Material evidence recovered at BSH 2 indicates that the area was occupied by slaves and craftsmen (Schroedl 1997:18). These artifacts include Afro-Caribbean ware, ceramic discs, British made ceramics scratched with a variety of symbols and geometric patterns, bone button materials, cowry shells, and glass beads (Schroedl 2005a). The ceramics in particular from BSH 2 are evidence that enslaved Africans carried out food preparation and other domestic activities at the site (Schroedl 2000:21).

BSH 2 was also used as refuse disposal area between the years of 1795 and 1820. After the abandonment of the buildings, considerable refuse was discarded over the defensive wall and accumulated in and around the buildings (Schroedl 2005a). It is also likely that some materials recovered from BSH 2 were discarded from BSH 3 (Schroedl 1999:13). The area was additionally used as a cemetery for British soldiers after 1820, but there is no evidence that the cemeteries contained enslaved Africans.

BSH 3

BSH 3, the Royal Engineers building complex, is a group of structures located above the curtain wall connecting the Orillon and Magazine Bastions (Figure 4) (Schroedl 1999:2). BSH 3 extends from the defensive wall upslope to the Prince of Wales Bastion and is between the modern access roads to the north and south. The 1791 map shows 15 buildings associated with this area (Figure 7). Buildings include a slave hut, kitchen, Engineers quarters and offices, and eight additional buildings identified as huts or barracks for married enlisted men (Schroedl 1999:13). BSH 3 is located on a steep slope of the hill that was terraced to accommodate the various structures. The site is divided into three sections based on these terraces and are designated as Terrace 1, 2, and 3.

Terrace 1 consists of the engineer's residence, a kitchen, a storage structure, and a cistern. Excavations revealed an elaborate entrance way into the residence building that included a brick walkway which ran from the doorway to the present road (Schroedl 2005b). A second brick walkway ran between the building and the revetment behind it. This walkway leads to a paved patio located near the rear of the residence between the kitchen, storage structure, and the cistern. The kitchen consists of a cut sandstone floor, a large oven, and a sink.

Terrace 2 consists of a bath tub, the engineer's office building, and a storage area. Terrace 2 can be accessed from three separate set of steps that descend from the patio (Schroedl 2005b:3). The first set of steps descends to a narrow walkway that runs along the cistern and the wall of the office

building which leads to the bath tub. The second set of steps provides access to the engineer's office building, which would have been two stories when standing. The upper floor is completely gone. The upper floor served as the engineers' offices in which proposals, plans, and related documents were prepared. The lower level of the office served as a probable storage area.

The third set of stairs leads to the lowest level, Terrace 3. Terrace 3 includes a structure that housed enslaved Africans who served the needs of the Royal Engineering officers (Schroedl 2005b:4). This structure was earth fast or post-in-ground construction. The wall frames consisted of vertical posts and between the posts earthen material was plastered. Terrace 3 also includes barracks for enlisted men.

Excavations at BSH 3 are important for many reasons (Schroedl 2005b:3). First, the buildings demonstrate how the engineers arranged their living space. Second, one of the structures in this complex was occupied by enslaved Africans. Third, the engineers were responsible for organizing and directing the work performed by the slaves. Fourth, the historical maps, architectural drawings, and landscape illustrations of Brimstone Hill were produced in these buildings and these documents are a direct linkage to the forts' ruins, its history, and the archaeological record. Most importantly, BSH 3 represents an area occupied by both British officers and enslaved Africans. Recovered artifacts can be used to compare and contrast the lives of these two groups. This will add to the overall goal of understanding social inequality at Brimstone Hill.

BSH 4

BSH 4 is located along the west wall of the Orillon Bastion and is approximately 5 meters north of the salient of the bastion (Figure 4) (Gomez and Ahlman 2005). Archaeological excavations occurred in two areas in an effort to recover data before the construction of a cellular phone tower. The first area is located 3 meters from the west bastion wall and the second area is situated 3 meters from the west bastion wall and 3 meters north of the proposed location of the tower. Artifacts recovered suggest that BSH 4 also served as a refuse area during the 18th century.

Evidence for Enslaved Africans at Brimstone Hill

Artifacts used to determine the presence of enslaved Africans include: Afro-Caribbean ware, British made ceramics scratched with symbols and geometric designs, ceramics discs, materials related to bone button manufacturing, cowry shells, and glass beads (Figure 8). These items have been recovered from BSH 2 and BSH 3. BSH 1 and BSH 4 did not produce evidence of having been occupied by slaves.

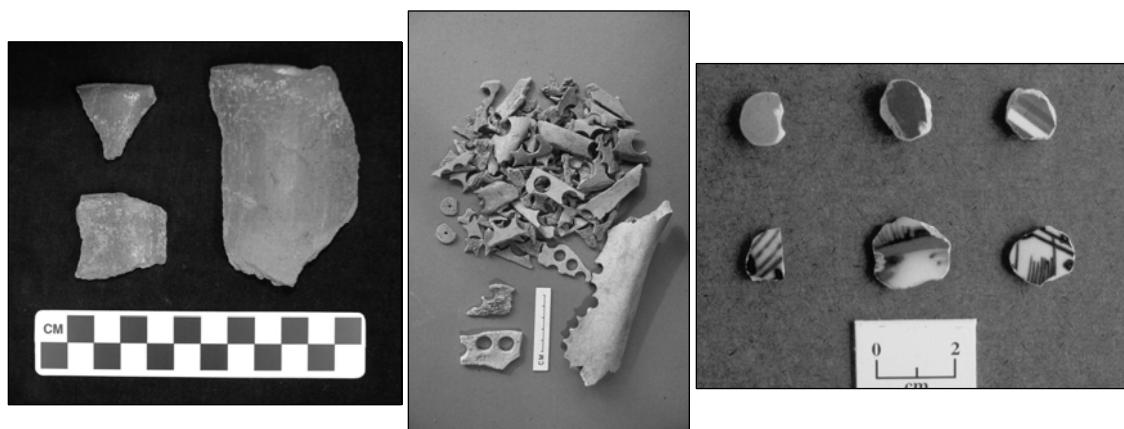


Figure 8: Artifacts Suggesting the Presence of Enslaved Africans
(From left: Afro-Caribbean ware, bone button manufacturing materials, and ceramic discs.)

Brimstone Hill is considered a multi-ethnic community; however the British military was the dominant culture. The occurrence of African traits at Brimstone Hill possibly represents a resistance to the beliefs and concepts of the British military community (Ahlm 1997:9). These objects maintained cultural identity while the culture of the dominant society was being imposed on the slaves (Ahlm 1997:10).

Chapter 5 ***Research Questions***

The objective of this research is to assess how social status and inequality among members of the Brimstone Hill community can be observed through the material culture associated with the different occupants of the fort. At Brimstone Hill there are two primary social classes: British military personnel and the enslaved Africans. The British military personnel can be further separated into officers and enlisted men. Additionally, there are likely differences among the enslaved Africans at Brimstone Hill. For this analysis, the British officers of the Royal Engineers and the enslaved Africans who served their needs will be examined.

To determine whether or not status differences between the two social classes exist, ceramics in particular will be analyzed because they have been shown to be effective tools in determining social status (Miller 1980, 1991). Much of the material culture associated with enslaved Africans was made by them of perishable material that does not often remain in the archaeological record (Adams and Boling 1989:69). One way to examine social status is through mass-produced ceramics that were either purchased by the slaves or furnished to them. The spatial arrangement of structures and features on the landscape from one area of the fort will also be analyzed to assess how British officers used space to demonstrate their power and position within the Brimstone Hill community.

Analysis of social status among members of the Brimstone Hill community has not been conducted in this manner and the following analysis

will add to our knowledge of social inequality among enslaved Africans in a British military organization as well as the wider Caribbean. While it is inherent that social inequality would exist between British military personnel and enslaved Africans, the material culture can help assess whether these differences are apparent in the ceramic assemblages associated with these groups.

Additionally, the analysis of the spatial arrangement of structures associated with the officers and enslaved Africans can add insights into how the officers designed the fort in order to control the enslaved community and the enlisted men at the fortress.

Two research questions aimed at addressing the larger question of whether status differences exist among the two groups at Brimstone Hill (British Military and enslaved Africans) have been formulated:

- 1) *Does the ceramic artifact assemblage indicate differences in social status among enslaved Africans and British military personnel?*
 - a) *Is there a difference among the groups in the ceramic ware used?*
 - b) *Is there a difference among the groups in the ceramic vessel forms used?*
 - c) *Is there a difference among the groups in the value of ceramics?*
- 2) *In what ways did the Royal Engineers design the complex in order to display their power and authority to the enslaved community and enlisted men at Brimstone Hill?*

The ceramic research questions are based on a similar study conducted in the southeastern United States by William H. Adams and Sarah Jane Boling (Adams and Boling 1989). In their research, the authors examine

status between slaves and planters on three Georgia plantations. They analyze ware types, vessel forms, and the value of ceramics based on George Miller's (1980, 1991) CC index values. In their ceramic ware analysis, coarser ware frequencies were associated with the slaves suggesting that food preparation and storage was conducted in the slave quarters. Greater numbers of porcelain wares were also found in the slave quarters than in the plantation kitchen. These results were unexpected since porcelain wares are more expensive and typically associated with higher status. In the examination of vessel forms, Adams and Boling found that slaves tended to have higher frequencies of hollowwares, while planters had more flatware. Additionally, planters had a greater variety of vessel forms than the slaves. By comparing the value of ceramics using the CC index, their analysis revealed that slaves had more expensive ceramics than their masters.

Adam and Boling could not conclude how slaves acquired ceramics; however, historical research indicated that these plantations used a task system (Adams and Boling 1989:94). This would have allowed slaves the opportunity to earn outside income and purchase their own ceramics. The authors suggest that the slaves viewed ceramics as status indicators and purchased them accordingly, which could explain why the slaves had more expensive ceramics than the planters. Since their analysis and the research questions presented in this thesis are similar, it will be interesting to see how Brimstone Hill's artifact assemblage compares to plantations in the southern United States with regards to ceramics and status.

Among the areas excavated at Brimstone Hill, archaeological and documentary evidence indicates that both enslaved Africans and British military officers occupied BSH 3. Artifacts associated with BSH 1, BSH 2, and BSH 4 are not included in this study since these sites do not have officers and slaves living in close proximity to each other. To facilitate the analysis and address the research questions, BSH 3 ceramic artifacts are grouped into two categories based on where they were recovered in relation to where the two different groups lived. The first category contains artifacts recovered from Terraces 1 and 2 that are associated with British military personnel. The second category contains artifacts from Terrace 3, which is the location of the slave structures.

The second analysis focusing on the spatial arrangement of structures at Brimstone Hill seeks to understand how the position of structures and the division of space on the landscape were used to communicate power and class relations. The spatial arrangement of structures and features on the landscape from BSH 3 are analyzed to assess how British officers used space to demonstrate their power and position within the Brimstone Hill community.

Expectations

If it is assumed that status differences did exist between the British military personnel and enslaved Africans, the following expectations based on these research questions can be derived.

Is there a difference among the groups in the ceramic ware used?

It is expected that there will be differences between the officers' and slaves' assemblages. Officers should have greater frequencies of ceramic wares associated with higher status, such as porcelain and black basalt wares. It is assumed that slaves' responsibilities included preparing, cooking, and serving food for the British officers and their assemblage should contain higher frequencies of utilitarian wares such as stoneware, redware, and yellowware.

Is there a difference among the groups in the ceramic vessel forms used?

It is expected that there will be differences between the officers' and slaves' assemblages based on the vessel forms. If vessels were used for their specific purposes, then the more vessel forms at a site, the greater the complexity of meals partaken there. Using this assumption, the officers' assemblage should have a much greater diversity of vessel forms than the slaves' assemblage. Officers should also have greater frequencies of vessels associated with tea service, a common pastime in British culture. Slaves, on the other hand, should have greater frequencies of vessels associated with preparing, cooking, and serving food, such as cooking pots, containers, platters, and serving bowls.

Is there a difference among the groups in the value of ceramics?

It is expected that the officers' assemblage will contain more expensive ceramics than the slaves' assemblage. Due to the rigid life at Brimstone Hill, order should also be reflected in such mundane things as ceramics. The cost of ceramics is determined by the amount and type of decoration used. If officers

were purchasing their own ceramics, it can be assumed that they would acquire more expensive vessels due to their status within the British military hierarchy. Thus, the officers' assemblage should have higher frequencies of hand painted, transfer printed, and gold banded ceramics. Likewise, if slaves had little opportunity to purchase their own ceramics and were given ceramics by the British military, it is expected that slaves will have greater frequencies of inexpensive ceramics such as undecorated creamware, shell edged, sponged, and dipped wares.

In what ways did the Royal Engineers design their complex in order to display their power and authority to the enslaved community at Brimstone Hill?

It is expected that the British officers arranged their living space in ways that could control the daily lives of the enslaved Africans near them who served their needs. The layout of BSH 3 should reflect techniques used by the British officers to control slaves and enlisted men such as surveillance methods and controlled access.

Chapter 6 ***Ceramic Analysis***

Ceramic Artifact Assemblages

The first part of this analysis will examine the ceramic artifact assemblages from BSH 3 at Brimstone Hill to assess how status differences among members of the community are manifested in the archaeological record. The ceramic assemblage is examined by looking at differences in ware, vessel forms, and decoration type to indicate if there are status differences between the officers and enslaved Africans based in their distinct ceramic assemblages.

Archaeological investigations at Brimstone Hill have recovered over 38,000 ceramic sherds and 16 different types of ceramic wares have been recorded (Table 2).

Table 2: Temporal Periods for Ceramic Wares

Ware	Date Range
Black Basalt	1690-1840
British bone porcelain	1745-1795
Chinese Export Porcelain	1660-1800
Creamware	1761-1820
Devonshire Sand Tempered	1780-1830
Earthenware	1580-1795
Ironstone	1830-1900
Pearlware	1780-1830
Porcelain	1830-1900
Redware	16 th century to present
Refined Earthenware	1750-1775
Refined Redware	1725-1780
Rhenish Stoneware	1600-1700
Stoneware	16 th century to present
Whiteware	1830 to present
Yellowware	18 th century to present

Archaeological excavations have recorded 157 ceramic sherds at BSH 1, 32,347 sherds at BSH 2, 5,992 sherds at BSH 3, and 276 sherds at BSH 4 (Table 3). Of the 5,992 sherds recovered at BSH 3, 2,241 sherds are from Terraces 1 and 2 and 3,751 are from Terrace 3.

Table 3: Ceramics Artifacts Recovered from Brimstone Hill

Ware	BSH 1	BSH 2	BSH 3	BSH 4
Black Basalt	0	36	19	0
British Bone Porcelain	1	59	10	0
Chinese Export Porcelain	2	278	79	5
Creamware	41	18021	1347	105
Devonshire Sand Tempered	0	6	2	0
Earthenware	25	620	128	17
Ironstone	0	74	19	1
Pearlware	45	9228	2891	88
Porcelain	2	69	63	0
Redware	3	1534	114	5
Refined Earthenware	0	0	16	0
Refined Redware	1	48	20	1
Rhenish Stoneware	0	8	3	0
Stoneware	10	1569	241	43
Whiteware	27	407	928	2
Yellowware	0	390	65	9
Indeterminate	0	0	47	0
TOTALS	157	32347	5992	276

Ceramic Ware Types

The main types of ceramic wares include creamware, pearlware, whiteware, stoneware, redware, Chinese export porcelain, British bone porcelain, earthenware, and yellowware. These types of wares are determined based on differences in paste and manufacturing techniques that change through time.

Creamware ceramics are cream, buff, or off-white in color because of large amounts of ball clays, iron, and other impurities (Brown 1982). Creamware is soft and powders easily when scratched. Creamware has a clear

lead glaze that often pools yellow in crevices. Decorations include hand painted underglaze and overglaze, polychrome, transfer printed underglaze, slipped, and molded decorations. Molded relief decorations are the most common decoration. Creamware vessels typically consist of teawares, tablewares, and toilet wares.

Pearlware ceramics have a cream colored paste and cobalt bluing agents in the glaze tend to cause the glaze to pool in the vessel crevices (Brown 1982). Additionally, blue specks sometimes appear in the glaze. There are a variety of decorations such as hand painted underglaze blue and polychrome colors, red, brown, black, green, and blue transfer-printed wares, and polychrome stenciled. Pearlware is thicker than creamware and is commonly used for teawares, tablewares, and toilet wares.

Whiteware is off-white in color and harder than pearlware and creamware (Brown 1982). Whiteware has a clear glaze and early versions tinted blue similar to that of pearlware. Decorations include dipped, edged, transfer-printed, sponged, hand painted, and flow blue. Whiteware vessels are usually thicker and heavier than pearlware and commonly consist of teawares, tablewares, and toilet wares.

Stoneware is made from medium to fine-grained clays and after firing it burns to shades of light and dark gray, buff, and brown (Brown 1982). Stoneware is non-porous, hard, and will not scratch. Decorations include incised, molded, sprigged, pressed, stamped, dipped, slipped, hand painted, and transfer printed. Types of vessels include utilitarian, kitchen, storage,

tavern, toilet, tablewares, and teawares. Utilitarian forms are typically the most common.

Redware is red in color, ranging from red-orange to dark-purplish red (Brown 1982). Redware is usually fired at low temperatures resulting in a soft porous paste. Glazes include clear lead, manganese with clear lead, iron oxides, copper oxides, and metallic luster. Decorations include slipped, trailed, combed, and sgraffito. Redware is usually thick and heavy and consists mostly of utilitarian vessels.

Porcelain can be group into two categories based on the type of paste used (Brown 1982). Porcelain manufactured with hard paste cleans easily, does not discolor in soil, and indicates Chinese origin. Porcelain manufactured with soft paste cleans less easily, tends to discolor in soil, and usually indicates British origin. The glaze adheres well and does not flake off. There are a variety of decorations, however, blue hand painted decorations are indicative of Chinese porcelain and transfer printed blue decorations are indicative of British porcelain. Porcelain is generally quite thin and types of vessels usually include teawares, tablewares, dolls, and toilet wares.

Earthenware has a soft and light paste that is usually yellowish buff to pinkish buff in color (Brown 1982). The glaze consists of tin oxide mixed with a clear lead oxide resulting in a thick opaque color. Tin glazed earthenware can be undecorated or can be monochrome or polychrome hand painted. The types of wares include tablewares, teawares, decorative and commemorative plates, toilet wares, apothecary jars and pots, and tiles. English and northern

European varieties are referred to as Delft, French varieties are referred to as Faience, and Mediterranean types are known as Maiolica.

Yellowware has a yellowish buff colored paste and is soft and thick (Brown 1982). A clear lead glaze is used resulting in a yellowish vessel. Yellowware can be undecorated or can be decorated with annular bands consisting of white, yellow, blue or brown slip, or can have mocha decoration. The types of vessels include utilitarian, kitchen, and toilet wares.

BSH 3 Ceramic Ware Analysis

Ceramic sherds from BSH 3 were first grouped into categories based on their ware types. BSH 3 ceramics yielded 16 different ware types, with creamware, pearlware, and whiteware making up the majority of each assemblage (Table 4 and Figure 9).

Table 4: Vessels by Ware for Officers and Enslaved Africans at BHS 3

Ware	Officers N	Officers %	Enslaved Africans N	Enslaved Africans %
Black Basalt	4	0.18%	15	0.40%
British Bone Porcelain	10	0.45%	0	0.00%
Chinese Export Porcelain	23	1.03%	56	1.49%
Creamware	505	22.53%	842	22.45%
Devonshire Sand Tempered	2	0.09%	0	0.00%
Earthenware	48	2.14%	80	2.13%
Ironstone	8	0.36%	11	0.29%
Pearlware	983	43.86%	1908	50.87%
Porcelain	16	0.71%	47	1.25%
Redware	48	2.14%	66	1.76%
Refined Earthenware	5	0.22%	11	0.29%
Refined Redware	6	0.27%	14	0.37%
Rhenish Stoneware	0	0.00%	3	0.08%
Stoneware	98	4.37%	143	3.81%
Whiteware	439	19.59%	489	13.04%
Yellowware	30	1.34%	35	0.93%
Indeterminate	16	0.71%	31	0.83%
TOTAL	2241	100%	3751	100%

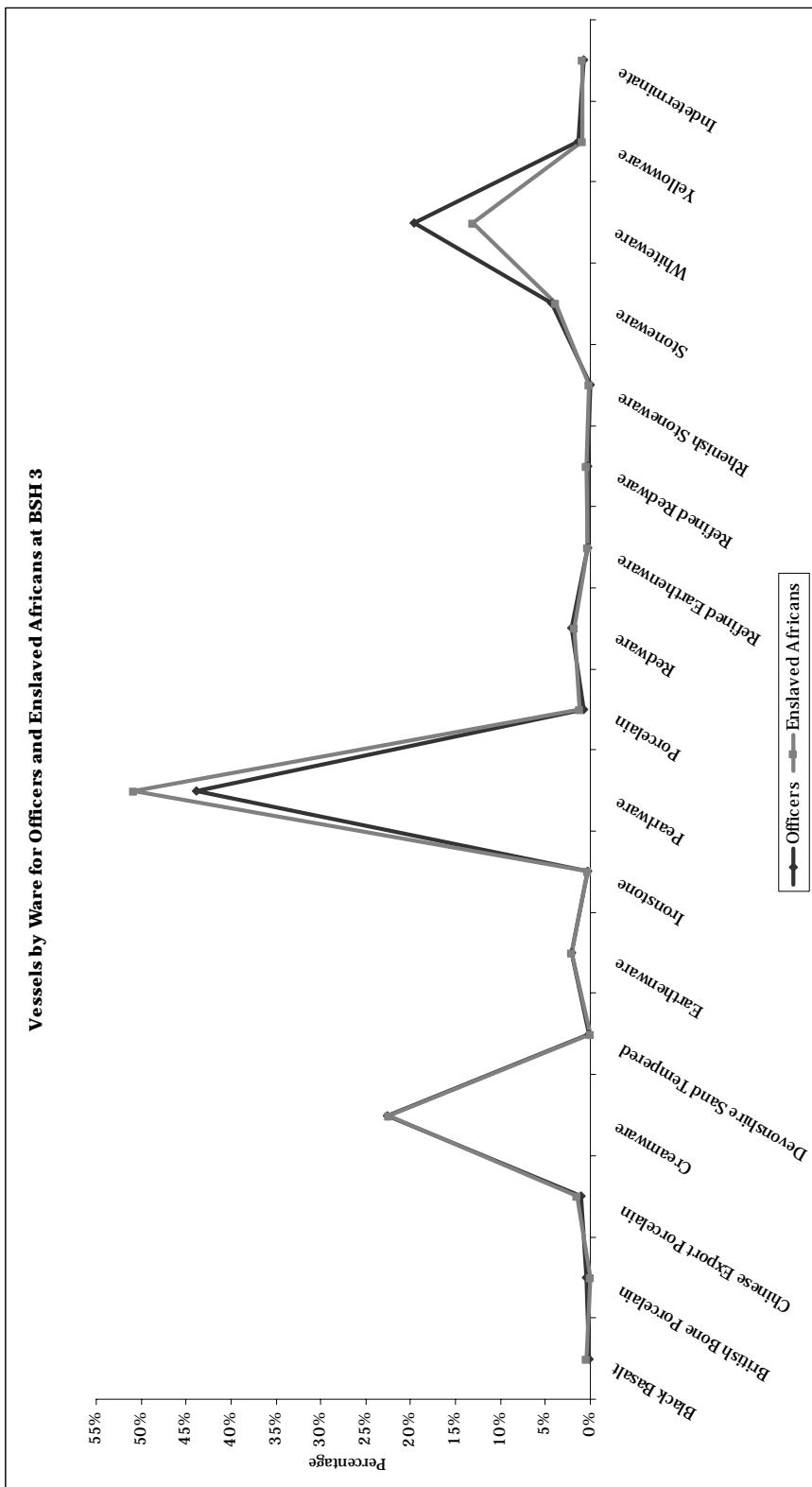


Figure 9: Vessels by Ware for Officers and Enslaved Africans at BSH 3

Overall, the officers had higher frequencies of British bone porcelain, creamware, Devonshire sand tempered, earthenware, ironstone, redware, stoneware, whiteware, and yellowware. The slave quarters had higher frequencies of black basalt, Chinese export porcelain, pearlware, porcelain, refined earthenware, refined redware, and Rhenish stoneware.

Utilitarian vessels for food processing and storage are typically made from stoneware, redware, and yellowware. It is likely to assume that some food preparation was done by the slaves on Terrace 3, but 8.12 percent of the officers' ceramic assemblage was made up of wares associated with utilitarian vessels. The Terrace 3 assemblage contained only 6.95 percent of wares associated with food processing and storage. The difference in frequencies is minimal. Terrace 1 includes the kitchen area, which accounts for the higher percentage of utilitarian wares found within contexts associated with the officers.

Porcelain and black basalt wares, commonly associated with teawares, make up 2.37 percent of the officers' assemblage and comprise 3.14 percent of the slaves' assemblage. Again, the difference is minimal but the slightly higher percentage of these wares at the slave quarters could be attributed to the fact that slaves may have been preparing tea for the officers.

The most significant differences in ceramic ware between the officers and slaves occur in the pearlware and whiteware frequencies. The officers' assemblage had 43.86 percent pearlware, while the slaves' assemblage had 50.87 percent. Pearlware gradually supplanted creamware as the vessel of choice by the early 1800s and this could account for the higher frequency of

pearlware. As for whiteware, the officers' assemblage had 19.59 percent, while the slaves' assemblage had only 13.04 percent. Whiteware was introduced by 1830 and emancipation in the Caribbean occurred in 1838; therefore the lower frequency of whiteware may be an indication that few Africans were living at BSH 3 after 1834.

On the basis of ware types, there are slight differences in utilitarian wares and teawares between the officers' and slaves' assemblages. The small variations in frequencies are probably not indicative of status differences and therefore status differences based on ware type cannot be determined.

BSH 3 Vessel Form Analysis

Vessel form has been suggested as a status indicator (Adams and Boling 1989:76). If vessels were used for their specific purposes, then the more vessel forms at a site, the greater the complexity of the meals partaken there. Approximately 29 different types of vessel forms were recovered from BSH 3 (Table 5 and Figure 10). The officers' assemblage had higher frequencies of bottles, bowls, chamber pots, flatware, hollowware, inkwells, jars, large bowls, lids, mixing bowls, pitchers, pots, saucers, serving bowls, small plates, and tureens. The slave assemblage has greater frequencies of colanders, containers, creamers, crocks, cups, flower pots, jugs, mugs, plates, platters, soup plates, sugar bowls, and teapots.

Table 5: Vessels Forms for Officers and Enslaved Africans at BHS 3

Vessel Form	Officers N	Officers %	Enslaved Africans N	Enslaved Africans %
Bottle	10	0.45%	15	0.40%
Bowl	374	16.69%	596	15.89%
Chamber Pot	17	0.76%	4	0.11%
Colander	0	0.00%	1	0.03%
Container	0	0.00%	2	0.05%
Creamer	4	0.18%	8	0.21%
Crock	18	0.80%	47	1.25%
Cup	187	8.34%	315	8.40%
Flatware	263	11.74%	41	1.09%
Flower Pot	1	0.04%	3	0.08%
Hollowware	126	5.62%	88	2.35%
Inkwell/Ink Bottle	13	0.58%	7	0.19%
Jar	43	1.92%	42	1.12%
Jug	7	0.31%	16	0.43%
Large Bowl	12	0.54%	9	0.24%
Lid	4	0.18%	4	0.11%
Mixing Bowl	1	0.04%	0	0.00%
Mug	78	3.48%	168	4.48%
Pitcher	38	1.70%	19	0.51%
Plate	462	20.62%	1212	32.31%
Platter	3	0.13%	19	0.51%
Pot	2	0.09%	1	0.03%
Saucer	97	4.33%	96	2.56%
Serving Bowl	52	2.32%	44	1.17%
Small Plate	8	0.36%	0	0.00%
Soup Plate	20	0.89%	44	1.17%
Sugar Bowl	6	0.27%	22	0.59%
Teapot	8	0.36%	34	0.91%
Tureen	5	0.22%	2	0.05%
Miscellaneous*	1	0.04%	2	0.05%
Indeterminate	381	17.00%	890	23.73%
TOTAL	2241	100%	3751	100%

*Includes a ceramic disc, decorative piece, and a ceramic knob most likely from a piece of furniture.

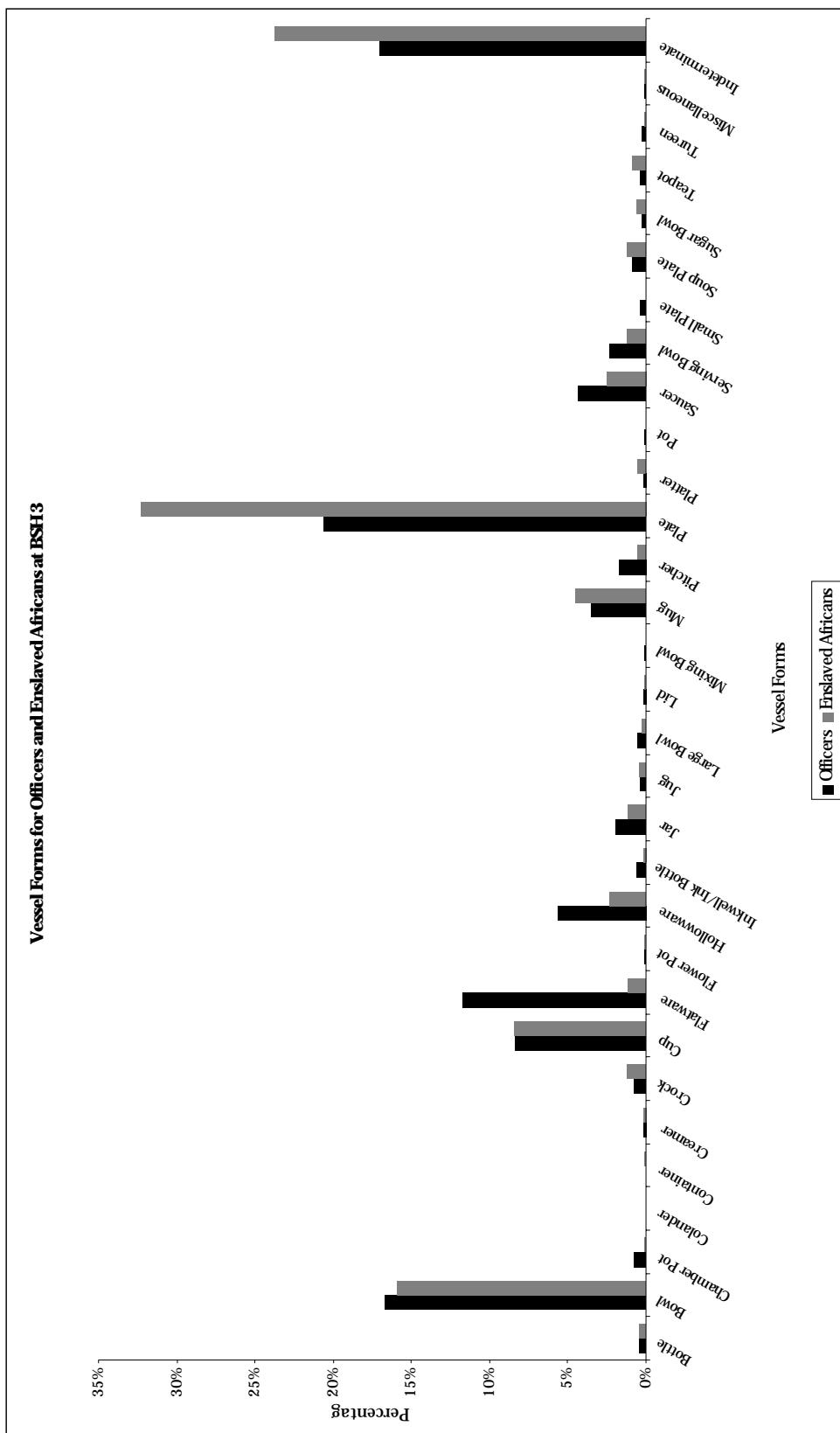


Figure 10: Vessel Forms for Officers and Enslaved Africans at BSH 3

Based on vessel forms, the slaves had greater frequencies of vessels associated with preparing, storing, cooking, and serving food such as colanders, containers, crocks, and platters. In the ceramic ware analysis, this was not the case; however when ceramics are sorted based on their vessel form more accurate results are produced. As seen with ceramic wares, the slaves had greater frequencies of teawares such as cups, creamers, and teapots than the officers. This is probably due to the fact that slaves were serving and preparing tea for the officers.

The most significant difference in vessel forms is that the slaves had much greater frequencies of plates than the officers. Approximately one third of the entire slave assemblage (32.31 percent) is composed of plates, while only 20.62 percent of the officers' assemblage is plates. By combining the bowls and plates, the slaves' assemblage consists of 48.2 percent bowls and plates while the officers' assemblage consists of only 37.31 percent. This difference could be attributed to the fact that the officers' assemblage contains a much fuller component of tablewares, such as bowls, flatware, saucers, and small plates.

As stated previously, it is assumed that the greater variety of vessel forms at a site, the greater complexity of meals partaken there. If this is true, then on the basis of vessel forms, the officers' ceramic assemblage, which has a greater diversity of tablewares than the slaves' assemblage, would appear to have artifacts associated with higher status. Additionally, faunal analysis has indicated that the officers at BSH 3 were eating a wide variety of foods including rabbit, squab, large fish, and chicken that have not been found elsewhere at the fort (Klipper et al. 2006). The greater diversity of tablewares found at BSH 3 is

attributed to this wider variety of foods they ate. The slaves do not appear to have had access to this wider variety of foods and it is unlikely that they would have needed as many different vessel forms. This also suggests that the officers adhered to the gentility of eating a multi-course meal indicative of higher status. The slaves and enlisted men likely did not have multi-course meals and therefore would not have needed as many different vessel forms.

BSH 3 Decoration Type Analysis

All ceramic sherds were analyzed based on their decoration type. Thirty- two different decoration types were recorded at BSH 3 (Table 6).

Table 6: Decorations for Officers and Enslaved Africans at BSH 3

Decoration	Officers	Officers	Enslaved Africans	Enslaved Africans
	N	%	N	%
Alkaline glazed	2	0.09%	7	0.19%
Annular	109	4.86%	123	3.28%
Astbury	1	0.04%	0	0.00%
British Brown	16	0.71%	6	0.16%
Clouded	0	0.00%	2	0.05%
Colored slip ¹	4	0.18%	40	1.07%
Decal	1	0.04%	7	0.19%
Decorated	12	0.54%	13	0.35%
Edge decorated	3	0.13%	4	0.11%
Flow blue	5	0.22%	1	0.03%
Gold Gilded	0	0.00%	7	0.19%
Hand painted	207	9.24%	339	9.04%
Hand painted and transfer print	4	0.18%	20	0.53%
Jackfield	3	0.13%	0	0.00%
Lead glazed	34	1.52%	56	1.49%
Manganese	2	0.09%	0	0.00%
Mocha	36	1.61%	30	0.80%
Overglazed enamel	24	1.07%	58	1.55%
Polychrome broadline hand painted	36	1.61%	39	1.04%
Polychrome fineline hand painted	9	0.40%	36	0.96%
Royal pattern	25	1.12%	0	0.00%
Salt glazed ²	50	2.23%	67	1.79%
Scratch Blue	2	0.09%	0	0.00%
Shell edged	67	2.99%	144	3.84%
Sip decorated	15	0.67%	15	0.40%
Slip glazed	8	0.36%	3	0.08%
Spatter ³	24	1.07%	25	0.67%
Sponge	5	0.22%	1	0.03%
Sprig	1	0.04%	2	0.05%
Tin glazed	17	0.76%	15	0.40%
Transfer Printed ⁴	517	23.07%	976	26.02%
Undecorated	999	44.58%	1708	45.53%
IND	3	0.13%	7	0.19%
TOTALS	2241	100%	3751	100%

¹Colored slip: colors includes brown, clear, peach, white, yellow, cobalt, and green

²Salt glazed: includes grey salt glazed and white salt glazed

³Spatter: includes: brown spatter and stick spatter

⁴Transfer Printed: colors include blue, green, brown, black, red, and purple

The officers had greater frequencies of annular, Astbury, British Brown, decorated, edge decorated, flow blue hand painted, Jackfield, lead glazed, manganese, polychrome fineline hand painted, salt glazed, scratch

blue, slip decorated, slip glazed, spatter, sponge, and tin glazed ceramic vessels. The slaves had greater frequencies of alkaline, clouded, colored slip, decal, gold gilded, combined hand painted and transfer printed, overglaze enamel, polychrome broadline hand painted, shell edge, sprig, and transfer printed vessels.

Annular, hand painted, and transfer printed vessels make up the majority of the decoration types for both officers and slaves. Greater frequencies of annular decorated ceramic wares were associated with the officers. It was expected that annular ceramics, which were inexpensive wares, would be associated with the slaves. This was not the case. Officers had 4.86 percent, while slaves had only 3.28 percent. Similarly, more expensive ceramics such as transfer printed and hand painted wares should have been associated with the officers. Once again, this was not the case since officers had only 23.07 percent of transfer printed wares, while slaves had 26.02 percent. Officers did have a slightly higher frequency of painted wares (9.24 percent) than the slaves (9.04 percent), but the difference is minimal.

There are slight differences based on the decoration types between officers and slaves; however, the small difference in the number of decorated sherds between the officers and slaves is not significant to this analysis. Decoration types can be used to determine status since the price of ceramics was based on the amount and type of decoration. The following chapter will use this method to examine relative status at BSH 3.

Chapter 7 ***Status and the CC Index***

Ceramic Classification

To illustrate social status through ceramics, George L. Miller's ceramic classification systems will be applied because: "Social status of any commodity is related to how much the object costs" (Miller 1980:3). Prices of ceramics were typically determined by the amount of decoration. In the second half of the 18th century, a revolution took place in the English ceramic industry (Miller 1991:1). This revolution was the result of developing technologies, better transportation, the introduction of new raw materials and glaze, and increased marketing strategies. The outcome was that the Staffordshire ceramic industry became one of the leading ceramic suppliers in the world market. During this time, creamware, which was introduced in the 1760s, became the dominant ceramic ware used. In the late 1790s, the demand for creamware declined and it became the cheapest ware available. From this time onward, creamware became known as "CC ware" in potters' and merchants' bills and price lists. Creamware remained the cheapest ware through the 19th century.

CC ware makes an excellent benchmark to measure the cost of other wares in terms of price since it remained the cheapest ware for over a century (Miller 1980, 1991). Through the examination of historical documents, such as bills of lading, price lists, and account books, Miller has created a set of index values that can be used as a way to reflect economic classes. To analyze

economic status each vessel is assigned an index value with CC ware, the cheapest ware, having an index of 1.0. Since CC ware was the cheapest ware available it has the lowest index value. Thus, vessels with higher index values were more expensive than ones with lower indices. Social status differences have been illustrated based on this type ceramic classification system (Spencer-Wood and Heberling 1984; Moore 1985; Adams and Boling 1989).

The process involves several steps. First, the minimal vessel count needs to be completed. Second, plates, cups, and bowls are separated into groups based on the decorative types. Third, the year or time unit is selected to represent the period of occupation at the site. After the assemblage has been established, the index value for each vessel type is multiplied by the number of vessels or frequency in that type. The results are then summed and divided by the total number of vessels. The result will yield the average index value (or total index value if frequency is used) for the assemblage. This is done for plates, cups, and bowls. This type of ceramic classification will allow the site to be scaled in terms of expenditures on ceramics, possibly indicating socioeconomic differences among members of the community.

Mean Date for the CC Indices

Brimstone Hill was occupied from 1690 to 1854, which generates a mean date of 1772. It is not possible to determine what year or at what price any given ceramic vessel was purchased. While Brimstone Hill was in operation for 164 years, the major building episodes occurred after the French siege of 1782 and continued into the late 1790s. During this time period, the

fort would have been at its highest occupancy. Taking the historical documentation into account, the major time period in which Brimstone Hill was at its highest occupancy would have been from approximately 1780 to 1800. These dates are also consistent with many of the ceramic sherds recovered. Therefore, CC index values between the years of 1780 and 1800 will be used whenever possible.

CC index values might not be available for these specific years and therefore the closest possible value will have to be used as long it is between the years of 1690 and 1854. Since prices changed through time, it is important to use the indices that best represent the time period of the site. Some of the index values needed for specific decorations types were not available and those sherds were omitted from the analysis.

Decorative Types

The types of decorations commonly used on English ceramics from the 1790s to the 1880s include: CC ware, shell edged, sponged wares, dipped wares, underglaze and enameled lined wares, band and line wares, painted and enameled wares, willow ware, transfer printed wares, stone china, white granite wares, gold banded earthenware, basalt ware, and English porcelains. Descriptions of each decoration type are as follows.

CC Ware

Creamware or CC ware represents the cheapest ware available from the 1780s on through the 19th century (Miller 1991:1). The term CC by itself refers to undecorated creamware and lasted well into the 20th century (Miller 1991:5). From the 1780s on, most all underglazed decorated, refined earthenwares were either pearlwares or whitewares and were referenced in historical records by the types of decoration used, rather than by ware type. In the early 1800s, CC ware was most common in tea, table, kitchen, and toilet wares. Archaeological assemblages from this period typically recover CC ware in the form of plates, bowls, and chamber pots. From the 1830s on, creamware was more commonly found in utilitarian vessel forms such as bowls, mugs, and chamber pots, which were less involved in status display. CC ware is used as the base for measuring the cost of other types and always will have an index value of 1.0.

Shell Edged Decorated Wares

Overglazed painted shell edged creamwares were first produced in the 1770s (Miller 1991:6). Underglazed painted shell edge was available on pearlware and whiteware. Blue and green were the most common edge colors and there is no indication of any differences in price between them. By the 1840s, green shell edge became rare, while blue shell edge remained common into the 1860s. Edged wares are generally limited to tablewares such as flatwares, sauce boats, tureens, and butter boats. By the 19th century the majority of shell edge vessels were plates and dishes (Figure 11). Shell edged

wares were the cheapest decorated tablewares available for much of the 19th century.

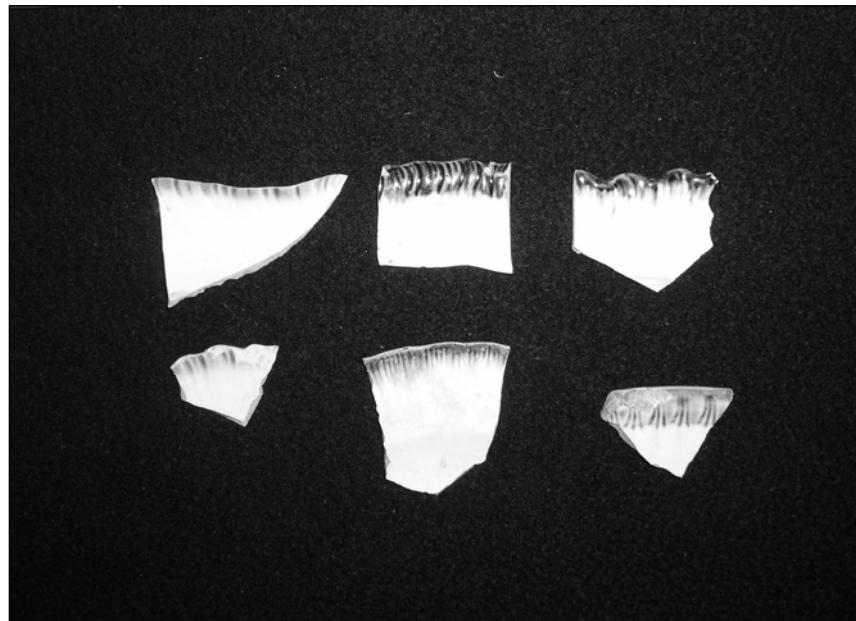


Figure 11: Shell Edged Plates Recovered from BSH 3

Sponge Decorated Wares

Sponge decorated wares include sponge and spatter decorative types. Spattered wares have the color powdered on, while sponge wares have their color applied with a sponge. Spattered wares date back to delft wares from the 17th century. Spatter decorations occur on early pearlware from the 1770s. Pre-1830s wares are often found with painted birds, a style called peafowl. These wares continued into the mid 19th century. Early sponge decorative wares were not common on flatware and are most often found on teawares (Miller 1980:28). After the introduction of the cut sponge, this decoration became more common on table, tea, and toilet wares (Miller 1991:6). Price

index values are available from 1848 to 1871. During this period, sponged wares were usually the cheapest vessel available with decoration.

Dipped Wares

Dipped wares, consisting of decorations that were produced by applying a colored clay slip, include variegated, mocha, moco, common cable, chainband, banded, blue banded, French gray, brick, checkered, annular, finger-painted, finger trailed, tree, wave, worm, and cats eye (Miller 1991:6). The most common terms used are dipt, dipped, mocha, and banded (Figure 12).

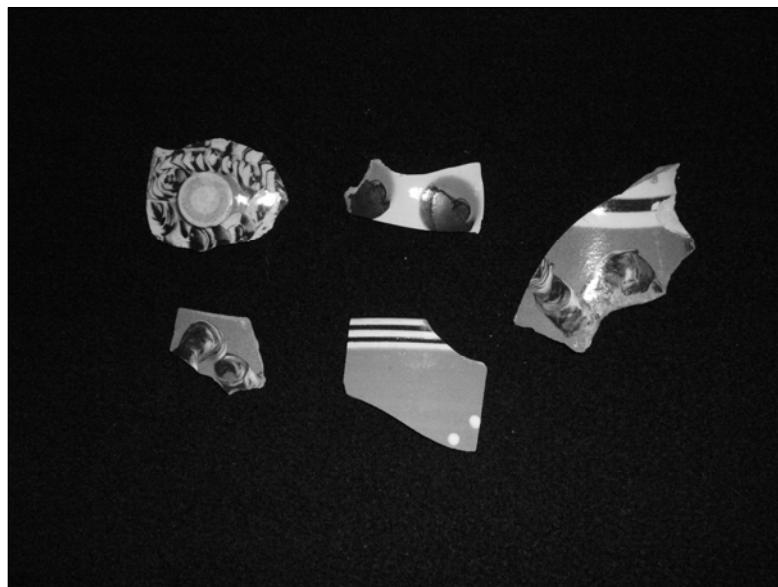


Figure 12: Dipped Wares Recovered from BSH 3

Dipped decoration was limited to bowls, mugs, jugs, pitchers, mustard pots, castors, shakers, and chamber pots. Dipped teawares exist, but are rare. Dipped wares, with the exception of simple banded types, were not common

after the 1840s. Blue banded wares were developed into the 20th century.

Dipped wares were the cheapest hollowware available with decoration.

Underglazed and Enameled Lined Wares

Underglazed and enameled lined wares consist of a simple line painted around the rim and the inner edge of the marley (Miller 1991:7). The line could have been applied either over or under the glaze. Early versions of lined types would have been enameled on the glaze and included green double lines, brown double lines, and blue lines. Underglazed and enameled lined wares usually appear on whiteware and pearlware. Underglazed and enameled lined wares also appear on creamware with brown lines. Lined wares were almost always limited to tableware. The simplicity of this design does not indicate that it was a cheaper ware (Miller 1980:28). Its price was above shell edge plates.

Band and Line Wares

Band and line wares were common during the late 19th century. Band and line wares consist of two underglazed painted lines located near the vessel's rim. Green was the most common color used. Band and line wares are usually associated with hotel wares and were available on teawares and tablewares.

Painted and Enameled Wares

Enameled wares, which consist of decorations painted on top of the glaze, are most commonly associated with creamware and porcelain, but can also be found on white salt-glazed stoneware, pearlware, whiteware, and stone chinas (Miller 1991:7). Overglazed painting was added after the pottery was produced and thus required additional firing. Due to the extra time need to produce these decorations, enameled wares are more expensive than underglazed painted wares. Enameling was the most common decoration on creamware up until the 1780s when underglaze painting became common.

Painted wares refer to underglazed decorations which were commonly found on creamware and pearlware after 1772. Blue was the most often used color. In the 1790s, other high temperature colors were introduced such as brown, mustard yellow, and olive green (Miller 1991:8). These colors were common through the 1820s, typically painted in floral patterns on teawares. Also in the 1820s, blue painted teawares with floral patterns become popular. In the 1830s, red, black, and lighter shades of blue and green were introduced. At this time painting was common on both plates and teawares. Changes in style occurred in floral painting, including sprig painted wares in the 1840s, large scale floral polychrome motifs in the 1870s, and blue and purple flow painted wares from the 1840s to the 1870s.

Willow Ware

Willow ware became the cheapest available transfer printed pattern in 1814 (Miller 1991:8). Willow patterns were seen on tablewares until the late

19th century when teawares began to have willow patterning. Willow ware was one of the first patterns to be transfer printed under the glaze and is still available today.

Transfer Printed Wares

In 1751, the first patent application for transfer printing was made (Miller 1991:9). A few years later in 1756, large scale printing of ceramics began. This early printing was done over the glaze. In 1760, transfer printing under the glaze was introduced on English porcelain. In 1783, blue transfer printing was developed on earthenwares and typically depicted Chinese patterns. This style remained popular until 1812. Around 1810, transfer printed English and foreign landscapes became more common. Later in the 1830s, romantic views replaced these patterns. Colors used on transfer printed wares included blue, brown, red, green, black, and purple (Figure 13). Flowing colors were introduced in the 1840s. Historical documents suggest that there was not a price difference for the types of color used (Miller 1980:28). Transfer printed wares remained popular until the 1850s when they were replaced by white granite wares. Demand did increase again in the 1870s when Japanese style patterns were introduced.



Figure 13: Transfer Printed Wares Recovered from BSH 3

Stone Chinas

Stone chinas are heavy, dense wares (Miller 1991:10). Prior to the 1830s, stone chinas were decorated with both enamel and transfer printing. Stone chinas were copies of Chinese porcelains and were decorated in a Chinese style. The glaze was typically tinted blue with cobalt.

White Granite Wares

White granite and ironstone were vitrified or semi-vitrified, hard white wares (Miller 1991:10). They evolved out of stone chinas. White granite was being imported to the United States by the 1840s. Based on historical documents, white granite became the dominant type of ware from the 1850s to the end of the 19th century.

Gold Banded Earthenware

Gold banded earthenware refers to gold gilding placed on the ceramics. Gilding was an expensive process and therefore was mostly associated with porcelain and finely enameled earthenware (Miller 1991:10). The development of liquid bright gold in the 19th century improved the gilding process and bright gilding began to appear on cheap earthenwares such as gold banded plates. As technology improved, the use of cheap gilding increased on common wares by the late 19th century.

Basalt Ware

Black basalt or “Egyptian Black” refers to dense, fine grained stoneware that has been dyed black with manganese and cobalt (Miller 1991:10). Black dyed stoneware was produced as early as the 1690s. Black basalt is typically unglazed, however if it is glazed it is referred to as “Shining Black.” Basalts are commonly associated with teawares such as teapots, creamers, sugars, and bowls.

English Porcelains

In the 1740s, in an attempt to replicate Chinese porcelain manufacturing techniques, various soft paste porcelains were developed in England (Miller 1991:11). In 1768, the first true English hard paste porcelain was produced, however the growth of English porcelain declined due to the success of creamware. Most of the porcelain types produced during the 18th

century were replaced by bone china. In the early 19th century, bone chinas became the dominant type produced in England.

Decoration Types from BSH 3

The ceramic artifact assemblage from BSH 3 can be categorized based on the decoration types defined by Miller. Table 7 summarizes the various decoration types from BSH 3 and their appropriate decoration category.

Table 7: Main Decoration Categories

Decoration Category	Decoration Types Included
CC Ware	undecorated creamware
Shell Edged	green shell edge, blue shell edge
Sponge Decorated	sponge, spatter, stick spatter, brown spatter
Dipped Wares	colored slip, slip decorated, mocha, annular
Underglazed and Enameled Lined Wares	polychrome broadline hand painted, polychrome fineline hand painted
Painted	blue hand painted, edge decorated, sprig
Enameled Wares	overglazed enamel
Printed Wares	blue, green, red, black, brown, and purple transfer prints
Flow Printed	flow blue
Gold Banded	gold gilding
Basalt	black basalt wares
White Granite Wares	ironstone wares
Miscellaneous	alkaline glazed, Astbury, British Brown, clouded, decal, decorated, hand painted and transfer printed, Jackfield, lead glazed, Manganese, salt glazed, scratch blue, tin glazed, non-creamware undecorated wares, indeterminate

BSH 3 sherds were grouped based on their corresponding decoration category and frequencies were calculated for the officers' and enslaved Africans'

assemblages (Table 8 and Figure 14). The miscellaneous category is omitted from the analysis.

Table 8: Main Decoration Categories Recovered at BSH 3

Decoration Types	Officers	Officers	Enslaved Africans	Enslaved Africans
	N	%	N	%
CC Ware	470	20.97%	801	21.35%
Shell Edge	67	2.99%	144	3.84%
Sponge Decorated	29	1.29%	26	0.69%
Dipped Wares	164	7.32%	208	5.55%
Underglazed and Enameled				
Lined Wares	45	2.01%	75	2.00%
Painted	209	9.33%	345	9.20%
Enameled Wares	24	1.07%	58	1.55%
Printed Wares	516	23.03%	976	26.02%
Flow Printed	5	0.22%	1	0.03%
Gold Banded	0	0.00%	7	0.19%
Basalt	4	0.18%	15	0.40%
White Granite Wares	8	0.36%	11	0.29%
Miscellaneous	700	31.24%	1084	28.90%
TOTALS	2241	100%	3751	100%

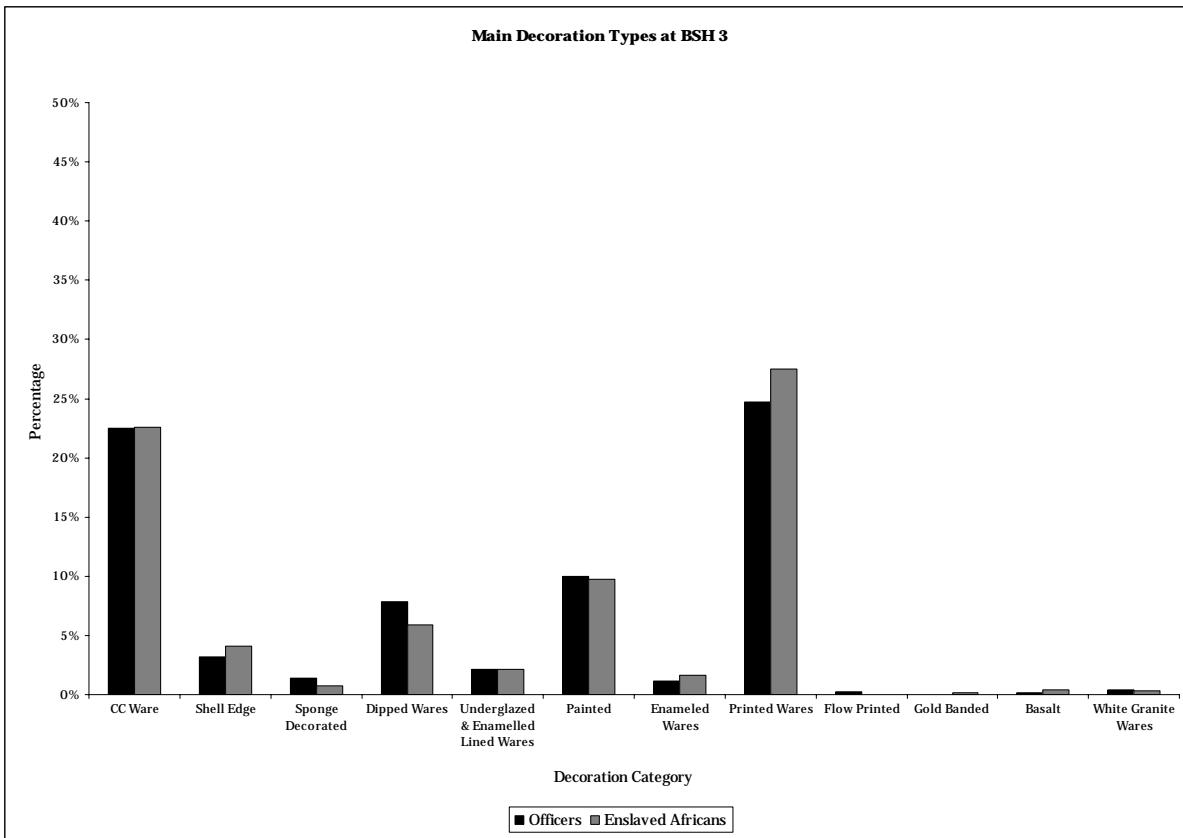


Figure 14: Decorations for Officers and Enslaved Africans at BSH3

Based on decoration category alone, the officers' assemblage had slightly greater frequencies of sponge decorated, dipped, underglazed and enameled, flow printed, and white granite wares than the slaves' assemblage. The slaves had greater frequencies of CC ware, shell edge, enameled, printed, gold banded, and basalt wares than the officers. To determine cost expenditures between the officers' and slaves' assemblages, the CC index values were calculated for bowls, teawares, plates, and platters.

CC Index Values for Bowls, Teas, Plates, and Platters

The following sections describe the CC index values to be used for bowls, teas, plates, and platters. All index values were taken from Miller's 1991 revised set of CC index values. The graph below depicts the CC index values adapted from Miller (1991) for bowls, teas, plates, and platters that are used in this study (Figure 15).

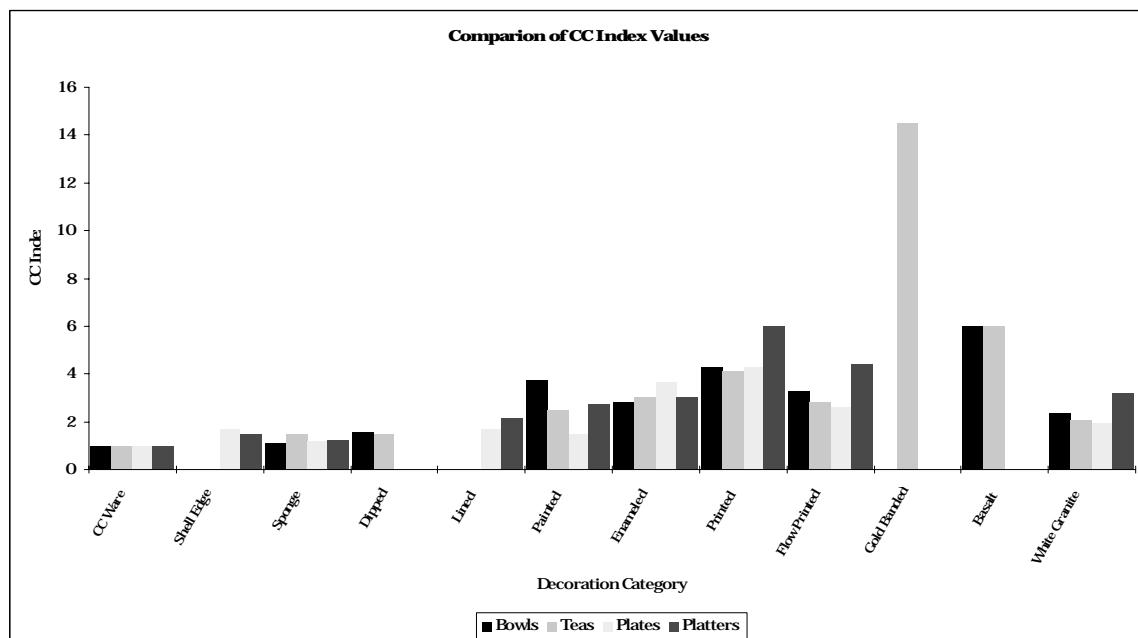


Figure 15: Comparison of CC Index Values

CC Index Values for Bowls

CC index values were available for sponge decorated, dipped, painted, enameled, printed, flow printed, basalt, and white granite wares (Table 9). Shell edged, lined, and gold banded decorations are not commonly found on bowls and are therefore not included in compiled CC index value lists. All index values fell within the appropriate time period with the exception of sponge decorated wares which have an index value of 1.11 from 1855. Since

this date is only one year off from Brimstone Hill's years of occupation it was included. This is the only index value for sponged bowls that has been located (Miller 1991:22).

Table 9: CC Index Values for Bowls

Decoration	CC Index	Year
CC Ware	1.00	-
Shell Edge	-	-
Sponge Decorated	1.11	1855
Dipped Wares	1.60	1799
Underglazed and Enameled Lined Wares	-	-
Painted Wares	3.75	1787
Enameled Wares	2.80	1822
Printed Wares	4.32	1795
Flow Printed	3.25	1846
Gold Banded	-	-
Basalt	6.00	1814
White Granite Wares	2.37	1846

Basalt wares represented the most expensive type of bowls with an index value of 6.0. Basalts were usually associated with teawares and thus basalt bowls were most likely tea equipage (Miller 1980:35). In terms of cost, printed bowls were the next set of less expensive decorated bowls. There is no indication of differences in price based on the color of the transfer print used. Painted, enameled, and white granite bowls followed. The cheapest bowls available with decorations were sponge and dipped decorated bowls. Dipped wares were the cheapest decorated bowls available aside from CC ware and are comparable to sponged and shell edged vessels in terms of status (Miller 1980:34).

CC Index Values for Teawares

Teas, the potter's term for cups and saucers, are the most difficult vessel forms to assign CC index values to due to the size and shape variations that would have been available (Miller 1991:15). CC index values have been compiled for unhandled and handled London sized and Irish sized teas. Prior to the 1860s, the most common type of cups were unhandled and of London size (Miller 1980:31). Thus, for this analysis all CC index values were based on London size, unhandled values (Table 10). Shell edge and lined wares are not included since they are typically not found on teawares.

Table 10: CC Index Values for Teawares

Decoration	CC Index	Year
CC Ware	1.00	-
Shell Edge	-	-
Sponge Decorated	1.50	1848
Dipped Wares	1.50	1825
Underglazed and Enameled Lined Wares	-	-
Painted Wares	2.50	1787
Enameled Wares	3.00	1814
Printed Wares	4.09	1795
Flow Printed	2.83	1846
Gold Banded	14.5	1823
Basalt	6.00	1814
White Granite Wares	2.08	1846

CC wares, sponge decorated, and dipped decorations represent the least expensive teas available. White granite wares, printed, flow printed, and enameled wares follow. Printed wares and black basalt teas were both expensive teas, however, gold gilded porcelain teas, as one would expect, constitute the most expensive teas available with decorations with a CC index value of 14.5 from 1823. This was the only gold gilded index value available for teaware.

CC Index Values for Plates and Platters

The size of plates range from 9 to 10 inches in diameter and are typically the most common form of flatware recovered. Platters are approximately 14 inches in diameter. CC index values were not available for dipped, basalt, and gold banded wares. Printed wares make of the most expensive decoration type of both plates and platters (Table 11). This is followed by enameled, flow printed, and white granite wares. CC wares, sponge decorated, lined, edged, and painted wares are the least expensive. In most instances platters were more expensive than plates with the exceptions of shell edged and enameled platters that were slightly less expensive than their plate counterpart.

Table 11: CC Index Values for Plates and Platters

Decoration	Plates		Platters	
	CC Index	Year	CC Index	Year
CC Ware	1.00	-	1.00	-
Shell Edge	1.67	1787	1.50	1787
Sponge Decorated	1.20	1855	1.22	1855
Dipped Wares	-	-	-	-
Underglazed and Enameled Lined Wares	1.67	1814	2.18	1814
Painted Wares	1.50	1787	2.73	1853
Enameled Wares	3.67	1804	3.00	1804
Printed Wares	4.33	1796	6.00	1796
Flow Printed	2.64	1846	4.41	1846
Gold Banded	-	-	-	-
Basalt	-	-	-	-
White Granite Wares	1.93	1846	3.23	1846

CC Index Analysis of the BSH 3 Assemblage

CC Index Analysis for Bowls

The vessel forms classified under the broad category of bowls include bowls, hollowware, large bowls, mixing bowls, serving bowls, and sugar bowls. Ceramic sherds with decoration types listed in the miscellaneous category (Table 7) were omitted. Three hundred and sixty-five of the 571 sherds recovered from the officers' assemblage (Table 12) and 501 of the 759 sherds from the slave quarters fit into the appropriate decoration categories (Table 13).

Table 12: Officers' CC Index Value for Bowls

Officers CC Index for Bowls	CC Index Value	Multiplied by	Frequency	Value
Decoration Type				
CC Ware	1.00	*	0.22	= 0.22
Shell Edge	0.00	*	0.00	= 0.00
Sponge Decorated	1.11	*	0.04	= 0.04
Dipped Wares	1.60	*	0.16	= 0.26
Underglazed and Enameled Lined Wares	0.00	*	0.00	= 0.00
Painted Wares	3.75	*	0.21	= 0.80
Enameled Wares	2.80	*	0.00	= 0.01
Printed Wares	4.32	*	0.35	= 1.49
Flow Printed	3.25	*	0.00	= 0.00
Gold Banded	0.00	*	0.00	= 0.00
Basalt	6.00	*	0.00	= 0.02
White Granite Wares	2.37	*	0.01	= 0.03
Total Value				2.87

Table 13: Slaves' CC Index Value for Bowls

Slaves CC Index for Bowls	CC Index Value	Multiplied by	Frequency	Value
Decoration Type		*		
CC Ware	1.00	*	0.21	= 0.21
Shell Edge	0.00	*	0.00	= 0.00
Sponge Decorated	1.11	*	0.03	= 0.04
Dipped Wares	1.60	*	0.11	= 0.18
Underglazed and Enameled Lined Wares	0.00	*	0.00	= 0.00
Painted Wares	3.75	*	0.20	= 0.76
Enameled Wares	2.80	*	0.01	= 0.03
Printed Wares	4.32	*	0.42	= 1.79
Flow Printed	3.25	*	0.00	= 0.01
Gold Banded	0.00	*	0.00	= 0.00
Basalt	6.00	*	0.01	= 0.07
White Granite Wares	2.37	*	0.00	= 0.00
Total Value				3.09

By separating bowls into decoration categories and assigning each an index value, this analysis indicates that officers had higher index values associated with CC ware, dipped, painted, and white granite wares. The slaves had higher values associated with enameled, printed, and basalt wares. Officers and slaves had equal values of sponge decorated wares.

By summing up all values for bowls, the officers generate a total value of 2.87, while the slaves have a value of 3.09. Based on the total CC index values for bowls, this analysis suggests that slaves had more expensive bowls than the officers.

CC Index Analysis for Teawares

The vessel forms classified as teawares include cups and saucers. Once again, all decorative types in the miscellaneous category were omitted. Out of the 284 sherds recovered from the officers' assemblage, 225 sherds fit into the

appropriate decoration categories (Table 14). Three hundred and twenty-two of the 411 sherds from the slave quarters could be used (Table 15).

Table 14: Officers' CC Index Value for Teas

Officers CC Index for Teas	CC Index Value	Multiplied by	Frequency	=	Value
Decoration Type					
CC Ware	1.00	*	0.27	=	0.27
Shell Edge	0.00	*	0.00	=	0.00
Sponge Decorated	1.50	*	0.00	=	0.00
Dipped Wares	1.50	*	0.05	=	0.08
Underglazed and Enameled Lined Wares	0.00	*	0.00	=	0.00
Painted Wares	2.50	*	0.22	=	0.56
Enameled Wares	3.00	*	0.04	=	0.12
Printed Wares	4.09	*	0.40	=	1.65
Flow Printed	2.83	*	0.01	=	0.03
Gold Banded	14.50	*	0.00	=	0.00
Basalt	6.00	*	0.00	=	0.00
White Granite Wares	2.08	*	0.00	=	0.00
Total Value					2.71

Table 15: Slaves' CC Index Value for Teas

Slaves CC Index for Teas	CC Index Value	Multiplied by	Frequency	=	Value
Decoration Type					
CC Ware	1.00	*	0.13	=	0.13
Shell Edge	0.00	*	0.00	=	0.00
Sponge Decorated	1.50	*	0.02	=	0.02
Dipped Wares	1.50	*	0.05	=	0.08
Underglazed and Enameled Lined Wares	0.00	*	0.00	=	0.00
Painted Wares	2.50	*	0.28	=	0.70
Enameled Wares	3.00	*	0.06	=	0.19
Printed Wares	4.09	*	0.43	=	1.77
Flow Printed	2.83	*	0.00	=	0.00
Gold Banded	14.50	*	0.02	=	0.32
Basalt	6.00	*	0.00	=	0.00
White Granite Wares	2.08	*	0.01	=	0.02
Total Value					3.22

By separating teawares into decoration types, this analysis shows that officers had higher index values associated with CC ware and flow printed wares, while the slaves had higher values of sponge decorated, painted,

enameled, printed, gold banded, and white granite wares. Slaves and officers had equal values of dipped wares.

Based on the total CC index value for teawares, the officers had a total value of 2.71 and the slaves had a total value of 3.22. This suggests that the slaves had more expensive teawares than the officers. Since the slaves may have been serving tea to the officers, the officers' teawares could have been stored in the slave quarters. This would be a reason for the slightly higher CC index value associated with the slaves.

CC Index Analysis for Plates

The vessel forms classified as plates include flatware, plates, small plates, and soup plates. Out of the 753 sherds recovered from the officers' assemblage, 560 sherds fit into the appropriate decoration categories (Table 16). Approximately 1,036 of the 1,297 sherds from the slave quarters could be used (Table 17).

Table 16: Officers' CC Index Value for Plates

Officers CC Index for Plates	CC Index Value	Multiplied by	Frequency	Value
Decoration Type		*		
CC Ware	1.00	*	0.37	= 0.37
Shell Edge	1.67	*	0.11	= 0.19
Sponge Decorated	1.20	*	0.01	= 0.02
Dipped Wares	0.00	*	0.00	= 0.00
Underglazed and Enameled Lined Wares	1.67	*	0.02	= 0.03
Painted Wares	1.50	*	0.08	= 0.12
Enameled Wares	3.67	*	0.02	= 0.08
Printed Wares	4.33	*	0.38	= 1.62
Flow Printed	2.64	*	0.01	= 0.01
Gold Banded	0.00	*	0.00	= 0.00
Basalt	0.00	*	0.00	= 0.00
White Granite Wares	1.93	*	0.00	= 0.00
Total Value				2.45

Table 17: Slaves' CC Index Value for Plates

Slaves CC Index for Plates	CC Index Value	Multiplied by	Frequency	Value
Decoration Type				
CC Ware	1.00	*	0.33	= 0.33
Shell Edge	1.67	*	0.14	= 0.23
Sponge Decorated	1.20	*	0.00	= 0.00
Dipped Wares	0.00	*	0.00	= 0.00
Underglazed and Enameled Lined Wares	1.67	*	0.01	= 0.02
Painted Wares	1.50	*	0.05	= 0.08
Enameled Wares	3.67	*	0.01	= 0.05
Printed Wares	4.33	*	0.45	= 1.95
Flow Printed	2.64	*	0.00	= 0.00
Gold Banded	0.00	*	0.00	= 0.00
Basalt	0.00	*	0.00	= 0.00
White Granite Wares	1.93	*	0.00	= 0.01
Total Value				2.67

Analysis of the CC index values for plates indicates that officers had higher values associated with CC ware, sponge decorated, underglazed and enameled lined, painted, enameled, and flow printed wares. Slaves had greater values of shell edge, transfer printed, and white granite ware.

Based on the total CC index values for plates, the officers had a total value of 2.45 and the slaves a total value of 2.67. This suggests that the slaves had more expensive plates than the officers.

CC Index Values for Platters

All 3 sherds recovered from the officers' assemblage fit into the appropriate decoration categories (Table 18). Approximately 15 of the 19 sherds from the slave quarters could be used (Table 19).

Table 18: Officers' CC Index Value for Platters

Officers CC Index for Platters	CC Index	Multiplied by	Frequency	Value
Decoration Type	Value			
CC Ware	1.00	*	0.67	= 0.67
Shell Edge	1.50	*	0.00	= 0.00
Sponge Decorated	1.22	*	0.00	= 0.00
Dipped Wares	0.00	*	0.00	= 0.00
Underglazed and Enameled Lined Wares	2.18	*	0.00	= 0.00
Painted Wares	2.73	*	0.00	= 0.00
Enameled Wares	3.00	*	0.00	= 0.00
Printed Wares	6.00	*	0.33	= 2.00
Flow Printed	4.41	*	0.00	= 0.00
Gold Banded	0.00	*	0.00	= 0.00
Basalt	0.00	*	0.00	= 0.00
White Granite Wares	3.23	*	0.00	= 0.00
Total Value				2.67

Table 19: Slaves' CC Index Value for Platters

Slaves CC Index for Platters	CC Index	Multiplied by	Frequency	Value
Decoration Type	Value			
CC Ware	1.00	*	0.00	= 0.00
Shell Edge	1.50	*	0.00	= 0.00
Sponge Decorated	1.22	*	0.00	= 0.00
Dipped Wares	0.00	*	0.00	= 0.00
Underglazed and Enameled Lined Wares	2.18	*	0.00	= 0.00
Painted Wares	2.73	*	0.20	= 0.55
Enameled Wares	3.00	*	0.00	= 0.00
Printed Wares	6.00	*	0.73	= 4.40
Flow Printed	4.41	*	0.00	= 0.00
Gold Banded	0.00	*	0.00	= 0.00
Basalt	0.00	*	0.00	= 0.00
White Granite Wares	3.23	*	0.07	= 0.22
Total Value				5.16

The officers had a greater value associated with CC ware, while the slaves had greater values of painted, printed, and white granite wares. This caused the total CC index value for slaves (5.16) to be much higher than the officers (2.67). Based on this analysis the slaves had more expensive platters than the officers. The slaves could have been storing platters in their quarters, which could account for the greater frequencies of platters associated with the slaves.

Comparison of CC Index Values

By examining the total CC index values for bowls, teawares, plates, and platters, the enslaved Africans at BSH 3 had more expensive ceramic vessels than originally expected (Figure 16). Differences were minimal, with the exception of platters.

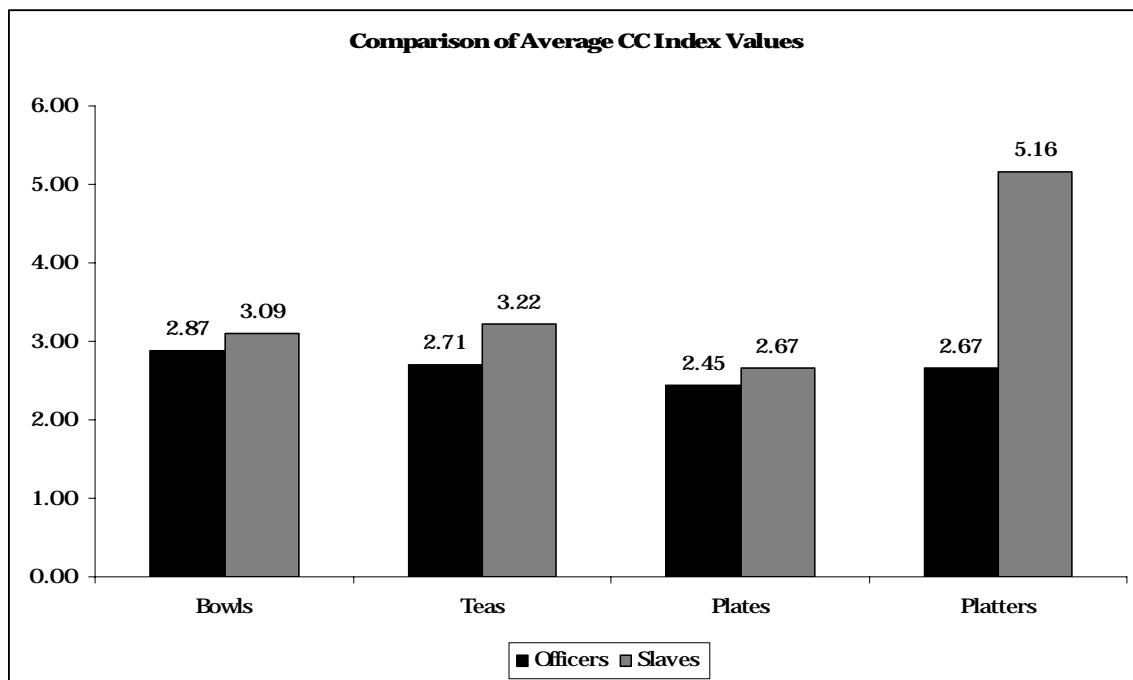


Figure 16: Comparison of CC Index Values at BSH 3

It was expected that the officers would have more expensive ceramics than the slaves. This analysis has illustrated that it is incorrect to assume that slaves would have cheaper ceramics than their owners. At Brimstone Hill the slaves' ceramic artifact assemblage was indicative of more expensive ceramics than the officers. There could be a variety of possibilities for this outcome.

First of all, archaeological formation processes could account for the differences in the ceramic assemblages between the slaves and officers. It is possible that artifacts from Terraces 1 and 2 were washed down the slope and

deposited on Terrace 3. This would explain why there are higher percentages of expensive ceramics such as teaware and transfer printed wares associated with the slaves' assemblage. If formation processes did cause artifacts from the upper terraces to be deposited on the lower terrace, then there should also be higher numbers of utilitarian wares on Terrace 3. This was not the case since the officers' assemblage from Terraces 1 and 2 contained greater frequencies of utilitarian wares than the slaves' assemblage. Thus, Terrace 3 is an accurate representation of the slaves' assemblage and is not a complete product of formation processes.

Second, if the slaves' responsibilities included serving and preparing food for the officers, it would seem logical to assume that the officers' tablewares would have been stored at the slave quarters for convenience. It is impossible to determine which ceramics belonged to the officers and which ones to the slaves; however, it is probable that some of the officers' ceramics, such as the teaware, were stored at the slave structures. The vessel form analysis indicated that greater frequencies of teaware were found in slave quarters. This could account for the higher CC index value of teaware associated with the slaves. There is also a possibility that ceramics were discarded from Terrace 1 onto Terrace 3.

Third, the types of ceramics that were furnished to the slaves by the British were perhaps not a major concern of the officers. Slaves could have been supplied with whatever types of ceramics were available without any concern of their value. It is also possible that the slaves were provided with compensation and could have purchased their own ceramics. This could be a

reason why there are more expensive ceramics found in the slaves' assemblage. It has also been demonstrated that the slaves at BSH 3 were able to acquire non-locally produced Afro-Caribbean ware; which suggests that the slaves had their own purchasing power (Ahlman and Schroedl 2006). If the slaves who served the needs of the Royal Engineers were in fact compensated and were able to purchase their own ceramics, these slaves could have had a higher status than other slaves who lived at Brimstone Hill.

By examining the ceramic wares at BSH 3, this analysis has suggested that there were very little differences between the officers and the slaves at BSH 3 in terms of ceramic wares and decoration types. The most significant difference occurs in the types of vessel forms recovered. Officers tended to have a greater variety of vessel forms, rather than simply more expensive ones. This could be thought of as a status indicator. The greater diversity of vessel forms, along with faunal analysis in the officers' assemblage suggests a greater diversity of foods being served. The diversity of vessels forms were possibly one way that officers' were able to display their wealth and status to each other and to the rest of the Brimstone Hill community.

Chapter 8 ***Landscape and Spatial Analysis***

In addition to interpreting inequality from ceramics, researchers have shown that the position of structures and the division of space on the landscape are used by people to express power and class relations (Orser 1998; Armstrong 1999; Delle 1999; Singleton 2001). Landscapes are consciously constructed by the people who inhabit them (Orser 2006:28). Research of landscapes has concluded that landscapes can be manipulated, contested, imagined, and mythologized in numerous ways. Archaeological, architectural, and landscape studies have shown both direct and subtle ways in which slaveholders attempted to control plantation landscapes (Singleton 1995:105). In the southern United States and in the Caribbean it has been demonstrated that slaveholders manipulated the spatial organizations of the plantations in order to maximize profits, exercise surveillance, control access, and reinforce the subordinate status of enslaved people. The location and arrangement of slave quarters are seen as the result of a conscious decision made by the planters to reinforce their power and control to the enslaved community.

The following analysis examines the spatial arrangements of structures associated with BSH 3 in order to demonstrate the ways in which the Royal Engineering officers displayed their power and authority to the enslaved community at Brimstone Hill. The concept of panopticism, followed by controlled access at BSH 3 will be examined.

Panopticism at Brimstone Hill

It has been demonstrated that planters' houses were physically elevated above other buildings as a way to reinforce the planters' authority through constant means of surveillance (Delle 1999, Singleton 2001). This concept is termed panopticism. Panopticism refers to how spaces are arranged in such a way that surveillance can be constant and take place in full visibility.

The British Royal Engineers used a similar tactic of panopticism when designing the layout of the BSH 3 structures. The British military had control over the living spaces of the enslaved Africans. Since the military officers designed the fort, they could manipulate the landscape in ways that would most effectively help manage their control over the enslaved community. The buildings at BSH 3 were situated across three terraces and served as a way for the Engineers to demonstrate their authority to the rest of the Brimstone Hill community.

The Engineers' quarters and offices, located on Terraces 1 and 2, were physically elevated above the slave and enlisted men's quarters (Figure 17). The buildings served as a central point of surveillance, allowing the officers to not only monitor and control the activities taking place on the lower terraces but to also watch who entered the fortress and the ongoing activities around them.

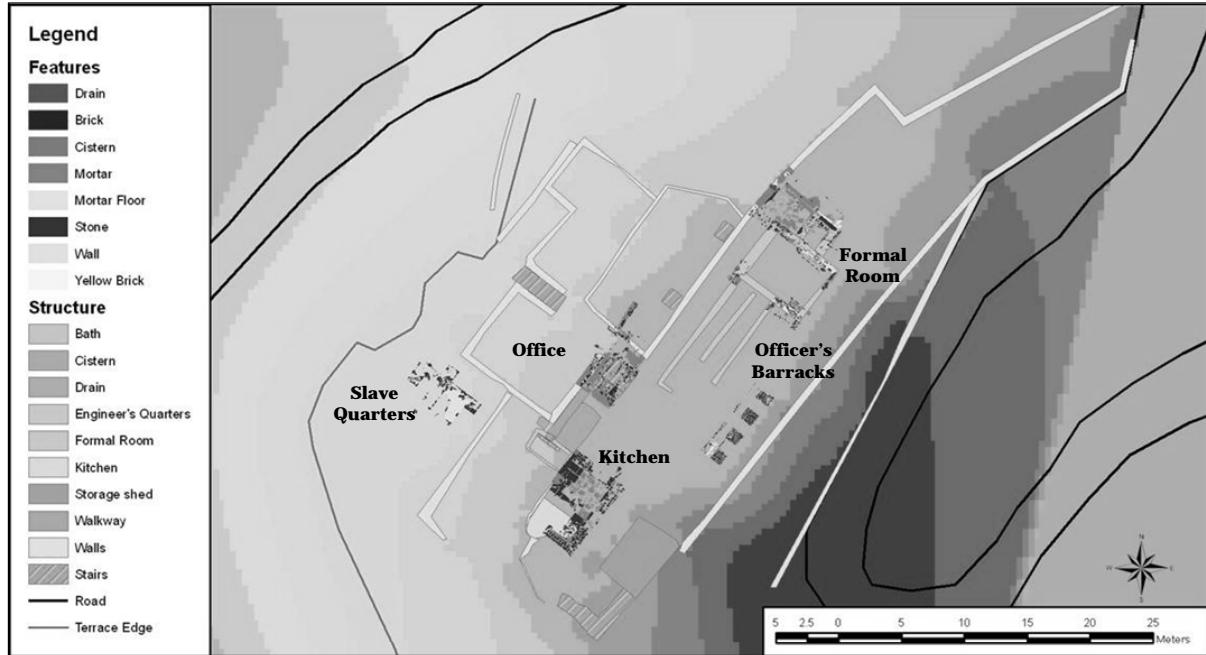


Figure 17: Layout of BSH 3

Without leaving the confines of their offices or quarters, the Royal Engineers could have supervised and monitored the slave quarters. This type of panoptic surveillance mechanism has been described as a method of social control in Caribbean plantation contexts (Delle 1999:152). This technique of social control relied on both the direct surveillance of the officers and on creating the perception that the slaves were constantly being observed. The logic of this type of control helped dictate that the slaves would be more cooperative and productive if they thought they were being watched.

Controlled Access at BSH 3

The Engineers built a complex unlike other areas of the fort that included controlled access to their many amenities through a series of walkways and gated entrances (Figure 18).

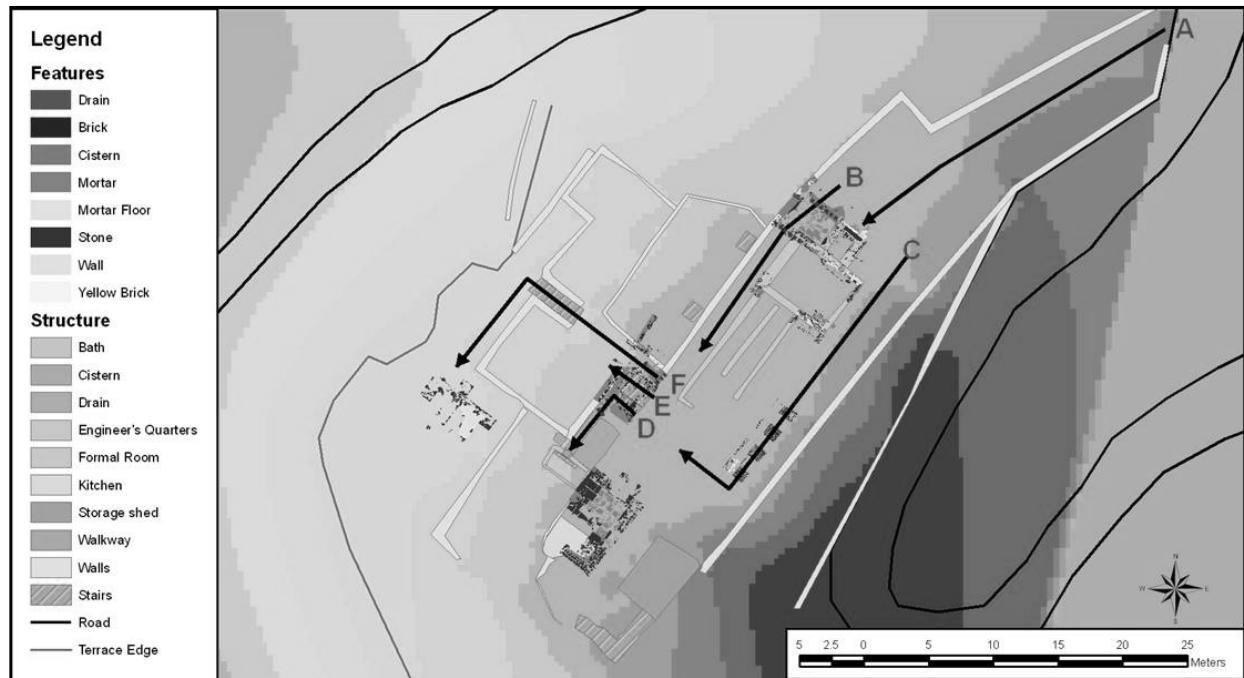


Figure 18: Controlled Access at BSH 3

Excavations on Terrace 1 revealed an elaborate entrance way into the residence building, including a yellow brick walkway that ran from the doorway of the Engineer's formal room to the entrance road (Labeled as "A" on Figure 18). North of this walkway a gated entrance provided access to the barracks (B). A second brick walkway ran between the building and the revetment behind it that leads to a paved patio in the rear of the residence between the kitchen, storage structure, and cistern (C). From this patio three separate sets of steps could be used to access a large bath tub, the Engineer's office building, and the lower terraces. The west stairs leads to a gated, narrow

walkway that runs between the cistern and the office building to the bath tub (D). The middle set of steps provides access to the Engineer's office (E). The eastern stairs was gated and led to the lower terraces where the storehouse and slave quarters are located (F). Controlling access through walkways and gated entrances enabled the officers the ability to contain slave activities, restrict movement, and control entry.

Slaveholders at plantations and at military sites manipulated the spatial organization of structures on the landscape in order to control enslaved people. Spatial arrangement of structures relate to power relationships and the concept of social inequality. The examination of spatial arrangement at the Royal Engineers Complex has revealed how the officers conceptualized and arranged their living space in order to monitor surveillance, control access, and reinforce their power and authority to the Brimstone Hill community.

Chapter 9

Conclusion

The British West Indies offer an opportunity for archaeological research at historic military complexes. These military works have been the focus of historic preservation and often remain intact or at least in good states of repair.

Archaeological research at the Brimstone Hill Fortress, one of the largest British military complexes in the Caribbean, considers all the people who lived and worked there, creating the opportunity to address questions related to social status and inequality.

The objective of this research was to assess how social status and inequality among members of the Brimstone Hill community is observed through the material culture associated with the different occupants of the fort. At Brimstone Hill two primary social classes exist: British military personnel and enslaved Africans. To determine whether or not status differences between the two social classes exist, ceramics were analyzed because they have been shown to be effective tools in determining social status. A second analysis focused on the spatial arrangement of structures at Brimstone Hill to understand how the position of structures and the division of space on the landscape were used to communicate power and class relations.

The island of St. Kitts was first settled by the British in 1623, and was jointly occupied by the British and French until 1713. Like many of the Leeward Islands, St. Kitts' greatest economic value lies in its fertile soils, which were used to grow sugar cane since the mid 1600s. By the early 18th

century, St. Kitts became one of the most dominant and prosperous of all the Leeward Islands due to the quality and quantity of sugar harvested. Enslaved Africans were the labor source used in the cane fields and by the late 18th century enslaved Africans outnumbered Europeans. The economic value and strategic location of St. Kitts caused numerous conflicts between the British and the French throughout its history.

In 1690 the British first fortified Brimstone Hill with cannon to provide military support for Charles Fort, a British fort located along the coast which the French had captured. After realizing the strategic importance of Brimstone Hill, the British began to develop Brimstone Hill's military potential by constructing numerous barracks, buildings, structures, and walls. In 1782 the French briefly occupied the fortress until the island was restored to the British by the Treaty of Versailles in 1783. After the French siege, the British implemented a massive construction plan during the 1780s and 1790s. During this time, the Royal Engineers, a small corps of officers specializing in designing military works, designed the remodeled fortress and managed the construction. British military engineers designed the fort, but virtually all construction, renovation, and maintenance was accomplished by enslaved Africans. The way Brimstone Hill looks today is a result of the extensive construction that occurred during the late 18th century at the fort. Brimstone Hill was in operation until its abandonment in 1854. Since the 1960s, the Brimstone Hill Fortress National Park Society has been dedicated to restoring, preserving, and interpreting the fort for the public.

At various times throughout its history, British army officers and enlisted men, members of the St. Kitts militia, soldiers of the First, Third and Fourth West

India Regiments, Africans from the “Corps of Black Military Artificers and Pioneers” and from the “Corps of Embodied Slaves,” as well as small numbers of civilians, military wives and children occupied the fort, forming a distinctive multiethnic community at Brimstone Hill.

The slaves and soldiers at Brimstone Hill Fortress lived together in a socially stratified society. The material culture associated with the different occupants of the fort has the potential to answer questions relating to social status and inequality at Brimstone Hill.

In cooperation with the Brimstone Hill Fortress National Park Society, excavations at Brimstone Hill were conducted from 1996 to 1999 and in 2004 and 2005 by the University of Tennessee. The archaeological investigations at Brimstone Hill are the most extensive at any military complex in the British Caribbean and have produced the best data set for studying the role that enslaved Africans played in the British military. Excavations have focused primarily on the role enslaved Africans had in the fort’s construction and maintenance; however, recent excavations have began to consider all occupants of Brimstone Hill in order to understand and interpret the organization of slave life and also to examine the interactions between slaves and British soldiers.

Excavations have taken place in four areas of the fort primarily focusing on a location between the Orillon and Magazine Bastions designated as BSH 2, where four structures attributed to slave activities are depicted, and the Royal Engineers building complex which is designated as BSH 3. The 2005 excavations focused on the Royal Engineers building complex. The 1791 map shows 15 buildings associated with this area, including a slave hut, kitchen, Engineers

quarters and offices, and eight additional buildings identified as huts or barracks for married enlisted men. BSH 3 is significant since it represents an area occupied by both British officers and enslaved Africans. The recovered ceramic artifacts and the spatial arrangement of structures on the landscape were used to compare and contrast the lives of these two groups.

Ceramic wares were first examined. It was expected that there should be differences between the officers' and slaves' assemblages. Excavations at the officers' quarters were expected to yield greater frequencies of ceramic wares associated with higher status, such as porcelain and black basalt wares. This expectation was incorrect. Excavations revealed that the slave quarters had greater frequencies of porcelain and black basalt wares. The higher percentage of these wares at the slave quarters could be attributed to the fact that slaves may have been preparing tea for the officers. It was assumed that slaves' responsibilities included preparing, cooking, and serving food for the British officers and thus their assemblage should contain higher frequencies of utilitarian wares. Once again, this expectation was incorrect. The officers' assemblage contained greater frequencies of wares associated with utilitarian vessels. This was likely due to the fact that the officers' assemblage also includes the kitchen area, which probably accounts for the slightly higher percentage of utilitarian wares found within contexts associated with the officers.

The types of vessel forms between the officers and slaves were then examined. It was assumed that if vessels were used for their specific purposes, then the more vessel forms at a site, the greater the complexity of the meals partaken there. It was expected that the officers' assemblage should have a much

greater diversity of vessel forms than the slaves' assemblage. The slave assemblage was expected to have vessel forms associated with preparing foods. These expectations proved to be correct. The slaves had greater frequencies of vessels associated with preparing, storing, and cooking food. Unexpectedly, the slaves had higher frequencies of teawares. This could be due to the fact that slaves may have been serving and preparing tea for the officers. The officers' assemblage, as expected, contained a much fuller component of tablewares than the slaves' assemblage. Faunal analysis indicated that the officers at BSH 3 were eating a wide variety of foods that have not been found elsewhere at the fort and the greater diversity of tablewares found at BSH 3 could be attributed to the wide variety of foods they ate (Klippen et al. 2006). The slaves do not appear to have had access to this wider variety of foods. On the basis of vessel forms, the officers' ceramic assemblage would appear to have artifacts associated with higher status.

The third and final analysis examined differences in the value of ceramics based on decorations types and the CC index. It was expected that the officers' assemblage should contain more expensive ceramics than the slaves' assemblage. This expectation proved to be incorrect. By examining the total CC index values for bowls, teawares, plates, and platters, the enslaved Africans at BSH 3 had more expensive ceramic vessels than the officers. One reason for this difference could have been that the officers' tablewares were stored at the slave quarters. A second reason for these differences might have to do with the purchasing power of the slaves. It is possible that the slaves were provided with compensation and could have

purchased their own ceramics accordingly. This could be a reason why there are more expensive ceramics found in the slaves' assemblage.

Status could be inferred from the ceramic artifact assemblages at BSH

3. Comparison of ceramics has suggested that the officers had a greater diversity of vessel forms, rather than simply more expensive ones. The diversity of vessels forms were possibly one way that officers' were able to display their wealth and status to the rest of the Brimstone Hill community. The CC index analysis was useful since it suggested that when ceramics are separated based on decoration types and vessel forms; it is possible that slaves might have more expensive vessels than the officers. While it is unclear how the slaves acquired their ceramics, it can be suggested that slaves had their own purchasing power, giving them the ability to purchase the types of ceramics they preferred. This could be the reason why the CC index revealed more expensive ceramics associated with the slave quarters.

The second analysis sought to determine how the Royal Engineers designed their complex in order to display their power and authority to the enslaved community at Brimstone Hill. It was expected that the British officers arranged their living space in ways that could control the daily lives of the enslaved Africans who served their needs. The layout of BSH 3 was expected to reflect techniques used by slave owners to control slaves such as surveillance methods and controlled access. These expectations proved to be correct. The examination of the arrangement of structures and features on the landscape has indicated ways in which the officers were able to control the daily lives of the slaves. The physical layout of structures and a series of

walkways and gated entrances allowed the officers to monitor surveillance, control access, and reinforce their power and authority to the Brimstone Hill community. This analysis suggested that the officers used space, as well as ceramics to display their status and power.

In conclusion, differences in social status between British military personnel and enslaved Africans could be suggested based on the ceramic artifact assemblages and the spatial arrangement of structures at BSH 3. A significant aspect of archaeological investigations at Brimstone Hill is the fact that the project goals have been expanded in order to examine all the people who lived and worked there, which includes military officers, enlisted men, and enslaved Africans. This research was a preliminary analysis of social status at Brimstone Hill and future research should be conducted to expand the existing understanding of status and inequality at Brimstone Hill. For instance, additional excavations at BSH 3 were planned for the summer of 2006 and this data should be used to further explain differences between the officers and slaves. There were also plans to excavate an area occupied by enlisted men. This data could be used to compare slaves, enlisted men, and officers in order to recognize differences and interactions among members of the Brimstone Hill community.

Bibliography

- Adams, William H. and Sarah Jane Boling
1989 Status and Ceramics for Planters and Slaves on Three Georgia Coastal Plantations. *Historical Archaeology* 23(1):69-96.
- Ahlman, Todd M.
1997 Archaeological Evidence of African Slave Occupation at Brimstone Hill Fortress National Park, St. Kitts, West Indies. Brimstone Hill Archaeological Report No. 2. Department of Anthropology, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.
- Ahlman, Todd M. and Gerald F. Schroedl
1997 Artifacts Recovered during Archaeological Investigations at the Brimstone Hill Fortress National Park, St. Kitts, West Indies. Brimstone Hill Archaeological Report No. 3. Department of Anthropology, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.
- 2004 Preliminary Report on the Afro-Caribbean Ware Ceramics Recovered at the Brimstone Hill Fortress, St. Kitts, West Indies. Brimstone Hill Archaeological Report No. 24. Department of Anthropology, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.
- 2005 Afro-Caribbean Ware and the Study of Cultural Identity at the Brimstone Hill Fortress, St. Kitts, West Indies. Paper presented at the Society for Post-Medieval Archaeology Conference, Nevis, West Indies.
- 2006 Ceramic Production and Exchange among Enslaved Africans on St. Kitts, West Indies. Paper presented at the Society for American Archaeology Conference, San Juan, Puerto Rico.
- Armstrong, Douglas V.
1983 The Old Village at Drax Hall Plantation: An Archaeological Examination of and Afro-Caribbean Settlement. Ph.D. dissertation, Anthropology, University of California, Los Angeles. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms.
- 1999 Archaeology and Ethnohistory of the Caribbean Plantations. In "I, too, Am America": *Archaeological Studies of African-American Life*, Theresa A. Singleton, editor, pp.173-192. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville.
- Brathwaite, Edward
1971 *The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica, 1770-1820*. Clarendon Press, Oxford.

- Brown, Ann R.
- 1982 Historic Ceramic Typology with Principal Dates of Manufacture and Descriptive Characteristics for Identification. Submitted to U.S. Department of Transportation, Contract No. 79-101-02. Copies available from Delaware Department of Transportation.
- Buckley, Roger Norman
- 1998 *The British Army in the West Indies: Society and the Military in the Revolutionary Age*. University Press of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.
- Courtland, Patrice, Andre Delpuech, and Thomas Roman
- 1999 Archaeological Investigations at Colonial Cemeteries on Guadeloupe: African Slave Burial Sites or Not? In *African Sites Archaeology in the Caribbean*, Jay B. Haviser, editor, pp.277-290. Markus Wiener Publishers, Princeton.
- Cox, Edward L.
- 1984 *Free Coloreds in the Slave Societies of St. Kitts and Grenada, 1763-1833*. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.
- Cripps, Beau Franklin
- 2003 The Garbage of Gentlemen: Investigations of a Military Refuse Midden from the Shirley Heights Officers Quarters (PAH 127) Antigua West Indies. Master's Thesis, Trent University, Canada.
- Deetz, James
- 1977 *In Small Things Forgotten: Archaeology of Early American Life*. Anchor Books, New York.
- Delle, James A.
- 1999 The Landscapes of Class Negotiations on the Coffee Plantations in the Blue Mountains of Jamaica: 1790-1850. *Historical Archaeology* 33(1):136-158.
- Dunn, Richard S.
- 1973 *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713*. W.W. Norton and Company, New York.
- Farnsworth, Paul
- 2001 Preface. In *Island Lives: Historical Archaeologies in the Caribbean*, Paul Farnsworth, editor, pp.xvii-xxiv. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa, Alabama.

- Fennell, Christopher C.
2003 Group Identity, Individual Creativity and Symbolic Generation in a BaKongo Diaspora. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 7(1):1-31.
- Ferguson, Leland
1992 *Uncommon Ground: Archaeology and Early African America, 1650-1800*. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, DC.
- Gomez, Greta and Todd M. Ahlman
2005 Glassware from the Brimstone Hill Fortress National Park, St. Kitts, West Indies. Paper presented at the Society for Post-Medieval Archaeology Conference, Nevis, West Indies.
- Gosden, Chris
2004 *Archaeology and Colonialism: Culture Contact from 5000 BC to the Present*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Handler, Jerome S., Michael D. Conner, and Keith P. Jacobi.
1989 Searching for a Slave Cemetery in Barbados, West Indies: A Biological and Ethnohistorical Investigation. Research Paper no. 59. Center for Archaeological Investigations. Southern Illinois University, Carbondale.
- Hall, Douglas
1959 *Free Jamaica*. Yale University Press, New Haven.
- Hamilton, D.L.
1996 Historical Archaeology on British Sites in the Seventeenth Century Caribbean. *Historical Archaeology, Guides* 4:3-8.
- Haviser, Jay B., editor
2000 *African Sites Archaeology in the Caribbean*. Markus Wiener Publishers, Princeton.
- Higman, Barry
1976 *Slave Population and Economy in Jamaica, 1807-1834*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
1984 *Slave Population in the British Caribbean, 1807-1834*. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.
- Hubbard, Vincent K.
2002 *A History of St. Kitts: The Sweet Trade*. MacMillan Caribbean, Oxford.

- Kelly, Kenneth G.
- 2004 Historical Archaeology in the French Caribbean: An Introduction to a Special Volume of the Journal of Caribbean Archaeology.
Journal of Caribbean Archaeology, Special Publication 1:1-10.
- Khudabux, Mohammed Rakieb
- 1999 Effects of Life Conditions on the Health of a Negro Slave Community in Suriname. In *African Sites Archaeology in the Caribbean*, Jay B. Haviser, editor, pp.291-312. Markus Wiener Publishers, Princeton.
- Klippel, Walter E. and Gerald F. Schroedl
- 1999 African Slave Craftsmen and Single Hole Bone Discs from Brimstone Hill, St. Kitts, West Indies. *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 33:222-232.
- Klippel, Walter E., Ann Ramsey, and Gerald F. Schroedl
- 2006 Assessing Enslaved African and British Royal Engineer Diets from Faunal Remains at Brimstone Hill, St. Kitts. Paper presented at the Society for American Archaeology Conference, San Juan, Puerto Rico.
- Leone, Mark P.
- 1986 Symbolic, Structural, and Critical Archaeology. In *American Archaeology Past and Future: A Celebration of the Society for American Archaeology, 1935-1985*, David J. Meltzer, Don D. Fowler and Jeremy A. Sabloff, editors, pp.415-438. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington D.C.
- Morris, Elaine, Robert Read, S. Elizabeth James and Tessa Machling
- 1999 ‘...the old stone fort at Newcastle...’ The redoubt, Nevis, eastern Caribbean. *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 33:194-221.
- Matheson, D. L.
- 1987 The Brimstone Hill Fortress: Brief History and Story of the Development of a “Restoration Society” to “National Park” Status – 1965-1987. Brimstone Hill Fortress National Park Society, St. Kitts, West Indies.
- Miller, George L.
- 1980 Classification and Economic Scaling of 19th Century Ceramics.
Historical Archaeology 14:1-40
- 1991 A Revised Set of CC Index Values for Classification and Economic Scaling of English Ceramics from 1787 to 1880.
Historical Archaeology, 25(1):1-25.

Mintz, Sidney W.

- 1974 *Caribbean Transformations*. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.

Moore, Sue Mullins

- 1985 Social and Economic Status on the Coastal Plantation: An Archaeological Perspective. In *The Archaeology of Slavery and Plantation Life*, Theresa A. Singleton, editor, pp. 141-160. Academic Press, San Diego

Orser, Charles E., Jr.

- 1988 Toward a Theory of Power for Historical Archaeology: Plantations and Space. In *The Recovery of Meaning: Historical Archaeology in the Eastern United States*, Mark P. Leone and Parker B. Potter, Jr., editors, pages 313-344. Reprinted 2003 by Percheron Press, New York.
- 2006 Symbolic Violence and Landscape Pedagogy: An Illustration from the Irish Countryside. *Historical Archaeology* 40(2):28-44.

Pulsipher, Lydia M. and Conrad M. Goodwin

- 1982 Galways: A Caribbean Sugar Plantation. Report on the 1981 Field Season. Department of Geography, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

- 1988 Betty's Hope Estate, Antigua, West Indies: Conservation Project. Pilot Study Report. Department of Geography, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

Schroedl, Gerald F.

- 1997 A Report on the 1996 Archaeological Investigations at the Brimstone Hill Fortress National Park, St. Kitts, West Indies. Brimstone Hill Archaeological Report No. 1. Department of Anthropology, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

- 1999 A Report on the 1998 Archaeological Investigations at the Brimstone Hill Fortress National Park, St. Kitts, West Indies. Brimstone Hill Archaeological Report No. 12. Department of Anthropology, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

- 2000 A Report on the 1999 Archaeological Investigations at the Brimstone Hill Fortress National Park, St. Kitts, West Indies. Brimstone Hill Archaeological Report No. 17. Department of Anthropology, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

- 2005a Enslaved Africans at the Brimstone Hill Fortress, St. Kitts, West Indies. Paper presented at the Society for Post-Medieval Archaeology Conference, Nevis, West Indies.
- 2005b Current Archaeological Investigations at Brimstone Hill. *Cannonball*, Newsletter of the Brimstone Hill Fortress National Park Society, 9(3):1-6.
- Schroedl, Gerald F. and Todd M. Ahlman
- 2002a Cultural Identity and Daily Drudgery: The Lives of Enslaved Africans and British Soldiers at the Brimstone Hill Fortress, St. Kitts, West Indies. Brimstone Hill Archaeological Report No. 22.
- 2002b The Maintenance of Cultural and Personal Identities of Enslaved Africans and British Soldiers at Brimstone Hill Fortress, St. Kitts, West Indies. *Historical Archaeology*, 36(4):38-49.
- Singleton, Theresa A.
- 1985 Introduction. In *The Archaeology of Slavery and Plantation Life*, Theresa A. Singleton, editor, pp. 1-12. Academic Press, San Diego.
- 1995 The Archaeology of Slavery in North America. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Volume 24:119-140.
- 1999 An Introduction to African-American Archaeology. In "*I, too, Am America*": *Archaeological Studies of African-American Life*, Theresa A. Singleton, editor, pp.1-17. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville.
- 2001 Slavery and spatial dialectics on Cuban coffee plantations. *World Archaeology* 33(1):98-114.
- Smith, Victor T.C.
- 1992 *Fire and Brimstone: The Story of the Brimstone Hill Fortress, St. Kitts, West Indies. 1690-1853*. The Creole Publishing Company, St. Kitts, West Indies.
- 1994 Brimstone Hill Fortress, St. Kitts, West Indies. Part one: history. *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 28:73-109.
- Spencer-Wood, Suzanne M. and Scott D. Heberling
- 1984 Ceramics and Socio-Economic Status of the Green Family, Windsor, Vermont. *Northeast Historical Archaeology* 13:33-52.

Watters, David R.

- 2001 Historical Archaeology in the British Caribbean. In *Island Lives: Historical Archaeologies in the Caribbean*, Paul Farnsworth, editor, pp.82-99. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa, Alabama.

Young, Amy Lambeck

- 1996 Archaeological Evidence of African-Style Ritual and Healing Practices in the Upland South. *Tennessee Anthropologist*, 21:139-156.