An Allegory for Life: An 18th century African-influenced cemetery landscape, Nassau, Bahamas

Grace S. R. Turner

Nassau, Bahamas

MA Anthropology, Texas A&M University, 2004
MA History, Ohio State University, 1987
MA Anthropology, Rutgers University, 1981

A Dissertation presented to the Graduate Faculty
of the College of William and Mary in Candidacy for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Anthropology

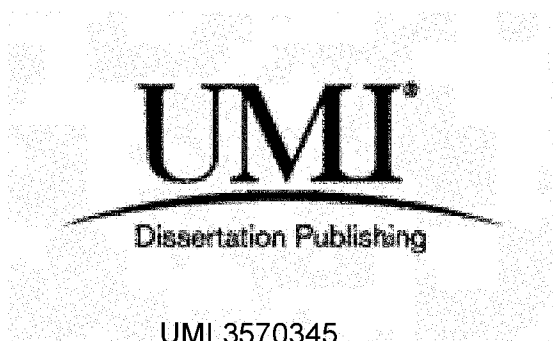The College of William and Mary
January 2013

UMI Number: 3570345

UMI

Dissertation Publishing

UMI 3570345

ProQuest

APPROVAL PAGE

This Dissertation is submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

_____
Grace S. R. Turner
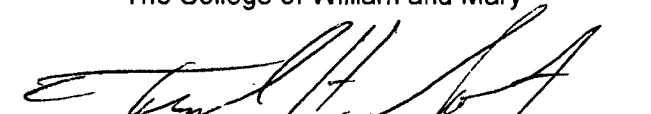
Approved by the Committee, December, 2012

_____
Committee Chair
NEH Professor Michael Blakey, Anthropology and American Studies
The College of William and Mary

_____
Dittman Professor Grey Gundaker, Anthropology and American Studies
The College of William and Mary

_____
Associate Professor Frederick Smith, Anthropology
The College of William and Mary

_____
Scholar-in-Residence Gail Saunders, History
The College of the Bahamas

ABSTRACT

I use W.E.B. Du Bois' reference to the worlds 'within and without the veil' as the narrative setting for presenting the case of an African-Bahamian urban cemetery in use from the early eighteenth century to the early twentieth century. I argue that people of African descent lived what Du Bois termed a 'double consciousness.' Thus, the ways in which the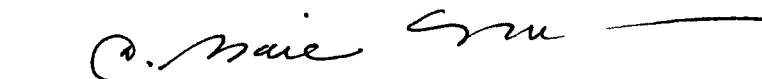y shaped and changed this cemetery landscape reflect the complexities of their lives. Since the material expressions of this cemetery landscape represent the cultural perspectives of the affiliated communities so changes in its maintenance constitute archaeologically visible evidence of this process. Evidence in this study includes analysis of human remains; the cultural preference for cemetery space near water; certain trees planted as a living grave site memorial; butchered animal remains as evidence of food offerings; and placement of personal dishes on top of graves.

Based on the manufacture dates for ceramic and glass containers African-derived cultural behavior was no longer practiced after the mid-nineteenth century even though the cemetery remained in use until the early twentieth century. I interpret this change as evidence of a conscious cultural decision by an African-Bahamian population in Nassau to move away from obviously African-derived expressions of cultural identity. I argue that the desire for social mobility motivated this change. Full emancipation was granted in the British Empire by 1838. People of African descent who wanted to take advantage of social opportunities had to give up public expressions of African-derived cultural identity in order to participate more fully and successfully in the dominant society.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my brothers Luther, Frederick, Chilean, and my sisters Elnicka, Laverne, Christine, Edna, and Telcine (who left us all too soon) and all my nieces and nephews, as well as a close group of friends for their consistent emotional and financial support – It has meant so much to realize how you have all sacrificed in order to help me achieve this dream.

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

Introduction

If anyone has eyes, let him/her see.
Adapted from Revelation 13:9
New American Standard Bible, 1997

Overview

I use W.E.B. Du Bois' reference to the worlds 'within and without the veil' as

the theoretical setting for the case of an African-Bahamian urban cemetery in use

from the early eighteenth century to the early twentieth century. I argue that people

of African descent lived what Du Bois termed a 'double consciousness.' Thus, the

ways in which they shaped and changed this cemetery landscape reflect the

complexities of their lives over time. Since the material expressions of this cemetery

landscape represent the cultural perspectives of the affiliated communities so changes

in its maintenance constitute archaeologically visible evidence of this process.

The primary challenge in writing this dissertation was to recognize and

identify evidence of significant variations in experiences within the African Diaspora.

In attempting to clarify even seemingly minor details in the landscape and

archaeological record, I came to realize that as someone from the wider African

Diaspora I also needed to examine how anthropologists, specifically those in North

America, have historically dealt with research questions concerning Africans in the

Atlantic Diaspora. The most basic issue I had to acknowledge is that although the

plantation experience was the case for the majority of Africans and their descendants

in the Americas, it was not the only life experience within this Diaspora. However,

black, urban laborers, enslaved or free, often had greater opportunity to organize their

1

personal lives to suit their purposes than those restricted by demands imposed by an owner or overseer.

This research examines the experiences of free blacks and urban enslaved laborers in the British West Indies through the lens of a Bahamian cemetery which it situates in a broader historical context. Though I attribute some action to the individual agency of 18th century African-Bahamians in Nassau, also at issue here is the recognition that the British colonial government had a different perspective from the white urban elite and planters on how to deal with African-descended people. The role of the colonial government in mediating the status of non-whites had a significant impact on how free people of color, and enslaved urban laborers were able to conduct their lives.

For archaeologists a second issue is being able to identify the African-influenced landscapes created by these involuntary immigrants. Even though Africans were accorded the lowest societal status that did not preclude them being able to express their perspectives of the world in which they lived. Archaeological assessments of culturally meaningful landscapes help to demonstrate the extent to which Africans in the Atlantic Diaspora were able to impress their worldview on the landscape. My argument is that within the general context of a European cemetery site, there, people of African descent were able to express African-influenced concepts of memorializing the dead. Any perceived change in this cultural behavior is interpreted as a reflection of changes in the worldview of African-Bahamians.

Since its beginnings in the late 1960s historical archaeology of the African Diaspora has been most heavily focused on the experience of enslavement throughout the Americas. In the Caribbean most of the archaeological research has aimed at understanding the nature of enslavement within the context of plantations. However, the plantation experience was only one aspect of the Atlantic Diaspora. This research aims to expand the knowledge base on the experiences of African-descended people outside the context of plantations. This project focuses on a cemetery used by a community of enslaved and free African-Bahamian workers in the town of Nassau. While mortuary aspects of a cemetery landscape can potentially be used to examine the physical impact of distinctive urban African-Bahamian lives, the sample excavated from this site is so small it cannot be presented as being representative of the community that used the cemetery.

This study begins from a more flexible, open-ended vantage point than that afforded by theoretical and methodological emphases in the literature on resistance, creolization, and plantation contexts. In the diaspora all Africans did not simply accept the new lifestyle that Europeans attempted to impose on them. Using Du Bois' concept of double consciousness I make the case that Africans in the Atlantic diaspora were able, to varying extents, create a world for themselves "within the veil" not modeled on European cultural systems to which they had been transposed. Instead, this world within the veil was modeled on an understanding of life drawn from their African cultural heritage. I argue that the world "without the veil" represented their place and interactions within the wider, dominant society where, until sometime during the nineteenth century, people of African descent were either

3

enslaved or free. I contend that Africans in the diaspora constantly made cultural decisions over time, depending on their life circumstances, on the extent to which they moved between these different worlds; if at all. I elected to use the theoretical framework of double consciousness rather than referring to it as creolization because, for me, the concept of double consciousness more succinctly intersects with an examination of processes of continuity and change that may be archaeologically evident for this Diasporic population.

Archaeologists have excavated sites associated with maroon groups to investigate the theme of Africans' resistance against their imposed slave status (Agorsah 1994; Allen 2001; Sayers 2008; Weik 2002). Other means of resistance have been referenced by archaeologists and historians for African-descended populations (Ferguson, 1992; Singleton, 1995; Thornton 1998; Samford 2000). Within the context of this research, however, I only reference maroon societies as exemplifying resistance because these were instances in which Africans chose to reject any participation in European-based slave-holding society and, instead developed an independent, strongly African-influenced way of life. I argue that the concept of double consciousness involves a cultural awareness of two distinct worlds and worldviews. One of these states of consciousness has a limited correlation to a European cultural heritage; it is this rationale I use to justify separating maronnage from other forms of resistance by Africans in the Atlantic diaspora. By this model of double consciousness then, the other state of consciousness would involve more extensive interaction of African-descended people with the many forms of European society and cultural heritage. It is at such intersections I contend that the concepts of

resistance and creolization are more apparent because of the myriad negotiations between different forms of cultural heritage. I further contend that Africans in the diaspora made cultural decisions about the form and extent of these cultural interactions over time; and some material evidence of these interactions remain visible in the archaeological record.

Using resistance as an interpretive frame for every aspect of African-derived cultural behavior forecloses other interpretations of cultural actions by African-descended people. To label all African-derived cultural behavior as resistance would seem to presume that even Africans transported to the Americas only used European-derived cultural behavior in adjusting to their lives in this new world. Although they were involuntary migrants Africans were, nevertheless, a migrant group to the Americas. As migrants this meant that their responses and adjustments to life in a new environment would be modeled on behavior drawn from their cultures of origin.

Enslaved individuals were indeed severely restricted in the extent to which they were free to manage many aspects of their daily lives. However, I contend that archaeological research on African-descended populations illustrates some of the ways in which enslaved and free Africans, and their descendants, crafted distinct identities for themselves (Armstrong and Fleischman 2003; Ferguson 1992; Heath and Bennett 2000; Samford 2000.) Further archaeological research on enslaved and free Africans in urban contexts has the potential to provide greater insight about the ways in which Africans in the Diaspora were able to create life ways that were based on their African cultural heritage.

I also chose not to label this cultural behavior as creolization as there is a danger of this term serving as a 'catch all' label for the continuous process of adjustment and change. Theoretical usages of the term 'creolization' can cover a range of interpretations on the processes involved, ranging from the mixture of elements from diverse cultural and linguistic sources to the "birth" of a radically new culture (Mintz and Price 1976; 1992; Gundaker, 2000). Unfortunately, in archaeology creolization has often been used reductively, simply substituting a new term for the older linear transition of 'acculturation" from an "old" culture to a "new" one—with the presumed uncritical adoption of the dominant culture in which migrants found themselves as an endpoint.

In previous work in the Bahamas, Wilkie and Farnsworth (2005) employed just such a reductionist perspective. Their quest to associate African-derived cultural behavior in the Bahamas with related ethnic regions in West and Central Africa merely demonstrates that indeed African-Bahamians maintained certain practices from their regions of origin. However, it cannot effectively explain the complexity of the cultural behavior observed or the reasons why practices changed over time. Instead, as acculturationists of old did, they seem to assume that such changes were either an inevitable yielding to the socially and economically dominant group's forms or, by implication, an eventual end to resistance against dominant forms. Their view of creolization also cannot explain how or why an African captive rescued from a slave ship by the Royal Navy and re-settled on New Providence was buried in one of Nassau's white cemeteries; indicating that before he died this man was socially recognized as being 'white.' Neither does this perspective on creolization explain

6

why an African-Bahamian community using a Nassau cemetery appeared to change the cultural orientation of the cemetery after more than 100 years of use, other than to imply forgetfulness or acceptance of domination. The drawbacks of the linear approach when confronted with persisting movement back and forth across racial and cultural lines was clearly anticipated and complicated by the concept which Du Bois concisely summarized as "double consciousness."

Somewhat better, an intersystemic view of creolization acknowledges that change is a complex process in which behavior and material culture can vary over time and according to context (Drummond, 1980; Gundaker 2000:125). However, although it offers a more complete understanding of interactions within the creolization frame, I have found a focus on processes of continuity and change more theoretically useful. This perspective has allowed me to examine these processes in action over time and in the interactions of varied segments of society; including the British colonial government, "old" and "new" white settlers, and Africans arriving from different points of departure, with different experiences of freedom and enslavement.

Another key issue in this dissertation is interpreting the lives of enslaved and free Africans in urban contexts. Less archaeological research has focused on Africans in urban environments where it is more difficult to identify groups definitively by race or ethnicity than on plantations (Rankin-Hill, 1997; Davidson, 2004; Farmer et al, 2005; Blakey and Rankin-Hill, 2009; Perry et al, 2009; Medford, 2009). This was especially so in the case of enslaved workers who were limited in their ability to leave a distinctive footprint on their living and/or work spaces.

7

Nevertheless, archaeological research on urban sites related to people of African descent has the potential to broaden the options available for understanding enslaved and free black workers in urban environments.

Archaeological research on urban enslaved populations includes work by Mark Leone (2005) who analyzed archaeological remains from a 19th century African-American neighborhood of Annapolis, Maryland. However, most African Diaspora archaeology in urban contexts has been done on cemetery sites (Davidson 2004; Perry et al 2009; McCarthy 1997; Farmer et al 2005). Cemetery sites are representative of the entire community they served and therefore can provide details on the physical, social, economic, and cultural lives of the people within that community. Here, use of the Bahamian urban mortuary context maximizes possible comparisons with other African diaspora sites of urban archaeology.

Methods

I first learned of this site some time ago during the time I worked in the Museum & Archaeology Section of the Bahamas' Department of Archives. Knowledge of the site and awareness of its significance in Bahamian history and culture had been stymied by two factors which caused it to remain obscured even though it is situated in a very accessible location. It had been physically obscured through much of the twentieth century once it was covered over by the storm surge from hurricanes in the late 1920s. Additionally, documentary evidence on the cemetery during its history from the late eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries was

not in the Bahamas but in Jamaica's National Archives. This arrangement reflected the organizational hierarchy of the Anglican Church in these two British West Indian colonies. From 1824 when the Diocese of Jamaica was formally created until 1861 when the Bahamas became a separate Diocese, the administration of the Anglican Church in the Bahamas was headquartered in Jamaica. Because public cemeteries in the Bahamas were managed by the Anglican Church many of even the most mundane records were filed in Jamaica.

The Director of Archives at the time, Dr Gail Saunders, made several attempts to have signage posted at the site explaining a more complete history of this cemetery; however there was always any number of logistical hurdles which hampered this objective. In the Bahamas, especially for the city of Nassau, there was a growing recognition of the economic and cultural value in historic preservation; but preservation needs had to be balanced with the need for modern development. To earn recognition for preservation, then, the cultural and historical significance has to be established for a site; this can be especially challenging for seemingly vacant land like this cemetery site. I chose the St Matthew's Northern Burial Ground site as the focus of my dissertation research as a means to establish its cultural and historical significance and thereby rationalize its preservation.

With no physical evidence of the cemetery remaining above ground it was more difficult to justify preserving the site only on the basis of documentary evidence, and given the site's history in the first half of the twentieth century the primary challenge in making the case for its preservation was to provide physical evidence of its history. Residents of the nearby community are still aware that there

was once a cemetery in this vicinity but they do not know its exact location. The

Antiquities, Monuments & Museums Corporation (AMMC) contracted a Florida

firm, Geo View to conduct a ground penetrating radar (GPR) survey of the area of

reclaimed land and the grass verge. A test unit was situated based on a deeply buried

anomaly; the purpose of excavating a test unit was to get a preview of the

archaeological context of this site. The next phase entailed excavating units spread

throughout the site. Since this was a waterlogged site that was originally at the

seaside, all excavated materials were desalinated in fresh water and then air-dried.

Interpretation of this site would enable me to compare it to physical features still

visible in a contemporary cemetery site on the west side of Nassau; 19th and 20th

century cemeteries on other Bahamian islands; as well as comparison with other

African diaspora cemeteries.

Chapter Summaries

Chapter one of this dissertation provides an historical overview of the

Bahamas from its settlement by the English in the mid-seventeenth century through to

the early twentieth century. The aim is to set the broad context in which to

understand the research site; St Matthew's Northern Burial Ground for Blacks and

People of Colour. As the cemetery was used by people of African descent this

historical survey focuses on themes and issues most closely related to Bahamians of

African descent. In chapter two I set out the theoretical framework used for

interpreting landscape features and cultural materials documented within this site as

being African-derived. The basis of my argument is that, despite their low social status in the Americas, Africans, like all other immigrant groups, faced the challenge of how best to reconstruct their view of the world to give their lives meaning and continuity. I make the case that for the community of African-Bahamians, who created and used this cemetery for almost 200 years, the most critical issue was not a matter of resistance against a foreign, dominant culture but rather the question of how best to devise and pass on culturally-familiar means of giving community members a positive sense of self and belonging.

Next, in chapter three I detail the historical background for landscape features in European-style cemeteries; the objective is to show that these patterns of landscape features have a distinct cultural history that is separate from landscape features documented from African diaspora cemetery sites. Chapter four is where I outline the documentary history of the site then explain what steps were taken to physically investigate the site; beginning with a sub-surface survey; followed by test excavations and, finally, a more intensive site excavation plan.

The following three chapters present the analysis of the three main categories of excavated materials. Chapter five reviews the analysis of human remains with an emphasis on understanding physical health and the physical impacts of work and other lifestyle factors on individuals. Chapter six presents the analysis of manufactured and modified material culture; specifically, ceramics, glass, miscellaneous objects; and faunal remains. The aim of this analysis was to give some idea of the period of use for this cemetery and also to provide insight on any associated cultural activities within the cemetery space. The third category for

11

analysis in chapter seven are material culture not related to the historic period site but artifacts and ecofacts associated with an earlier Lucayan Taino site. Chapter eight, the final chapter, reiterates the case for how the archaeological record from this site illustrates the theoretical interpretation of this site.

The Bahama Archipelago

FLORIDA

Grand Bahama

Abaco & Cays

Bimini

Berry Islands

Eleuthera

New Providence

Cat Island

San Salvador

Andros

Great Exuma & Cays

Long Island

Crooked Island

Mayaguana

North Caicos

Acklins

Ragged Island Chain

CUBA

Providenciales

Inagua

0   100   200

Km

13
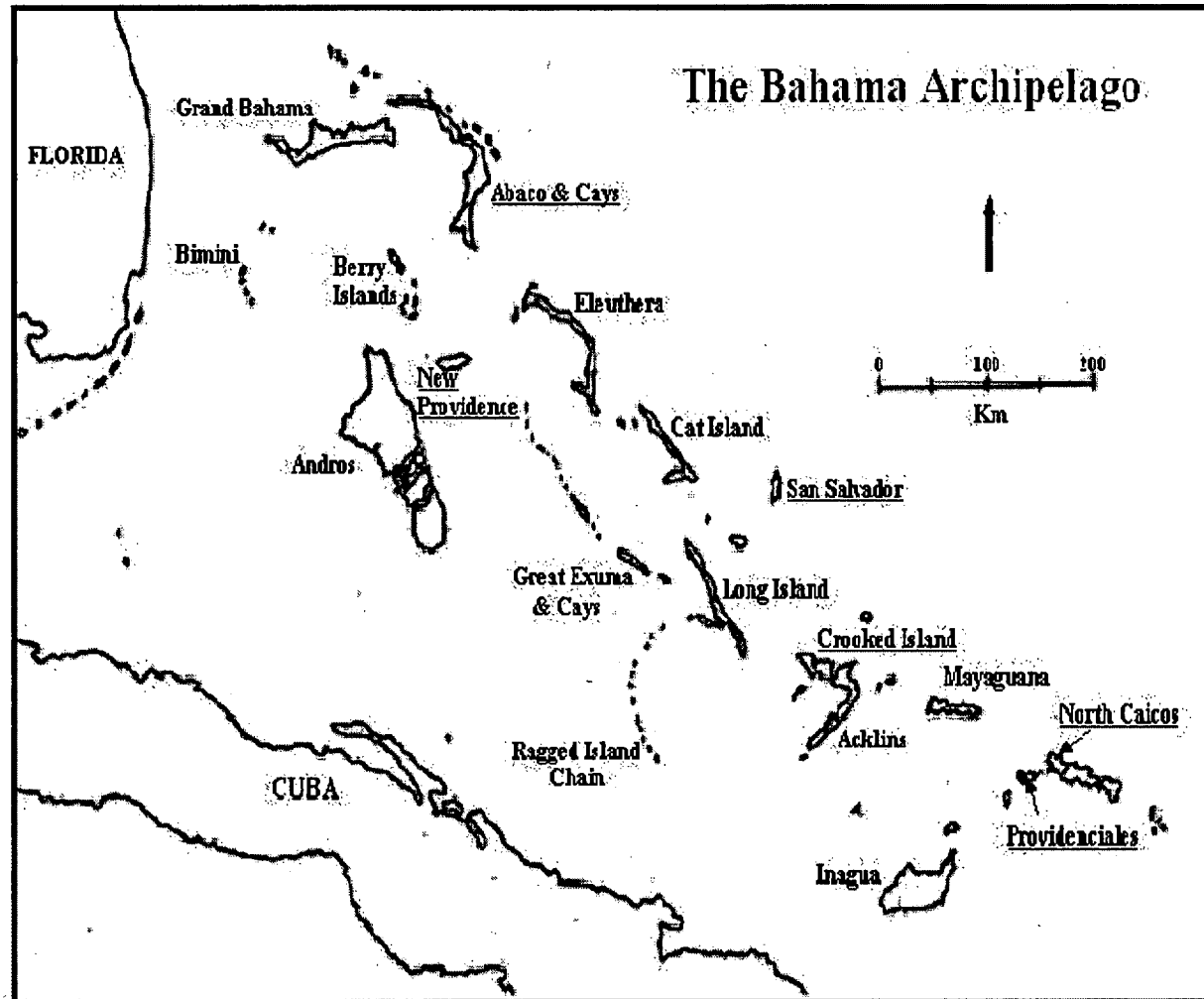
Chapter 1

Bahamian history in social, political, and economic context

A marginal British colonial territory

The first British settlers came to the Bahamas in 1648. This colony,

established by the Company of Eleutherian Adventurers like other European colonies,

was intended to bring profits for investors and provide a living for participants. Of

the 70 original settlers it is uncertain whether any were people of African heritage.

The colony was never as successful as its organizers had hoped. By the 1650s some

settlers had returned to Bermuda or relocated to other British colonies. Bermudan

colonists evidently regarded the small Bahamian colony as a convenient location to

banish their social rejects. These included several Whites, such as an unfaithful wife

and a quarrelsome Quaker (Craton and Saunders 1992:78). A number of free Blacks

and enslaved persons were also sent to the Bahamas. In 1656, after the disclosure of

a plot by slaves and free Blacks to free themselves from White domination, all free

Blacks were banished to Eleuthera (Outerbridge Packwood 1975:142, Maxwell

1999:5).

Documentary evidence of the lives of early Bahamian settlers is rare. It is

uncertain how many White inhabitants came to the Bahamas as indentured servants or

tenants to wealthy investor-landlords. This was not a prosperous colony so it is

unlikely there ever were significant numbers of indentured servants in the Bahamas.

As was usual with colonial settlements, there was much speculative optimism about

the colony's potential (Calendar of State Papers [CSP] 9:971; Oldmixon 1969

[1741]:430-431).

14

Yet even this small, struggling colony warranted the importation of unfree African labor. With the evolution of a colonial society also came the changing positions of social groups. The deportation of an entire community of free Blacks brought as much change to Bermuda as it did to the Bahamas. In the Bahamas the many small islands had already proven more suitable to small-scale, independent holdings than the large-scale ventures colonial investors expected to bring them huge profits. This type of setting allowed for an atmosphere that was less restrictive on lower-ranked social groups such as people of color. My aim in the remainder of this chapter is to examine the basis of economic wealth in the Bahamas and determine whether any avenues existed for African-Bahamians to access this wealth. Such a review juxtaposes the conditions of life for Bahamians of African heritage along with other factors which affected their life conditions over time.

In her book, *Race in North America: Origin and Evolution of a Worldview*, biological anthropologist, Audrey Smedley (1999) argued that the cultural history of English settlers in North America contributed to the rigid racial categorization of enslavement for people of African descent. In contrast, in Spanish and Portuguese South American colonies racial categorization was more fluid, depending on economic and social circumstances. However the character of a race-based slave labor system in British West Indian colonies such as the Bahamas was more similar to the more lenient racial characterization of Latin American colonies (Eastwood, 2006:68-73; Helg, 2004:162-167; LaCerte, 1993:42; Lasso, 2007:16-67; Levine, 1997:7-25; Marshall, 1993:16; Beckles, 2011:212; Scarano, 2011:179-183; Wade, 1993:3-14). Since English colonists settled the Bahamas as well, I propose that the

difference in racial characterization was affected by the particular paths to wealth and power available to all social groups in the Bahamas.

The line of argument here is that while access to economic and social opportunity may have been restricted for people of color, there was no definitive prohibition against people of African descent participating at different social and economic levels. However access to the most powerful roles and property were most heavily protected by social convention which determined suitable social relationships; these also impacted access to economic opportunities. In the 18th century several Acts "for governing Negroes, Mulattoes or Indians" aimed to define which persons were categorized in each group. These laws were also reacting to such customary practices as extensive racial and social mixing, as well as the habit of enslaved individuals working unclaimed land for themselves (Craton and Saunders, 1992:148-156). As blacks comprised at least half the population of the Bahamas from the early 18th century forward it was more feasible that they were allowed to participate in all but the most power-laden aspects of social, economic, and political life. This review of Bahamian history is intended to illustrate these patterns and show how they shifted over time.

For at least the next century after the Bermuda blacks were deported to the Bahamas, people of African descent played significant roles in most levels of Bahamian life. In 1696 an incident occurred that cost proprietary governor, Nicholas Trott his career. He was charged with accepting fees and "gifts" to allow Henry Every, alias Bridgeman, to land in Nassau. Every was considered a notorious pirate because he had plundered a ship belonging to the Great Mogul of India (Defoe

16

1999:53, Oldmixon 1969 [1741]:429). Choosing to land in Nassau was not a haphazard decision as at least four of the white crewmen were "married and are settled upon the Island; and also there came severall boys and foure free negros." (Colonial Office CO5 1257/B16). This case demonstrates that Bahamians, both white and black, were tied into at least one global network of profit; albeit not one of the most desirable ones.

The royal charter for the earliest English settlers in the Bahamas detailed an economy based on the collection of economically valuable resources from the land and the sea. As the Bahamas was located along a major sailing route the list of legitimate maritime activities included the salvage of wrecked and stranded vessels. Until the early 18th century Spanish authorities in Cuba considered much of this activity as piracy. By the late 18th century, newspaper notices indicated that some wrecking activity was done illegally (*Bahama Gazette*). Until the mid-eighteenth century there is very little documentary information on the general populace and their daily lives. In the lead-up to the war in the American colonies the British had, however, considerable interest in assessing the demographic, economic, and military state of the Bahama Islands. The general conclusion was that Bahamian islands did not have very much soil, nor were these soils very fertile, and neither was agriculture a priority for white settlers. The predominantly transitory nature of the Bahamian economy had fostered a strong sense of independence among settlers (Craton and Saunders, 1992:75-79; Calendar of State Papers, 1964, vol.7:712).

Though this remained a small, poor colony because the archipelago was strategically located on major oceanic shipping routes it was in the interest of the

17

British colonial government to maintain control of these islands. In the 18th century competition for access and control of territory in the Americas the value of the Bahamas to Britain was the ability to maintain access to the Florida Straits. As Governor Thomas Shirley stated in a 1775 report, "they command the Gulph of Florida, through which all Spanish vessels with their Treasure return to Europe, As too do the Windward passage; where all ships bound to the West Indies must pass. Their Consequence in this respect has been clearly manifested by the astonishing number of Captures made in those Seas by our privateers War, and the galling Effect it has had on the trade of our Enemys." (CO23/23:28).

By the latter half of the 18th century a critical issue for the Bahamas' colonial government was obtaining title for private land. Governor Shirley, in his initial report to the Earl of Hillsborough, described the population as "great numbers of the Inhabitants being Blacks, Mulattoes and Persons, who live by Wrecking, and Plunder, and People of a very bold daring Spirit, which makes it highly necessary to have a proper force to enable the Civil power to put their Laws in execution" (CO23/8:5, December 1768). The governor wanted to convince the Board of Trade of the urgency to upgrade the legal basis for private property ownership in the colony from the proprietary ownership established in the 17th century. In the transition from a proprietary colony to a Crown colony in the late 17th century the Crown did not include a buy-out of the Lords Proprietors' title to lands of the colony. A century later Governor Shirley's exasperation is evident in his assessment of the consequences of this situation:

> There are many cogent reasons, my Lord, why the Bahama
> Islands can never arrive to any state of real advantage to the

18

Crown, until the property of the Islands can be secured to the
Planter; For until that happy period arrives, no Inhabitant,
wood cutter, or planter can ever be confined to his own
plantation. These people now range from Island to Island, and
so soon as the Land in one place refuses to yield its increase
agreeable to their Expectations, Or the Timber by its distance
from the place of cutting becomes troublesome, they
immediately change to a situation more convenient, and
more profitable, which they first strip of all its valuable
Timbers for Exportation to the French and Dutch Islands...
It is therefore for these Reasons humbly submitted
to your Lordship's Consideration, whether the renewing
the negotiations ... on the part of the Crown, for the
purchase of the proprietorship of the Islands, would not
be of the highest advantages, as thereby the rambling
Inhabitants must be tied down to their own plantations,
which would be secured to them and their Heirs by legal
Grants, and would not only help to discourage that
abominable Custom of wrecking, and the carrying on an
illicit trade, which last is practiced in a high degree with
the Dutch, French, and Danish Islands in the West Indies
(CO23/23:28, May 6th 1775).

Late 18th century social context

With the culmination of the war with the former American colonies a military

report in 1783 was intended to assess "The present state of Defences at Providence ...

will report particularly. ...The face & nature of the Country, soil, and produce. State

of Cultivation – Number of Inhabitants – of whom composed & how connected."

(Morse 1783).   The report includes an enumeration of the categories of inhabitants,

as of May 1782, on the seven populated islands in the archipelago (see Table 1).

These population statistics for the Bahamas are equally interesting for what

they do, as well what they do not, explicitly state. A military officer created this

report with an emphasis on the economic potential of the islands, including a

tabulation of taxable persons on each of the seven inhabited islands. It is interesting

to note that there were nearly twice as many non-taxable inhabitants as the number of

taxable inhabitants.

Table 1   **List of Inhabitants on the different Bahama Islands**

Islands	White Taxables	Free born mulattoes	Manumitted	Slaves	Total Taxables	Inhabitants not Taxable	Total Inhabitants	Capable of Carrying Arms
New Providence	229	75	15	642	961	1789	2750	270
Harbour Island	97	2		80	179	321	500	90
Eleuthera	102	25		23	150	300	450	120
Long Island, Exuma & Cat Island	24	1	1	35	61	189	250	25.
Turks Island	12			20	29	20	52	18
Totals	464	103	16	800	1380	2619	4002	523

(Morse 1783)

The final column lists the numbers of those "capable of carrying arms." The

officer reported that "The male inhabitants of the Bahama Islands above the age of

fifteen, have for many years back been formed into a Militia." This number was

slightly more than the number of white taxables (except in the case of Harbour

Island). The assumption here is that the white taxable inhabitants were males over 15

years old, including those deemed too old to serve in the militia. The tabulation of

non- taxables appears to have included all females and children, except those that

were enslaved. The system of taxation reflected the societal focus on adult males as

the economic providers. Contemporary sources, such as newspaper ads, court

records, and travel accounts, which documented how people made a living indicate

that free women of color often worked, as domestics, washer women, and street

vendors, to support themselves and their families. Such details provide some information on the ways in which free people of color[1] lived and within a sub-culture parallel to that of the wider, dominant society.

This population assessment was made in 1782 shortly before Loyalist refugees began arriving in the Bahamas from the former American colonies. Many of these Loyalists had owned plantations in the southern colonies and brought their enslaved workers with them, adding not only to the numbers of African descendants in the Bahamas but also the diversity of their origins. The most heavily populated settlements for blacks and whites were on New Providence, Eleuthera, and tiny Harbour Island. It was also noted that the population figures for Turks Island fluctuated because these were Bermudians who seasonally moved to that island to rake salt (Morse 1783).

Population assessment from a Loyalist perspective focused on comparisons between "old" and "new" inhabitants. William Wylly published a pamphlet in London in 1789 extolling the contributions that Loyalists made to the Bahamas and detailed the conditions he argued the colonial home government needed to address in this colony to make the transition more amenable for Loyalist migrants. Wylly's 1788 population assessment is shown in Tables 2a and 2b; these population statistics included notations indicating which islands, other than New Providence, had communities of free blacks.

---

[1] Until the mid to late 19th century a distinction was routinely made between blacks (those with predominantly African physical features) and people of color (those of mixed racial ancestry). In this paper, however, these terms are used interchangeably.

The influx of Loyalist immigrants had a significant impact on the small colony. Social tensions instigated by the arrival of new migrants served to delineate the array of social groups in the colony. White inhabitants included both 'old' and 'new' settlers. New, Loyalist, settlers were wealthier and better educated than the old inhabitants whom they disparagingly nicknamed 'Conchs.' These new settlers wished to translate their numerical strength into political power as soon as they could be voted into the Assembly.

Those most heavily impacted by these social changes were the free blacks on New Providence. Wylly's tabulation of 'old' inhabitants suggests that some of them also received land grants to establish plantations on previously uninhabited or sparsely inhabited islands such as Andros and Caicos. Since the 1760s a focal concern for the colonial government had been how to stimulate the economy. The most promising solution seemed to be increasing the amount of land granted for cultivation. Some plantation land grants were issued in the 20 years prior to the influx of Loyalist immigrants. When they arrived the demand for land grants exploded. Though free blacks may not have benefitted from land grants they also participated in this internal migration to islands such as Long Island where Wylly noted there were 21 "families of colour" in 1788 as compared to one free born mulatto and one manumitted person reported for this area in 1782.

Other indirect evidence suggests that free blacks were selling their property and likely relocating to other islands such as Eleuthera. This evidence includes newspaper notices of properties for sale that included wattle and daub structures. In the Bahamas this architectural technique is historically associated with people of

African descent. Family oral history, along with archival documentation suggests my mixed heritage Turner ancestors participated in this trend; moving to Eleuthera after being manumitted in Nassau between 1787 and 1828 (*The Bahama Gazette*; Register of Freed Slaves).

A major source of contention for Loyalist migrants to the Bahamas concerned the status of free blacks. Some free blacks and runaway slaves had also migrated to the Bahamas. A Negro Court was established to settle cases in which blacks "either entitled to freedom, - or belonging to persons who are now subjects of the American States were trepanned from the Continent to the Bahama Islands, where they are illegally held in bondage." (Wylly 1789:22). Though Wylly acknowledged that there were cases of illegal re-enslavement, he was still distrustful of free black settlements, stating that "the Town of Nassau is actually overawed by a considerable body of runaway and other Negroes, collected and kept together in the neighbourhood of Government House, and about Fort Charlotte" (Wylly 1789:22).

The free black settlement south of the Government House property was not formally recognized until the 1820s when it was named Grant's Town after the governor at the time (Department of Archives 1982:28-30). The area today is also commonly known as "Over the Hill" because of its location immediately south of the ridge marking the southern boundary for the city of Nassau. Until 1913 the Government House property extended down the southern face of this ridge, ending at Cockburn Street (MOW Specification Books; 1788 Map). The wall for the

Table 2a State of the Population, Agriculture, &c. of the Bahama Islands in June, 1788
New Inhabitants, &c. &c. &c.

Principal Islands on which there are settlements	White Male Heads of Families	Planters possessing ten or more Slaves	Merchants	Imports from Great Britain in the years 1773 & 1774	Imports from Great Britain in the years 1786 & 1787	Exports to Great Britain in the years 1773 & 1774	Exports to Great Britain in the years 1786 & 1787	Number of Slaves	Acres of cultivated Land	Of the 3 learned Professions	Further Remarks
New Providence	165	27	26					1264	3060	16	
Exuma	26	19						679	2591		
Long Island	29	19						476	2380		
Cat Island	28	16						442	1747		
Abaco	49	10						198	1837		Planters moving off
Andros Island	22	7						132	813		
Crooked Island	5	4						357			Newly settled
Caicos	6	5						214	460		Ditto
Eleuthera, Harbour Island & Turk's Island											
Total New	330	107	26					3762	12888	16	

Table 2b   Old Inhabitants, &c. &c. &c.

Principal Islands on which there are settlements	White Male Heads of Families	Planters possessing ten or more Slaves	Merchants	Imports from Great Britain in the years 1773 & 1774	Imports from Great Britain in the years 1786 & 1787	Exports to Great Britain in the years 1773 & 1774	Exports to Great Britain in the years 1786 & 1787	Number of Slaves	Acres of cultivated Land	Of the 3 learned Professions	Further Remarks
New Providence	131	2	3					1024	255	1	
Exuma	11	4						75	354		
Long Island	42	12						306	1530		Also 21 families of colour
Cat Island	12							16	250		
Abaco											
Andros Island	4	3						56	290		
Crooked Island											
Caicos	1							5	30		
Turk's Island	18							40			
Harbour Island	94							142			Very old Settlement
Eleuthera	119							310	725		The 310 set down as Slaves, are mostly free People of Colour
Total Old	430	21	3					1974	3434	1	
Majority of New Planters, &c.	0	86	13					1790	9454	15	
Majority of Old Inhabitants	100										
General Total both of Old and New	760	128	29	£3581	136359	5216	58707*	5696	16322	17	

* Exclusive of a great deal of Specie, received from the Spanish Colonies under the Late Free Port Act, of which no account has been kept.

(Wylly 1789:7)

Government House property along this street originally served as the northern boundary for the free black settlement that seemed to so anger and frustrate new Loyalist settlers like Wylly. The status of free blacks was arguably the most contentious issue for Loyalist migrants in the Bahamas (Wylly, 1789; CO23/28, Confidential dispatch, 1787). Most free blacks lived on Eleuthera, where it appears that no Loyalists initially moved, and New Providence, where the capital, Nassau, was located. Eleuthera was the next most populous island after New Providence even before the Loyalists arrived.

As Eleuthera is the fifth largest island in the archipelago with a population of only about 500, it is unlikely that Loyalists chose not to move to Eleuthera because of overcrowding or lack of land for settlement. The fact that Loyalist refugees chose not to settle on either Eleuthera or Harbour Island, the sites of the colony's oldest English settlements, suggests instead that there were significant tensions between 'old' and 'new' inhabitants. As Wylly constantly noted, the basis of wealth was different for the two groups. Property for the Loyalist migrants involved land ownership and control of slave labor. In contrast, property for the 'old' Bahamian inhabitants, including free blacks, was more fluid and entailed access to economically viable resources such as tropical hardwoods, salt, fish, and turtles. Thus "old" settlers needed seaworthy vessels and community agreements about access to these resources rather than ownership title to the property.

This lack of emphasis on landed property ownership certainly would have been affected by the fact that title to property in the Bahamas had remained legally vested in the six proprietors from 1670 until the 1780s when Loyalist migrants arrived. While

Governor Shirley cited this situation as a hindrance to the colony's economic development, the unsettled nature of land ownership allowed free blacks, and even slaves, to take advantage of this legal uncertainty to claim land for planting (CO23/23:28, 1775). One objective of the 1767 "Act for governing of Negroes, Mulattoes, and Indians" was to limit the economic potential of those individuals who had been freed (as opposed to free-born individuals). Freed blacks were prohibited from planting cotton, coffee, or indigo (Craton and Saunders, 1992:152-155).

Yet although this was a class-based and racially stratified society, with a system of economic wealth based on access to seemingly unrestricted natural resources, there was less motivation to severely restrict lower ranked groups such as free people of color than in those soil-rich colonies with economies based on large-scale; and ownership. This difference was especially evident in the pattern of property ownership within the town of Nassau in the 1780s when Loyalist migrants were moving into the Bahamas. A map of property owners in Nassau, dated 1788, shows that about one third of the landowners within the town were free people of color. Free people of color owned property east of the governor's mansion on the ridge overlooking the town, and also in the center of the town where the new gaol was completed in 1799 (Department of Archives Research Collection; Department of Archives 1975:10). It appears that the only area where non-whites were restricted from owning property was on the harbor front in the center of the town. The presumption is that this area provided access to the docks so private property owners in this area also exercised some measure of control over commodities entering the colony, as well as any products being exported from the colony. In short, ownership

27

of harbor front property in the town was also indicative of an individual's level of economic power within the colony. This pattern of ownership remains intact even today. The government has been unable to convince private dock owners to relocate to the edge of the city to relieve congestion and create a more picturesque harbor profile reflecting the city's current tourist economy.

Despite this apparent façade of social acceptance, the social status for free people of color in the Bahamas was in flux in most of the 18th century. Craton and Saunders argue that as the century progressed it became increasingly more difficult to be defined as a free person of color. This was illustrated in a 1756 Act

> "'to ascertain who shall not be deemed Mulattoes,' which, though containing some conciliatory phrases, was in fact designed to limit upward mobility and reinforce white dominance, both by reasserting that only whites could be fully free and by implying that only a strict biological description (rather than economic status or customary acceptance) could define a white. The preamble to the act claimed that it was passed because 'many good subjects were deprived of doing themselves justice by being deemed Mulattoes,' going on to enact that 'all Persons who are above Three Degrees removed in a lineal descent from the Negro Ancestor exclusive shall be deemed white, and shall have all the Privileges and Immunities of His Majesty's White Subjects of these Islands, Provided they are Free, and brought up in the Christian Religion.'" (1992:151-152).

Such stronger means of social control are interpreted as attempts to minimize the blending of racial categories. Two wills written in the 1740s show the extent to which racial and social boundaries were blurred. In 1743 John Stead died and left his material goods to three female relatives. At least two of these women were married to free men of color. Another example was Benjamin Sims, a mariner, who died about a

year after Stead. Sims' estate was worth considerably more than Stead's. He willed that his nine slaves be manumitted on his death. Craton and Saunders suggest that these could have been Sims' common-law wife, their adult children, and a grandchild. Executors for Sims' estate were substantial planters and slave owners; one of whom had served as acting governor for the colony (Craton and Saunders 1992:149-150).

The cases of Stead and Sims demonstrate the level of social interconnectedness free people of color could attain in the 18th century Bahamas. Craton and Saunders cited these examples to illustrate general improvements in the material condition of Bahamians from the 1720s, with the expulsion of pirates, to the more comfortable estate listings of the 1740s. The 1750s legislation more clearly delineated who could be considered white. These examples are consistent with the hypothesis that increased material wealth was correlated to increased social control and racial distance between whites and all others.

The 1756 legislation also made social mobility more difficult for free blacks in the colony. With the arrival of Loyalist migrants and the expectation for an even more vibrant economy these racially-based social distinctions were scrutinized even more thoroughly. Not surprisingly, free blacks were thus the social group most adversely impacted by the arrival of Loyalist settlers. Census figures and documentation of land ownership suggest that some free blacks moved out of Nassau and resettled in Out Island communities, particularly in Eleuthera and Long Island, after Loyalist settlers came in the 1780s because they became a focus for Loyalist harassment (1788 map; *The Bahama Gazette* ads, 1786-1800).

According to the record of property ownership on the 1788 map of Nassau, the town as a whole was not racially segregated although the highest concentration of non-white property owners was on the western edge of the town. By the 1780s this area, which later became known as Delancy Town, was already predominantly inhabited by socially mobile free people of color (Department of Archives 1982:1). Less well-to-do blacks established communities south of the ridge that was Nassau's southern border. These communities were most controversial during the early Loyalist settlement phase.

Since the basis of property for Loyalist settlers was control of slave labor they were distrustful of any community of free blacks, believing, that such communities provided hiding places for runaway slaves. One of the complaints William Wylly outlined in his pamphlet was the tension between Loyalist settlers and the colonial administration in determining the status of some free blacks. Wylly wrote that throughout the Bahamas there was a small group of "*people* of Colour, either free, or pretending to be so. They are mostly however runaways from the American States." (1789:8).

Even the establishment of the Negro Court was insufficient to discourage the new settlers from challenging the rights of free blacks to their freedom. In a confidential dispatch to the Colonial Office, Governor Dunmore reported the prosecution of a group of Loyalist settlers who had been forcibly entering homes in free black communities in search of alleged runaways. Those blacks who were unable to provide credible proof of their freedom, either through some document or by the evidence of a white witness, were being re-enslaved (CO23/28).

30

In this type of environment it is not surprising that some free blacks chose to leave the urban uncertainty in Nassau and move to the Out Islands, particularly Eleuthera where Loyalist settlers did not move. Many of the new settlers preferred to live in town so they bought whatever property became available. Given the stagnant nature of the colony's economy up to that point, the infusion of cash would have been undeniably attractive to most property owners. Money from the sale of property would have facilitated relocation to another community. There is no map later than the 1788 one with as much information on property ownership, yet it is still apparent that by the early 19th century there were much fewer Nassau property owners who were free people of color. Those who remained owned property only on the edges of town but certainly did not own property along Bay Street, the town's main fare-way that represented the core of economic power in the colony.

Despite the enthusiasm for large-scale cotton production, by 1800 it was evident that plantation agriculture would not become the dominant economic sector in the Bahamas. The heyday for cotton production in the Bahamas was the 1780s and 1790s. Responses to a government questionnaire issued, in 1800, to prominent planters indicated the major factors they felt contributed most to the decline in production from their plantations. Factors cited included clearing more land than could be effectively cultivated; not leaving some larger trees to act as wind-breaks; infestations by pests as the chenille bug; devastating effects of droughts as well as cold weather. The overall effect of these factors was to limit soil fertility. Another detail revealed from these responses is that a number of Loyalist planters had already left the colony and many more were planning to leave (CO23/39).

31

This brief but intense period of American Loyalists' adjustment to the Bahamas served to illustrate the interactions among all the social groups that made up Bahamian colonial society. Apart from the Loyalist migrants these groups included the earlier population of white settlers, the Governor, the military, free blacks, and slaves. Interaction among these groups reflected the peculiarities of the social order that was developed in the Bahamas as a small, marginal colony.

With less material wealth and education, on average, than most Loyalist migrants moving into the colony the 'old' settlers found themselves relegated to the less powerful position of lower status whites. Documentary records only hint at the social tensions between the 'old' and 'new' white settlers. Other possible evidence of this social tension could be interpreted from their pattern of social behavior. Religious affiliation could be seen as such an indicator.

The arrival of Loyalist immigrants necessitated the creation of two new parishes of the Anglican Church, one of the two state-supported denominations of the United Kingdom; the other being the Presbyterian Church. St Matthew's Parish covered the eastern end of Nassau and the eastern end of New Providence Island. St Patrick's Parish covered the island of Eleuthera but was centered in Governor's Harbour. To accommodate those Loyalists of Scottish heritage, St Andrew's Presbyterian Kirk was centered in the town of Nassau.

The Baptist and Methodist denominations, which functioned independent of government support, were also introduced into the colony during this period. In both cases the first missionaries to the Bahamas were free people of color who had also

migrated from the former American colonies. A major difference in the administration of both groups was that the Methodist Missionary Society had included the Bahamas on its circuit since the late nineteenth century. Having white missionaries expanded the options for attracting whites as converts. The majority of white converts to Methodism were in Eleuthera and its cays; essentially 'old' settler communities. Given the social tension between 'old' and 'new' white settlers divisions between, Anglicans and Methodists, were likely not coincidental.

The Governor represented the apex of the political and social ladder. His power was not economic but based on his appointment as a Royal Governor. As such, the Governor's power base was dependent on the Colonial Home Government and was relatively independent of the power elites in the colonies. The last Royal Governor of Virginia, John Murray, Earl of Dunmore, was reassigned as Governor of the Bahamas. Though he moved to the Bahamas as part of the Loyalist migration he did not represent their private interests. Immediately on arrival in 1787 he ran afoul of Loyalist planters by issuing a proclamation granting greater legal protection for the status of free blacks. In his confidential dispatch to the Colonial Secretary, Governor Dunmore expressed concern that the

Disgruntled Loyalist property owners would have to lobby in London to have him recalled. This was one of the motives behind the 1789 publication of William Wylly's pamphlet entitled, *A Short Account of the Bahama Islands, their climate, productions, &c.* Their lobbying efforts finally resulted in Governor Dunmore being recalled in 1797 (Williams 1999:18). This was not only an issue for Lord Dunmore. The most sensitive issue for colonial governors was to reconcile the divergent interests

of local elites and those of the Colonial Home Government. Most often these conflicts involved the welfare of enslaved workers or the status of free blacks.

The military accounted for a separate social group. Like the governor, military personnel were assigned their duties from headquarters, the Colonial War Office, in London. Their duties were not dictated by the requests of colonists but instead were an interpretation of what officials in London presumed to be in the best interests of specific colonies. British military forces were heavily engaged, in the West Indies especially, during the last quarter of the 18th century. Americans invaded the Bahamas twice during the war between Britain and its American colonies in the 1770s. Then in 1782 the Spanish captured Nassau and held it for a year. The Haitian revolution and the ensuing Napoleonic wars in the 1790s prolonged the state of military readiness in the Bahamas.

Fortifications for protecting the colony, especially the administrative center in Nassau, were expanded and upgraded in the 1780s and 1790s. Manning these forts became a critical issue after the 32nd, followed by the 47th, regiment suffered devastating losses from a yellow fever epidemic (Morgan 1999:26-27). Given the context of a constant fear of attack it was imperative that the colony's fortifications be manned effectively. The decision to staff New Providence's fortifications with black troops was motivated by the poor health record of European troops in the West Indies. The West India Regiments was a permanent corps of black troops, commanded by white officers, that was first authorized by the British War Office in 1795 (Buckley 1979:20-21).

Free Blacks in the Bahamas

The first detachments of the Fifth and Sixth West India Regiments arrived in

Nassau May 4th 1801 from Honduras. This was not well received by the white elite.

As Robert Hunt, the Acting Governor, reported to the Duke of Portland,

> "Immediately on the arrival of these Detachments a petition
> was presented to me by the Speaker of the House of Assembly and
> other principal inhabitants of Nassau, this being signed by the people
> at large, with scarcely any exception, ...
> It is not easy, to conceive a more general panic, than the
> appearance of these Detachments excited the agitation of the public
> mind could not have been greater had Touissaint himself have come
> with all his force. I have done every thing in my power to allay the
> ferment, which I am happy to inform Your Grace has within the last
> two days considerably subsided, ...
> It is however, I humbly conceive, incumbent on me to state to
> Your Grace, that the great Numbers of French Negroes and others
> from different Countries of the very, worst description, who have
> within these few years found means to introduce themselves into the
> Colony, afford sufficient ground for apprehinsion (sic) and if they
> should by any artful practices, and they are not deficient in cunning,
> ingratiate themselves with the Black Troops, the situation of these
> Islands would be truly alarming." (CO23/39:132-133).

Clearly these black troops gave rise to perennial fears of the spread of slave

rebellion. The reference to 'the great Numbers of French Negroes and others ... of the

very worst description' also reflects the ambiguous world that free blacks inhabited.

They were most vulnerable in the unsettled and shifting circumstances created by the

wars of the late 18th and early 19th centuries. The experience of one free black

woman illustrated the liminal world free people of color occupied. In her legal battle

to reclaim her free status she recounted a story that one can assume happened all too

often in this turbulent time. Their ship ran aground in the Bahamas and they were

rescued by Bahamian wreckers who separated the whites and blacks. While the

whites were able to continue on their journey, the blacks were taken to the wrecking boat captain's property on Abaco Island, in the northern Bahamas. On several occasions they were moved. She was finally able to get a letter from her former mistress in New Orleans verifying that she was indeed free (Vice Admiralty Court Minutes 1809).

This case is noteworthy not only because it draws attention to the movement of migrants moving through the Bahamas from the former French colony of Sainte Domingue. In addition, this story provides insight on some illegal wrecking practices. It was not coincidental that the wreckers separated the blacks rescued from the whites. They had secreted these people away, assuming them to all be slaves. It is possible they were waiting for an opportunity to sell them; probably in Cuba. Ads printed in the local newspaper documented the fact that wreckers sometimes illegally acquired wreck goods; these goods were not processed through the Vice Admiralty Court to rule on the division of proceeds from the sale of wrecked goods (*The Bahama Gazette 1784-1819*).

Enslaved workers were lowest in any status ranking and subject to the strongest mechanisms of control administered through legislation, or social practice. Nevertheless, as individuals, or as a group, enslaved persons constantly tested these limits. In the Bahamas the failure of the plantation economy provided such an opportunity. With the sharp decline in cotton production many Loyalist planters either left the colony or moved to Nassau but left a community of enslaved laborers to maintain the property.

Historian, Howard Johnson argued that the Bahamas developed a 'protopeasantry' earlier than elsewhere in the Americas. He noted that, "in the Bahamas protopeasants emerged on decayed plantations where a primarily absentee proprietorship struggled to maintain agricultural production above subsistence levels." (1996:47). Sidney Mintz coined the term 'proto-peasantry' which he defined as, "the subsequent adaptation to a peasant style of life ... worked out by people when they were still enslaved." (2007:151).

The case of Lord John Rolle's 350 slaves on Exuma serves as an apt illustration of this Bahamian protopeasantry. Between 1828 and 1830 the Rolle slaves successfully protested their relocation to another Caribbean island, or even to another Bahamian island. With the decline in cotton production the Rolle slaves lived on their own and were expected to be self-sufficient. Only some of them lived under the direct supervision of a White overseer. Their work time was divided between labor for Lord Rolle and providing for themselves (Craton and Saunders 1992:381). As Governor Grant stated in his letter to the Colonial Secretary, "After such a state of things it is not to be wondered at that they should startle at a proposal abruptly made to them by strangers." (as quoted in Craton and Saunders 1992:382).

Circumstances as the failure of plantation agriculture, the special requirements for military protection, and the growing abolition movement in Britain all served to mitigate the new social order American Loyalist immigrants were able to create in the Bahamas. Colonial directives from London were never developed solely with the interests of the local elite in mind. With the abolition of the slave trade in 1807 the

British Parliament legislated that slave ships seized by the Royal Navy had to be adjudicated by the nearest British Vice Admiralty Court.

If the court ruled the ship in violation of the abolition Act the vessel, as well as its human cargo, were forfeited to the Crown as 'Prize of War.' The forfeiture of persons to the Crown superseded any prior or future claim of ownership on these people. Though the Act stipulated that liberated Africans could not "'be sold, disposed of, treated or dealt with as Slaves' by the Crown or its subjects," the law also allowed a colonial official, authorized by the Crown, to enlist African recaptives in the military or to assign them as apprentices to private citizens for up to 14 years (Adderley 2006:25).

Since most illegal slaving ships were intercepted near the West African coast the majority of these African recaptives, or liberated Africans, were resettled in Sierra Leone. Many others were resettled in the British Caribbean between 1807 and 1834. During this period the Bahamas received most of these "new Negroes from Africa." (Adderley 2006:2). The location of the archipelago on shipping lanes near the thriving slave markets of Cuba and the southern United States meant the Bahamas was close to the heaviest slaving traffic in the western Caribbean. Between 1807 and 1860 over 6,000 liberated Africans were resettled in the Bahamas. Almost one third of these had arrived by 1834 (Adderley 2006:241-242). From 1834 onward the larger British Caribbean territories of Jamaica, Trinidad, and Guiana received thousands of African recaptives as indentured workers, and also recruits from India, China, and Madeira, to replenish a plantation labor force decimated after emancipation (Adderley 2006:7-8).

Liberated Africans were also the main source of recruits for the West India Regiments. To protect their status on being discharged, the 1807 Mutiny Act declared that "all Negroes ... Serving in His Majesty's Forces, shall be, and be deemed and taken to be free, to all Intents and for all purposes whatever..." (Buckley, 1979:78-79). The inclusion of a free, African population had major implications for Bahamian society.

The first significant group of liberated Africans to be resettled in the Bahamas arrived in 1811 when more than 400 men, women, and children were brought to the Bahamas. They were parceled out to individual planters and merchants who were supposed to ensure that they were trained in some trade. William Wylly, a prominent Loyalist planter, was assigned four liberated African men in 1811. They lived, and worked, on his largest plantation, Clifton, at the western end of New Providence (Wilkie and Farnsworth 2005:60-61). Archaeological investigations suggest that at least one of these men was a private in the VI West India Regiment (Wilkie and Farnsworth 2005:292). Timothy Cox, a free colored ship carpenter, was also assigned a liberated African apprentice (Johnson 1996:27, 31).

Planters presented two petitions complaining about the addition of more free Blacks into the colony's population. In the second petition the complainants did admit to the potential economic benefit of these new immigrants to the colony's labor force (Adderley 2006:32-35). This additional group of settlers made a distinctive contribution to the character of Bahamian society. The inclusion of liberated Africans, and other free black immigrants, worked well at demonstrating the interplay between official colonial policies and local social custom.

By 1825 some of these Africans had completed their apprenticeships. To provide for their continued welfare, the Collector of Customs bought 400 acres in the southwestern interior of New Providence to be apportioned equally to each African resident. The village, initially called Headquarters, was later named Carmichael after the pro-abolition Governor James Carmichael Smyth (Department of Archives 1982:22). The residents grew fruits and vegetables which they sold at the public market in Nassau. Since this settlement was some ten miles away from Nassau many residents chose to relocate closer to town (Williams 1991 [1979]:7).

They chose to settle in the region 'Over the Hill.' There is evidence that free blacks had settled this area since the 18th century. The only road that traversed the island, Baillou (or Blue) Hill Road, was put through here in 1795. This road provided easier access from the island's interior into town and the public market where vendors sold fruits and vegetables. With this influx of new residents into the 'Over-the-Hill' area (the common name for the neighborhood even today) the Surveyor-General officially laid out a settlement, Grant's Town, which was named for the governor at the time (Department of Archives 1982:28).

Liberated Africans understood that their status allowed them to be totally free on completing their apprenticeship. Their legal status as liberated Africans therefore allowed them a ranking higher than enslaved persons. Though the British colonial administration advocated policies to protect African recaptives there was still a general belief that they were culturally, and, by extension, intellectually inferior. This attitude was most apparent in a comment by Alexander Murray, a former Collector of Customs in the Bahamas, that "[S]ome hundreds of savages from Africa have been turned loose

40

amongst them – unshackled from the restraints which the Laws imposed on the slaves." (Adderley 2006: introductory page). The placement of liberated African settlements at some distance from Nassau also suggests the preference for keeping this group of free blacks at some distance from respectable social life. None of these villages were closer than ten miles from Nassau. Since the residents would have had to walk to town, usually along trails, this meant a roundtrip of at least half a day.

Despite such hindrances liberated Africans made an indelible impact on Bahamian society. In New Providence, documentary evidence suggests that liberated Africans preferred to live in ethnic neighborhoods in all of their settlements (Adderley 2006:118-125; Eneas 1988 [1976]:28-29, 35-36). Theoretically these Africans did not have to relinquish their cultural identity to the extent that enslaved Africans had to do. Evidence of them relinquishing their inherited African cultural traditions in exchange for European-style cultural behavior is indicative of deliberate social choice. One element of this research is to investigate what factors contributed to when and why African-descended people made these cultural decisions.

A few individuals were even able to transcend the stated prejudices of the white elite and be socially accepted as a 'white' person. This was the case of Monday Ranger who is presumed to have come to the Bahamas as a liberated African. His granite headstone marks his grave site in the south west quadrant of Nassau's Western Cemetery. The inscription on Mr. Ranger's headstone noted that he was born in Lagos, Nigeria in 1815. What makes this burial noteworthy is that this cemetery was reserved for whites. The associated cemetery intended for people of color is located several hundred meters south in a section commonly known as 'Bethlehem.'

41

Another case concerning a free black French immigrant family also serves to illustrate this process of social whitening. Hester Argo and her young son, Stephen Dillet, relocated to the Bahamas from '*Hayti*' around 1803 (Thompson 2002:129). By the 1820s he was married and having children. The record of the first child's baptism lists the father as a black tailor, yet the records for all the couple's younger children lists a colored father (Christ Church Births and Baptisms Register, 1805-1828). Evidently by the time these children were born their father's social connections had improved considerably. In social terms this designated change indicated an improvement in Dillet's social status from the lowest-ranked status as a black and implying only African ancestry to being recognized as colored which acknowledged some European biological or social affiliation.

Stephen Dillet was among 11 free blacks who formed the "Committee of Free Persons of Colour in New Providence Island (CFPC)." The aim of the CFPC was to lobby for the repeal of discriminatory legislation passed by the Loyalist-dominated Assembly in the 1790s and early 1800s. Discriminatory legislation included the 1802 Act to Suspend An Act to Ascertain Who Shall Not Be Deemed Mulattoes (Johnson 2001:35; McWeeney 2002:21). This revised Act nullified the provisions of the 1756 Act which stipulated who could qualify to be a white person. The objective of this legislation was to restrict the social mobility of non-whites.

In spite of the rhetoric of this Act, the examples cited demonstrate that the social reality remained more like the less stringently racialized social order that characterized Bahamian society before the Loyalists arrived. Nevertheless free coloreds would have been most adversely affected of any group by the new social

42

thinking that American Loyalists introduced. The efforts of the pro-abolition lobby in Britain aimed to promote the welfare of enslaved laborers but free people of color had no such lobby.

The Bahamian parliament passed the Amelioration Acts between 1823 and1833 because of pressure from the British Home Government. These Acts not only reaffirmed the provisions of the 1797 Act which stipulated basic provisions of food, and clothing for enslaved workers. The 1824 Act went further in protecting all slaves against physical abuse, permitting slaves to enjoy certain holidays, and also legalized slave marriages and prohibited the separation of slave families. The 1826 law legalized slave ownership of property and allowed slaves to give evidence in civil and criminal cases but with some restrictions. Slave evidence was inadmissible in cases involving another slave's claim to freedom, and they could not give evidence against a White person in death penalty cases. To give evidence, only creole, Christian slaves who had been in the Bahamas at least five years were eligible (Johnson 1996:25-26).

Legislation affecting free people of color was not as progressive. Governor Carmichael Smyth disallowed the 1827 Jury Act because it denied free people of color the right to serve as jurors. A revised Jury Bill in 1833 set juror qualifications so high that few people of color could qualify (Williams 1999:22-23). Such legislation probably was the catalyst for the formation of the CFPC. Their efforts paid off with the right to vote for free people of color. The 1834 elections returned the first free coloreds elected to the Assembly. The three elected were Stephen Dillet and John

Patrick Dean for New Providence, along with Edward P. Laroda for Exuma (Johnson 2001:35).

By the time the Emancipation Act became effective on August 1st 1834, there were several groups of Blacks who had been allowed to settle in the Bahamas as free people. One such group was the Black Seminoles who, in the 1820s, had established settlements on Andros Island's west coast, as well as one in the tiny Berry Islands. Seminole chief, Kenadgie, in 1819, and in 1821, Chief Hoopay, had visited the Governor of the Bahamas to request Britain's help against the Americans since the Seminoles had previously helped the British against the Americans in the War of 1812 (Wood, no date:4-7; Howard 2002:30-31). On both occasions the governors were cordial but offered no substantial help.

The story resumes in 1828 when the Collector of Customs reported the "*Seizure of 97 foreign negroes at Andros.*" Originally the Collector of Customs presumed these were slaves illegally brought in from Florida and smugglers were waiting for an opportune time to take into Cuba to be sold. According to persons in the group, they had either escaped enslavement on their own, or had been captured by British ships patrolling the American coast during the war. Most still had their discharge papers to verify they fought with the British in the campaign against New Orleans. Those who chose to remain in Florida felt so pressured by American authorities that in 1821 "they applied to and persuaded the owners of some Bahama fishing vessels … to take them on board and to carry them to any island in the British Crown." (Wood n.d.:12; Howard 2002:31-32).

Their settlement at Red Bays is the only one on the west coast of Andros. This island was not only sparsely populated but is also the largest island in the archipelago. Whoever helped them get to Andros estimated that they would remain undetected and unmolested for some time. The fact that they were only discovered some eight years later discounted the claim that this was a smuggling settlement intended to illegally import these people as slaves into Cuba. Their British discharge papers reinforced their claims of being free people.

Governor Carmichael Smyth's only recommendation was to request a Stipendiary Clergyman who could visit those islands where there was no church. The presumption was that the Church of England would have a moderating and civilizing influence on the community. In any event the residents of Red Bays were grateful enough to Governor Carmichael Smyth that they were among the free people of color who submitted petitions expressing regret over his removal as governor in 1832 (Wood n.d.:13).

Apart from these Black Seminole settlers there was yet another category of free Blacks from America who were settled in the Bahamas. In 1825 Britain's Colonial Office ruled that slaves brought to the Bahamas from outside the British West Indies were to be manumitted. Over the next 40 years more than 350 enslaved Americans were freed in the Bahamas under this ruling (Marotti 2004:5). Most of these had been shipwrecked in Bahamian waters. Apparently news of these incidents got back to communities of enslaved laborers in America. In at least one case there is evidence that such knowledge informed their actions in a bid to gain their freedom. Ships sailing south along the US' east coast routinely passed through channels in the

45

northern Bahamas in order to get around the prevailing north-flowing currents in the Gulf of Florida.

The *Creole* sailed from Hampton Roads, Virginia in October 1841 en route to New Orleans. Part of the 'cargo' were 135 enslaved persons who were to be sold. They were likely aware that in the previous year another Hampton Roads vessel, *Hermosa*, had run aground in the Abacos. Bahamian wreckers had rescued everyone on board and taken them to Nassau where the enslaved workers were freed (Eden 2000:14).

Once *Creole* was in Bahamian waters near Abaco a group of 19 slaves overpowered the crew and took charge of the ship. During the takeover an agent was killed, and the captain and a crewman were injured. According to American documents, based on the testimony of the crew in the ensuing inquiry, these men asked to be taken to Liberia. However, given their probable knowledge that American slaves could be freed by British officials in Nassau, it is more likely they demanded to be taken to Nassau.

In Nassau the information network of recently emancipated Blacks constantly thwarted plans by the White crew and the American Consul to sneak the ship away with the slaves on board. While the 19 involved in the takeover were held in prison, the remaining slaves were allowed to go free; three mulatto women chose to return to the US with their two children (Eden 2000:16). Meanwhile the Governor sought legal advice from London on whether the 19 could be charged with piracy and murder; also on the American Consul's charge that the other slaves were illegally allowed to go

free. The Law Officers for the Crown ruled that the intent of the 19 slaves was not

piracy but to gain their freedom. They also concluded that these men could not be

charged for murder in a British court because the incident occurred on a foreign vessel

and did not involve any British subjects (Secretary of State Correspondence, 1842).

By the time these decisions were received in Nassau one of the 19 participants had

died of his injuries so only 18 received that coveted freedom.

The preceding cases detail some of the complexities of the small, but

extremely varied free black population in the Bahamas immediately before, and

shortly after full emancipation. The Bahamas did not experience the unrest that came

with emancipation in some West Indian colonies. A major factor was that Bahamian

apprentices generally had access to land. While many former slaves became squatters

on unused Crown lands, on some Out Islands they became tenant farmers in a crop

sharing system (Saunders 1993:63). However after full emancipation in 1838 there

was an even greater shift as former slaves were now able to freely relocate wherever

they chose.

When emancipation came

There is evidence that there was extensive internal migration in the Bahamas in

the 1840s. Andros had a major population influx. A likely motivation was not simply

access to available land but the opportunity to participate in one of the colony's fastest

growing industries – sponging. The most extensive sponge beds within the

archipelago were among the shallows off Andros' west coast. In the same way that

former slaves created a peasant class in islands such as Jamaica, the Bahamas developed a large seafaring work force. During the period of slavery the Bahamas had the highest percentage of enslaved mariners in the British West Indies (Higman 1984:48). On the eve of emancipation skilled mariners were being bought, or otherwise traded, apparently in efforts by Bahamian slave owners to establish labor contracts that would extend well beyond the interim apprenticeship period (Turner 2007:6).

Though Bahamians of African descent were able to build new lives for themselves as free people after emancipation, the critical issues at this time concerned the quality of their new lives. After emancipation the Anglican Church set up chapels on New Providence in Grant's Town and Delancy Town. The Church also supported schools for these communities. Anglican churches and schools had also been built in the liberated African settlements at Gambier, Adelaide, and Carmichael. Methodist and Baptist missionaries were more active in Out Island communities. The British colonial administration expected religious services and teaching to act as socially moderating forces on communicants. The schools provided a basic elementary education. Education beyond this level was not as readily available to most Bahamians, black or white.

Many formerly enslaved Bahamians became landowners by either purchasing, leasing, renting, or simply squatting on available land. They understood the significance of landownership as a basic economic resource; but landownership could have other benefits as well. Only men who owned a certain amount of property could vote in parliamentary elections. Control of, and access to real property assets could

48

confer social and economic power on the individual but that power would be moderated by the assessed value of that property. The majority of Bahamian property owners faced several issues which nullified their power as property owners. Some did not own sufficient property to qualify to vote, while others were controlled economically by landowners to whom they were indebted.

The Civil Disabilities Act of 1833 gave free blacks the same legal privileges as whites; but African-born individuals were not included (Johnson 2006:112). During the post-emancipation British Empire there was no longer the level of Colonial protection and oversight for former slaves. The protective vigilance of Abolition lobbyists ended with the implementation of full emancipation in 1838. This left the masses of former slaves at the mercy of local white elites. British colonial officials were generally of the opinion that religious instruction and basic education provided adequate social protection for the African-descended masses. This was considered sufficient as similar principles operated within the social hierarchy of contemporary Britain (Price 1999:296-302).

In the post-emancipation economy the truck and credit system soon became prevalent. Workers were not paid in cash but in kind. This was the payment method in most industries and ensured the Nassau merchants' control of labor (Saunders 1993:65). L.D. Powles, a Stipendiary Magistrate in the Bahamas in the 1880s, described the truck system in detail.

> The principal industries of the colony are the sponge and turtle
> fisheries, and the cultivation of pineapples. Through the truck
> system the benefit derived from these sources by the working

"
man is not only reduced to a minimum, but he is virtually kept
in bondage to his employer. The sponger and turtler are the
greatest sufferers, because they are kept under seaman's articles
all the time. ... He applies to the owner of a craft engaged in the
sponge or turtle fisheries, generally in the two combined, to go on
a fishing voyage. He is not to be paid by wages, but to receive a
share of the profits of the take, thus being theoretically in
partnership with his owner. At once comes into play the infernal
machine, which grinds him down and keeps him a slave for years
and years – often for life. His employer invariably keeps, or is in
private partnership with some one else who keeps, a store, which
exists principally for the purposes of robbing the employé" (Powles
1996 [1888]:44).

Powles was appointed Stipendiary Magistrate of the Bahamas, in July 1886, at

the Governor's insistence. The post replaced Resident Justices, all of whom Governor

Blake considered to be incompetent and inefficient. It was a relatively well-paid

position and locals resented that it was given to an Englishman. As Stipendiary

Magistrate Powles was expected to make quarterly visits to every island and also serve

in Nassau.

Powles admitted he came to the Bahamas with a low opinion of blacks but

soon noticed the unequal administration of justice for blacks and whites. Less than a

year after his appointment Governor Blake advised Powles to take three months' leave

on half pay after which he was to resign. Powles had so angered Nassau's white

elites; the last straw was in convicting one of them for striking a black housemaid

(Powles 1996:55-57; Themistocleous 1997:19-20). On his return to London he

published his observations of his time in the Bahamas. With his very negative

portrayal of life in the Bahamas the book was banned from the Bahamas when it was

first published (Williams 1999:48). Nevertheless, this remains the most comprehensive contemporary accounting of Bahamian life in the late 19th century.

Until the late 19th century, after the abolition of slavery in the U.S. and Cuba, black Bahamians had few options apart from the truck system. While white Bahamians could, and many chose to, migrate especially to Florida, free blacks were not welcome (Whidden 1997:32; Johnson 2006:126-127). By the 1850s the British government warned black Bahamians against traveling to either the U.S. or Cuba as a number of Bahamians had been kidnapped and sold into slavery (Johnson 2006:60-65; Tinker 2011:34; Williams 1999:29). Once emancipation in these countries eliminated these restrictions Bahamians of any color could take advantage of wage-earning opportunities around the region.

In search of work outside the Bahamas

Beginning in the 1880s Bahamian laborers from islands along shipping channels in the southern Bahamas were contracted to work aboard ships sailing to Cuba, Haiti, and Panama. In the 1890s several hundred people immigrated to the United States from Abaco, Harbour Island, and Bimini. This spate of emigration to the U.S., Florida in particular, continued into the 20th century. Bahamians were employed in draining the Everglades in southern Florida and in agricultural labor throughout the U.S.; particularly during the two world wars (Department of Archives 1986:17-19; 1987:35).

Emigration was not the only tale of Bahamian labor in the late 19th century. The arrival of Greek immigrants in the 1880s to participate in the sponge industry helped displace small sponge boat owners; most of these belonged to the colored middle class. Both whites and blacks initially saw the Greeks as unwanted competitors. A group of black and white sponge boat owners petitioned the Governor protesting the arrival of this new group. Some did leave but those who stayed were soon accepted into the white elite merchant class because they realized the value of the Greeks' international marketing networks. This alliance between white Nassau merchants and these Greek immigrants effectively eliminated any small Bahamian sponge dealers. By the 20th century the Bahamas was one of the world's largest producers of sea sponges (Department of Archives 1974:21).

From an early phase of British settlement in the West Indies the economic basis of its colonies depended on the exploitation of unfree labor. As a marginal British colony the Bahamas did not have a highly profitable economy until well into the 20th century. This casual economic environment, in turn, fostered a more relaxed social order that maintained a fairly fluid distinction between European and non-European inhabitants. The advent of a plantation economy brought with it a change in attitude about who should have access to social, legal, and political privileges.

However the demands of the local white elite were moderated by a number of other factors. Their interests were often at odds with the aims of British colonial policies, as well as special interest lobbies such as Christian missionaries and Abolitionists. The end result was a compromise between the competing interests of local elites and the Colonial Home government. This atmosphere was often quite

supportive of all free blacks; creole and African-born. Nineteenth century British social and economic class distinctions provided the most important means of categorizing people in Britain. In the United States, in contrast, race was used as the primary marker to categorize people of African descent. Britain did not have to confront such issues of race until the mid-20th century when people from the colonies began migrating to the 'Motherland' in search of greater opportunities in the wake of World War II. As Jamaican comedian, Louise Bennett phrased it, "We were colonizin' England in reverse."

The post-emancipation period was actually more problematic for formerly enslaved Bahamians since all of the protective legislation and colonial oversight promoted by the Abolitionist movement ended with full emancipation in 1838. In the mid-19th century while migration was an easy option for white Bahamians it was not a viable option for blacks until the late 19th century. Lack of economic options at home made most black Bahamians even more vulnerable to abuse than they had been during enslavement. For the masses of black Bahamians the strategy of transitory migration served as the major release from the limited and predatory opportunities available within the colony from the late 19th century until the mid-20th century when a wider range of opportunities became available as new economic sectors were developed.

Chapter 2

18th and 19th century African-influenced cemetery spaces

> *For what will it profit a person if he/she gains the whole world*
> *and forfeits his/her soul?*
> *Or what will a person give in exchange for his/her soul?*
> Matthew 16:26.   Adapted from the New American Standard Bible, 1997.

Conceptualizing questions about the Negro

W. E. B. Du Bois, in the introductory paragraph to his noted work, *The Souls*

of Black Folk, stated that "the problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the

color line." (1989 [1903]:1). As reflected in the book's title, he aimed to produce an

exposé on what it meant to be black in America. He explains it as being like "two

worlds within and without the Veil" (1989[1903]:1). Du Bois' assessment continues

to serve as a revelation for understanding what has been the experience of Africans,

and their descendants, in creating new lives in the racialized societies of the Americas.

Du Bois' metaphor of the veil portrays people of African descent as actively

moving between two culturally distinct spheres. I used this metaphor because it

implies that African-descended people made conscious cultural decisions about the

ways in which they structured their lives. To relate the metaphor specifically to this

research, I interpret the world "within" the Veil to be an African-derived cultural

perspective; while the world "without the Veil" would then be a European-derived

worldview evident in control of the wider society. For such an interpretation, it could

be surmised that African-descended people had three basic options: 1). To maintain a

predominantly African-derived lifestyle with limited, or no contact with a broader social order. 2). To move constantly between these two very different 'worlds.' 3). Decide to function solely within the 'world' of the dominant social order. I consider these to be dynamic aspects of how the creolization process operates for people within the African Atlantic Diaspora, with creolization understood in its broadest sense of mixing, or through what the Jamaican historian Kamau Brathwaite termed "negative creolization," refusal to adopt European-oriented materials and practices in those areas of life they considered most important (Brathwaite, 1977:54-55). The Bible verse quoted at the opening of this chapter is intended to convey the gravity of any cultural decisions about whether to give up inherited cultural practices or to embrace new behavior and ideas. It is precisely this internal personal debate that is brought to the foreground with Du Bois' concept of dual consciousness.

I chose to use double consciousness as the theoretical perspective for this research because I felt it would allow a more nuanced interpretation of the kind of cultural change happening and possible explanations for why this could be so. Though cultural change happens over time among every cultural group, because of the circumstances under which Africans became immigrants in the Americas there has been a debate about the circumstances and processes by which Africans in the Americas were making cultural transformations. In the historically racialized societies of the Americas cultural transformations had major implications on one's racial and broader social identity. As debate on these issues became an academic exercise scholars of African descent, beginning with Frederick Douglass (Foner, 1950 [1858]), Anténor Firmin (2002 [1885]), and W. E. B. Du Bois (1903) have made the case for a

more balanced interpretation of the role of an African cultural heritage. Even though

ideas on race evolved considerably throughout the 20th century, people of African

descent still, too often, have a critical view of the interpretation of African cultural

heritage in the Americas in research fields such as archaeology. The critique is that

interpretations of change as seen through material culture can still have a presumption

that Africans in the Atlantic diaspora were using European, and not African, cultural

referents for change. For this research I found that Du Bois' concept of double

consciousness most succinctly appropriated the delicate balance for interpreting the

cultural placement of European materials within an African-derived cultural

framework.

Whatever choice was made the decision would impact the cultural identity of

an individual and likely be passed on to their immediate descendants. Melville

Herskovits quoted Carter Woodson on a perception of African cultural heritage that

was widespread among people of African descent; this attitude remained common

until the mid-20th century. In his review of *Life in a Haitian Valley*, 1937, by

Melville Herskovits, Woodson stated,

> Negroes themselves accept as a compliment the theory of a complete break
> with Africa, for above all things they do not care to be known as resembling
> in any way these "terrible Africans." On the other hand, the whites prate
> considerably about what they have preserved of the ancient cultures of the
> "Teutons" or "Anglo-Saxons," emphasizing especially the good and saying
> nothing about the undesirable practices. If you tell a white man that his
> institution of lynching is the result of the custom of raising the "hue and cry"
> among his tribal ancestors in Germany or that his custom of dealing
> unceremoniously with both foreigners and Negro citizens regardless of
> statutory prohibition is the vestigial harking back to the Teuton's practice of
> the "personality of the law," he becomes enraged. And so do Negroes when
> you inform them that their religious practices differ from those of their white
> neighbors chiefly to the extent that they have combined the European with

the African superstition. These differences, of course, render the Negroes undesirable to those otherwise religious-minded. The Jews boldly adhere to their old practices while the Negroes, who enjoy their old customs just as much, are ashamed of them because they are not popular among "Teutons." (1937:367)

The implication here is that for people of African descent who aspired to any kind of social mobility it was not in their interest to publicly exhibit any cultural behavior that could be deemed African. Those who did so were considered unsophisticated and uncivilized. British institutions such as the Anglican Church and the elementary school education sponsored by the Church were considered to be the cultural models by which African-descended people were to learn and appreciate the value of being a British subject. Du Bois' discussion of movement between the two sides of the veil suggests a level of deliberate cultural decision making that blacks engaged in to determine whether they lived predominantly on one side of the veil or chose to move constantly between these two very different cultural worlds. I contend that some material aspect of this process of change and continuity is evident archaeologically, and I make the case that an example of this kind of cultural transformation can be seen archaeologically at the site of St Matthew's Northern Burial Ground.

Du Bois invited Franz Boas to speak at Atlanta University's 1906 conference and Boas also accepted an invitation from the university's president to give the commencement address at this small, black university (Stocking, 1974; Lévy Zumwalt and Willis, 2008). It seems Du Bois felt that since Boas had successfully challenged the racist evolutionary thought that had characterized anthropological theories in the

19th century his support would benefit blacks in their struggle for equal civil rights. However, although Franz Boas had revolutionized the discipline of anthropology through his groundbreaking research, his status as the leading anthropologist in the U.S. had no impact on the societal treatment of African Americans. Boas encouraged his black audience by citing African cultural achievements of the past but he did not advocate any change in the contemporary social order. His speech did not go far enough to satisfy activist blacks but was still not sufficiently far-reaching to antagonize whites (Stocking, 1974; Lévy Zumwalt and Willis, 2008).

In the 1930s and 1940s a debate was generated on whether Africans in the Diaspora were able to maintain recognizable aspects of their African cultural heritage. Melville J. Herskovits was the first American anthropologist to argue, in print, for the continuation of recognizable elements of African cultural heritage in the Americas. Presenting the previously accepted view was African American sociologist, E. Franklin Frazier, who argued in, *The Negro Family in the United States*, (1939), that particularly in the U.S., there was no significant semblance of African cultural heritage. Herskovits' work, *The Myth of the Negro Past*, 1941, was published as part of a broad study funded by the Carnegie Corporation on "the Negro in the United States" (p. ix). The major difference in perspective between these thinkers was that Herskovits emphasized culture and cultural continuities in order to combat the widespread claim of the time that African Americans had no history prior to the dehumanization of enslavement. Like Boas, Herskovits hoped to challenge racism by providing alternate, African-centered, explanations for behavior that sociologists and other anthropologists of his time considered merely superstitious or pathological.

58

Frazier, on the other hand, worked from the foundational premise that African Americans were not only marginalized but lived under the continual, daily threat of racist actions. In his day, to accept Herskovits's argument for the existence of African retentions would only play into the hands of the dominant racist society and therefore negate the hard-won achievements of racial uplift in the battle for equal citizenship rights. This academic debate did not immediately generate further anthropological interest in research on the African Diaspora. As Lee Baker noted in *From Savage to Negro* (1998) anthropology, as an academic discipline in North America, has mirrored and supported the prevailing social perceptions of race; a fact which Frazier also recognized.

Meanwhile, another level of theoretical development came from scholars of African descent, influenced by revolutionary political ideas as communist or socialist class struggle, and political independence from colonialism. The central thesis of these publications was that African slavery in the Americas was crucial for enabling participating European countries to amass great wealth, and was a preliminary condition that allowed the development of capitalism. C.LR. James' seminal work, *The Black Jacobins*, originally published in 1938, was the first publication to present this perspective (1989). Another important publication dealing with aspects of "the Negro question" was Eric Williams' *Capitalism and Slavery*, originally published in 1944 while he was a professor at Howard University, and again in 1961 when he was about to become the first prime Minister of an independent Trinidad (Williams, 1961; McLemee, 1996). According to Williams this book, was "an economic study of the role of Negro slavery and the slave trade in providing capital which financed the

Industrial Revolution in England" (1961: vii). James' Marxist beliefs and Williams' anti-colonialist stance ensured that neither of these two publications immediately gained recognition among American scholars. However both were important for recognizing the value of an African impact on the Americas and Europe. These publications signal an important shift in the perception of Africans in the Diaspora not simply as helpless, cultureless enslaved individuals but instead were another category of migrant who relied on their earlier cultural heritage to adjust to their new lives.

Archaeology and the Atlantic African Diaspora

Research questions related to the African Diaspora were not evident in American archaeology until the late 1960s. Acknowledging the need to research the lives of such historically disadvantaged groups as African Americans grew out of the unfolding of the Civil Rights movement, along with the enactment of landmark legislation requiring the preservation of the nation's historic resources (Ferguson, 1992: xxxv-xxxix; Singleton, 1995: 120). Beginning with Charles Fairbanks' excavation of slave quarters at Kingsley Plantation in 1968, historical archaeologists focused on plantation sites in the U.S. along with some comparison with plantations in former British West Indian islands (Singleton, 1995: 120; Orser, 1998:65). The challenge for historical archaeologists in particular has been to devise interpretations that are not only based on assumptions grounded in a European perspective of the past but which also include the historical perspective of non-European people such as

60

Africans in the Atlantic Diaspora (Singleton and Bograd, 1995; Orser, 2001; Schmidt and Walz, 2007).

By the 1990s, with continued archaeological research on sites related to Africans in the Atlantic diaspora, archaeologists began to understand more about what an archaeology of the African Diaspora entailed. Primarily, it involved a broader range of research than simply plantation archaeology and a recognition that the history of the African diaspora was not isomorphic with the history of slavery (Singleton, 1995: 120). It was important for archaeologists to use an ethnohistorical approach to recognize and effectively interpret past cultural behavior of Africans in this diaspora (Jamieson, 1995: 39). Moreover, it was critical for archaeologists to collaborate with a direct, or general, descendant community in developing research questions and site interpretations (LaRoche & Blakey, 1997; Mack and Blakey, 2004).

This more nuanced perspective on the Atlantic African Diaspora was incorporated into the research design for New York City's African Burial Ground (Howard and JMA, 1993). The revised research design incorporated questions of interest to the general African-descended community of New York City. This perspective took on a broader Diasporic view which involved ethnohistorical research not only on the burial ground site but also included 17th and 18th century ethnohistorical research on areas of West and Central Africa where persons were captured to be sold as slaves. Research also extended to the Caribbean as well as to other North American colonial areas from where enslaved individuals were transferred to New York City (LaRoche & Blakey, 1997; Blakey, 2001; Medford, 2004; Perry and Howson, 2006; Perry et al, 2009).

New York's African Burial Ground served as a general model for this research

because it was a cemetery site serving a population of predominantly urban enslaved

individuals who had previously lived in other parts of the Americas and West and

Central Africa. The significance of New York City's African Burial Ground, in terms

of scholarship of the African Diaspora, was the potential to allow scholars to learn

more detail about the lives of enslaved individuals in the city. A research design

aimed at understanding who these individuals were and how they lived out their lives

was in response to an interest in this information expressed by the African American

descendant community (Blakey, 2001; Mack and Blakey, 2004). What further set this

research apart was the collaboration between scholars and the descendant community

in identifying a research questions (LaRoche & Blakey, 1997). Additionally, New

York's African Burial Ground, representing an urban enslaved community, was, at the

time of its rediscovery, the largest African Diasporic cemetery site in the Americas.

In investigating Nassau's Northern Burial Ground site I used New York's

African Burial Ground Project as a model for addressing research issues relevant for a

general descendant community. Though this site is small, not deeply buried (less than

20 cms), and had been extensively disturbed sometime after the cemetery was closed

in the early 20th century, it represents the worldview of an urban black Bahamian

population from the 18th to early 20th centuries. In the Bahamas, as in most societies,

care for burial places involves a conservative approach to cultural practices in order to

treat the dead with respect, so cemeteries are optimal sites for studying cultural

practices over time as well as the clues to individuals' lives that can be found through

bioarchaeological research on their remains. Since it is not a sealed archaeological

context any interpretation about the population and any associated cultural activity within the Northern Burial Ground have to be generalized. Destruction of the original site context also involved removal of human skeletal remains. Therefore my research design for this project does not focus primarily on skeletal analysis because it would not be possible to identify individual burials. Additionally, the excavated sample of human remains is very small and is really a sample of convenience rather than a sample representative of the historical community. In such a case the most that can be done is to pose questions that any skeletal pathologies might suggest about a broader population.

My primary focus in this research is an examination of a culturally-constructed cemetery landscape which I propose contains both African-influenced situating and layout as well as African-influenced selection and placement of artifacts. As I will show, these African influences diminished over time. Thus the cemetery offers a lens on changes in the African descendant population's orientation toward their African cultural heritage over time as well.

Conceptualizing this research from the perspective of Diasporic scholarship, my aim was to expand the research base for the Atlantic African Diaspora to encompass sites and research questions beyond those on which investigations of plantation enslavement have focused. There are far fewer archaeological investigations of urban African diaspora cemetery sites than plantation sites (Blakey, 2001). Cemetery sites are important as a reflection of the communities they served. Even though this site was disturbed the possibility remains to investigate aspects of the original cultural landscape archaeologically. In only a few cases have archaeologists

63

taken note of landscape features that may be considered as being drawn from an African cultural heritage (Blakey, 2001; Armstrong and Fleischman, 2003; Lenik, 2005; Perry and Howson, 2006; Perry et al, 2009). This site afforded an opportunity to examine such a cultural landscape. I define 'cultural landscape' as the accumulation of culturally meaningful features that a group has invested in a specific site over time. As noted by Angèle Smith, "Landscapes are made by the people that engage with them, and in making landscapes, the people themselves are made: their sense of place, belonging, and their social identity is constructed alongside the construction of the landscape." (Smith and Gazin-Schwartz, 2008:14. See also, Hood, 1996:121; Kelly and Norman, 2007:172).

I derive cultural and contemporary information for comparison with the Northern Burial Ground from the remains of another 18th century urban cemetery for non-whites located on the western edge (the other side) of Nassau; several 19th and 20th century cemeteries on the Bahamian islands of Crooked Island and San Salvador; and similar cases from elsewhere in the Caribbean and the United States. The African-oriented materials in these comparative locations, the burial practices associated with them; and certain landscape features which recur in many locations in the diaspora together provide a wider context for my argument. They contribute to the case for why landscape features in the Northern Burial Ground should be considered as influenced by cultural behavior from West and Central Africa. Additional support for this comes from the recognition that cemeteries and burial practices comprise one of the strongest domains of what Herskovits (1958) called "cultural focus;" that is, domains of such importance to practitioners that they carry forward traditions which

64

may have become less important in other domains. Documentation in the United

States by folklorists, art historians, and cultural anthropologists strengthens

Herskovits's claim, and has made cemeteries one of the most commonly researched

sites of African continuities by cultural anthropologists, folklorists, and art historians

(Glave, 1891; Ingersoll, 1892; Parsons, 1918; Puckett, 1926; Cohen, 1958; Thompson

and Comet, 1981; Thompson, 1984; Sobel, 1988; Fenn, 1989; Nichols, 1989; Vlach,

1990; Nigh, 1997).

Developing the concept of an African-influenced landscape

Until the rediscovery of New York's African Burial Ground, archaeologists

investigating cemetery sites had focused mainly on forensic details gathered from any

excavated skeletal remains. However the African Burial Ground differed in becoming

a landmark case which demonstrated how archaeologists can engage related or

interested communities in identifying research issues and developing an interpretation

that is informed by the group's social and cultural history of the site (McCarthy, 1996;

LaRoche and Blakey, 1997; Patten, 1997; Epperson, 2004). While archaeologists had

previously focused on what was within the grave shaft, the descendant community's

desire to understand more about who these individuals were and how they lived

extended the relevant archaeological context to include the entire cemetery landscape

and the history of Africans and slavery in New York City.

In a similar vein I see the historical developments in Nassau and the Bahamas

discussed above as foundational in interpreting the Northern Burial Ground. This

approach also does not assume that because the cemetery was used by such a socially

powerless group as Africans that features on the landscape followed patterns set by the

wider society. The African Burial Ground project, also responded to the community's

interest in the African origins of persons buried there by documenting grave goods,

personal adornment, spatial orientation of the graves, and the diversity of African

cultural traditions represented, which offered clues to the specific regions on the

continent represented by the deceased. Because the Northern Burial Ground was

disturbed and only a small portion was excavated, less of this information was

available from this site. However, much can still be learned when this site is

historically and culturally contextualized.

A goal of this research is to establish, as much as possible, where, when, how,

and if African-descended people in the Bahamas maintained a distinctive African-

influenced cultural identity as reflected in cemetery landscapes. Once this is

recognized it is possible, through archaeological research, to identify if and how these

cultural representations changed. To simply label such behavior as creolization or,

indeed, to assume that African influences are static rather than calibrated with changes

in the larger society is to overlook the myriad nuances that could help us understand

the deliberate cultural decisions that were made to either maintain or change specific

cultural behavior, and to examine possible interpretations to explain why these

decisions were being made.

On Crooked Island in the south central Bahamas even into the 21st century

burials are still adorned with personal utensils of the deceased and a plant or tree is

planted at the head of the grave. According to folklorists, cultural anthropologists, and

cemetery preservationists these culturally constructed landscape features are aspects of a distinct, African-derived cemetery landscape that differs significantly from a Europeanized cemetery landscape. Features of such a cultural landscape could include not only personal utensils and plantings but also a location close to a body of water, as well as faunal remains which suggest either feasting or animal sacrifices on behalf of the spirits of deceased relatives (Parsons, 1918; Cohen, 1958; Thompson and Cornet 1981; Thompson 1984; Creel 1988; Connor 1989; Fenn 1989; Nichols 1989; Little, 1998; Gundaker and McWillie 2005).

The potential ability of archaeologists to investigate the ways in which African cultural influences may have changed over time will depend partly on the diversity of material they associate with an African influence. The reality is that archaeologists often seem unaware of the possible combination of African-derived cemetery landscape features. Archaeologists in recent decades have generally become aware that burials of African-descended people can include personal items on top of the grave, in the grave shaft, or even in the coffin (Bruner 1996; McCarthy 1997; Dockall et al 1996; Armstrong and Fleischman 2003; Davidson 2004; Fesler 2004; Perry and Howson 2006; Perry et al, 2009; Smith 2009). However for one of the slave burials at New Seville plantation in Jamaica, the archaeologists were only made aware of the cultural significance of a large lock on top of a coffin by the reaction of African-Jamaican site workers (Armstrong and Fleischman, 2003:46-47).

Apart from items found in direct association with a burial (either on top of a coffin or left inside it) some archaeologists have been reluctant to consider the cultural significance of other landscape components for people of African descent in the

67

Americas. In the case of the New York African Burial Ground site it was noted that the original archaeological team were either unaware of, or chose to ignore non-burial features that would have been components of an African-derived cemetery landscape (Perry and Howson, 2006; Perry et al, 2009).

In the Bahamas Crooked Island, in the south central area of the archipelago, is one Bahama island where I have documented African-influenced cultural behaviors in cemeteries still in practice. The Crooked Island cemeteries, all of which were established between the mid-19th through the early 20th centuries, exhibit all of these landscape features except for the faunal remains. My excavation of St Matthew's Northern Burial Ground site provided an opportunity to investigate the historical existence of an African-derived cemetery cultural, and also to investigate the ways in which this landscape was maintained or changed over time.

Personal Items Left on Graves

Personal objects left on top of the grave are the most widely recognized aspect of an African-influenced cemetery landscape. This custom has been noted by cultural anthropologists, historians, and folklorists for sites in the United States and the Caribbean (Bolton, 1891:214; Parsons, 1918:88; Cohen, 1958:95; Georgia Writers Project 1972:54, 109; Jordan, 1982:21; Thompson, 1984:132-134; Creel 1988:317; Connor 1989: 54; Fenn 1989:45-46; Nichols 1989:13-14, 18; Vlach, 1991:43-45; Nigh, 1997:168, 170; Little, 1998:248; Gundaker and McWillie 2005:36). Archaeologists have not only noted this cultural behavior but have also documented

cultural objects deliberately placed on top of graves, within the grave shaft, or inside

the coffin (Armstrong and Fleischman, 2003:46-49; Combes, 1974:56-59; Davidson,

2004:73-74; Deetz, 1996:207-209; Fesler, 2004:171-172; Jamieson,1995:49-51;

McCarthy, 1997:374, 376; Perry et al, 2006:419-441; Smith, 2010:41-42).

In July 2002 I visited a number of cemeteries on Crooked Island; some of

which belonged to now abandoned settlements. Crooked Island is located along the

eastern edge of the Crooked Island Passage, which is the deepest channel that passes

through the Bahamas. Documentary and archaeological evidence suggests that this

situation allowed the residents of Crooked Island considerable independence from the

colony's administrative center in Nassau on New Providence Island several hundred

miles to the north (Turner, 2006). During the late 19th and early 20th centuries the

only Bahamians who migrated to Panama for work in constructing the trans-isthmus

canal came from Crooked Island, Acklins, and nearby Fortune Cay. Until the start of

World War I German steam ships, en route to ports in South America, routinely

stopped at Crooked Island to hire men for work as stevedores when the ships were

being unloaded (Dept. of Archives, 1987). Access to these wage-earning

opportunities provided Crooked Island residents more lucrative income options than

was available to African-Bahamians on most other islands in the archipelago.

The names of settlement cemeteries visited included Brown's, Moss Town,

True Blue, Cripple Hill, and Colonel Hill. Except for the cemetery at Colonel Hill

(the island's administrative center) all the other cemeteries were on dune ridges near

the ocean. Most notable in these Crooked Island cemeteries are the personal items left

on each grave. These generally include a receptacle for food, such as a plate or bowl;

a drinking vessel, such as a tumbler, cup, or mug; sometimes also included are an

eating utensil or other container such as a teapot. The understanding here is that these

were personal items that belonged to the individual. Sometimes these were favorite

items, or they could have been the last eating containers used by that individual

(Parsons, 1918: 88). I consider such cultural behavior as the placement of personal

items on top of graves as part of a 'cultural landscape' because, in the Bahamas, this

feature is not found in isolation from other African-derived cemetery landscape

features.

Apart from cultural remains excavated at the Northern Burial Ground in

Nassau, Crooked Island is the only other island in the Bahamas where I documented

evidence that this cultural behavior was practiced since at least the mid-19th century

and continues even to the present. On Crooked Island, in some cemeteries a hole was

made in the base of ceramic items before these were placed on a grave (see Figure 2);

a practice which has been observed in West Africa, the Congo as well as in African

American cemeteries across the US south (Glave, 1891; Ingersoll, 1892; Puckett,

1926; Thompson, 1984; Sobel, 1988; Fenn, 1989; Nichols, 1989; Vlach, 1990; Falola,

2001). Some community residents explain that this action is intended to release the

soul of the deceased person from the container, though it has been noted that in other

cases residents have no explanation except that this is a long-standing tradition

(Puckett, 1926:105; GWP, 1972; Sobel, 1988:198).

In other Crooked Island cemeteries the items placed on graves were not altered

(see Figure 3). There was no evidence in any Crooked Island cemetery of a

combination of this practice on the treatment of ceramic vessels placed on top of

graves. This difference in the disposition of ceramic vessels is not random but likely

represents a variation in how different communities of African-Bahamians interpreted

this cultural behavior. Elsie Parsons (1918:88) referenced the tradition of placing

personal "favored" items on a grave for other Bahamian islands; namely Andros, but

she did not note that these were first broken before being placed on the grave.
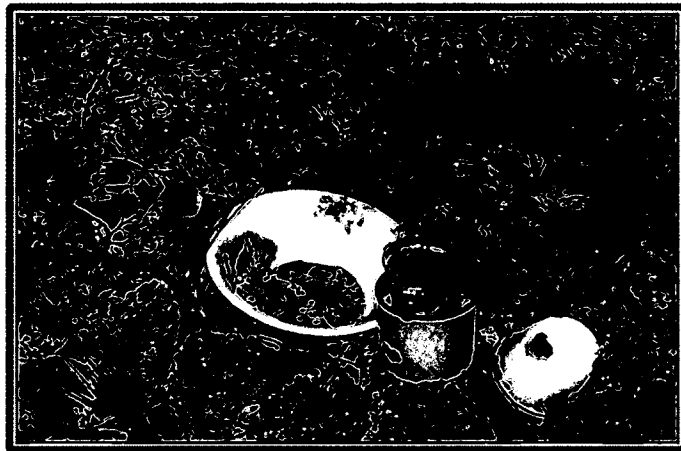
Fig. 2   Personal dishes left on a grave, Major's Cay cemetery, Crooked Island.
         Note the base of the dish was deliberately removed before it was placed.
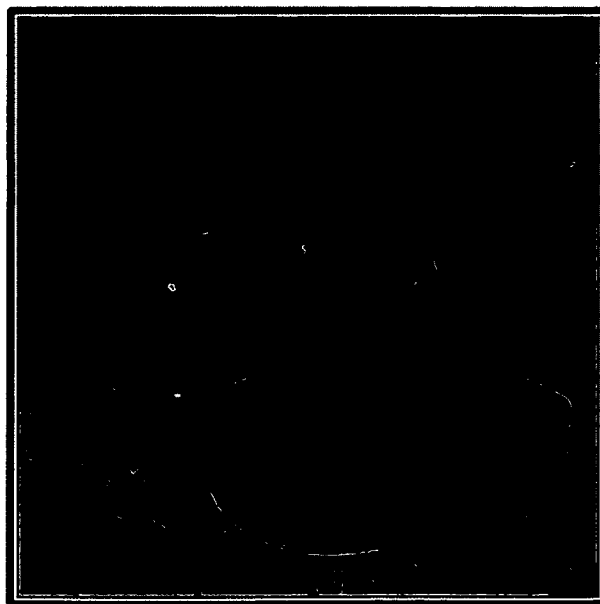
Fig. 3   Personal dishes left on a grave in Thompson Hill's cemetery, Crooked Island.

71

These examples suggest that within the Bahamas (even within one island) there has historically been some variation in how this custom was observed.

I did not attempt any further analysis of the Crooked Island grave goods for two main reasons. This information was documented in 2002 while I was researching another topic and several years before I selected a topic for dissertation research. Further, most of the cemeteries I documented are associated with settlements that have been abandoned since the mid-twentieth century. Given the location of these cemeteries near the ocean, with the potential for occasional storm surges, I assumed that most articles were no longer in their original positions. Nevertheless, these images proved useful as comparative examples for understanding the archaeological context within the Northern Burial Ground site.

Since African-Bahamians continue to hold beliefs of the spiritual power of cemeteries locals stay away from cemeteries unless attending a funeral or visiting relatives' graves on special occasions. However, I became aware that some North American vacation residents who learned of the century-plus old grave items had gone on a rampage collecting almost all of these except those that had been broken. Research photos I took in these cemeteries in 2002 are now the only surviving evidence of the loss of this archaeological material and evidence of past cultural influences.

Trees/plants as Memorial Grave Markers

There is a growing understanding among archaeologists of the use of trees by people of African heritage in association with burials (Lenik, 2005; Blouet, 2010; Rainville, 2011). Documentary evidence indicates that some Africans, even in the Americas, referred to these trees as 'sacred groves' where spirits and deities dwelled (Lenik 2005:34; Brown, 2002:306-307). In West and Central Africa sacred groves, whether a single tree or group of trees are locations that serve as historical markers for sites of initiation, burial, and other rituals (Chouin, 2008:179; Ross, 2008; Sheridan, 2008:20). With their generally low status in the Americas Africans were often unable to maintain many aspects of their native communal landscape. Examining the daily lives of Africans in the Americas allows researchers to look at questions of continuity and change over time. To date, two research projects conducted in the U.S. Virgin Islands, and one in Virginia are some instances in which archaeological research questions have been expanded to consider plants in a cemetery landscape constructed by Africans in the Diaspora – enslaved or free (Lenik, 2005; Blouet, 2010; Rainville, 2011). This study will go a step further to consider the creation of an African-derived cemetery landscape in the Bahamas and to examine how this landscape was maintained or changed over time.

On Crooked Island, which plants or trees are used depends on the distance from the ocean and the level of salt in the environment. In cemeteries closest to the ocean these plantings include native species of spider lilies (*Hymenocallis caribaea,*

73

and *H. latifolia*[2]) and palms (*Leucothrinax morrisii*) (UWI, Cave Hill) (see Figure 4). In those cemeteries furthest from the sea, or with an accessible source of fresh water, gum elemi (*Busera simaruba*) (Correll and Correll, 1982) trees are used exclusively.

In the Bahamas, cemeteries established in the 19th or early 20th centuries were most often located within a few hundred yards of the water's edge. I propose that one reason why gum elemi was the preferred native tree species for grave monuments is because, according to Bahamian folk knowledge, this tree thrives only where there is a source of fresh water. So gum elemi trees represented the presence of water regardless whether a cemetery could be located near the ocean or not. Another reason the gum elemi would have been preferred is because it is a fast-growing tree, and also one of the taller trees endemic to these islands.

When asked why a tree or plant was placed at the head of graves Anafaye Knowles, a teacher from Colonel Hill, Crooked Island, explained that the growth of the plant, or tree, is meant to symbolize the continued thriving of the deceased person's spirit even in death. So, in this way, these grave plantings serve as a living memorial to the deceased individual (see also Brown, 2002). On the Family Islands (formerly known as the Out Islands, these are islands in the Bahamas other than New Providence, where the capital is located) the preferred tree planted at graves is the indigenous gum elemi (see Figures 5a and b). In the two 18th century black cemeteries in Nassau gum elemi was used in addition to large, introduced trees such as

---

[2] In the Bahamas these plants are known as sea lilies. In other Caribbean islands these varieties of spider lilies are also both known as jumbie lilies. This common name suggests that Caribbean people of African descent have historically associated these plants with burials, or spirits since the word 'jumbie' refers to a malevolent spirit in the African-derived folklore of some Caribbean islands (Lalla and DaCosta, 2009; UWI, 2012; Winer, 2009).

tamarind (*Tamarindus indica*), and woman tongue (*Albizia lebbeck*) (Correll and

Correll, 1982). Examples of these trees can still be located at the head of a grave (see

Figures 6a and b) in the cemetery on the western edge of Nassau historically known as

'Bethlehem'

. Though Bethlehem still has some remaining tree monuments which

originally stood at the head of graves (see Figures 6a and 6b), there is now no

evidence of personal grave goods. However it should be noted that this cemetery was

made into a public park early in the 20th century (Board of Works Specification

Books) so although the trees, tombs and other stone grave markers were left in place

Fig. 4 Native palms and spider lilies planted at the head of graves as memorials in
Moss Town cemetery, Crooked Island.

there is no way of knowing what this cemetery landscape looked like before it was re-

purposed. There are no known images of this cemetery before it became a park. The

public cemetery for Cockburn Town, San Salvador, dates back to the 19th century,

and also has several gum elemi grave monuments (see Figure 5b) but there is no

75

evidence of any personal items left on graves. This cemetery is adjacent to the public road which encircles the island so it is visible and easily accessible. As noted earlier, one possibility is that non-local visitors to the island removed antique items from

Fig. 5a   Gum elemi grave memorials, Colonel Hill cemetery, Crooked Island.

Fig. 5b   Gum elemi grave memorials, Cockburn Town cemetery, San Salvador.

grave sites. It is also possible that any personal items left on graves have been washed

out to sea during heavy storm surges; the western edge of this cemetery is the beach at

the southern edge of Cockburn Town's harbor. Yet another possibility is that there

might never have been any personal items left on these graves.

Fig. 6a   Possible grave memorial trees – (on left) gum elemi, (on right) woman tongue.
          Remains of 18th century Bethlehem cemetery on western edge of Nassau.

Fig. 6b   Tamarind trees (2) also possible grave memorial trees at eastern end of the
          Bethlehem cemetery site which was made a public park in the early 20th century.

Location Near Water

One other feature being explored for this research is the significance of a cemetery's location near a body of water. For cultural anthropologists and folklorists, such as Cohen (1958); Creel (1988); Fenn (1989); Nichols (1989); Gundaker and McWillie (2005), examining black cemeteries and burial traditions in the Americas they have noted the significance of bodies of water or representations of water for burials and in memorials for the dead. In historical archaeology this particular feature has not been noted as even a consideration for African-descended people in situating a cemetery. It is a goal of this research to point out that historically this has been a significant locational factor for African-descended people in the Atlantic Diaspora. Enslaved laborers on plantations, in particular, were more limited in the extent to which they were able to structure their own lives. This was less of an issue for free people of color and enslaved workers hired out to work in urban environments.

On islands in the Bahamas it is most common for community cemeteries to be located near the ocean; as was impressed on me by other African-Bahamians. These are small, narrow islands but it should not be assumed that cemetery location close to the ocean was historically the most feasible option on small islands with limited areas of deep soil. A primary consideration in situating a cemetery near the ocean would be a site protected from being inundated during a hurricane. More difficult to protect against is the long-term erosion effects of high winds blowing grains of sand and salt spray against locally-made or expensive imported grave markers.

In the present, it is often assumed that areas blacks used for cemeteries were marginal lands of little use or value within the dominant society so these were the only viable areas that African-descended people were allowed to use since they were always accorded the lowest societal rank (Chicora Foundation, 1996; Smith, 2010:41). Such an interpretation is unsatisfactory from the perspective of an historic African-descended population because it ignores the role of individual agency; especially in the case of blacks, enslaved and free, living in urban environments. The next chapter will examine the historical development of European-derived cemetery landscapes in order to emphasize the point that features generally found in either of these spaces are culturally distinct and can be identified archaeologically.

Archaeologists, to this point, have not recognized location near water as a landscape feature for African-influenced cemetery landscapes in the Americas. Nevertheless, a review of archaeological investigations of cemeteries used by African-descended people indicates that a number of these were originally located nearby a body of water. An archaeological listing of historic black cemeteries located near water include New York's African Burial Ground (Perry et al 2006:44); the Fontabelle and Pierhead cemeteries in Bridgetown, Barbados (Farmer et al 2005:678-679); the Utopia Quarter cemetery near Williamsburg, Virginia (Fesler 2004:170); the Negroes Burial Ground in Richmond, Virginia (Stevenson, 2008:2-3); Black Bottom Memorial Cemetery in Belhaven, North Carolina (Smith, 2010:38, 41); Plantation Waterloo cemetery, Surinam (cited in Watters, 1994:68) As these cemeteries closed and urban areas expanded the historical pattern has been for these early black cemeteries to be covered over to facilitate new development (Farmer et al, 2005; Perry et al, 2009;

79

Stevenson, 2008). In the United States in particular, the fact that such cemeteries had belonged to communities with little political or economic power meant the land was even more susceptible for development without regard for the concern of the related community. This kind of development history for these cemetery landscapes only serves to heighten the cultural sensitivities of the broad descendant community once such an historic cemetery is rediscovered decades, or even centuries later.

Bahamians of African descent do not have any ready explanations for why cemeteries are so commonly situated near bodies of water, though the practice of planting a tree or plant at the head of the grave would suggest the potential for re-generation and renewal. Sandra Greene (2002 and Wyatt MacGaffrey (1986), writing about parts of West and Central Africa, note the significance of bodies of water for commemorating and honoring ancestral spirits. Researchers, such as Hennig Cohen (1958), the Georgia Writers Project (1972), and Elaine Nichols (1989), studying African American cemeteries in the U.S. South have recorded several rationales for the significance of burials near water; explanations include the provision of access between the worlds of the living and the spirit realm, and the ability to travel back to Africa (Cohen, 1958; GWP, 1972). Though there is variation in rationales for understanding the significance of water near burials, it is important to note that, for reasons of spiritual significance rather than simply as a practical matter, Africans in the Atlantic diaspora preferred to situate their cemeteries near bodies of water.

Faunal Remains - Evidence of Feasting/Offerings

African diaspora cemetery sites are often investigated by archaeologists only after they were impacted by later development or re-discovered in the course of new development therefore it is difficult to make any association with some small, seemingly unrelated finds. Although the original context of the Northern Burial Ground was disturbed by later developments as sidewalk construction, the assumption is that any materials excavated from this site were not randomly deposited but became part of the site as a result of its earlier use as a cemetery. A fourth landscape feature being considered for this research is the evidence of faunal remains associated with cemeteries historically used by people of African descent. The presence of animal bones, whether as food or sacrificial offerings, has been noted in historical documents and by cultural anthropologists and folklorists (Parsons, 1918:88; GWP, 1972:54, 106, 135, 140, 159, 182, 184; Vlach, 1978:144; McCarthy, 1997:372; Gundaker and McWillie, 2005:187).

This feature has not been noted in any extant Bahamian cemeteries. Possible explanations for this absence could suggest any of the following: that this particular cultural activity did not happen within a cemetery space; or that 'adjustments' to the landscape over time could have eliminated this feature. Elsie Parsons noted that on Andros Island a bowl of food was put out for the deceased in a corner of the yard (1918). As with other African-derived mortuary behavior, the observance of food offerings or animal sacrifices not only varied among communities but also changed over time. Interpretation of excavated faunal remains will be dealt with in a later chapter on research findings.

81

The case for African cultural connections

By the 1980s scholars researching the African diaspora in the Americas aimed to build on Herskovits' argument in the earlier debate on cultural retentions. For the later 20th century revival of this issue the objective was to identify African cultural retentions in the Americas and correlate these with specific ethnic groups in West Africa (Schuyler, 1980; Thompson, 1984; Vlach 1992). Archaeologists contributed to this debate by looking for evidence of differential treatment of similar objects by socially defined racial groups (Fennell, 2003; Ferguson, 1992; Orser, 1998; Heath and Bennett, 2000; Wilkie, 2000).

Africanist researchers critiqued this approach for treating the extensive regions of West and Central Africa as static cultural zones with discreet culture areas for individual ethnic groups (Singleton, 2001). It is now understood that ethnic groups within Africa historically developed cultural behaviors that were often similar to those of their neighbors (Thornton, 1998). A variation on any particular cultural behavior is usually evident among a number of ethnic groups. This limited variation in symbols, beliefs, and ideas as expressed in material culture Africanist archaeologists refer to as a 'symbolic reservoir.' (Sterner, 1992: 171-172). The objective of this segment is to establish that certain historic cemetery landscape features were derived from an African cultural heritage and were not derived from the dominant European cultural heritage, even though the artifacts themselves, such as the vessels discussed above, were often of European origin. In order to show this, archaeologists must take into account not only the immediate context of use, but the historical and cultural positioning of the users. Researchers on West Africa also make the point that

82

ethnographic comparisons of Africans in the Americas with West and Central African people must also consider the historic period being compared as involving more extensive European contact over time and over broader geographical areas also impacted African cultures (Holl, 2001; Kelly, 2001; Maceachern, 2001; Singleton, 2001; Stahl, 2001; Monroe and Ogundiran, 2012).

In West and Central Africa before European contact, where and how individuals were buried depended on who the person was and the manner of death. A number of ethnic groups buried relatives within the floor of the house in which they had lived. Among the Akan, of Ghana including Elmina, burial grounds before European contact were not marked in ways Europeans would have recognized. Instead, the surrounding landscape was deliberately left in its natural and unaltered state (DeCorse, 2001:188). In his excavation of the town of Elmina Christopher DeCorse focused on continuity and change as the critical issues for understanding the African perspective on contact with Europeans. DeCorse noted "Because the funerary complex involves various artifacts and features, as well as the burial itself, it provides one of the best loci for the archaeological definition of *worldview.*" (2001:187).

Douglas Armstrong and Mark Fleischman (2003) discovered four house yard burials for enslaved workers at Seville plantation in Jamaica. They noted that no further yard burials could be located in the later period slave village. The authors cited 18th century British writers who not only noted that enslaved workers buried loved ones within house floors or in the yard but these writers were also aware of the importance of allowing enslaved laborers to maintain such connections that tied them even more closely to the land. These four burials were significant even within this

83

earlier slave village as these appear to be the only burials made within these house yards suggesting that these individuals held some special status within this community. (Armstrong and Fleischman 2003:40-42). In West and Central Africa, Sandra Green (2002) noted that the Anlo-Ewe of Ghana had historically buried relatives in the floor of the house where the deceased had lived; Wyatt MacGaffrey (1986:55-56) reported that the BaKongo previously buried a chief, and his attendants, within his household compound.

Until the early 19th century, with the development of the concept of a cemetery landscape, trees were not a major feature of Western-style cemeteries (Rodwell, 1989:145-146). Yet the spiritual beliefs of many West and Central African groups involved the belief that certain trees could house ancestral spirits. Sandra Greene illustrates the historical impact of European colonial rule and Christian missionary work specifically on the Anlo of Notsie in south-central Togo. Ethnic Anlo historically lived throughout southeastern Ghana and southern Togo. Of special interest for this research are Anlo historical beliefs about the significance of water and trees in relation to burials. As Greene states, "nineteenth-century Anlos associated spiritual forces with the material reality of their built environment ... They believed that spiritual forces were capable of manifesting themselves not only in houses and in shrines, in streets and cemeteries but everywhere: in the air, in water bodies, in distant towns, in the earth, in the groves that dotted the Anlo landscape. Whether these places were encountered rarely or formed part of the quotidian rhythms of daily life, all were viewed as sites with multiple meanings, as both material objects and as containers of the sacred." (2002:68).

Many more examples from across West and Central Africa could be provided to illustrate that, like the Anlo any number of other ethnic groups in West and Central Africa ascribed spiritual significance to material elements of their natural and built environments (MacGaffrey, 1986; Greene, 2002; Monroe and Ogundiran, 2012). In the restricted life circumstances of the diaspora in the Americas African-descended people could most often express this connection between the realms of the physical and spiritual worlds in cemeteries. This would entail combining several landscape features as burials, sacred groves, commemorative shrines, and associated activities as sacrifices or ritual feasts into a single space. In West and Central Africa these would all be separate features within the cultural landscape (David, 1992; Greene 2002; Sterner, 1992; Vivian, 1992)

I propose that trees and plants used as burial monuments in the Bahamas can be understood as derived from the widespread distribution of sacred groves and sacred trees as repositories for ancestors and spirits in much of Africa, and in Cuba, Haiti, the United States, and elsewhere in the Diaspora where similar uses have been found (Thompson, 1984; Gundaker and McWillie, 2002; Giles-Vernick, 2002; Weiss, 2003; Cabrera, 2004; Sheridan and Nyamweru, 2008). For example in the U.S. Virgin Islands spiritually significant tamarind trees were not always planted within the cemetery but were understood to be associated with a nearby cemetery (Lenik, 2005). As some archaeologists have noted, even in early plantation contexts some planters allowed enslaved African workers to memorialize their dead however they chose to do (Armstrong & Fleischman, 2003:40-41). Some ethnohistorical accounts also suggest

85

that Africans in the diaspora were historically allowed some cultural freedom in how they memorialized their dead (Orderson, 2002:43; Medford, 2004:175).

With regard to the fourth African-derived cemetery landscape feature, archaeologists have rarely attempted to investigate evidence of feasting or animal sacrifice. Material evidence of such cultural activity could be in the form of butchered faunal remains. In the Americas there are ethnohistorical references to food offerings being left for the spirit of the deceased (Parsons, 1918; GWP, 1972; Vlach, 1978; McCarthy, 1997; Gundaker and McWillie, 2005). That archaeologists have not paid attention to these details can be associated with the often accidental means by which archaeologists become aware of unmarked cemetery sites. Even in the case of known cemetery sites archaeologists usually have not investigated cemeteries used by African-descended people with an understanding that there could be an array of deliberate landscape features.

Archaeologically evidence of ritual food offerings is most tenuous from sites in West and Central Africa. Environmental conditions such as high temperatures and rainfall, along with acidic soils facilitate rapid deterioration of organic material; including bone (Kelly, 2001:92). Additionally meat prepared for meals was generally cut into small pieces so that any archaeological remains are tiny fragments (DeCorse, 2001:113; Kelly, 2001:92). Ethnohistorical information about *asensie* sites in southern Ghana suggest that these were memorial sites where relatives left offerings of food and a ceramic representation of the deceased (Vivian, 1992:157-159). Archaeologists focus more attention on the ceramic figures presumably because of the factors previously noted.

I propose that the evidence of funerary food offerings in the Americas could be understood within the context of continuity and change. Even though African captives who were enslaved in the Americas belonged to many ethnic groups in West and Central Africa there is ethnohistorical evidence that a number of these groups engaged in the practice of leaving funerary food offerings. Ethnohistorical evidence suggests this cultural practice was continued as an aspect of funerary observances in some African-descended communities in the Americas. Archaeological evidence of this cultural behavior is presented as butchered faunal remains excavated within cemetery sites in the discussion of archaeological investigation of the Northern Burial Ground.

Chapter 3

18th and 19th century European-influenced cemetery spaces

In presenting the case for an African-influenced cemetery landscape it is also

necessary to examine European-style cemetery spaces in order to understand any ways

in which these spaces may differ. Since the Bahamas remained a British colony for

over 300 years this chapter will examine the development of cemetery spaces in Great

Britain and colonial territories in the Americas. This assessment will be an overview

of cemetery development to the 19th century.

In pre-Christian Britain pagan burials commonly included a variety of grave

goods. Pagan burial customs were only gradually replaced by acceptable Christian

burial rites. Christian burial customs generally did not involve grave goods; however

there have been instances where grave goods indicative of pagan beliefs were placed

within graves in a post-medieval Christian burial ground. In a burial ground at

Barton-on-Humber post-medieval period (circa 1500 -1750) grave goods recovered by

archaeologists included dice, several coins, a ceramic dinner plate, and a tin enamel-

glazed sugar bowl (Rodwell, 1989:165).

Archaeologically the cultural progression from pagan to Christian cemeteries is

best explained as follows:

> "...the picture which has been discerned in parts of west and north
> Britain is essentially that of a sequence. Chapels and churches are
> typically to be found as developments out of earlier cemeteries,
> which themselves were transformed from 'mere collections of
> inhumation graves' through increasingly formal stages. Pagan

88

cemeteries could develop into Christian graveyards, and by addition
of a church evolve into a parish churchyard.
(Morris, 1983:51)

Beginning in the 1530s, the Reformation period in England had profound

doctrinal and practical impacts not only in religious matters but also on land formerly

owned by Roman Catholic monasteries. As monasteries were dissolved some of their

property was granted to communities for use as church yards and burial grounds

(Rodwell, 1989:153-156; Willsher, 2005:11-12). During the Reformation burials

inside churches were outlawed. Though the practice continued for some time this

change meant that more burials were located in the church yard. Yet church yards

were not set aside exclusively for burials. Church yards were also the site of a wide

range of activities as fairs and markets, children's playgrounds, arrow practice, the

display of weapons for inspection, and a meeting place for trade associations

(Willsher, 2005:11-14).

The burial spaces we know as cemeteries were first being created by the

second half of the 18th century. Cemetery spaces are defined by several

characteristics which distinguish these places from burial grounds; particularly those

located within church yards. Burial grounds were not established to serve a general

populace but served a smaller, limited group of people. The characteristics of

cemeteries most relevant to this study include the following:

- Cemeteries generally serve an entire district or town; including people

  of any denomination (Rugg, 2000:270; Willsher, 2005:21).

- Cemeteries are usually located close to but not necessarily within a settlement or town (Rugg, 2000:261).

The landscaped, park-like spaces now so common as cemeteries really only date to the 19th century (Rugg, 2000:260; Willsher, 2005:21). Landscaping within these spaces often include large shade trees, and pathways to enhance the peaceful, park-like atmosphere (Rugg, 2000:160; Willsher, 2005:21). Deliberate landscaping of churchyards using trees had begun in the 18th century; however trees, especially yews, had been planted in British church yards for hundreds of years before the 18th century. Over time, with continuous use and reorganization, it is generally no longer possible to determine whether these trees were originally planted as grave or property markers (Rodwell, 1989:145-146).

My point in outlining the history of Christian burial sites in Britain is to argue that African people and their descendants were generally allowed to use a public space to bury their dead as they saw fit because, until the late 18th century European-style cemeteries were often multi-purpose public spaces. By the second half of the 18th century there was an understanding of possible health risks if dead bodies were interred too close to living populations so regulations were passed requiring cemeteries to be located on the outskirts of any settled area (Rugg, 2000:261). Given this historical background, it should not be surprising that urban black populations in particular were allowed to establish their own cemetery spaces in which they could memorialize their dead according to their own cultural beliefs. In fact, even on some plantations this would have also been the case. On the early Seville plantation in Jamaica, for example, the European masters and overseers did not have an extensive

cultural background in which cemeteries were rigidly controlled, park-like spaces. The concept of the landscaped cemetery only developed in the late 18th century and became the standard in the 19th century (Rugg, 2000:261; Willsher, 2005:21). On plantations as well as in urban contexts the establishment of separate burial areas for people of African and European descent also reflected their differential social statuses.

The archaeology of European-style cemetery spaces in the Bahamas

New Providence was not the island first settled by English colonists in the mid-17th century but the capitol, Nassau, is where the earliest architectural remains are located; this includes cemeteries. By the early 18th century there were at least two cemeteries in the town. The earliest cemetery was in the center of town near the Anglican church. The second cemetery was likely opened in the 1720s after the town's long and raucous period as a pirate haven had ended.

The British Crown only took direct responsibility for governing the colony after pirates had so over-run the colony that administrative governing authority collapsed for about 15 years. The new Royal governor arrived in 1718 with authority to offer pirates a full pardon if they voluntarily ended their illegal activity. Anyone accused of piracy who had to be pursued and captured was to be summarily executed. This settling process took about 10 years. An immediate result of having an effective system of government in place was the expansion of the tiny settlement on the island. The second cemetery, known from documentary records as Centre Burial Ground, was apparently part of this expansion. It was established on the eastern edge of the town.

This location illustrated the changing views developed during the 18th century that appropriate sites for cemeteries were best situated further away from the center of a town (Rugg, 2000:261).

Centre Burial Ground (CBG) is now the earliest European-style cemetery in the Bahamas. The earlier mid-17th century Christ Church cemetery within the city was destroyed in the early 20th century. A building was constructed on the site; however, although the graves were presumably destroyed the grave markers were removed and placed in the yard at Christ Church cathedral. Evidently there is a perception among the general populace (that still holds true today) that nothing remains of such old burials. I surmise there was no public resistance to the destruction of this 17th century cemetery because any descendants of the people buried there were either dead themselves or no longer lived in the Bahamas. Since the early 20th century community recognized no kinship with the cemetery population then the decision to destroy the cemetery would have been seen only as a logistical matter of development planning.

Emergency archaeological investigations were conducted in CBG between July and August 2002 because there were several negative impacts resulting from construction of a wall surrounding this cemetery site by another government agency. Three of the earliest grave sites had been partially sealed into the fabric of this new wall; in addition there were plans to construct a short driveway and circular walkway. To assess the extent of damage already done and in order to develop an appropriate management plan for this space the aim was to excavate any partially visible grave sites; especially any that would be impacted by construction of new paths.

Excavations within this site only aimed to expose grave sites that had been covered over by sand and crushed shell deposited by the storm surge from two hurricanes in the late 1920s. The primary material excavated from the narrow spaces between graves was pebbles of marble. This stone is neither indigenous to the Bahamas nor is it found in marine environments so this material was interpreted as landscaping material that at one time covered the spaces between graves. Another possible landscape feature exposed was the remains of walkways that were uncovered adjacent to grave sites in the southwest and north east sections of the site. These walkway remnants were constructed of bricks and interspersed with marble slabs. Neither of these materials was available locally but had to be imported so they would represent expensive construction materials.

Other material remains excavated all dated to the early 20th century. The interpretation for this was that these surfaces were last exposed at that time. This would be consistent with the extensive flood damage caused by the 1926 and 1929 hurricanes. In the cleanup after this disaster the northern-most segment of these burial grounds, the Northern Burial Ground across from Centre Burial Ground on East Bay Street, was not restored. The only cleanup in this central portion was concentrated on grave sites which remained fully exposed. This landscaping may have also included shade trees but presently only one tree remains in the center of the site. At some time in the mid-20th century the circular concrete curbing put in around this tree damaged several grave sites.

Fig. 7 Excavated grave sites #1 (center) and #2 (right); note remains of
possible brick and marble walkway (top left) along with an apparently
displaced marble headstone base (placed vertically above grave site #1).

The evidence of these fancy walkways along with the marble pebbles between

grave sites suggests this cemetery had been expensively landscaped during at least part

of the 19th century. There is no visible evidence of any trees that may have been part

of this landscape except for the single remaining tree. In any case, evidence of the

former landscape within this cemetery space would have conveyed a serene, park-like

atmosphere for visitors to this site. Such evidence would situate this cemetery within

the movement to create a park-like atmosphere in European-style cemetery spaces

since the late 18th century.

Though trees were used in both African diaspora cemetery landscapes as

well as in European-style cemeteries, beginning in the late 18th century, the cultural

significance of these trees differed between the two types of cemetery space. In a

European-style cemetery landscape trees were planted to create shade and a tranquil atmosphere. Trees were also planted in the new park style of cemetery in places that complemented the winding paths and curving lawns within the space. In urban cemeteries it was especially important to integrate trees into the overall design.

In African-derived cemetery landscapes certain trees served as living memorials to the ancestor spirits and often throughout the diaspora were planted at the head of the grave, directly behind some other form of marker, which in the past were often made of wood and subject to deterioration, leaving the tree and the mounds or concavities of the earth's surface as the main indications of a grave. In some cases a single tree could serve as the 'sacred grove' for a community (Lenik, 2005) but in the Bahamas the usual practice was to plant a memorial tree, or plant, at the head of each grave. These trees, and plants, especially symbolic spider lilies with their circular shape, along with other culturally-significant landscape features created very different visual profiles for African-influenced cemetery spaces compared with the landscape of European-style cemetery spaces and their garden-like layout.

Chapter 4

The Archaeology of St Matthew's Northern Burial Ground

Site History

Documents which reveal the history of St. Matthew's Northern Burial Ground

were rediscovered in the 1990s by Irwin McSweeney, a former Anglican priest, who

was conducting archival research in the Jamaica National Archives in Spanish Town.

Information on a Bahamian cemetery was in Jamaica because the cemetery could only

be officially consecrated in 1826 by the newly appointed Bishop of Jamaica,

Christopher Lipscombe. The Diocese of Jamaica in the Anglican Church was not

created until 1824 and the Bahamas was included in this jurisdiction. The Anglican

Church was the state church of Great Britain and, as such, was the denomination

charged with establishing and maintaining the religious profile of British colonies.

When Loyalist refugees arrived in the Bahamas St Matthew's Parish was

created in the 1790s on the eastern side of Nassau to accommodate this increase in

population (Department of Archives, 1975). Several new cemeteries were opened or

expanded on the east and west sides of Nassau, however these spaces were not

officially consecrated until some 30 years later after the Diocese of Jamaica had been

created and the new bishop could attend to these official duties. The consecration of

these cemeteries was recorded as follows:

> An Act of Consecration and Dedication of three certain Lots or pieces
> of Ground as and for Cemeteries or Burial Grounds for the Interment
> of Persons dying Inhabitants of or within the Parish of Saint Matthew
> on the Island of New Providence, one of the Bahama Islands within the
> Diocese of Jamaica. On Saturday the 20th day of May in the year of

96

our Lord One Thousand eight hundred and twenty six The Right
Reverend Father in God Christopher by divine permission Lord
Bishop of Jamaica being invested with Episcopal robes and
accompanied by The Reverend William Patterson.

Once at the church the bishop was presented with a petition signed by the

officiating minister of St. Matthew's church, the Church Wardens, as well as several

local magistrates. This petition was formally requesting the bishop to consecrate three

cemeteries administered by St. Matthew's church. Two of these cemeteries were set

aside especially for white people; these included the area around the church and

bounded on the south by Shirley Street and by Dowdeswell Street to the north.

The next section, also known as Centre Burial Ground, predated the

establishment of St. Matthew's Parish in 1792. This cemetery was likely established

in the 1720s after the first Royal Governor, Woodes Rogers, had successfully ended

the turbulent years when the Bahamas, New Providence in particular, was a haven for

pirates. The earliest surviving grave marker in the Centre Burial Ground

commemorated the life of Thomas Pinckney who died in 1733 (PRO, 1976:52). It is

now the oldest existing cemetery on New Providence after the 17th century cemetery

associated with Christ Church, in the heart of Nassau, was destroyed in the early 20th

century in order to construct a commercial building.

The third cemetery section in St. Matthew's Parish dedicated by the Bishop of

Jamaica was set aside especially for the burial of blacks within the parish; enslaved or

free. As the petitioners explained:

> That the Burial Grounds of the said Parish have been appropriated for
> the purpose of Interment for upwards of twenty years, and that the

same were purchased several years ago. ...That the Burial Ground of the said Parish appropriated for Black Persons and Persons of Colour fronts the Harbour of Nassau on the North and extending thereon Three Hundred and eighty feet, East on the Public Causeway or Road leading Eastwardly and extending thereon thirty nine feet, South on Bay Street and extending thereon Three Hundred and ninety feet, and bounded on the West by a Lot now possessed by a certain Mr Pye and extending thereon One Hundred and thirty five feet, which said several Burial Grounds have been properly enclosed and fenced in, and are now in all respects fit and ready for Consecration.

Parish of St Matthew
16th May 1826

From this consecration document it would seem as if all three of these cemetery sections were established at the same time in the late 18th century. However the earliest legible dates on headstones in Centre Burial Ground clearly indicate that this cemetery section dates to the early 18th century. It is likely not coincidental that the cemetery for people of African descent is situated across the street from Centre Burial Ground. The Loyalist migration of the 1780s necessitated the creation of St Matthew's Parish in 1792. Construction of a church building began in 1800 and was completed in 1802. It was, presumably, within this period that land immediately surrounding the church building was used to establish a new cemetery section. Therefore it seems that this churchyard cemetery section is the only one of the three cemetery sections associated with St Matthew's Church that was established at the end of the 18th century (see Figure 8).

Prior to Loyalists migrating to the colony there was no legislative policy to establish racially segregated public spaces such as cemeteries. If this were so then the existence of a burial ground specifically for people of color would suggest that such a cemetery was established by members of this community to meet their particular

Fig. 8   1826 plan showing the location of 3 burial grounds consecrated
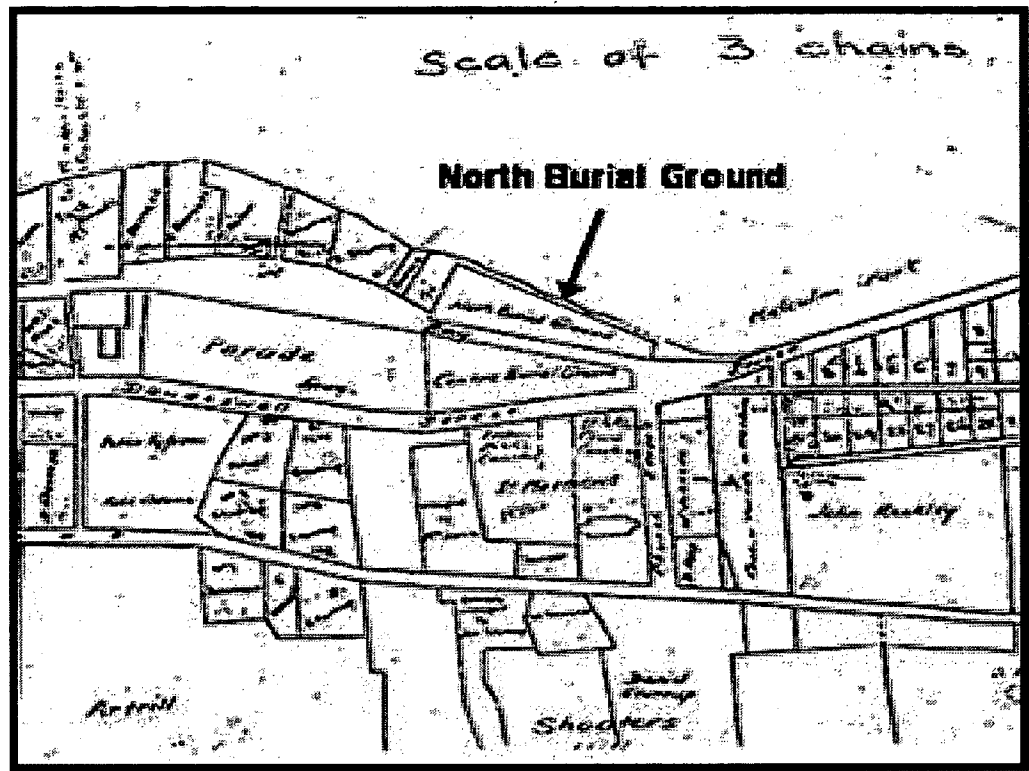
cultural needs. As noted in chapter 3, until the late 18th century European-style

cemeteries were regarded as multi-purpose spaces. So, in urban areas in particular,

African-descended people were generally free to create their own culturally distinct

cemetery spaces. For the dominant social groups as long as the cemetery was not

located on land they regarded as economically valuable they had no complaint about

these culturally distinct spaces. For the community of African-descended people the

high visibility of an African-influenced cemetery landscape was essentially a public

declaration of cultural affiliation.

This is what appears to have occurred in the United Staes in the early 19th century. John McCarthy noticed a significant difference in the amount of African-derived cultural materials associated with burials in two cemeteries used by the free black congregation of Philadelphia's First African Baptist Church. In the earlier cemetery, that was in use between 1810 and 1822, only 2.4% to 5.9 % of the 85 burials excavated contained cultural materials that could be interpreted as African-influenced burial practices. On the other hand, in the second cemetery, that was in use from 1824 to 1841, McCarthy calculated that 11.4% of the 140 burials excavated contained cultural materials interpreted as African-influenced burial practices. Within the context of a highly racialized society McCarthy interpreted this difference as follows:

> The maintenance, or revival, of African-influenced burial customs at the 8th Street First African Baptist Church congregation fits into an overall pattern of in-migration, economic stress, and growing racism as a reactive expression of the community's vitality and resistance to domination. In this small way, the members of this congregation acted to define their community and shape their everyday sociocultural reality. (1997:378)

So in the case of this free black Philadelphia community one indication of their choice to reinforce their community identity was to revive aspects of their African cultural heritage, such as burial ccustoms. I propose that in Nassau the historical time-frame for evidence of an African-influenced cemetery landscape in St Matthew's Northern Burial Ground represents a deliberate cultural shift by the community. By the mid-19th century members of this community decided that very public displays of an African heritage was not to their social advantage. In

order to fully engage in the wider society they could not do so by maintaining an African cultural identity.

Based on the creation of similar African-derived cemetery practices in New York City's African Burial Ground and Philadelphia's First African Baptist Church cemetery, it appears that African diaspora communities in the Americas used such practices to signify community membership. The cultural decision whether to continue these practices, or not, seems to reflect how members of these communities viewed themselves in relation to the wider society. In the Philadelphia case a free black community chose to revive African-derived cemetery practices. This cultural change was interpreted as a means of defining and also reinforcing the community in a hostile, increasingly racialized environment.

On the other hand, the community using the Northern Burial Ground continued African-derived cemetery practices for more than 100 years before discontinuing those practices. Though this African diaspora community also lived in a racialized society it is presumed that this community decided to change their cultural behavior in order to participate in new ways in the larger society. Cemetery treatment on Crooked Island, Bahamas provides yet another option for how African-descended people in the Americas choose to convey their cultural identity. Even to the present some communities on this island still leave personal dishes on graves and plant trees at the head of a grave. If the presumption is these cultural practices reflect cultural identity then it appears that these Crooked Island communities have not been influenced to re-interpret their cultural identity to accommodate a larger society.

101

Site Preservation History

As mentioned above, the Northern Burial Ground remained in use until the early years of the 20th century. Since it was a public cemetery the government's Board of Public Works maintained the parameters of the site while St Matthew's Church vestry paid to maintain the space within the cemetery. By the mid-19th century the site was bounded on three sides by a low wall (2 feet high) topped by a wooden picket fence. Centre Burial Ground across the street had no wall. Could it be that this low wall was also intended to keep some things from pubic view? Not until the 1880s was a sea wall built along the waterfront. The sea wall was deemed necessary because the cemetery was at sea level and was prone to being inundated by storm surge in the event of a hurricane. The sea wall was raised again in the 1890s.

The last record in St Matthew's vestry minutes of the North Burial Ground being cleaned was in 1903 so I assumed that the cemetery was no longer used after this time. When a sidewalk was constructed through the length of the cemetery in the 1930s it seems the skeletal remains and other cultural materials were generally gathered up and discarded. There was no outcry about this desecration from the community because the composition of that community had changed significantly. Since the 1870s there was a steady migration of people leaving the Bahamas in search of wage earning opportunities elsewhere in the region. The community that had historically used this cemetery would have certainly been affected by this out-migraton.

Meanwhile, there was also considerable internal migration from other islands in the archipelago to Nassau, the colony's only urban area at the time. Local boats coming to Nassau from the islands south of New Providence would have docked at Potter's Cay only about a quarter of a mile east of North Burial Ground. Many of these migrants would have settled in the communities near the dock. These would have been the same communities that had historically used the Northern Burial Ground. By the 1930s when the government chose to re-purpose the old cemetery site its supporting community had already gone through a major population shift.

I propose that there was no public protest at the destruction of the old North Burial Ground because the people who would have had some affiliation with this cemetery had likely already emigrated from the Bahamas or had themselves passed on. For the new migrants into Nassau their only connection to the North Burial Ground was the knowledge that it was a cemetery. In the community today the knowledge remains that this site was a cemetery but it is unclear where the cemetery was located. Most people presume that the cemetery site is the area that is currently on the waterfront. I had already commissioned a ground penetrating radar (GPR) survey of the site before an elderly, former resident of the area remembered that the sea wall she played on as a child was not the same one that is currently on the waterfront. This led me to examine aerial photographs of New Providence taken in the 1940s and 1950s. These images clearly showed that the land presently on the waterfront from this site was reclaimed some time in the early 1960s (see Figure 9). Fortunately the GPR survey extended onto the grass verge between the reclaimed land and the street.

**Fig. 9   Aerial photograph, 1958, showing the North Burial Ground site with the
19th century sea wall still on the waterfront –length of cemetery site
highlighted.**
(Courtesy Department of Lands and Surveys, Nassau, Bahamas)

This grass verge is actually the North Burial Ground site. Its 19th century sea wall

is now at ground level and serves as the boundary between this historic cemetery

site and the land that was reclaimed in the mid-20th century.

Site Survey (GeoView, 2007:1-3)

A geophysical investigation was conducted at the Northern Burial Ground

of St Matthews Church site located in Nassau, Bahamas. The survey area was

approximately 240 feet north to south by 290 feet east to west (see Figure 10). The

site is located north of East Bay Street and west of the new Paradise Island bridge.

At the time of the investigation the site was an empty parking lot. A partially

constructed building was present within the central portion of the survey area.

A surface depression/hole was located south of the partially constructed building.

The purpose of the investigation was to help identify the existence, and if found,

the location of any unmarked gravesites within the areas of investigation. The

investigation was conducted on August 27th and 28th, 2007.

The GPR survey was conducted within the accessible portions of the site along

a series of parallel transects spaced one to two feet apart. The GPR data was collected

with a GSSI radar system using a 400 megahertz antenna with a time range setting of

45 nano-seconds. This time range setting provided information to an estimated depth

of six to eight feet below land surface (bls). A total of 236 GPR transects (radar

grams) were collected at the site. The total linear footage of GPR data collected was

31, 413 feet. The two-dimensional radar grams were then analyzed using GPR Slice

to create three-dimensional time depth slices of the site. The locations of the GPR

transcet lines are shown on Figure 10.

The features observed on GPR data that are most commonly associated with

graves are:

- On the GPR slices graves can be identified as an area of increase in the

  amplitude or laterally limited change of the GPR signal response at the

  particular depth intervals of interest. These changes in signal response can be

  the result of reflections from the target (i.e. grave site) or from reflections from

Fig. 10

106

total survey length=31413.ft

WET GROUND
CONCRETE
ASPHALT
EDGE OF ASPHALT
BOAT
UTILITY HOLE

FENCE

SAND PILE
BUILDING

LANDSCAPING
WALL AT
GROUND SURFACE

GATE
CURB

EDGE OF ASPHALT

HOLE
CONCRETE
VEHICLE

SIDE

EAST BAY STREET
BUS STATION

SCALE: 1"=40' APPROX
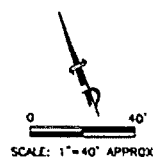
EXPLANATION

LOCATION OF GPR TRANSECT LINES
LOCATION OF SHALLOW GPR ANOMALIES
LOCATION OF DEEP GPR ANOMALIES
★ TREE

GeoView
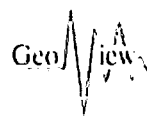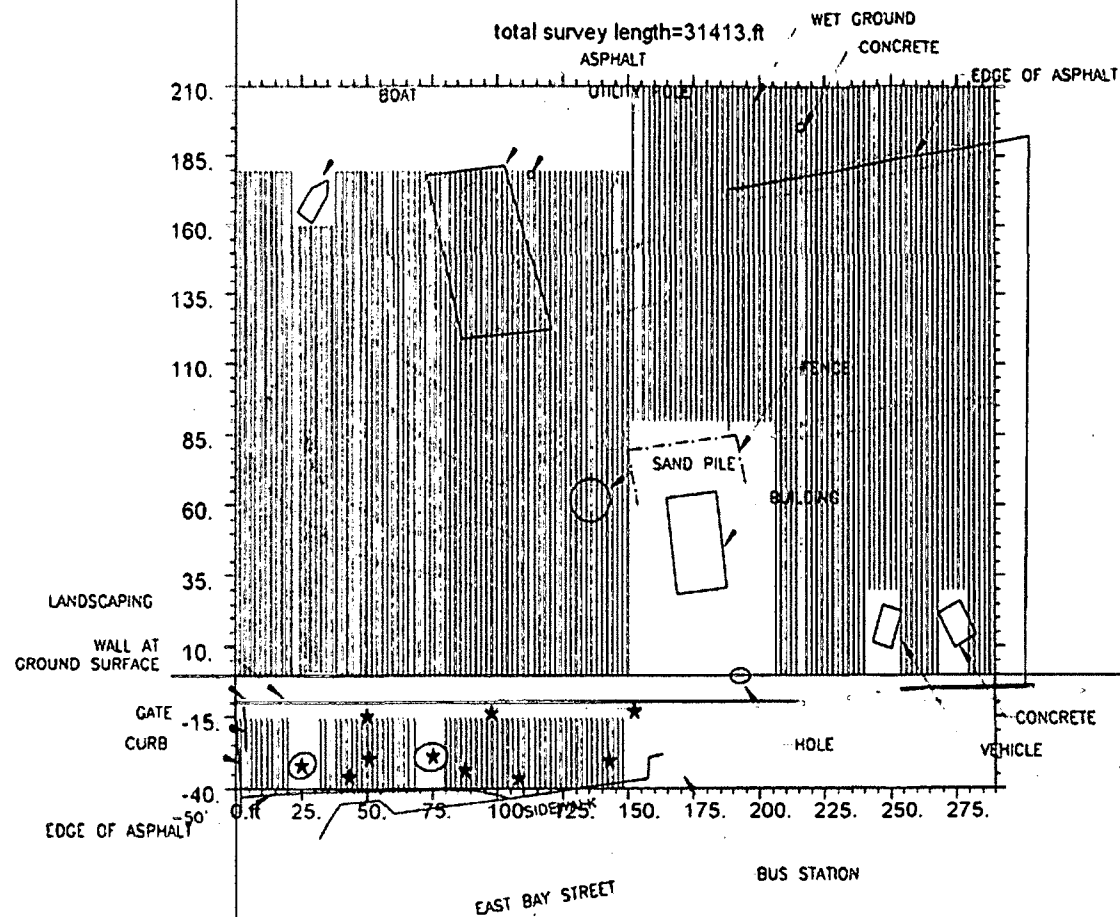
FIGURE 1
SITE MAP SHOWING
LOCATION OF GEOPHYSICAL
SURVEY AREA

THE NORTHERN BURIAL GROUND OF
ST. MATHEWS CHURCH SITE
NASSAU, BAHAMAS

THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF THE BAHAMAS
NASSAU, BAHAMAS

PROJECT
4297
DATE
09/13/07

the altered soil horizons associated with the grave site.

The occurrence of parabolic-shaped GPR reflectors that is present within a laterally limited area. Depth of such GPR reflectors typically range from three to six feet bls. A parabolic GPR signal response is typically associated with a buried object. In the case of graves, the parabolic-shaped reflectors are usually created when the GPR antenna is pulled perpendicular to the long axis of a grave.

- In the case where grave site remains have deteriorated, grave shafts can sometimes be determined by the presence of discontinuities in otherwise continuous soil horizons (represented by near horizontal GPR reflectors). It is necessary to perform multiple closely-spaced GPR transects across the suspect areas when characterizing such anomalies. If an area with discontinuous soil horizons has a rectilinear shape then it is possible that a grave is present at that location.

The probability that a GPR anomaly is associated with a grave is increased as the number of previously discussed attributes is observed on the radar grams. It is not possible, based on the GPR data alone, to determine if a GPR anomaly is associated with a grave.

Survey Results

Nine GPR slices were created for the site at depths of 0-1 foot, 1-2 feet, and at 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 feet bls. Figures 11 and 12 show the GPR slices at 0-1foot and at 8 feet respectively. Multiple anomalous areas were identified within the survey space. These GPR anomalies are divided into two categories: 1) near-surface anaomalies,

and 2) deep anomalies. The locations of both types of anomalies are shown on the survey site maps (see Figures 11 and 12).

The near-surface anomalies are visible from 0 to 3 feet bls. These anomalies are characterized by fairly large areas of subtle changes in the GPR signal response. This type anomaly may be the result of changes in near-surface soils, or indicate foundations of structures or roadways that are now buried. These anomalies are most likely not associated with graves. The deep anomalies are evident from 2 to 8 feet bls. This type anomaly is characterized by abrupt increases in the GPR signal response within a laterally limited area. It is more probable that deep anomalies are associated with grave sites. There were numerous areas of elevated GPR signal response (anomalies) evident on the deeper GPR time slices. However only those deep anomalies which had the strongest GPR signal responses and were large enough to be associated with an adult grave were identified on the survey site maps.
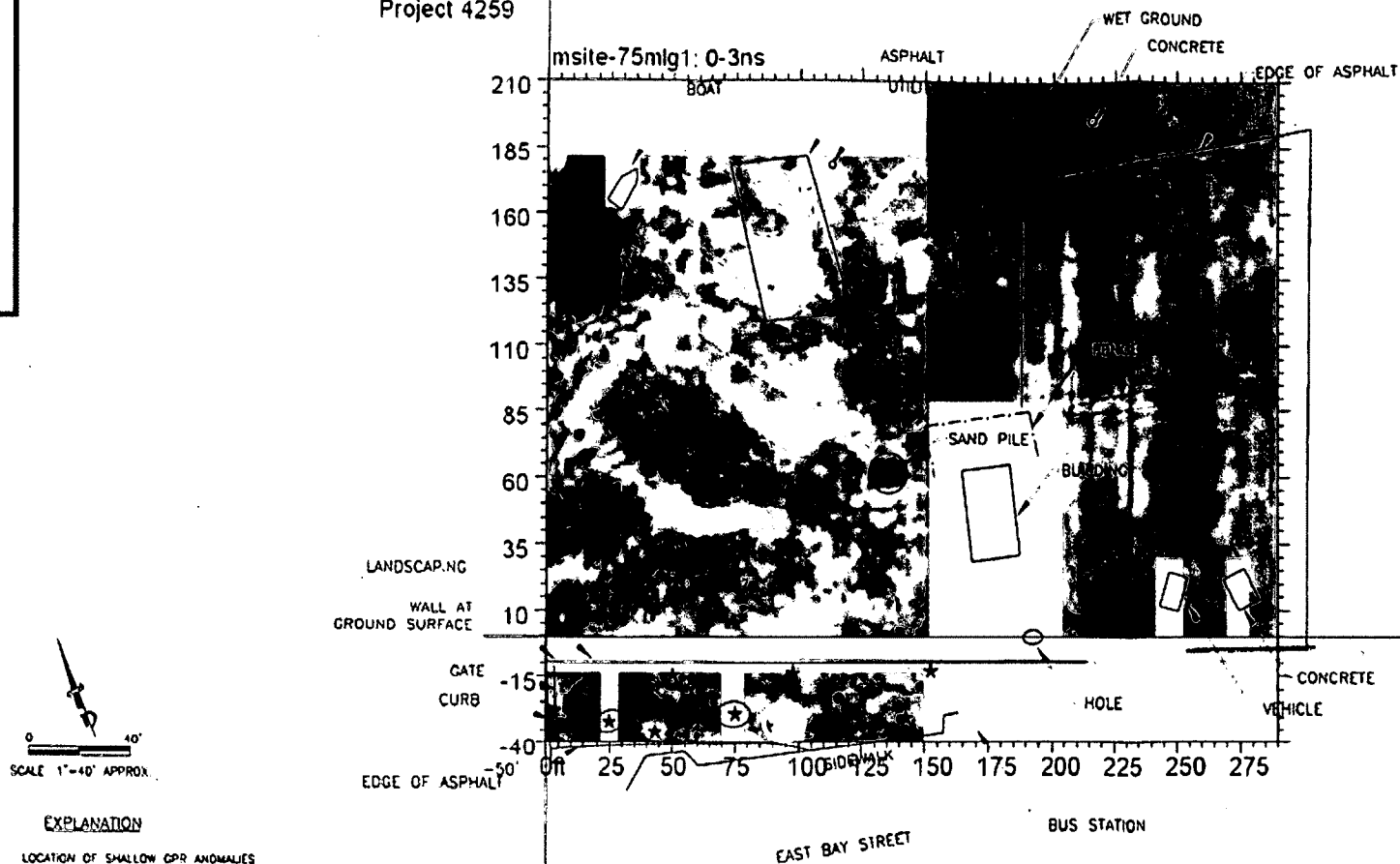
FIGURE 2
GPR TIME SLICE OF
APPROXIMATELY
0 TO 1 FEET BLS

THE NORTHERN BURIAL GROUND OF
ST. MATTHEWS CHURCH SITE
NASSAU, BAHAMAS

THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF THE BAHAMAS
NASSAU, BAHAMAS

Fig.
12

Project 4259

msite-75mlg25: 38-42ns

WET GROUND
CONCRETE

ASPHALT   EDGE OF ASPHALT

BOAT   UTILITY HOLE

FENCE

SAND PILE

BUILDING

LANDSCAPING

WALL AT
GROUND SURFACE

GATE
CURB   CONCRETE

HOLE   VEHICLE

EDGE OF ASPHALT   SIDEWALK

SCALE 1"=40' APPROX

EXPLANATION

LOCATION OF SHALLOW GPR ANOMALIES

LOCATION OF DEEP GPR ANOMALIES

★   TREE

BUS STATION

EAST BAY STREET

GeoView

FIGURE 10
GPR TIME SLICE OF
APPROXIMATELY
8 FEET BLS

THE NORTHERN BURIAL GROUND OF
ST. MATHEWS CHURCH SITE
NASSAU, BAHAMAS

THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF THE BAHAMAS
NASSAU, BAHAMAS

PROJECT
4259
DATE
09/13/2007

110

Though mid-20th century aerial photographs immediately clarified the issue of

the exact location of the North Burial Ground, the GPR survey was still extremely

useful in helping to determine a feasible spot to begin ecxcavating. The GPR survey

had identified an anomaly on the grass verge that was consistently associated with an

elevated GPR signal down to eight feet below the surface; the lowest level tested (see

Figure 12). In the summer of 2008 the Antiquities Monuments and Museums

Corporation requested that I conduct test excavations within the North Burial Ground

site. The reason for this request was that another government agency had planned to

situate a truck weigh station, near the base of the Paradise island bridge, on the

reclaimed land.

Fig. 13 Proposed site development plans superimposed over a contemporary image
of the site. (Image created by Michael Pateman, Antiquities, Monuments,
and Museums Corporation.)

While the aerial photographs had clarified the original location of the

cemetery, the concern about these development plans was that in creating an exit for

the truck weigh station the remains of the North Burial Ground site would be

negatively impacted yet again (see Figure 13). The other agency had refused to revise

their plans for the reclaimed land site because, as they understood it, there were no

extant remnants of the cemetery. The objective for conducting a test excavation was

to recover definitive evidence that human remains were still buried within the site.

The anomaly identified in the GPR survey corresponded with a surface depression on

the ground. It is common in unmarked cemetery sites for most of the graves to be

identified by a slight depression on the ground surface. So with this in mind, a two

meter square test unit was mapped out over this surface depression. This spot is

located in the space between the mid-century sidewalk and the 19th century sea wall.

This sea wall was used as the baseline for the site, measuring from the southern corner

at the junction with the access roadway. The northwest corner of the test unit was 25

meters along tbe sea wall and 3.95 meters south of it (see Figure 14).

As it was known that this site had been extensively disturbed the excavation

proceeded with arbitrary levels 20 centimeters in depth. The unit was divided into one

meter quadrants to provide another measure of control in recording the context of any

finds. Since this site was originally at the water's edge it was not surprising that water

was seeping to the surface at about 60 centimeters. Without pumping equipment to

remove the water only the southeast quadrant was excavated below the second level of
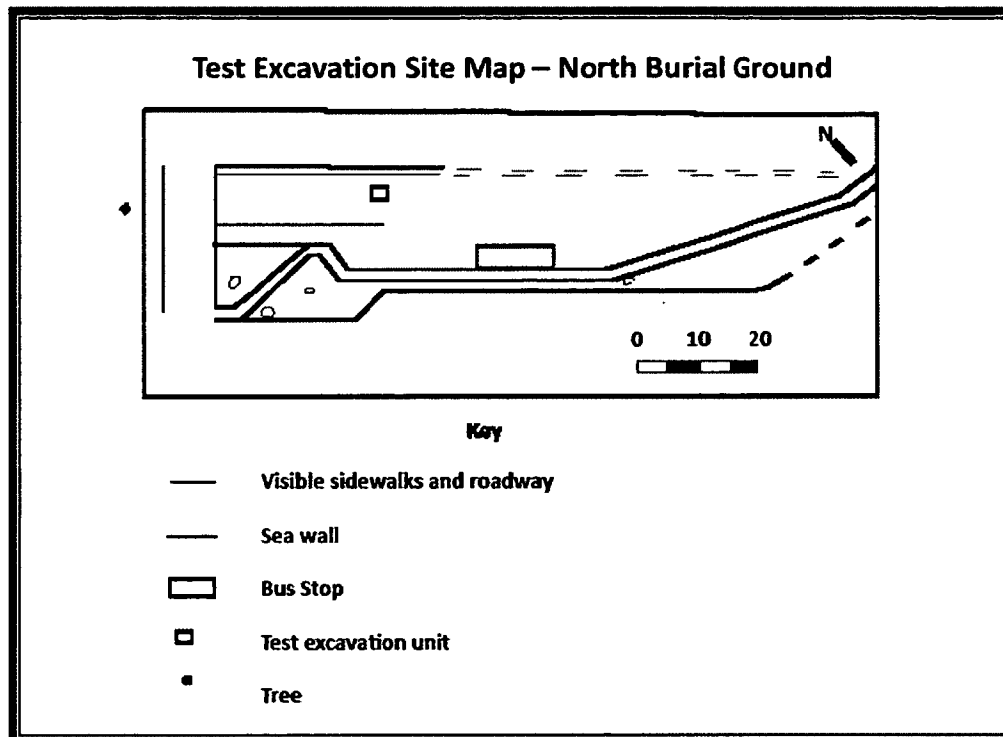
Fig. 14 Map of the North Burial Ground site showing the location of the test unit excavated.

20 to 40 centimenters. The water was removed manually in order to allow time, less than three minutes, to assess the cultural material being exposed. This quadrant was selected for further investigation as the shaft of a femur was recovered from the damp sandy matrix at level two (20 to 40 centimeters).

Exposed in this quadrant were two wooden slats stacked vertically. They appeared to go no lower than a depth of 86 centimeters. Other finds associated with this wood included a number of metatarsals and phalanges. This feature has been interpreted as the remains of a coffin; possibly made of pine (see Figure 15). It is possible this is part of a burial that was not destroyed when the sidewalk was constructed. The Antiquities Corporation is interested in having the wood examined to determine whether this wood was local or had been imported. However the project,

113

at this stage, did not include funding for such testing so this aspect of the research will have to be pursued at another time.

In any case, it appears that the segments of wooden slats remain in the position in which they had originally been placed. Assuming these wood fragments are the remains of a burial, this suggests that burials within this cemetery were extremely shallow as these are less than one meter below the current ground surface. Additionally, as this site was originally on the water's edge it is presumed that burials

Fig. 15 Two wooden slats (top center) interpreted as a section of a coffin.

within this site would have been placed in water. I propose that this was a desirable condition for people of African descent. Elaine Nichols published two photographs of a 1960s African American burial in which the coffin is lowered into a grave shaft that still had several inches of standing water even after some of it had been dipped out in a

114

bucket (1989:35). As early as 1804 the Bahamian parliament passed legislation requiring grave shafts to be no less than four feet deep (Bahamas Statute Laws; the Bahamas Historical Society, 1968:36). Is it possible that establishing this legal stipulation could have been prompted by the cultural behavior of Bahamians of African descent in preferring to make burials close to the waterfront?

This test unit produced an array of cultural materials that were quite enlightening about what could be expected with regard to the condition of burial remains throughout the rest of the site. Artifacts recovered from this unit included an almost complete white salt-glazed stoneware rimmed plate with barley corn rim design and the base of a mid to late 18th century wine bottle. The most surprising finds of all were the fragments of butchered faunal remains. I decided not to collect chicken, pork chop, or fish bones since the original archaeological context within this site was no longer intact so it would not be possible to readily determine which faunal remains had been deposited after the cemetery site was closed. Faunal bones excavated all showed some evidence of butchering using a hand saw or machete. The assumption was that faunal remains butchered by these non-mechanical methods could be presumed to pre-date the close of this cemetery in the early 1900s.

Another category of unanticipated finds were the ceramics, shell, and stone sherds that were associated with a Lucayan site that would have pre-dated any historic era settlement of this island. Though this find of Lucayan cultural materials was surprising it should not have been unexpected as Lucayan sites throughout the Bahamian archipelago are most often situated behind coastal dunes, or the remnants of these. As more archaeological research is conducted on settlements of the later

historic period these kinds of layered sites will become more common. The Lucayan site has been named Sheltered Harbour and recorded as SH 251.

As a result of this test excavation plans for the proposed truck weigh station were relocated to another site in a less culturally sensitive area east of the bridge. The GPR survey was instrumental in helping me select an appropriate area to test for evidence of the site's history. The findings indicated that significant evidence of human burials and evidence of associated grave treatment was still present within the site despite the construction of a sidewalk. The plan for more extensive investigations was to excavate units in areas throughout the site. The aim was to understand whether a similar pattern of artifactual evidence was consistent throughout the site. Being able to identify a consistent use profile for this site would be helpful in developing a history of the site's use.

Fig. 16 - Excavation Site Map – North Burial Ground

Key

——	Visible sidewalks and roadway	☐	Unit 1
——	Sea wall	☐	Unit 2
		☐	Unit 3
▭	Bus Stop	☐	Unit 4
◘	Test excavation unit	☐	Unit 5
■	Tree		
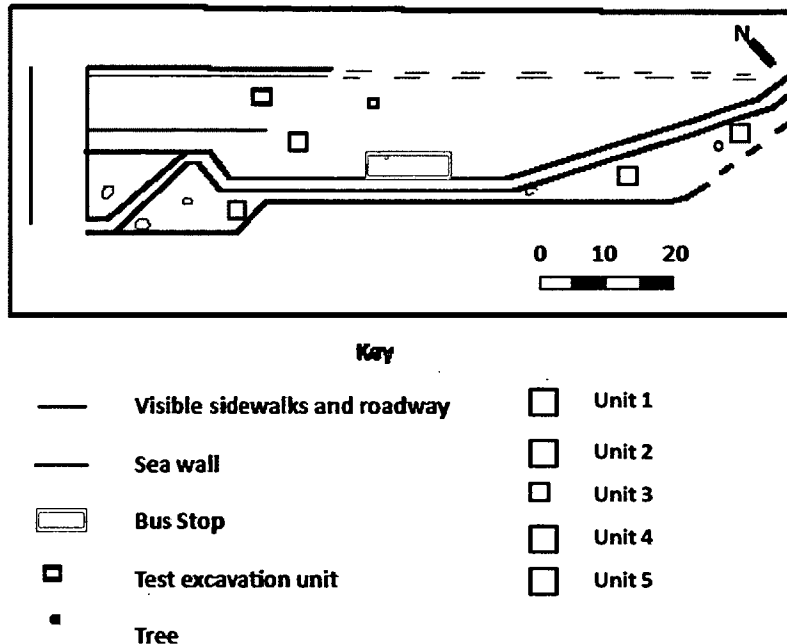
A total of five units were excavated along the length of the site on both sides of the sidewalk (see site map in Figure 16). Yet another government agency had authorized the drilling of a row of holes, about 18 inches in diameter, from the western edge of the site as far as the bus stop pavilion near the center of the site. Surface collections were made from the soil piled around the opening of each of these holes. Unit 1 was positioned between two of these holes at 17.7 meters east along the baseline on the sea wall and 9.3 meters south of the wall. Artifact finds from level one of this unit included small fragments of human bone; butchered beef bones; and ceramics dating from the 18th to 20th centuries. Also found were two mid-20th century coins; a British colonial era half penny that was locally known as a copper, and a United States penny. In level two, among the historic period artifacts was a

cutlery handle – possibly a spoon. Two upright, flat stones were uncovered in the southeast quadrant at the end of level two so the entire eastern half of this unit was taken down another level (40 to 60 centimeters) in order to understand what these stones could be. By 50 centimeters water was seeping to the surface.

The two stones were unmarked and undecorated grave foot stones carved from local limestone. The smaller of the two stones measured 21 centimeters wide and 6 centimeters thick with a domed top. The larger stone is rectangular in shape and measured 27.5 centimeters across and 5.5 centimeters thick. Excavation around these stones continued to determine how deeply they were buried (see Figures 17a and 17b). The bases were determined to be buried at about 89 centimeters. It was decided not to remove the stones but to photograph them before they were re-buried. Removing the stones would have entailed devising an appropriate conservation plan to dehydrate and desalinate the stones. The logistics of finding suitable treatment containers and other materials were beyond the budget and time constraints for this project.

Unit 2 was situated at 22 meters east along the baseline and 16.58 meters south of it – this unit was between the sidewalk and the street in the shade of a tree that will eventually be tested as a descendant of a grave memorial tree. From level 1 (0 to 20 centimeters) a great variety of 18th, 19th, and 20th century material remains were recovered. In level 2 (20 to 40 centimeters) of this unit the crew recovered the largest cache of identifiable skeletal remains from the site. These remains consisted of a cranial cap, the right half of the mandible, one clavicle, a number of ribs and vertebrae. The profile of the unit's north wall where these remains were uncovered

118
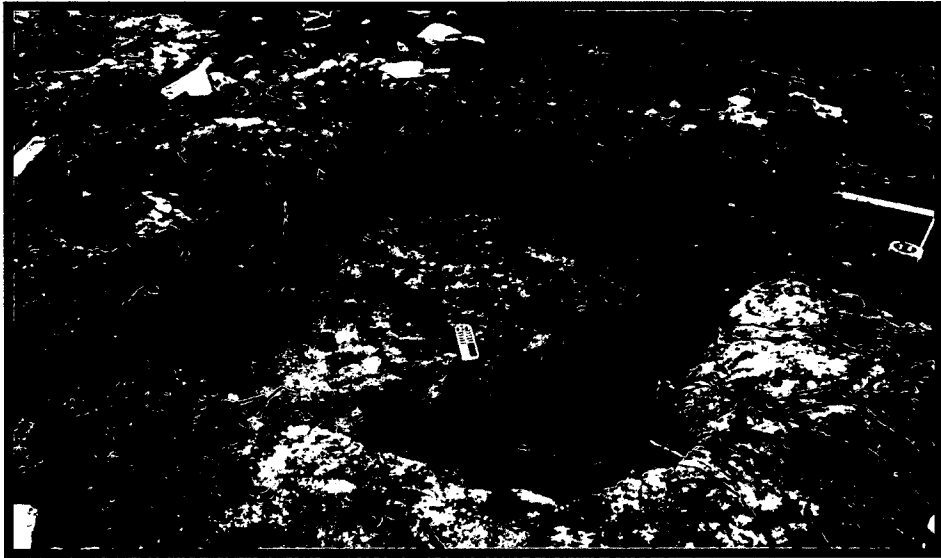
Fig. 17a   End of level 2 photo showing tops of two foot stones.

Fig. 17b   Full view of the 2 limestone foot stones *in situ*.

shows the cranial cap less than 10 centimeters below the base of the earliest sidewalk

(see Figure 18). This detail suggested that this cache of human remains had

apparently been gathered to be collected for removal and disposal off-site; where it is

presumed the remains of other burials from this site were disposed of. Evidently this

119

cache of human remains were not removed from the site but, instead, were re-buried

just below the sidewalk that these burials were supposed to be removed in order to

construct.

A filigree gold brooch, measuring 2.25 centimeters by 3 millimeters, was

recovered from the sandy matrix immediately beneath the cranium. Based on this

presumed associated piece of clothing adornment it was considered likely that this

individual was an adult female. The cranial features usually referenced in sex
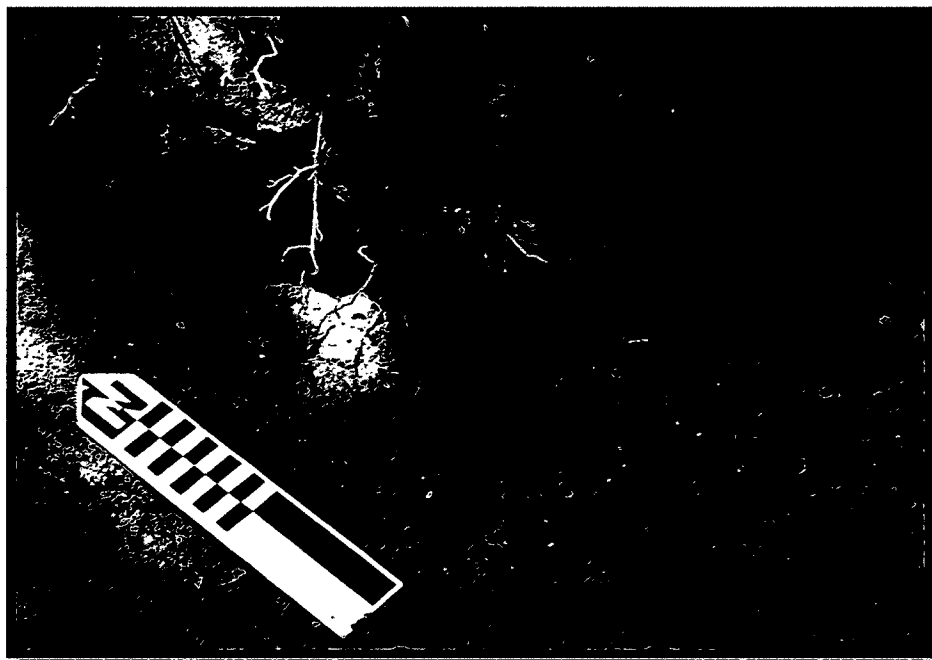
Fig. 18 Human cranial cap exposed in the north wall of unit 2, level 2 at c. 25-30 cms.

estimation, such as the supraorbital ridges and the chin, are missing or incomplete on

this individual. Other cranial fragments were recovered from the southeast quadrant.

These remains were interpreted as another individual because the bone of these cranial

fragments was significantly thicker than the more complete cranium.

120

In the interest of time the decision was made to end the excavation of this unit at the end of level 2 because the soil color was lighter and there was very few artifacts recovered below the level of the cache of skeletal remains. The next unit was located at the center of the site at 43 meters east along the baseline and 3 meters south of the baseline. Only one square meter of this unit was excavated. At a depth of just 7 centimeters there was bedrock; no artifacts were recovered from this unit. The topography of this unit suggests that, at least a portion of this central area had been unusable for burials.

It was not possible to test an area immediately south of this unit as the unit was only about 2 meters north of the bus stop pavilion on the site. This pavilion was constructed atop a concrete foundation. The pavilion opens onto the latest iteration of the sidewalk. Immediately south of the sidewalk the exit from the street to the bridge was widened to allow vehicles to move out of the flow of traffic entering the bridge in order to pick up or drop off passengers at this bus stop. This configuration of new construction means that any remnant of the historic cemetery in this area has likely been destroyed.

The northern edge of the foundation of the bus stop pavilion served as the baseline for unit 4 because the 19th century sea wall now only extends some 35 meters along the northern edge of the site. The pavilion's foundation is 5.23 meters long and is parallel to the line of the sea wall. Unit 4 was situated 16 meters east of the pavilion and 2 meters south of it. As noted for unit 2, the sidewall profiles for this unit also present evidence of an earlier sidewalk. Much of the concrete and asphalt was removed but a layer of white marl is still visible on top of a layer of gray ash, or burnt

material. The soil layer immediately below this is extremely compacted, suggesting that this area may have already been a well-trodden pathway even before sidewalks were constructed across this site.

Artifacts from this unit included remains of large iron spikes that would be more consistent with an access area for small boats than a quiet cemetery landscape. Aerial photographs from the 1940s and 1950s clearly show that, by the mid-20th century, the waterfront from the North Burial Ground site was an anchorage for small, local vessels. Some of these boats were abandoned and deteriorating so this would explain the number of buried anomalies the GPR survey identified within the area of reclaimed land.

Skeletal remains recovered from this unit were fragmented; the damp sand matrix presented a major challenge in attempting to remove these already fragile bones. Other artifactual remains were predominantly 18th century ceramics and bottle glass. Excavations in this unit only continued through two levels to end at 40 centimeters. No additional artifacts were being discovered and the color of the sand had changed from 10Y/R 6/3 Pale Brown reading to 10 Y/R 7/3 Very Pale Brown in the Munsell Soil Color Chart. Both these indicators suggested this depth was close to the earliest historic period use of the site. The logistical time constraint for the crew of summer students was justification for the decision to not excavate this unit to the level of sterile soil.

The fifth, and final unit excavated was situated at 46.5 meters east of the foundation of the bus stop pavilion. This unit was near the narrow, eastern edge of

the site. The unit was about one meter east of a woman tongue tree (*Albizia lebbeck*) that would eventually need to be examined to estimate its age in determining whether this tree was planted as part of an African-influenced cemetery landscape. As with unit 4, the majority of artifacts recovered from this unit date to the 18th and early 19th centuries along with a collection of mid-20th century artifacts which would have certainly been deposited within this site well after the cemetery was closed and had been covered over by hurricane storm surge.

With little time remaining to continue excavating, the decision had been made to simply 'explore' level 3 (40 to 60 centimeters) of this unit as the sand was still relatively dry and, more importantly, skeletal remains as well as 18th century artifacts were continually being uncovered. A chunk of stone that surfaced in level 2 was originally thought to be a fragment of concrete from an earlier sidewalk. Excavation into level 3 revealed that this was actually part of a headstone carved from local limestone. As was noted for the cache of human remains excavated from unit 2, this headstone appears to have simply been pushed face down and covered over by the base of the earliest sidewalk (see Figure 19a). Such a significant find enabled us to end this field season on a resounding bang! (see Figure 19b).

Lab Processing

As this is a waterlogged site that was originally on the harbor front it was important that all of the excavated materials, except ferrous metals, were to be desalinated and dehydrated in the lab before being catalogued and stored. Material

123

excavated for each level was first sorted by material in the lab then soaked in fresh

water for at least three days. The most affordable and available dehydrating agent was

70% isopropyl alcohol. After being soaked in water, materials were then put in

alcohol for another three to four days for smaller sherds and artifacts. Materials that

were thicker, heavier, and more dense, such as brick and limestone were soaked at

each phase for at least one week. Once materials had been through both soaking

phases they were spread out to dry for at least one week. Next, sherds of similar

material from the same level were counted, labeled, and bagged. Each grouping was

also photographed as a component of the full site catalogue.

To facilitate more detailed lab analysis, first, all of the human remains, along

with other faunal bones were hand-carried back to the Institute for Historical Biology

at the College of William and Mary. The bones were wrapped in alcohol-soaked

towels then placed inside air-tight containers (see Appendix J) to be transported. Five

months later the bulk of the artifactual collection was also brought to Williamsburg.

This collection included all ceramics, glass, Lucayan materials, miscellaneous objects,

plus a selection of nail fragments.

Fig. 19a Locally-made headstone of limestone buried less than 20 cms
below an earlier sidewalk.

Fig. 19b The excavation team on the last day of excavations.
Left to right: Scott Fountain; Ashjuan Barnett; Jessica Ford; Gabriel
McKinney; Vandanique Darville; D'Kamaron Swann (seated); Wayne

125

Chapter 5

Analysis of Human Skeletal Remains

As noted in the previous chapter, only fragmentary skeletal remains were
recovered from this site. Given the early 20th century history of this site it was
presumed that in preparation for constructing the sidewalk most of the skeletal
remains were gathered and disposed of elsewhere. Of the six units excavated, it was
determined that identifiable skeletal remains represented a minimum number of five

Site #	Context	Element	Number	Side	%	Age	MNI
NP 250	Unit 2	Parietal		Left	>75%		1
NP 250	Unit 2	Parietal fragments		Unsideable	<25%		1
NP 250	Surface Find	Deciduous Maxillary Molar	1st	Left		Subadult	1
NP 250	Unit 4	Maxillary Molar	1st	Right			1
NP 250	Unit 2	Clavicle		Left	>75%		1
NP 250	Unit 4	Clavicle		Left	25-75%		1
NP 250	Unit 5	Clavicle		Left	<25%		1
· NP 250	Unit 1	Ribs	3rd-9th	Right	<25%		1
NP 250	Unit 2	Ribs	3rd-9th	Right	>75%, 25-75%		1
NP 250	Test Unit	Radius		Right	<25%		1
NP 250	Unit 1	Radius		Right	25-75%		1
NP 250	Unit 2	Ulna		Left	25-75%		1
NP 250	Unit 4	Ulna		Left	25-75%		1
NP 250	Test Unit	Phalanges - hand		Right	25-75%, >75%		1
NP 250	Unit 1	Phalanges - hand		Right	25-75%		1
NP 250	Surface Find	Thoracic vertebra	1st-9th		<25%		1
NP 250	Unit 2	Thoracic vertebrae	1st-9th		25-75%, >75%		1
NP 250	Unit 4	Thoracic vertebra	1st-9th		<25%		1
NP 250	Unit 2	Lumbar vertebrae			25-75%		1
NP 250	Unit 5	Lumbar vertebrae			<25%		1
NP 250	Test Unit	Phalanges - foot		Left	>75%		1
NP 250	Unit 2	Phalanges - foot		Left	>75%		1

Table 3   MNI for Co-mingled Remains from NP 250

adult individuals (see table 3). This finding was supported by an assessment of the minimal number of individuals (MNI) based on the skeletal elements recovered from each unit; except unit 2 where cranial fragments suggested this unit likely represented remains of at least two individuals. A sixth individual, a subadult, was represented by five teeth that were surface-collected from soil around the opening of one of a number of holes drilled across the western portion of the site by the Ministry of Tourism.

The previous site disturbance, in addition to being buried in a matrix of compacted, moist sand meant that all of the larger bones were very fragmented. This meant that it would not be possible to make comparative, statistical measurements used to determine the sex or age of any of the adult individuals. However it was possible to examine the bones and teeth for evidence of pathologies. Following are the summary assessments for each of the six sets of remains. Any assessment of these remains has only limited utility since this collection of human remains is very small and is not representative of the site or the historic community this cemetery served. Nevertheless, the presence of pathologies at least provides some insight on the lives of these individuals.

Test Unit

These remains consisted of an assortment of fragmented, but recognizable bones (see Appendix A for the inventory). None of the bones represented include those skeletal features that can be readily used to suggest sex. There were no pathologies noted on any of these bones. However the linea aspera on the shaft of the left femur is fairly

robust which would suggest that this individual had a physically active lifestyle (see

Figures 20a and 20b). This fragmentary example was the only identifiable femur

recovered in excavating this site. William Bass references T.K. Black's technique of

measuring the midshaft circumference of a femur to assess the sex of fragmentary

examples (2005: 229-231) according to which this femur is assessed. While any

measurement of this bone has no referent, even for this site, this ambiguity allows me
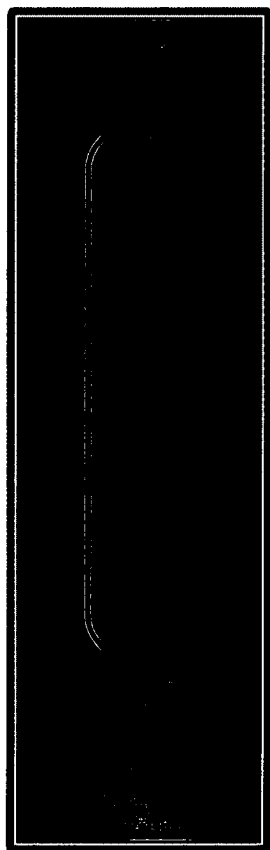
Fig. 20a Linea aspera on a comparative femur   Fig. 20b Moderately robust linea
                                                                              aspera
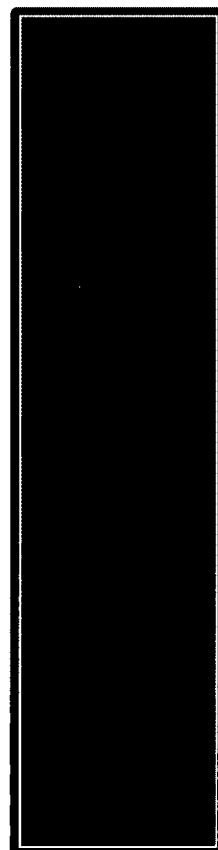
to make the point that both men and women in this cemetery population would have

engaged in physically demanding work. Therefore it would be equally likely that this

fragmentary femur, exhibiting some evidence of a physically active lifestyle, could have belonged to a woman or a man.

Unit 2 Levels 1 & 2

The largest number and variety of skeletal elements were recovered from this unit. With the excavation of an almost complete cranial vault, in level 2, it became apparent that some of the cranial fragments previously discovered in level 1 represented at least one other individual. In level 2, the more complete cranial vault was found in association with much of the spinal column and a number of non-duplicated ribs so the assumption was made that these bones all represented elements from one individual. The cranial vault is incomplete and missing features used for cranial measuring points and to estimate sex, such as the brow ridges and the muscle attachments (Bass, 2005:81) (see Figure 21a). A small, filigree gold pin found in close association with the cranium was interpreted as a pin for the neck of a woman's dress or blouse. Since this personal ornament was deemed to be feminine, then it was presumed that the individual it had been buried with was likely a female.

Some segments of the bone in this individual's cranial vault had thickened (7.74 – 10 mm) (see Figure 21a). Thickening of cranial bone could be an indicator of some type of anemia that could have resulted either from nutritional deficiency or disease (Khudabux 1999: 308; White, 2000:394). Other cranial bone fragments from the southern half of this unit were even thicker (11.60 – 13.49 mm). As noted earlier, these fragments were presumed to belong to another individual so it appears that the

129

anemic condition was even more chronic for this second individual. This health condition would suggest that this individual, whether enslaved or free, endured a life of nutritional imbalance due to limited options in food choices. An individual affected by such a nutritional deficiency was quite likely to be affected by other nutritional deficiencies; as noted by assessment of the following condition (Walker et al, 2009: 116).

The pitted surface of the bone in the small, intact section of the left eye orbit is evidence of cribra orbitalia; yet another indicator of nutritional deficiency (see Figure 21b). Bioarchaeological research into the cause of cribra orbitalia suggests this condition is often attributed to a diet deficient in vitamin B_{12}-rich animal foods as well as other conditions and deficiency-related diseases such as scurvy and rickets (Khudabux 1999:308; Walker et al, 2009:115-116). These nutritional deficiencies

Fig. 21a Right side of cranium
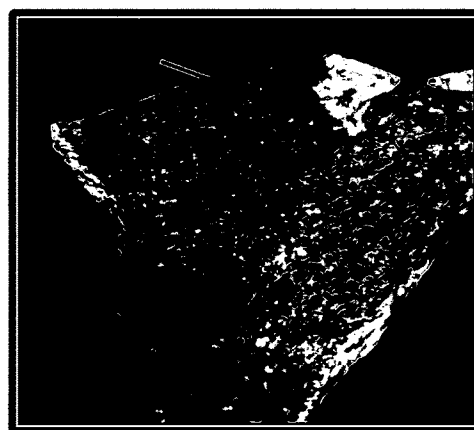
Fig. 21b Arrow indicates area of cribra orbitalia

can be further exacerbated by intestinal parasite infections, the transmission of which is facilitated by poor sanitation and a contaminated water supply (Walker et al,

2009:118). The only other pathology noted from this excavation unit is dental caries

(tooth decay) on the occlusal surface of one tooth: a 2nd left upper molar (LM^2).

These two cranial fragments, as in the case of the femur, were the two largest cranial

fragments identified so they also are a very small sample. With such a small sample it

is not possible to make any assertions apart from the fact that these two individuals

evidently endured life conditions in which they were nutritionally challenged and also

possibly did not live in the most sanitary conditions.

Unit 4 and Unit 5

Only small, fragmented human bones were recovered from both these units.

No skeletal pathologies were noted for any of these remains. The bones from each of

these units were estimated as minimally representing the remains of at least one

individual for each unit.

Surface Collections

A set of seven teeth were retrieved from the sand around the opening of one of

the drilled holes. These teeth were determined to be those of a subadult about 10 to

11 years of age (Bass, 2005:302). These include two incisors and five molars; a

deciduous left first molar and the unerupted crown of a 3rd mandibular molar. The

two incisors have transverse lines which are an indication of enamel hypoplasia

(White, 2000:526) (see Figures 22a and 22b). Dental enamel hypoplasia is an

indicator of "systemic metabolic stress associated with infectious disease, insufficient calcium, protein, or carbohydrates" (Blakey and Rankin-Hill, 2009:144). These were the only examples of lateral incisors excavated; the other incisors included one maxillary and one mandibular central incisor from unit 4. The two lateral incisors were the only teeth impacted by enamel hypoplasia. As noted previously, these two teeth are the only ones excavated that were impacted by enamel hypoplasia so such a tiny sample cannot be presumed to be representative of the cemetery population or the affiliated communities.

These pathologies all raise questions about the possible extent to which these conditions were evident among urban African-Bahamian communities; a population that likely lived constantly on the economic margins of the wider society. Even in an
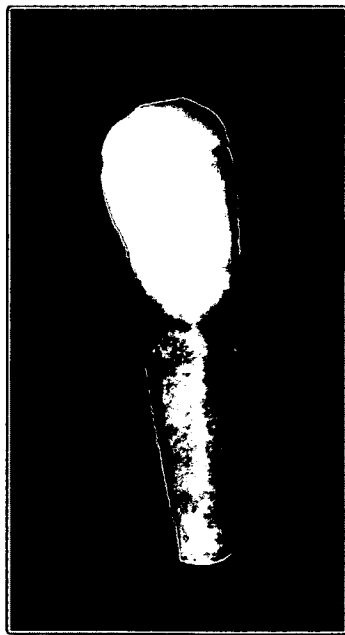
Fig. 22a Left upper lateral incisor   Fig. 22b Right upper lateral incisor
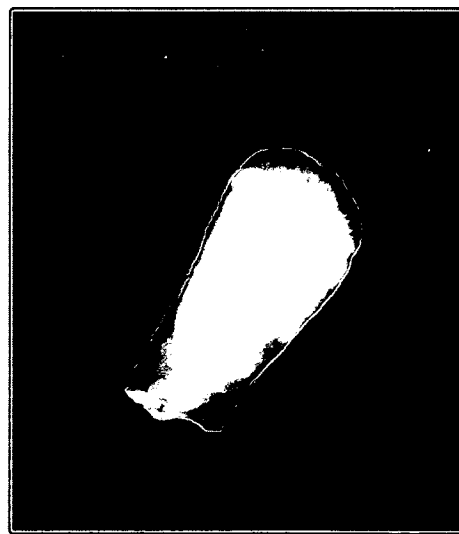
urban environment where enslaved workers could work for hire and free blacks were independent workers, their economic opportunities were quite limited. Employment opportunities in Nassau for black men would have included work as a mariner, fisherman, or varied work on land associated with boat building and maintenance (Turner, 2007:4). The site certainly retained early 20th century evidence to suggest that the North Burial Ground site was used as an area of access for boats moored along the shore.

For black women in Nassau work opportunities would have been primarily as itinerant street vendors. They would have carried their wares in wide, shallow baskets balanced on their head. Sources such as notices in the only 18th century newspaper, *The Bahama Argus*, and 19th century depictions all indicate that street vendors hawking cooked foodstuffs, or fruits and vegetables were usually women. A public produce market was constructed in the 1790s on Bay Street opposite its junction with one of two streets leading into the city from the black neighborhood south of the hill that was the city's southern limit.

The only 18th century account that referred to the everyday lives of blacks was recorded by Johann David Schoepf in, *Travels in the Confederation, 1783-1784*. He had travelled through several mid-Atlantic states before sailing on to the Bahamas. Schoepf's visit came during the aftermath of the war when Loyalist refugees were still migrating into the colony. His brief descriptions provide some insight on the nature of life in Nassau at a time when the Northern Burial Ground would have been in use:

> To the east of the town, along the waterside, are a good number of
> houses, for the most part occupied by sailors and fishermen; and

several English miles farther on is a little village, to which the name
New-Guinea has been given, most of its inhabitants being free negroes
and mulattoes. ...Even the blacks here take part in the general
contentment. They are everywhere of a better appearance, breathing
happiness; strong, well-fed, and of a decent demeanor. Many of them
are free, or if they are slaves, by paying a small weekly sum they are
left undisturbed in the enjoyment of what they gain by other work.
Some of them own houses and plantations, and others are even put in
command of small vessels. Fishing is a common employment of
the poorer white inhabitants as well as of many negroes; however
fish are not always to be had when wanted. (Schoepf, 1911: 263-264;
276; 301)

Schoepf's assessment of Nassau black as being, "strong, well-fed, and of a decent

demeanor" is in contrast to even this limited archaeological assessment of that same

population. The robust muscle attachment on the femur of one individual suggests a

constant amount of physical labor that would be consistent with the general lifestyle

of a laborer. Other bone and dental pathologies reflect a population that constantly

faced nutritional deficiency either as a result of poor nutrition, disease, or both. Free

and enslaved black men and women could create independent lives for themselves in

Nassau. Nevertheless they faced significant health challenges such as access to food

for a nutritionally balanced diet, in addition to poor sanitary living conditions.

Chapter 6

Analysis of Historic Period Artifacts and Ecofacts

As this site had been subjected to multiple episodes of disturbance then the interpretation of any archaeological evidence would necessarily need to rely more heavily on the cultural material excavated. Of the artifacts and ecofacts excavated three material categories were selected for more detailed analysis because of the potential for such research to add layers of information about how the site was used. The three material categories analyzed included ceramic sherds; glass sherds; and faunal remains.

Other material categories were deemed to be less helpful for a number of reasons. Nails were one of the largest material categories excavated but these were not studied because, as ferrous material, they would require electrolytic conservation treatment. The AMMC's conservation facility is set up to treat much larger iron objects like cannon and cannon balls; not objects as small as nails. The technique for manufacturing nails changed over time and even though there is considerable time overlap for each variety, the presence of different styles of nail gives some idea of the general period of use (Hume, 1991:252-254). Wherever conservation facilities make it possible this loose chronology could provide an additional line of evidence with other datable cultural chronologies.

Quite an amount of brick was also recovered. In the 18th and 19th centuries grave sites were sometimes curbed using brick. Since brick was an imported construction material in the Bahamas this meant it was quite expensive. The use of

135

brick in curbing for graves would suggest there was a substantial financial outlay for such grave treatment. It was useful to note the presence of brick as an architectural feature used for some grave sites. However, since the original context of the site has been destroyed then the research value of brick is limited to acknowledging its use to curb some graves in this cemetery. Some shell and stone were also collected but these were interpreted as elements of the Lucayan component of this site; that material is dealt with more thoroughly in the next chapter.

Ceramics

One of the African-derived grave treatments being researched for this project was archaeological evidence for personal items placed on top of graves. Ethnographic and folklore research in the Bahamas and elsewhere in the Americas suggest that ceramic vessels are commonly part of this display of personal belongings. These ceramic articles included plates, bowls, tea wares (cups and saucers), and stoneware bottles. Even though the site's original context had been destroyed, archaeological investigation of this site proceeded on the assumption that any cultural materials excavated within this site were related to its use over time as a cemetery for people of African descent. The exceptions were objects that were likely deposited within the site after it was no longer used as a cemetery.

Apart from being the largest category of cultural material, the excavated ceramics proved to also be the most time-sensitive cultural material. As such, establishing a timeline for cultural activity within this cemetery space relied most

heavily on the period of manufacture for the variety of ceramics that were excavated. Time-sensitive evidence derived from the bottle glass and faunal remains all seemed to reinforce the general trend seen for the ceramics. Following is a synopsis of the types of ceramic represented from the site's history as a cemetery. These are listed in chronological order for the earliest period these wares would have been on the market:

Tin-glazed enamel ware – polychrome: 1571 – 1790

Fig. 23   Examples of tin-glazed enamel ceramics with polychrome designs.

Tin-glazed enamel (TGE) wares were the prevalent European ceramic type for over 200 years from the 16th through the 18th century. British colonies like the Bahamas usually had Dutch or English-made TGE products. The more colorful styles can date as early as the 16th century but remained on the market until the late 18th century when creamware became more popular. Only a few small sherds were recovered at this site (see Figure 23), suggesting that these could represent a use period for this cemetery that was earlier than the late 18th century. The North Burial Ground is across the street from Centre Burial Ground which dates at least to the

137

1730s. Ceramic forms in this style from this site were all plates (Diagnostic Artifacts in Maryland; Florida Museum of Natural History Digital Type Collection).

Tin-glazed enamel ware - blue on white: 1630-1790

Fig. 24 A variety of handpainted designs on TGE blue on white sherds.

Tin-glazed enamel ceramics with handpainted decorations in cobalt blue were common through much of the 17th and 18th centuries. Different design motifs were prevalent over particular periods. The design motifs recovered from the North Burial Ground site (see Figure 24) were oriental landscapes with a general time line of 1671-1788, and Chinese floral patterns, 1669-1793. Though these patterns were still available in the late 18th century, since these designs were in vogue for such a long time then there is a possibility that they could have been placed in the cemetery at some earlier point in the 18th century (Diagnostic Artifacts in Maryland; Florida

Museum of Natural History Digital Type Collection). Sherds for this ceramic type

could represent plates, rimmed plates, or bowls.

Staffordshire Slipware: 1675-1770

Fig. 25a Slipware with trailed, combed and marbled designs.   Fig. 25b Cup/mug rim with
Top center – 'pie crust' rim finish of a milk pan form.   dot pattern.
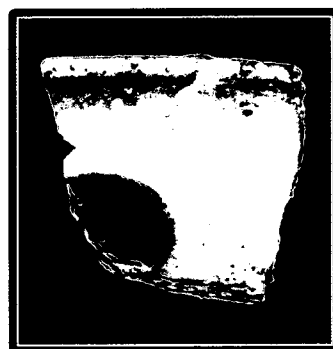
By the late 17th century Staffordshire slipwares were predominantly utilitarian

forms. Design techniques included trailing a dark-colored slip over a white

background. The finishing lead glaze gives these pieces the distinctive colors of

yellow and shades of brown. Hollow forms, like cups, bowls, and jugs were often also

decorated with dots near the rim. The rim of large, flat forms as chargers, plates, and

milk pans were crimped to form pie crust-like impressions as a finish for the rim. This

type ceramic was not exported across the Atlantic after about 1770 so certainly

represents an 18th century period of use. Forms of Staffordshire slipware recovered

from this site (see Figures 25a, and 25b) included some hollow form such as a cup,

mug, or jug; plates; and milk pans (a large, flat dish with sloping or upright sides like a

pie pan) (Diagnostic Artifacts in Maryland; Florida Museum of Natural History

Digital Type Collection; Hume, 1991:134-136).

Manganese Mottled ware: 1675-1780
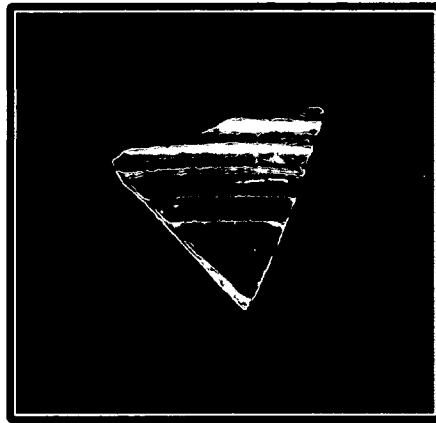
Fig. 26 Sherd of a drinking vessel with cordoned trim

The most common form of this type ceramic is drinking vessels such as

tankards, mugs, and cups. Cordoned bands near the rim and the base were the most

usual decorative technique used on these vessels. Only this one, small sherd was

recovered at the North Burial Ground site (see Figure 26). Although it is quite

possible that this vessel belonged to someone who was buried here in this cemetery

in the late 18th century or sometime in the 19th century, it is also possible that this

vessel was originally placed on a grave here earlier in the 18th century (Diagnostic

Artifacts in Maryland).

The consistent presence of such ceramic types, with manufacturing ending

dates that do not overlap with the Loyalist migration into the Bahamas, raised

questions about the validity of such an historical timeline. Additional factors as a history of free black settlements in this area, plus the location of this site adjacent to an earlier cemetery all combine to suggest the possibility that this cemetery was already a deliberately constructed African-influenced cemetery space by the late 18th century when Loyalists moved to the Bahamas. If that indeed were the case then it would make a compelling argument for the level of cultural agency that both enslaved and freed Africans and their descendants were able to exert.

Fulham-type Stoneware: 1675-1775

Fig. 27   Glued fragment of a Fulham-type stoneware jug.

This stoneware type was developed in the last quarter of the 17th century in imitation of Rhenish brown stoneware (see Figure 27). Though this ware type was developed by a potter in Fulham it is now also referred to as English Brown Stoneware since it was not only made in Fulham. Drinking vessels, such as mugs and tankards,

along with bottles were the most common forms manufactured in this type ceramic but a variety of other forms were also made, including jugs, jars, bowls, as well as tea and coffee services (Diagnostic Artifacts in Maryland; Hume, 1991:112-114). A total of five small sherds were excavated that fit together in two larger fragments. This is yet another ceramic type that could indicate an earlier use of this site as a cemetery.

North Devon Gravel-Tempered ware: 1680-1750
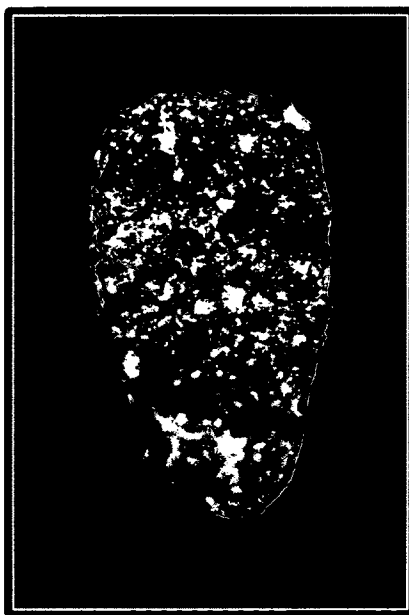
Fig. 28 North Devon Gravel was amid-18th century ceramic

This was a utilitarian ceramic type that was in use mainly to the mid-18th century (see Figure 28). As a utilitarian ware pieces of this type were often undecorated. The most common forms were milk pans and butter pots (Diagnostic Artifacts in Maryland; Florida Museum of Natural History Digital Type Collection; Hume, 1991: 133-134). This sherd is possibly from a milk pan (see Figure 28). Just

142

this single sherd emphasizes the possibility that this site was used as a cemetery by African-descended people well before Loyalist refugees moved to the Bahamas in the 1780s.

Nottingham Stoneware: 1700-1810
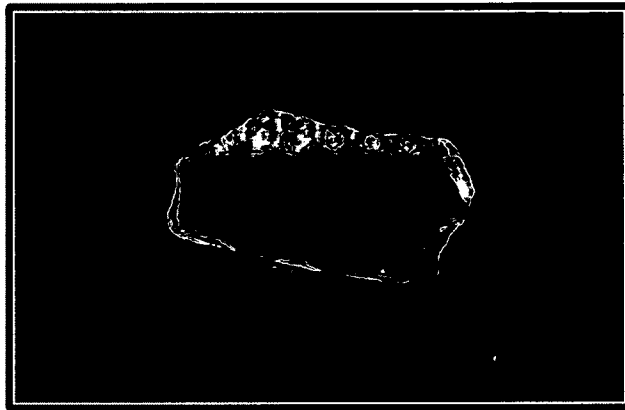
Fig. 29 Rouletted sherd of a Nottingham stoneware drinking vessel.

This type ceramic was produced throughout the 18th century, though it was manufactured in less quantity after about 1775. Only hollow vessel forms, as tankards, cups, mugs, pitchers, punch bowls, tea, and coffee pots were produced in Nottingham stoneware. Decorative techniques on these forms included incised or engine-turned rouletting or cordoned bands, sprig-molded appliqués, and a variety of hand-finished decorations (Diagnostic Artifacts in Maryland; Florida Museum of Natural History Digital Type Collection; Hume, 1991:113-114). This was the only sherd of Nottingham stoneware recovered. It is likely from a drinking vessel such as a mug, cup, or tankard. The rouletting suggests this fragment was near the rim of the vessel (see Figure 29).
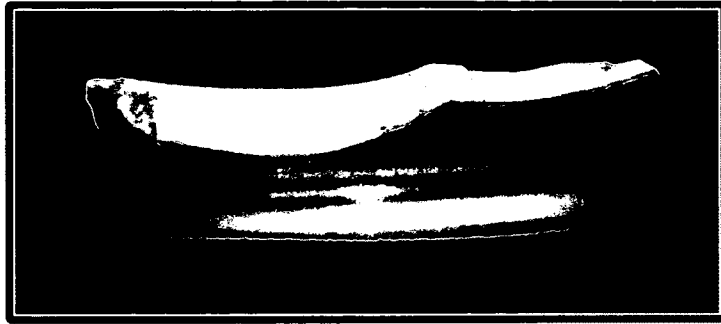
Fig. 30   Chinese export porcelain tea bowl base.

Chinese porcelain in the Americas likely date from one of two dynasties: either the Ming Dynasty, which dated from 1364-1644, or the Ch'ing Dynasty of 1644-1912. A mark identifying the reign when a piece was manufactured would serve as an important chronological indicator. However during the 18th century, Chinese export porcelain decorated in blue underglaze almost never had reign marks making it very difficult to reliably date even complete pieces.

In archaeological sites where ceramics are most often recovered as relatively small sherds then archaeologists often have to rely on such tangential evidence as changes over time in decorative styles and techniques. None of the sherds excavated from the North Burial Ground site appear to fit the general description of late 18th to early 19th century Chinese porcelain from Canton or Nanking characterized by coarsely executed designs done in intense cobalt blue (see Figure 30). As the 18th century progressed Chinese porcelain became more affordable so that by the mid-18th century Chinese porcelain can be found on a variety of sites. The significance of factoring in Chinese porcelain for this site is that it helps to illustrate the great variety

144

of ceramic types that was available to Nassau's urban black communities (Florida

Museum of Natural History Digital Type Collection; Hume, 1991:261-263).

Astbury type: 1720-1750
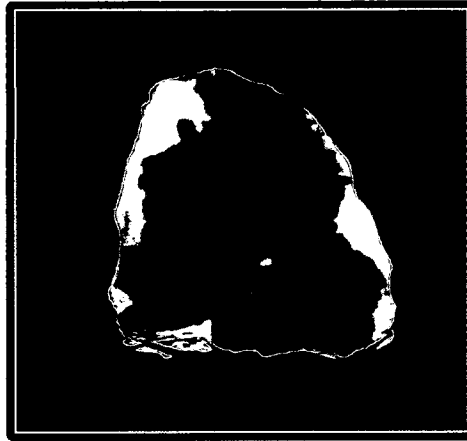
Fig. 31 The most usual form for Astbury type ceramics were tea wares.

Also sometimes referred to as simply "fine red earthenware," this type ceramic

was used mainly for tea wares such as tea pots, tea cups, bowls, and coffee pots.

These forms were often decorated with bands of white pipe clay slip near the rim, and

sprig-molded appliqués in a variety of forms, including animals, flowers, and royal

coat-of-arms (Diagnostic Artifacts in Maryland; Florida Museum of Natural History

Digital Type Collection; Hume, 1991:122-123). This tiny rim sherd was part of some

hollow form; likely a cup or a bowl (see Figure 31). With a terminus post quem in

the mid-18th century the presence of this ceramic type adds to the hypothesis that this

cemetery pre-dated the late-18th century Loyalist migration whose policies of racial

segregation had such a profound impact on the lives of free and enslaved blacks within the town of Nassau.

Buckley type Stoneware: 1720-1820
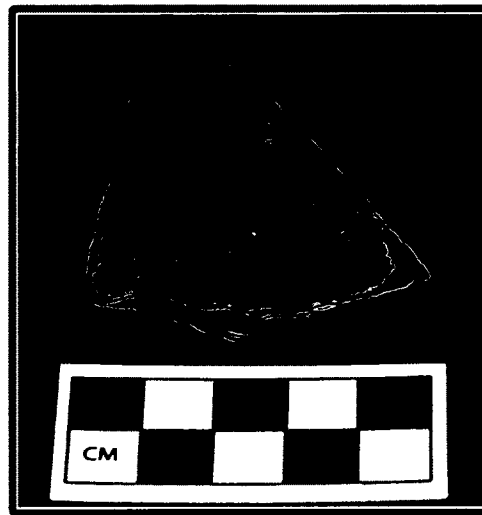
Fig. 32 Buckley type stoneware sherd

This ware type combined red and yellowish clays. The result was a paste ranging from brick-red to a dark, purplish color. Finished articles were covered with a heavy glaze that could range in color from black to a lighter, brown colored glaze. Vessels of this ware type included table wares such as cups, bowls, and pitchers along with utilitarian vessels such as storage jars, milk pans, and cooking pots. These articles were usually not decorated. Only storage vessels were glazed on both surfaces; all others were only glazed on the interior surface (Diagnostic Artifacts in Maryland). Two sherds of this ware type were excavated at this site (see Figure 32).

**Fig. 33 Scratch blue salt-glazed sherds with cordoned trim near base (left)
and rim (right).**

The decorative technique is the distinguishing feature of this variety of salt-

glazed stoneware. Incised geometric and floral patterns were in-filled with cobalt

blue oxide. Any excess pigment was wiped away leaving color only within the

incised designs. Forms manufactured in this included tea wares, pitchers, punch

pots, and loving cups (Diagnostic Artifacts in Maryland; Florida Museum of Natural

History Digital Type Collection; Hume, 1991:117). The two sherds excavated both

represent hollow forms (see Figure 33). The very thin, rim sherd could have been part

of a tea bowl; while the heavier, base sherd could have been part of a pitcher, tankard,

or loving cup. As with the other type of white salt-glazed stoneware, this scratch blue

ceramic could have just as easily been placed in this cemetery some time before, or

after the 1780s. Although this ware type was not manufactured after about 1775, it

is plausible that pieces were still in use some 15 to 20 years later.

Press-molded White Salt-glazed Stoneware: 1740-1770

Fig. 34 Section of a white salt-glazed rimmed plated in barley pattern.

This was a thinly-potted, white-bodied, salt-glazed stoneware that was developed about 1720 with the inclusion of calcined flint. This revised manufacturing process further refined an earlier type of white-bodied English stoneware. Table wares, including tea wares; jugs; mugs; pitchers; and tankards were among the variety of forms manufactured.

By 1740 block press-molded and slip cast decorative forms became the most common forms of English white salt-glazed stoneware (see Figure 34). Press-molded designs included barleycorn; dot, diaper, and basket; and bead and reel. Part of the popularity of this ceramic type was its modest cost. However, the popularity of white salt-glazed stoneware was eventually superseded by creamware (Diagnostic Artifacts in Maryland; Florida Museum of Natural History Digital Type Collection; Hume, 1991:114-116). The press-molded decorated sherds excavated from this site all appear to be various kinds of plates. Manufacturing dates for this ceramic style also adds to

speculation that this cemetery site could have pre-dated the establishment of the late 18th century, Loyalist-period North Burial Ground.

Stoneware Mineral Water Bottle: circa 1750-1760
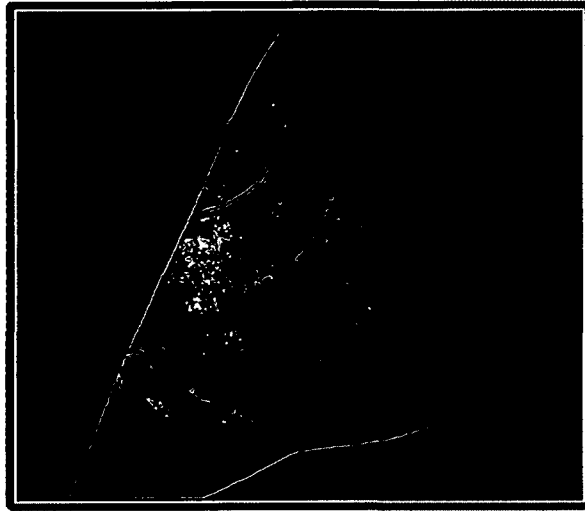
Fig. 35 Label on shoulder of mineral water bottle.

Research on this stoneware sherd proved rather difficult; nothing similar could be found in any reference books. The mystery was only solved with a visit to the DeWitt Wallace Museum in Colonial Williamsburg. An exhibit there on stoneware available in colonial America, *Pottery With a Past*, included a similar stoneware bottle. They were made in Westerwald, Germany to hold mineral water; an expensive, mid-18th century health fad (Skerry and Hood, 2010). The characteristic feature of these bottles is an incised label on the shoulder that could also be encircled by a ring of cobalt blue color (see Figure 35). Finds such as this bottle suggest that at least some members of this community were able to participate in contemporary trends in material culture.

American Coarse Redware: 1750-1820

Fig. 36 Rim sherd of a shallow red ware vessel; possibly a milk pan.

This utilitarian ceramic type was made in North America initially by German immigrant potters in Pennsylvania, New England, and North Carolina. The main decorative technique was to trail white slip onto a piece in simple geometric bands, stripes, loops, or lobes that were covered with a clear lead glaze on the interior surface only. Common food-related forms manufactured in this ceramic style included platters, plates, saucers, bowls, milk pans, tea pots, jars, jugs, and pitchers (Florida Museum of Natural History Digital Type Collection). Sherds excavated from this site all appear to have been part of a flat, open form as a milk pan (see Figure 36). Manufacturing dates for this ceramic style would support a late 18th century establishment of this cemetery during the Loyalist period.

Clouded or Tortoise shell wares: 1750-1770
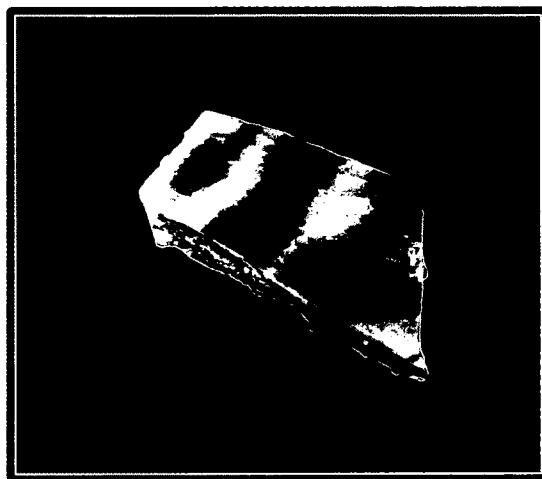
Fig. 37 Tortoiseshell style ceramic.

A cream-bodied refined earthenware was developed in England around 1740.

Experiments continued by adding various colored metal oxides to glazes applied to

this cream-bodied ceramic resulting in mottled patterns in purple, blue, brown, yellow,

green, and gray. This ceramic type is sometimes called Whieldon ware, for the

primary developer of this ceramic style; but it is also 'clouded' or 'tortoiseshell' wares

because it was produced by many potteries (Diagnostic Artifacts in Maryland; Florida

Museum of Natural History Digital Type Collection; Hume, 1991:123-124). Just one

tiny sherd of tortoiseshell-style ceramic was excavated (see Figure 37). Again, this

mid-18th century ware type raises the possibility of an earlier use period for the

North Burial Ground site.
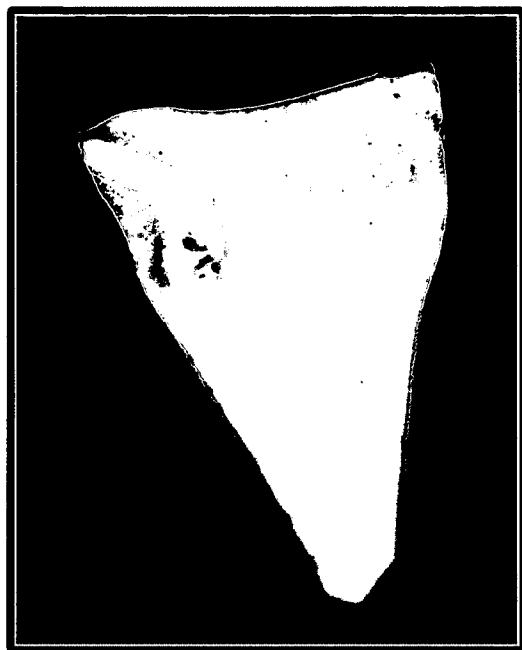
Fig. 38 Creamware plate with featheredge design.

In 1762 Josiah Wedgwood introduced a clear lead-glazed cream-colored

ceramic he called 'creamware.' Wedgwood adapted a white salt-glazed rim

pattern for his signature creamware designs called 'Queen's ware' and 'Royal'

pattern. This new ceramic type contributed to the decline of earlier ware types as

white salt-glazed stoneware, and tin-glazed enamel wares. A new pattern, known

as featheredge, (see Figure 38), was first produced in 1765 but was no longer used

after about 1810 (Diagnostic Artifacts in Maryland; Florida Museum of Natural

History Digital Type Collection; Hume, 1991:124-126).

Pearlware: 1775-1840

Fig. 39a   An edged ware – Shell edged Pearlware.

As creamware had eclipsed white salt-glazed stoneware and tin-glazed enamel

as the most popular wares, so pearlware became the next popular, affordable ceramic

type which eclipsed creamware. Pearlware remained the prevalent type of affordable

refined earthenware for about 60 years. During this time technological developments

allowed manufacturers to test the public appeal of a number of decorative techniques

(see Figures 39a-39e). Vessel forms in the various styles of this ware type included

tea wares, plates, platters, and bowls (Florida Museum of Natural History Digital Type

Collection; Hume, 1991:129-132).

Pearlware – transfer printed: 1784-1840   Pearlware – marbelized:1782-1820

Fig. 39b Transfer-printed pearlware sherd.

Fig. 39c   Marbelized pearlware sherd.

Pearlware – early handpainted: 1795-1820   Pearlware – late handpainted: 1830-1840
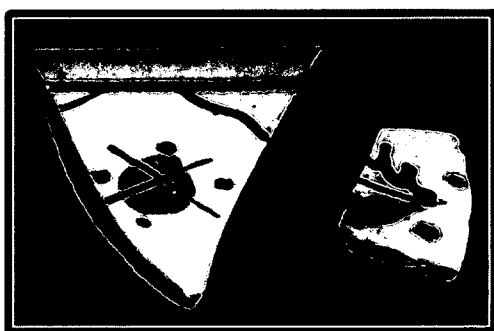
Fig. 39d   Early style handpainted pearlware.

Fig. 39e   Later style handpainted pearlware.
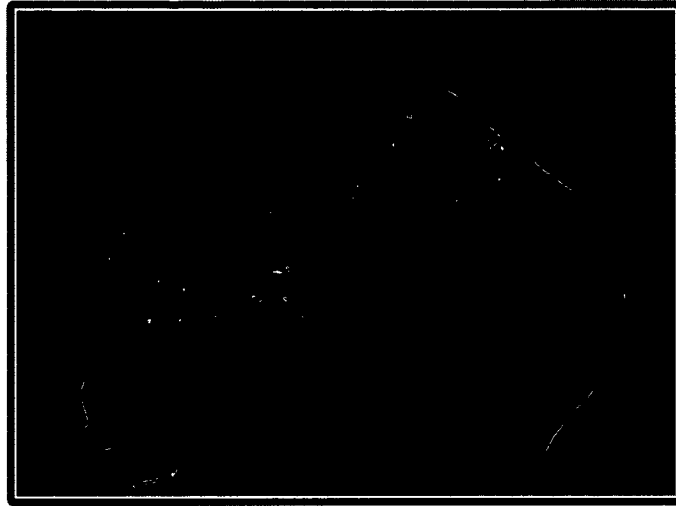
Fig. 40 Blue on gray decorated stoneware jug

This ware type was developed by the late 18th century to replace German-made stonewares. American stoneware vessels were thicker than similar German forms. The most common forms of this heavy duty utilitarian ware were jugs which were used as storage for a variety of liquids. Decorative motifs were executed free-hand or stenciled in cobalt. Details such as the volume and business labels were stamped into the body of the vessel (Greer, 1981:75; Hume, 1991:101). The few sherds excavated all represent these large storage jar forms (see Figure 40).

White ware: 1830 –

Fig. 41 Reconstructed lid of a covered container.

White ware, or ironstone china, eventually replaced pearlware as the most

popular and affordable ware type. Handpainted and sponged designs were most

popular until the 1840s (see Figure 41). By about 1840 a dense, semi-vitrified

variety known as white granite was being manufactured. Design motifs on this

are type was usually molded into the piece; though decorative elements in

metallic luster finish were sometimes added (Diagnostic Artifacts in Maryland;

Hume, 1991: 101). This is the first ware type that was developed in the 19th

century.

Guanajuato Majolica: 1850-1900

Fig. 42 This vessel likely represented Bahamian migration in the region.

This ceramic type was manufactured in Mexico. It was a utilitarian ware covered in a thick enamel layer over a hard, compact paste core. Decoration consisted of handpainted floral motifs in orange, green, yellow, purple, blue, brown, and black. The usual forms manufactured included cups, bowls, and plates (Florida Museum of Natural History Digital Type Collection). Just one sherd of this ceramic type was excavated at the North Burial Ground site (see Figure 42). It was identified as Guanajuato polychrome type majolica based on the distinctive emerald green color used on this ceramic. As an Hispanic ceramic type it was an unusual find in this British colony. It has been interpreted as evidence of Bahamian workers taking advantage of wage-earning opportunities around the region in the late 19th century after emancipation in the United States in 1865 and Cuba in 1886.

157

Grindley, England: 1936-1954
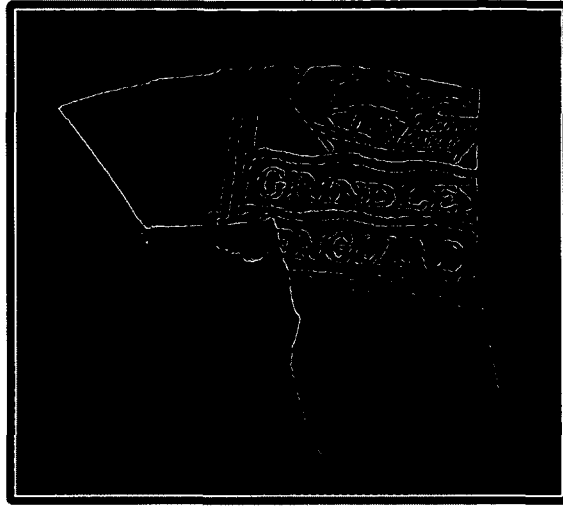
Fig. 43   Maker's mark from some tableware form.

This pottery was established in 1880 by William Harry Grindley at the

Newfield Pottery in Tunstall, Stoke-on-Trent.   The company manufactured

earthenware and ironstone china that was exported predominantly to markets in

Canada, the United States, South America, and Australia (A-Z of Stoke-on-Trent

Potters). The three sherds excavated from the North Burial Ground site display

the company's logo that was used from about 1936 to 1954 (see Figure 43). Based

on what is known of the history of this site these dates suggest the vessel could

have been deposited on the site at the time when some iteration of the sidewalk

was being constructed.

Evaluation

Despite the fact that this is a disturbed site the analysis of ceramic types demonstrated a number of issues relevant to an understanding of the community that used this site as a cemetery for almost two centuries. To begin with, the previous illustrated listing gives some idea of the variety of ceramic types that were available to the urban black population of Nassau in the 18th and 19th centuries. The list of over 20 ceramic types represents only those that could be reliably identified. Not all of these ceramics were lower cost utilitarian wares that would have been available so this array of material culture counters the assumption that the low status of the associated community would be reflected in the low cost and, presumably, low quality of material items they would choose for themselves.

The bar chart (see Table 4) is a graphic illustration of the frequency of ceramic types available over time. Percentages detailing the frequency of these ceramic types show that almost 85 percent of the ceramic types identified were manufactured during the 18th and into the early 19th centuries (see Table 5). These statistics indicate that the period of most frequent use for this site was during the 18th century and continued through the first half of the 19th century; after which time the use of ceramic tablewares declined sharply.

Considering the number of ceramic types that had *terminus post quem* dates no later than circa 1780 (21.1 percent) it would seem plausible that this site was in use before the 1780s or 1790s as suggested by archival documents. The number of sherds and variety of ceramic types represented on this site suggests a history of use that is
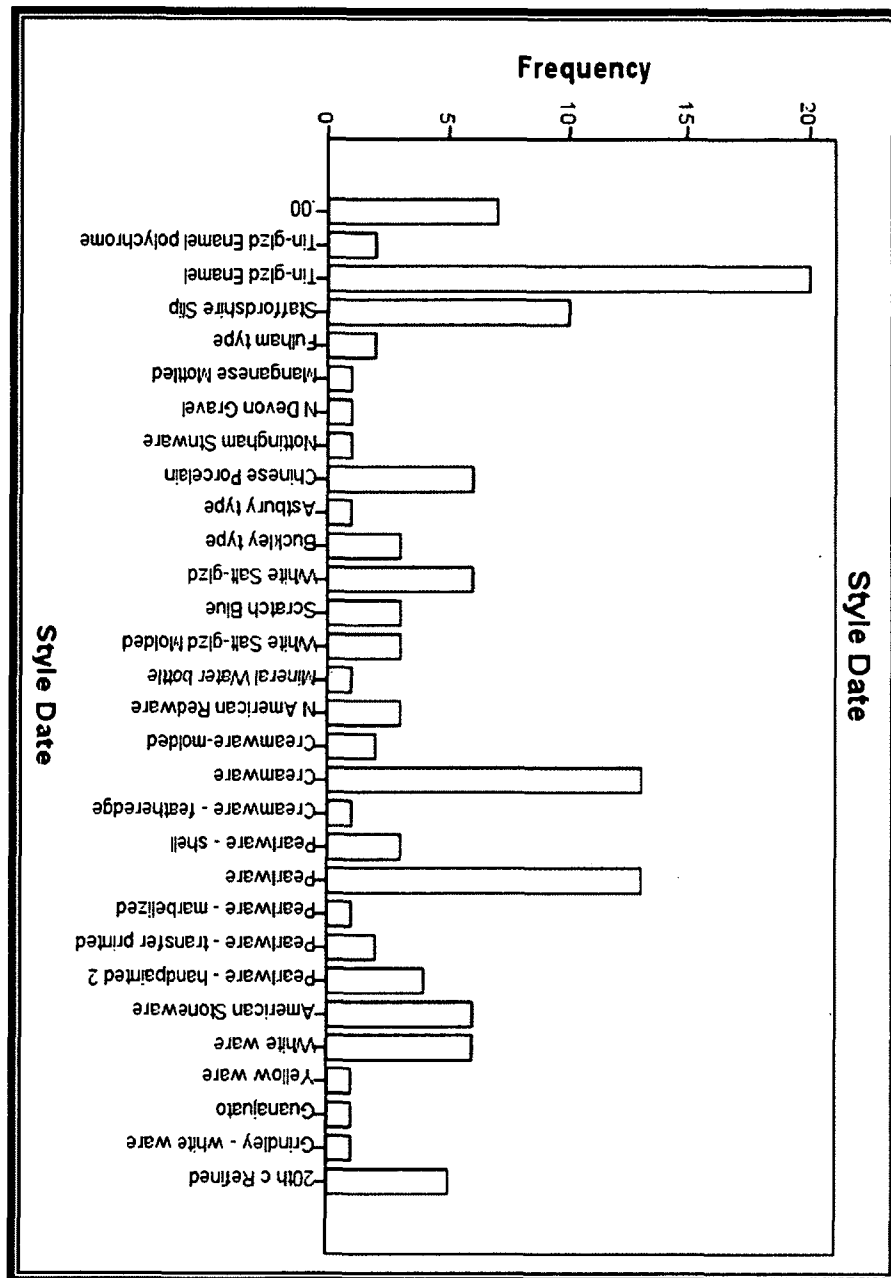
Table 4 Bar chart showing frequency of dateable ceramic styles

160

Frequency of Dateable Ceramic Styles

Table 5	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid .00	7	5.1	5.4	5.4
Tin-gl Enamel polychrome	2	1.5	1.6	7.0
Tin-glazed Enamel	20	14.6	15.5	22.5
Staffordshire Slip	10	7.3	7.8	30.2
Fulham type	2	1.5	1.6	31.8
Manganese Mottled	1	.7	.8	32.6
N Devon Gravel	1	.7	.8	33.3
Nottingham Stoneware	1	.7	.8	34.1
Chinese Porcelain	6	4.4	4.7	38.8
Astbury type	1	.7	.8	39.5
Buckley type	3	2.2	2.3	41.9
White Salt-glazed	6	4.4	4.7	46.5
Scratch Blue	3	2.2	2.3	48.8
White Salt-glazed Molded	3	2.2	2.3	51.2
Mineral Water bottle	1	.7	.8	51.9
N American Redware	3	2.2	2.3	54.3
Creamware-molded	2	1.5	1.6	55.8
Creamware	13	9.5	10.1	65.9
Creamware - featheredge	1	.7	.8	66.7
Pearlware - shell	3	2.2	2.3	69.0
Pearlware	13	9.5	10.1	79.1
Pearlware - marbelized	1	.7	.8	79.8
Pearlware- transfer printed	2	1.5	1.6	81.4
Pearlware - handpainted 2	4	2.9	3.1	84.5
American Stoneware	6	4.4	4.7	89.1
White ware	6	4.4	4.7	93.8
Yellow ware	1	.7	.8	94.6
Guanajuato	1	.7	.8	95.3
Grindley - white ware	1	.7	.8	96.1
20th c Refined	5	3.6	3.9	100.0
Total	129	94.2	100.0	
Missing System	8	5.8		
Total	137	100.0		

161

consistent with a profile of an African-derived cemetery landscape. It is likely not a mere coincidence that the North Burial Ground is situated across the street from Centre Burial Ground; the earliest surviving cemetery in Nassau. Based on the earliest dates on headstones, Centre Burial Ground cemetery dates at least to the 1730s, and possibly as early as the 1720s when the government of the colony was finally revived after several decades as a pirate haven.

In addition, the ceramic forms represented are all table and tea wares such as plates, saucers, bowls, milk pans, cups, mugs, tankards, and teapots. Also represented are a variety of stoneware bottles, and large jugs. The varieties of ceramic types from this site are indicative of general changes in manufacturing and consumption trends throughout the 18th century. Early ware types such as Staffordshire Slipped, Astbury, North Devon Gravel, and English brown stoneware were most common during the first half of the 18th century. The exception being tin-glazed enamel wares; though this ware type was successively eclipsed first by white salt-glazed stoneware, and later by creamware, tin-glazed enamel bowl forms remained in common use until the late 18th century.

White salt-glazed stoneware was essentially a mid-18th century ware. Creamware and pearlware were the most common wares available during the late 18th century by the time Loyalist migrants began moving to the Bahamas about 1783. However, both these ware types have *terminus post quem* dates by 1840 (circa 1820 for creamware, and circa 1840 for some varieties of pearlware) so the manufacturing dates for these common wares served as primary indicators that some cultural behavior shift was happening in the mid-19th century. Only three ware types (white

162

ware, yellow ware, and Guanajuato majolica) have 19th century manufacturing dates; this was a further indicator that some shift in cultural behavior was happening in the mid-19th century (diZerega Wall, 1994:250-258; Hume, 1991:102-137; Miller et al, 1994:238-244). This selection of table wares and tea wares, including Chinese export porcelain, is consistent with the types of ceramics available in 18th and early 19th century British colonial markets.

Glass

Remains of at least five dark green, cylindrical 'wine' bottles were excavated, along with one sherd of a four-sided case-type bottle. Apart from the shape, this last bottle did not include sufficient diagnostic detail to be analyzed more thoroughly. Details of a bottle's mouth and base are most diagnostic in determining the manufacturing technology used, and therefore the general date range. Though re-use of bottles were common it is still helpful to assume that a particular bottle type dates within 20 years of the documented manufacturing period for that type. Analysis of glass from this site was limited to these five bottles; base and rim sherds of a leaded glass tumbler; rim and body fragments of a delicate, etched glass vessel; and a complete early 20th century soft drink bottle.

Bottle Mouth and Neck: circa 1761 - 1801

The lip is the top section of the finish.

The string rim is the bottom of the finish.
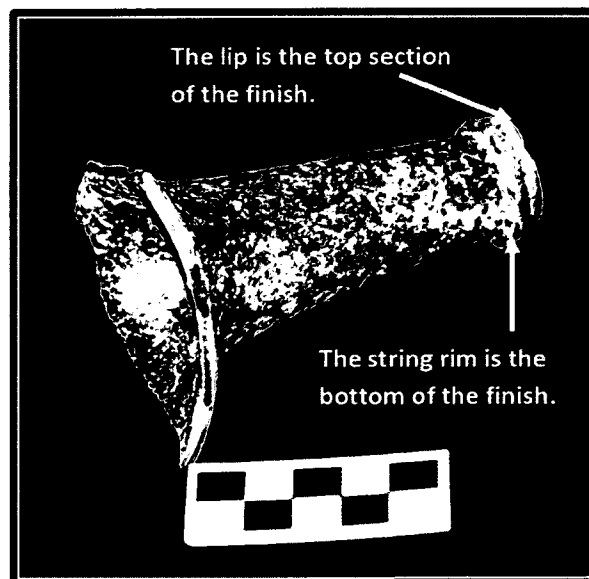
Fig. 44 Neck and mouth of 18th century wine bottle.

Research on this piece was based on the analysis of reliably dated examples by

Parks Canada of English 'wine' bottle glass dating from 1735 to 1850. Beginning in

the 1760s the lip and its string rim were tool-finished using a slightly different method.

These finishing techniques did not change significantly until the early 19th century

(Jones, 1986:33, 54-61). This piece (see Figure 44) was excavated from level 3 (40-60

centimeters) of unit 5; just below the headstone.

Domed Bottle Base: before circa 1790

Fig. 45 Bottle base with domed pushup.

This example, from level 2 (20-40 centimeters) of the Test Unit, has the earlier

high pushup base and also exhibits the bulging heel (the turn from the body to the

base) that is so common on cylindrical bottles made before bottle making technology

changed in the 1820s (Jones, 1986:91-95). These features suggest this bottle (see

Figure 45) was made some time before 1790. It is not possible to refine this date

estimation more thoroughly without further diagnostic detail from this bottle.

Domed Bottle Base: before circa 1790

Fig. 46 Domed bottle base showing pontil mark.

Sherds of this bottle base were recovered from level 2 of unit 4. This base

exhibits a bulging heel and distinct pontil mark left by the pontil rod that would have

held the bottle while the finish was created (see Figure 46). The bulging heel suggests

this bottle was manufactured before the 1820s (Jones, 1986:91-95; 102-103).

Tooled Finished Mouth: circa 1835 to 1855

Fig. 47 Tool-finished with groove between lip and string rim.

Well-formed, even finishes such as this example were created by adding

glass for this fish. This type of finish generally dates after 1820; this variety that

has a deliberate groove between the lip and the string rim has been dated circa 1835

to 1855 based on archaeological examples. This style was made possible by the use

of finish-forming tools (Jones, 1986:69-71). Though this example (see Figure 47)

was also excavated from level 2 of unit 4 it likely was not part of the same bottle

that base came from.

Rickets- molded Bottle: circa 1820s
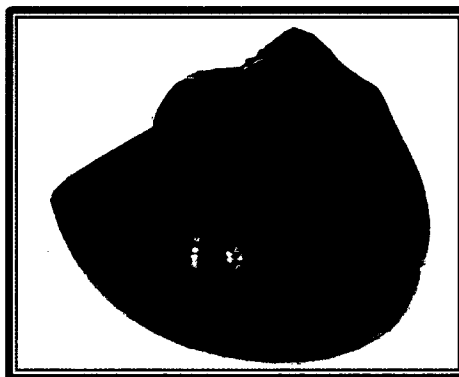
Fig. 48a 3-part mold lines on bottle shoulder
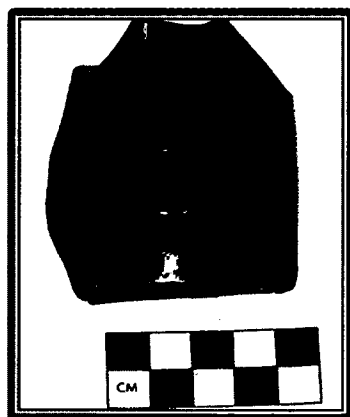
Fig. 48b Sharp heel transition to base.
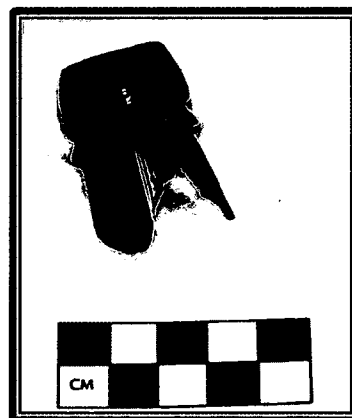
Fig. 48c Tooled mouth finish.

167

A mold line on a shoulder sherd identifies this as a sherd from a bottle made using a three part Ricketts mold (see Figure 48a). The three-part Ricketts mold was patented in 1821 and used in production from early 1822. The mold consisted of a cylindrical one-piece mold to form the body and two open-and-shut molds which formed the shoulder and neck. These parts left characteristic mold lines encircling the body at the junction with the shoulder, and two vertical lines extended from the shoulder junction up the neck (Jones, 1986:86-87, 90). The technology of Rickets-molded bottles meant they had a straight, smooth transition from the heel to the base (see Figure 48b). This style of tooled finish dates to the 1820s and 1830s (see Figure 48c) (Jones, 1986:71; 91).

Leaded Glass Tumbler: late 18th – early 19th century

Fig. 49 Base of a leaded glass tumbler.

Other 18th or early 19th century glass from this site included rim and base fragments of a leaded, colorless glass tumbler. The minimal amount of the body above the base suggests it may have had a cylindrical shape (see Figure 49). English lead

168

glass tumblers of the 18th century were usually a conical shape, flaring outward slightly from the base to rim. By the early 19th century a straight-sided cylindrical form was also introduced. Tumblers were often undecorated and manufactured in sizes ranging from half gill to as much as a gallon, though half pint and pint sizes were most common. They could be purchased in quantities of one, six, eight, or twelve. Into the 19th century it was still common to leave the pontil marks on tumblers unpolished, as seen on this example (Jones and Smith, 1985:35).

Acid-etched and Enameled Drinking Glass: 19th century

Fig. 50 Sherds of an open, acid-etched and painted vessel.

This artifact was only represented by these three small sherds; two rim and one body sherd of a delicate, non-leaded colorless glass container – possibly some type of drinking glass. The acid etched and painted decorative techniques set these sherds apart; the amount of effort needed to complete this object suggests it was relatively expensive (see Figure 50). A design etched in acid was achieved by first covering the object's surface with some compound, like wax. Next, a design was

169

marked on the surface through the wax. A mix of hydrofluoric acid and ammonia would produce a frosted, obscured effect as seen on these sherds. This container was also decorated with enameled designs in several colors. Powdered colored glass with a low melting temperature, or mixed with a flux was added to the glass surface. Since compositions fuse at different temperatures it was necessary to fire the object several times, beginning with the color that fused at the highest temperature and ending with the color that fused at the lowest temperature (Jones et al, 1989:55, 57).

Soft Drink Bottle: early 20th century

Fig. 51a Soft drink bottle in amber glass.
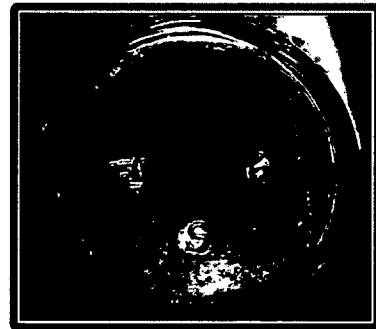
Fig. 51b Maker's marks on base.

A complete, amber-colored soft drink bottle was excavated in level 2 of unit 2. The bottle is machine-made with crown top (see Figure 51a). It was likely not manufactured in the United States as there has been no identification of any of the markings on the base (see Figure 51b). In view of the documentary and archaeological evidence for the use period of the cemetery site, this bottle was presumed to have been deposited at this site some time after its devastation by hurricanes in the 1920s and was very likely at the time the sidewalk was originally constructed.

Faunal Remains

The most unexpected find from the excavation of a Test Unit was the evidence of butchered animal remains. Even factoring in the possibility that some of the faunal remains had been casually deposited within the site by people passing through the site, it was important to explore a potential explanation for the amount and variety of butchered animal remains excavated. For this reason chicken, pork chop, and fish bones were not collected because of the potential that these kinds of bones were all likely to have been deposited within the site after its use period as a cemetery.

This is yet another category that has, so far, not been considered in the archaeology of African diaspora cemetery sites. A major factor contributing to this gap in archaeological knowledge can be attributed to the way in which African diaspora cemetery sites are often discovered and consequently excavated. Archaeological investigation of this site would provide an opportunity to understand the place of such animal remains within the site. The primary limitation for this research is the fact that the original site context had been disturbed; nevertheless what cultural evidence remained within the site can be presumed to have had some relation to the site's earlier cultural use.

Identification of faunal remains was made in consultation with zooarchaeologists, Joanne Bowen and Steve Archer, in the Department of Archaeological Research at Colonial Williamsburg. There was evidence of at least two butchering techniques. Most of the meat cuts had been hand-sawn; this method of butchering was common throughout the 19th century to the early 20th century.

Additionally, the size and availability of these specimens suggested that the hand-sawn cuts of meat had been imported; one bone fragment appears to have been butchered using some implement such as a machete or hatchet.

On his visit to Nassau in the early 1780s, German travel writer, Johann Schoepf noted that "they take in from North America and from Europe fresh and salted meats, butter, rice, corn, wheat &c., utensils and clothing of every description. (1911:272). The following images, Figures 52a-b, represent archaeological evidence of this economy as seen in the cultural activity of the urban black population.

Fig. 52a Robust cattle rib fragment-hand sawn.   Fig. 52b Pig proximal phalanx – hand sawn.

Some locally produced meat was also available in Nassau (see Figures 53a-b). Charles Farquharson, a planter on San Salvador Island recounted in his journal a selection of livestock and crops that he shipped to market in Nassau;

Thursday. 24 Nov'   Four men at Sandy Point shiping the cows this morning the rest of the people weeding pastor. Shiped on board the Sloop altogether 6 head of Cattle 23 Sheep 9 Turkeys 2 Cups of Foules 18 Bushels of Guinea Corn (1957:45)

Fig. 53a Locally butchered long bone.

Fig. 53b Cut mark on left turkey humerus.

These faunal remains have been interpreted as archaeological evidence of food offerings left in the cemetery. Retrieval of faunal remains was restricted to compensate for the likelihood of being deposited long after the cemetery had been eviscerated. By limiting the types of faunal remains collected and by paying close attention to butchering methods used the presumption was that the faunal bones collected had not been randomly deposited within this site but were indeed evidence of some human activity related to the historic use of the site. Such cultural activity, along with personal items left on graves, would support the thesis that Bahamians of African descent maintained an African-derived cultural landscape within this cemetery during the 18th century and into the first half of the 19th century.

Other Cultural Material

Several other types of cultural material were also excavated. Except for a

utensil handle, these are artifacts that are usually associated with Western-style

burials. These are outlined here:

Gold Lace Pin: late 19th century

Fig. 54a Gold lace pin with filigree design.
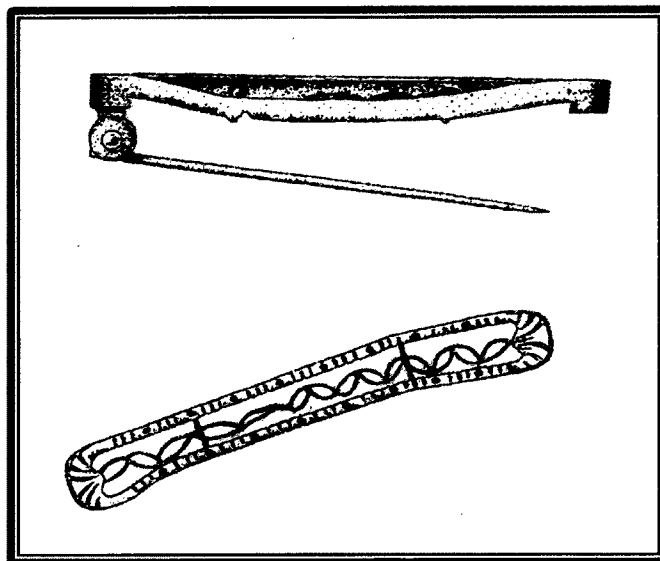
Fig. 54b Detail of side profile (top) and front of pin
(Illustrations by Oliver Mueller-Heubach, College of William and Mary)

This was the only piece of personal jewelry excavated. It was found in

association with the largest cache of human skeletal remains encountered within

174

the site. Even though skeletal remains and cultural materials within this former

cemetery site were gathered and discarded, it is presumed that this small, gold pin

had been buried with the individual, likely an adult female, with whose remains it

was excavated. Late 19th century catalogues for Bloomingdale's (1988:129-130),

Montgomery Ward (1969:174-177), and Sears Roebuck (1968:427-429) all list this

piece of jewelry as a lace pin. Bar-shaped pins such as this example (see Figures

54a-b) were available in an array of designs and materials, including solid gold, as

this example (see Figure 54a); solid gold front; sterling silver; rolled gold; roll plate;

and gold-filled. Prices varied by the quality of material with solid gold pins costing

at least $1.25 and higher if precious stones were added. Rolled gold, or gold-filled

examples were the least expensive at less than 50¢. As a solid gold pin this example

would have been relatively expensive.

Buttons :

Shell
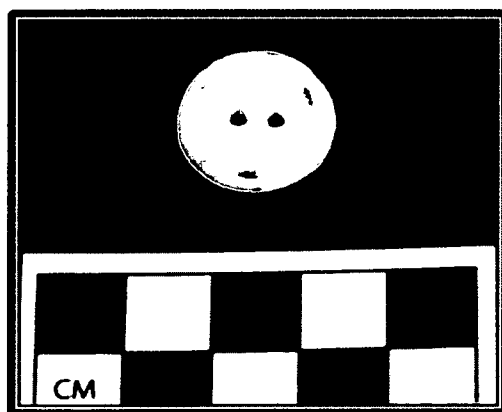
Fig. 55 Shell button with incised decoration.

Figure 55 shows the largest example of three shell buttons found. It has an

incised, decorative border around the top face. Based on this machine-produced

design it is presumed that this button dates at least to the mid-19th century. Shell

buttons are difficult to definitively date because this natural material has been used for

centuries to make buttons. By the mid-19th century shell buttons were being mass-

produced in Europe as well as in the United States (IMACS, 2001:475).

Metal
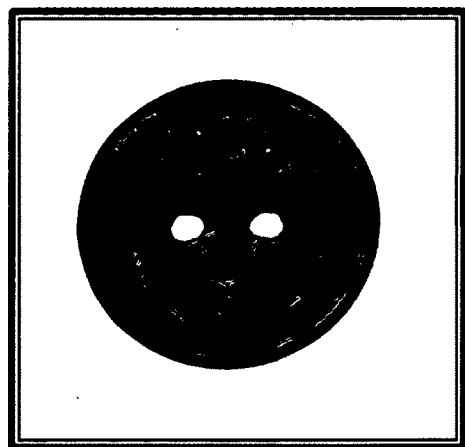
Fig. 56a Copper alloy military-style button.   Fig. 56b Button profile, reverse, and front.
(Drawing by Oliver Mueller-Heubach)
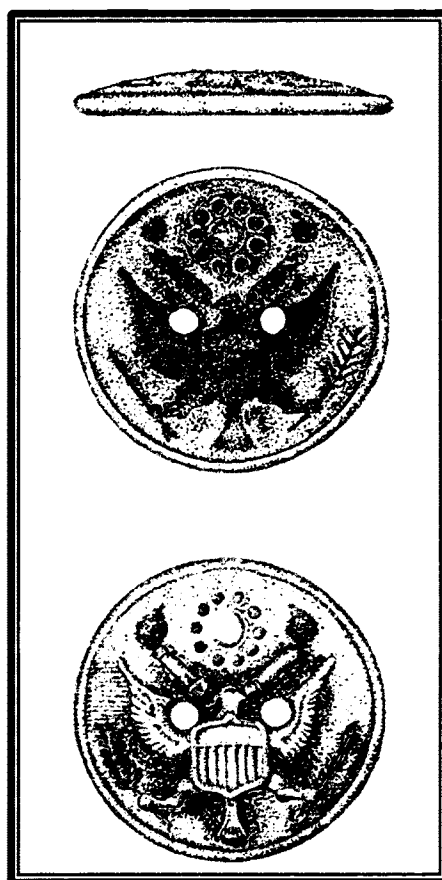
This button initially appeared to be an anomaly as a United States military-

style button in a British colony. The design motif on this flat, two-hole, copper alloy

176

button consists of the iconic spread eagle below a disc encircled by stars (see Figures 56a-b). Research revealed that this design, based on the Great Seal of the United States, was adopted in 1902 for the General Service (Wyckoff, 1984:92). This two-hole, sew-through form was made of thin metal pressed into the design template (Johnson, 1948:9, 67; vol. II: 24). Wyckoff noted that there was some latitude in allowing civilian use of regulation buttons as late as the 1930s (1984:94).

Based on this information, the interpretation for this button is that it represents the continuous migrations of African-descended Bahamians between the Bahamas and the United States since the 1870s. Evidently, the individual who was buried in clothing with this button had spent some time in the United States but had returned to the Bahamas by the time he was buried. The broad availability of official military material, such as this button, means that this Bahamian man did not have to be employed by the United States General Service. However, the 1902 adoption date for this specific button design suggests that this man was likely one of the last burials within the Northern Burial Ground.

Leaded Utensil Handle

Fig. 57 Possible spoon handle.

177

This is described as a leaded utensil handle because it is much heavier than its size would warrant (see Figure 57). It appears that this artifact was deposited in its current form. Without further detail on the original context of this artifact it is only possible to surmise that it had some cultural meaning but it is not possible to make any further assessment of what the cultural significance of this object might have been.

Limestone Headstone
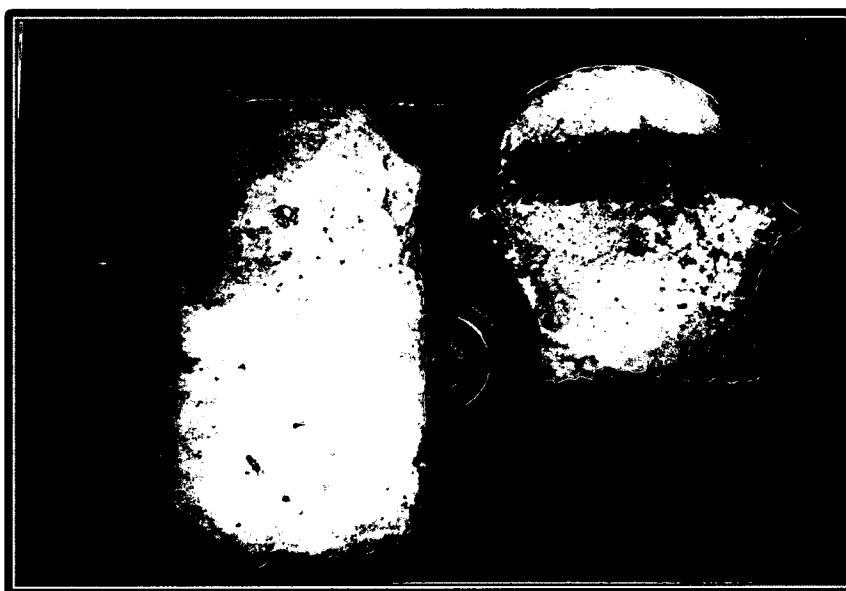
Fig. 58 Headstone made of local limestone; painted on front face only.

This was the only headstone excavated from this site (see Figure 58). It was made of limestone carved in a pattern presumed to be local interpretation of contemporary18th and early 19th century European or North American tablet stones. The stone has a total length of 70 centimeters and is 12 centimeters in depth. There is no text on the stone but the front panel is painted white with a black stripe across the rounded 'head' piece.

Chapter 7

Analysis of Lucayan Artifacts and Ecofacts

The indigenous inhabitants of the Bahamas are known as the Lucayan Taíno. They were the native people who met Christopher Columbus when he and his crew landed on an island in the archipelago that he re-named San Salvador but which the Lucayans knew as Guanahaní. Within 30 years of Columbus' 1492 voyage the Lucayans were all gone from the Bahamas – taken away as slaves by the Spanish.

Lucayans had been sought after to work as pearl divers on Cubagua, a small island off the coast of Venezuela. In the pearl fisheries where it was necessary to dive to great depths, the Lucayans' swimming skills were valued highly. However this work was even more physically demanding than working in the gold mines. Slaving raids continued until at least 1520 when an expedition failed to find any potential slaves until they reached the coast of Florida (Las Casas 1965 Vol.III: 501-502).

Current archaeological knowledge is that Lucayans began migrating into the Bahamas from both Hispaniola and Cuba about AD 660 to 865; at about 900 AD in the Turks and Caicos Islands. In the Bahamas the Lucayans relied more heavily on marine resources such as all sizes of fish, sea turtles, monk seals, along with hunting such land animals as iguana, birds, and other small mammals. Cassava cultivation provided their staple root crop (Keegan, 1997:27; Rouse, 1992:100-101).

Lucayans built their settlements on the lee side of coastal dunes, and usually on the lee coast of islands. This strategy still allowed them easy access to the ocean as well as having access to fresh water and resources in-land. For later archaeological

periods this means that evidence of earlier Lucayan occupation would likely be

encountered quite often. As historical archaeological research continues throughout

the Bahamas multi-component coastal sites should be expected. As this property

was in constant use for at least 200 of the 300 years that Nassau was settled then it

is presumed that the Lucayan component of this site is fragmentary at best. The

following artifacts are documented as evidence of the earlier Lucayan site.

Palmetto ware
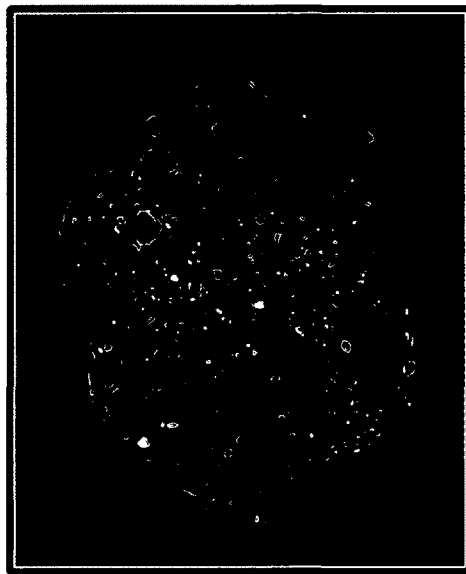
Fig. 59 Palmetto ware sherd.

This term refers to locally made Lucayan ceramics. Palmetto ware was only

the predominant type of several Lucayan ceramic styles. Bahama red loam was used

to form the paste for this ceramic. The paste color is red to orange-brown; usually with

a darker colored core. Palmetto ware has limestone inclusions with burnt shell temper

(see Figure 59). Vessels are primarily round and boat-shaped bowls 20-40 cm in

diameter and 5-20 cm high. Cooking griddles were flat and about 30-60 cm in diameter.

Conch Shell Implement
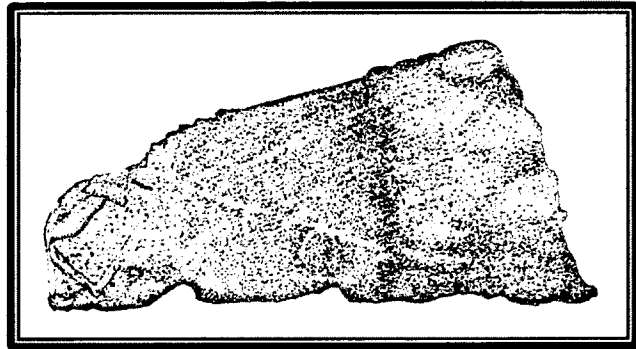
Fig. 60a Notched conch shell implement.   Fig. 60b   Illustration showing details of shell
                                                        implement.
                                                        (Drawing by Oliver Mueller-Heubach)

The Lucayan diet and lifestyle relied substantially on marine resources such as

conch, *Strombus gigas*. The shell of this large marine mollusk provided the most

common local material for tools. This fragment of the inner whorl of a conch shell

stood out as a deliberately manipulated artifact because of the three notches that were

intentionally made in one of the long straight edges (see Figures 60a and 60b). It is

uncertain what the function of this implement was, but it adds to our insight on the

level of creativity among Lucayans in meeting the requirements of their daily needs.

181

Ceremonial Tool Fragments
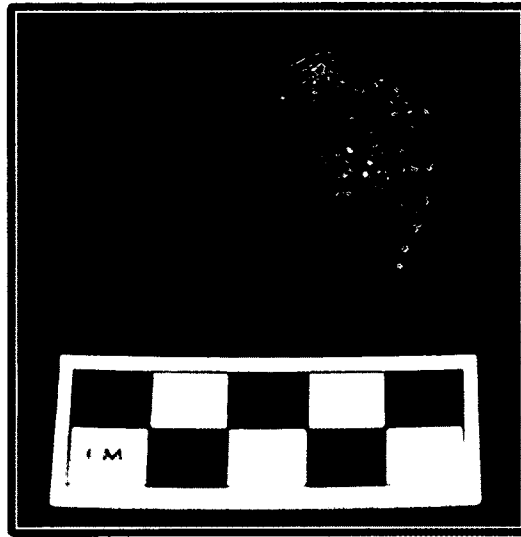
Fig. 61 Fragment of ceremonial tool.

Figure 61 shows one half of a ceremonial tool. These were valued highly by

Lucayans; they are often found in burial contexts. They stand out in Bahamian sites

because these were all made of non-local stone; it is presumed that Lucayans acquired

these prized cultural objects through trade. The example pictured above is made of a

type of basalt. A second flake from a larger implement has been identified by

geologist, Stephen Clement as olivine basalt.

Chapter 8

Interpretation of Findings

The goal of this research was to assess to what extent was an African-influenced cemetery landscape visible through time in the archaeological record. Four landscape features were being considered in addition to an assessment of the physical impact of daily life on the bodies of members of this community. First among the landscape features was an assessment as to whether a location near water was likely a deliberate factor in situating the cemetery. The second landscape feature was to consider whether trees were used as memorial grave markers; this component would be completed at a later date. Archaeological investigation of the site aimed to assess the two remaining landscape features being considered. These involved an examination of how the space was used; what kind of evidence would indicate the related cultural activities of placing personal items on top of graves, as well as putting out food offerings for the spirits of loved ones.

A primary limitation for this research was the fact that much of the original archaeological context for this site had been destroyed. This meant that specific details could not be recorded about the treatment of individual burials within the site. It also meant that only very limited assessments could be posed about any skeletal remains that were recovered. The information on human skeletal remains that were excavated is of limited utility because the samples are too small to be representative of the cemetery population, as well as the community this burial ground served. Any skeletal and dental pathologies noted could only be cited as individual examples with

the potential to help formulate questions about what kinds of challenges such communities as this one faced in maintaining health and sanitary living conditions.

A key component of this project is to situate any research on human remains within a larger context to understand how the cultural landscape of this cemetery intersected with the lives of the community that created it over time. Though the original cemetery context of this site has been destroyed archaeological research proceeded on the assumption that any remaining cultural material within the site that pre-dates the 1920s hurricane devastation can be assumed to be related to the site's period of use as a cemetery.

An analysis of ceramics excavated suggested that the use period for the cemetery pre-dates the late 18th century date suggested in documentary records. This finding, in turn, gives new insight on the Northern Burial Ground's location across the street from Centre Burial Ground which is known to be an early 18th century cemetery because of dates on the earliest grave markers. Artifactual evidence indicated that the Northern Burial Ground was contemporary with Centre Burial Ground instead of dating to the later Loyalist period in the late 18th century. Such an acknowledgement also allows a whole new rationale for the establishment of a cemetery by an urban black population. Instead of simply being relegated to a marginal location, this perspective touts the cultural agency of Africans in the Atlantic diaspora. This property was not recognized as prime real estate by the dominant society because it was on the edge of Nassau's economic hub at the center of Nassau harbor. Adding to its convenience for this segment of Nassau's urban black community was its location adjacent to a white cemetery.

Though it was not in the center of the town, this site was in a highly visible location on the only road to the eastern end of the island. Recognizing the agency of African-descended people in establishing the Northern Burial Ground is only half of the equation. The other component is that the dominant society, shaped by the class-based British model, tolerated this different cultural landscape. This meant that contemporary Bahamians of European descent were aware of the fact that Africans memorialized their dead quite differently than how Europeans did. Evidently as long as Africans elected to do so within spaces that were not significant in the larger society then people of African descent were allowed to memorialize their dead as they saw fit. This could be attributed, in part, to the fact that until the second half of the 18th century British cemeteries were multi-purpose sites.

From this perspective, the late 18th century documentation served only to formalize control of this cemetery site; particularly in light of policies by recent Loyalist migrants to emphasize the racial segregation of all public spaces. St Matthews Anglican Church administered and physically maintained the Northern Burial Ground; apparently until it was closed in the first decade of the 20th century. By the late 19th century the Board of Works maintained a wall around the Northern Burial Ground. I argue that the low wall topped by picket fencing could be regarded as a subtle means of screening the most controversial elements of this non-Western style cemetery landscape from public view because no similar wall was built around Centre Burial Ground just across the street.

This use pattern fits with the African-derived cultural action of placing personal items on top of graves; particularly eating utensils. If this were the case, it

appears that this cultural behavior changed quite rapidly sometime in the mid-19th century. The most feasible change that affected Nassau's black residents was the process of emancipation. Though the Emancipation Act went into effect on August 1st, 1834, full emancipation was not granted to former slaves until 1838. I propose that this change in cultural behavior was reflecting a new reality that Bahamian blacks were facing in a free society. With the elimination of the legal and social restrictions of enslavement blacks could now choose to move beyond the bonds of a slave-holding society. In an urban environment such changes would not have required former slaves to relocate but they now had greater social and economic opportunities available to them. However, as the following suggests, the change in public expressions of African-derived cultural behavior was deemed necessary because the dominant society did not value African-derived cultural behavior.

The example of Monday Ranger illustrates this last point. He was buried in Potter's Field, the public cemetery on the western side of Nassau that was intended for use by whites; particularly those who were not Anglican. This was also one of the cemeteries dedicated by the new Bishop of Jamaica in 1826. Bethlehem, the western cemetery intended for blacks, is located about a quarter mile south of Potter's Field, atop a hill but at the northern edge of the 'Over-the-hill' area that was a free black community since at least the second half of the 18th century. Ranger's headstone is indistinguishable from other contemporary grave markers except for the details of his life history on it.

Such facts as his birthplace in Lagos, Nigeria, and named Monday (the anglicized form of his West African day name) suggest that he was a liberated African

who had been freed from a slave ship intercepted by the Royal Navy and re-settled in Nassau. After Britain's parliament abolished the slave trade in 1807, the first African captives were landed in the Bahamas in 1811 (Williams, 1991: back page). Liberated Africans were treated as apprentices; those arriving before 1834 were apprenticed to planters, usually in Nassau, for a period of no more than 14 years (Wilkie and Farnsworth, 2005:76). Additionally, liberated African men were the main source of recruits for the black troops of the West India Regiments. The legal status of liberated Africans as free people of color enabled them to achieve social and economic statuses that were generally unattainable for enslaved individuals, even if they were freed.

There is evidence that liberated Africans relied on this critical difference in status to distinguish themselves from enslaved individuals (Buckley, 1979). Nevertheless, in the wider society liberated Africans were still seen as being African. Socially it was in their interest to minimize any perceptions of themselves as being culturally African and therefore 'uncivilized 'in order for them to make the most of the potential privileges their status allowed them. This means there was immense pressure for liberated Africans to become Europeanized. As Roseanne Adderley explains it,

> Far more so than slaves, liberated Africans had the opportunity to consider and engage their status and identity as migrants. Nonetheless, during the nineteenth century, British opinion continued to view African cultures as at best inferior and more often as savage or barbaric. Therefore, although liberated Africans entered the Caribbean as free people, they too faced a European society bent on de-Africanizing them. Indeed the project of settling liberated Africans in the West Indies had always included the civilization, or cultural "improvement" of Africans as one of their aims (Adderley, 2006:208).

187

So although Monday Ranger was African-born, he evidently chose to adopt a public identity that was more valued in the wider society. He had been so successful in making this cultural transition that even in death he was socially recognized as a white person. The British subtly presented the Anglican Church as the institutional model that exemplified the essence of British culture, and the basic public education the Anglican Church provided served to further this objective to teach Africans in the Diaspora how to be 'civilized.' It was likely not imperative that socially successful liberated Africans like Monday Ranger became members of the Anglican Church, but they would have been expected to show a command of 'the King's, or Queen's English' as well as a familiarity with the nuances of British-style social behavior.

For the black community that used the North Burial Ground this transition came much later, and, I contend, this decision was only made when it became socially expedient to do so. Less public aspects of an African-derived cultural heritage remained part of their cultural repertoire for more than a century after emancipation. Such cultural carryovers would include a language variant blending English words with West African structural elements; and the custom of burying a baby's umbilical cord as a means of establishing a sense of place and belonging.

Despite the removal of burials and related grave materials for construction of a sidewalk in the 1930s, archaeological investigations recovered a wide array of cultural material interpreted as remnants of personal items left on top of graves. The fact that even sherds of earlier 18th century ceramics and glass remained within the cemetery site suggests that the maintenance of this property by St Matthew's Church generally left in place what community members had placed on graves. Instead, a low wall was

constructed; no such wall was built around Centre Burial Ground across the street but instead it was surrounded by an ornate iron fence.

Analysis of ceramic types excavated suggests that this cemetery was in use since the first half of the 18th century. A probable period for its establishment is the 1720s or 1730s, after Nassau's turbulent period as a pirate haven ended; the earliest dated grave marker in Centre Burial Ground also supports this thesis. A similar analysis of glass sherds revealed the earliest examples date only to the mid-18th century. The difference may indicate that earlier drinking vessels were more likely to be made of some type of locally available gourd, stoneware, or a refined redware. The significance here is this research finding serves to reinforce the idea that this urban black community expressed their cultural agency by establishing a cemetery space in which they exhibited and maintained African-derived means of memorializing their dead. My argument here is that this African-influenced cultural behavior served to reinforce the identity and sense of belonging for community members.

This leads to another observation that this community had access to a variety of ceramic and glass articles in tablewares, tea wares, storage and utilitarian vessels, as well as specialty items. Though the Bahamas was a small, relatively poor colony, Nassau's harbor provided a link to regional and global commercial networks. Urban black communities were able to participate in this commercial process to whatever extent they were financially able to do so.

The most dramatic finding of the artifact analysis was the *terminus post quem* dates for both ceramics and glass. For both categories, the periods of availability are predominantly through much of the 18th century and into the first third of the 19th century. Only a few glass and ceramic sherds date to the second half of the 19th century even though the cemetery remained in use until the early 20th century. This African-derived cemetery landscape had been tolerated for about two centuries. Even Loyalist attempts at more rigid racial segregation had quietly passed, so what other change could have been responsible for such a drastic cultural shift.

I propose the most likely explanation was the advent of full emancipation within the British Empire after 1838. As was the case with liberated Africans at an earlier time, this elimination of legal bondage technically afforded formerly enslaved laborers broader opportunities but that greater access demanded a cultural price. With the enactment of emancipation legislation in 1834 the Anglican Church no longer used racialized terms. After 1838 chapels were opened in black communities just outside Nassau; and free schools were established for black children on New Providence and throughout the Bahamas. Liberated Africans were presented with this choice once they were re-settled on New Providence but former enslaved workers, and therefore other free blacks, only had to face this choice once the slave status was eliminated.

The cultural message presented by the Anglican Church from this point on was that being considered educated and culturally adept certainly did not include such cultural activities as placing personal dishes on top of a grave, or leaving food offerings for spirits. While these public representations of an African-derived cultural heritage evidently provided a sense of identity and reassurance, these cultural

190

activities seem to have faded quickly. However I suggest that less visible aspects

of an African-derived cultural identity, such as burying a baby's umbilical cord

(McNeil, 1998:18; Greene, 2002:67-68) were maintained for more than a century

later; continuing into the last third of the 20th century. Here I use the example of my

umbilicus to illustrate how such an overtly African-derived cultural behavior was

maintained by generations of African-Bahamians who were also faithful adherents of

the Anglican Church. My mother, whose maternal family was Anglican at least since

the mid-19th century, told me she had buried my umbilical cord at the foot of one of

the row of tall casuarinas (*Casuarina equisetifolia*) trees lining the bay road in

Governor's Harbour, Eleuthera (see Figure 62). She explained this meant that I was as

much a part of that place as it had become a part of me. When a Bahamian of African

descent declares, "My nabel string bury dere" it is to assert that s/he has an inalienable

Fig. 62 Casuarina trees along the bay, Governor's Harbour, Eleuthera, Bahamas

191

right to belong to that place. In the Bahamas the umbilicus is generally buried at the foot of a large tree on the landscape. Details of this action are a very private aspect of an African-derived cultural heritage and are usually only known by an individual and his/her most intimate relatives.

This research illustrates and documents one of the many processes of creolization. For people of African descent this process was continually being negotiated with changes in cultural behavior only being conceded as life circumstances required. My argument is that this is not a short-term, finite historical process as sometimes seems to be implied. For people of African descent, more so than for those of European heritage, there remained a continuous need to maintain some level of cultural shifting in order to maneuver through the demands of a wider, Eurocentric society. I chose to use Du Bois' concept of 'double consciousness' rather than the broader term 'creolization' because I felt that double consciousness more aptly conveys the notion that people of African descent have historically, and often continue to make cultural decisions, consciously or unconsciously, that mediates between the need to participate in a broader society and the desire to maintain a sense of being and belonging. I do not deny that the process of double consciousness itself can be considered an aspect of creolization but my aim was to emphasize this process from the perspective of an African-descended population rather than present it from the perspective of the wider society.

Though Africans in the Americas were required to bury their dead in European-style cemeteries they often also observed other European-derived burial practices as burials in coffins, with the body oriented east to west and facing east. For

192

urban populations where Africans could exercise greater autonomy these basic burial practices were combined with such African-derived burial practices as locating cemeteries near a body of water; the use of large trees as 'sacred groves' for individual graves or a single tree to serve an entire cemetery; the placement of personal items on top of graves; and food offerings left as offerings to spirits. A significant contribution from this research is to illustrate possible circumstances by which these very public displays of African-derived cultural activity were discontinued.

Though the British were the first European colonial power to outlaw the slave trade and the institution of slavery, the evidence of what African-Bahamians faced in the post-emancipation years demonstrates the extent to which cultural affiliation was a product of the larger social order. In the post-emancipation years in the Bahamas the Anglican Church became the state-approved social and cultural guardian to impart 'civilizing' British/European ways to former slaves, as well as already freed people of color. From the late 1830s to the 1840s the Anglican Church established a number of chapels and free elementary schools throughout the Bahamas; several served black communities on New Providence Island, where Nassau is located. The unspoken message conveyed was that these institutions provided the models on how to be good colonial subjects. Neither of these models, however, included any economic pathways to assist this transition. By the 1880s Louis Powles, a colonial official, noted the pervasive system of economic bondage in which most black Bahamians found themselves engulfed. Without the right social and financial connections, the minimal education and diligent religious adherence only provided a distant promise of what higher social status most black Bahamians could hope to achieve. From the mid-19th

century the issue of double consciousness for the African-Bahamian community using

the Northern Burial Ground was to conduct their public selves as good Anglicans and

civilized British subjects in hopes of improving their efforts at making a living. But

for a stabilizing sense of identity and sense of belonging they could, if they chose,

continue to privately rely on the reassurance of an African-derived cultural heritage.

Appendices
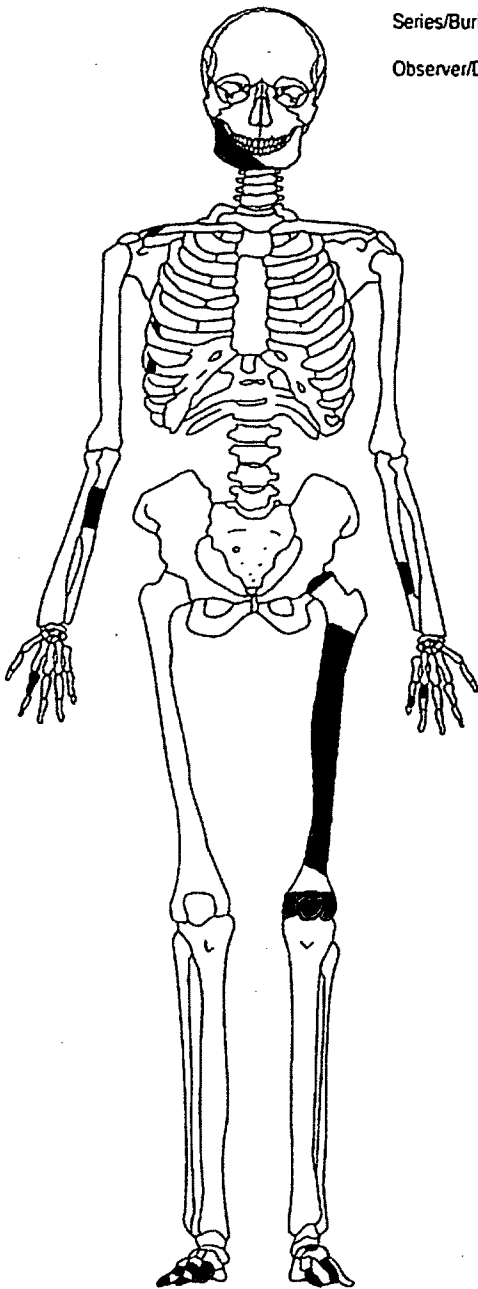
Site #	Context	Element	#	Side	%	Age	Sex
NP 250	Test Unit	Cranial fragments			<25%		
NP 250	Test Unit	Mandible fragments		Right	25-75%		Male (?)
NP 250	Test Unit	Clavicle		Right	25-75%		
NP 250	Test Unit	Ribs		Unsideable	<25%		
NP 250	Test Unit	Radius		Right	<25%		
NP 250	Test Unit	Radius		Left	<25%		
NP 250	Test Unit	Phalange - proximal - hand		Right	>75%		
NP 250	Test Unit	Phalange - proximal - hand		Right	25-75%		
NP 250	Test Unit	Phalange - proximal - hand		Unsideable	25-75%		
NP 250	Test Unit	Phalange - foot	1st	Right	25-75%		
NP 250	Test Unit	Phalange - foot - 1st row	3rd	Right	25-75%		
NP 250	Test Unit	Phalange - foot - 1st row	5th	Right	>75%		
NP 250	Test Unit	Phalange - foot - 1st row	1st	Left	>75%		
NP 250	Test Unit	Metatarsal	4th	Left	>75%		
NP 250	Test Unit	Metatarsal fragments		Unsideable	25-75%		
NP 250	Test Unit	3rd Cuneiform		Left	>75%		
NP 250	Test Unit	Patella		Left	>75%		
NP 250	Test Unit	Femur		Left	25-75%		
NP 250	Test Unit	Unidentified fragments					
NP 250	Surface Finds	Cranial fragments			<25%		
NP 250	Surface Finds	Thoracic Vertebra			<25%		
NP 250	Surface Finds	Ulna		Unsideable	<25%		
NP 250	Surface Finds	Unidentified fragments					
NP 250	Surface Finds	Maxillary Incisor	2nd	Right		Subadult	
NP 250	Surface Finds	Maxillary Incisor	2nd	Left		Subadult	
NP 250	Surface Finds	Maxillary Premolar	1st	Right		Subadult	
NP 250	Surface Finds	Mandibular Molar	1st	Right		Subadult	
NP 250	Surface Finds	Mandibular Molar	2nd	Right		Subadult	
NP 250	Surface Finds	Mandibular Molar-unerupted	3rd	Right		Subadult	

196

NP 250	Surface Finds	Deciduous Maxillary Molar	1st	Left		Subadult
NP 250	Unit 1	Cranial fragments			<25%	
NP 250	Unit 1	Radius		Right	25-75%	
NP 250	Unit 1	Ulna		Right	25-75%	
NP 250	Unit 1	Metacarpal	4th (?)	Right	25-75%	
NP 250	Unit 1	Phalange - hand - 1st row	3rd	Right (?)	25-75%	
NP 250	Unit 1	Phalange - hand - 1st row	5th	Right (?)	25-75%	
NP 250	Unit 1	Phalange - foot - 1st row	2nd	Right	25-75%	
NP 250	Unit 1	Ribs		Right	<25%	
NP 250	Unit 1	Unidentified fragments				
NP 250	Unit 2	Cranium - center + right side			25-75%	Female (?)
NP 250	Unit 2	Parietal		Left	>75%	
NP 250	Unit 2	Parietal fragments		Unsideable	<25%	
NP 250	Unit 2	Cranial fragments				
NP 250	Unit 2	Zygomatic + Maxilla		Right	>75%	
NP 250	Unit 2	Temporal + Zygomatic Process		Left	25-75%	
NP 250	Unit 2	Mandible		Right	25-75%	Female (?)

Site #	Context	Element	Number	Side	%	Age	Sex
NP 250	Unit 2	Clavicle		Left	>75%		
NP 250	Unit 2	Radius - head		Unsideable	<25%		
NP 250	Unit 2	Ulna		Left	25-75%		
NP 250	Unit 2	Long bone shaft		Unsideable			
NP 250	Unit 2	Rib	1st	Right	>75%		
NP 250	Unit 2	Rib	5th/6th	Right	>75%		
NP 250	Unit 2	Rib		Right	25-75%		
NP 250	Unit 2	Rib	1st	Left	>75%		
NP 250	Unit 2	Rib	2nd	Left	>75%		
NP 250	Unit 2	Rib	3rd-6th	Left	25-75%		
NP 250	Unit 2	Rib	4th-6th	Left	25-75%		
NP 250	Unit 2	Rib	4th/5th	Left	>75%		
NP 250	Unit 2	Rib	7th-10th	Left	25-75%		
NP 250	Unit 2	Rib fragments		Left			
NP 250	Unit 2	Rib fragments		Unsideable			
NP 250	Unit 2	Tibia fragments		Unsideable	<25%		
NP 250	Unit 2	Fibula		Unsideable	<25%		
NP 250	Unit 2	Long bone epiphysis fragment		Unsideable	<25%		
NP 250	Unit 2	Calcaneus		Right	25-75%		
NP 250	Unit 2	1st Cuneiform		Right	>75%		
NP 250	Unit 2	Metatarsal	3rd	Right	>75%		
NP 250	Unit 2	Metatarsal	4th	Right	>75%		
NP 250	Unit 2	Metatarsal fragments			25-75%		
NP 250	Unit 2	Phalange - foot - distal	1st	Left	>75%		
NP 250	Unit 2	Phalange - foot - proximal	4th	Left	>75%		
NP 250	Unit 2	Phalange - foot -proximal	5th	Left	>75%		
NP 250	Unit 2	Cervical vertebrae	3rd-5th		>75%		
NP 250	Unit 2	Thoracic vertebrae	1st		>75%		
NP 250	Unit 2	Thoracic vertebrae	9th		25-75%		
NP 250	Unit 2	Lumbar vertebra			25-75%		
NP 250	Unit 2	Inominate		Left	<25%		
NP 250	Unit 4	Clavicle - distal end		Left	25-75%		
NP 250	Unit 4	Ulna		L (?)	25-75%		
NP 250	Unit 4	Thoracic vertebrae			<25%		
NP 250	Unit 4	Tibia- proximal end		Right	25-75%		
NP 250	Unit 4	Metatarsal		Right	25-75%		
NP 250	Unit 4	Unidentified fragments					
NP 250	Unit 5	Cranial fragments			<25%		
NP 250	Unit 5	Clavicle - sternal end		Left	<25%		
NP 250	Unit 5	Metacarpal		Right	25-75%		
NP 250	Unit 5	Atlas vertebra			<25%		

198

NP 250	Unit 5	Lumbar vertebra		<25%
NP 250	Unit 5	Inominate - acetabulum	Unsideable	<25%
NP 250	Unit 5	Unidentified fragments		

ADULT SKELETON RECORDING FORM: ANTERIOR VIEW

Series/Burial/Skeleton TEST UNIT

Observer/Date S. Turner 12 2011

INVENTORY RECORDING FORM
FOR COMMINGLED REMAINS
AND ISOLATED BONES

Site Name/Number **Northern Burial Ground/ NP-250**   Observer **G. Turner**

Feature/Burial Number **Test Unit** / _____   Date **12|2011**

Burial/Skeleton Number _____ / _____

Present Location of Collection **Institute for Historical Biology**

Report all cranial bones separately. Group Cervical Vertebrae 3-6; Thoracic Vertebrae 1-9; Ribs 3-10; Carpals; Metacarpals; Tarsals (other than Talus and Calcaneus); Metatarsals; Hand and Foot Phalanges. Vertebrae other than those grouped above should be reported individually. Identify bones by name, indicate L (left); R (right); B (Both); M (Midline); ? (Unsidable). Code articular regions, long bone diaphyses, and vertebrae by **segments:** PE (proximal epiphysis), P1/3 (proximal third of diaphysis), M1/3 (middle third of diaphysis), D1/3 (distal third of diaphysis), DE (distal epiphysis), B (vertebral body or centrum), NA (neural arch). Otherwise, leave this category blank. Code **Completeness** according to the following:1 = >75% present; 2 = 25% - 75% present; 3 = <25% present. MNI reflects the minimum number of individuals recorded on this line. **Count/Wt** refers to the number/weight of fragmented materials. **Age** and **Sex** determinations should be entered as counts (see text for codes).

Bone	Side	Segment	Completeness	MNI	Ct/Wt	Age	Sex
Cranial fragments-3			3. <25%	1			
Mandible fragments	R		2. 25%-75%	1			M
Clavicle fragment	R		2=25%-75%	1			
Rib fragments - 2	?		3. <25%	1			
Radius	R		3. <25%	1			
Radius	L		3. <25%	1			
Phalanx-Proximal Row	R		1. >75%	1			
Phalanx-Proximal Row	R		2=25%-75%	1			
Phalanx-Proximal Row	?		2. 25%-75%	1			
1st Phalanx-Foot	R		2=25%-75%	1			
Phalanx-1st Row-MT3?	R		2=25%-75%	1			
Phalanx-1st Row-MT5	R		1. >75%	1			
Phalanx-1st Row-MT1	L		1. >75%	1			
Metatarsal 4	L		1. >75%	1			
Metatarsal fragments- 2	?		2=25%-75%	1			
3rd Cuneiform bone	L		1. >75%	1			
Patella fragments-4	L		1. >75%	1			
Femur	L		2=25%-75%	1			
Bone fragments-Unidentified	?						

DENTAL INVENTORY
VISUAL RECORDING FORM: PERMANENT DENTITION

Site Name/Number **NORTHERN BURIAL GROUND / NP-250**   Observer **G. TURNER**

Feature/Burial Number **TEST UNIT /**   Date **12/11**

Burial/Skeleton Number _____ / _____

Present Location of Collection **INSTITUTE FOR HISTORICAL BIOLOGY**

MAXILLARY

BUCCAL

OCCLUSAL

OCCLUSAL

LINGUAL

Right	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	Left
	32	31	30	29	28	27	26	25	24	23	22	21	20	19	18	17	

OCCLUSAL

LINGUAL

OCCLUSAL

BUCCAL

MANDIBULAR

DENTAL INVENTORY RECORDING FORM
DEVELOPMENT, WEAR, AND PATHOLOGY: PERMANENT TEETH

Site Name/Number _Northern Burial Ground_ / _NP-250_   Observer _G. Turner_

Feature/Burial Number _Test Unit_ /_____   Date _12/2011_

Burial/Skeleton Number _____ /_____

Present Location of Collection _Institute for Historical Biology._

Tooth presence and development: code 1-8. For teeth entered as "1" (present, but not in occlusion),
record stage of crown/root formation under "Development." Occlusal surface wear: use left teeth,
following Smith (1984) for anterior teeth (code 1-8) and Scott (1979) for molars (code 0-10). If marked
asymmetry is present, record both sides. Record each molar quadrant separate in the spaces provided (+)
and the total for all four quadrants under "Total." Caries: code each carious lesion separately (1-7);
Abscesses: code location (1-2). Calculus: code 0-3, 9. Note surface affected (buccal/labial or lingual).

	Tooth Presence	Development	Wear /Total	Caries	Abscess	Calculus/Affected
Maxillary Right						
1 M³	___	___	─┼─ ___	___ ___ ___	___	___ ___
2 M²	___	___	─┼─ ___	___ ___ ___	___	___ ___
3 M¹	___	___	─┼─ ___	___ ___ ___	___	___ ___
4 P²	___	___	___ ___	___ ___ ___	___	___ ___
5 P¹	___	___	___ ___	___ ___ ___	___	___ ___
6 C	___	___	___ ___	___ ___ ___	___	___ ___
7 I²	___	___	___ ___	___ ___ ___	___	___ ___
8 I¹	___	___	___ ___	___ ___ ___	___	___ ___
Maxillary Left						
9 I¹	___	___	___ ___	___ ___ ___	___	___ ___
10 I²	___	___	___ ___	___ ___ ___	___	___ ___
11 C	___	___	___ ___	___ ___ ___	___	___ ___
12 P¹	___	___	___ ___	___ ___ ___	___	___ ___
13 P²	___	___	___ ___	___ ___ ___	___	___ ___
14 M¹	___	___	─┼─ ___	___ ___ ___	___	___ ___
15 M²	___	___	─┼─ ___	___ ___ ___	___	___ ___
16 M³	___	___	─┼─ ___	___ ___ ___	___	___ ___

203

	Tooth Presence	Development	Wear /Total		Caries			Abscess	Calculus/Affected	
Mandibular Left										
17 M₃	___	___		___	___	___	___	___	___	___
18 M₂	___	___		___	___	___	___	___	___	___
19 M₁	___	___		___	___	___	___	___	___	___
20 P₂	___	___		___	___	___	___	___	___	___
21 P₁	___	___		___	___	___	___	___	___	___
22 C	___	___		___	___	___	___	___	___	___
23 I₂	___	___		___	___	___	___	___	___	___
24 I₁	___	___		___	___	___	___	___	___	___
Mandibular Right										
25 I₁	*5*	___		___	___	___	___	___	___	___
26 I₂	*5*	___		___	___	___	___	___	___	___
27 C	*5*	___		___	___	___	___	___	___	___
28 P₁	*5*	___		___	___	___	___	___	___	___
29 P₂	*5*	___		___	___	___	___	___	___	___
30 M₁	*5*	___		___	___	___	___	___	___	___
31 M₂	*2*	___	2/4	2/2 14	___	___	___	___	___	___
32 M₃	*4*	___		___	___	___	___	___	___	___

Estimated dental age (juveniles only) _____

Supernumerary Teeth:	Position between teeth	Location (1 - 4)	Position between teeth	Location (1 - 4)	Position between teeth	Location (1 - 4)
	___/___	___	___/___	___	___/___	___
	___/___	___	___/___	___	___/___	___

Comments:

It is possible this individual never had a 3ʳᵈ Right molar erupt.

204

ADULT SKELETON RECORDING FORM: ANTERIOR VIEW

Series/Burial/Skeleton __Unit 1 Levels 1 & 2__

Observer/Date __G. Turner 12/2011__
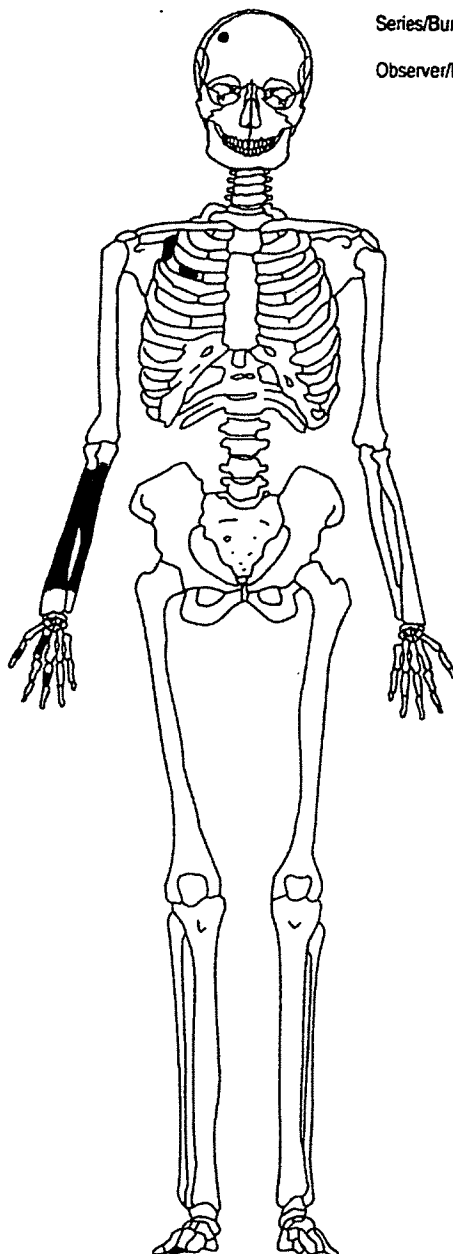
INVENTORY RECORDING FORM
FOR COMMINGLED REMAINS
AND ISOLATED BONES

Site Name/Number __Northern Burial Ground__ / __NP-250__   Observer __G. Turner__

Feature/Burial Number __Unit 1__ , __Levels 1 & 2__   Date __12/2011__

Burial/Skeleton Number _____ / _____

Present Location of Collection __Institute for Historical Biology__

Report all cranial bones separately. Group Cervical Vertebrae 3-6; Thoracic Vertebrae 1-9; Ribs 3-10; Carpals;
Metacarpals; Tarsals (other than Talus and Calcaneus); Metatarsals; Hand and Foot Phalanges. Vertebrae other
than those grouped above should be reported individually. Identify bones by name, indicate L (left); R (right);
B (Both); M (Midline); ? (Unsidable). Code articular regions, long bone diaphyses, and vertebrae by segments:
PE (proximal epiphysis), P1/3 (proximal third of diaphysis), M1/3 (middle third of diaphysis), D1/3 (distal third of
diaphysis), DE (distal epiphysis); B (vertebral body or centrum), NA (neural arch). Otherwise, leave this category
blank. Code Completeness according to the following:1 = >75% present; 2 = 25% - 75% present; 3 = <25%
present. MNI reflects the minimum number of individuals recorded on this line. Count/Wt refers to the
number/weight of fragmented materials. Age and Sex determinations should be entered as counts (see text for
codes).

Bone	Side	Segment	Completeness	MNI	Ct/Wt	Age	Sex
Cranial fragment			3 - <25%	1			
Radius Shaft - 5 frags	R		2 - 25% - 75%	1			
Ulna Shaft - 2 frags	R		2 - 25% - 75%	1			
Metacarpal - 4th(?) - Shaft	R		2 - 25% - 75%	1			
3rd + 5th Phalanges - 1st Row	R(?)		2 - 25% - 75%	1			
2nd Phalanx - 1st Row - Foot	R		2 - 25% - 75%	1			
Rib Neck & Shaft frags	R		3 - <25%	1			
Miscellaneous bone frags							

ADULT SKELETON RECORDING FORM: ANTERIOR VIEW

Series/Burial/Skeleton Unit 2 Level 2-N

Observer/Date G. Turner 12/11

INVENTORY RECORDING FORM
FOR COMMINGLED REMAINS
AND ISOLATED BONES

Site Name/Number _Northern Burial Ground NP-250_   Observer _G. Turner_

Feature/Burial Number _Unit 2_   / _Level 2 - North_   Date _12/2011_

Burial/Skeleton Number _____ / _____

Present Location of Collection _Institute for Historical Biology_

Report all cranial bones separately. Group Cervical Vertebrae 3-6; Thoracic Vertebrae 1-9; Ribs 3-10; Carpals;
Metacarpals; Tarsals (other than Talus and Calcaneus); Metatarsals; Hand and Foot Phalanges. Vertebrae other
than those grouped above should be reported individually. Identify bones by name, indicate L (left); R (right);
B (Both); M (Midline); ? (Unsidable). Code articular regions, long bone diaphyses, and vertebrae by segments:
PE (proximal epiphysis), P1/3 (proximal third of diaphysis), M1/3 (middle third of diaphysis), D1/3 (distal third of
diaphysis), DE (distal epiphysis); B (vertebral body or centrum), NA (neural arch). Otherwise, leave this category
blank. Code Completeness according to the following:1 = >75% present; 2 = 25% - 75% present; 3 = <25%
present. MNI reflects the minimum number of individuals recorded on this line. Count/Wt refers to the
number/weight of fragmented materials. Age and Sex determinations should be entered as counts (see text for
codes).

Bone	Side	Segment	Completeness	MNI	Ct/Wt	Age	Sex
Cranium	R		2 • 25% - 75%	1			F
Mandible	R		2 • 25% - 75%	1			F
Frontal - 2 fragments				1			
Frontal + Left Parietal	L			1			
Zygomatic + Maxilla	R			1			
Temporal + Zygomatic Process	L			1			
Cranial fragments - Misc.				2			
Clavicle	L		1 • > 75%	1			
Radius head	?		3 • < 25%	1			
Ulna shaft	L	M ⅓	2 • 25% - 75%	1			
Long bone shaft fragment	?						
1st Rib	R		1 • > 75%	1			
5th or 6th Rib	R		1 • > 75%	1			
Rib Shaft fragment	R		2 • 25% - 75%	1			
Miscellaneous Rib fragments							
1st Rib	L		1 • > 75%	1			
2nd Rib	L		1 • > 75%	1			
Possible 3rd - 6th Rib frags	L		2 • 25% - 75%	1			
Possible 4th - 6th Rib fragment	L		2 • 25% - 75%	1			

208

Bone	Side	Segment	Completeness	MNI	Ct/Wt	Age	Sex
Possible 4th or 5th Rib	L		1 : > 75%	1			
Possible 7th - 10th Rib frags	L		2 = 25% - 75%	1			
Miscellaneous Rib fragments	L			1			
N.B. - 2 left rib shafts have green stains from copper alloy pin or adornment.							
Possible Tibia shaft fragmt	?		3. < 25%	1			
Tibia - Proximal articular surf.	?		3. < 25%	1			
Fibula - Distal end fragmt	?		3. < 25%	1			
Long bone Epiphysis fragment	?		3. < 25%	1			
Calcaneus	R		2. 25% - 75%	1			
1st Cuneiform	R		1. > 75%	1			
3rd Metatarsal	R		1. > 75%	1			
4th Metatarsal	R		1. > 75%	1			
Distal 1st Phalanx	L		1. > 75%	1			
Proximal Row - 4th Phalanx	L		1. > 75%	1			
Proximal Row - 5th Phalanx	L		1. > 75%	1			
Misc. Metatarsal fragments - 9			2. 25% - 75%	1			
Cervical Vertebrae 3-5			1. > 75%	1			
Thoracic Vertebrae 1-9			1. > 75 - 2. 25% - 75%	1			
Lumbar Vertebra			2. 25% - 75%	1			
Greater Sciatic Notch	L		3. < 25%	1			
Pubis Symphysis fragment	L (?)		3. < 25%	1			

209

SKULL RECORDING FORM: RIGHT LATERAL VIEW

Series/Burial/Skeleton Unit 2 Level 2 N

Observer/Date G. Turner 12/11

DENTAL INVENTORY
VISUAL RECORDING FORM: PERMANENT DENTITION

Site Name/Number **Northern Burial Ground/ NP-250**   Observer **G. Turner**

Feature/Burial Number **Unit 2** / **Level 2 - North**   Date **12/2011**

Burial/Skeleton Number _____ / _____

Present Location of Collection **Institute for Historical Biology**

MAXILLARY

BUCCAL

OCCLUSAL   OCCLUSAL

LINGUAL

Right	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	Left
	32	31	30	29	28	27	26	25	24	23	22	21	20	19	18	17	

OCCLUSAL   LINGUAL   OCCLUSAL

?

BUCCAL

MANDIBULAR

211

DENTAL INVENTORY RECORDING FORM
DEVELOPMENT, WEAR, AND PATHOLOGY: PERMANENT TEETH

Site Name/Number **Northern Burial Ground** / **NP-250**   Observer **G. Turner**

Feature/Burial Number **Unit 2** , **Level 2 - North** Date **12|2011**

Burial/Skeleton Number _____ / _____

Present Location of Collection **Institute for Historical Biology**

Tooth presence and development: code 1-8. For teeth entered as "1" (present, but not in occlusion), record stage of crown/root formation under "Development." Occlusal surface wear: use left teeth, following Smith (1984) for anterior teeth (code 1-8) and Scott (1979) for molars (code 0-10). If marked asymmetry is present, record both sides. Record each molar quadrant separate in the spaces provided (+) and the total for all four quadrants under "Total." Caries: code each carious lesion separately (1-7); Abscesses: code location (1-2). Calculus: code 0-3, 9. Note surface affected (buccal/labial or lingual).

		Tooth Presence	Development	Wear /Total		Caries		Abscess	Calculus/Affected
Maxillary Right	1 M³								
	2 M²								
	3 M¹								
	4 P²	1		2	2	0			1
	5 P¹	1		2	2	0			1
	6 C								
	7 I²								
	8 I¹								
Maxillary Left	9 I¹								
	10 I²								
	11 C								
	12 P¹								
	13 P²								
	14 M¹	1		2|2 2|2	8	0			2
	15 M²	1		5|2 6|2	13	1	1		2
	16 M³								

212

	Tooth Presence	Development	Wear /Total		Caries	Abscess	Calculus/Affected
Mandibular							
Left							
17 M₃	___	___		___	___	___	___ ___
18 M₂	___	___		___	___	___	___ ___
19 M₁	___	___		___	___	___	___ ___
20 P₂	___	___		___	___	___	___ ___
21 P₁	___	___		___	___	___	___ ___
22 C	___	___		___	___	___	___ ___
23 I₂	1	___	2	2	0	___	1
24 I₁	___	___		___	___	___	___ ___
Mandibular							
Right 25 I₁	___	___		___	___	___	___ ___
26 I₂	___	___		___	___	___	___ ___
27 C	___	___		___	___	___	___ ___
28 P₁	___	___		___	___	___	___ ___
29 P₂	___	___		___	___	___	___ ___
30 M₁	?	___		___	___	___	___ ___
31 M₂	2	___	2/1 3/3	9	1	___	2
32 M₃	___	___		___	___	___	___ ___

Estimated dental age (juveniles only) _____

Supernumerary Teeth:	Position between teeth	Location (1 - 4)	Position between teeth	Location (1 - 4)	Position between teeth	Location (1 - 4)
	__/__	___	__/__	___	__/__	___
	__/__	___	__/__	___	__/__	___

Comments:
It appears this individual (likely female) had no erupted 3rd molar.
Finds include a lingual molar root – shown as part of M₁-30 but this
is only speculation as to its true position.

ADULT SKELETON RECORDING FORM: ANTERIOR VIEW

Series/Burial/Skeleton Unit 2 Level 2-S

Observer/Date G. Turner 12/11
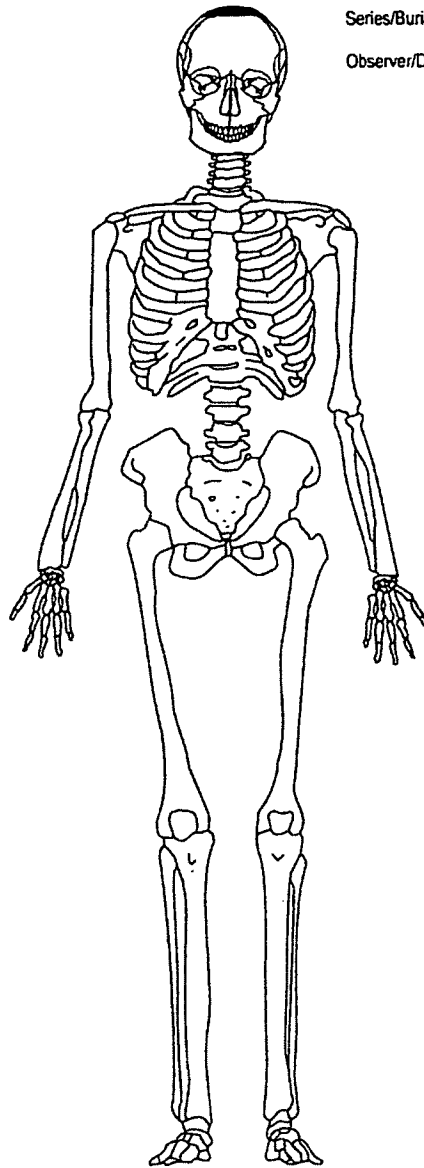
INVENTORY RECORDING FORM
FOR COMMINGLED REMAINS
AND ISOLATED BONES

Site Name/Number **NORTHERN BURIAL GROUND** / **NP-250**   Observer **G. TURNER**

Feature/Burial Number **UNIT 2** / **LEVEL 2 - SOUTH**   Date **12/2011**

Burial/Skeleton Number _____/_____

Present Location of Collection **INSTITUTE FOR HISTORICAL BIOLOGY**

Report all cranial bones separately. Group Cervical Vertebrae 3-6; Thoracic Vertebrae 1-9; Ribs 3-10; Carpals; Metacarpals; Tarsals (other than Talus and Calcaneus); Metatarsals; Hand and Foot Phalanges. Vertebrae other than those grouped above should be reported individually. Identify bones by name, indicate L (left); R (right); B (Both); M (Midline); ? (Unsidable). Code articular regions, long bone diaphyses, and vertebrae by segments: PE (proximal epiphysis), P1/3 (proximal third of diaphysis), M1/3 (middle third of diaphysis), D1/3 (distal third of diaphysis), DE (distal epiphysis); B (vertebral body or centrum), NA (neural arch). Otherwise, leave this category blank. Code Completeness according to the following:1 = >75% present; 2 = 25% - 75% present; 3 = <25% present. MNI reflects the minimum number of individuals recorded on this line. Count/Wt refers to the number/weight of fragmented materials. Age and Sex determinations should be entered as counts (see text for codes).

Bone	Side	Segment	Completeness	MNI	Ct/Wt	Age	Sex
Cranial fragments- 2			3 = <25%	1			

SKULL RECORDING FORM: SUPERIOR VIEW

Series/Burial/Skeleton Unit 2 Level 2-5

Observer/Date G. Turner 12/2011

ADULT SKELETON RECORDING FORM: ANTERIOR VIEW

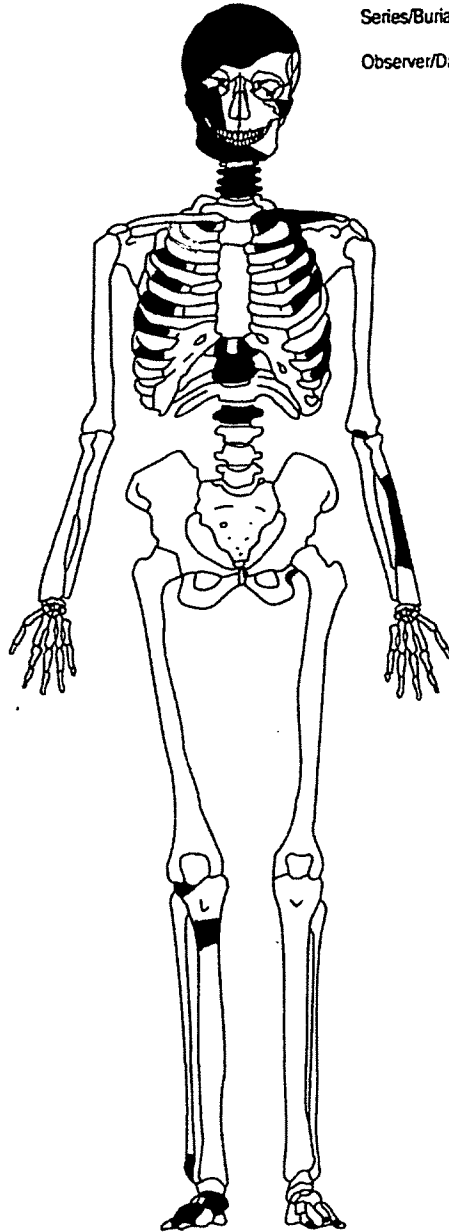Series/Burial/Skeleton Unit 4 Levels 1 & 2

Observer/Date G. Turner 12/2011

INVENTORY RECORDING FORM
FOR COMMINGLED REMAINS
AND ISOLATED BONES

Site Name/Number **Northern Burial Ground** / **NP-250**   Observer **G. Turner**

Feature/Burial Number **Unit 4** / **Levels 1 & 2**   Date **12/2011**

Burial/Skeleton Number _____ / _____

Present Location of Collection **Institute for Historical Biology**

Report all cranial bones separately. Group Cervical Vertebrae 3-6; Thoracic Vertebrae 1-9; Ribs 3-10; Carpals; Metacarpals; Tarsals (other than Talus and Calcaneus); Metatarsals; Hand and Foot Phalanges. Vertebrae other than those grouped above should be reported individually. Identify bones by name, indicate L (left); R (right); B (Both); M (Midline); ? (Unsidable). Code articular regions, long bone diaphyses, and vertebrae by segments: PE (proximal epiphysis), P1/3 (proximal third of diaphysis), M1/3 (middle third of diaphysis), D1/3 (distal third of diaphysis), DE (distal epiphysis), B (vertebral body or centrum), NA (neural arch). Otherwise, leave this category blank. Code Completeness according to the following:1 = >75% present; 2 = 25% - 75% present; 3 = <25% present. MNI reflects the minimum number of individuals recorded on this line. Count/Wt refers to the number/weight of fragmented materials. Age and Sex determinations should be entered as counts (see text for codes).

Bone	Side	Segment	Completeness	MNI	Ct/Wt	Age	Sex
Clavicle - distal end	L		2 - 25% - 75%	1			
Ulna - Shaft fragment	L (?)		2 - 25% - 75%	1			
Transverse Process - Thoracic V			3 - <25%	1			
Tibia Shaft - Proximal End	R		2 - 25% - 75%	1			
Metatarsal Shafts - 2	R		2 - 25% - 75%	1			
Unidentified Bone frags							

DENTAL INVENTORY
VISUAL RECORDING FORM: PERMANENT DENTITION

Site Name Number Northern Burial Ground / NP-250   Observer G. Turner

Feature Burial Number Unit 4 / Level 1   Date 12|2011

Burial/Skeleton Number _____ / _____

Present Location of Collection Institute for Historical Biology

MAXILLARY

BUCCAL

OCCLUSAL

LINGUAL

OCCLUSAL

| Right | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | Left |
| | 32 | 31 | 30 | 29 | 28 | 27 | 26 | 25 | 24 | 23 | 22 | 21 | 20 | 19 | 18 | 17 | |

OCCLUSAL

LINGUAL

OCCLUSAL

BUCCAL

MANDIBULAR

DENTAL INVENTORY RECORDING FORM
DEVELOPMENT, WEAR, AND PATHOLOGY: PERMANENT TEETH

Site Name/Number **NORTHERN BURIAL GROUND** / **NP-250**   Observer **G. TURNER**

Feature/Burial Number **UNIT 4** / **LEVEL 1**   Date **12/2011**

Burial/Skeleton Number _____ / _____

Present Location of Collection **INSTITUTE FOR HISTORICAL BIOLOGY**

Tooth presence and development: code 1-8. For teeth entered as "1" (present, but not in occlusion), record stage of crown/root formation under "Development." **Occlusal surface wear**: use left teeth, following Smith (1984) for anterior teeth (code 1-8) and Scott (1979) for molars (code 0-10). If marked asymmetry is present, record both sides. Record each molar quadrant separate in the spaces provided (+) and the total for all four quadrants under "Total." **Caries**: code each carious lesion separately (1-7). **Abscesses**: code location (1-2). **Calculus**: code 0-3, 9. Note surface affected (buccal/labial or lingual).

	Tooth Presence	Development	Wear / Total		Caries	Abscess	Calculus/Affected
Maxillary Right							
1 M¹							
2 M²							
3 M³	1		1/1 1/1	4			
4 P²							
5 P¹							
6 C							
7 I²							
8 I¹	1		3	3			
Maxillary Left							
9 I¹							
10 I²							
11 C							
12 P¹							
13 P²							
14 M¹							
15 M²							
16 M³							

	Tooth Presence	Development	Wear /Total		Caries		Abscess	Calculus/Affected
Mandibular Left								
17 M₃	___	___		___	___ ___	___	___	___
18 M₂	___	___		___	___ ___	___	___	___
19 M₁	___	___		___	___ ___	___	___	___
20 P₂	___	___	___	___	___ ___	___	___	___
21 P₁	___	___	___	___	___ ___	___	___	___
22 C	___	___	___	___	___ ___	___	___	___
23 I₂	___	___	___	___	___ ___	___	___	___
24 I₁	___	___	___	___	___ ___	___	___	___
Mandibular Right								
25 I₁	**1**	___	**4**	**4**	___ ___	___	___	___
26 I₂	___	___	___	___	___ ___	___	___	___
27 C	___	___	___	___	___ ___	___	___	___
28 P₁	**1**	___	**2**	**2**	___ ___	___	___	___
29 P₂	___	___	___	___	___ ___	___	___	___
30 M₁	___	___		___	___ ___	___	___	___
31 M₂	___	___		___	___ ___	___	___	___
32 M₃	___	___		___	___ ___	___	___	___

Estimated dental age (juveniles only) _____

Supernumerary Teeth:	Position between teeth	Location (1 - 4)	Position between teeth	Location (1 - 4)	Position between teeth	Location (1 - 4)
	___/___	___	___/___	___	___/___	___
	___/___	___	___/___	___	___/___	___

Comments:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

ADULT SKELETON RECORDING FORM: ANTERIOR VIEW

Series/Burial/Skeleton Unit 5 Level 3
Observer/Date G. Turner 12/2011
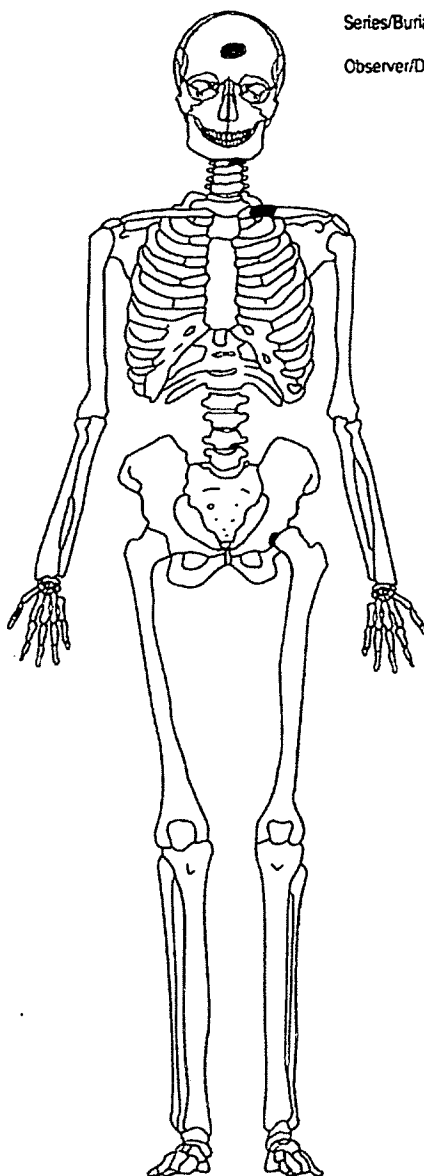
INVENTORY RECORDING FORM
FOR COMMINGLED REMAINS
AND ISOLATED BONES

Site Name/Number **Northern Burial Ground** / **NP-250**   Observer **G. Turner**

Feature/Burial Number **Unit 5** / **Level 3**   Date **12|2011**

Burial/Skeleton Number _____ / _____

Present Location of Collection **Institute for Historical Biology**

Report all cranial bones separately. Group Cervical Vertebrae 3-6; Thoracic Vertebrae 1-9; Ribs 3-10; Carpals; Metacarpals; Tarsals (other than Talus and Calcaneus); Metatarsals; Hand and Foot Phalanges. Vertebrae other than those grouped above should be reported individually. Identify bones by name, indicate L (left); R (right); B (Both); M (Midline); ? (Unsidable). Code articular regions, long bone diaphyses, and vertebrae by segments: PE (proximal epiphysis), P1/3 (proximal third of diaphysis), M1/3 (middle third of diaphysis), D1/3 (distal third of diaphysis), DE (distal epiphysis); B (vertebral body or centrum), NA (neural arch). Otherwise, leave this category blank. Code Completeness according to the 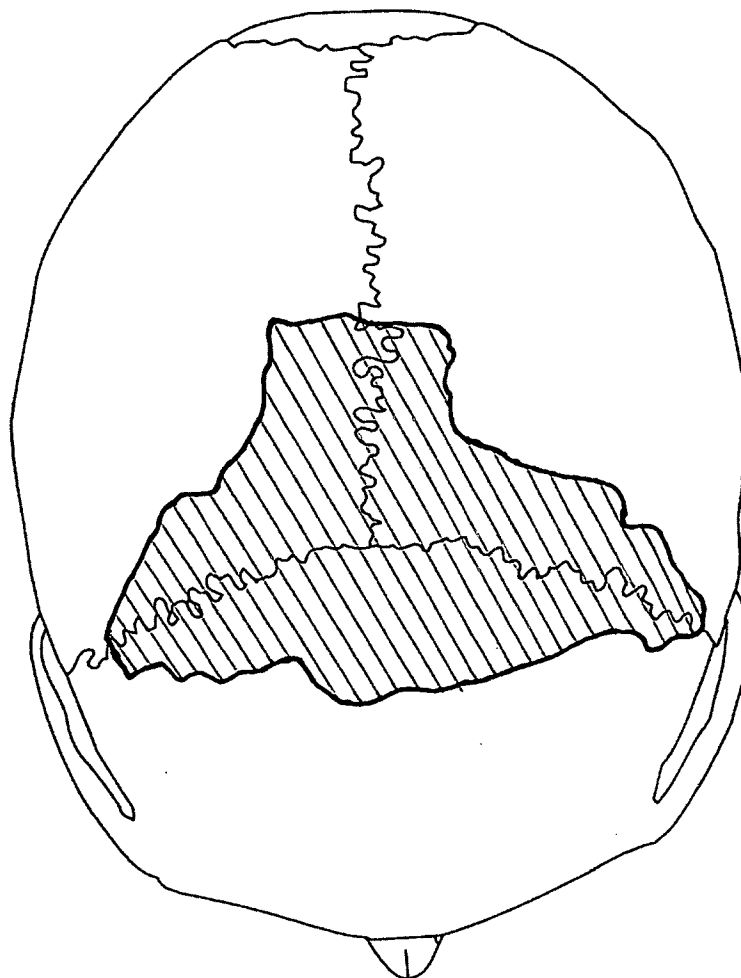following:1 = >75% present; 2 = 25% - 75% present; 3 = <25% present. MNI reflects the minimum number of individuals recorded on this line. Count/Wt refers to the number/weight of fragmented materials. Age and Sex determinations should be entered as counts (see text for codes).

Bone	Side	Segment	Completeness	MNI	Ct/Wt	Age	Sex
Cranial fragments-3			3 - <25%	1			
Clavicle - Sternal end	L		3 - <25%	1			
Metacarpal Shaft	R		2 - 25%-75%	1			
Atlas - Vertebral Arch			3 - <25%	1			
Lumbar Vertebra - inferior Articular Process			3 - <25%	1			
Acetabulum (on Pelvis)-2 frags	?		3 - <25%	1			
Unidentified long bone frags							
Misc. Unidentified bone							

DENTAL INVENTORY
VISUAL RECORDING FORM: DECIDUOUS DENTITION

Site Name/Number __Northern Burial Ground__ / __NP-250__   Observer __G. Turner__

Feature/Burial Number __MOT Post Hole__ / _____   Date __12/2011__

Burial/Skeleton Number _____ / _____

Present Location of Collection __Institute for Historical Biology__

MAXILLARY

BUCCAL

OCCLUSAL

LINGUAL

BUCCAL

OCCLUSAL

LINGUAL

Right	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	Left
	70	69	68	67	66	65	64	63	62	61	

LINGUAL

OCCLUSAL

BUCCAL

LINGUAL

OCCLUSAL

BUCCAL

MANDIBULAR

224

DENTAL INVENTORY RECORDING FORM
DEVELOPMENT AND PATHOLOGY: DECIDUOUS TEETH

Site Name/Number __Northern Burial Ground / NP-250__   Observer __G. Turner__

Feature/Burial Number __MOT Post Hole__ / ____   Date __12/2011__

Burial/Skeleton Number ____ / ____

Present Location of Collection __Institute for Historical Biology__

Tooth presence and development: code 1-8. For teeth entered as "1" (present, but not in occlusion), record stage of crown/root formation under "Development." Caries: code each carious lesion separately (1-7); Abscesses: code location (1-2). Calculus: code 0-3, 9. Note surface affected (buccal/labial or lingual).

	Tooth	Presence	Development	Caries	Abscess	Calculus/Affected
Maxillary Right	51 m²					
	52 m¹	1	7			
	53 c					
	54 P					
	55 I¹					
Maxillary Left	56 I¹					
	57 I²					
	58 c					
	59 m¹					
	60 m²					
Mandibular Left	61 m²					
	62 m¹					
	63 c					
	64 P					
	65 I²					
Mandibular Right	66 I²					
	67 I²					
	68 c					
	69 m¹					
	70 m²					

225

DENTAL INVENTORY
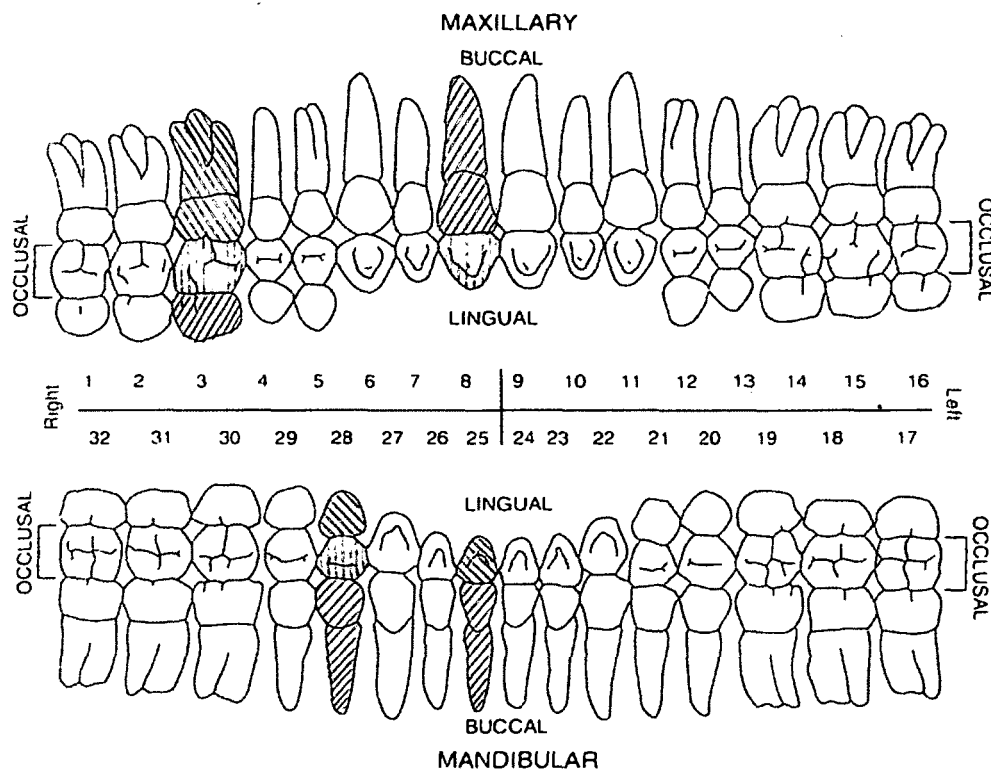## VISUAL RECORDING FORM: PERMANENT DENTITION

Site Name/Number Northern Burial Ground / NP-250   Observer G. Turner

Feature/Burial Number MOT Post Hole   /   Date 12/2011

Burial/Skeleton Number _____ / _____

Present Location of Collection Institute for Historical Biology

MAXILLARY

BUCCAL

OCCLUSAL

OCCLUSAL

LINGUAL

Right	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	Left
	32	31	30	29	28	27	26	25	24	23	22	21	20	19	18	17	

OCCLUSAL

LINGUAL

OCCLUSAL

BUCCAL

MANDIBULAR

DENTAL INVENTORY RECORDING FORM
DEVELOPMENT, WEAR, AND PATHOLOGY: PERMANENT TEETH

Site Name/Number **Northern Burial Ground / NP-250**   Observer **G. Turner**

Feature/Burial Number **MOT Post Hole** / _____   Date **12/2011**

Burial/Skeleton Number _____ / _____

Present Location of Collection **Institute for Historical Biology**

Tooth presence and development: code 1-8. For teeth entered as "1" (present, but not in occlusion), record stage of crown/root formation under "Development." Occlusal surface wear: use left teeth, following Smith (1984) for anterior teeth (code 1-8) and Scott (1979) for molars (code 0-10). If marked asymmetry is present, record both sides. Record each molar quadrant separate in the spaces provided (+) and the total for all four quadrants under "Total." Caries: code each carious lesion separately (1-7); Abscesses: code location (1-2). Calculus: code 0-3, 9. Note surface affected (buccal/labial or lingual).

		Tooth Presence	Development	Wear /Total		Caries	Abscess	Calculus/Affected
Maxillary Right	1 M³							
	2 M²							
	3 M¹							
	4 P²							
	5 P¹	2		1	1			
	6 C							
	7 I²	1	9	1	1			
	8 I¹							
Maxillary Left	9 I¹							
	10 I²	1	11	1	1			
	11 C							
	12 P¹							
	13 P²							
	14 M¹							
	15 M²							
	16 M³							

	Tooth Presence	Development	Wear /Total	Caries	Abscess	Calculus/Affected
Mandibular Left						
17 M₃	___	___	___	___ ___ ___	___	___
18 M₂	___	___	___	___ ___ ___	___	___
19 M₁	___	___	___	___ ___ ___	___	___
20 P₂	___	___	___	___ ___ ___	___	___
21 P₁	___	___	___	___ ___ ___	___	___
22 C	___	___	___	___ ___ ___	___	___
23 I₂	___	___	___	___ ___ ___	___	___
24 I₁	___	___	___	___ ___ ___	___	___
Mandibular Right						
25 I₁	___	___	___	___ ___ ___	___	___
26 I₂	___	___	___	___ ___ ___	___	___
27 C	___	___	___	___ ___ ___	___	___
28 P₁	___	___	___	___ ___ ___	___	___
29 P₂	___	___	___	___ ___ ___	___	___
30 M₁	2	___	1/8/8 1/8/8 4	___ ___ ___	___	___
31 M₂	81	11	1/8/8 1/8/8 4	___ ___ ___	___	___
32 M₃	1	6	1/8/8/0 1/8/8/0 0	___ ___ ___	___	___

Estimated dental age (juveniles only) _____

Supernumerary Teeth:	Position between teeth	Location (1 - 4)	Position between teeth	Location (1 - 4)	Position between teeth	Location (1 - 4)
	___/___	___	___/___	___	___/___	___
	___/___	___	___/___	___	___/___	___

Comments:

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

ADULT SKELETON RECORDING FORM: ANTERIOR VIEW

Series/Burial/Skeleton **Surface Finds**

Observer/Date **G. Turner 12/2011**

229

INVENTORY RECORDING FORM
FOR COMMINGLED REMAINS
AND ISOLATED BONES
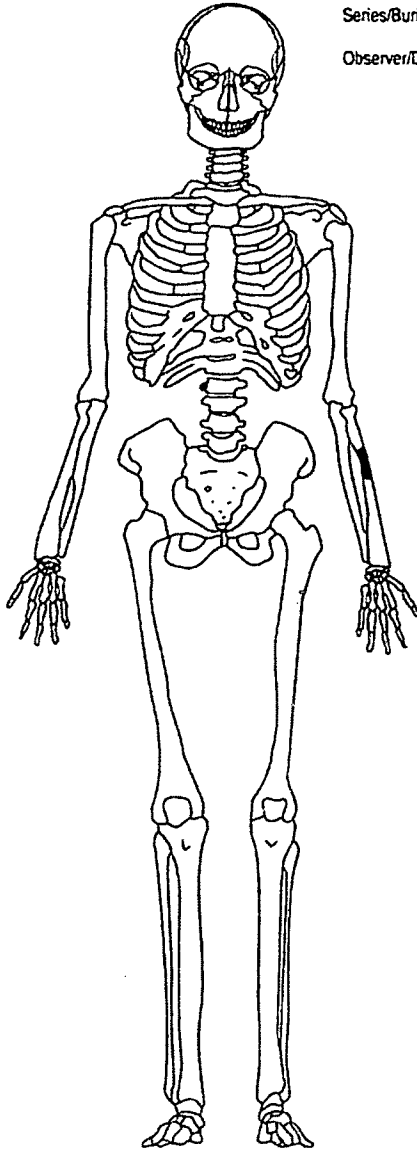
Site Name/Number **Northern Burial Ground** / **NP-250** Observer **G. Turner**

Feature/Burial Number **Surface Finds** / Date **12/2011**

Burial/Skeleton Number _____ / _____

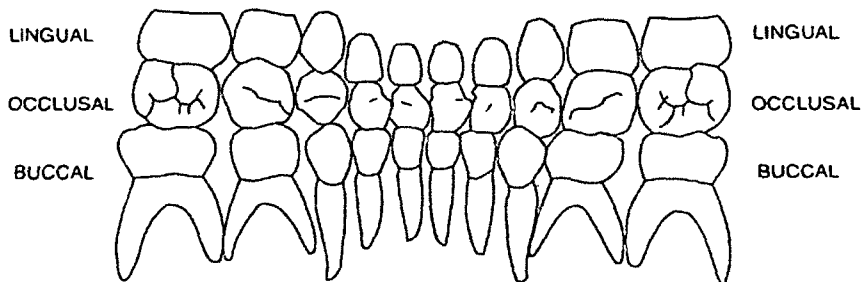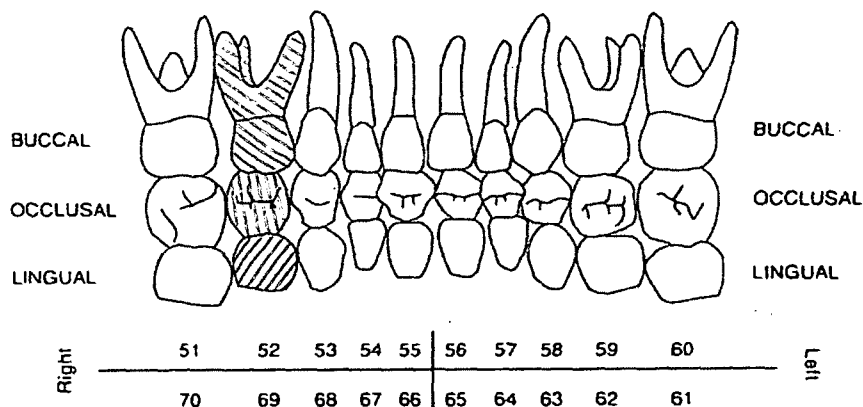Present Location of Collection **Institute for Historical Biology**

Report all cranial bones separately. Group Cervical Vertebrae 3-6; Thoracic Vertebrae 1-9; Ribs 3-10; Carpals; Metacarpals; Tarsals (other than Talus and Calcaneus); Metatarsals; Hand and Foot Phalanges. Vertebrae other than those grouped above should be reported individually. Identify bones by name, indicate L (left); R (right); B (Both); M (Midline); ? (Unsidable). Code articular regions, long bone diaphyses, and vertebrae by **segments**: PE (proximal epiphysis), P1/3 (proximal third of diaphysis), M1/3 (middle third of diaphysis), D1/3 (distal third of diaphysis), DE (distal epiphysis); B (vertebral body or centrum), NA (neural arch). Otherwise, leave this category blank. Code **Completeness** according to the following:1 = >75% present; 2 = 25% - 75% present; 3 = <25% present. MNI reflects the minimum number of individuals recorded on this line. **Count/Wt** refers to the number/weight of fragmented materials. **Age** and **Sex** determinations should be entered as counts (see text for codes).

Bone	Side	Segment	Completeness	MNI	Ct/Wt	Age	Sex
Possible cranial fragments			3. <25%				
Thoracic Vertebra - transverse process			3. <25%	1			
Ulna shaft fragments			3. <25%	1			
Misc. unidentified bone							

C – Catalogue of Faunal Remains

Animal	Bone Identity	How Butchered	Unit	Number	Comments
Horse/Donkey	Tooth		Test Unit	1	
Fish	Jaw		Unit 1	1	Fish species were not identified
Fish	Vertebra		Unit 1	1	Smaller example
Fish	Vertebra		Unit 2	1	Larger specimen
Cattle	Rib	Hand-sawn	Unit 1	2	Very large animal - imported meat
Pig	Distal Phalanx		Unit 1	1	
Pig	Proximal	Hand-sawn	Unit 2	1	
Pig	Axis vertebra	Hand-sawn		1	
Pig	Inominate	Hand-sawn	Unit 4	2	
Pig	Deciduous tooth			1	
Unidentified	Small & eroded	Sawn (?)	Unit 2	1	
Rat	Femur		Unit 4	1	
Cattle	Vertebra	Chopped	Test Unit	1	
Cattle	Long bone	Chopped	Test Unit	1	
Pig/ Cattle	Rib	Hand-sawn		1	Hand-sawn + polished - evidence of long-term use
Turkey	Humerus	Sawn	Unit 1	1	Broadest end only partially sawn through
Large Pig/ Cattle	Long bone		Unit 2	1	
Fish	Pectoral spines (?)		Unit 2	2	
Cattle	Tooth		Unit 5	1	

231

D – Catalogue of Ceramics

Ceramic Type	Design	Vessel Type	Manuf. Date	Unit
WSGS	Barleycorn	Plate	1750-1780	TU
WSGS		Plate	1740-1790	TU
WSGS		Tea Bowl (?)	1740-1790	TU
WSGS	Gadrooned	Plate	1750-1775	TU
Creamware		Tea Bowl	1762-1820	TU
Creamware		Tea Bowl	1762-1820	TU
Creamware	Featheredge	Plate	1765-1810	TU
Creamware		Hollow Form	1762-1820	TU
Tin-Glazed Enamel	Handpainted	Hollow Form	1630-1790	TU
Tin-Glazed Enamel	Handpainted	Bowl	1630-1790	TU
Tin-Glazed Enamel	Handpainted	Plate	1630-1790	TU
Tin-Glazed Enamel	Handpainted	Bowl	1630-1790	TU
Pearlware	Shell edge	Plate	1780-1840	TU
Pearlware	Handpainted	Tea Bowl	1830-1840	TU
Pearlware	Spattered + Cordoned	Tea Bowl	1780-1840	TU
Pearlware		Plate	1780-1840	TU
Whiteware	Handpainted	Plate	1830-present	TU
Pearlware	Marbelized	Bowl	1782-1820	TU
Staffordshire Slipware	Trailed + Combed	Platter	1675-1770	TU
Staffordshire Slipware	Combed	Bowl	1675-1770	TU
Staffordshire Slipware	Trailed design	Platter	1675-1770	TU
Chinese Porcelain		Tea Bowl		TU
Whiteware		Hollow Form	1830-present	TU
Creamware	Molded Basket weave	Bowl	1750-1770	TU
Whiteware	Translucent green glaze	Plate (?)		TU
Stoneware		Jug		TU
Porcellaneous Material		Hollow Form		TU
Refined Redware		Tile		TU
Salt-glazed Stoneware	Incised label/cobalt blue	Bottle	1750s-	TU
Staffordshire Slipware	Lines near rim	Dish	1675-1770	TU
N. American Redware	Lead-glazed	Dish	1750-1820	TU
N. American Redware	Slipped pattern	Dish/Bowl	1750-1820	TU
N. American Redware	Dk brown glaze	Dish/Bowl	1750-1820	TU
N. American Redware	Reddish-Brown Glaze	Bowl/Dish	1750-1820	TU
Stoneware	Dk brown glaze	Jug (?)		TU
Tin-Glazed Enamel		Mug/Cup	1630-1790	1
Tin-Glazed Enamel	Polychrome	Plate	1630-1790	1
Tin-Glazed Enamel	Blue on white	Bowl	1630-1790	1
Tin-Glazed Enamel	Green on white	Plate	1630-1790	1

232

Tin-Glazed Enamel	Blue on white	Plate	1630-1790	1
Tin-Glazed Enamel	Blue on white	Plate	1630-1790	1
Tin-Glazed Enamel	Blue on white	Bowl	1630-1790	1
Tin-Glazed Enamel		Bowl (?)	1630-1790	1
Tin-Glazed Enamel		Bowl	1630-1790	1
Scratch Blue SGS	Cordoned w Blue	Tankard/mug	1735-1775	1
Scratch Blue		Cup	1735-1775	1
WSGS		Tea Caddy	1735-1775	1
WSGS		Hollow Form	1735-1775	1
WSGS		Hollow Form	1735-1775	1
Staffordshire Slipware	Jeweled	Bowl/Pitcher	1675-1770	1
Staffordshire Slipware		Pitcher/Jug	1675-1770	1
Creamware		Tea Bowl	1762-1820	1
Creamware		Bowl/Jug	1762-1820	1
Creamware		Bowl	1762-1820	1
Creamware		Bowl	1762-1820	1
Creamware	Tortoiseshell/Clouded	Tea Bowl/Saucer	1762-1820	1
Chinese Porcelain	Blue/White floral motif	Tea Bowl		1
Chinese Porcelain	Blue/White floral motif	Plate/Saucer		1
Pearlware	Polychrome floral motif	Tea Bowl	1795-1820	1
Pearlware	Shell edge	Plate	1775-1840	1
Pearlware		Teapot	1775-1840	1
Pearlware	Blue/White filigree	Tea Cup	1775-1840	1
Pearlware		Hollow Form	1775-1840	1
Pearlware		Pitcher/Jug	1775-1840	1
Whiteware		Hollow Form	1830-present	1
Majolica - Guanajuato	Floral motif - green	Plate/Dish	1850-1900	1
Refined Ceramic		Tile	1990s-	1
Tin-Glazed Enamel	Polychrome	Plate	1571-1790	2
Tin-Glazed Enamel	Blue on White	Bowl/ Hollow Form	1630-1790	2
Tin-Glazed Enamel			1630-1790	2
Tin-Glazed Enamel	Blue on White	Bowl	1630-1790	2
Tin-Glazed Enamel		Bowl	1630-1790	2
N Devon Gravel-Tempered		Bowl	1680-1750	2
WSGS	Dot/Diaper/Basket	Plate	1720-1770	2
WSGS		Hollow Form	1720-1770	2
Scratch Blue	Cordoned lines w blue	Tea Bowl	1735-1775	2
Nottingham Stoneware	Rouletted	Hollow Form	1700-1810	2
Astbury		Hollow Form	1720-1750	2
Creamware		Plate	1762-1820	2
Staffordshire Slipware	Marbled slip	Dish/Platter	1675-1770	2

Pearlware	Polychrome	Coffee/Choc Pot	1775-1840	2
Pearlware		Hollow Form	1775-1840	2
Terra Cotta		Flower Pot		2
Whiteware	Metallic Rim Finish	Bowl		2
Whiteware		Bowl		2
Refined Ceramic		Tile	1960-present	2
Coarse Ceramic		Drainage Pipe		2
Refined Ceramic		Hollow Form		1
Coarse Redware	Mottled Glaze	Dish/Platter	Early 18th c	4
West Indian Stoneware		Storage Jar		4
Staffordshire Slipware		Hollow Form	1675-1770	4
Manganese Mottled ware	Cordoned	Tankard/ Mug	1675-1780	4
Chinese Porcelain	Blue under glaze	Hollow Form		4
Chinese Porcelain	Blue under glaze	Tea Bowl		4
Creamware		Bowl	1762-1820	4
Creamware		Plate	1762-1820	4
Creamware		Bowl	1762-1820	4
Creamware		Plate	1762-1820	4
Pearlware	Shell edge	Plate	1775-1840	4
Pearlware	Blue under glaze	Tea Bowl	1775-1810	4
Pearlware		Plate	1775-1840	
Pearlware		Bowl	1775-1840	4
Yellow ware		Hollow Form	1840-20th c	4
American Stoneware	Blue on gray	Lg Jug/Storage Jar	1780-1890	4
American Stoneware	Albany glazed interior	Storage Jar/ Jug		4
American Stoneware		Storage Jar/ Jug		4
American Stoneware		Storage Jar/ Jug		4
American Stoneware		Storage Jar/ Jug		4
Opal Glass/ Milk Glass	Press Molded		1880-1940	4
Terra Cotta		Tile		4
Terra Cotta		Tile		4
Refined Ceramic	Enameled glaze	Tile (complete)		4
Refined Ceramic		Tile		4
Coarse Ceramic		Drainage Pipe		4
Plastic				4
Tin-Glazed Enamel		Plate	1630-1790	5
Lead-glazed Redware	Marbled glaze	Dish/ Platter		5
English Brown Stoneware		Lg Jug/ Storage Jar		5

American Brown Stoneware	High gloss glass	Lg Jug/ Storage Jar		5
Chinese Porcelain	Blue under glaze	Tea Bowl		5
Creamware			1762-1820	5
Pearlware	Shell Edge	Plate	1775-1840	5
Pearlware	Transfer printed-blue	Tea Cup/ Bowl	1802-1846	5
Pearlware		Hollow Form	1775-1840	5
Pearlware		Plate	1775-1840	5
Whiteware	Handpainted-polychrome	Sm Covered Dish	1820-1860	5
Whiteware		Covered Dish	1820-1860	5
Whiteware		Covered Dish	1820-1860	5
Whiteware	Cordoned	Covered Dish	1820-1860	5

E – Catalogue of Glass

Artifact/s	Description	Color	Amount	Manufacture Date	Unit
Body sherds	5 clear; 1 blue; 1 amber	Assorted	7	20th c	Surface
Body sherd		Dark Green	1	19th c	Surface
Glass vessel	Hand-painted + acid etched	Colorless	3	1850-1900	Test Unit
Glass vessel	Leaded glass	Colorless	2	18th c	Test Unit
Bottle bases	2 Embossed - 'Liquor Bottle'	Colorless	3	20th c	Test Unit
Body sherds	1 rectangular w curved corners	Colorless	2	20th c	Test Unit
Body sherds	Very flat and thin	Aqua	4	19th c	Test Unit
Body sherds		Amber	2	20th c	Test Unit
Body sherds		Green	2	20th c	Test Unit
Bottle Lip, Body, Base	Lip machine-turned; Base embossed-3 1/3 GW	Hunter Green	3	Late 19th-early 20th c	Test Unit
Bottle base	Embossed - 'L'	Green tint	1	Early 20th c	Test Unit
Body sherds		Dark Green	3	Early 19th c	Test Unit
Case type bottle	Patinated	Olive Green	3	Late 18th-early 19th c	Test Unit
Coca-Cola Bottle	Embossed - 'Coca' 'Trade'	Green tint	5	Early 20th c	Test Unit
Bottle base + body sherds	Domed kickup on base	Dark Green	3	18th c	Test Unit
Base of tumbler	Leaded glass + pontil mark	Colorless	2	18th c	Test Unit
Smirnoff Vodka bottle	Embossed - 'RE SMIR'	Colorless	7	20th c	Unit 1
Body sherds		Colorless	3	20th c	Unit 1
Bottle mouths	Threaded opening	Colorless	6	20th c	Unit 1
Body sherd	Eroded	Colorless	1	19th c	Unit 1
Bottle bases	Embossed - 'Liquor Bottle'	Colorless	2	20th c	Unit 1
Rum Bottle base	Embossed-'TRI...D/ BRITISH WEST INDIE'	Clear-yellow hue	3	20th c	Unit 1
Bottle sherds	Threaded opening	Blue-green tint	24	Late 19th-early 20th c	Unit 1
Body sherd		Green	1	20th c	Unit 1
Bottle sherds	German beer bottle w foil neck wrap	Leaf Green	4	20th c	Unit 1

236

Body sherds		Amber	3	20th c	Unit 1
Bottle sherds	Base embossed - '34,5'	Olive Green/Amber	21	20th c	Unit 1
Body + base sherd	Case-type bottle	Dark Green	1	18th c	Unit 1
Complete bottle	Soft drink bottle	Amber	1	Early 20th c	Unit 2
Body sherds		Amber	4	20th c	Unit 2
Bottle bases + body sherd	Automated machine-made	Green	4	20th c	Unit 2
Body sherds		Olive green	2	19th c	Unit 2
Body sherds		Blue-green tint	3	Late 19th - early 20th c	Unit 2
Bottle Base	Embossed on side - '...'	Clear-yellow hue	1	Early 20th c	Unit 2
Body sherd	Embossed - line of script/ 'LTD'	Colorless	1	Early 20th c	Unit 2
Body sherd	Glass lightly solarized	Clear - lilac hue	1	Late 19th - early 20th c	Unit 2
Body sherds		Colorless	3	Late 19th - early 20th c	Unit 2
Bottle bases		Colorless	3	Early 20th c	Unit 2
Body + base sherd		Dark Green	2	Early 19th c	Unit 2
Body sherds	Completely encrusted	Dark Green	3	18th c - 19th c	Unit 2
Body sherd	Mirrored glass		1	20th c	Unit 4
Body sherd	Solarized glass; eroded pressed glass pattern (?)	Colorless - lilac hue	1	Late 19th c	Unit 4
Body sherds		Colorless	5	Late 19th - early 20th c	Unit 4
Body sherd	Embossed - 'OZ'	Colorless	1	20th c	Unit 4
Tumbler (?) base	Eroded - gives 'frosted' look	Colorless	1	19th c	Unit 4
Body sherd		Blue-green tint	1	Late 19th - early 20th c	Unit 4
Bottle base	Automated machine-made	Olive green	1	Early 20th c	Unit 4
Bottle mouth + neck	Automated machine-made	Amber	1	20th c	Unit 4
Bottle mouth + neck		Dark Green	6	Early 19th c	Unit 4
Body sherds	Heavily encrusted	Dark Green	12	Late 18th - early 19th c	Unit 4
Bottle base	Heavily encrusted	Dark Green	7	Late 18th - early 19th c	Unit 4
Bottle bases	Embossed on side and base	Amber	4	Early 20th c	Unit 5
Body sherd	Fluted; eroded frosted finish	Colorless	1	Late 19th - early 20th c	Unit 5
Base of tumbler (?)	Embossed lines on side above base	Colorless	1	Late 19th - early 20th c	Unit 5
Bottle base	Small liquor bottle	Colorless	1	Early 20th c	Unit 5
Bottle mouths	Threaded opening	Colorless	4	Early 20th c	Unit 5

237

Body + base sherd	Automated machine-made	Colorless	4	Early 20th c	Unit 5
Body sherd	Eroded - gives 'frosted' look	Colorless	1	Late 19th - early 20th c	Unit 5
Body sherd	2 embossed lines on shoulder	Colorless	1	Late 19th - early 20th c	Unit 5
Body sherds		Light green tint	2	Late 19th - early 20th c	Unit 5
Body sherds		Blue-green tint	3	Late 19th - early 20th c	Unit 5
Body sherd		Aqua tint	1	19th c	Unit 5
Body sherd		Green	1	20th c	Unit 5
Body sherds	Thin glass	Olive green	3	19th c	Unit 5
Body sherds		Olive green	3	Early 20th c	Unit 5
Body sherds		Darker green	3	Early 20th c	Unit 5
Body sherds		Olive green	7	Late 19th - early 20th c	Unit 5
Mouth, neck, body, base	Blown in 3-part Ricketts mold	Dark Green	28	Early 19th c	Unit 5
Mouth, neck, body sherds	Heavily encrusted	Dark Green	3	18th c	Unit 5

238

F– Catalogue of Other Cultural Materials

Artifact	Material	Manufactured	Number	Unit	Comments
Disc	Copper	18th - 19th c	3	Test Unit	Very thin, flat disc - unidentified
Stud Fastener	Copper alloy	Late 19th c	1	Unit 1	
Spoon handle	Pewter (?)	19th c	1	Unit 1	Possibly originally placed as just a utensil handle
Bahama Penny	Copper alloy	20th c	1	Unit 1	Too eroded to decipher the date minted
Unidentified fragment	Plastic	20th c	1	Unit 1	
Slotted Plate	Brass	20th c	1	Unit 1	Row of slots along one edge only
Lace Pin	Gold	Late 19th c	1	Unit 2	Found in sandy matrix within cranium
Button - small	Shell	19th c	1	Unit 2	Machine-made outer ring, and center ovoid
Round object	Bakelite (?)	19th c	1	Unit 2	Rim of small container w etched and painted designs
US Penny	Copper alloy	20th c	1	Unit 2	Too eroded to decipher the date minted
Crystalline stone	Pyrite	?	1	Unit 2	
Button - pressed metal	Copper alloy	Early 20th c	1	Unit 4	1902 design for U.S. General Services
Marble	Glass w color swirl	20th c	1	Unit 4	Chipped and broken
Metal fragment	Lead (?)	?	1	Unit 4	Possibly associated with nearby boating activity
Stone fragment	Slate	?	1	Unit 4	
Button - small	Shell	19th c	1	Unit 5	4-hole sew through - possibly from a child's clothing
Button - large	Shell	19th c	1	Unit 5	Decorated w ovoid shapes around edge + in center
Button	Glass/ Porcelain	19th c	1	Unit 5	Central copper alloy piece forming sew through shank
Button	Plastic	20th c	1	Unit 5	4-hole sew through - possibly later 20th c intrusion
Metal fragment	Lead (?)	?	1	Unit 5	Possibly associated with nearby boating activity
Nail	Iron	19th c	1	Unit 5	Corroded - appears to be round nail - head separated
Headstone	Limestone	18th c	4	Unit 5	Locally-made tablet stone reflects 18th c headstone styles
Liquor bottle covers	Aluminum	20th c	5	1,2,4	2 - Bacardi, 1 - Smirnoff, 1 - BR&CO Ltd, 1 -unidentified
Wood		?		TU, 1,2	Samples of wood recovered but yet to be analyzed
Brick	Clay	18th c -19th c		TU, 1,4	Interpreted as likely a type of grave curbing material
Stone fragments		20th c		1,2,5	Interpreted as debris from sidewalk construction

239

Concrete	Cement + sand	20th c	1,2,4,5	Interpreted as evidence of several sidewalks constructed
Nails, etc	Iron	18th c -20th c	All	No conservation facility in the Bahamas for small iron objects

G – Catalogue of Kaolin Clay Pipe Fragments

Stem/ Bowl	Bore Size	Smoked	Number	Unit	Maker's Marks
Stem fragments	1/16"	N	7	Test Unit	None
Bowl		Y	1	Test Unit	None
Stem fragments	1/16"	N	4	Unit 1	None
Bowl		Y	1	Unit 1	None
Stem	1/16"	Y	3	Unit 2	None
Stem	5/64"	N	1	Unit 2	None
Stem + Bowl frag	1/16"	N	1	Unit 2	None
Stem	1/16"	N	1	Unit 4	None
Bowl		N	1	Unit 5	None
Stem	5/64"	N	2	Unit 5	None

H - Catalogue of Lucayan Cultural Materials, Shells, and Coral

Artifact/ Ecofact	Material	Unit	Number	Comments
Ceramic	Clay + temper	Test Unit	4	Palmetto ware type ceramic
Utensil	Conch shell	Test Unit	1	*Strombus gigas* - 3 notches on 1 edge of inner whorl
Ceremonial tool	Igneous rock	Unit 4	1	Broken - top half recovered
Poss. palm frond	Plant	Unit 4	1	Burnt fragment - plant species not identified
Ceremonial tool	Olivine basalt	Unit 5	1	Only a flake recovered
Food shell	Codakia	Test Unit	1	Species name - *Codakia obicularis*
Food shell	Whelk	Test Unit	2	Species name - *Livona pica*
Food shell	Conch shell	Test Unit	2	Species name - *Strombus gigas*
Misc. Shells	Conch + crab	Test Unit	4	Includes juveniles - *Strombus gigas,* and *Strombus alatus*
Food shell	Codakia	Unit 2	5	Species name - *Codakia obicularis*
Food shell	Conch shell	Unit 2	12	Species name - *Strombus gigas*
Food shell	Whelk	Unit 2	3	Species name - *Livona pica*
Food shell	Ladder shell	Unit 2	1	Cut in half - possibly Lucayan - *Cerithidea scalariformis*
Sea shell	Moon shell	Unit 2	1	*Polinices lactea*-possibly deposited in storm surge
Sea shell	Striate Tellin	Unit 2	4	Species name - *Merisca aequistriata*
Sea shell	Var. conch species	Unit 2	3	Juvenile examples of *Stombus gigas* and *Strombus alatus*
Sea shell	Alternate Tellin	Unit 2	1	Species name - *Tellina alternata*
Sea shell	Blood Ark	Unit 2	1	Species name - *Lunarca ovalis*
Sea shell	Elegant Dosinia	Unit 2	3	Species name - *Dosinia elegans*
Echinoderm	Sea Biscuit	Unit 2	2	Species name - *Eurhodia rugosa*
Coral	Elkhorn	Unit 2	1	*Acropora palmata* - likely deposited in storm surge
Coral	Staghorn	Unit 2	1	*Acropora cervicornis*-cultural use by Lucayans
Food shell	Chiton	Unit 5	1	Just 1 plate recovered
Food shell	Whelk	Unit 5	1	Small but complete - *Livona pica*

I – Letter from AMMC granting permission to excavate

THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF THE BAHAMAS
ANTIQUITIES, MONUMENTS & MUSEUMS CORPORATION
P. O. Box EE-15082
Nassau, The Bahamas

TEL: (242) 326-2566/323-1925
(242) 356-3981/356-4191
FAX: (242) 326-2568
E-mail:

pompey_33@yahoo.com

pompey33@hotmail.com

22 June, 2009

YOUR REF:
OUR REF: AMMC/1/1A

Ms. Grace Turner
Doctoral Candidate
Dept. of Anthropology
The College of William and Mary
Williamsburg, VA 23187-8795

Dear Ms. Turner,

Request to Conduct Further Excavations at the North Burial Ground Site – Nassau

Please be advised that approval has been granted for you to conduct further excavations at the above stated site for 6 weeks during July to mid- August 2009. However, you are requested to submit the appropriate application form for our records.

Best wishes are extended to you.

Sincerely,

Keith Tinker (Ph.D.)
Director

THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF THE BAHAMAS
ANTIQUITIES, MONUMENTS & MUSEUMS CORPORATION
P. O. Box EE-15082, Nassau, The Bahamas
WEBSITE: amacbahamas.com
TEL.: (242)326-2566/ 323-1928
(242)323-1925
FAX: 242-326-2568
E-mail: pompey33@yahoo.com
pompey33@hotmail.com

13th August, 2009

Our Ref: AMMC/4/2

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Dear Sir/ Madam,

**RE: REQUEST TO TAKE ARCHAEOLOGICAL HUMAN REMAINS
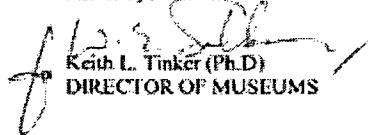TO WILLIAMSBURG, VA.**

Permission is hereby granted for Ms. Grace Turner, a doctoral candidate at the College of William and Mary, to transport a selection of fragmentary human skeletal remains (including teeth) for further study at that institution.

These remains were excavated between July 15- August 10, 2009 from the St. Matthew's North Burial Grounds site, East Bay Street, Nassau. This was the location of a cemetery for free and enslaved persons since the 1790s and continued in use until about 1903.

Excavations at this site will produce materials for Ms. Turner's doctoral dissertation in historical archaeology. The purpose for taking these remains to the United States is to conduct detailed skeletal and chemical analysis.

It is estimated that the remains will need to be in the United States for a period of one year.

Sincerely,

Keith L. Tinker (Ph.D)
DIRECTOR OF MUSEUMS

/slb

244

Adderley, Rosanne Marion
2006   "New Negroes From Africa": Slave Trade Abolition and Free African
        Settlement in the Nineteenth-Century Caribbean. Indiana University Press,
        Bloomington.

Agorsah, E. Kofi
1994   Archaeology of Maroon Settlements in Jamaica. Maroon Heritage:
        Archaeological, Ethnographic and Historical Perspectives, 163-187. E. Kofi
        Agorsah, editor. Canoe Press, Kingston, Jamaica.

Allen, Scott J.
2001   "Zumbi Nunca Vai Morrer": History, The Practice of Archaeology, and Race
        Politics in Brazil. Doctoral dissertation in Anthropology, Brown University,
        Providence, RI.

Armstrong, Douglas, and Mark Fleischman
2003   House-Yard Burials of Enslaved Laborers in Eighteenth-Century Jamaica.
        International Journal of Historical Archaeology 7[1]:33-65.

A-Z of Stoke-on-Trent Potters
http://www.thepotteries.org/allpotters/472.htm

Baker, Lee
1998   From Savage to Negro: anthropology and the construction of race, 1896-1954.
        University of California Press, Berkeley.

Bass, William
2005   Human Osteology: A Laboratory and Field Manual. Fifth edition. Missouri
        Archaeological Society. Colombia, MO.

Beckles, Hillary
2011   Servants and Slaves during the 17th-Century Sugar Revolution. The
        Caribbean: A History of the Region and Its People. Stephan Palmié and
        Francisco Scarano, editors. University of Chicago Press, 205-216.

Blakey, Michael
2001   Bioarchaeology of the African Diaspora in the Americas: Its Origins and
        Scope. Annual Review of Anthropology 30:387–422.

2004   Introduction. In The New York African Burial Ground Skeletal Biology Final
        Report. Vol.1. Michael L. Blakey and Lesley M. Rankin-Hill, eds. Pp. 2-37.

Prepared by Howard University for the U.S. General Services Administration, Northeastern and Caribbean Region.

Blakey, Michael and Leslie Rankin-Hill, editors
2009   *The Skeletal Biology of the New York African Burial Ground.* The New York African Burial Ground: Unearthing the African Presence in Colonial New York, Volume 1. Howard University Press, Washington, D.C.

Bloomingdale Brothers
1988   *Bloomingdale's Illustrated 1886 Catalogue: Fashions, Dry Goods and Housewares.* Published in association with Henry Ford Museum & Greenfield Village, Dearborn MI. Dover Publications, Inc., NY.

Blouet, Helen
2010   Marking Life and Death on St. John, Virgin Islands, 1718-1950: An Historical Archaeology of Commemoration through Objects, Space, and Transformations. Doctoral   dissertation in Anthropology, Syracuse University.

Board of Works Specification Books
1880-1917   Department of Archives, Nassau, Bahamas.

Bolton, H. Carrington
1891   Decoration of Graves of Negroes in South Carolina. *The Journal of American Folklore* 4[14]:214.

Brathwaite, Edward Kamau
1977   Caliban, Ariel, and Unprospro in the Conflict of Creolization: A Study of the Slave Revolt in Jamaica in 1831-32. Vera Rubin and Arthur Tuden, editors. *Comparative Perspectives on Slavery in New World Plantation Societies,* pp.41-62. New York Academy of Science.

Bruner, David E.
1996   Hidden Power: Burial Practices from an African-American Slave and Tenant Community. M.A. thesis in Anthropology, University of Houston.

Buckley, Roger Norman
1979   *Slaves in Red Coats: The British West India Regiments, 1795-1815.* Yale University Press, New Haven.

Cabrera , Lydia
2004   *Afro-Cuban Tales [Cuentos negros de Cuba].* Translated by Alberto Hernández-Chiroldes and Lauren Yoder. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Calendar of State Papers (CSP), Colonial Series, America and West Indies.
1964   W. Noel Sainsbury, editor. [1889, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London]. Kraus Reprint, Vaduz.

Chicora Foundation, Inc.
1996   Grave Matters: The Preservation of African-American Cemeteries. http://www.sciway.net/hist/chicora/gravematters.html

Chouin, Gérard
2008   Archaeological Perspectives on Sacred Groves in Ghana. *African Sacred Groves: Ecological Dynamics and Social Change,* pp.178-194. Michael Sheridan and Celia Nyamweru, editors. James Currey, Oxford.

Christ Church Births and Baptisms Registers.
1733-1895 Research Collection, Department of Archives, Nassau.

Cohen, Hennig
1958   Burial of the Drowned Among the Gullah Negroes. *Southern Folklore Quarterly* 22:93-97.

Colonial Office (CO5 1257/B16)
1699   A List of the Names of the People which gave Security in the feere voyages and office after their arrivall here in the ship fancy Cap. Henry Bridgeman alias Avery. Research Collection, Department of Archives, Nassau.

Colonial Office (CO23/23/folios 28-30)
1775   Economic and Military Report detailing the significance of the Bahamas by Governor Thomas Shirley. New Providence, May 6th. Research Collection, Department of Archives, Nassau.

Combes, John
1974   Ethnography, Archaeology and burial practices among coastal South Carolina Blacks. The Conference for Historic Site Archaeology Papers, 1972, volume 7:52-61. University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC.

Connor, Cynthia
1989   Archaeological Analysis of African-American Mortuary Behavior. *The Last Miles of the Way: African-American Homegoing Traditions, 1890-Present.* South Carolina State Museum, 51-55.

Correll, Donovan and Helen Correll
1982   *Flora of the Bahama archipelago: including the Turks and Caicos Islands.* A.R.G. Gantner Verlag, Vaduz.

Creel, Margaret Washington

1988   *"A Peculiar People" Slave Religion and Community-Culture Among the Gullahs:* New York University Press.

CO23/28
1787   'Most Secret and Confidential' Dispatch, Governor Dunmore. Folio 149. Research Collection, Department of Archives, Nassau.

CO23/39
1800   "Queries on the Culture of Cotton," questionnaire enclosed in letter from Alexander Wylly, Speaker of the House, and Robert Hunt, President of the Council, to Governor Dowdeswell, 16 May, folios 166-210. Letter from Robert Hunt (President of the Assembly) to the Duke of Portland, 9th May, folios 132-133. Research Collection, Department of Archives, Nassau.

Craton, Michael and Gail Saunders
1992   *Islanders in the Stream: A History of the Bahamian People*, volume 1. University of Georgia Press, Athens.

David, Nicholas
1992   The Archaeology of Ideology: Mortuary Practices in the Central Mandara Highlands, Northern Cameroon. *An African Commitment: Papers in honour of Peter Lewis Shinnie.* Judy Sterner and Nicholas David, editors. University of Calgary Press, 181-210.

Davidson, James M.
2004   Mediating Race and Class through the Death Experience: Power Relations and Resistance Strategies of an African-American Community, Dallas, Texas (1869-1907). Doctoral dissertation in Anthropology, University of Texas at Austin.

DeCorse, Christopher
1999   Africanist Perspectives on Diaspora Archaeology. *"I, Too, Am America": Archaeological Studies of African-American Life.* Theresa Singleton, editor. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville.
2001   *An Archaeology of Elmina: Africans and Europeans on the Gold Coast, 1400-1900.* Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington.

Deetz, James
1996   *In Small Things Forgotten: An Archaeology of Early American Life.* Revised edition. Anchor Books, New York.

Defoe, Daniel
1999   *A General History of the Pyrates.* Edited by Manuel Schonhorn. Dover Publications, Mineola, NY.

248

Department of Archives

1974   *The Sponging Industry.* Department of Archives, Nassau.

1975   *A Selection of Historic Buildings of The Bahamas.* Department of Archives, Nassau.

1982   *Settlements in New Providence.* Department of Archives, Nassau.

1986   *The Bahamas in the Late Nineteenth Century 1870-1899.* Department of Archives.

1987   *The Bahamas During the Early Twentieth Century 1900-1914.* Department of Archives.

Diagnostic Artifacts in Maryland
http://www.jefpat.org/diagnostic/Index.htm

diZerega Wall, Diana

1994   Family Dinners and Social Teas: Ceramics and Domestic Rituals. *Everyday Life in the Early Republic.* Catherine Hutchins, editor. Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, Winterthur, Delaware, 249-284.

Dockall, Helen Danzeiser Joseph Powell, and Gentry Steele

1996   Home Hereafter: An Archaeological and Bioarchaeological Analysis of an Historic African-American Cemetery (41GV125). Center for Environmental Archaeology, Texas A&M University, Reports of Investigations, No.5.

Douglass, Frederick

1854 [1950]   The Claims of the Negro Ethnologically Considered, address delivered at Western Reserve College, July 12. *The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass, Volume II, Pre-Civil War Decade 1850-1860,* pp.289-309. Philip Foner, editor. International Publishers, New York.

Drummond, Lee

1980   The Cultural Continuum: A Theory of Intersystems. *Man,* 15: 352-374.

Du Bois, William Edward Burghardt

1989 [1903]   *The Souls of Black Folk.* 1st published by A. C. McClurg & Co. Introduction by Donald Gibson. Penguin Books, New York, NY.

Eastwood, Jonathan

2006   *The Rise of Nationalism in Venezuela.* University Press of Florida, Gainesville.

Eden, Edward

2000   The Revolt on the Slave Ship *Creole*: Popular resistance to slavery in post-emancipation Nassau. *Bahamas Historical Society Journal,* 22:13-20.

Edwards, Ywone
1998   "Trash" Revisited: Slave Houses and Yards. *Keep Your Head to the Sky: Interpreting African American Ground.* Grey Gundaker, editor. University Press of Virginia.

Eneas, Cleveland W.
1988   *Bain Town.* First published 1976 by Cleveland and Muriel Eneas, Nassau.

Epperson, Terrance
2004   Critical Race Theory and the Archaeology of the African Diaspora. *Historical Archaeology*38[1]:101-108.

Falola, Toyin
2001   *Culture and Customs of Nigeria.* Greenwood Press, Westport, CT.

Farmer, Kevin, Frederick H. Smith, and Karl Watson
2005   The Urban Context of Slavery: An Archaeological Perspective from two Afro-

Barbadian Slave Cemeteries in Bridgetown, Barbados. *Proceedings of the Twenty-First Congress of the International Association of Caribbean Archaeology,* 677-685. University of the West Indies, School of Continuing Education, St Augustine, Trinidad.

Farquharson, Charles
1957   *A Relic of Slavery: Farquharson's Journal for 1831-32.* The Dean Peggs Research Fund, Nassau.

Fennell, Christopher
2003   Group Identity, Individual Creativity, and Symbolic Generation in a Bakongo Diaspora. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 7[1]:1-31.

Fenn, Elizabeth
1989   Honoring the Ancestors: Kongo-American Graves in the American South. *The Last Miles of the Way: African-American Homegoing Traditions, 1890-Present.* South Carolina State Museum, 44-50.

Ferguson, Leland
1992   *Uncommon Ground: Archaeology and Early African America, 1650-1800.* Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Fesler, Garrett
2004   From Houses to Homes: An Archaeological Case Study of Household Formation at the Utopia Slave Quarter, ca. 1675 to 1775. Doctoral dissertation in Anthropology, University of Virginia.

Firmin, Anténor
2002   *The Equality of the Human Races.* University of Illinois Press, Urbana.

Foner, Philip
1950   *The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass.* International Publishers, New York.

Frazier, Edward Franklin
1939   *The Negro Family in the United States,* University of Chicago Press.

Georgia Writer's Project, Savannah Unit – Work Projects Administration
1972   *Drums and Shadows: Survival Studies among the coastal Georgia Negroes* Anchor Books, New York.

GeoView, Inc. St. Petersburg, Florida
2007   Final Report: Geophysical Investigation The Northern Burial Ground of St. Matthew's Church Site, Nassau, Bahamas. Prepared for National Museum of the Bahamas.

Giles-Vernick, Tamara
2002   *Cutting the Vines of the Past: Environmental Histories of the Central African Rain Forest.* University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville.

Greene, Sandra
2002   *Sacred Sites and the Colonial Encounter: A History of Meaning and Memory in Ghana.* Indiana University Press, Bloomington.
2009   Cultural Zones in the Era of the Slave Trade: Exploring the Yoruba Connection with the Anlo-Ewe. *Identity in the Shadow of Slavery,* Paul Lovejoy, editor. Continuum, Books, New York, 86-101.

Greer, Georgeanna
1981   *American Stoneware: The Art and Craft of Utilitarian Potters.* Schiffer Publishing Ltd, Exton, PA.

Gundaker, Grey
2000   Discussion: Creolization, Complexity, and Time. *Historical Archaeology* 34:3[124-133]

Gundaker, Grey and Judith McWillie
2005   *No Space Hidden: The Spirit of African American Yard Work.* University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.

Heath, Barbara, and Amber Bennett
2000   "The little Spots allow'd them": The Archaeological Study of African-American Yards. *Historical Archaeology* 34[2]:38-55.

Helg, Aline
2004   *Liberty and Equality in Caribbean Colombia, 1770-1835.* The University of
        North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

Herskovits, Melville Jean
1941   *The Myth of the Negro Past.* Harper and Brothers Publishers, New York.

Higman, Barry W.
1984   *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean 1807-1834.* The Johns Hopkins
        University Press, Baltimore.

Historical Archaeology at the Florida Museum of Natural History – Digital Type
Collections. http://www.flmnh.ufl.edu/histarch/gallery_types/

Holl, Augustin
2001   500 Years in the Cameroons: Making Sense of the Archaeological Record.
        Christopher DeCorse, editor. *West Africa during the Atlantic Slave Trade:
        Archaeological Perspective,* 152-178. Leicester University Press, London.

Hood, J. Edward
1996   Social Relations and the Cultural Landscape. *Landscape Archaeology:
        Reading and Interpreting the American Historical Landscape,* pp.121-146.
        Rebecca Yamin and Karen Bescherer Metheny, editors. University of
        Tennessee Press, Knoxville.

Howard, Rosalyn
2002   *Black Seminoles in the Bahamas.* University Press of Florida, Gainesville.

Howard University and John Milner Associates
1993   Research Design for Archaeological, Historical, and Bioanthropological
        Investigations of the African Burial Ground (Broadway Block) New York,
        New York. Prepared for the United States General Services Administration,
        Region 2.

Hume, Ivor Noël
1991   *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America.* Vintage Books, New York.

Intermountain Antiquities Computer System (IMACS) Guide
2001   Buttons. Department of Anthropology, The University of Utah.
        http://www.anthro.utah.edu/labs/imacs.html

Israel, Fred, editor
1968   *1897 Sears Roebuck Catalogue.* Chelsea House Publishers, NY.

James, C.L.R.

1989   *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution.*
        Vintage Books, New York.

Jamieson, Ross

1995   Material Culture and Social Death: African-American Burial Practices.
        Historical Archaeology, 29[4]: 39-58.

Johnson, David

1948   *Uniform Buttons: American Armed Forces 1784-1948, 2 Volumes.* Century
        House, Watkins Glen, NY.

Johnson, Howard

1996   *The Bahamas from Slavery to Servitude, 1783-1933.* University Press of
        Florida, Gainesville.

Johnson, Whittington B.

1996   The Amelioration Acts in The Bahamas, 1823-1833: A Middle Ground
        Between Freedom and Antebellum Slave Codes. *Journal of the Bahamas
        Historical Society*, 18:21-32.

2001   Ownership of Slaves Among Free Persons of Colour in The Bahamas, *Journal
        of the Bahamas Historical Society*, 23:32-38.

2006   *Post-Emancipation Race Relations in The Bahamas.* University Press of
        Florida, Gainesville.

Jones, Olive and Ann Smith

1985   *Glass of the British Military ca. 1755-1820.* National Historic Parks and Sites
        Branch, Parks Canada, Ottawa.
        http://www.sha.org/research_resources/documents/Glass%20of%20the%20Bri
        tish%20Military%20-%20English.pdf

Jones, Olive

1986   *Cylindrical English Wine and Beer Bottles 1735-1850.* National Historic
        Parks and Sites Branch, Environment Canada – Parks, Ottawa.
        http://www.sha.org/research_resources/documents/Cylindrical%20English%20
        Wine%20and%20Beer%20Bottles%20-%20English.pdf

Jones, Olive, and Catherine Sullivan, with contributions from George Miller, Ann
Smith, Jane Harris, Kevin Lunn

1989   The Parks Canada Glass Glossary for the description of containers, tableware,
        flat glass, and closures. National Historic Parks and Sites, Canadian Parks
        Service, Ottawa.
        http://www.sha.org/documents/Parks_Canada/The%20Parks%20Canada%20G
        lass%20Glossary.pdf

Jordan, Terry
1982   *Texas Graveyards: A Cultural Legacy.* University of Texas Press, Austin.

Keegan, William
1997   *Bahamian Archaeology: Life in the Bahamas and Turks and Caicos before Columbus.* Media Publishing, Nassau.

Kelly, Kenneth
2001   Change and Continuity in Coastal Bénin. Christopher DeCorse, editor. *West Africa during the Atlantic Slave Trade: Archaeological Perspective,* 81-100. Leicester University Press, London.

Kelly, Kenneth and Neil Norman
2007   Historical Archaeologies of Landscape in Atlantic Africa. *Envisioning Landscape: Situations and Standpoints in Archaeology and Heritage,* pp.172-193. Dan Hicks, Laura McAtackney, and Graham Fairclough, editors. Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, CA.

Khudabux, Mohammed
1999   Effects of Life Conditions on the Health of a Negro Slave Community in Suriname. *African Sites Archaeology in the Caribbean.* Jay Haviser, editor. Markus Wiener Publishers, Princeton, NJ; Ian Randle Publishers, Kingston, Jamaica, pp.291-312.

LaCerte, Robert
1993   The Evolution of Land and Labour in the Haitian Revolution, 1791-1820. *Caribbean Freedom: Economy and Society from Emancipation to the Present.* Hillary Beckles and Verene Sheperd, editors. Ian Randle Publishers, Kingston, Jamaica, 42-47.

Lalla, Barbara and Jean DaCosta
2009   *Language in Exile: Three Hundred Years of Jamaican Creole.* University of Alabama Press, 2nd edition.

LaRoche, Cheryl and Michael Blakey
1997   Seizing Intellectual Power: The Dialogue at the New York African Burial Ground. *Historical Archaeology* 31[3]:84-106.

Las Casas, Fray Bartolomé de
1965 [1527-1562]   *Historia de las Indias,* 3 vols. Agustín Millares Carlo, editor. Fondo de Cultura Economica, México.

Lasso, Marixa
2007 *Myths and Harmony: Race and Republicanism during the Age of Revolution, Colombia 1795-1831.* University of Pittsburgh Press.

Lenik, Stephan
2005 Historical Archaeological Approaches to Tamarind Trees in the U.S. Virgin Islands. *Proceedings of the Twenty-First Congress of the International Association of Caribbean Archaeology.* University of the West Indies, St Augustine, Trinidad, 31-40.

Leone, Mark
2005 *The Archaeology of Liberty in an American Capital: Excavations in Annapolis.* University of California Press, Berkeley.

Levine, Robert
1997 *Brazilian Legacies.* M.E. Sharpe, Armonk, NY.

Lévy Zumwalt, Rosemary and William Shedrick Willis
2008 *Franz Boas and W.E.B. Du Bois at Atlanta University,1906.* American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.

Little, Ruth
1998 *Sticks and Stones: Three Centuries of North Carolina Grave Markers.* The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

Lovejoy, Paul (editor)
2009 Identifying Enslaved Africans in the African Diaspora. *Identity in the Shadow of Slavery,* Continuum Books, New York, 1-29.

Maceachern, Scott
2001 State Formation and Enslavement in the Southern Lake Chad Basin. Christopher DeCorse, editor. *West Africa during the Atlantic Slave Trade: Archaeological Perspective,* 131-150. Leicester University Press, London.

MacGaffrey, Wyatt
1986 *Religion and Society in Central Africa: The BaKongo of Lower Zaire.* The University of Chicago Press.

Mack, Mark and Michael Blakey
2004 The New York African Burial Ground Project: Past Biases, Current Dilemmas, and Future Research Opportunities. *Historical Archaeology,* 38[1]:10-17.

Malcolm-Woods, Rachel
2005 Igbo Talking Signs in Antebellum Virginia: Religion, Ancestors and the

Aesthetics of Freedom. Doctoral dissertation, University of Missouri-Kansas City, Kansas City, MO.

Map of Nassau
1788   Research Collection, Department of Archives, Nassau.

Marotti, Frank Jr.
2004   Freedom at Christmas: Andrew Gué, the Atlantic Community of Colour, and the 'Underground Railroad' in The Bahamas, 1825-1844. *Journal of the Bahamas Historical Society*, 26:4-9.

Marshall, Woodville
1993   'We be wise to many more tings': Blacks Hopes and Expectations of Emancipation. *Caribbean Freedom: Economy and Society from Emancipation to the Present*. Hillary Beckles and Verene Sheperd, editors. Ian Randle Publishers, Kingston, Jamaica, 12-20.

Maxwell, Clarence V.H.
1999   Race and Servitude: The Birth of a Social and Political Order in Bermuda, 1619-1669. *Bermuda Journal of Archaeology and Maritime History*, 11:39-65.

McCarthy, John P.
1996   Who Owns These Bones?: Descendant Communities and Partnerships in the Excavation and Analysis of Historic Cemetery Sites in New York and Philadelphia. *Public Archaeology Review*, 4[2]:3-12.
1997   Material Culture and the Performance of Sociocultural Identity: Community, Ethnicity, and Agency in the Burial Practices at the First African Baptist Church Cemeteries, Philadelphia, 1810-41. *American Material Culture: The Shape of the Field*, 359-380. Anne Smart Martin and J. Ritchie Garrison, editors. The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, Inc.

McLemee, Scott, editor
1996   *C.L.R. James on the 'Negro Question.'* University Press of Mississippi, Jackson.

McNeil, Hope
1998   The Rituals Surrounding Birth and Death: A Jamaican Context. Masters thesis submitted to the Theological School of Drew University, Madison, NJ.

McWeeney, Sean
2001   Not Far From the Madding Crowd: Bahamian Reaction to the Revolutionary

Upheaval in Haiti and the Intensification of Racial Control. *Journal of the Bahamas Historical Society*, 24:17-27.

Medford, Edna Greene, editor
2004   History Final Report: The African Burial Ground Project. Howard University, Washington, D.C., for the United States General Services Administration, Northeast and Caribbean Region.
http://www.africanburialground.gov/FinalReports/ABG_HistoryReportFinal.pdf

2009   *Historical Perspectives of the African Burial Ground: New York Blacks and the Diaspora* The New York African Burial Ground: Unearthing the African Presence in Colonial New York, Volume 3. Howard University Press, Washington, D.C.

Miller, George, Ann Smart Martin, and Nancy Dickinson
1994   Changing Consumption Patterns: English Ceramics and the American Market from 1770 to 1840. *Everyday Life in the Early Republic.* Catherine Hutchins, editor. Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, Winterthur, Delaware,

Mintz, Sidney W.
2006   *Caribbean Transformations.* First published 1974. Aldine Transaction, New Brunswick.

Mintz, Sidney W. and Richard Price
1976   *An anthropological approach to the Afro-American past: A Caribbean perspective.* Philadelphia Institute for the Study of Human Issues.
1992 [1976]   *The Birth of African-American Culture: An Anthropological Perspective.* Beacon Press, Boston.

Monroe, J. Cameron and Akinwumi Ogundiran
2012   Power and Landscape in Atlantic West Africa. *Power and Landscape in Atlantic West Africa: Archaeological Perspectives.* J. Cameron Monroe and Akinwumi Ogundiran, editors, pp.1-45. Cambridge University Press.

Montgomery Ward & Co.
1969   *Catalogue and Buyers' Guide No. 57, Spring and Summer 1895.* Dover Publications, NY

Morgan, Peter
1999   The 32nd Regiment in The Bahamas 1797-1799. *Journal of the Bahamas Historical Society, 21:23-29.*

Morris, Richard
1983   *The Church in British Archaeology*. Report No.47, The Council for British
        Archaeology, London.

Morse, Lt. Colonel Robert
1783   Instructions from Lieutenant Colonel Robert Morse Chief Engineer, To
        Lieutenant John Wilson Acting Engineer Dated at New York, 14th July.

Nichols, Elaine, editor
1989   *The Last Miles of the Way: African-American Homegoing Traditions, 1890-
        Present*. South Carolina State Museum.
Nigh, Robin
1997   Under Grave Conditions: African-American Signs of Life and Death in North
        Florida. *Markers XIV: Annual Journal of the Association for Gravestone
        Studies*, pp. 158-189.

Oldmixon, John
1741   *The British Empire in America*. Reprinted 1969, Augustus M. Kelley, New
        York.

Orderson, J.W.
[1842] 2002   *Creoleana: or Social and Domestic Scenes and Incidents in Barbados
        in Days of Yore and The Fair Barbadian and Faithful Black; or A Cure for the
        Gout*. Edited by John Gilmore. Macmillan Publishers, Oxford.

Orser, Charles E., Jr.
1998   The Archaeology of the African Diaspora. *Annual Review of Anthropology*,
        27: 63-82.
2001   The Anthropology in American Historical Archaeology. *American
        Anthropologist*, 103[3]: 621-632.

Packwood Outerbridge, Cyril
1975   *Chained on the Rock: Slavery in Bermuda*. Eliseo Torres & Sons, NY.

Parsons, Elsie Clews
1918   *Folk Tales of Andros Island, Bahamas*. The American Folklore Society, New
        York.

Patten, M. Drake
1997   Cheers of Protest? The Public, the *Post*, and the Parable of Learning.
        Historical Archaeology, 31[3]:132-139.

Perry, Warren, and Jean Howson
2006   Overview of Mortuary Population, Burial Practices, and Spatial Distribution.
        New York African Burial Ground Archaeology Final Report, Volume I.

258

Editors, Warren Perry, Jean Howson, and Barbara Bianco. Prepared by
Howard University, Washington, DC, for the US General Services
Administration, Northeastern and Caribbean Region.
http://www.africanburialground.gov/ABG_FinalReports.htm

Perry, Warren, Jean Howson, and Barbara Bianca, editors
2009   *The Archaeology of the New York African Burial Ground.* The New York
African Burial Ground: Unearthing the African Presence in Colonial New
York, Volume 2. Howard University Press, Washington, D.C.

Posnansky, Merrick
1984   Toward an Archaeology of the Black Diaspora. *Journal of Black Studies,*
15[2]:195-205.

Powles, L. D.
1996   *The Land of the Pink Pearl: Recollections of Life in the Bahamas.* First
published in London 1888. Media Publishing, Nassau.

1999   *British Society, 1680-1880: Dynamism, Containment and Change.* Cambridge
University Press.

Rainville, Lynn
2011   African-American Cemeteries in Albemarle and Amherst Counties.
http://www2.vcdh.virginia.edu/cem/AACemeteries_Landscape.shtml

Rankin-Hill, Leslie
1997   *A Biohistory of 19th-Century Afro-Americans: The Burial Remains of a
Philadelphia Cemetery.* Bergin & Garvey, Westport, Connecticut.

1754-1833   Register of Freed Slaves. Department of Archives, Nassau.

Rodwell, Warwick
1989   *The Archaeology of Religious Places: Churches and Cemeteries in Britain.*
University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.

Ross, Eric
2008   Palaver Trees Reconsidered in the Senegalese Landscape. *African Sacred
Groves: Ecological Dynamics and Social Change,* pp.133-148. Michael
Sheridan and Celia Nyamweru, editors. James Currey, Oxford.

Rouse, Irving
1992   *The Tainos: Rise and Decline of the People Who Greeted Columbus.* Yale
University Press, New Haven.

Rugg, Julie
2000   Defining the place of burial: what makes a cemetery a cemetery? *Mortuary*
5[3]:259-275

Samford, Patricia M.
2000   Power runs in many channels: subfloor pits and West African-based spiritual
       traditions in colonial Virginia. Doctoral dissertation in Anthropology,
       University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Saunders, Gail
1992   *Bahamian Society After Emancipation.* Ian Randle Publishers, Kingston,
       Jamaica.

Sayers, Daniel
2008   The Diasporic World of the Great Dismal Swamp, 1630-1860. Doctoral
       dissertation in Anthropology, The College of William and Mary,
       Williamsburg, VA.

Scarano, Francisco
2011   Imperial Decline, Colonial Adaptation: The Spanish Islands during the Long
       17th Century. *The Caribbean: A History of the Region and Its People.*
       Stephan Palmié and Francisco Scarano, editors. University of Chicago Press,
       177-189.

Schmidt, Peter, and Jonathan Walz
2007   Silences and Mentions in History Making. *Historical Archaeology,* 41[4]:
       129-146.

Schoepf, Johann David
1911   *Travels in the Confederation, 1783-1784.* Translated from the German and
       edited by Alfred J. Morrison. William J. Campbell, Philadelphia. Accessed
       from Google Books:

Schuyler, Robert
1980   *Archaeological perspectives on ethnicity in America: Afro-American and
       Asian-American culture history.* Baywood Publishing Co., Farmingdale, NY.

Secretary of State Correspondence
1800-1921 Correspondence from the Secretary of State to the Governor. Research
       Collection, Department of Archives, Nassau.

Sheridan, Michael
2008   The Dynamics of African Sacred Groves: Ecological, Social and Symbolic
       Processes. *African Sacred Groves: Ecological Dynamics and Social Change,*
       pp.9-41. Michael Sheridan and Celia Nyamweru, editors. James Currey,
       Oxford.

Singleton, Theresa
1995   The Archaeology of Slavery in North America. *Annual Review of
       Anthropology* 24:119-140.

2001   An Americanist Perspective on African Archaeology: Toward an Archaeology of the Black Atlantic. Christopher DeCorse, editor. *West Africa during the Atlantic Slave Trade: Archaeological Perspective,* 179-184. Leicester University Press, London.

Singleton, Theresa, and Mark Bograd
1995   *The Archaeology of the African Diaspora in the Americas. Columbian Quincentenary Series: Guides to the Archaeological Literature of the Immigrant Experience in America, No.2.* The Society for Historical Archaeology.

Skerry, Janine and Suzanne Findlen Hood
2010   *Salt-Glazed Stoneware in Early America.* Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

Smedley, Audrey
1999   *Race in North America: Origin and Evolution of a Worldview.* Westview Press, Boulder.

Smith, Angèle
2008   Landscapes of Clearance: Archaeological and Anthropological Perspectives. *Landscapes of Clearance: Archaeological and Anthropological Perspectives,* pp.13-24. Angèle Smith and Amy Gazin-Schwartz, editors. Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, CA.

Smith, Jonathan
2010   Hidden and Sacred: African American Cemeteries in East North Carolina. M.A. thesis in Anthropology, East Carolina University.

1976   *St. Matthew's Cemetery and Eastern Burial Ground.* Public Records Office (PRO), Nassau, Bahamas.

Sobel, Mechal
1988   *Trabelin' On: The Slave Journey to an Afro-Baptist Faith.* Princeton University Press, NJ

Stahl, Ann Brower
2001   Historical Process and the Impact of the Atlantic Trade on Banda, Ghana, c.1800-1920. Christopher DeCorse, editor. *West Africa during the Atlantic Slave Trade: Archaeological Perspective,* 38-58. Leicester University Press, London.

Sterner, Judy
1992   Sacred Pots and "Symbolic Reservoirs" in the Mandara Highlands of Northern Cameroon. *An African Commitment: Papers in honour of Peter Lewis Shinnie.* Judy Sterner and Nicholas David, editors. University of Calgary Press, 171-179.

Stevenson, Christopher
2008   Burial Ground for Negroes Richmond, Virginia: Validation and Assessment.
       Prepared for the Department of Historic Resources, Richmond, Virginia.

Stocking, Jr, George W, editor
1974   *The Shaping of American Anthropology 1883-1911: A Franz Boas Reader.*
       Basic Books, Inc, New York.

The Bahama Gazette
1784-1819 Research Collection, Department of Archives, Nassau.

The Bahamas Historical Society
1968   *Nassau, Bahamas 1823-4: The Diary of a Physician from the United States
       visiting the Island of New Providence.* Eyre and Spottiswoode Limited,
       Margate, England.

The Lockman Foundation
1997   *New American Standard Bible.* Foundation Publications, Inc., Anaheim, CA.

Themistocleous, Rosalyn
1997   L.D. Powles, Stipendiary Magistrate. *Journal of the Bahamas Historical
       Society,* 19:19-29.

Thompson, Robert Farris
1984   *Flash of the Spirit: African and Afro-American Art and Philosophy.* Vintage
       Books, New York.

Thompson, Sharyn
2002   *Marriage, Birth and Death Notices from Newspapers of the Bahamas.* Off
       Island Press, Tallahassee.

Thornton, John
1998   *Africa and Africans in the making of the Atlantic world, 1400-1800.* 2nd
       edition. Cambridge University Press

Tinker, Keith
2011   *The Migration of Peoples from the Caribbean to the Bahamas.* University
       Press of Florida, Gainesville.

Turner, Grace
2002   Report on an Emergency Excavation Project for the Centre Burial Ground.
       National Museum of The Bahamas/ Antiquities, Monuments & Museums
       Corporation, Nassau, Bahamas.
2007   Bahamian Shipping in Black. Paper presented at the XXII Congress of the
       International Association for Caribbean Archaeology, July 23-29, Kingston,
       Jamaica.

University of the West Indies, Cave Hill, Barbados
Plants of the Eastern Caribbean. Research Project, Department of Biological and
                                  Chemical Sciences
http://ecflora.cavehill.uwi.edu/plantsearch.php?search_method=common_name&searc
htxt=jumbie+lily&source=index&offset=0&rows=10 . Accessed on 9/11/2012.

Vice Admiralty Court Minutes
1809-1810   Research Collection, Department of Archives, Nassau.
Vivian, Brian
1992   Sacred and Secular: Transitions in Akan Funerary Customs. *An African*
        Commitment: Papers in honour of Peter Lewis Shinnie. Judy Sterner and
        Nicholas David, editors. University of Calgary Press, 157-167.

Vlach, John Michael
1978   *The Afro-American Tradition in Decorative Arts.* The Cleveland Museum of
        Art, Cleveland, OH.
1991   *By the Work of Their Hand: Studies in Afro-American Folklife.* University
        Press of Virginia, Charlottesville.

Wade, Peter
1993   *Blackness and Race Mixture: The Dynamics of Racial Identity in Colombia.*
        The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, MD.

Walker, Phillip, Rhonda Bathurst, Rebecca Richman, Thor Gjerdrum, and Valerie
Andrushko
2009   The Causes of Porotic Hyperostosis and Cribra Orbitalia: A Reappraisal of the
        Iron-Deficiency-Anemia Hypothesis. *American Journal of Physical*
        Anthropology, 139:109-125.

Watters, David
1994   Mortuary Patterns at the Harney Site Slave Cemetery, Montserrat, in
        Caribbean Perspective. *Historical Archaeology* 28[3]:56-73.

Weik, Terrance
2002   A Historical Archaeology of Black Seminole Maroons in Florida:
        Ethnogenesis and Culture Contact at Pilaklikaha. Doctoral dissertation in
        Anthropology, University of Florida.

Weiss, Brad
2003   *Sacred Trees, Bitter Harvests: Globalizing Coffee in Northwest Tanzania.*
        Heinemann, Portsmouth, NH.

Whidden, Astrid
1997   Key West Conchs, 1763-1912: Outlaws or Outcasts? *Journal of the Bahamas*
        Historical Society, 19:30-43.

White, Tim

2000   *Human Osteology.* Second edition. Academic Press, San Diego, CA.

Wilkie, Laurie
2000   *Creating Freedom: Material Culture and African-American Identity at Oakley Plantation, Louisiana 1840-1950.* Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge.

Wilkie, Laurie and Paul Farnsworth
2005   *Sampling Many Pots: An Archaeology of Memory and Tradition at a Bahamian Plantation.* University Press of Florida, Gainesville.

Williams, Eric
1961   *Capitalism and Slavery.* Russell & Russell, New York.

Williams, Patrice M.
1991   *A Guide to African Villages in New Providence.* First printed 1979. Department of Archives, Nassau.
1999   *Chronological Highlights in the History of The Bahamas, 600-1900.* The Bahamas Historical Society, Nassau.

Willsher, Betty
2005   *Understanding Scottish Graveyards.* Council for Scottish Archaeology and National Museums of Scotland, Edinburgh.

Winer, Lise
2009   *Dictionary of the English/Creole of Trinidad and Tobago: On Historical Principles.* McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal.

Wood, David E.
No Date *A Guide to Selected Sources for the History of the Seminole Settlements At Red Bays, Andros 1817-1980.* Department of Archives, Nassau.

Woodson, Carter G.
1937   Reviewed work: *Life in a Haitian Valley. The Journal of Negro History,* 22[3]:366-369.

Wyckoff, Martin
1984   *United States Military Buttons of the Land Services 1787-1902: A Guide and Classificatory System.* McLean County Historical Society, Bloomington, IL.

Wylly, William
1789   *A Short Account of the Bahama Islands, Their Climate, Productions, &c.* London.

Vita

Grace S. R. Turner

Department of Anthropology
College of William and Mary
Williamsburg, VA 23187
gsturn@email.wm.edu

Country of Citizenship: The Bahamas

Research Interests:

African Diaspora; migration; issues of race and ethnicity; material culture; the island Caribbean; transportation networks; role of ships and shipping in the Atlantic world; issues involved in interpreting the past.

Education:

2004 – (expected completion late 2012) PhD candidate, Anthropology (Historical Archaeology) College of William and Mary
Dissertation: *An Allegory for Life: An 18th century African-influenced cemetery landscape, Nassau, Bahamas*　　　　Committee Chair: Michael Blakey

2004 - M.A., Anthropology (Nautical Archaeology) Texas A&M University
　　　　Thesis: *Bahamian Ship Graffiti*

1987 – M.A., History & Museum Studies, Ohio State University

1981 – M.A., Anthropology (Cultural Anthropology) Rutgers University

1979 - B.A., History, Elmira College, Elmira, NY (*summa cum laude*).

Teaching Experience:

Spring 2012 - *Globalization and Society* SOCL 201 Christopher Newport University

Fall 2011; Spring 2012 - *Human Adaptation*   ANTH 200
       Christopher Newport University

Spring 2010 - *Introduction to Archaeology*   ANTH105
       Virginia Commonwealth University

Fall 2010 - *Archaeological Theory*   ANTH 302   Virginia Commonwealth University

Fall 2009 - *The Archaeology of Atlantic Transportation Networks*   ANTH 350
       College of William and Mary

Fall 2009 - *Introduction to Anthropology*   ANTH 103
       Virginia Commonwealth University

Fall 2009; 2010 - *Historical Archaeology*   ANTH 391
       Virginia Commonwealth University

Spring 2008; 2010 - *Maritime Archaeology* ANTH 394
       Virginia Commonwealth University

Other possible courses:

Caribbean Archaeology
Archaeology of the African Diaspora

Publications:

2008   Michael Blakey, Director, IHB, and Grace Turner, Graduate Research
       Associate, IHB
       *Institute for Historical Biology (IHB) Review of the Virginia Department of
       Historic Resources (DHR) Validation and Assessment Report on the Burial
       Ground for Negroes, Richmond, Virginia, by C.M. Stephenson, 25 June, 2008.*

2008   Contributor (The Bahamas; Black Seminoles; Junkanoo - Bahamas; West India
       Regiments; The *Creole* Incident; Liberated Africans - Bahamas). *The
       Encyclopedia of the African Diaspora.* Carole Boyce Davies, editor. ABC-
       CLIO, Oxford.

2007   In His Own Words: Abul Keli, a Liberated African Apprentice. *Journal of the
       Bahamas Historical Society*, 29.

2007   Bahamian Shipping in Black. *Proceedings of the XXII Conference of the
       International Association for Caribbean Archaeology, Kingston, Jamaica, July
       23-29* (In process of publication).

2006   Bahamian Ship Graffiti. *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 35(2):253-273.

2004   Managing a Field Laboratory at an Isolated Site: Isla Cabra. *INA Quarterly* 31(1):20-21.

2003   The Bahamas in the Early 1700s: A Pirate Haven Brought Under Rule. *Journal of the Bahamas Historical Society,* 25:4-9.

[1993] 2000   An Archaeological Record of Plantation Life in The Bahamas. *Amerindians, Africans, Americans: Three Papers in Caribbean History.* University of the West Indies Press, Mona, Jamaica.

Book Reviews:

2013   *The Migration of Peoples from the Caribbean to the Bahamas.* Keith L. Tinker. University Press of Florida, 2011. *New West Indian Guide,* 85 (In process.)

2008   Post Emancipation Race Relations in The Bahamas. Whittington B. Johnson. University Press of Florida, 2006. New West Indian Guide, 82 (3&4):318-320.

2006   *Sampling Many Pots: An Archaeology of Memory and Tradition at a Bahamian Plantation.* Laurie A. Wilkie and Paul Farnsworth. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005. *New West Indian Guide,* 80 (3&4): 286-288.

Conference Presentations:

2012   *"A Voice from the Bahamas": An historical overview of the movement of Bahamians of African descent between the Bahamas and South Florida.* Paper presented at the National Underground Railroad Conference, St Augustine, FL, June 20-24.

2007   *Bahamian Shipping in Black.* XXII Conference of the International Association for Caribbean Archaeology, Kingston, Jamaica, July 23-29.

2007   *A Different Place, Another Time: Archaeological Evidence of Cultural Features for African-derived Grave Treatment.* Paper presented at the SHA Conference on Historical and Underwater Archaeology, Williamsburg, VA

2006   *Bahama Etchings: 19th and 20th century ship graffiti.* Poster and digital
presentation in the Public Archaeology Session at SHA Conference on
Historical and Underwater Archaeology, Sacramento, CA, January 11-15.

2006   *Ship Graffiti as Records of All Manner of Bahamian Shipping.* Paper
presented at the Society for American Archaeology's 71st Annual Meeting,
San Juan, Puerto Rico, April 26-30.

2006   *Dark Visions from the Ocean: Lucayan Perspective on a Spanish Vessel.*
Paper presented with Keith Tinker at the Society for American Archaeology's
71st Annual Meeting, San Juan, Puerto Rico, April 26-30.

2006   *In His Own Words: Abul Kelee, a Liberated African Apprentice.* Paper
presented at the American Society for Ethnohistory Annual Meeting,
Williamsburg, VA.

2004   *Blacks in Bahamian Shipping.* Paper presented at the American
Anthropological Associationn Annual Meeting, Washington, DC

2003   *The Maritime Cultural Landscape of the Bahamas.* Paper presented at
Chacmool Conference, University of Calgary, Alberta, Canada, November
12-16.

2002   *Etched in Stone: Bahamian Ship Graffiti.* Poster presented at the Association
for Preservation Technology Annual Conference and Workshops, Toronto,
Canada, September 10-15.

Invited Talks:

2011   As Time Goes By: The Historical Movement of People Between the Bahamas
and the United States. Presentation at the Bahamian Genealogical and
Heritage Conference and Workshop. The Schomburg Center for Research in
Black Culture, New York City, July 16.

2011   Analysis of an African Diaspora Cemetery in the Bahamas. Guest lecture
explaining my dissertation research for *Introduction to Africana Studies*, Dr
Hermine Pinson, College of William and Mary, Fall.

2005   The Encounter of Two Worlds. Public lecture on archaeological evidence of
early contact between Lucayans (indigenous people of the Bahamas) and
Europeans. University of San Diego.

Academic Awards and Fellowships:

2011 – Dissertation Completion Fellowship, Spring and Summer semesters, Department of Anthropology, the College of William and Mary

2007 – Preliminary Dissertation Research Funding from the Vice Provost's Office, College of William and Mary

2007 Graduate Student Research Grant, the Office of Graduate Studies and Research, College of William and Mary

2007 Reeves Center International Travel Grant, College of William and Mary

2007 Department of Anthropology Conference Funding, College of William and Mary

2006 Graduate Student Association Conference Funding, College of William and Mary

2005 – Student Travel Award, Archaeology Division, AAA Annual Meeting, Washington, DC

2003 Robert & Helen Wingler Tuition Scholarship – Historic Resources Imaging Lab, School of Architecture, Texas A&M University

2003 Graduate Travel Grant – the Melbern G. Glasscock Center for Humanities Research, Texas A&M University

2003 Graduate Research Enhancement Award – Nautical Archaeology Program, Texas A&M University

2002 Student Scholarship – The Association for Preservation Technology

2000-2001 Rotary Ambassadorial Scholar at Texas A&M University – tuition, fees, and living expenses

Languages:

Spanish – Working knowledge

French – Working knowledge

Professional Experience:

Spring – Summer 2012 Archaeology Lab Technician, Colonial Williamsburg
Foundation.

Fall 2011- Spring 2012 - Adjunct Anthropology faculty, Christopher Newport
University, Newport News, VA.

2010 – Summer Assistantship – update artifact database for Colonial Williamsburg
sites.

Spr. '08–Fall'10 Adjunct Anthropology faculty, Virginia Commonwealth U,
Richmond.

2007- 2009 – Graduate Research Associate, Institute for Historical Biology,
Department of Anthropology, The College of William and Mary.

2005 – Summer research – Colonial Williamsburg Archaeology Lab - artifact analysis
of 18th-19th century slave and tenant farm house site.

2003 & 2006 - Field lab manager, Monte Cristi Pipe Wreck Project – a mid 17th
century shipwreck site on the northwest coast of the Dominican Republic.

1985 to 2000 – Museum & Archaeology Section, Department of Archives:

Reviewing proposals for archaeological research.
Advising other government agencies on salvage of historic shipwrecks.
Advising on legislation and public policy for cultural resource management.

1993 to 2000 - Managing the first two government-funded museums in the Bahamas
– The Pompey Museum of Slavery & Emancipation at Vendue House,
The Balcony House Museum.

Professional Associations:

International Congress for Caribbean Archaeology

Society for American Archaeology

Society for Historical Archaeology

Museum Association of the Caribbean

Graduate Student Representative, Advisory Council on Underwater Archaeology
(ACUA) 2006-2010

University Service:

Sept. 2008 – May 2010   President's Aide, College of William and Mary

Nov.2007-Feb.2008   Graduate Student Representative on Search Committee for
                    Assistant to the Graduate Dean of Arts & Sciences