Religion, Archaeology, and Social Relations: A Study of the Practice of Quakerism and Caribbean Slavery in the Eighteenth-Century British Virgin Islands

By

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Abstract

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This dissertation considers the social construction and negotiation of religion in a particular place and time: a small, relatively poor cotton plantation in the British Virgin Islands in the eighteenth century. Due to a rich record of archival documents and historical writings, we know that religion, race, class, and other forces of identification were at play on this site, but the specifics of many of the players—their relationships and worldviews—do not survive in texts. To reconstruct these, three seasons of archaeological work were initiated on the site, the home of the Lettsom family and the enslaved people they held.

What makes this site unique to the region is the association with known members of the Religious Society of Friends, better known as "Quakers." The owners, Mary and Edward Lettsom were members of a small group of Quakers which formed from the local planter population about 1740, and both professed Quaker values for the rest of their lives. What Quakerism "is" will be a topic of discussion for this work, but it has long been associated with the abolition movement and known for embracing "equality" and "simplicity" in material things. As such, both the presence of Quakers on a slave plantation, and the very ordinariness of their material world is surprising. How can we see ephemeral religious ideas in material things? How can it be at work in mass produced material goods, much like those found at any site of the period? How can slave-owning Quakers seem like anything less than hypocrisy? In short, this dissertation will argue that a wide variety of distinct practices work to construct the seemingly coherent group which falls under the name "Quaker."

At its most general, the purpose of this study is to explore the nature of religion, the groups of people defined on a religious basis, and to chart its effects in their daily lives through their material world. One beginning point to this inquiry is how archaeology has approached and can approach religion. Chapter two begins this by summarizing some of the recent work on religion

in archaeology, noting several themes which will reappear later in this work and discussing their theoretical underpinnings, primarily in the work of Geertz, Turner, and Rappaport.

It will be suggested that practice theory, especially the work of Bourdieu, Giddens, Butler, and Bell, can be useful in extending these discussions of archaeology and religion. Chapter three examines these works and proposes a view of religion which may be useful for archaeological analysis: combining considerations of social identity and practice theory to see religion as a group of practice, contextual, constantly changing, and with many variations at one time. This view better fits the evidence we have for what people actually did in their daily lives: creatively interpreting their world and improvising responses that fit their needs, physical and psychological, based on their knowledge of the context of their actions. This view of religion is active and variable.

Archaeological understanding will be pursued here in a comparative frame, studying the relationships between owner and enslaved, Quaker and non-Quaker, rich and poor. The long-term contexts which inform these relationships are the subjects of chapters four, on Quakerism, and five, on the history of the British Virgin Islands themselves. Quakerism has been the subject of a great deal of historical research and a moderate amount of archaeological inquiry as well. Chapter four provides a brief overview of the history of the group, its study archaeologically, and draws out those elements of Quaker religious practice which will be the most important in understanding the actions of those on the study site.

Chapter five introduces the unique history of the British Virgin Islands themselves and the people who lived on the study site, on the island of Little Jost van Dyke: the Lettsoms, Mary (d. ca. 1781) and Edward (d. 1758) and at least two sons, Edward (1744-after 1767) and John (1744-1815). More numerous, however, were the African-descended enslaved people of Little Jost van Dyke, of whom only their names—Rosett, Cudjoe, Myal, Nanny, Bentorah, Cassia, Cutto, Toney, Tom, Damon, Tracy, Isabel and perhaps others—survive in the written record. The Lettsoms, or at least Edward and Mary, converted to Quakerism about 1740 and this chapter also tells the story of how the Quaker Meeting in the BVI formed.

Chapter six describes the study site as it appears today, and provides details of the methodology and terminology employed in the archaeological work, and chapter seven details the results of the archaeological excavations themselves. This latter includes a discussion of phasing and dating for various parts of the site and its structures, and the methods used in their calculation. Chapters eight and nine detail the objects recovered from these excavations: the artifacts such as ceramic, glass, and metal in the former, and the ecofacts, primarily shell and bone, in the latter.

The discussion in chapter ten attempts to bring together all these bodies of information: a high-scale view of Quaker ideals, a local context of the history of the BVI, and the individual performance of Quakerism (and other influences) on the Lettsom site. The relationships of the Lettsom family and their enslaved people, their non-Quaker neighbors and the entire Quaker community are discussed in detail, referring frequently to the historical and archaeological evidence detailed earlier in the work.

A concluding chapter eleven summarizes the specific conclusions of chapter ten in the context of two central sets of questions which arise of any local context when considered through the theoretical structure outlined in chapter three: 1) how do we see the Lettsoms and other BVI Quakers creating a sense of Quaker identity? That is, what are the privileged differences (Bell) drawn on this site and in this community between their actions and things and other peoples' actions and things which may be seen as citing the chain of precedents (Butler) which binds them to the worldwide Quaker community? And 2), in what ways does this process take place differently here because of the peculiarities of local context? That is, how is the practical creation of religion influenced by the context of daily life?

In proposing answers to these questions, the final chapter attempts to describe how the Quaker religion took shape for the Lettsoms, in a context so very different from Quakerism's usual home in London or Philadelphia, and how it changed the lives of people in this place. Under a practice-centered perspective, we can have no illusions of grand unified theories of human social relations; this conclusion does not attempt to explain religion in every context. But neither does it aspire to be an entirely particularistic study: the goal of this discussion is to show how Quakerism was created and contested locally in one place and time, in all its complexities, and allow these complexities to speak to those elsewhere. By combining archaeology with the historical context of the British Virgin Islands and that of the religion that at least some of the inhabitants of this site professed, we can begin to tease out how they practiced their beliefs in ways that are different from others, and gain some insight into how religion might be made and remade elsewhere.

Dedication

For my parents,
Russ and Nancy Chenoweth,
and for Megan

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Note: All images are created by the author unless otherwise noted.

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Abbreviations

Repositories

Kew	British National Archives, Kew Gardens, London, UK
CO	British National Archives, Kew Gardens, London, UK, Colonial Office series of papers
SCR	Supreme Courts Registry, Old Administration Building, Main Street, Road Town, Tortola, BVI
WL	Wellcome Library, London, UK.
FH	Friends' House Library, London, UK.
SCL	Friends Historical Library at Swarthmore College Library, Swarthmore, PA.
HCL	Quaker Collection at Haverford College Library, Haverford, PA.
LoC	United States Library of Congress, Washington, DC.
BL	British Library, London, UK.
MedSoc	The Medical Society of London, Lettsom House, London, UK.

Other

TMM Minutes	The surviving records, mostly minutes, of the Tortola Monthly Meeting, held at Haverford College Library outside of Philadelphia, and examined in microfilm (HCL Film Box 128). These records are in seven books, and the citations to this source are followed with two numbers, the book and page, separated by a colon.
CSP	Calendar of State Papers, UK
PP	Parliamentary Papers, UK

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My thanks go first and foremost to the people of the British Virgin Islands, whose history this is. I am grateful for the opportunity to study a part of that history, and for the warm welcome and generous assistance I received from all those who make the BVI home. In particular, I thank the BVI Department of Culture for permission to conduct the work and for their direct support. Ms. Luce Hodge-Smith, the Director of the Department of Culture, and Ms. Brenda Lettsome-Tye, the Deputy Director, were especially helpful and kind to me during my time in the BVI.

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1. Introduction

This dissertation considers the social construction and negotiation of religion in a particular place and time: a small, relatively poor cotton plantation in the eighteenth-century British Virgin Islands. Due to a rich record of archival documents and historical writings, we know that religion, race, class, and other forces of identification were at play on this site, but the specifics of many of the players—their relationships and worldviews—do not survive in texts. To reconstruct these, three seasons of archaeological work were initiated on the site, the home of the Lettsom family and the enslaved people they held. The material world of these inhabitants included much that is found on other sites of this period: ceramics, animal bone, glass, architecture, and mountains of seashell, all associated with the most mundane of moments from their lives. But combined with the historical context of the British Virgin Islands and that of the religion that at least some of them professed, we can begin to tease out how they practiced their beliefs in ways that are different from others and gain some insight into how religion and religious identity might be made.

What makes this site unique to the region is its association with known members of the Religious Society of Friends, more often known as "Quakers." The owners, Mary and Edward Lettsom, were members of a small group or "Meeting" of Quakers which formed from the local planter population about 1740, and both professed Quaker values for the rest of their lives, although their association with the organized Meeting was not to last past Edward's death in 1758. What Quakerism "is" will be a topic of discussion for this work, but as a group it has long been associated with the movement towards the abolition of the slave trade and slavery and with "peculiar" material practices seen to define its membership as well as its ideals. As such, both the presence of Quakers on a slave plantation, and the very ordinariness of the material world revealed by archaeology is surprising. How can we see ephemeral religious ideas in material things? How can it be at work in mass-produced material goods, much like those found at any site of the period? Were the Lettsoms nicer to the enslaved people they held? How can slave-owning Quakers seem anything less than hypocrisy? In short, this dissertation will argue that our conceptions of religious groups are often too fixed and stable, and that in actuality a wide variety of distinct practices work to construct the seemingly coherent group which falls under the name "Quaker."

At its most general, the purpose of this study is to explore the nature of religion and groups of people defined on a religious basis, and to chart its effects in their daily lives. This project seeks to understand the role of religion in the lives of a few specific past people, and along the way to explore its relationship with social life in general. This exploration will adopt a practice-centered model of social relations. Because of the emphasis on the "down-to-earth" practice of individuals in local contexts inherent in this approach, archaeology will be suggested to have an important role in this effort. Further, not only will we try to chart the effects of religion in past

peoples' daily lives, it will be argued that the way religion is performed in these local, individual moments is a fundamental part of what defines a religion.

This introductory chapter lays out the intentions of the following chapters and also attempts to sketch the general outline of the arguments being made. Further explication of all arguments will be made in the pages which follow.

Theoretical Structure

One beginning point to this inquiry is how archaeology has approached and can approach religion in the past. Chapter two begins this process by summarizing some of the recent work on religion in archaeology and its theoretical underpinnings. Four major, relatively loose approaches encountered in the literature will be identified, along with a few of the studies which have made use of each. These works are based on (or at least are compatible with) the theories of three main authors, Geertz, Turner, and Rappaport, who are discussed as well. A number of important themes reoccur in these studies and have been influential on this project, and these are highlighted. Chapter three lays out the theoretical approach which will be used throughout the study. It begins with a summary of practice theory and some of the work of those authors whose ideas underpin the approach followed later: Bourdieu, Giddens, Butler, and Catherine Bell.

This study asserts that belief is worthy of inquiry in itself, as well as in its effects in such "down-to-earth" areas as economics and adaptation. Though belief is still problematically ephemeral, this study aims to come nearer the mark by exploring the relationships of those who are part of the same belief group—members of the same religious identity—and trying to understand what brings these groups together. This project aims to bring together the works summarized to this point—those on the archaeology and anthropology of religion and on practice theory— and expand on these through an examination of how groups are created and how those groups come to have an influence on the lives of their members through considerations of social identity and practice theory. This leads to a somewhat different conception of religion: as a group of practice, constantly changing and with many variations at one time. This view, in turn, better fits the evidence we have for what people actually did in their daily lives: they creatively interpreted their world and improvised responses that fit their needs, physical and psychological, based on the context of their actions. This view of religion is active and variable.

Through these works, a way of thinking about religion which can be applied to archaeological work is suggested: a religion is seen a group of people engaged in drawing privileged distinctions in ways of acting (following Bell's "ritualization") based on a particular set of citational precedents, previous practices reinterpreted in present ones (borrowing elements from the work of Judith Butler). This conception engages with archaeological work on identity, understood as how groups are made socially, and, following practice theory, makes religious action both contextual and fundamentally variable.

The contextuality of religion suggests that we must examine the way the group is made locally and the "cross-cutting" influences on that local practice: other concerns such as class, economics, and personal security. This has been the work of social identity studies in archaeology, and

suggests considering religion as religious identification. If religious practice in this process is variable, the sense in which it is a unified, coherent phenomenon must come from the precedents which members cite when performing (in Butler's sense, i.e. creating) ritualization of actions, the creation of ways of action differentiated from and seen as superior to usual ones. These previous practices are scalar: some have larger scope in space and time and so intersect with daily practice for more people over a longer span of time. These large-scope practices (for instance, written works and their distribution and consumption) are seen as a major part of citational chains of practice, providing stability to the process of identification and creating Butler's "norms," the illusions of stability and fixity that call us to refer to "a religion" as much as "a gender" when both are the result of practice. But these large-scope practices are also farther removed from daily life, where identities like religion continually come to be (through practices at all scales). It is analysis of this local scale where archaeology has its strength.

Archaeological understanding will be pursued here in a comparative frame. Understanding of these processes—ritualization and religious identification at both large and local scales—must begin with the context in which practical action is taken: it is only within this context that ritualization makes sense, creating the sacred and secular through contrasts between ritual actions and others. Large-scope practices, such as generalized but often-referenced tropes or practices of reading and writing, provide the diachronic context for this examination, whereas a consideration of the local-scale daily lives of people both inside and outside the religious group of interest will provide the synchronic. Understanding the continual back-and-forth between these data—between individual interpretations and large-scope ideals, between one group's ideals of ritualization and another's, between religious priorities and other forces, etc.--*is* the understanding of religion.

The rest of the study puts these ideas into motion, exploring a particular context to draw out examples of moments when certain parts of the lives of some people are given an "added emphasis" (Richard Bradley's (2003: 12) characterization of Bell's "ritualization") in a particular way compared to others (in a synchronic context), where these differentiations in practice are used to negotiate commonalities and differences between groups (religious identification), how these moments in daily life spring from and yet are different than large-scope influences and ideals for what should be emphasized and how (departures from and connections with a diachronic context). Throughout, other cross-cutting identifications and practicalities of life will be seen to influence this process, providing a window into how religion structures daily life and is itself altered and reconstructed in the process. The goal in all these comparisons will be to understand the process of creating a religion in a certain place and time; since religions are created locally, this will be a contribution towards understanding this process generally, but without a claim to represent all religions at all places and times.

Places and People

The goals of the theoretical thrust of this project will be played out in the relationships of a small group of people in the overlap between two larger ones: those identifying as members of a particular religious group, the Religious Society of Friends, better known as "Quakers," and those who live in a particular place and time, the British Virgin Islands of the northeast

Caribbean, in the middle of the eighteenth century (Figure 1.1). Quakerism has been the subject of a great deal of historical research and a moderate amount of archaeological inquiry as well. Chapter four provides a brief overview of the history of the group and its study archaeologically and draws out those elements which will be the most important here as part of the large-scope citational chains of practice which will influence the lives of all members.

The British Virgin Islands (BVI), still an overseas territory of Great Britain, are a collection of small islands, centered on Tortola, about fifteen miles long, two miles wide, and with a population today estimated at about 30,000. Collectively the sixty or so islands have an area about the size of Washington, DC, and have long been a rather poor colony of the great empire, never amassing much wealth from their haphazard settlement in the late seventeenth century until the mid-twentieth century. This was primarily due to the land being poor for agriculture, but recent decades have brought other opportunities for wealth, and today's "BVIslanders" are among the wealthiest in the Caribbean. The BVI's fourth most populated island, Jost van Dyke, and its current population of about 300, will play a major role in this study.

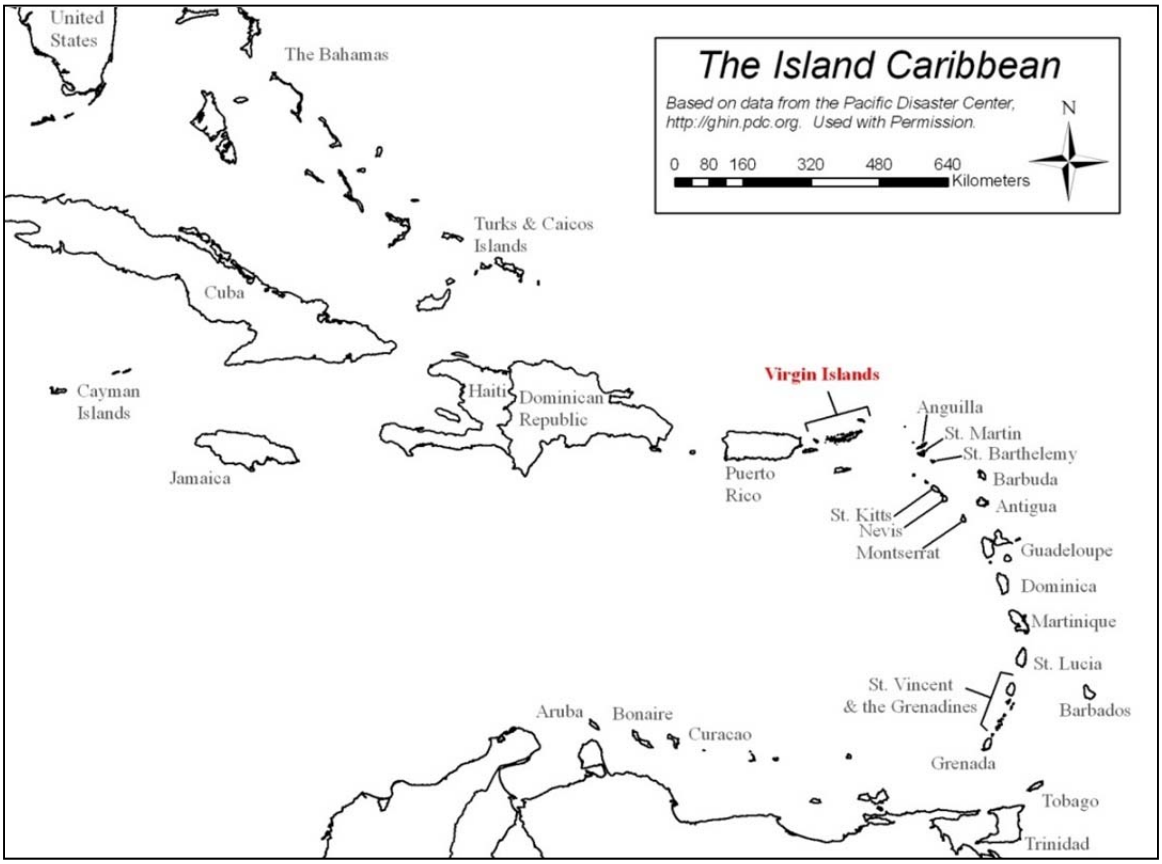

Figure 1.1: *The Virgin Islands in the Caribbean*

The British Virgin Islands have great potential for archaeological work, possessing numerous sites in what is at the moment relatively undisturbed condition. The historic low land values and economic hardships of the Islands acted to keep the cores of sites undisturbed: it was easier to build or farm elsewhere than to tear down old buildings, and the funds to repair ruins were not

available. However, the recent influx of wealth over the last few decades has led to a country with both infrastructure and the inclination to preserve, protect, and study at least some of these sites. An early evaluation of the historic-period sites of the British Leeward Islands that characterized the "land-antiquities of Tortola" as "a little disappointing" (Buisseret and Clark 1971) no longer seems warranted, and one of the goals of this project has been to prove this with one site. Chapter five will briefly describe the history of the BVI as it is relevant here.

Chapter five also introduces the main characters of the study, the inhabitants of a tiny island, some hundred and fifty acres in extent, known as Little Jost van Dyke, a few dozen meters across a shallow sandy inlet from the currently-inhabited island of Jost van Dyke (Figure 1.2). This is the location of the site. The recorded inhabitants of "Little Jost," as it is usually referred to (also abbreviated "LJvD" in this project's catalogs), are the Lettsom family: Mary (d. ca. 1781) and Edward (d. 1758) and at least two sons, Edward (1744-after 1767) and John (1744-1815). However, more numerous were the African-descended enslaved people of Little Jost van Dyke, of whom only their names—Rosett, Cudjoe, Myal, Nanny, Bentorah, Cassia, Cutto, Toney, Tom, Damon, Tracy, Isabel and perhaps others—survive in the written record. The Lettsoms, or at least Edward and Mary Lettsom, converted to Quakerism about 1740, and this chapter also tells the story of how the Quaker Meeting on Tortola formed.

Handler and Lange note of Barbados (Handler and Lange 1978: 41) that most of the white inhabitants were poor and landless, or at least did not own an entire plantation even in that major colony. While more may have been landowners in the marginal BVI, it is certainly true that few were wealthy. In addition to the other goals of this project, the study of the Lettsom family and the other planters of the BVI offers a rare window onto the lives of less-wealthy whites and the enslaved people of less-wealthy plantations, who made up a larger percentage of the population of the Caribbean than their sometimes more-studied counterparts at major plantations.

The Archaeology

One of the goals of this project is, of course, to explore the study of religious groups through the material culture of individual members, and to understand their relationships through the things they left behind. As such, the majority of its pages are taken up with a discussion of the archaeological study of Little Jost van Dyke which was conducted as part of this project from 2008 to 2010, primarily at the homes of the Lettsom family and the enslaved people they held.

Chapter six describes the site as it appears today and provides details of the methodology and terminology employed, and chapter seven details the results of the archaeological excavations themselves. This latter includes a discussion of phasing and dating for various parts of the site and its structures, and the methods used in their calculation. Chapters eight and nine detail the objects recovered from these excavations: the artifacts such as ceramic, glass, and metal in the former, and the ecofacts, primarily shell and bone, in the latter.

The discussion in chapter ten attempts to bring together all these bodies of information: a high-scale view of Quaker ideals, a local context of the history of the BVI, and the individual performance of Quakerism (and other influences) on the Lettsom site. I will apologize for the

apparent effort to separate data and interpretation implied in this structure, a well-known archaeological impossibility (Hodder 1997), with the promise that the latter will be tied directly to the former at many points. The "theory-ladeness" of the data is also considered during the discussions in chapters seven through nine, which make efforts to include counter-interpretations and justifications for the interpretations chosen here. These sections also attempt to address difficulties with some aspects of interpretation particular to this project (for instance, the use of sherds rather than vessel counts) and those plaguing the entire field of historical archaeology as well (such as difficulties with statistical dating methods).

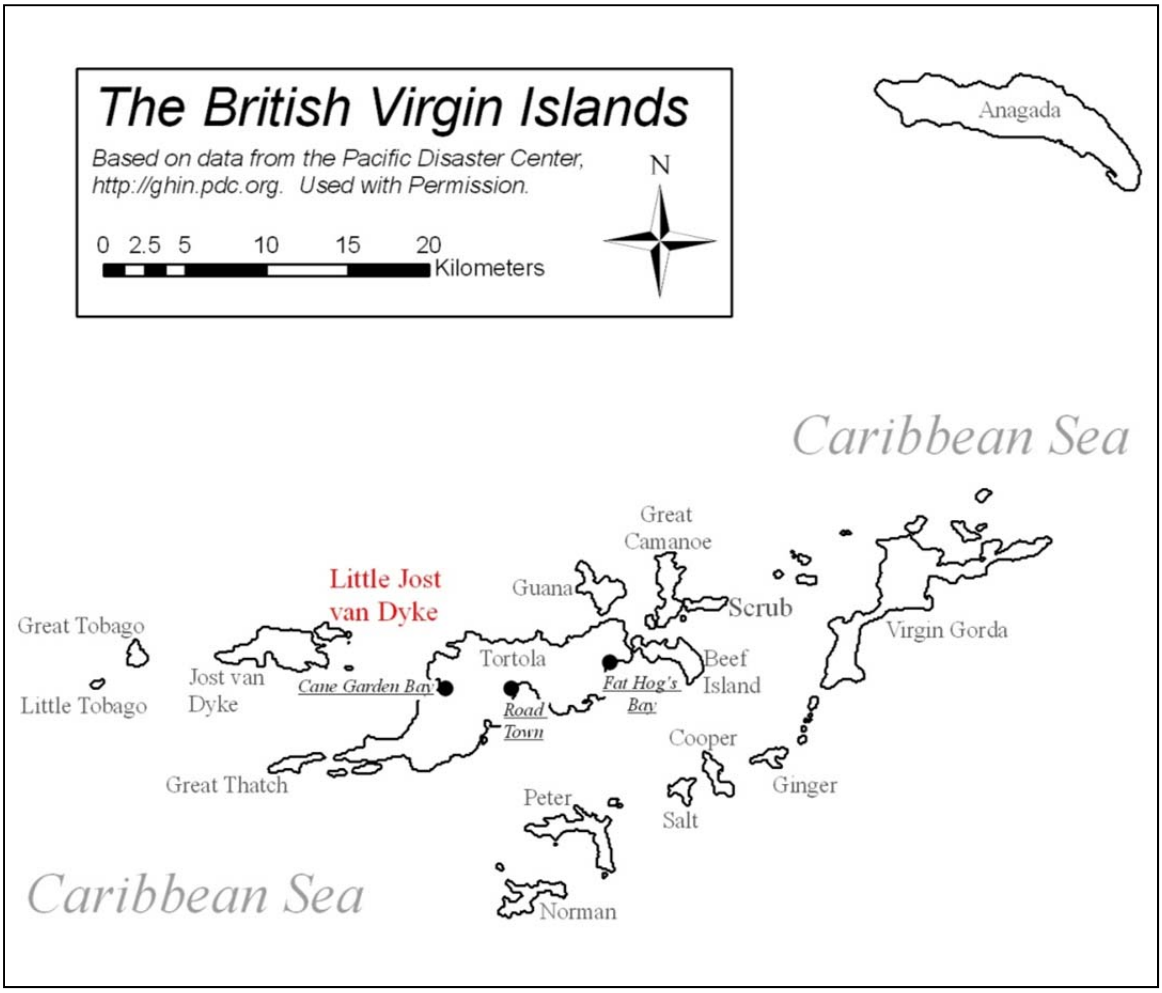

Figure 1.2: *The British Virgin Islands and Little Jost van Dyke*

Regardless, the arguments being drawn from the evidence here are somewhat split between an argument for what was found and what it suggests about past life and practice (chapters seven through nine) and arguments for what past practice, so pictured, means about identity, ritualization, religion and race, and social life in the BVI Quaker community and in general (chapter ten and the conclusion). I hope that this will allow for the sometimes rather long chains of argument and evidence to be presented coherently while still addressing the necessary but less anthropologically-interesting issues of mean ceramic dates and how many of what species of shellfish were recovered where. In turn, I hope this will make the conclusions drawn here both robust and interesting beyond the relatively small cadre of Caribbean historical archaeologists.

Goals

Above I wrote that the understanding of religion is the understanding of a continual back-and-forth between individual interpretations and large-scope ideals, between one group's ideals of ritualization and another's, and between religious priorities and other forces. This study is not about—or at least not *just* about—locating differences in a local context that can be argued to be the result of Quaker influence. The way of thinking about religions suggested here does not really support such a simplistic, unidirectional "influence" anyway. The goal here is not only to observe the ramifications of conversion to Quakerism for these people, spreading out into non-religious parts of social life like ripples in water.

The argument here is that these influences bounce back and forth, interact with, shape, and are shaped by religious and other forces rather more like echoes: the final shape of the sound heard by a listener is conditioned by all the waves as they are heard simultaneously, both directly and as they bounce back. Following these various, sometimes contradictory threads leads one to the (apparently monolithic but actually quite contested) final shape of a religious group. If religion is problematized in this way, we will have little appeal to an essential "Quakerism" with which to label observed practices or objects. While the effect of this larger force is visible in differences of practice in a local context, we must remember that that force itself is not a reified thing, but the "provisional product of a constant uproar made by the millions of contradictory voices about what a group is"(Latour 2005: 31). Here we will seek those voices in material culture as much as elsewhere.

This study explores both the influence of these forces and how they are constantly restructured as they are built through performance. Throughout, it maintains the sometimes contradictory aims of underlining both the power of belief in the social field (as a binder and differentiator) and its mutability over space and time. This contradiction is inherent in practice theory, which as seen here stresses both social reality's power and its constructed-ness and reflexivity—being a product of the very practices it engenders. Such an exploration will be hard pressed to end on concrete conclusions about the "nature" of religion or to create generalizations easily applicable to other contexts. Its conclusions will be about individuals and small groups—Edward and Mary Lettsom, the enslaved people of Little Jost van Dyke, Dorcas and John Pickering, Mary and Samuel Nottingham—but by exploring this specific context it also hopes to speak to the extent to which this pattern may apply elsewhere.

A final goal of the work is to maintain respect for those who it enmeshes in its story: the past people it considers and their descendant stakeholders, however defined. This study is a product of its own time as much as these people's actions were a product of theirs. As such, I cannot but criticize slavery and those who maintained it, but this must be balanced with an honest effort to understand the lives of the slaveholders as much as the enslaved people. This does not excuse, but it tries to learn and it provides all parties with the benefit of the doubt. The temptation to simply accuse Quaker slaveholders of hypocrisy and an injustice even greater (if that were possible) than non-Quaker slaveholders will be resisted as much as possible. Instead, I will hope to learn how those people might have honestly not seen themselves as hypocrites. And while an

aim of the study is to understand religion through an analysis of Quakerism, this same goal of respect guides me to do as much as possible to also tell the story of the enslaved people of this place, every bit as much a part of this story of a religion, but also acting as leads in their own tale.

2. Archaeology and Religion

Religion is a major part of social life, and a primary topic for anthropological work, yet it has had a controversial place in anthropological archaeology. Archaeological efforts to consider religion are usually traced back to Christopher Hawkes' (1954) pronouncement that religion or ideology is the most difficult part of social life to access archaeologically. Following from this is the general question of what can archaeology say about religion, or, as alternately taken, what can we say about a people by studying their religion archaeologically. Responses have varied from the highly pessimistic to the overly ambitious. This issue has guided a number of discussions of what defines or marks sites or objects as "religious," and how archaeologists can determine this. The issue of what archaeologists can hope to accomplish in this work is closely connected to the theoretical understanding of religion and goals for an anthropological analysis of religion, and so the work of theorists of religion—notably Geertz, Turner, and Rappaport who are most frequently cited by archaeologists—is highly relevant. Framing this discussing is a general debate in social theory taking place since the 1960s: the consideration of the role of the symbolic in anthropological analysis. As outlined by Ortner (1984), this debate roughly follows the work of Geertz and Turner, and their focus on the interpretation of symbols on the one hand and the effects of their deployment in a social field on the other.

This chapter will outline the opinions of several authors, including Hawkes, about what archaeology can hope to learn about past religion and what methods are best employed to do so, as well as discussing the theories applied. Several important themes in this work will be drawn out in the second half of the chapter, as these will be influential on this project's approach, described in greater detail in chapter three.

Hawkes, Childe, and their Legacy

Any review of religion and archaeology almost inevitably begins with the statement of Christopher Hawkes that the ideological realm, the religious included, is the most difficult aspect of past human life to approach (Hawkes 1954). Often referred to as "Hawkes Ladder," although he never uses the phrase in the article usually cited, it is a pessimistic statement that the more "specifically human" aspects of human life are the most difficult to approach archaeologically, while those more physical, more "animal," are the easiest. Thus the physical "techniques" producing archaeological phenomena may be "relatively easy" to see and understand, while the economic and socio-political are progressively more difficult, and the "religious institutions and spiritual life" of a past people, often summed up by later writers as the "ideological," are most difficult of all. These ideas are actually echoes of even more pointed sentiments by V. Gordon Childe (1951: 54-55) a few years earlier, when he went to far as to say that religious belief is "irretrievably lost."

The closer the existence of historic documents, Hawkes suggests, the more can be said about these issues, but without these, he fears that there will be "very many abstract signs whose meaning most often is just unknowable" (Hawkes 1954: 162). Archaeology's strength, where it is "most anthropological" he argues, then, is at the historic end of the time spectrum, and any progress in understanding the more distant and difficult aspects of the past should come from working backwards from the known (Hawkes 1954: 168).

Hawkes' legacy may be as much unconscious as actively cited. Veit and colleagues, in a recent introduction to a journal volume dedicated to the historical archaeology of religious sites, suggest that little attention has been focused on these sites in part because of a feeling that they produce few artifacts but have a substantial written record and thus "all possible information…is already known" (Veit, et al. 2009: 3-4). Although not expressly discussing Hawkes, these authors have noted how many of his themes and assumptions are present in archaeological work on religion today. Their excellent assessment of religion in historical archaeology notes the feelings in the field that the ideological is non-physical and thus not accessible archaeologically, and that writing and not material culture is the best window into the religious. They further argue that an anti-ideology bent has been part of archaeological work since processualist days.

While initially optimistic that "ideological sub-systems" were accessible through the "ideotechnic" and through "those material items which functioned together with…more behavioral elements" (Binford 1962: 218-219), little of the work of the "New Archaeology" ever focused on the ideological or religious (Trigger 1989: 392). Some have gone so far as to declare that processual archaeologists condemned all study of belief as "paleo-psychology" and "held the mind to be unreconstructable" (Leone 1982: 743). Indeed, Binford's critique of the "normative" approach to culture seems especially applicable to some efforts at studying religion archaeologically: "The archaeologist's task then lies in abstracting from cultural products [material culture] the normative concepts extant in the minds of men now dead" (Binford 1965: 203). If culture was adaptive, belief was epiphenomenal.

As outlined by Leone, the return to religion as a serious topic of inquiry came through structuralist ideas that all objects were shaped by the same grammar, and therefore revealed elements of that underlying structure (Leone 1982). This applies as well to religious beliefs and their related material culture as to stone tools. The work of Marxists on "ideology" is another avenue where Hawkes' and the processualists' pessimism was confronted, and post-processualists continued this push in a variety of ways. The next section of this chapter deals with these efforts, focusing primarily on the more recent works.

Archaeological Approaches to Religion

Several authors have recently cogently argued that the omission of religion in archaeological studies makes it impossible to accurately present a picture of past life (Insoll 2004: 194; Wilkins 1996: 4). For instance, Insoll argues that much archaeology has focused on ethnic and gendered identities at the expense of the religious, clearly a major structuring principle in some areas. Insoll comments on how the "prevailing discourse" (the political hegemony in place) will often control this process. That is, political powers can dictate the "correct" emphasis on different

parts of social life: in Saudi Arabia, where Insoll's comments are focused, the critical dimension is religion, not ethnicity or another social grouping, making its consideration vital for understanding that society, past or present. Similarly, McNiven and Feldman, in considering the ritual aspects of economic strategies, solidly critique the neglect of religious worldviews in studies of subsistence (McNiven and Feldman 2003: 169-71).

Since Hawkes, archaeologists have engaged with religion in a number of ways, using different theoretical foundations and with different goals in mind. This section summarizes four major, loose groupings of approaches observed during a literature review and mentions a few of the studies which employ them. Another group of studies, those explicitly employing practice theory, are discussed in the next chapter after a summary of that body of work.

It should be made clear that few, if any of these authors intend to propose a generalized method for the study of religion. Rather, each engages with the materials at hand in these studies to reach the conclusions which work best for that context. By grouping them as I have, I do not mean to suggest here that these works necessarily attempt to do more than this, for instance proposing a general theory of religion. Rather, I cite them as examples of different attempts to engage with an archaeology of religion.

Descriptions of Behavior

One group of approaches attempts to reconstruct the behaviors of past religions, the actions taken and sometimes their material consequences, without reference to spiritual consequences or belief. While not usually cited as such, this approach is reminiscent of the work of behavioral archaeologists (Reid, et al. 1975; Schiffer 2004). Rather than attempting to identify the original meanings, they seek to reconstruct the forms that once contained these: the paths of processions, the practices which took place in rites and their order, the changing forms of iconography, etc. In this way, they aim to provide a play-by-play account of specific past religious rituals to at least provide a firm ground for further speculation, or because they believe it to be as far as one can go in analysis of these actions.

The logic here is much like Hawkes: Bookitis suggests that with texts the study of religious practices is relatively straightforward, but without, "we may not be able to put together a comprehensive picture of that cult but may have to give more emphasis to details of ritual" (Bookidis 1987: 480). That is, while she can discuss what was sacrificed and how, she cannot identify "the actual divinity to whom these sacrifices were made" (Bookidis 1987: 481). Examples of studies which uncover these details of religious practice include the work of McKinley(1994), whose careful examination of English cremation burials suggested that the fragmentation observed was more likely the result of modern recovery procedures than past intentional ritual fragmentation, and Tiesler and Cucina (2006: 505), who combine taphonomic and osteological data to argue that classic-period Maya skeletons may underdocument the practice of perimortem heart extraction associated with sacrifice, suggesting that this practice was a more common part of rituals that often thought.

While still avoiding (in fact, critiquing the possibility of considering) belief, others have sought to delve deeper into the workings of past religion, considering the potential effects of religious practice on participants and what this can tell us about the scope or intent of those ceremonies. Jerry Moore suggests that we can consider how religious spaces present meaning (Moore 1996). He considers the settings for ritual practice, specifically Andean plazas, arguing that smaller plazas of Tiwanaku can act as a "relatively private interior space" facilitating the communication of "highly detailed information over small distances" and including paralinguistic elements such as facial expression (Moore 1996: 797-8). In contrast, Inka plazas indicate a role for larger groups, and ethnohistoric evidence for themes of the "unification of distinct elements" (Moore 1996: 798). Through this study of proxemics, he is able to define the scope of the ritual in each setting, speaking to the type of positional meanings (as defined by Turner, see below) which might have been communicated there.

Perhaps most famous of these approaches, and one of the few to operate explicitly under a behaviorist frame, is the work of William Walker. Explicitly following Schiffer and critiquing efforts to "decode" belief, Walker advocates attention to ritual actions themselves, approaching them "like all human activities, [involving] the acquisition, use, control, and discard of artifacts" (Walker 1995: 71). Religion is seen as "extrasocial" relationships, and ritual is defined as behaviors which arise from these relations, so that religion is approached as material actions. He considers how behaviors might be recognized as ritual, rather than having other causes, in the specific case of funerary house burnings in the American Southwest and the end of occupation at Casas Grande, using stratigraphic patterns in a manner reminiscent of Richards and Thomas' (1984) concept of structured deposition, which Walker cites. This is perhaps the most elegant and complex of the behaviorally-inspired studies of religion, having at its goal a description of the "prehistoric logic(s)" of the actions (Walker 2002: 173).

Definitions and Signatures of the Religious

A number of archaeologists have proposed definitions for religious spaces and material objects, ways of recognizing them in the archaeological record, and ways of dividing these from the non-religious. Perhaps the most frequently cited of these is that of Colin Renfrew (1994). Archaeologically our entry into religion, he argues, is through specialized places, specialized ritual things, and iconic representations. He writes, "it is usually through the investment of effort into the construction of special places (whose remains may be preserved), through the use of special equipment (which may also be preserved), in the development of iconic representations for use in such places, and in some cases through the depiction of such rituals, that we have our principle insights into past religions" as archaeologists (Renfrew 1994: 49). He lists several additional factors which may often be at work in these contexts, including themes of cleanliness, attention focusing devices, the repetition of symbols, a tension between extravagant display and hidden mysteries, offerings and expense.

A number of other authors have offered other formulations, often complementary to Renfrew's. Classicist Ruth Whitehouse has suggested that ritual objects can be seen to be those "valued primarily for their symbolic content and not their utilitarian function" (Whitehouse 1996: 28). She divides these into six categories and discusses how each might be discernable

archaeologically. Within specific contexts, a number of writers have also pointed to characteristics which are associated with ritual. Christopher Smith points to miniature-scale items and "unusual" or unique aspects of material culture as being potentially religious, as well as determining religious association based on artifacts being found in locations defined as "ritual" through texts (Smith 1996). For Silverman, ritual sites are suggested to be those characterized by the presence of "ritual paraphernalia" and by a "paucity of quotidian artifacts, and a lack of associated domestic architecture" or "ceremonial rather than domestic architecture" (Silverman 1994: 6, 8). Oates, in an early article, suggests that the identification of religious places is usually centered on their being "unusual or apparently non-secular" (Oates 1978: 117). Oates (1978: 118) and a number of other writers have suggested that burial contexts are generally always religious, at least in some sense (Crawford 2004). (However, this latter point was disputed by Ucko (1969: 264) some years earlier).

In summary, religion is often defined in these works in opposition to the secular, the utilitarian, the simple, and that which otherwise has a straightforward explanation for its location, use, or production. The exceptional is seen as ritual while what is seen as mundane (either in the sense of frequently encountered by the archaeologist or the sense of what was created and used in frequent, daily tasks in the past) is seen as secular.

Geertz and The Reconstruction of Symbolic Meaning

As outlined by Ortner, the major theoretical move of Clifford Geertz was to suggest that, in contrast to the structural-functionalists of the previous generation, culture was "not something locked inside people's heads, but rather is embodied in public symbols, symbols through which the members of a society communicate their worldview" (Ortner 1984: 129). Thus the abstract "culture" becomes a series of relatively concrete communications, and the language of that communication was seen by Geertz to be symbols. Or rather, the process of producing and receiving these communications, participation in a symbolic system, is seen to have an effect on people: the goal of analysis for Geertz and his followers is to understand "how symbols shape the ways social actors see, feel, and think about the world, or, in other words, how symbols operate as vehicles of 'culture'" (Ortner 1984: 129).

Geertz defines symbols as "tangible formations for notions," inherently public "vehicles" for conceptions (Geertz 1973: 91) which shape the world and actions of those who participate in the symbolic system (those who communicate in the particular cultural "language" of a particular religion). Because symbols communicate culture in order to perpetuate it in members of a group, outsiders can gain access to the emic perspective, provided it is teased out by careful analysis and through Geertz's idea of "thick description." Thus, the proper goal, or at least starting place of anthropological work is to describe and then interpret the meanings of particular symbols—almost "decoding" them.

Geertz's consideration of religion was, of course, more complex, and extended far beyond the identification of symbols. His often cited definition of "religion" is "(1) a system of symbols which acts to (2) establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations by men by (3) formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and (4) clothing these conceptions

with such an aura of factuality that (5) the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic" (Geertz 1973: 90). These functions serve a societal need by synthesizing a people's ethos (the tone, character, quality of life, moral and aesthetic style and mood) with their worldview (picture they have of the way things are, comprehensive ideas of order). Thus culture is not a series of rituals or methods of adapting or any other practice, as functionalists and earlier thinkers had assumed, but the *way* all of these are undertaken. Religion serves as a means through which ethos is made "intellectually reasonable by being shown to represent a way of life ideally adapted to the actual state of affairs the worldview describes, while the worldview is rendered emotionally convincing by being presented as an image of an actual state of affairs" (Geertz 1973: 89-90).

Though clearly a complex formulation, one part Geertz's understanding of religion has been particularly influential in archaeological works on religion: the definition of religion as a system of symbols. (It should be noted that not all of these works cite Geertz directly; I am suggesting only that they are all compatible with his theories.) If religion is a system of symbols, then we can look at archaeological materials as encoding meaning, and our job as archaeologists is to reconstruct those meanings. While not the only goal of the following works, this is taken by some to be a vital first step to any deeper analysis. These works employ three major approaches to this process, and it should not be surprising that these approaches mirror the approaches to analogical reasoning distinguished in many aspects of archaeological interpretation: (i) the direct historical, usually accessed here through texts, (ii) the specific comparative, which employs ethnographic considerations of modern populations, and (iii) general comparative (something akin to experimental archaeology) which uses human or physical universals (or sometimes just "common sense") as the basis for its major conclusions. (These terms are used here in the senses discussed by Gordon Willey(1977)).

The first mode of making connections between meanings and archaeological finds is the textual, where texts by or about the past cultural group are mined for explicit statements of meanings for symbols or overarching meanings or themes of which symbols encountered archaeologically are taken to be an instance. This is what Hawkes seems to be considering in his discussion of the proto-, para-, and tele-historic contexts: the interpretation of the ideological is seen as easier the closer a context is to written texts because of the clues to past meanings of artifacts or practices contained in them (Hawkes 1954). For instance, Flannery (1976: 337, 341) suggests some potential specific meanings or uses for the ritual objects he encounters, using ethnohistoric descriptions of dances and bloodletting rituals, and Parkington and Manhire attempt to interpret the meaning of iconographic representations, cave paintings from the Cape of Good Hope, South Africa, and use ethnohistoric data to conclude, for example, that cloaked figures represent initiated adult males (Parkington and Manhire 1997: 303). Though obviously without any of Geertz's formalized conceptions of religion, this is also the approach taken by many early archaeologies of religion, such as those focused on Egypt or the Classical world (Joyce 2001: 13372).

The second method of supplying meanings to archaeologically-observed ritual or religious symbols is the ethnographic, where meanings are supplied by analogy with modern populations in a specific comparative frame. Despite generally feeling that "true meaning of … symbolism lies beyond the perceptions of prehistoric archaeology," Joan Oates (1978), in an early article,

makes use of ethnographic parallels to at least suggest what practices she identifies archaeologically may be ritually-motivated. She writes, "Ethnographic parallels suggest a variety of possible reasons for the breaking of objects as a funerary rite, from the releasing of the spirit of the object to accompany the deceased to ritual toasts, the prevention of quarrels among surviving relatives, or the destruction of the enemies of the deceased" (Oates 1978: 120). Peatfield defines peak sanctuary sites on Crete in part based on topography and establishes their ritual nature by the presence of small clay human or animal figures interpreted as "votive offerings," but the definition of sites as ritual is also linked to modern ethnographic observations of the inaccessible chapels dedicated to the Prophet Elijiah (Peatfield 1992: 79) and the meanings of the figures are interpreted through ethnographic observations of modern Greek Orthodox church offerings called "tamata" (Peatfield 1992: 61).

Some works operating in this mode also have other interpretive concerns, which expand their conclusions beyond the meanings to be assigned to particular objects. Ucko makes an early argument for interpretation via ethnographic analogy. He seems to prefer direct historical analogy or texts where possible, but suggests that we can resort to ethnographic analogy without these (Ucko 1969: 263). He discusses ethnographic data on burial primarily to provide "spoilers": warnings that the assumptions of many archaeologists (for instance, that all burial is related to religious belief, or that burial richness is related to earthly wealth) do no hold even across the present, and therefore cannot be assumed in the past. Thus, ethnographic evidence is to be used not for specific interpretations, but as a general method to aid the archaeological imagination, to keep archaeological data from being "swamped by unitary and all-embracing explanations" and to "widen the horizons of the interpreter" (Ucko 1969: 262).

The third mode of connecting symbols and meanings is based on ideas, connections, or experiences that are assumed to have been unchanging over time. Thus, the researcher can, with a reasonable degree of confidence, feel that she or he knows what past peoples would have thought or experienced in certain ritual contexts. Some of these works base their conclusions iconic similarity that would have been available in the past, such as between animals and shapes in the landscape (Barnes and Dashun 1996), while others source their findings in the human physiology. For instance, in analyzing the meaning and place of the spondylus shell in many New World societies, Glowacki turns to the physical effects of eating the meat of the animal, suggesting its sometimes-toxic, psychedelic properties might have caused it to be used in shamanistic mind-altering rituals (Glowacki 2005: 261). Thus, the physical effects of eating the meat are used to suggest why the shell seems to have taken on an important ritual place in many societies.

Of necessity, some of these efforts to understand the meanings of past religious practices and symbols are more generalized than others. Lewis-Williams explores how material remains can be seen to be "material expressions of a mythic world" (Lewis-Williams 2004: 29), and analyzes structures and space at the site of Çatalhöyük in modern Turkey in an effort to "understand the way in which the people of Çatalhöyük conceptualized the structures and the experiences that they [the structures] informed" (Lewis-Williams 2004: 33). She notes a general ethnographically-documented theme of a "tiered Cosmology" of underworld, sky/overworld, and an intermediate world of daily human life, and bases this in fundamental "neuropsychological" structures (Lewis-Williams 2004: 30). She suggests that the built environment at Çatalhöyük is

"implicated in attempts to define and, at the same time, manipulate both a tiered cosmos and social relations" (Lewis-Williams 2004: 32).

Religion in Social Negotiation and as a Lens: Turner and Rappaport

Another group of authors take on a fundamentally different goal for an archaeology of religion, considering what can be learned about past societies through the study of religion, sometimes by considering the complex relations between religion and other fields, and sometimes by using religion primarily as a "lens" through which other aspects of social life can be illuminated. Though, as above in the case of Geertz, sometimes without explicit citation, this goal is suggested here to follow from or be compatible with the work of Victor Turner and Roy Rappaport. The somewhat unusual grouping of Turner and Rappaport is justified based on their shared concern not with the interpretation of the meanings of symbols but on the *effect* of religious symbols' deployment in the social field, although they mean this in different ways.

Ucko (1969: 268) is surely right that the complexity of understanding the "significance" of some artifacts has led archaeologists to address issues of wealth or poverty instead, something which seems easier to assess (although see Parker Pearson 1982). Some of the works in this section do seem to suggest that the work described in the last section is a "dead end" and religion can only be a window into something else. These tend to more strictly follow the work of Rappaport and at least functional, if not fully cultural-ecological understandings about the role of religion. Meaning is not as relevant in this discussion, and like Rappaport the goal is understanding "particular bits of particular cultures in terms of the adaptive or system-maintaining functions of those bits" (Ortner 1984: 133) or, in a less Rappaporite vein, how religious symbols affected social change in non-religious parts of culture.

Others embrace a greater degree of complexity, combining both symbolic meanings and effect (or different kinds of "meaning," to use Turner's construction, see below) to provide a more holistic picture of a society, its religion, and other aspects as well. These more closely follow Turner's ideas. Nonetheless, in considering past work on the archaeology of religions which explicitly or tacitly seems to fall under this program, it proved impossible to clearly separate the influences of these two writers. This is why the two authors, usually considered so separately, are here placed under the same heading.

Rappaport and Understanding Adaptive "Bits"

In his major essay on the topic, "The Obvious Aspects of Ritual," Rappaport (1979) is concerned not with the "meanings" encoded in material forms or practices, but on the results of religious practice: what their doing does, usually unconsciously or at least not intentionally, for the persons or groups which engage in them. That is, he focuses on the structure of rituals rather than the referents of the symbols of which they are made, on what the taking part accomplishes for the society (what Turner would call the "operational meaning") rather participants' own reasons or understandings (what Turner would call "exegetic meanings"). Rappaport emphasizes the formality and repetitive nature of ritual, defining it as the "performance of more or less

invariant sequences of formal acts and utterances not encoded by the performers" (Rappaport 1979: 175).

For Rappaport, rituals are seen as essentially communicative, and they communicate two classes of messages: "indexical ones" which through their performance both relate and create information about the current social status of participants (such as expressions of submission and dominance) and "canonical" ones which are inherently enduring, cross-temporal and symbolic (Rappaport 1979: 179). These latter as most akin to Turner's exegetic meanings or Geertz's notion of meaning: stories, myths, etc. The two types of communication are interwoven and dependant: the indexical avoids the possibility of lies (a show of submission cannot be faked, since the show creates the submission), the canonical extends beyond the here-and-now of ritual performance (Rappaport 1979: 182).

In this way, rituals *clarify* social and philosophical gray areas: the potentially vague ("analogical"), continuous social facts such as status are represented "digitally" and metrically. Ritual can "impose unambiguous distinctions on ambiguous differences" (Rappaport 1979: 186) such as that of war and peace or childhood and adulthood. The clear division of childhood and adulthood in puberty rites helps bring accord to individual psychology and social responsibilities and serves ultimately to preserve the culturally-adaptive system of a particular society. The goal of anthropological analysis for Rappaport, then, as glossed by Ortner is "explaining the existence of particular bits of particular cultures in terms of the adaptive or system-maintaining functions of those bits" (Ortner 1984: 133).

Less concerned with understanding an overall "religion" or ideological system, Rappaport's approach is much more functional: put bluntly and over-simplistically, culture is understood when its role in adapting to the environment is explained. In an archaeology of religion, this has manifested in a deferral of religious questions to what might be seen as non-religious phenomena. That is, religion is explored archaeologically in order to understand how it causes, reinforces, or alters economy, hierarchy, or other primary concerns of the cultural-ecologist. Even those without cultural-ecological leanings at all have been attracted to the ability of this approach to form conclusions about religion despite the difficulties of accessing original symbolic meanings. Here religion is a "lens" through which one can examine other aspects of culture, rather than strictly a subject of study itself.

Turner and the Effects of Religious Symbolism

For Victor Turner, religious symbols are "*operators* in the social process" which have real effects on those who encounter them and "produce essentially *social* transformations" (Ortner 1984: 131, emphasis in original). Objects are not simply symbols of unity, for instance, but actually act in the social field to create unity in the social group. The goal of analysis for the anthropologist is understanding *how* this actually takes place, how symbols come to have their meanings in the first place.

Like Rappaport, Turner sometimes encourages attention to the adaptive (socially and economically) role of ritual functions, including as "coping" mechanisms (Turner 1967: 113-114). However, this is not the goal of his research, which is overall more concerned with seeing

rituals as revealing a group's "essential constitution" (Turner 1969: 6). His goal in his 1969 "The Ritual Process" was to access what the rituals "mean to *them* [those who enact them]" (Turner 1969: 7-8, emphasis in original) and he suggests that at times some economic activities, such as hunting, cannot be understood without a consideration of the rituals associated with them.

Turner does not reject Geertz's focus on symbolic meanings, just as Geertz would not object to Turner's understanding of symbols as active, directly causing social change. But Turner's focus is somewhat different, defining a three-fold version of the meaning particular objects, images or practices might have: 1) "exegetical meaning" is the (various) glosses given by informants, 2) "operational meaning" is what the informants *do* with a symbol, say during the course of a ceremony, from an etic perspective. Finally, 3) the "positional meaning" is derived from a symbol's relationships to "other symbols in a totality, a *Gestalt*, whose elements acquire their significance from the system as a whole," the other contexts in which it is used (Turner 1967: 51). The positional meaning also can clarify which of many potential exegetic meanings is at play in a particular context (cf Caplan 1976; Oring 1993).

The exegetic meanings Turner envisions are like a tree, where a primary concrete meaning, garnered from observable facts (e.g. the milk-white sap of the *mudyi* tree being seen to represent breast milk) is then built upon and branched out from dendritically to secondary, tertiary, etc, meanings. Thus, "one line [of association] develops as follows: breast, mother-child relationship, matriliny, the Ndembu tribe or tribal custom of which matriliny is the most representative principle. Another line runs: development of the breasts, womanhood, married womanhood, childbearing" (Turner 1967: 54). Tracing out these connections, back to what he believes to be their ultimate source, the "organic" physical world of biology (Turner 1967: 90) provides information on "ways in which they [rituals] move actors from one status to another, resolve social contradictions, and wed actors to the categories and norms of their society" (Ortner 1984: 131).

What is key is that these symbols both have meaning *and act* in society: the sap of the *mudyi* tree both represents breast milk and plays a part in the social movement of, say, a girl to womanhood. Unlike Rappaport's notion of religion's effects which are primarily ecological, Turner's effects incorporate the social, such as the changes of status just noted in the quote from Ortner. Similarly, archaeological considerations of how religion effects things in social contexts fall along a spectrum of concern with both definite, adaptive, concrete effects on economy or social organization, and more complicated considerations of social negotiation.

Archaeological Considerations

Religion is often considered as having a role in creating or perpetuating political power. For instance, Shanks and Tilley's reinterpretation of British Neolithic mortuary practices takes a Marxist view, with religion as ideology, "a practice which operates to secure the reproduction of relations of dominance" (Shanks and Tilley 1982: 130), and propose to study burial symbolism and practices in this context as methods of legitimizing hierarchy in the past. Ritual, seen as communicative, makes the social world appear ordered and this order eternal and normative (a very Rappaport-like view), thus continuing the will of those in power (Shanks and Tilley 1982:

133). In the context of Bronze Age Cyprus, Knapp argues that "emergent elites manipulated and secured domination over copper production and distribution by making use of culturally significant symbols" (Knapp 1988: 134). Here the "religious" is appealed to as a means of "regulating society" and giving power to particular individuals and values (Knapp 1988: 156). The "sacred" is seen, following a Rappaport-like construction, as having a functional role in making unquestionable ideas which are beneficial to society, such as the limiting of self-maximizing behavior (Knapp 1988: 137).

A more focused example is the work of Fox, who explores the Mesoamerican ballgame ritual. He sees ritual (explicitly following Turner) as material action based in ideology whose primary purpose is reordering social and cosmic relations to resolve conflict, thus working as a "mechanism of social and material reproduction" (Fox 1996: 484). Dedicatory caches made ballcourts into "meaningful and powerful settings for ritual action" (Fox 1996: 484) and this power, especially ritual feasts, was part of the negotiation of political power in Classic-period Mesoamerica. Similarly, Urartian shrines are considered by Tanyeri-Erdemir as playing a role in the creation of a royalty-supporting ideology in earlier first millennium BC Turkey. He explores the "role that these temples played in governance and the ways they secured the governing dynasty's power and legitimacy over the populace" (Tanyeri-Erdemir 2007: 205). The move from open but simpler to more elaborate but restricted shrines is seen to trace the "change in the hierarchical position…of the ruling elite" (Tanyeri-Erdemir 2007: 218).

But of course religion was not just used to establish inequalities and maintain hegemony. Potter (1997) considers both the integrating and differentiating roles of religion, suggesting that in some contexts ritual can help maintain social cohesion in the absence of strong political leadership. Following Hegmon, and explicitly based on Rappaport's model of ritual, he considers the evidence faunal remains provide for pre-Colombian ritual in the American Southwest, stressing the role of rituals in creating solidarity here, the sanctification of social decisions, and regulating society, but also the potential of these rituals to create social differentiation. In particular, he suggests that the social effects of ritual (integrating or differentiating) in a particular context can be seen in the openness or restriction of access to its materials.

In ethnographic contexts, Joyce suggests that burial rituals can function to repair breaches in social relations or the loss of anticipated contributions occasioned by a death. These procedures can be seen as forming more permanent social links because burial places and the status of the dead are less changeable than the places and status of the living, as the former are collectivized (Joyce 1999: 16-17). She explores this archaeologically in pre-Classic Mesoamerican burials, where "costumes … are standardized within communities and even in some cases between communities" (Joyce 1999: 41). At the same time, however, burial practices in this context formed a ground for social negotiation that laid the foundations for greater stratification: among residential groups, burials exhibit "competitive processes through which houses sought and gained lasting advantages that allowed their descendants to claim differential status" (*ibid*). Thus in this particular context ritual can be seen as a social stabilizing mechanism, but also one which can produce change in political and social structure over the long term.

Religion can be an issue even for those studying more traditional areas of archaeological interest such as subsistence, urbanization, or craft specialization. McNiven and Feldman suggest that a

group's cosmology, their "spirit-scape" as they phrase it, can play a role in more ecological interactions with the world, such as hunting. For Torres Straits Islanders, environmental and technological knowledge must be supplemented by the ceremonial in order to be successful in hunts(McNiven and Feldman 2003: 180). Spielman argues for a role for ritual in the rise of craft specialization in some contexts in the Pacific, arguing convincingly that the creation of common but socially charged items can have a substantial impact on social structure. For instance, communal feasts can be the product of long term planning and daily effort to create surplus necessary for them, in terms of both foods and other elements. In small-scale societies, this occurs at the household level, and thus "economic intensification in small scale societies is often a product of ritual elaboration" (Spielman 2002: 202). Silverman's wide-ranging article touches on many of the themes discussed in this chapter, but is perhaps most notable for its connections between religious pilgrimage in ancient Peru, the process of urbanization (Silverman 1994: 3), and the functional role of reinforcing support systems in an ecologically risky region (Silverman 1994: 14-15). She also attempts to reconstruct the activities which occurred at "cult places" in ancient Peru, and from these study "what this reveals about the structure and function of different institutions and interpersonal/intergroup relations within society" (Silverman 1994: 1).

Important Themes in the Archaeology of Religion

The last section summarized some of the approaches archaeologists have used when engaging with religion, including their different theoretical underpinnings and goals of analysis. In addition, a number of themes occur within these works and others which have influenced this project and will be extremely useful as this analysis continues. This section will review some of the more relevant of these.

Renfrew begins his consideration with a warning that religion may not be as coherent or as separable from the rest of daily life as those familiar with the modern practice of religions "of the book" might assume (Renfrew 1994). A number of other authors have taken up this theme, pointing out ways in which religion is more integrated into than separated from other aspects of social life. This is the point made by some of the works mentioned in the last section, considering how religion can be used to negotiate political power. This can also be the case with other areas of social life, such as economics, but Katherine Spielman (2002) also takes the suggestion further: not just that religious values can have economic implications, but the two can be deeply interrelated in some contexts, providing another example of how the usual divide of sacred and secular can break down. She writes, "the capacity to transform mundane raw materials into aesthetically pleasing objects [craft specialization] is an expression of supernaturally endowed abilities" (Spielman 2002: 200). It is not only that rituals have economic impacts in the Pacific, but that even economic activities take place within a worldview. This blurs the line between what may have been seen as sacred and secular places: houses are seen as secular, but here they are the locus of economic production, which is strongly tied to religious belief.

Roberta Gilchrist (1994) also takes an integrated approach, exploring the connections of social, economic, and political power and the negotiation of gender roles with a particular set of religiously-based institutions, nunneries in medieval England, in order to explain the diversity of

architectural forms they take. Accommodation of parochial churchgoers, liturgical reasons, wealth differences, the social status of prioresses, and the active structuring role of women are all shown to have an effect on how the buildings took shape. Here, larger social processes are understood more clearly by exploring how they are played out in the religious context. Again, rather than beginning with static meanings behind the individual architectural forms being studied, Gilchrist considers them in their positional and operational meanings: how they are used and what they say in the context of the larger society.

Sarah Tarlow's (1999) discussion of the changing place of death and the dead in England and Britain similarly ties changes in religious thought (the Reformation) to those in social and religious symbols and to family and social structure. Her context is the medieval period through the twentieth century, using a study of Orkney Island gravestones. She traces changes in the grave markers from focusing on the deceased's ancestry (heraldry) and position in the local community, to emblems of mortality, to family relationships and metaphors for death such as "sleep." These changes in material markers are connected to the changing philosophies of the medieval period, the Reformation, Victorian values, and individualism. She moves between exegetic meanings of the markers and the social context in which these are communicated so that we gain insights into each, and together they build to the suggestion that the changes to modern death rituals were the result of the rise of individualism and its consequent effects on the perception of the body, not primarily secularization as sometimes suggested (Tarlow 1999: 195).

This integration of religion and other social forces is a two-way street, and Wilkie provides an example of how the forms of religious practice can be altered by the context of their practice. She considers the integration of ritual acts, religious ideas and other aspects of social life, discussing the role magic and religion played for African Americans. In slave contexts, she suggests that magic may have been an avenue of resistance for people who were otherwise too threatened with violence to act violently themselves (Wilkie 1997: 83). She also considers how religious ideas interact and change over time, noting that there are more similarities between African and European magical practices than are usually recognized, suggesting synchretism or creolization may be at play (Wilkie 1997: 83-4). For instance, she suggests that Catholicism, with its multiple saints and sources of the holy, may have been more compatible with African forms of religion than Protestantism, with its focus on only one single source of the holy. The context of the encounter, slavery, has radically altered how both Christian and traditional African religions are practiced.

In this case, neither set of practices considered by Wilkie will quite fit the mold expected: there is a diversity of understandings of each religion. Scarre (1994) also notes that a unitary, coherent ideology may not have been present in the past, and past peoples may have interpreted these sites differently. This emphasis on the local context of religious practice can become an especial problem when texts, often the product of one time and place, are used to study practices in another (Chenoweth In Press). Historic texts about religion have provided problems for archaeological interpretation, since they sometimes conflict with archaeological observations. In a substantial improvement of methods, Marcus and Flannery suggest a recursive approach to the use of ethnohistoric texts to understand religious meanings, rather than simply comparing archaeological results and texts: ethnohistory provides expectations, archaeology then observes where these are and are not met, and ethnohistoric information is used to understand the

differences (Marcus and Flannery 1994: 72). This is meant to account for the differences of the two contexts, rather than explaining it away or judging one to be inaccurate.

At its heart, Marcus and Flannery's approach is comparative, a traditional strength of archaeological work in general. Such comparison has proven especially important to considerations of religion and its interactions with both local context and written texts. Attempting to address a specific question, whether the settlement at Qumran is a religious community and therefore the likely authors of the Dead Sea Scrolls, found nearby, Regev (2009) employs an explicitly comparative method. Using several known religious sites, he establishes an expected signature for the architecture of religious sects in terms of segmentation and control of space: strong social boundaries, hierarchy of both people and of kinds of spaces ("mundane/sacred" and "private/communal") and a division of space into sacred and secular. Using Hiller and Hansen's "Space Syntax Theory" or "access analysis" he characterizes Qumran's use of space compared to this signature, and finds commonalities with known sites strong enough to warrant labeling Qumran as a religious community (Regev 2009: 94).

This comparison can take place not only synchronically, between different sites as Regev has done, but diachronically. Some of the most convincing uses of ethnographic analogy to fill in the meanings of religious symbols make use of multiple lines of evidence, even bridging several-thousand-year gaps between the ethnographic and archaeological contexts. Boyd used several lines of evidence from multiple groups historically and geographically related to that of the archaeological study context to provide potential meanings of certain American Southwest cave-art depictions. For instance, "undulating lines identified in the lower Pecos motif represent the serpent as the earth's surface, which serves as the gateway to the world below. The hole depicted at the top of the serpentine arch is the sacred portal through which the soul of the shaman journeys during trance death into the Otherworld" (Boyd 1996: 162). She then augments this conclusion with additional lines of evidence from burial practices, where the vertical portal motif is sometimes expressed in the use of sinkholes for burial.

Several of these works allude to the fact that religious ideas and practices change over time, and cannot be assumed to be static. David Starbuck's substantial long-term study of the Shakers in Canterbury, New Hampshire, has particular relevance to this study, the Shakers being an off-shoot (although a quite distinct one) of the Quakers. His explicit goal is to "use excavations to determine whether they actually lived up to their own ideals" (Starbuck 2004: 9), but he also complicates popular, idealized understandings of the Shaker group as "fatally frozen in time;" rather, he recognizes that Shakers were, in effect, middle-class consumers intimately tied into the modernizing world around them (Starbuck 2004: 85).

In a more extended example, Pohl worked to not only understand the meanings of elements of the modern Mayan *cuch* ritual but to trace how those meanings developed over time, drawing connections to prehistoric ritual. Using the iconographic evidence of painting and sculptures, coupled with ethnohistoric evidence, her goal was explicitly to "assemble a corpus of representations and to arrange them in the proper order" using historic and modern ethnographic data (Pohl 1981: 525). There is no suggestion that the symbols used to express these meanings are static or unchanging. "Correspondence between the ancient and modern ceremonies can be found in many common traits. The principal difference is that in the prehistoric version of the

ritual, deer and peccary appear while in the present-day drama, the European bull and pig are used" (Pohl 1981: 517). The goal of the analysis is to learn how to interpret the symbolic meanings of these representations and therefore their archaeological corollaries: for instance the representations of ritual fishing, when placed in the context of the *cuch* rite, provide a potential meaning for archaeological finds of fish skeletons in association with deer: the fish is a sacrifice.

Summary

Archaeological work on religion has engaged with a wide variety of topics and theoretical structures. Among the most influential of the latter are the work of Clifford Geertz, Victor Turner, and Roy Rappaport, each briefly summarized here. One group of works, falling loosely under Geertz's understanding of religion as a system of symbols, has taken their task to be the imputing of meanings to the religious forms observed archaeologically, and have used textual (both historic and ethnohistoric) and ethnographic evidence, as well as what might be argued to be human universals, such as biology as sources for these meanings. Another group of authors have focused on the relationship between religion and other aspects of life, such as politics, social structure, and economics. Having different emphases (often as a result of their differing use of Turner or Rappaport in their underlying approaches) these works variously use religion as the lens through which one can study other aspects of society, either as adaptive (following Rappaport) or in order to form a more holistic view of culture (following Turner). In addition, a number of archaeological works have proposed definitions of religion and systems for recognizing ritual or religious materials archaeologically, or considered what can be learned about the forms of religious practice in the past irrespective of any difficulties in accessing past meanings.

Several themes in these works which have proven useful to this project, and whose influence will be detectable in the pages which follow, have also been summarized. Religion has been productively engaged with by archaeologists who tackle the complex relationship of religious practice with other forces: politics, economics, identity, and social class. These are all influences on religion, and religion in turn influences how these forces play out in society. While we often speak of "a religion" considerable care is necessary to keep in mind that what defines that group of people can change over time and be influenced by the context in which religious ideas are played out materially. The most convincing arguments constructed about religion take shape comparatively and with multiple lines of evidence, allowing this influence of context to be most clearly seen. A number of the works, discussed in the next chapter, which explicitly employ practice theory also contain echoes of these themes, most notably Richard Bradley's (2003) argument that the secular and mundane in Neolithic Britain were far more intertwined than is usually thought, and Hodge's (2005) discussion of the effect of the colonial context on religious practices of native peoples.

3. Practice, Identity, and Religion

In order to build on the foundation of the work discussed in chapter two, this study will make extensive use of practice theory. This chapter will briefly summarize the work of several authors who have been particularly influential, notably Bourdieu, Giddens, Butler, and Bell. The ideas of these thinkers will be extended into an archaeology of religion in the second half of the chapter, which will incorporate both a discussion of applications of practice theory already extent in that literature, and an extended approach which will be used in the case study to follow.

Practice

Soon after practice theory emerged as a recognizable approach, Sherry Ortner summarized the process by which it came to be as being largely in response to "hypercoherent" models. During the 1970s and earlier, theorists tended to see people as being very largely constrained by either "the hidden hand of structure or the juggernaut of capitalism" (Ortner 1984: 144).

Breaking free from this determination of the individual is the work she sees going on in the 1980s. In short, practice work seeks to explain the relationship between individuals and "the system" however conceived (Ortner 1984: 148). Like earlier symbolic interactionists (such as Irving Goffman) and transactionalist theorists, practice theorists wanted to see structure/culture as setting conditions for but not determining individuals' actions, but unlike these earlier works, practice theorists in the early 1980s showed an interest in where these structures come from to begin with, complementing, not replacing the study of structure. The source they used is practice, defined as "almost unlimited: anything people do" (Ortner 1984: 149).

Bourdieu

Bourdieu begins his famous *Outline of a Theory of Practice* with a critique of earlier models of social structure which focus on "norms and rules" or a "mechanical interlocking of preregulated actions" (Bourdieu 1977: 10). These he sees as omitting the infinite subtleties of variation in what people actually do, such as the delay between a gift and a return gift, and the nuances of extravagance or simplicity which are used to negotiate social ends. There is always uncertainty about how a set of acts will be accomplished, even if the acts are minutely prescribed, which makes practice probabilistic not prescriptive.

The driving force behind this process is not "rules" of action but is seen as "a disposition inculcated in the earliest years of life and constantly reinforced by calls to order from the group, that is to say the aggregate of individuals endowed with the same dispositions" (Bourdieu 1977: 14-15). This is Bourdieu's famous "habitus": "systems of durable, transposable *dispositions*"

which produce "practices which tend to reproduce regularities immanent in the objective conditions of the production of their generative principle [i.e. habitus], while adjusting to the demands inscribed as objective potentialities in the situation [i.e. context]" (Bourdieu 1977: 72, 78)

Here he focuses on the recursive *reproduction* of habitus and objective conditions, not change. Habitus is perpetuated because "schemas are able to pass from practice to practice without going through discourse or consciousness" (Bourdieu 1977: 87). Habitus for Bourdieu is closely connected to the unconscious, the unquestioned, the doxic. Or, rather, the "unconscious" is seen as the product of the creation of habitus, which is "history turned into nature, i.e. denied as such": that is the reproduction of what has gone before is naturalized. The strength of habitus lies in the fact that its "subjects do not, strictly speaking, know what they are doing" (Bourdieu 1977: 78-79). The dispositions of habitus are predisposed to being "principles of the generation and structuring of practices and representations which can be objectively 'regulated' and 'regular'…without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends" (Bourdieu 1977: 72). In practice, users of the schemas of habitus do not "cite and recite" them but "reproduce them (fairly accurately)" (Bourdieu 1977: 17).

Bourdieu is quite clear that social negotiation can take place within these structured dispositions: "even the most strictly ritualized exchanges…have room for strategies" (1977: 15). But what is negotiated for Bourdieu is not habitus itself: habitus is "inscribed in the body schema and in the schemes of thought, which enables each agent to engender all the practices consistent with the logic of challenge and riposte [for example], by means of countless inventions" (1977: 15). It is a guide for improvisation, not a means to break out of the play altogether.

Thus, while actions by Bourdieu's individuals are not over-determined by the system in which they live, that system itself is relatively unchanging. A model that accommodates change would seem vital given the actual variation in practice across groups and groups over time (for instance, that observed archaeologically of Quakers, discussed in chapter four).

Giddens

A formulation which at least opens a door to cultural change based in individual practice can be found in the works of Anthony Giddens. Giddens is most famous for the theory he calls "structuration" which attempts the reconcile the old opposition of structure and agency in a "duality of structure" (1984). As with Bourdieu, it is an effort to involve individuals in the creation, recreation, and change of the societies in which they live. This is in response to earlier structural views of society such as structuralist ones but also to Bourdieu's model, which admits of very little room for agency or individuals, but depict them either as automata, dictated to by culture, as ineffective, being washed along inexorably by it, or as prisoners, always constrained by structure as an external, preexisting force.

Rather, the relationship between individuals' actions and social structure is, according to Giddens, *recursive*. He writes, "they [social structures] are not brought into being by social actors but continually recreated by them through the very means whereby they express

themselves *as* actors. In and through their activities, agents reproduce the conditions that make these activities possible" (Giddens 1984: 2). How, precisely, this occurs is a complicated issue and one that has fascinated archaeologists who seek examples of recursion, primarily in explaining social change.

The duality which Giddens defines is that of structure and the social agent. Agency is defined here as not being merely "intention" but the *capability* to act. That is, "Agency concerns events of which an individual is the perpetrator, in the sense that the individual could…have acted differently" (Giddens 1984: 9). Structure is the rules and resources which underlie and are recursively implicated in social acts (Giddens 1984: 377); that is, the "techniques or generalizable procedures applied in the enactment/reproduction of social practices" (Giddens 1984: 21). In this rendering, Giddens' "rules" seem closely related to Bourdieu's "habitus" in that both are used to generate social action without being entirely prescriptive.

Because we use the word "rule" in so many contexts in daily life, this choice of term may be confusing. Giddens is clear to state that any explicit version or codification of a rule (such as what we generally refer to as "rules" as in a game, or laws) is already an interpretation, less flexible and complete than the underlying principle which is actually what composes social structure (Giddens 1984: 23). Turner clarifies that rules are "tacitly known; informal; widely sanctioned; frequently invoked and used in conversations, interaction rituals, and daily routines" (Turner 1986: 972). Social life is also underwritten by "resources," which are both tangible, material resources such as objects, land, and wealth, and so-called "human resources" such as "organizational facilities," knowledge, and physical strength (c.f. Giddens 1979: 92; Giddens 1984: 377; Sewell 1992: 9). Resources can be "transformed" into power in their use, but power is seen as the result of having resources.

In the "duality," rules (as structure), and the actions of the agents bound by them, produce each other. That is, by following a rule one reinforces the rule-ness of it. Giddens is also careful to point out that agents are not just constrained by rules but also enabled by them. As Sewell writes,

> As I see it, agents are empowered to act with and against others by structures: they have knowledge of the schemas that inform social life and have access to some measure of human and nonhuman resources. Agency arises from the actor's knowledge of schemas, which means the ability to apply them to new contexts. …Agency is implied by the existence of structures (Sewell 1992: 20)

These rules relate to the actual actions performed by social agents through the concept of "knowledgability," what actors know or believe about their circumstances which they draw on in taking any act. This knowledgability is a practical knowledge, one that is learned in the doing (and failing to correctly do) of social life. That is, it is the observation of social life which teaches each of us how to participate in it.

A key to structuration, and to the relationship between the agent and structure (the two sides of the "duality" Giddens defines) is reflexivity. Not merely self-consciousness, reflexivity is defined as the "monitored character of the ongoing flow of social life" or the "duree" of life: a "continuous flow of conduct" (1984: 3). That is, as the world goes on around us, we are each

continually aware on different levels of what is going on, we evaluate it continually, and we expect each other to engage in this monitoring and evaluation as well. This awareness includes context, or what Giddens calls the "contextuality of time-space" (1984: 3). In saying this, Giddens makes social life inevitably historical. Actions, once taken, become immediately a part of the ongoing flow of life, although through unintended consequences they do not always have the desired effect. The actions which compose the flow of life and become history are monitored by all and they and their apparent results thus inform the knowledgability of agents in their next set of actions. Giddens' example is language: speaking English correctly contributes to the (historically constituted) reproduction of the English language as a whole. It is not possible to say that either the language or the speaking causes the other, but both exist in and through the other.

Butler

The work of Judith Butler will also contribute to the approach used here, even though she is less concerned with the relation of structure and agency than she is with the deconstruction of "structure" itself, critiquing a reliance on the "subject." Butler clearly shows echoes of and allegiances to earlier theorists such as Giddens and Bourdieu. Structures which "common sense" would label qualities or platonic forms, notably gender, are reconceived as processes: "Gender is the repeated stylization of the body, a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame that congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance, of a natural sort of being" (Butler 1999 [1990]: 45). These processes are composed of actions of individuals, seemingly small and insignificant daily practices: "What we take to be an internal essence of gender is manufactured through a sustained set of acts, posited through the gendered stylization of the body" (Butler 1999 [1990]: xv). Despite being "constructed," it is important to note that these forces are no less "real" and powerful. In fact, appearing other than "constructed" is part of their strength: "certain cultural configurations of gender…consolidate and augment their hegemony through that felicitous self-naturalization" (Butler 1999 [1990]: 45).

"Identity" itself, "the internal coherence of the subject, indeed, the "self-identical status of the person" is an "*effect* of discursive practices" (Butler 1999 [1990]: 23-24, emphasis in original). It is in this context that she famously argued against the usual sex/gender distinctions made in feminist literature, where the former is a bodily given and the latter is socially constructed. Instead, for her, bodies are the effect of power, and indisassociable from that power; sex is not a "bodily given" but a "cultural norm" (Butler 1993: 2-3) and the "subject" is created by having undertaken that cultural norm. Otherwise, one is "abject" and in the unlivable, uninhabitable, unthinkable (Butler 1993: 3, 243).

Her 1993, *Bodies that Matter*, provided more of the cultural machinery by which these processes of subject-construction and identity-making take place. Her rendering of the concept of "performativity" based on "citational precedents" will be useful here. For her, "performativity" is "the reiterative and citational practice by which discourse produces the effects that it names" (Butler 1993: 2) or "functions to produce that which it declares" (Butler 1993: 107). Beyond Austin's (1962) view that there are acts constituted by utterances, here the utterance (practice)

also constitutes the utterer as subject, that is, as meaningfully existing. Whereas Austin's "performative" appears to be highly agentive, Butler's performers are highly constrained.

She locates the power of performatives in their "citational legacy" in which an act is connected to "a chain of binding conventions" (Butler 1993: 225). She writes, "discourse has a history which not only precedes but conditions its contemporary usages" (Butler 1993: 227). Thus, all performance is actually a *citation* of an earlier one, and thus derivative and historical (Butler 1993: 12-13). But that citation, based in past action, has constitutive power as well, creating new links in that chain which will direct and constrain future action: "To claim that discourse is formative [e.g. of sex] is not to claim that it originates, causes, or exhaustively composes that which it concedes; rather, it is to claim that there is no reference to a pure body which is not at the same time a further formation of that body" (Butler 1993: 10).

Butler's "structure" is extremely strong and pervasive, strongly constraining people, though her explicit goal is to seek ways out of this constricting structure, to "transform" the "delimiting power" (1999 [1990]: xxiii). Citation and reproduction is forced "compulsory heteronormativity." Not only is action restrained, but "the very thinking of what is possible in gendered life is foreclosed by certain habitual and violent presumptions" (1999 [1990]: viii). She even states in the preface to the new edition that she has had to "curb the occasional volunteerism" in the book (1999 [1990]: xxvi), suggesting that it came across as too open and negotiable in its earliest incarnation, furthering the impression that her model allows little leeway for those trapped within hegemonic structures.

But agency or at least a possibility for change is not entirely omitted since "Bodies never quite comply with the norms by which their materialization is compelled"(Butler 1993: 2). She writes that "The resignification of norms [i.e. change] is thus a function of their *inefficacy* [or failure to perfectly force their own perfect reproduction], and the question of subversion, of *working the weakness in the norm*, becomes a matter of inhabiting the practices of its rearticulation" (Butler 1993: 237, emphasis in original). If norms can be intentionally "worked" and their perfect reproduction inhibited, they can also be unconsciously recast. This is Giddens' allowance for cultural change based on unintended consequences of these efforts at reproduction, which in turn could be recast as imperfect citation.

The applicability of Butler's model to other aspects of identity beyond gender, such as religion, is questionable. Certainly, Butler quite clearly argues for the primacy of gender before other considerations of identity. She writes, "it would be wrong to think that the discussion of "identity" ought to proceed prior to a discussion of gender identity for the simple reason that "persons" only become intelligible through becoming gendered in conformity with recognized standards of gender intelligibility" (Butler 1999 [1990]: 22); people are "gendered" first and thereby (secondarily) "peopled."

However, what she seems to be describing is on some level the nature of any socially constructed phenomenon: the "normative positions, i.e. the 'sexes,' are only known through the approximations that they occasion" and so norms are "functionally *dependant* on the approximation and citation of the law" i.e. its actual enactment (Butler 1993: 14). Norms are

norms only insofar as they are normatively practiced, but I think this is true for *all* sorts of norms.

Similarly, citational chains seem to be vitally important in all sorts of identity-making. How do Giddens' "rules" and Bourdieu's "habitus" articulate with the "ongoing flow of social life" without making reference to earlier reproductions of "the conditions that make these activities possible"? Bourdieu's "calls to order from the group," while a much more mild phrase, is structurally similar to Butler's "rigid regulatory frame" and "compulsory heteronormativity." This concept can apply to other identifications, as "compulsory normativity." The sense in which, and extent to which norms are compulsory is understood by every school-child, every person who has ever made an inappropriate comment, and every older person who watches the world change around them. Being "normal" is compulsory if one wishes to "get on in the world" in many situations, and has culturally-defined consequences for failure: in today's America the consequences for religious abnormality are generally slight, but five centuries ago many religious abjects went to the stake.

While the sanctions for failure differ, the idea that norms arise out of an interaction of historical citational chains and the "contextuality of time-space" where "regulated improvisations" contribute to "the conditions that make these activities possible" is compatible among the three authors. In any case, the ideas of performance and citation as Butler rendered them remain "good to think with" in the context of identity-making practices such as will be discussed below for religion.

Butler's application to archaeology is equally potentially problematic, and Butler herself has expressed skepticism about the ability to work from material traces backward towards the social life in which they were enmeshed (Voss 2004: 71). Perry and Joyce make perhaps the clearest argument against this. Since "Gender performance involves public, repetitive actions of movement, gesture, posture, dress, labor, production, interaction with objects, and the manipulation of space" (Perry and Joyce 2001: 65), they suggest that archaeologists are in a prime position to recover these, and the material patterns of this practice are vital to understanding the citational chains on which all performances are based. They also consider how physical objects are key in producing "naturalizations" of constructed social norms (Perry and Joyce 2001: 68), and thus make the argument that not only *can* archaeology produce insight, it is one of the best ways to approach aspects of the construction of gender under Butler's definition.

On the other hand, Morris (1995: 575) refers to a "suspicious literalization" of the process of inscription of sex and gender on bodies which suggests doubt on the part of our cultural colleagues that these phenomena are within the reach of archaeology's material focus. Morris argues that physical acts of inscription (circumcision, dressing, plastic surgery and hormonal therapies) only function within an "already elaborated discourse that perceives, adjudicates, and regulates bodily identity within gender" (Morris 1995: 576). That is, the discourse must preexist the inscription; but this is tantamount to raising the "citational chain" to a priori status, and the same critique could be leveled at all practices, not just materially-inscribed ones: they too only take on their meaning within the citation chain, but no issue seems to exist with this chain being the simultaneous product of that which is produced from it: performances.

Practice Approaches to the Archaeology of Religion

The theories discussed above have, of course, already been applied to archaeological works. By most definitions (Joyce 2001; Rappaport 1979: 175; Turner 1969) ritual is highly repetitive. This does not suggest that all religious forms are so, or that all religious structures include repetitive acts of ritual, but it at least provides a starting point for some suggestions of how to identify the religious. Though not explicitly a practice-based approach, the work of Richards and Thomas (1984) is often cited by those who are explicit about following practice theory for providing a foundation for the analysis of deposits which suggest such repetition. They reexamine the interpretation of Neolithic henge structures in Wessex, England, specifically Durrington Wells, focusing on "certain structural qualities of the material record" specifically "structured deposition." They argue that "ritual" is not "religion" and thus is not out-of-hand inaccessible: explicitly following Turner and van Gennep, ritual is seen as a tool for resolving conflict in personal and metaphysical relations, and reproduction of the social order (Richards and Thomas 1984: 190). As such, it is highly structured, in order to seem unquestionable, therefore producing repetitive, structured behaviors, and in turn the archaeological remains produced by these activities should "maintain a high level of structure" (Richards and Thomas 1984: 191). Even without knowledge of the meanings of specific symbols, the structure of ritual deposits may yield the underlying rules.

Richard Bradley (2003: 11) has combined this work on structured deposition with the practice approach of Catherine Bell (discussed in the next section of this chapter) in order to identify aspects of religious life through archaeology, going beyond "ritual" to religion. A major part of his argument is that both of these are far more entwined with aspects of what would have been called secular, mundane daily life, than previously thought. Typically, Bradley argues, archaeological conceptions of ritual have focused on a separation from the mundane and formal prescription of the actions which formed such deposits: "something set apart from daily life, protected from scrutiny by its specialized procedures and connected with religious belief and the supernatural" (Bradley 2003: 11). He points out methodological problems with this division in discussions of Neolithic Britain, and observes that even cultural anthropologists are failing to define clear sacred/secular boundaries with living populations. Instead, he employs Bell's notion of "ritualization"—a way of acting rather than a prescribed set of actions—suggesting that this can reveal "some of the dominant concerns of society," or (since ritual exists on a continuum) of the person or persons who engage in that practice (Bradley 2003: 12).

Another archaeological study which has fruitfully engaged practice perspectives and religion is that of Christina Hodge. Quakers in the New World were not alone, and Hodge considers possible interactions between them, other Christian groups, and natives in her study of an eighteenth-century native burial ground in Massachusetts (Hodge 2005). She considers the influence of Christianization and native religions as part of an evaluation of archaeological conceptions of cultural change and its visibility in material culture. Following Hall, she sees religion as "constituted through the practices of daily life and…situated in the physical" (Hodge 2005: 85-6), but still finds it difficult to strictly separate "Christian" and "non-Christian" burial practices due to the potential for multiple meanings and the variation in practice which has been

observed in the Christian sites (notably Quaker) to which she compares the native one. For instance, "the location of the cemetery and its irregular layout, possible multiple interments, and use of shrouds potentially fall within both Quaker *and* traditional Native belief systems" (Hodge 2005: 82). She sees the lack of grave goods, too, to be a product of the practices of both of the native Wampanoag community and the Quaker community. She notes that "many Quaker practices already had, or could be glossed or layered with, traditional meanings" (Hodge 2005: 88). In the end, she argues that one neither can nor should attempt to distinguish between Christian and non-Christian meanings behind the practices observed. The practices can be seen as a unique combination between larger and local forces, and Hodge uses this to complicate colonizer/colonized dichotomies.

Religion as Practical Identification

Building on the discussions of practice theorists, archaeologies of religion, and previous efforts to integrate the two, the remainder of this chapter will discuss an approach particularly suited to the case study to be developed in the remainder of this work. It will engage with the variability of Quaker practice over place and time, the role of the context of practical action, Quaker integration as a cultural group, and the historical particularities of the British Virgin Islands as setting for these negotiations.

Ritualization and Religion

The logical beginning point to a discussion of religion and practice is the work of Catherine Bell. Bell's approach to ritual—a concept fundamentally related to religion, although different as will be discussed—is to focus on action through a version of practice theory; as such she discusses not "ritual" but "ritualization," the production of an unequal difference between ways of acting. For her, it is not the actions so differentiated—what would have been called "the rituals"—that should be our goal as analysts, but rather "how such activities constitute themselves as different" as these distinctions are "strategic" and "value-laden" (Bell 1992: 90). A ritual then becomes not a type of action as it is often approached, but a *quality* of being "ritualized" which some actions possess. That is, she is concerned with how "human activities establish and manipulate their own differentiation and purposes—in the very doing of the act within the context of other ways of acting" (Bell 1992: 74).

For ritualization, the establishment of privileged distinctions between kinds of actions, to occur, "[i]t is only necessary that the cultural context include some consensus concerning the opposition and relative values of" the actions being so marked (Bell 1992: 92). Bell's "only" in this quote is deceptive. This consensus must itself spring from practices that came before and conditioned later acts of ritualization. In fact, this "consensus" is nothing other than Giddens' "rules", Sewell's "schemas", Butler's "norms" which compel their own replication (see above). That is, practices, including ritualization, cannot take place in a vacuum, and each invokes and occurs in a context created by earlier "citational precedents" or "conditions" even as it adds to those precedents or conditions. The structure by which some actions are privileged in "ritualization" is created performatively: the practice of differentiation "produces that which it declares." The values with which ritualized differences are laden are sourced in the citational chains of, in this

case (with apologies to Butler), religio-normative practice which makes up the conditions for future ritualization: a set of flexible rules and resources for use in regulated improvisations creating certain differences as ritualized.

Catherine Bell rarely uses the word "religion," focusing more on "ritual" or rather "ritualization" which she has defined with some precision. An understanding of the meaning of "religion" which I think is well suited to this project does follow from the approach just outlined, however. Here, a religion can be thought of as a group of people engaged in drawing privileged distinctions in ways of acting (ritualization) based on a particular set of citational precedents, or working within a particular part of the "continuous flow of conduct." A key here is the citation of earlier practices recognized as being within the same tradition, being seen as linked in some way. The actions of Buddha, Jesus, or George Fox (and all the practices of citation of each, including writing and speaking) are not likely to receive equal attention from adherents of Buddhism, Christianity, or Quakerism, respectively, and the focus of the members of each group on certain patterns of citation are what unifies these groups over time. In this way, despite being seen as a potentially atomized set of practices, a religious group maintains coherence through certain norms of citation.

These conceptions of religion and ritual have two other major implications, discussed in the next two sections. First, religion is contextual. If religion is a group of people negotiating privileged distinctions between ways of acting, the context in which they are doing this work is a very local one. They will be influenced by other factors, not as interference but as fundamental parts of the creation of religion: this is not local improvisations based on one "real" script but the group being composed of all the disparate acts of script writing conducted by members. This will be examined further through the lens of social identity studies.

Second, religion must incorporate variability in practice. It should be noted that this version of religion does not require that every adherent conduct the *same* practices, merely be engaged with citing the same or related ones. This is vital since, upon close examination, there are always differences in local performances: Catholic churches are supposed to be identical the world over, but each displays influences from local ethnic and other groups in their own "version" of the supposedly unified "Catholicism." This view of religion also incorporates the possibility of change in religious practice over time, as the citational chain is continually added to by these (sometimes disparate) practices of members of the group. This will be seen to better fit the evidence available to archaeologists, who have long been troubled by acts of identity-making which seem to obtain without being "identical" to each other, including those of Quakers as will be discussed in chapter four.

Contextuality and Identification

Religion is contextual when seen as practice because the productive ability of practices to create the appearance of norms and static "rules" of any sort (including religious ones) is fundamentally historical and contextual: Bourdieu's habitus is "history turned into nature," Giddens' "conditions that make these activities possible" are constantly changed as the "duree" of life is constantly added to by further practices and this addition monitored (reflexivity) by those close

enough in time and space. In this view, even though more static (and strict) than not, Butler's "chain of binding conventions" is historically constituted and all performances can only have creative force because they cite earlier ones. Works discussed in the last chapter concerning the relations of religion and other aspects of life also drive this point home: the religious is intimately connected to the economic, the political, and all the other forces of social life.

According to Bell, the way actions are ritualized—that is, differentiated—is also relational and contextual, such that cross-cultural generalizations are non-starters. She writes, "basic to ritualization is the inherent significance it derives from its interplay and contrast with other practices"(Bell 1992: 90). Any act of ritualization, to borrow from the other authors discussed above, is able to mark some actions as privileged only because of a recursive structure establishing (performing, i.e. creating) the values with which they are laden by citing earlier acts of ritualization and reproducing the conditions that make future acts of ritualization possible.

Thus in a very real way, the various communities of which one is a part, the locale of this practical negotiation and the context in which it takes place, are in large part the source of ritualized valuation. Acts of performance and the way earlier practices are cited take place within groups—other people within the "contextuality of time-space"—who constantly monitor practices and judge adherence to norms, norms created in citational precedents. If the group of people we are calling a "religion" is defined by correct citation of a certain group of precedents, then identification—how people see, mark, and create the distinctions and commonalities they have with others in the world—becomes center stage in any study of religion. There is a constant negotiation of what people and practices are inside or outside the norms, are correctly or incorrectly citing what precedents, and what differences have what valuation, and any semblance of a stable "religion" must emerge out of that negotiation in daily life.

I hold "identity" to be the product of a process wherein individuals come together continually creating and recreating a group. These groups are formed in many ways, but always, either implicitly or explicitly, through opposition and exclusion as much as through inclusion and commonality. Of course, any effort to do either can be recast as the other. So "identity" can refer to a socially defined group of people, and "identification" to the process of creating (from inside or out) that group identity.

Identity studies in archaeology are not new, and in the past decade, a number of critiques have argued convincingly that "identity" is multiple, overlapping, and a continuing process rather than separable or static (Clark and Wilkie 2006; contributions to Conlin Casella and Fowler 2004; Joyce 2000a; Joyce 2000b; Meskell 1999; Meskell 2001; Meskell and Preucel 2004; Voss 2006; Wilkie and Hayes 2006). This runs counter to the tradition of identity studies which have often sought to take "an identity" to be a bounded group to which one can (for instance) assign material correlates and define a "signature."

The problems with the "static boundary" approach came to light in archaeology via a number of works engaged with the "third-wave" feminist movement (Clark and Wilkie 2006; Meskell 2001; Wilkie and Hayes 2006), perhaps the first to critique identity studies for a simplistic representation of people as one-dimensional. A fundamental "women's experience"—static throughout place and time—cannot be envisioned because women's experiences are cross-cut by

many other factors (Wylie 1992). As part of a broader critique, their "second-wave" predecessors were faulted for examining only gender. In fact, by not theorizing other aspects of identity, they were taking the experiences of middle-class, white, heterosexual women to be normative (Wilkie and Hayes 2006: 248ff). But gendered experiences cannot help but be shaped by class, race, sex, and other identities, and therefore considerations of past (and present, for that matter) people must not rely on a single variable (Meskell 1999).

Often, identity studies are outlined on the basis of—and so restrict themselves to—a particular aspect of identity: gender, sexuality, class, age, etc. Wood points to the artificial nature of such divisions when she observes that the research priorities of the authors of such works often dictate their attitude towards each aspect (Wood 2004: 211). Recent work has begun to consider the intersections of gender, class, ethnicity/race, age, etc. as they combine differently to produce unique experiences (Meskell and Preucel 2004: 129; Wilkie and Hayes 2006: 249).

In keeping with these critiques, religion needs to be studied in local contexts as it intersects with other influential factors: other identities. Importantly, this approach denies the existence of a "real" version of the religion which is "altered" by local variation: since a religion is only a group of people marking differences given value by a certain set of previous practices, each community or individual or even each separate practice invoking those earlier practices will create slightly different versions of ritual valuation, each equally valuable. The study of a religious group must be the study of all of these different versions of religious identification.

Variation, Unity and Scale

One theme returned to in many aspects of this discussion is variation. Humphrey and Laidlaw (1994) use variation in informants' versions of ritual meanings as part of their justification to dispense with a meaning-centered evaluation of religion. Importantly, whereas other approaches are confounded by variation (how could a ritual continue to be effective if its form changed over time or place?) a practice-based view allows ritual to be less prescribed and fixed. While often a source of focus, Bell (1992: 92) writes that "formality, fixity and repetition are not intrinsic qualities of ritual so much as they are a frequent, but not universal strategy for producing ritualized acts." This ritualization is not mechanical, but activity created by agentive participants: this religion is performed, in Butler's sense. This denies the "dead weight of tradition" in place of an active strategy of replication on the part of human agents. As Butler writes about gender, "Being a man" and "being a woman" are "internally unstable affairs" (Butler 1993: 126). So is being a Buddhist, Catholic, or Quaker.

A major issue with this perspective of identity as practice is the unity of what appeared at the outset to be a group who all shared something fundamental—afterwards shown to be illusory—and who are then seen as all "practicing" similarly—in some cases factually shown to be false. What is it that all members of a group share? Butler's discussion of the power of "norms" suggests that the inquiry be relocated: not what people have in common, but what the discourse produces as a norm they are assumed to have in common. There is no list of practices that all members of a group share, just as there is no "toolkit" of material culture they all possess: rather, there comes to be a norm of action through approximations of the citational precedents which are

seen as being "that which precedes and exceeds the mortal approximations enacted by the subject" (Butler 1993: 14). This is the source for the power of the "norm." While obviously repurposed from Butler's construction, this is at the heart of this view of "a religion" suggested above: a group of people engaged in drawing privileged distinctions in ways of acting (ritualization) based on a particular set of citational precedents.

As this discussion turns to specifics, the flexibility in this way of conceiving of religion will be seen as a particular strength of this approach: the more a study engages with actual peoples' actions and things, the more variation inevitable comes to the surface. Here this is no longer a weakness, to be glossed over or smoothed-out, but becomes a key to understanding both the particular social situation being studied and the nature of the religious group as a whole. As a number of works in the last chapter make clear, the approach taken must be comparative, understanding religion as it is created and performed in different but related ways in different contexts.

A group seen as created in practice is an inherently unstable thing: following others it makes the most sense to refer, generally, to identification, the continuing process of creating that group, rather than a fixed "identity." But if the group is created in and through practice and practice varies, how are we able to maintain even apparently-stable groups? The issue is one of scale in both space and time.

Not all practices have equal impact on the world. A passing comment between two friends may, under unusual circumstances have worldwide ramifications, but the chances of this are less than that of a comment by a politician in a televised speech, or a line in a durable, transportable book. The latter forms have larger scope in both space and time, and thus intrude into more people's lives, what Giddens calls their "contextuality of time-space," becoming monitored by more people reflexively and contributing to the conditions which will form the basis for these agents' next actions. Because these practices are themselves more durable (rather than being re-cited and thus altered) they provide an element of stability to a chain of citations, helping the grouping formed by reference to this chain maintain a level of coherence over space and time greater than if only face-to-face interactions were involved.

However, it is not being suggested here that these larger-scope practices are the ones where all our attention should be focused. Quite the opposite. Suggesting that practices of smaller scope are generally unimportant would be to confuse monitoring of the duree of practices with actually following examples (citing and re-citing the practices) so-monitored: it would be to foreclose the possibility of improvisation, unintended consequences, and "working the norms." Large-scope practices do not dictate behavior like Levi-Straussian "structure." While some practices may have a larger scope, these are often more removed from the daily life of individuals, the locale of most practice. If groups are created performatively in practice, it is in daily life that this performance must occur most often. A treatise on the evils of dancing may spread more widely and extend farther in time but it is only a single practice of ritualization (marking non-dancing as sacred and superior and dancing as profane) making relatively little difference in the world until its readers begin to engage in individual, repeated practices of refusing to dance (citations of the earlier practice of ritualization: the establishment of non-dancing as privileged over dancing accomplished by the text). It is in these actual acts of refusing to dance that this valuation, this

privileged difference is established, that the religious group comes to be through collective refusal to dance. These many small actions *are* the religion in a much deeper sense than the few, often-cited ones which hold it together.

This also clarifies in what sense religion can be productively seen as a *material* category. "Practice" is "anything people do" (Ortner 1984: 149) and from this action springs all of social life: there is no player in this game which has other component parts besides the actions of people. This is Giddens' "duality of structure" as opposed to a "dualism" of two separate forces and, in archaeology, this is the basis behind Joyce and Lopipero's argument that "agency and structure are indivisible parts of a single process through which society is continuously created over time, everything that persists or changes in archaeological sites [comes to be seen as] evidence of agency" (Joyce and Lopiparo 2005: 365). Equally, this is Pauketat's argument that all of Hawkes' "levels" must "exist simultaneously at microscales [of practice] and macroscales [of structure]" and thus are "*are equally accessible to archaeologists!*" (Pauketat 2001: 78-9, emphasis in original).

Practices are only important when they are cited in further practices, otherwise they have no impact, since there is nothing to "structures" outside other practices. As Webb Keane has written, "even where belief is crucial, *it must still take material form.* …Ideas are not transmitted telepathically. They must be exteriorized in some way" (Keane 2008: 230, emphasis in original). Thus, religion is very much a material category—visible and accessible through material remains—because it is materialized in practice in the process of being created: it only comes to be through practices, some of which are highly material (building of sacred spaces or sacrifice), even though others are fleeting (speech). Structures become processes of human action rather than reified monsters, and human action is often (always?) material.

As noted above, this version of religion does not require that every person in a religious group conduct the *same* practices, but merely be engaged with citing the same or related ones. Religion—a group defined by citation of earlier practices—may change over time as the citational chain is continually added to by these (sometimes disparate) practices of members of the group. The distinction between broader-scope practices (such as writing) and more frequent and immediate ones (such as making reference in speech or action to a written work) including material elements of daily life (such as eating fish on Fridays for some Catholics, or eating no meat for some Buddhists) also helps us to see how, despite this variation, such a group can be unified, coalescing around the same large-scale citational precedents which are "that which precedes and exceeds the mortal approximations enacted by the subject" (Butler 1993: 14) yet enacting them in their own contexts, cross-cut by other influences. In every case, these local differences are available to archaeologists working in a comparative frame, like many of those cited in chapter two.

Archaeological Applications: Working "Backward" in Contexts to the "Religious"

An archaeological challenge exists, in this construction, in working "backward" from actions to the way they are marked as different, to the larger values with which these differences are laden, the citational chains which create these, and the groups which cite them. Bell gives little

consideration to the particular forms around which differentiation crystallizes. She writes that the choice of strategy for ritualization "depends in part on which ones could most effectively render the meal [for example] symbolically dominant to its conventional counterparts. The choice would also depend on the particular 'work' the ritualized acts aimed to accomplish in a situation" (Bell 1992: 90-1).

We know that the distinctions drawn are central to the participants, but Bell seems to imply that the relations between these values and the specific ways certain practices are ritualized are effectively arbitrary: "Given this analysis, ritualization could involve the exact repetition of a centuries-old tradition or deliberately radical innovation" (Bell 1992: 91). It is not part of Bell's program to establish the relations of patterns of distinction and the values with which these distinctions are laden, except to assert that they are those which work best to establish two modes of action: a superior ritual one and an inferior conventional one.

How are we to know what is specifically "religious" about such processes? On one level, the question is malformed. The realm of the religious is defined in and through such processes, and thus is different in each context. Bradley calls the division of religious from secular in archaeology a "problem of [the archaeologists'] own making" (Bradley 2003: 20), and many of the studies in chapter two clearly and forcefully argue for interconnections between daily life—ceramic choice, hunting preparations, craft manufacture—and religious motivations. In this respect, the argument that religion cannot be usefully separated from the rest of social life is actually helpful. If ritualized practices may be tied up with any aspect of life, then many more contexts where Bradley's "value-laden distinctions" are drawn may be accessible. For Bell, the "sacred" is created "by virtue of its sheer differentiation from the profane" (Bell 1992: 91) and so the profane is a vital part of understanding the sacred.

But within each context, how are we to see what aspects of ceramic choice, hunting preparations, and craft manufacture are being marked as sacred and which are being conducted as they are for other reasons of economy, environment, etc? This is to engage with the question of religious identification: how the group of people is negotiated and defined. In a 2009 article, I argued that "We speak frequently in archaeological literature of establishing difference, but 'difference' in and of itself could rarely have been an explicit goal of past peoples' actions. The key question is, different in what way?" (Chenoweth 2009: 335). For Richard Bradley, "Ritualization is both a way of acting which reveals some of the dominant concerns of society, and a process by which certain parts of life are selected and provided with an added emphasis" compared to others (Bradley 2003: 12). Both of these constructions imply an archaeological touchstone that is key to articulating Bell's theory of ritual as practice and efforts to understand cultural or religious values through those practices: context.

As shown by a number of the works in chapter two, if a religion is a group of people drawing privileged distinctions between their modes of practice and other practices based on a particular set of precedents (ritualization), then two forms of context are needed to understand the distinctions being drawn between members of that group and others (their identification). That is, to understand the local definition of the sacred and profane and how this definition creates a group of people. A synchronic context is provided by ways of acting by those not of that religious group, who are drawing other distinctions between sacred and secular ways of acting.

A diachronic context is provided by a consideration of the citational chain or precedents which form the ground for further action of ritualization.

Above we noted the differences between large-scope practices, more durable in space and time (intruding on more people's "contextuality of time-space") but less immediate unless re-cited locally, and local-scale practices, far more numerous and immediate, but subject to greater variability. The large-scope practices offer a diachronic view into the chain of practices cited in each instance of ritualized differentiation, the marking and making of what is sacred and secular which also marks and makes the religious group. This comparison of people and practices within these contexts produces both what is "religious" in this particular place and time, the values with which distinctions are laden, and a view to the relationship between larger and more local practices: a negotiation of the different cross-cutting influences.

There is a potential for a problematic slippage here between the differentiation of ways of acting (Bell's ritualization) and differentiation of groups of people (identification). In the case of a religious group, the group as defined here only exists in that members performatively ritualize (differentiate) actions based on a certain set of precedents. This action itself draws distinctions between them and others who draw on a different set of precedents to create different ritualizations. The differentiation of actions creates the differentiation of peoples. Thus understanding how people in social groups delineate "us" and "them" is fundamental to understanding the nature of "us," the group defined by the existence of consensus about valuation of differentiation, the precedents to cite. The creation of ritual differences in practices by a group of people is part of the process of creating difference between those people and others.

A Study of Quakerism

The rest of this study will attempt to put these conceptions—of ritual as practice, of religion as an identity group united by re-citation of large-scope practices, of the creation of religion performatively through citation in local-scale practices cross-cut by other contextual influences—to work, hoping that they add to the understanding of particular people at a particular place and time.

The group of focus here is the Religious Society of Friends, better known as "Quakers," a movement born about 1650 of the economic, political, and religious turmoil of the English Revolution and the late Reformation. This group is interesting for a number of reasons. For one, it was created and spread very much through the written word. Quakers' accounts of their personal and religious struggles, in both personal writings and printed tracts, were passed around from member to member in "a fine web of literate contact" (Walvin 1997: 46), and Quaker groups kept often quite detailed records of their lives as communities as part of a sense of their God-given "historic mission" in the world (Davies 2000: 1). In the approach outlined above, these written works are seen as practices themselves (as are the actions of reading and distributing these works) which are large in their scope, impacting many people's "contextuality of time-space."

As such, these works provide a diachronic view into the chains of practice the citation of which is seen as providing unity to religious groups. Chapter four will describe some of the history of Quakerism. This will be based primarily on written documents: exactly the kind of large-scope practices which lend stability to the citational chain and persist over time. This is the diachronic context for our exploration of Quakerism.

But in addition to the written word, the processes of drawing distinctions between sacred and profane ways of acting (ritualization, thus creating the sacred and profane) employed by Quakers also contained a very practice-theory-like element. Quakerism is conceived of as a faith of practice. For members, "their faith was not put on hold the moment they left the meetinghouse, but entailed a consistent style of personal and social behavior" (Walvin 1997: 56). Vann argues that Quakers distinguished between "convincement" and "conversion" to Quakerism: many people attended meetings and felt "intellectual assent" with Quaker ideology, but true members had to undergo a conversion. This, too, was internally felt, but became expressed by "outward signs" or "public testimonies," the marks or "oddities" in clothing, speech, and action which are seen to define Quakerism. Quoting Theodor Sippell, Vann states that "Quakerism is above all a testimony; it is a permanently-declared appeal to the consciences of all men" (Vann 1969: 188). Thus, the practices of Quakerism became a means of dividing Friend from non-Friend in a way more important and tangible than "belief." That is, members of the Religious Society of Friends recognize consciously the way in which their group is created by continual small actions of practical differentiation of sacred and secular ways of being in the world. Eighteenth-century Quakers put a conception of religion similar to the one outlined above, which was based on anthropological precedents and the corpus of work presented in chapter two, into practice every day.

The recovery of these local practices of ritualization, and the inherent process of identification of which ritualization is a part, poses more of a problem. The recovery of local, repeated, small scale moments of practice is the purview of archaeology, and so the balance of this study will attempt to reconstruct the entwined processes of ritualization and identification of a Quaker group at a particular time and place.

This study hopes that a religion can be best understood when multiple ways of citing the chain of practices which binds the group together are understood. While some archaeological research has been conducted on Quaker-related sites, these have tended to cluster in a few parts of the world: the Northeast US and England. It is hoped that new insight can be gained by examining how this process took place in a very different context, one with very different cross-cutting influences on identification and ritualization, and perhaps even at more of a remove from the unifying chain of precedents. The community chosen for this study is a small group of slaveholding planters in the British Virgin Islands of the Caribbean, who converted to Quakerism about 1740. Archaeological work at the home of one particular family, the Lettsoms, will provide the smallest scale of daily practice as a window into this community.

The synchronic context of these local-scale practices will be drawn out through two other bodies of evidence: the historical context of the British Virgin Islands at that particular time and the particular lives of the Lettsom family, which will be discussed in chapter five, and the comparison to other, non-Quaker Caribbean plantation contexts explored archaeologically. This

latter, rather than being laid out monolithically, will be referenced where relevant in the discussion of the archaeological material in chapters six through ten.

Religion, as thought of here, does not have a single, "real" core against which particular performances can be measured: it is not true that the large-scope practices of writing define the "real" Quakerism which is differentially practiced locally. Rather it may be more productive to see religion as having no core, and the category "the religious," as well as the group "Quaker," can be seen as being created anew in each local context, cross-cut by other influences, and individually interpreted even as they maintain an appearance of coherence through reference to a common set of preceding practices. By studying this process in one place and time, this study hopes to add to the understanding of it elsewhere, though it does not propose a universal approach to religion in archaeology.

At the same time, it does not mean to imply, in its central use of texts, that these are necessary for the study of religion in archaeology. Acts of writing are important windows into the practices of identification which create religious groups, but in and of themselves these written practices of ritualization are, in the formulation used here, neither necessary nor sufficient for understanding religion created locally. Although perhaps with more difficulty and requiring a larger-scale investigation and more sustained effort at comparison within and outside of religious communities over a longer time-spans, the same comparison of local and larger-scope practices, the same charting of variation, and the same exploration of the negotiation of cross-cutting influences in groups of religious identification can most likely be conducted without such written starting points. This, however, is a separate project.

4. Quakerism

As a beginning to our exploration of the process of creating Quakerism among the adherents of the British Virgin Islands in the eighteenth century, this chapter explores some of the larger-scope themes of Quakerism: practices of performance creating the group in other contexts. Included is a brief summary of the long and complex history of the group, and a summary of the archaeological work conducted on Quaker-related sites.

Chains of Practice

I have suggested elsewhere that we cannot use written religious texts as a key to unlock the code of religious symbolism (Chenoweth In Press). Rather than being a "real" version of religious ideology which is then imperfectly mimicked by adherents, written works are themselves the material results of acts of practice, ones that occasion other acts of practice: reading. These practices of reading and writing, as the last chapter suggested, have a larger scope in both space and time than most, and so when used as part of a process of ritualization—the creation of privileged distinctions in practices, establishing the sacred and secular realms—they can have far-reaching consequences even though they are less immediate to daily practice. As religion is being viewed here, these long-term, widespread practices are the backbone of the citational chains of precedent which provide these groups of practice with unity over time and space despite variation locally. These works are one possible window into the diachronic context of practices of ritualization and religious identification.

This chapter primarily explores these large-scope practices in order to establish some of this context. It is only when the more immediate actions of local context are coupled with this background that we can clearly see what is being done differently by a certain group, what is ritualized how, and if and how those actions are connected to the set of precedents which define a religious group over time. This context is provided here through primary writings of and about Quakers, and the historical exegesis created to comment on these in the three and a half centuries since the movement began.

But at the outset it should be made very explicit that the perspectives and habits discussed here are not being offered as a "real" or original version of Quakerism: rather their creation, distribution, and consumption are practices which have been incrementally *a part* of the creation of Quakerism, coupled with the far more immediate and more local daily practices of Quakers growing their crops, preparing their food, building their houses, as much as meeting together for worship and following "testimonies" which define them in most peoples' eyes. This is as true for the historical discussions of the group as it is for the primary sources, for if social scientists are part of the creation of social groups (Latour 2005), then so are historians.

The fact that much of this chapter discusses sentiments and ideas broadly-agreed among Quakers living within a generation or two of the Lettsoms is a function of both the generality of these ideas and the stability they offer to the citational chain, offering an appearance of stability over time and agreement between people about what it is to be a Quaker. Like all general statements, they are most likely variously put into practice by individuals in the real world, and as discussed in chapter three, these practices themselves compose the group, the religion.

Quakerism's Roots and Chronology

The social, economic, political, and religious context from which Quakerism arose was one of conflict, debate, and unease. The political and economic issues of the first half of the seventeenth century culminated in the English Civil War of 1642, the execution of King Charles I in 1649, and institution of a decade of Commonwealth rule under Cromwell before the Restoration of Charles II in 1660. The religious conflicts of the period have even deeper roots, in the beginnings of the sixteenth century and the Reformation, through the rise of Puritanism, of which Quakerism can be seen as a part. The influence of these events on the group which came to be known as Quakers, and the emergence of that group is a story better told by other sources (Braithwaite 1923; Braithwaite 1961; Dandelion 2007; Davies 2000; Tolles 1960; Vann 1969). This section, drawing heavily on these sources, will attempt only a brief sketch.

Foundations

George Fox, often credited as the movement's principle founder, later wrote of how in 1647 at age nineteen he wandered the English countryside, consulting with Ministers and other religious figures, trying to rectify religious teachings with the laws, the church, and the customs of his day. Finally, he writes,

> … when all my hopes in them [Christian ministers] and in all men was gone, so that I had nothing outwardly to help me, nor could tell what to do, then, Oh then I heard a voice which said, "There is one, even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy condition," and when I heard it, my heart did leap for joy. Then the Lord did let me see why there was none upon the earth that could speak to my condition… And this I knew experimentally [i.e. through direct experience]. My desires after the Lord grew stronger, and zeal in the pure knowledge of God and of Christ alone, without help of any man, book, or writing. For though I read the Scriptures that spoke of Christ and of God, yet I knew him not but by revelation (Fox 1952: 11).

Quakers believed that they were returning to what they called "primitive Christianity," or what Christianity was and should have been without the interference of hierarchical structures of the Catholic, and later Anglican Church, products of man and not God. The fundamental tenet of Quakerism is that there is "that of God in everyone" and that all people can have an immediate, unmediated experience with God through what they called the "Inner Light." Rather than reliance on a "closed revelation," a message from God that took place through Jesus and the

events of the Bible and is finished, Quakers embraced the idea that God's speaking to humans is continual and that anyone could receive it at any time, without set prayers or specific buildings. This lead directly to three terms of focus which, though differently interpreted, have always been at the core of Quaker belief: simplicity, equality, and peace.

Earthly places and things, even religious ones like churches, vestments, and communion vessels, were works of people and so removed from the true experience of God, possible only through inward searching. To turn this idea around, if no part of the world or of life was more holy than another (no sacred places or holidays) then *all* aspects of life must be conducted in a righteous manner. One could not be a Quaker only on "First days" (many rejected named days and months because of their pagan origins) or only in some activities: one's ideals must influence all aspects of life, such that how one earned a living, taught one's children, even ate and drank should be informed in some way by Quakerism.

More problematically in a social context, Fox (1952: 7) "saw clearly…that to be bred at Oxford or Cambridge was not enough to make a man fit to be a minister of Christ" and so ordained ministers and priests had no special knowledge of God. This, along with a rejection of oaths, tithes, and practices of "hat honor" (a derogatory Quaker term for signs of respect to social "betters") all based on scriptural arguments, brought them into direct conflict with the state as well as the church, the two being deeply intertwined in Reformation England. All people had equal access to the Inner Light, and so none—not even a King—was deserving of more respect than another.

The most well-known result of the ideology is perhaps the form of Quaker worship. Members meet together and sit in silence, waiting for one to be "moved by the Lord" to speak and share some inward unfolding of truth or prayer. There is no organization to this practice, and any person present may speak, including, in a truly radical move for this time, women. Robert Barclay, an early Quaker writer, wrote of this form of worship that it "consisteth not in words, so neither in silence, as silence; but in a holy dependence of the mind upon God from which…silence naturally flows until words can be brought forth which are from God's Spirit" (quoted in Barbour and Frost 1988: 40).

As a consequence of these ideas, Quakers also rejected a number of "worldly" institutions and practices on religious grounds, just as they rejected Anglican worship as being the product of human beings and not God. For one, people must see past "earthy" and "fleshy" things, things of this world:

> But while people's minds do run in the earthly, after the creatures and changeable things, and changeable ways and religions, and changeable, uncertain teachers, their minds are in bondage. And they are brittle and changeable, and tossed up and down with windy doctrines and thoughts., and notions and things, their minds being from the unchangeable truth in the inward parts, the light of Jesus Christ, which would keep their minds to the unchangeable…(Fox 1952: 13).

There is a subtly to living this way: intentions and inner thoughts are paramount and outward appearances stem from these, but are often less of an issue in and of themselves. For instance,

wealth was not sinful, but lusting after money was, along with anything which implied pride or vanity or implied a placement of mortals on a level of the divine. This is often encapsulated in the word "superfluities," implying things not necessary or worthy of effort, and was thus connected to ideas about waste of time, money, or resources. There was always a better way to spend one's time, something more productive that could be done for one's own welfare and that of others, spiritual and material. Charity, thus, was both giving funds to help the poor and making wasteful practices, such as turning perfectly good grain into alcohol while people went without bread, illegal and so preventing such sin. Alcohol itself was not sinful, but wasteful if there was better use for the grain, and occasioned sinful behavior when taken to excess.

Conflict, Millennial Fervor, and the Seventeenth Century

Fox's itinerant preaching quickly gained followers (literally, in many cases, as the movement and its leaders were wanderers in their early days) including some wealthy and influential people, like Judge Fell and his wife Margaret, owners of Swarthmoor Hall, which early became a sort of headquarters for the group. From here, in a more or less organized fashion, Quaker ministers traveled out into England, and met to plan, write, and finance the project of returning the world to Primitive Christianity. This nascent organization begins one of the defining contradictions of Quakerism: it was based on a rejection of temporal hierarchy in religion, and yet to achieve any of its ends, it needed to adopt some elements of earthly organization.

Quaker actions in the first few years of the group are often presented, by contemporaries and present-day scholars alike, as extreme. The earliest Friends were often disruptive of traditional services, which they saw as corrupted by human hands, and quick to debate with Anglican priests. Sometimes these efforts to gain attention and conversion from the "fleshy" old religion took more extreme forms yet, including those who would "run naked through the street calling people to repentance" (Davies 2000: 6). Others simply declaimed to anyone who would listen to what they felt God had given them to say: "Some stand in the market place…and cry 'Repent, repent, woe, woe, the judge of the world has come'" (Barbour and Frost 1988: 28).

Membership or even strict definition of Quaker beliefs was not an issue to the earliest Friends, nor did they maintain a self-image as a separate coherent body. Rather, "they were animated instead by the conviction that the direct operations of the Spirit of God were to supersede all existing religious institutions" (Vann 1969: 123). In a millennial fervor, these earliest Friends cared little for formal institutions, membership, or defining their doctrines precisely; these were irrelevant, since everyone would soon be reached by the Light and become like them. This new Church was to have no connection with the State, no creed or hierarchical structure, "no *essential* forms, rites, ritual, or ceremonies. It was not even to be an "organization" in the strict sense of the word" (Jones 1921: xxv).

All these actions brought Quakers into repeated conflict with others, and the result was often violent persecution. In his "Journal," George Fox wrote:

> And when I began to speak, they fell upon me, and the clerk up with his Bible as I was speaking and hit me in the face that my face gushed out with blood, and it run

> off me in the steeplehouse [i.e. church]. And then they cried, 'Take him out of the church,' and they punched me and thrust me out and beat me sore with books, fists and sticks, and threw me over a hedge into a close and there beat me and then threw me back over again (Fox 1952: 98-99).

Many Friends spent time in prison, including Fox (seven times for charges ranging from refusal of oaths to blasphemy), and were deprived of livelihoods and property for their beliefs. In the first dozen years of George Fox's preaching, twenty-one of his associates or followers are known to have died in prison or otherwise as a result of their faith (Nuttall 1952: xix) and over 400 did so throughout the course of the seventeenth century (Davies 2000: 178). This persecution was particularly intense during the Restoration, after Charles II came to power and before the so-called "Glorious Revolution" of 1688 (Barbour and Frost 1988: 5).

This persecution was one of the forces behind the creation of a more formal structure to Quakerism. Beginning as "Meetings for Sufferings" which combined resources to offer assistance to those suffering for their faith and organized to lobby the government for better treatment, there eventually arose a formal system of local, Monthly, and Yearly Meetings of Friends, discussed more below.

Early on in the movement, Friends also traveled far beyond England to spread their ideas. As early as 1655 Friends had journeyed to British colonies in the New World as well as Continental Europe and the Mideast (Barbour and Frost 1988: 32; Tolles 1960: 9-10). This culminated in 1671 when George Fox himself and a dozen fellows traveled to the Caribbean and British colonies in North America to visit existing Friends, convert new ones, and spread the formal structure of Meetings (Tolles 1960: 12). Friends were attacked for their disruptions and disobedience in the colonies as much as in England (Langford 1706). This work would also establish a long tradition of traveling and missionizing on behalf of Quaker ideology, which, though changed, was influential into the nineteenth century and in some ways survives today.

Quietude, Quaker Grandees, and the Eighteenth Century

The beginning of the eighteenth century for Quakers was characterized by Braithwaite, a well-known Quaker historian, as "a period of quietude" (Braithwaite 1923). After the "Glorious Revolution" in 1688 and the Act of Toleration in 1689, they were no longer subject to the constant, active persecution of the early years which drove William Penn to found his "Holy Experiment" of Philadelphia in 1682. With such acceptance, also Quakers stopped trying to convert the world, the imminent apocalypse seemed less imminent, and they concentrated on living their own lives in "a Godly manner" and ensuring their security to do so. Barbour and Frost write that "it became clear that 'the Children of the Light' [an early term for Quakers, see Braithwaite (1923)] would not replace the Church of England" (Barbour and Frost 1988: 5).

In stark contrast to the millennial troublemakers of the previous decades, a second image of Quakers emerges from this period, that of the "Quaker Grandees" of Frederick Tolles, whose writing details this period in Philadelphia. Along with toleration and wealth came a "turning inward" and insularity: rather than trying to convert the world, Quakers focused on their

community and worked to minimize their conflict and sometimes even their contact with "world's people." These were second or third generation Quakers whose families had become wealthy, some suggest as a result of their Quaker-inspired work ethic or Quaker connections (Tolles 1963 [1948]: 89), and composed a group of gentry who interpreted Quaker simplicity and ideals somewhat differently. An often quoted dictum of Quaker life in the eighteenth century is that one should endeavor to have the "best sort, but plain" in all manner of things (John Reynell 1738, qtd. in Tolles 1960: 88).

In his famous *Meeting House and Counting House* Tolles (1963 [1948]) defined the "two plantations" as an apt metaphor for Quaker endeavor: the one being an internal, religious nurturing of communion with God, and the other being an outward, financial one. The emphasis on the second plantation is not as inconsistent as it might seem. A measure of wealth and stability was recognized early on as a practical necessity to Quakerly living: if one must live all aspects of one's life righteously, one must also have a home to live in and enough food to eat. This wealth is also tied to a system of mutual support among Quakers discussed more below.

This quietude ended in a period of internal upheaval around the middle of the eighteenth century. This was most keenly felt in Pennsylvania, as detailed by historian Jack Marietta (1984), where members struggled with the conflicts between their peace testimony and their possession of political power in the colony. Though rarely at the highest level, Quakers had generally controlled the political machinery of Pennsylvania from its earliest days through the 1740s. But on a certain level politics meant responding to practical demands, including orders from London to engage in military preparations and action, a direct conflict with Quaker pacifism. The "Seven Years" or "French and Indian" War of 1754-1763 brought the issue to a head, and the Society ultimately chose to abandon political power and return to a more strict interpretation of pacifism. This also resulted in damage to their numbers, as they disowned up to a fifth of their members from 1760 to the revolutionary war for balking at this new standard of disengagement with political power and anything related to preparations for violent conflict. Members who supported the Revolution and were disowned in large numbers and created their own community of "Free Quakers" in Philadelphia.

During this period, Quaker groups outside the US northeast and England receive little attention by historians. Throughout, occasional members of the Meetings in these "core" places were still "moved by the Lord" to make journeys to spread their views, and others preached Quaker values when they traveled on secular business as well. In 1727, and again in 1738, 1741, and 1742, Quaker merchant-missionaries visited the little island of Tortola, at first by chance on their own business, then later by the request of John Pickering, then the lieutenant governor—the highest ranking position in the colony. This is at a time when few governors allowed Quaker ministers to visit their colonies and stir up trouble. By 1741 Pickering was at the center of a small group of Quaker converts in the BVI, which eventually numbered up to about 85 members. Of course, this group will be discussed further in the next chapter. This group is the exception, however, in the Caribbean, and most Quaker communities ended there by the early decades of the eighteenth century as members died, left the Meetings, or returned to England with their wealth (Durham 1972).

The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

The last two centuries of Quakerism have been marked by schism and change. Complete agreement over matters of doctrine was always an unreachable goal (although one no less in the minds of many Quakers) and splits over precisely what the group should say, do, and believe were present in the earliest days. In the early nineteenth century, divisions inherent in Quakerism almost from its start came to a head. A more evangelical group coalesced around rejections of over-reliance on reason and of the quietist tendency, arguing that they needed to resume missionary work, focus on the Bible, and lobby secular government for temperance, prison reform, peace, and antislavery (Barbour and Frost 1988: 171). These Quakers, who would eventually be called "Orthodox," also focused on establishing a personal relationship with the Biblical Jesus, and may have been influenced by Methodism (Philadelphia Yearly Meeting 1997: 7). (Methodism became a major force in the British Virgin Islands after 1789, when the first missionaries arrived in Tortola, and these were friendly with Dorcas Lille, a former member of Tortola's Quaker community then living on St. Croix, but there is not enough evidence to clearly ally BVI Quakers with one or another of these divisions of Quakerism in the nineteenth century, both nascent during the time of the Tortola Meeting.)

In 1827, a formal split occurred between this latter group and the other, termed "Hicksite" after their most eloquent minister Elias Hicks, or "liberal" by some contemporaries. Hick "believed in the divinity of Jesus Christ, but emphasized the primacy of the Inner Light, and deplored creedal statements" (Philadelphia Yearly Meeting 1997: 7) more in the tradition of the earliest preachers of Quakerism. Hicksite ministers "preached under the direct leading of the spirit" (Barbour and Frost 1988: 173). For more than a century following, there were two separate organizational structures, both calling themselves, for instance, the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, and both claiming to represent "true" Quakerism.

Meanwhile, Quakerism in both these forms traveled westward along with the rest of America, establishing Meetings in Ohio, Indiana, Iowa, and California by midcentury. In time, the common commitments of both groups to effecting reform in the secular world and supporting the cause of world peace formed the foundation for a formal reconciliation, which occurred in 1955. The last half-century of Quakerism has been marked by activism against racial and economic injustice, against all manner of wars, and by expansion into the rest of the world. Quaker missionary work, centered on education and community assistance as much as on preaching, came to the Mideast in the 1860s, in the Pacific, India, Jamaica, and Japan in the later years of the nineteenth century, in Kenya in 1902 and Guatemala and Cuba that same year, and in Bolivia in 1920 (Barbour and Frost 1988: 274-5). Though altered, Quakerism survives in a varied group of about 350,000 members or "Friends"(Friends World Committee for Consultation 2008). The group is probably best known today for peace activism and winning the 1947 Nobel Peace Prize.

Themes of Quakerism: Practices of Precedent and their Contexts

Quakerism as a Religion of Practice and "Public Relations"

Quakerism is a faith of practice. For George Fox, there was an "explicit equation of gospel with behavior…of a certain kind" which Nuttall sees as "a key to much in Quakerism" (Nuttall 1952: xxii). Historians have since noted that, for Fox's followers, "their faith was not put on hold the moment they left the meetinghouse, but entailed a consistent style of personal and social behavior" (Walvin 1997: 56). For Tolles, divine and natural law are linked and religion must be practiced *in* the world (Tolles 1963 [1948]: 9-10). Davies writes, "the Quaker religion was all-embracing, for attaining salvation and satisfying God's will on earth were achieved not only by avoidance of church worship, ritual, and dues but also by the manner in which members went about their daily lives, even by their language, dress, and bodily carriage" (Davies 2000: 2-3). The last section described the violent persecutions Quakers were subject to in the seventeenth century as a result of their disruptive actions and rejections of certain practices on religious grounds. Yet the nature of Quaker religious thought insists that they continue to actively and publically proclaim their religion. They could not hide their Quakerism, whatever persecutions they might face.

Historian Cynthia Herrup (1987: 193) has argued that there is a "gap between the law as written and law as lived" in the early modern English system of common law. She writes that there was a "strikingly…broad, participatory base" behind its workings: from the constables to the gaolers to the watchmen and Justices of the Peace, legal cases were not formulaic operations as they are today but a series of choices. Any of those individuals, in order to maintain "the common peace" as they understood it might make decisions which may not have been technically "legal" or "correct" interpretations of the law. For Quakers, this meant that there persecution (or not) was in the hands of their neighbors.

There was, therefore, a need to be concerned with "public relations" in the community, since that community was partially responsible for the persecution (or prosecution, depending on one's perspective) of Quaker dissenters. This led towards a dual concern for early modern English Quakers: first to deny association with those who act improperly, and second to ensure that acknowledged members of the group were prevented from immoral public behavior through a "policing" of their own community. "Improper" and "immoral" here are more than un-criminal, although that is obviously included: Quakers needed to present a solid front. This concern is related to, but separate from the concern members had with policing the actions of other members to prevent spiritual misconduct.

What Vann refers to as the "constant emphasis on preserving the good name of Quakerism" was also related to the tenuous nature of toleration on legal grounds (Vann 1969: 140-1). Acts such as the Toleration Act and Affirmation Act allowed a more peaceful co-existence with "World's People," but the laws which established these exceptions explicitly required periodic renewal, and such renewal was conditional on Friends "behaving as responsible subjects" of the king (Frost 2002: 25). For the purposes of the renewal of these laws, this judgment would obviously be made of the group as whole, not individual members.

In the early days, Friends were accused of many crimes by those who disapproved of their disruption of the peace or theology in an apparent effort to have them quieted by higher powers. George Fox, for instance, was accused of blasphemy, claiming to be Christ, heresy, sedition, witchcraft, claiming equality with God, plotting against the king and plotting to restore the king, among other crimes (Fox 1952). Such accusations "conspired to rivet the idea of group respectability into the structure of Quaker discipline. Since persecution was so often based on the identification of Friends with such disreputable groups as the Fifth-monarchy men, it became a vital interest of the group to keep its honor and reputation unspotted" (Vann 1969: 140-1). Clarification of who was a Quaker, and therefore whose actions might reflect on the group as a whole, then, becomes vital to maintaining the safety of Friends, and Quakers have often been concerned with defining the group, drawing lines clear between members and others.

Evidence for this concern as well as the concern over public image is provided by the way Quakers disciplined their members, and their greatest punishment: disownment. Discipline was an explicitly public affair. Marietta describes how, in addition to justly compensating any victims of a transgression, erring Friends had to put their sins in writing, have this writing approved by the Meeting, and then attend while it was read out to the entire congregation (Marietta 1984: 7-8). This paper, sinners were explicitly ordered, must include a statement that "the evil action was not in accordance with Friends' principles" (Vann 1969: 138). But this was only the start of the penitent's ordeal, for the "Yearly Meeting ordered that the 'condemnation be published…in such a manner that it may reach as far and become as publick as the offense hath been'" (Marietta 1984: 9). Marietta goes on to describe how this may have included posting on the Meetinghouse door or in the marketplace, communicating the paper to a specific group which had been wronged, and even—in extraordinary cases—having the condemnation printed and distributed as far away as New York, London, Barbados, and Antigua! The reconciliation of a contrite Friend with the meeting was made public "not intend[ing] to humble the offender; [the publications] were rather designed to show that the evil deed was not in harmony with Friends' principles" (Vann 1969: 138).

When discipline failed, the greatest punishment Quakers had for each other was "disowning" or expelling from the meeting, and denial of association. This too, and a detailed account of the reasoning behind it was widely publicized by Friends, in order to ensure that the actions of the no-longer Friend would not reflect on the Society. Importantly, disowning was not undertaken vindictively or as part of a punishment, nor was it seen as a condemnation of a person's soul or a fall from the state of grace (Marietta 1984: 10; Vann 1969: 131). Instead, the process was entirely about public perceptions of the remaining Quakers, and what non-members might believe to be true of Quakers in general. Vann's evidence for this is that matters of discipline were dropped for those who made no pretensions to membership (Vann 1969: 131-2).

Friends thus clarified their membership, explicitly signaling who was and was not a member and what actions were and were not approved by the community, in order to protect themselves from accusations of wrongdoing or from association with those known to have done wrong. This concern with public opinion, in turn, had a direct bearing on Quakers' abilities to continue to practice their religion and live in the world.

Insular Communities, Oversight, Meeting Structure, and a Mutual Support Network

While a religious community, conversion to Quakerism also had many practical consequences. For one, the Church of England was so tied into daily life that removal from it posed many unexpected problems for early Quakers. For instance, inheritance was confirmed by baptismal and marriage records kept by the parish Church, which also distributed poor relief to those in need. These roles would have to be taken up another structure for members to continue to function in society, another impetus behind the formal structure of "Meetings" or local groups of Quakers which was organized. The structure which resulted, primarily the work of George Fox in the 1670s, not only functioned as the nucleus of Quaker communities, but had substantial effects in other areas of life: economics, business, and material culture. Usually, after the first decades of the group, this was centered on a physical structure, a Meetinghouse, but this was not a requirement.

Formal Quaker social and religious practices are divided between Meetings for Worship and Meetings for Business. The former, in keeping with Quakerism's fundamental principle that God is everywhere as well as in all people, could be and often were held anywhere and anytime. Consecrated ground was not a requirement; in fact, it was anathema to many early Quakers, and an impossibility strictly speaking, since no one piece of land was more or less holy than the next, all being of God. Services were often held more than weekly and in people's homes, outdoor spaces, or secular meeting halls. The records of the Tortola Meeting make it clear that such services were held there formally twice a week in the group's Meetinghouses in Road Town and Fat Hog's Bay, but also in the homes of various members, both in groups and apart, as families probably worshipped together in their own homes or those of their close neighbors.

Monthly Meetings for Business, or "Meetings for Discipline" as they were often called early on were held much more formally. All members were expected to attend to consult on financial matters pertaining to the group ownership of land or buildings and the moral and social oversight of the community, as well as to contribute their money and their time in the form of tasks assigned to many members. These included writing letters, visiting other members, or conducting some business on the Meeting's behalf. Several Meetings for Worship (a generally undefined group) would participate in one "Monthly Meeting" for these ends, a group akin to a parish in the Anglican or Catholic churches. Monthly Meetings, in turn, would each send representatives to a "Quarterly" Meeting four times a year to discuss matters of regional importance, and these chose the members of the Yearly Meeting. There were Yearly Meetings in London, New England, New York, Philadelphia, and other colonies, usually in urban centers. In more recent times, these groups also gathered in a "Five Years" Meeting.

Meetings coordinated matters of doctrine and practicalities, such as maintaining Meetinghouses, but their primary purpose was social assistance and social oversight of members. These were spiritual and secular, since these two areas were intertwined or overlapped entirely for Quakers. For instance, on economic oversight, Walvin writes, "Quakers feared the public shame that commercial failure would bring on the Society" and this fear lead to the financial pressure he argues Meetings exerting on members (Walvin 1997: 56). "Businessmen were under the permanent scrutiny of their immediate meeting. Whenever a member was in financial trouble,

when doubts or complaints surfaced about business practice, bad debts, poor judgment or, worst of all, insolvency, a deputation from the meeting would examine the matter" (Walvin 1997: 72).

For Meetings, according to Walvin, the issue was a concern for public relations (Walvin 1997: 73), although the initial need for "plain-dealing" was religious. But the result was economic: "that outsiders were aware of these internal pressures upon Quakers served to strengthen their reputation. Which other commercial interest could make such claims of probity?" (Walvin 1997: 79). In the early days of the English banking system, with little regulation and great risk, Meeting oversight of members business practices guaranteed "plain business-dealing" and lowered the risk associated with doing business with a member of a Meeting.

Oversight and regulation also came with assistance and support. Poor relief (something traditionally the responsibility of the Anglican Church) and education (often religious in its goals) were central goals for the Meeting community. George Fox and Robert Barclay explicitly argued that caring for poor, elderly, and orphaned members was a necessity, and this was part of the justification for the creation of the membership structure (Vann 1969: 143). While "we were taught to do good unto all" Quakers focus in charity should be "especially unto the household of faith [i.e. Quakers]" (Fox 1952: 373). Tolles suggests that the source of this support lies in the concept of a "holy community" in which "need anywhere in the fellowship represented a moral claim upon the wealth of the other members" (Tolles 1963 [1948]: 65). Every member had equal access to "that of God" and so deserved sympathy and assistance from her or his fellows, and this supplemented the principle that those unable to eat would also be unable to seek the Inner Light.

In organizing the structure of Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly Meetings, Fox's plan also included a program of scholarships for the children of members to be apprenticed, thus strengthening the Quaker community (Fox 1952: 557). Their early exclusion from grammar schools and university led to Quaker self-reliance on the issue of education which continued after persecution ended. Education was to include "whatsoever things were civil and useful in the creation," but was also to be done in a strictly Quakerly manner by honest, sober Friends (Frost 2002: 25; Walvin 1997: 38, 96). This attention to education may be partly behind the financial success Quakers encountered, but Frost suggests that it also was done to encouraged further separation from others and insularity in the community. For instance, performance of the plainness testimonies "would serve as a kind of hedge or 'enclosed garden' that would help circumscribe correct behavior on children and their parents" (Frost 2002: 25). There was danger in acting otherwise: "Children were impressionable and malleable, Quaker reformers almost uniformly believed, and so the evil tendencies of children ought to be corrected and excellent lessons taught" (Marietta 1984: 59). Separation from the world would prevent bad examples for children, allowing them to develop into adult members with the proper attitude towards Quaker practices.

"Simplicity," "Equality," and "Peace"

These terms are cited by Tolles (1963 [1948]: 8) as being the source behind all Quaker customs and actions, but it must be remembered that these terms have been subject to reinterpretation over a period of three and a half centuries, and probably are reconsidered daily by members.

Often taken as relatively straightforward ideas, principles leading directly to prescriptive rules to be followed by members, these terms have in fact been debated and even agonized over by generations of Quakers and by generations of historians and other authors considering them.

For many Quakers, blind calls to follow rules could interfere with Quakerly practice rather than express it. In two different centuries, Margaret Fell and Anthony Benezet both wrote against the "observance of outward things" and "calls to follow fashion" in religious conduct in place of actual, inward piety (Lapsansky 2002: 2). We are reminded by historian J. William Frost that, "the earliest writings of Friends were not concerned with outward appearance, except insofar as all conduct manifested whether or not the person had harkened to the Inward Light of Christ"(Frost 2002: 16).

Equality, a logical conclusion to be reached from the proposition that there is "that of God in every one," was actually less stressed by early Friends than modern ones (Barbour and Frost 1988: 43). William Penn wrote that "tho' [God] has made of one Blood, all Nations, he has not ranged or dignified them upon the *Level*, but in a Sort of subordination and Dependency" (Tolles 1963 [1948]: 110, emphasis in original). God might speak through any person, regardless of gender, social status or education, and this was emphasized by some early Quaker leaders, such as Margaret Fell, but when the early radical period ended, this testimony was "transformed…into a more secular concern, shallower but broader, regarding the poor" (Barbour and Frost 1988: 44). There was thus a sense of spiritual equality, wherein all people might speak to God, but in practicality this was largely limited to expressions of charity. Quaker burial practices, discussed more below, are also thought to follow this ideal with the rejection of headstones, enforcing a "dust to dust" mentality.

Simplicity was embraced as a rejection of pride, which could be occasioned through expressions of wealth or extravagance, and of waste, in which some go hungry while others feast. It was also expressed in plain living, having no more than necessary, and in "integrity in all human relationships" including truth-telling, fair business practices, and for much of the history of Quakerism a rejection of art, music, and other "entertainments" (Tolles 1963 [1948]: 8-9). At some periods this was expressed in a near-uniform adoption of simply-cut, uncolored clothing. Houses could be plain and yet just as large as those of contemporary Anglicans of the same wealth, perhaps with more austerity and less elaboration (Tolles 1963 [1948]: 127). So "simplicity" does not mean having little; rather, if one is wealthy, simplicity is to "not become a slave to such resources or feel diminished without them" (Lapsansky 2002: 6). This complex idea is often summed up by Quakers as "living in the world, but not of it."

The spending of money or resources was not considered to be a problem in itself as long as it was not excessive, and "excessive" was seen to be very much a relative term: in at least some contexts it was spending more than one was able while still providing the important things in life or living "of" the world: focusing too much on material things. Thus, "a family who showed up regularly for Meeting, contributed funds, and sent their children to Quaker school might receive more leeway even though their house appeared a little grand, particularly if the family could afford it. But woe be to them if after such indulgence the father got into financial difficulties" (Frost 2002: 27). Thus, some Quaker merchants could see themselves as "living plainly relative

to their station" (Frost 2002: 24), a comment with also informs ideas of "equality" which do not seem to be inconsistent with class or economic differentiation, at least in the minds of some.

Wealthy Quakers, then, need not be a contradiction in terms, but what mattered was what was done with their wealth. Specifically, waste was considered a great sin as it endangered Quaker family's stability. By contrast, personal industry was Godly. Historian Frederick Tolles writes, of early Quakers in Philadelphia, ""The virtues of industry and frugality were held in high repute among Quakers. Idleness was looked upon with horror as the breeder of vice and a vain conversation and Friends regarded diligence in a warrantable calling as a religious duty" (Tolles 1963 [1948]: 57). Thomas Chalkley, the first missionary to the little group in Tortola, is notably quoted by Tolles here as approving of these sentiments. William Penn himself wrote against religious monasteries where monks engaged in "a lazy, rusty, unprofitable Self-Denial, burdensome to others to feed their Idleness" (quoted in Walvin 1997: 73). It was far better to be productive and become wealthy (so long as wealth itself was not the goal) than to be lazy—whether attributed to Godliness or not—and consume resources yet contribute nothing to society. Waste was closely tied to alcohol, for its production consumed large quantities of grain better used to feed the hungry, but this does not mean that alcohol was always sinful.

The testimony of "Peace" has had perhaps the greatest effect on the course of the society and its members' lives, being the force behind the pacifism and anti-war activism which has both brought them into conflict with governments and brought them recognition—for instance the 1947 Nobel Peace Prize—throughout their history. Pacifism was one of the earliest elements of Quaker belief, based in a recognition "of the inconsistency of warfare with the perfectionist ethic of the New Testament" (Tolles 1963 [1948]: 9). Fox argued, based on the Bible, that "wars come from inner desires and lusts; the true struggle against evil is therefore within men" (Barbour and Frost 1988: 45). Barbour and Frost also note that the dangers of the political shifts in power in England during the early period of Quakerism made it extremely useful to claim that Quakers engaged in the military support of none.

Marietta argues that during the complacent early part of the eighteenth century, a concern with avoiding or preventing violence against other people was replaced with a mere concern with Quaker complicity with war (Marietta 1984: 170). That is, they were not concerned with wars occurring, merely with getting their hands dirty. The reformation of Quaker values that Marietta argues occurred at mid-century coincides with the French and Indian War and, when Friends attempted to reassert the peace testimony, produced a backlash which led both to a pulling away from political power among Quakers and to a substantial increase in disownments. This suggests that not all members of the group understood the idea of non-violence in the same way, and some were willing to be removed from the Quaker community rather than alter their views.

"Testimonies" and "Oddities"

Vann argues that Quakers distinguished between "convincement" and "conversion" to Quakerism: many people attended meetings and felt "intellectual assent" with Quaker ideology, but true members had to undergo a conversion. This, too, was internally felt, but became expressed by "outward signs" or "public testimonies." Quoting Theodor Sippell, a German

historian and theologian, Vann (1969: 188) states that "Quakerism is above all a testimony; it is a permanently-declared appeal to the consciences of all men." Thus, the practices of Quakerism became a means of dividing Friend from non-Friend in a way more important and tangible than "belief." It became a means of identity-making as well as being a religious necessity.

These testimonies—specific directives on dress, style, speech, etc.—received increasing attention over the eighteenth century. The specific actions taken by Quakers as a result of (and creating) their Quakerism is an issue to be investigated in this study, and any effort to codify them should be seen, following Giddens (1984: 23), as an "interpretation," as well as a single act of practice among the many which are part of that creation and identification (see chapter three). Nonetheless, particular authors' descriptions of these practices show some useful patterns.

One of the more explicit contemporary descriptions is provided by Gough in a footnote to his *History of the People Called Quakers*. A few highlights from the passage will be useful. He writes,

> The practices of uncovering the head, bowing, and bending the knee, being marks of divine worship, they think, as such, are marks of reverence not due from man to his fellow-creature, but ought to be peculiarly reserved for the worship of their Creator, since according to the doctrine of the Apostle Paul, the head is to be uncovered in worshipping him, as a mark of veneration….
>
> they scruple compliance with these customs because they were received…through the polluted channel of Paganism in its most corrupted state. The eastern monarchs, enervated by luxury, intoxicated by the flattery of pernicious parasites, and debauched by pride and by power, were so elevated above the common state of mankind, that they seemed to look upon themselves as something more than mortals (Gough 1789: 76-77).

Gough goes on to source Quaker refusal to use "you" of a single person in the pagan nature of the Classical languages from which the custom stems, along with "extravagant epithets" being used to flatter Roman emperors, seen as being from an "age of gross degeneracy" when people were "servile and stupid enough to flatter with divine attributes while living, and enroll them [i.e. the Emperors] among their imaginary Deities when dead" (Gough 1789: 77-78). These passages also show the particular and complex relationship Quakers had with the Bible, as well, since it is the basis for many of the arguments presented, but they are quite clear that the Bible itself is not sufficient for a knowledge of God. Fox writes,

> I saw that the grace of God which brings salvation, had appeared to all men and that the manifestation of the Spirit of God was given to every man to profit withal. These things I did not see by the help of man, nor by letter, though they are written in the letter, but I saw them in the light of the Lord Jesus Christ, and by his immediate Spirit and power, as did the holy men of God, by whom the Holy Scriptures were written. Yet I had no slight esteem of the Holy Scriptures, but they were very precious to me, for I was in that spirit by which they were given

> forth, and what the Lord opened in me I afterwards found was agreeable to them (Fox 1952: 34).

It is interesting that while some Quaker ideals discussed earlier in this chapter are based on logical progression from the ideas of simplicity, equality, and peace, the emphasis here is on association with pagan practices. Others have suggested that Quaker testimonies have more secular ends. Vann goes so far as to suggest that such practices came to stem not from internal holiness but from the "preference for cultural habits which friends' children automatically acquired in the family" and became routinized (Vann 1969: 189). He suggests that in the maintenance of a particular set of dress, without regard to changing fashions, such dress became a "uniform" rather than an expression of honest simplicity. "Conversion to Quakerism, at least insofar as it had to be judged by 'taking up a public testimony,' thus entailed the necessity of buying a new set of clothes; the pathway to heaven commenced in a tailor's shop" (Vann 1969: 194). Whatever their theological merit (a theological issue), consistency (a psychological question), or practical uniformity (a more archaeological one), it is certainly true that the "public testimonies" of Quakerism contributed to the separation of Quakers from the balance of society.

In a sociological context, Kathleen Thomas finds Quaker practices such as rejection of "hat honor," plain speech, and plainness of dress to worked towards the separation of the group as a means of survival. She argues that Quaker efforts to be a-ritualistic, in fact serve the same sociological function as rituals and rites. The group's corporate adoption of public "testimonies" serves in fact to mediate between the sacred and profane, and fits many understandings of "rite" offered by Durkheim. "When persecution sharpened after the Restoration, the testimonies became a sign of solidarity between suffering Friends. The separation of the sacred People of God from the profane world was effected and maintained by symbolic gestures…" (Thomas 2002: 50). Separation created unity, enabling members to survive their persecutions.

On the other hand, Frost charts the development of these habits from the earliest days of Quakerism (when persecution was at its height), where he finds that they were inconsistently practiced. This is consistent with above-noted lack of concern for the boundaries of Quaker identity during the early years when the messianic fervor was at its height. Frost suggests that, while based on readings of the Bible, the particular expressions of Friends were more influenced by the economic and social impulses, such as reactions to the excesses of Restoration court life or the wealth gap between rich and poor, or even personal life histories (Frost 2002: 18-22). This picture of Quakerism is still "in the world" even in its reactions to the world.

It was only towards the end of the seventeenth century that these testimonies began to be codified, to receive disciplinary actions when violated, and to become more specific. Frost suggests that this emphasis on what he calls "the plain style" stemmed from the increasing wealth of Friends, and also from an inward-looking tendency which followed acceptance and the end of persecutions: "No longer striving to reshape an entire society, Friends concentrated on improving themselves" (Frost 2002: 24-25). Thus Frost suggests that efforts to "create a Quaker culture" (Frost 2002: 17) came, both in motivation and in the form they took, from particular religious beliefs.

Such public proclamations of difference, of course, cannot take place without ripple-effects. When in the mid nineteenth century the group debated dispensing with the practices of endogamy and testimonies of dress and speech, it was acknowledged on both sides that these habits served as a barrier against the wider society (Isichei 1967: 169-170). But the question arose as to whether this continued to represent a good thing or not: those who lobbied for liberalization suggested that this barrier prevented "the ingress not of worldly principles but of potential converts," and this was an increasing concern with the rise of evangelism in nineteenth-century Quakerism (Isichei 1967: 170-171).

This debate suggests a rift among Quakers between those who saw the testimonies as founded in religious principles and need to avoid contamination by non-Friends, versus those who saw them simply as a practical tactic for the survival of the group, which could be dispensed with if the group was threatened. In any evaluation, what practices were required to be a Quaker and the reasons behind these were highly contested throughout the history of the group.

Quakerism and Slavery

The philosophical and practical attitude of Quakers and Quaker institutions to slavery has obvious relevance to this study. Quakers are famed as abolitionists in England, and accorded a prominent role in the movement to end the slave trade, which succeeded in 1807, and then towards emancipation in British colonies in 1834, as well as the early end of "apprenticeship" in 1838. Quakers are equally well-regarded in the records of the emancipation movement of the United States. However, this attitude was relatively new to Quaker thought, arising as a general consensus only at the very end of the eighteenth century, and the history of Quaker opinions on slavery is complex.

Before the latter half of the eighteenth century, the opposition of Quakers to slavery was piecemeal, occurring with a few people in a specific place, and having no broader impacts. This is, it should be noted, not unlike the opposition from non-Quakers, of whom few wrote or spoke out against holding enslaved people or the slave trade (Soderlund 1985: 3n2). Soderlund suggests that the first Quaker to voice opposition to slavery was probably William Edmundson, who traveled the Caribbean with George Fox and by himself in the 1670s (Soderlund 1985: 3; Thomas 1897). The earliest organized statement from Quakers came in 1688, when the small Monthly Meeting in Germantown, at that time outside of (but today well within) the city of Philadelphia, produced a petition condemning the practice. This petition was debated by their Quarterly and Yearly Meetings, which ultimately decided not to press the issue (Durham 1972: 82). Statements against the practice were often vague and no steps appear to be taken against members who did not comply.

In the early days of Quakerism, George Fox "did not preach or exhort against the actual ownership of slaves, but asked that the owners be sure to care for them well and teach them 'Christian ways'" and to "be 'merciful, as your Heavenly Father is Merciful'" (Durham 1972: 18). He recognized them as human, and as having a soul, and when in Barbados he told Friends to "study their consciences as to this practice" (Durham 1972: 79-80). In the same letter, he does deny that Quakers plan to "teach the negroes to rebel" as that would be "a thing we do utterly

abhor and detest in and from our hearts" (Durham 1972: 16). Eventually, he advocated freeing enslaved people after they served a term of some years of service, like indentured servants (Thomas 1897: 264). But ultimately, the only thin Fox was clear on wanting Quakers to do with respect to their "servants" was to "exhort and admonish them to be sober and to fear God, and to love their masters and mistresses, and to be faithful and diligent in their master's service and business, and then their masters and overseers will love them and deal kindly and gently with them" and that they should not drink, steal, curse, fornicate nor commit any of the other sins Fox urged all to avoid (Fox 1952: 605). That is, while he saw enslaved people as largely the same as whites, his only request was for owners to be mindful of "training up their negroes in the fear of God" (Fox 1952: 598).

In the colonies, where there were far more enslaved people than in England, Quakers still only rarely commented on the practice. William Penn seems to have taken steps to minimize it in his colony of Pennsylvania (Thomas 1897: 266), but the numbers of enslaved people in Philadelphia in later years shows that he failed. Thomas Chalkley, the first missionary to Tortola, on an earlier visit to the Caribbean, advised Barbadian Friends to be kind to the enslaved people they held, but not out of religious motivations. He wrote, "the more kind they were to their slaves, they had their business the better done for it" (quoted in Durham 1972: 81). Benjamin Lay, an "argumentative and controversial" friend who moved to Barbados for a time, seems to have been the only Caribbean Quaker to actually suggest that blacks should be taught Quakerism. He welcomed hundreds of slaves into his home each week, feeding them and instructing on Quakerism (Durham 1972: 80). Despite laws making both the gatherings of slaves and their instruction in religion illegal, Lay was never prosecuted, although eventually "officials suggested to Lay that he would be happier elsewhere" and he left the Caribbean (Durham 1972: 80-1).

Soderlund identifies what she thinks is a "long standing" duality to the relationship of Quakers and their current or former enslaved people. She suggests that it was highly paternalistic (Soderlund 1985: 12), and that Quakers saw themselves as responsible for the religious education of those over which they had power, as well as responsible to provide sufficient food, clothing and shelter. As much as enslaved people belonging to Quakers were regarded in this way as members of the Quaker *community*, which held responsibility for them, they were not generally seen as members of the *Meeting* or as equals with whites (Soderlund 1985: 181). Quakers felt responsible for their slaves, possibly partially for the danger poorly-behaved enslaved people might pose for the society's public image (see above) much like poorly behaved members.

Even after Meetings began to order their members to free their enslaved people outright, in the 1770s (Thomas 1897: 277), and abolition efforts beyond the society had begun in earnest, in the 1780s and 1790s, Quakers saw blacks formerly owned by Quakers as a "separate (and unequal) segment of the Quaker community" who had to be supervised and were expected to conform to Quaker morals, to attend separate Meetings, controlled by whites, and send their children to separate Quaker schools, also controlled by whites (Soderlund 1985: 184). She sums up Quaker abolition in America as "gradualist, segregationist, and paternalistic" (Soderlund 1985: 185). Members tended to avoid the question of whether God's light was equally present in enslaved people, and for those that believed it was, this did not mean temporal equality was a requirement. This opinion, perhaps hypocritical from a modern standpoint, needs to be considered in the context of Quaker belief in inequality among even white members, and the fear of association

with “leveling” ideas in its early years (Tolles 1963 [1948]). Further, as shown by the above quote from William Penn which bears repeating, equality in spirit before God does not mean, in the Quaker conscience, that all people should be politically or materially equal: “tho' [God] has made of one Blood, all Nations, he has not ranged or dignified them upon the *Level*, but in a Sort of subordination and Dependency" (Tolles 1963 [1948]: 110).

Even when the abolitionist movement had firmly taken hold, people of African descent were not generally regarded as members or potential members, equal to Quaker whites. Formal membership requests by those considered non-white did exist, but were rare and did seem to cause a stir. An 1781 request for membership by a women who was half white, one-eighth black, and three-eighths Native American, was referred from committee to committee for some time, the argument made that she “appeared…not darker than some who are esteemed white” and finally, three years later this individual case was approved, although the decision was specific and not general (Cadbury 1936: 171). A similar case is reported in New Jersey in the 1790s (Cadbury 1936: 173-4).

More often, the requests from “divers” blacks to membership over the last few decades of the 1700s were simply “put by, on account of their color” (Cadbury 1936: 175) and other anecdotes of African-descended people being discouraged from formally applying for membership exist (Cadbury 1936: 179, 183) as do simple cases of prejudice, such as not listening to the speeches of blacks given in ministry (Cadbury 1936: 181ff). On the other hand, when in 1796 the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting finally stated a clear and general policy that admissions of those considered non-white should be considered exactly as they would for white applicants, there was no rush of non-white applicants (Cadbury 1936: 176).

In no case were people of African descent regarded as perfectly equal by more than one or two members. While some black members may have been given tasks by the Meeting, a useful means of measuring involvement or commitment to a Quaker Meeting (Brown 1987; Chenoweth 2006), none is recorded as having received a position of any authority. One case of a black member being recommended as an elder survives, but in that case the Meeting “preferred going without an Elder, to having a colored one” (Cadbury 1936: 197). The first recorded instances of black Quaker ministers do not occur until after the Civil War (Cadbury 1936: 204ff).

The attitudes of the enslaved people of Quakers themselves are, of course, difficult to determine from historical records. Only a few insights were located in the review conducted for this project. Although it may be embellished or rephrased by the white author, one former slave of a Quaker who left the South and moved to Ohio after freeing his slaves is recorded as having kept the building in repair, noting that “My old master or his sons may yet return here, and I wish them to find their place of worship in good order” (Cadbury 1936: 166). The phrasing of the unnamed former slave, “*their* place of worship” suggests that those freed by Quakers did not necessarily see themselves as members any more than the whites would have seen them as such. A similar sentiment is recorded by the descendants of the “Nottingham People,” enslaved people freed by Mary and Samuel Nottingham who left them their plantation on the East End of Tortola in 1780. A later Quaker visitor writes that they maintained an “affectionate remembrance” of Quakers (Truman, et al. 1844: 39). These few lines are, of course, subject to more than the usual

degree of bias, considering the authors and the history of manumission between the "Nottingham People" and the Nottinghams.

Previous Archaeology on Quaker-Related Sites

The most immediate local-scale practices providing context in this study, those practices most frequently studied (and published) archaeologically, will be those of non-Quaker planters in the Caribbean. However, a review of the archaeological work conducted on Quaker-related sites is obviously relevant. The following will touch on many of the major published works which actively engage with the issue of Quaker religion as part of an archaeological analysis of a Quaker-related site. Other sites once owned or occupied by Quakers have been studied but not all reports give extensive consideration to Quakerism as it may have influenced life there. The following should give an idea of the scope of works which attempt to engage with these issues, what other investigators have found, and how other authors have interpreted these findings.

Domestic Sites in North America

One of earliest works to consider Quakerism archaeologically is White's (1985) excavations at Quakertown, an early nineteenth-century community on the Pennsylvania-Ohio boarder founded by three families of Quaker settlers. The brief and somewhat popular account of the project claims to have observed a "simple" lifestyle in the earliest deposits, but describes grand architecture in the Georgian-inspired fashion of the day and notes the presence of silver cutlery, fine ceramics, and other evidence of a "somewhat more than Spartan" existence (White 1985: 29).

McCarthy's (1999) study of the Dock street site in Philadelphia seems to follow the "best sort but plain" mantra mentioned above. The work is based on a relatively small sample, and focused on methodological considerations, using the ratios of South's "functional groups" to identify the activities leading to each deposit. Nonetheless, McCarthy concludes that Philadelphia Quakers were well supplied but chose "less pretentious" ceramics. This is based on the presence of fewer porcelain sherds than comparable sites, and those being of good quality but less decorated. His documentary work on the early Philadelphia Quakers, however, produces less clarity, and such figures as Edward Shippen are used by McCarthy to provide examples of both tempering (1999: 149) and excess (1999: 147) in material culture.

On the other hand, work on the home of John Bates, a Quaker shopkeeper in early eighteenth-century Virginia seems to belie the "best sort, but plain" pattern. Bates' store was extremely successful financially, but Bates himself seemed to have made use of the same stock as his lower to middle class patrons (Samford and Brown 1990: 6, 32). In the case of fabrics, revealed through probate inventories, the best but plain pattern is seen to hold with there being some high quality silks but mostly in solid colors rather than the more fashionable stripes. But the ceramics revealed archaeologically showed an opposite pattern: no evidence of any high-quality porcelain, yet there were several Chinoiserie Delfts which imitated porcelain's decoration at a lower cost. Neither the best sort, nor plain. Additionally, Bates put on a show of his wealth in the creation of

his public persona, and seems to have participated equally in social trends of the day such as the move towards partitioned space and variety in kitchen implements. Samford concludes that "Bates is an example of a man typical of his wealth category for early Chesapeake society. Despite his Quaker beliefs, Bates was actively participating in the acquisition of consumer goods which was beginning to distinguish the residents of the Tidewater region" (Samford and Brown 1990: 644)

Porcelain was also in scant supply at the Reid Site, a small eighteenth-century farm in North Carolina, as were decorated pieces of all sorts (Gray 1989: 64-5). The Pools, the site's Quaker occupants during the middle of the eighteenth century, seem to have preferred the middle to high quality but aesthetic simplicity of white salt-glazed stoneware. Anna Gray's use of South's artifact pattern analysis on the site suggests its similarity with other contemporary (non-Quaker) sites. Elsewhere, Gray has written that the Pools appeared to be of modest means but occasionally able to be "extravagant" (Gray 1997). Neither the similarity with other sites, nor the suggestion that the site can be characterized by occasional extravagance quite fits with our expectations for Quaker material culture.

My own archival work and archaeological analysis on part of the National Constitution Center site in Philadelphia has also unearthed conflicting evidence (Chenoweth 2006). The site was owned by a Quaker named Ebenezer Robinson, who was not prominent but was very active. Documents reveal a man of solid financial acumen, trusted by his meeting with tasks as diverse as "treating with" members not living up to expectations, serving as a delegate to the Quarterly Meeting, and even managing financial transactions in the Meeting's name. Yet even as the local community railed against the dangers and sins of alcohol, Ebenezer rented one of his buildings to what archaeology has revealed as a low-class tavern. While tavern laws (written primarily by Quakers) attempted to force taverns to focus not on drink but on supplying shelter and food to travelers—services needed by the growing city—my analysis suggested that this particular tavern focused on serving alcohol. While the tavern did not survive long on this site, its association with Ebenezer Robinson could not have gone unnoticed, as he moved his family to this location shortly after the tavern closed, and yet his standing as a moral and proper Quaker did not seem to be effected.

To date, the most substantial work on the archaeology of a Quaker-related site is probably Marley Brown's dissertation, which focused on four generations of the Mott family, a prominent Quaker family in Rhode Island during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Like Samford work's in a very different context and a century and a half removed in time, Brown also observed that his Quaker occupants participated in the same general trends observed throughout the colonies in the period. For instance local vernacular building styles gave way to a "Georgian plan" house much as they did in non-Quaker families, although he labels Quakers "generally conservative" (Brown 1987: 195-197). Brown expresses doubt that "plainness" is really accessible archaeologically. He uses documentary evidence to suggest that the Motts may have bucked certain trends which more offended their religious beliefs than others: for instance the trend towards creating "parlors," more public areas of a house where finery was put on display, although he notes that other Rhode Island Quakers may have done otherwise (Brown 1987: 283-4). Similar results are found in a comparison of clothing, use of credit and debt, and attitudes toward slavery (Brown 1987: 287-294). On the other hand, Quakers, including the Motts, Brown

suggests, spent more money on some categories of material things, such as bedding and other ways of making a home comfortable and warm, and on books (Brown 1987: 297-300).

Work by Jeanne Ward and John McCarthy on the early Quaker meetinghouse in Burlington, New Jersey, one of the earliest Quaker communities in the New World, produced evidence of the layout of the original (1687) Meetinghouse and suggested communal consumption of meals (probably prepared elsewhere) on the site (Ward and McCarthy 2009). This was interpreted to be a result of the frequent, often lengthy communal meetings held on the site, and comparisons were made to modern Quakers communal gatherings. Finds of alcohol and tobacco-related items were not rare and were considered surprising (especially by modern Quaker volunteers on the project). Ward and McCarthy suggest that such usage was clandestine, and went "unnoticed." Quakers here are suggested to have had "plain" material tastes, and this is contrasted with historically-based discussions of contemporary grand estates and a popular goal of acquiring wealth and displaying it. Quakers, in contrast, are suggested to betray "middle-class values" (Ward and McCarthy 2009: 42).

Burials and Mortuary Ritual in North America and England

Cemetery studies make up a large fraction of Quaker-related sites to receive archaeological treatment and consideration of Quaker identity, and we will discuss four here: three in England and one in the United States. Based on their work at the nineteenth-century burial ground of Friends at Alexandria, Virginia, Bromberg and Shepherd (2006: 78; Bromberg, et al. 2000) have argued that Quaker ideals are the cause of a comparatively low percentage of decorated caskets, though these are not absent altogether. Expectations for Quakerism's influence are complicated further by the presence of at least one burial vault, something expressly forbidden by Meetings elsewhere. The authors suggest that personal decisions and tastes are behind the variation present.

Gwynne Stock has compared written meeting records and historical accounts with the actual practice of Quaker burial as seen through archaeology at the site of Bathford, England, and also found significant variability (1998a; 1998b). Despite explicit "advices" from Meetings to the contrary and historical accounts of these being followed, Stock encountered burial vaults, lead coffins and ornamental coffin hardware, grave markers from the period 1717 to 1850 (when they were expressly forbidden), and more than a few instances of the use of pagan-named months on gravestones. Meanwhile, Quaker prescriptions seem to have been upheld at Bathford in terms of burial orientation and an efficient use of space so as not to be wasteful of the Meeting's property.

More variation is introduced by the discussion of the Quaker burial ground at Kingston-upon-Thames (Bashford and Pollard 1998; Bashford and Sibun 2007; see also Kirk 1998). Again, the authors encountered substantial vaults and lead coffins. They also document a concern in this particular meeting's membership with disturbance of burials (Bashford and Pollard 1998: 156). This is born out archaeologically, as the authors encountered a number of cases where charnel was carefully deposited in a special pit at the foot of a new burial, and one where ashes may have been accorded special treatment (Bashford and Pollard 1998: 162). Quakers attempted to be

respectful of corpses, but also to avoid "superstitious" concern with the bodies of the dead; focus was to be on the soul of the departed. Coffins were again highly variable, possibly reflecting social standing, and this variability reflected that seen in casket styles in use by the general English public of the period (Bashford and Pollard 1998: 159): that is, Quakers followed styles too, as Brown observed of the Motts and Samford of the Bates. Some measure of religiously-inspired modesty may be behind the lack of specifically funeral attire observed at this site.

The human remains at Kingston-upon-Thames also received a detailed study (Bashford and Sibun 2007; Start and Kirk 1998). Not surprisingly, considering the historical evidence that Quakers tended to be of the wealthier merchant-class, these remains reflected better than average health for the period with fewer carries cavities and cases of rickets and anemia than their counterparts, and less bone damage resulting from physically demanding work in life. In fact, the burials at Kingston-upon-Thames represent a generally "remarkably healthy post-Medieval population" (Bashford and Sibun 2007: 142). But even here all is not as would be predicted from a literal reading of Quaker advices and historical accounts of Quaker lifestyles. One burial, skeleton 1098 died from a long-term, advanced case of venereal syphilis, known even then to be a sexually-transmitted disease. Sexual immodesty would certainly have been seen as grounds for "disownment" or removal from the Quaker community by many contemporary Quakers. In life, this person received sufficient long-term care to survive for quite some time despite the difficult nature of the disease and the sinful way it may have been acquired, and in death he was treated as any other. While much is, of course, unknown about the life of this person, Quakers were little likely to accept "deathbed conversions" in place of life-long adherence to the Quaker path. Indeed, God's punishment to the wicked is a theme almost enjoyed by George Fox in his journal (1952), and Meetings were not inclined to help even members whose downfall was due to their own falls from Quaker practice.

Work on another burial ground, in the west England town of Bromyard, has resulted in a report (Archenfield Archaeology 2004). The authors detect a number of patterns interpreted as "Quakerly," including non-religious symbolism and simple patterns in coffin hardware, and at least one possible case of human remains receiving less than formal treatment: a burial (the infant burial 138) was disturbed by a later burial (number 40) and the charnel not placed in the new grave.

On the other hand, like the sites discussed above, exceptions to expected Quaker practice were also found: as at Bathford, there was a pre-1850 headstone (Archenfield Archaeology 2004: 37). In addition, there was one decorative name plate (although without an inscription) and the existence of two separate registers of coffin hardware: some, being copper alloy, were "the best sort but plain" while others, being the cheaper iron, were simply "plain" suggesting a wealth-based differential. As at Kingston, those buried in Bromyard represent a comparatively healthy group, despite higher incidence of trauma, arthritis, and carries cavities compared to Kingston-upon-Thames; the latter two maladies may relate to the older ages in the Bromyard skeletons and the smaller sample.

Christina Hodge's work on native burial grounds in Massachusetts which may have been influenced by Quaker ideals has been mentioned already (see above, Chapter three). She considers the influence of Christianization and native religions as part of an evaluation of

archaeological conceptions of cultural change and its visibility in material culture, and has difficulty strictly separating "Christian" and "non-Christian" practices due to the potential for multiple meanings and variation in practice (Hodge 2005). She suggests that the specific history of English religious factions and pre-existing religious tendencies towards direct communication with the spiritual in native groups in the area may have made Quakerism more "attractive" to these groups. Quakerism's non-hierarchical, non-authoritarian approach, also distinct from other Puritan groups, is also cited as a reason why this group of Wampanoag may have found it appealing. The suggestion is made that the lack of grave goods may be related to Quaker-inspired ideals of equality (Hodge 2005: 87). Hodge also acknowledges the possibility that Quaker practices were adopted to mask differences or as a show of religiosity legitimizing native lifeways. Thus the alteration of burial practices cannot be seen as a simplistic rejection of older practices, but must be understood in the context of the many potential meanings these practices may have held at the time.

One final above-ground analysis is relevant here. Stone (2009) analyzes grave markers in Long Island for patterns related to ethnic or religious choice, arguing that graveyards offer an excellent venue for understanding material history due to their well-known temporal and geographic controls. She finds that the Dutch were underrepresented due to the early nature of their habitation in the area, and suggests that Quakers were also underrepresented due to a religiously-based aversion to memorialization. The Dutch were twice as likely, and Quakers 50% more likely to use simple fieldstone (i.e. not professionally-carved or imported marker) for their graves than the rest of those in the study area; Quakers particularly restricted themselves to simple initials and death date inscriptions on "most" of their markers, and she argues that this was not an economic issue (Stone 2009: 150). Interestingly, she notes that Quaker fieldstone markers were frequently chosen based on the natural stone's imitation of a typical gravestone shape, and that when traditional, carved markers were used they were sometimes left undecorated.

Summary

This chapter has attempted to provide some context for the creation of Quakerism which will be described for the British Virgin Islands. It has tried to avoid too many clear, proscriptive statements about what Quakerism absolutely "is" and instead to discuss the complexity with which Quaker ideals can be interpreted. Quakers were a large group of diverse people in the eighteenth century, and although clearly united by common ideals, there was a great deal of room for variation. It is key that these variations do not, as we are seeing religion here, represent misunderstandings or incorrect performances of Quakerism. The group was not a static form embodied in the practices or writings of a particular person or a small group. The ritualization and thus identification of Quakerism is the result of *all* the practices of Quakers.

The debate over what Quakerism should look like has been a part of the group since its beginnings as a millennial sect bent on the disruption of "fleshy" institutions of established religion, through persecution, acceptance and accommodation of the world, the rise of a second generation of wealthy merchants, the debate over political power, schism and reunion. Quaker writings, their creation and consumption, however, made up a particularly wide-spread set of practices which were drawn on by members (and others) throughout world in the creation of

Quaker groups. This chapter has reviewed a number of important themes in these works, including the central importance of practicing Quaker ideals in daily life, and efforts by members at clarifying the bounds of their membership through formal Meeting structures and procedures for disownment, creating "insular" communities living "in" but not "of" the world. The "testimonies" of Quakers, specific sometimes codified practices of dress, speech, etc., were often debated by Friends, and were used to set them apart, but also cannot be seen as prescriptive "rules" as they were expected to *result from* rather than cause inward holiness. Meetings exercised a great deal of oversight on their member's personal lives—religious, familial, and financial—but there were also direct benefits to Quaker membership, since it was a religion of practice and practice could only be holy with one's family well cared for, and so communities helped members in more mundane, material ways.

Simplicity, equality, and peace are three themes of Quaker ideology, but the meanings of these words changed radically, and did not always entail what modern readers might expect. For instance, there was an apparent compatibility in most seventeenth and eighteenth-century Quaker's minds of "equality" and slavery. Many early Quakers held slaves and saw nothing wrong with the practice: one could be equal before God but this did not mean, at least to William Penn, that all people were "upon the *Level*." Quakers' attitudes towards enslaved people varied greatly from paternalistic concern to zealous advocacy.

All of this variability has also been seen archaeologically, and the archaeological work on Quaker-related sites has yielded some interesting but highly variable results. The studies discussed here are concentrated in the US mid-Atlantic and in England: three studies were located in Pennsylvania, two in Virginia, and one each Massachusetts, North Carolina, Rhode Island, and New Jersey. The three major published studies in England are all burial-grounds: Bathford, Kingston-upon-Thames, and Bromyard.

These works have pointed to a variety of potential material outcomes from members living their lives as Quakers and highlighted a number of areas of material life where this may be seen: low levels of expensive ceramics, expensive but undecorated ceramics, the use of inexpensive ceramics despite the ability to acquire better, undecorated caskets in burial grounds, equality in burial materials, the lack of grave-markers, the use of simple fieldstone ones, unceremonious treatment of the dead, lack of explicit religious symbolism, the lack of grave goods, efficient use of resources, and burial orientation. None of these are consistent across the examined sites where they would be expected if they could be seen as markers of Quakerism, and most are suggested in only one study. Other studies have suggested that they encountered a "somewhat more than Spartan" material culture, that Quakerism was not accessible archaeologically, or otherwise noted apparent inconsistencies such as statements against but association with alcohol and tobacco, the same person being noted for both excess and moderation in material possessions, both similarity with and differences from non-Quakers in a variety of ways.

5. Historical Context

As the last chapter discussed the large-scope context of Quakerism, this will discuss that of the British Virgin Islands. The unique history, geography, and environment of the place cannot help but have had a deep effect on the lives of the people who called it home. The historical records of the Quaker Meeting which formed on Tortola will also be discussed. The chapter then introduces some of the main characters of the story of the study site, the Lettsom family and the enslaved Africans they held, and relates what is known and can be reconstructed from the documentary record about the island they all called home, Little Jost van Dyke. Finally, a secondary site important to this study, the Fat Hog's Bay Meetinghouse, will be described and its documentary history detailed.

The British Virgin Islands

The British Virgin Islands ("BVI"), along with their US counterparts, lie in the northeast corner of the Caribbean (Figure 1.1), at the north end of the chain known as the Leeward Islands or Lesser Antilles. The group is comprised of more than 40 islands and cays (Figure 1.2), and countless rocks and pinnacles. The main islands of the group are Tortola (22 square miles), Anegada (15 square miles), Virgin Gorda (8 square miles, called for many years "Spanishtown" which is also the name of the principle settlement there today), and Jost van Dyke (3 square miles, sometimes called "Gros," "Great," or "Big van Dyke" in historical documents to distinguish it from its smaller neighbor, Little Jost van Dyke).

The islands tend to be very steep and rocky, averaging 35 percent slope but often reaching 50%, except on Anegada, a low-lying up-raised coral reef with a maximum height of 15 feet (4.5m) above sea level (Beard 1949: 174). These are desert islands, having an average of just 55 inches (130cm) of rain per year, and what rain there is can be erratic and the islands are prone to long droughts.

George Suckling, an eighteenth-century government official posted to the islands, claimed that they were named by Sir Francis Drake in honor of Elizabeth I (the "Virgin Queen") when he sailed through the islands in 1580 (Suckling 1780: 1), but others have suggested the Columbus named the islands after St. Ursula and her 10,000 virgin martyrs, because the islands seemed to number like the virgin saints (Dookhan 1975: xi).

The early recorded history of the islands focuses primarily on their disadvantages for settlement. Edwards quotes a 1596 observation (probably by the Earl of Cumberland) of them as "a knot of little islands, wholly uninhabited, sandy, barren, and craggy" (Edwards 1805: Book III:184). While the eighteenth century saw near-continual struggles among the European powers for possession of every speck of Caribbean land, a 1672 report to London on the status of islands

held or claimed by the British in the West Indies calls Tortola's importance "none at all" (Anonymous 1672), and a 1677 report omits the Virgin Islands entirely (Anonymous 1677). Time did not improve most opinions of the value of the BVI. In the 1820s, the Virgin Islands were referred to as "decidedly and in every respect the poorest of all the West India Colonies" (M'Queen 1824: 317). Despite a copper mine on Virgin Gorda which has been worked on and off since the seventeenth century, when it was originally opened by the Spanish, and early rumors of silver, Martin-Kaye reports minimal potential for economically viable mineral production (Martin-Kaye 1959).

Geology and Natural History

The geology of the BVI is complex, consisting of episodes of volcanic and sedimentary formation, and having a high degree of stratigraphic complexity. The islands of the Lesser Antilles, the Virgin Islands among them, formed over the last 100 million years in a complicated series of volcanic and sedimentary episodes. They represent an "island arc" chain which resulted from the impact of two tectonic plates, the Caribbean plate and a northern lobe of the South American plate. At this boundary, magma rose to the surface, forming islands which then acted as the focus of episodes of sedimentary rock formation, especially coral limestones. The earliest of these date to approximately 100 million years, indicating that the volcanic origins of the chain are significantly older than this. This process continued until the Eocene, approximately 40 million years ago, when the islands were slowly uplifted, and began to erode (Donnelly 1996: 36-7).

Another feature of this area is that later magmas were not always volcanic, emerging under less-dense limestone layers and literally "floating" them, such that newer igneous rocks are sometimes stratigraphically below older sedimentary ones. Jost van Dyke and the small islands surrounding it, including Little Jost van Dyke, showcase the "Tortola Formation" which consists of a thick layer of andesitic breccia, tuff, and reworked tuffaceous sandstone (Helsley 1971).

The Islands are tropical to subtropical, poorly watered but with some increase in rainfall during the hurricane season of June to November (Drewett and Bates 2000b: 113). Otherwise, the rain is almost evenly distributed through the months, but not by elevation: Sage Mountain, the highest point of the Virgin Island group and of Tortola, gets up to 80 inches (200cm), but the out islands, because of their lower elevations, receive only about 35 inches (90cm) over the year (Beard 1949: 175; Little, et al. 1976b: 5). A drier period occurs in December and January (Righter 1990: 4). The islands are in the path of the "easterlies" or eastern trade winds, and these are strongest and more northerly during the winter, November to April (Righter 1990: 3). Before European settlement, Drewett notes that the islands would have been densely forested, although little of this remains today (Drewett and Bates 2000b: 113). Today, the islands are covered by a low deciduous forest with shrubs, especially *Croton spp.*, Acacia, and cacti (Righter 1990: 5). Little has published more detailed descriptions of the flora of the Virgin Islands, especially Jost van Dyke (Little 1969; Little, et al. 1976a; Little, et al. 1976b)

Pre-Colombian Peoples and Archaeology

Native groups are almost entirely unmentioned in the early written history of the Islands. Columbus reportedly stayed for a time on nearby St. Croix, and encountered native people there who called the island "Ayay" (Anonymous 1843: 179). However, the Earl of Cumberland wrote, when he passed through the islands in 1596, that they were "wholly uninhabited" (Edwards 1805: Book III, p.184) though if he would have considered natives to be worthy of report is not clear. Quite possibly the native population of the BVI suffered a similar fate to that of many Bahamian peoples, where, as described by Keegan, the combination of disease and Spanish slaving efforts left many islands empty by the early decades of the sixteenth century (Keegan 1992). In any case, it appears that few to no indigenous peoples were present in the region when Europeans are first noted to be in the area by the mid seventeenth century.

The earliest human habitations in the Virgin Islands are indicated by potential pre-ceramic sites at Magens Bay on St. Thomas, and Betty's Hope on St. Croix, the latter carbon dated to as early as 3240-2070 BC, but which may be a natural accumulation into which a few ceramic period lithics have been mixed (Righter 1990: 17). A more certain late pre-ceramic site at Lameshur Bay, St. John has been dated to about 2700-1200 BC, and was probably intermittently occupied (Righter 1990: 17-18).

The first ceramic sites contain Cedrosan Saladoid ceramics discovered on St. Thomas and St. Croix, dating to approximately 2000 years ago, termed "white-on-red" and "zone-incised-crosshatched" wares in distinct bell-shaped bowl forms (Righter 1990: 11). The "Elenan Ostionoid" ceramic period begins about 600AD (Righter 1990: 13), and the period connected to the Taino group by about 1200AD (Righter 1990: 14). The Tainos are known to have practiced a degree of horticulture, growing cassava, corn, sweet potato, beans, arrowroot, squash, peanuts, peppers, gourds, cotton, and tobacco among other crops (Righter 1990: 14-15). It is possible that this group was displaced by or mixed with the Carib peoples, who may have arrived in the area in the decades just before Columbus (Righter 1990: 15).

The first archaeological work to have examined the pre-Colombian period on any of the British islands was that of Gudmund Hatt, who touched briefly on Tortola's prehistory in his 1924 work, which established a pre-ceramic, and early and late ceramic period presence (Figueredo 1974: 2; Hatt 1938). A 1937 project led by Herbert Krieger of the Smithsonian (Krieger 1938) also included both Tortola and Anegada in its survey, and reached similar conclusions to Hatt, although Figueredo characterizes this work as "cruder" (Figueredo 1974: 3).

No major work appears to have taken place from the 1930s until the 1970s, when Alfredo Figueredo initiated several surveys and small excavations. The last four decades have seen several projects, including broad surveys on Virgin Gorda (Figueredo 1972; Figueredo 1974: 132), Tortola's West End (Righter 1990), all of Tortola (Drewett and Bates 2000b) and Tortola and Jost van Dyke (Bates 2001). Two projects have investigated a major pre-Colombian site at Belmont on Tortola's West End (Drewett 2000a; Drewett 2000b; Drewett 2002a; Drewett 2002b; Drewett 2003; Drewett and Bates 2000a; Drewett and Bates 2000b; Hunt and Drewett 2000; Righter 1990), which produced the only pre-Colombian architecture yet located in the BVI, including a domestic structure and a possible ball-court. Another project studied a site on what

is now the campus of H. Lavity Stoutt Community College in Paraquita Bay, Tortola (Drewett and Bates 2000b; Scudder 2000). Figueredo also conducted work at the Gun Creek site on Virgin Gorda, locating a small settlement dating to between 400 and 500 AD, with late Saladoid transitioning to Ostionoid ceramics and spindle whorls indicating cotton production (Figueredo 1980).

Although not strictly relevant to this project, this review of past archaeology has been included because, with two as-yet unpublished exceptions, no major historic-era archaeological projects have yet taken place in the British Virgin Islands. These exceptions are the dissertation projects of Michael Kent of Bristol University (UK) and Mark Kostro of William and Mary (US), both still underway at this time. Therefore, pre-Columbian archaeology represents the majority of the known archaeological record of the British Virgin Islands to-date.

Claims of Sovereignty

The right of sovereignty over the Virgin Islands was contested by Europeans from the middle of the seventeenth century, primarily between the Danes, Dutch and English but also by the Electorate of Brandenburg, the French and the Spanish. The first claim of sovereignty by the English is reported as early as 1625, when Charles I of England granted Tortola to James Hay, the Earl Carlisle, but there is no evidence that this claim was ever acted on (Anonymous 1843: 140). The next claim was by Charles II, who granted the islands again, this time to Sir William Stapleton (Edwards 1805: Book III, p.185).

The first European settlement that is recorded took place 1643, when a group of Dutch pirates built a small fort on the southwest of Tortola (Edwards 1805: Book III p.185), probably near a location today known as "Fort Recovery." Martin suggested that this took place in 1648 (Martin 1834: 380). In 1666 a group of English pirates forced the Dutch out and "pretended to take possession for the crown of England, and the English monarch, [who,] if he did not commission the enterprise, made no scruple to claim the benefit of it" (Edwards 1805: Book III p.185).

Ultimately, Dookhan reports, the issue of sovereignty was settled by 1735 clearly in favor of the British (Dookhan 1975: 13). This claim has not been tested by invasion since that time, the British Virgin Islands have been a British colony ever since, and the nearby islands of St. Thomas, St. John and St. Croix remained Danish (with two brief exceptions when the British conquered them as part of the Napoleonic Wars) until they were sold to the United States in 1917 (Dookhan 1975: 13-14).

Haphazard and Informal Early Settlement

Ultimately, there is a disconnect between historic reports which outline apparently straightforward changes of sovereignty and beginnings of occupation, traced to founding moments and the migrations of relatively large and organized groups, and the details of the historic records. Something much more informal and difficult to trace is suggested in a close reading. While Dookhan discusses the issue of sovereignty over the islands as one of claims of

prior discovery and settlement, the picture he paints also includes a great deal of frontier confusion (Dookhan 1975).

Even direct orders, issued from legitimate governments in Europe were liable to go unnoticed in the distant, tiny, dispersed settlements of the Virgin Islands. For instance, the English government ordered that Tortola be returned to the Dutch in 1686, fourteen years after its capture by Stapleton, but this appears never to have happened (Dookhan 1975: 4). This order itself took two years to materialize, and was in answer to a Dutch request for return of the islands which followed the treaty which entitled them to make such a request by a full decade. Clearly, sovereignty over these islands was of little moment to the Kings, Queens, Ladies, and Lords of Europe. As Dookhan writes, "the dilatory attitude of the European nations in establishing an early right of sovereignty over the Virgin Islands stemmed from the basic fact that these islands generally were not regarded as valuable plantation colonies" (Dookhan 1975: 14).

All of the early reports already list inhabitants of the major Virgin Islands, although their numbers fluctuate rapidly. In 1672, reports state that about 80 English, Irish and Welsh lived on Tortola (Anonymous 1672) and Dookhan suggests that some "ten or twelve Dutch families" remained at that time as well, but by 1685 only two people remained resident on Tortola (Dookhan 1975: 19). A 1697 report by Gov. Codrington to the Council for Trade and Plantations in London (CSP 1697-1698: 1347) states that Tortola had been mostly abandoned for some time, and that only a few families had been in residence when Stapleton took the island in 1672. The last to leave was a Thomas Bisse, before 1685. However, Bisse himself gives a deposition in 1686, stating that the Spanish attacked and ruined "myself and the rest of the inhabitants" (CSP 1686:678(ix)) suggesting that others were living there as well. Meanwhile, Edwards (1805: Book III:185) suggests that the first large group of settlers originated from Anguilla around the turn of the eighteenth century, while Watkins (1924: 136) states that this group came around 1680. By 1697, a Jonathan Turner and his unnamed wife had come to live on the island to "breed stock, plant a little cotton and go fishing" (CSP 1697-1698: 1347) and was apparently alone with his family according to one report.

It seems that small groups of settlers took whatever actions they felt they could get away with, living temporarily wherever a good anchorage and supply of timber for harvesting could be found. Small groups, acting or claiming to act on behalf of European governments attacked or harassed what settlements could be found if they had the opportunity, ships were "confiscated" and crews imprisoned or killed almost at random. The European powers took little note and fewer actions in response, usually referring complaints about such issues back and forth between themselves for years until they were forgotten.

The Lives of the Early Settlers

In truth, the first European residents of this area of the Caribbean were probably unrecorded, staying for days, weeks, or years to collect lumber and live off the reefs or grow provisions. By the mid 1600s it appears that various individuals and small groups settled on many of the uninhabited smaller islands of the Caribbean, trading (legally and illegally), harvesting timber, farming, fishing, and doing whatever else they could to survive.

These settlers seem to have paid little regard for claims of sovereignty by the various European powers, of which they were probably little aware. For instance, by 1672 the Dutch formally possessed Tortola but a number of British subjects were found to be resident when the island was captured by Colonel William Stapleton during the Third Dutch War (Dookhan 1975: 3). Stapleton apparently did little more than destroy the Dutch fort, remove its cannon, and destroy what he could, making no mention of English settlement, garrisoning, or other attempts to hold the island (CSP 1698:220(i)).

Those for whom the initial English settlers of the New World are best represented by the Pilgrims of Massachusetts Bay may not recognize the first settlers of the BVI. These settlers did not arrive in a single moment with a plan of establishing a great colony, either religious, social, or economic. Governor Daniel Parke of the Leeward Islands, the colony which had at least nominal control over the BVI, wrote of the inhabitants of the area in 1709 that

> they live like wild people without order or Government, and have neither Divine [Minister] nor Lawyer amongst them, they take each others words in marriage; they think themselves Christians because they are descended from such (CSP 1709: 597(i)).

Only recently had Parke been able to send a minister in the hopes of rectifying some of these inadequacies, but of this minister nothing more is ever heard. In 1724, Parke's replacement, Governor Hart wrote that,

> upon inquiry how they came to settle those miserable islands, I found that the first inhabitants were such as had fled from Barbados and the greater islands for debt or to avoid the punishment for their crimes, and have since been increased by pirates who have come in upon acts of Grace, and are married and settled there, whose posterity not knowing the world, remain there and cultivate the ground for a wretched subsistence (CSP 1724:260).

Aside from the condescending attitude of the governor's reports, it is clear that early settlers in the BVI were far from wealthy. In 1717, during a drought, the settlers petitioned en masse for permission (and presumably help) to leave Tortola altogether and settle then-vacant St. Croix, about 30 miles away (CO 152/12#67 encl (vii)). This request was not acted on, but things did not seem to improve financially. As late as 1728, a report states that the 200 families of the Virgin Islands could not, together, pay for a single lawyer at the usual rates (CSP 1728:24). As late as 1755, the planters of the Virgin Islands were described as "generally so illiterate" that they would be unable to effectively govern themselves (CO 152/28#Bb65). Other archaeologists working in the region have also noted the general poverty of Virgin Islanders at this period. Douglas Armstrong, in his sketch of the area's history, also emphasized how the early settlers to the region constitute a groups "marginalized" elsewhere in the Caribbean and searching for "a niche of fortune, or at least survival" (Armstrong 2003: 22). These settlers are described as "landless and jobless former indentures" (Armstrong 2003: 24).

A census of Virgin Gorda, Tortola, and Beef Island of 1716 (CO 152/11#6 encl (vi)) gives us some insight into gender and family relations, wealth, and slavery in the early BVI. Of the 81 households listed (17 on Tortola, most of the remainder on "Spanishtown" as Virgin Gorda was then called) 66 (81%) consisted of one man and one woman, with 0 to 9 children: none have more than two adults, suggesting that multi-generational families were very rare, possibly due to early death and possibly due to the fact that most residents were immigrants to this area who left their parents on their own lands. Seven "Widdows" are listed as heading their own households. There is an average of 2.72 children per household (220 children in 81 households) and a total of 185 "Negroes," presumably enslaved, averaging 2.29 per household. Any slaveholder is wealthier than those who have none, but this potential measure of wealth suggests that the inhabitants of the BVI were certainly not in the "wealthy" category. Twenty-five households in the census, or about 30%, had no enslaved people at all, and Tortola seems by far the poorer of the two islands: Virgin Gorda had 2.5 slaves per house, and Tortola only 2, but also a much higher percentage (47%) with no slaves at all (compared to Virgin Gorda's 26%).

Another census from a year later (CO 152/12#67 encl (viii)) suggests, two important things: first the diverse nature of the backgrounds of the inhabitants, and second, how inaccurate these censuses can be. This census, of Tortola only, shows 40 households in Tortola alone, with 37 men and 3 single women (only one of whom is given by name), who have 88 children and 176 enslaved people (4.4 enslaved people per household, on average). These figures are more than double the totals for households and enslaved people suggested by the census of only a year earlier. Despite the fact that there were no taxes on the settlers in the area, we can assume a tendency to hide wealth from government inquiries, and enslaved people represented the primary wealth of the colony, probably causing some of the inaccuracies of these documents. Interestingly this document also includes places of birth for the heads of households. Twenty-four (60%) of Tortola's 1717 male inhabitants were born in various islands of the Caribbean, and only seven (18%) are listed as being originally from England. Additionally, four are from Ireland, and one each from Scotland, France, Holland, and South Carolina.

The Enslaved and Free Africans

The earliest settlers to the BVI brought enslaved Africans with them, but these were not present in numbers like the rest of the Caribbean. While the accuracy of these documents has already been discussed as dubious, in the 1716 (CO 152/11#6 encl (vi)) census there were 308 enslaved Africans as opposed to 317 whites, while in the 1717 document there were 484 enslaved people in all the BVI and 476 whites (CO 152/12#67 encl (vi) and encl (viii)).

The economic expansion noted from the mid 1730's was explicitly credited to the increasing number of enslaved Africans in the BVI, and their escape to Spanish Puerto Rico, where conversion to Catholicism would bring freedom, was cited as a major obstacle to economic growth by Dookhan (1975: 27-8). In 1751, Lt. Gov Purcell reports that slaves frequently escape to Porto Rico "in small open boats , and often taken away Larger vessels" and neither the slaves nor the vessels they took have ever been restored by the Spanish Government (on encouragement of their Priests), which responds usually that "Providence had sent the Negro's there for their Salvation;" these escaped slaves seem to frequently turn to sailing, since during times of war

with Spain, Purcell complains, many of the now-free enslaved people manned privateers which attacked BVI fishing vessels (CO 152/27#Aa.39). Control over the enslaved people was a continuing theme: in contrast to much of the rest of the Caribbean, there was no standing militia for most of the BVI's history, and Dookhan suggests that this led to a lax enforcement of regulations for slaves. In general, he argues, whites were at all times forced to consider the limits of their own enforcement (Dookhan 1975: 74).

In the 1750s, most slaves were given a provisioning ground and allowed Saturday afternoons and Sundays to work their own crops, except in "crop time" on Sugar plantation (House of Commons 1790: 267). On other days, they were made to begin work "as soon as the light well appears" and continue "until the close of evening or dark" with brief breaks in the morning and at noon for meals; they were also required to pull grass for their owner's horses after this days' work (House of Commons 1790: 271). Thomas Woolrich, a merchant living in the BVI for several decades, suggests that on his first arrival in the BVI in 1753, the enslaved people had sufficient grounds to grow their own food. Later in his stay, by the 1770s, they were much more numerous, had smaller provisioning grounds, and the owners had frequently run into financial difficulties from overextending their reach in the effort to grow sugar. For those planters in debt, enslaved people were frequently treated much worse (House of Commons 1790).

There are several mentions of comparatively large free African populations in the BVI (Anonymous 1843: 129; Burns 1965; Dookhan 1975; M'Queen 1824: 173', 322; Martin 1834: 508). The stories of the "Nottingham" and "Kingstown" people are comparatively well known in the historic record, and better described elsewhere (Dookhan 1975; Gurney 1840; Harrigan and Varlack 1975; Jenkins 1923; Truman, et al. 1844). In general, the accounts of the lives of these people vary greatly, usually depending on the author's position on the question of slavery and emancipation.

Free people of African descent were, of course, kept from full participation in the economic and social life of the islands by various acts of legislation. Laws kept any person of African descent from rivaling any white in terms of agricultural output, and so many free Africans turned to being merchants, shopkeepers, and privateers (Dookhan 1975: 77). In 1815, there were 172 free people of African descent engaged in trade and 67 in agriculture, and by 1823 these numbers had risen to 241 and 78 respectively. This was out of a total free African population of 1,448 in 1823, which represented almost a full quarter of the population of the BVI (PP 1826(81):110-115; see below, "Population").

However restricted, though, they were allowed some rights. They could own up to 8 acres of land, although they could not become freeholders. Ironically, they could own up to 15 of their own enslaved people, and more if they paid an additional, hefty yearly tax on those they owned in excess of 15. Other indignities included a requirement to have a white "patron," to prove their free status twice yearly, to fill the same militia requirements (under white officers) for smaller recompense, to be denied the right to vote even if they could fulfill the property requirements imposed on whites, higher taxation rates, and draconian punishments for crimes such as striking a white person (Dookhan 1975: 75-6).

Nonetheless, others report that free Africans in Tortola were very often successful members of society, although the evidence is anecdotal. One report has a Mrs. Elizabeth Frett of Virgin Gorda freeing seven of her slaves before her death, one of whom shortly afterwards owned two sailing vessels worth $860 together and four enslaved people of his own (M'Queen 1824: 322). The fact that the free African community is organized and politically savvy is suggested by the fact that the "Free Coloreds" of the BVI petitioned the government in 1815 for an increase in their rights, through the efforts of a white planter in London on business, Abraham Chalwell Hill (Dookhan 1975: 78). This petition was actually successful, eventually, and in 1818 restrictions on property acquisition and sales were lifted, and those free blacks who met the same voter property requirements as whites were empowered to vote for a (white) elected member of the Assembly to represent them en masse.

Market Economy of the Free and Enslaved Africans

By the closing decades of slavery, many free black women are reported to be living with white men, usually without legal marriage (Anonymous 1843: 135). While this fact is frequently noted, it is only in side-comments that we gain a picture of the true entrepreneurship of many free black women at this time. Such women are reported to surround ships in St. Thomas harbor asking for or dealing with business such as laundry for the ship's officers or to sell fresh food and drink; it is notable that they often have their own slaves to row these boats, suggesting quite a degree of financial success (Anonymous 1843: 261-2). The presence of a well-developed market system among the free and enslaved blacks of the BVI, then, as noted elsewhere (Armstrong 2003; Armstrong and Hauser 2009; Hauser 2008; Hauser and De Course 2003; Wilkie and Farnsworth 2005; Yentsch and Kratzer 1994), is strongly indicated.

Woolrich notes in the 1790s that most of the enslaved people were unable to collect anything in the way of personal capitol, but nonetheless "some few field Negroes…raise fowls at times, and there are some few raise pigs and sell them" (House of Commons 1790: 274). Those of the enslaved people who did own a pig were generally allowed to freely take the cane tops, after crushing, in order to feed their animals, and sometimes were given the skimmings off the sugar boiling as well (House of Commons 1790: 288). He also notes that black tradesmen (of which there are many, especially carpenters, coopers, masons, and blacksmiths) would theoretically be allowed to earn money for their free work on Sundays, but that few hire them to do so.

Nonetheless, Woolrich records that he himself paid slaves of others for gathering grass for his horse, usually paying them in tobacco or "salt herrings" and sometimes in cloths such as "osnaburghs or coarse linens" (House of Commons 1790: 287). This he estimated to be worth the equivalent of "two bits worth, or about 1 1 *d.* sterling" (House of Commons 1790: 287) although this seems rather a lot.

Noting that, under the laws of the Leeward Islands, enslaved people are prohibited from owning horned cattle or sheep, Wentworth asserts that enforcement had "fallen into disregard in this island" and many of them in fact owned cattle (Wentworth 1835: 178). Some were even rented from the slave by the owner of one of the estates. An 1823 report shows that the enslaved people collectively held £14,762 worth of goods, chiefly cattle, pigs, chickens and horses, as well as, intriguingly, 23 boats and £700 worth of property in buildings in town (presumably in shares) (Dookhan 1975: 84). In addition, they held 1,675 acres of land which produced over £5,800

annually in goods, although this figure may have confused the property of the free and enslaved people of African descent.

Religion and Enslaved People

Dookhan argues that religion was used as a tool by whites when it suited their needs, and was ignored when it did not (Dookhan 1975: 86). An equally cynical opinion of religious instruction is expressed by Quaker missionaries visiting in 1841, just after the end of slavery, who notes that before emancipation ministers did not press baptism or other ceremonies on the enslaved people. However, when the formerly enslaved people might have the means to pay for it, the "clergy of the different sects, since the date of emancipation, have strongly urged the free colored people to control to this and other ceremonial rights" (Truman, et al. 1844: 35).

The enslaved people were not ministered to by the early Anglican ministers of Tortola, and the relationship of the Quaker population and their enslaved people is an issue for study in this project (see Chapter four for a discussion of Quakers and slavery in general). The major group to work with the enslaved (and free black) community were the Methodists, who arrived in the late 1700s. Despite the success of Methodism among the enslaved people, it still appears that interest among the white population was the primary goal of the missionaries. In the 1820s, the number of missionaries on Tortola was increased from 2 to 3 due to a "very extensive revival of religion" and, "what is the cause of great thankfulness, the work, though chiefly among the free people of color, and slaves, was not confined to that class of the inhabitants, but I understand a number of white families, of the very first standing in the community, have united with our society as well" (Kidder 1852: 10-11).

Several Methodists in the 1820s were apparently convinced that their religion served to control their enslaved people. One reported that after his slaves' conversion to Methodism, he felt comfortable giving them a great deal of liberty, stating "I can trust my men to go in my boat to Tortola [from St. John], any day in the year. They land, walk about, go where they please, and I have only to say what hour I want them to be ready to start, and when I go to the boat, there they are, punctually and faithfully" (Kidder 1852: 79-80). This he attributed "to the influence of our holy religion…Some of our people are Christians, and would not leave us, because they think it would be wrong."

Early Government

Government was virtually nonexistent in the earliest days of settlement. Various men were appointed the "deputy governor" of Tortola by the commanders of nearby British military forces after its conquest in 1672, but their powers were unclear. Edwards states that the government was entirely that of a deputy governor, who made judgments and settled disputes by himself (Edwards 1805: Book III, p. 185). However, Dookhan writes that "the office of the deputy-governor did not carry any specific executive, legislative or juridical functions" and he had no military power or law enforcement mechanisms (Dookhan 1975: 20), and no taxes were raised except by voluntary contribution (Edwards 1805: Book III:185). At one point, the deputy-governor seems to have been (formally or *de facto*) the captain of whatever sailing vessel was visiting the islands at the time (Dookhan 1975: 20).

Several attempts to impose a more formal and effective government were made, beginning in 1709 with the efforts by a Captain Walton to have the Islands named their own colony (with himself as Governor). Walton was named lieutenant governor of the Virgin islands (CO 314/1#1), probably the first government official to receive that title. Walton continued as Lt. Gov of the VI from 11 Sept 1707 until about Aug 1709 (CO 152/10#66), but no one seems to have replaced him, or if a successor was chosen it was not thought worth reporting to London, and is therefore unrecorded. Other efforts to create governments and legal systems are detailed by Dookhan (1975), but the formality of these efforts belies the real state of lawlessness which probably prevailed. When in 1734 the Governor of the Leeward Islands ordered that a Mr. Pasea be named Deputy Governor of Tortola, half the people there rejected him, declared that a leader should be voted for, and there was a brawl and shots fired between the parties and the crew of the vessel that brought the order. When Pasea appealed to the Governor for "justice" he was answered that "to bring them to justice…there was impractical" (CSP 1734: 216).

In 1740, one correspondent writes to the Council for Trade and Plantations in London that "These are the only islands belonging to the crown of Great Britain that remain neglected for they have neither Law or Gospel among them, the general of the Leeward Islands nominated a Governor who sometimes goes down to visit then as they have no Law binding on them but the Laws of Nature which are often dispensed with[.] they lve [sic] in a most abandoned manner [and] if in their Cupps or Passions they commit Murder, they must remain unpunished having no regular courts" (CO 152/23#77).

A form of government seems to have taken shape by the 1740s, although it was minimal, consisting of a Lieutenant Governor for the whole of the BVI and a few appointed legal officials, named from among the wealthy planters. In 1756 an almost comical report (CO 152/28#82) lists James Purcell as the Lt. Governor of Tortola, and Samuel Pickman as the Deputy Governor of Spanish Town (Virgin Gorda), then proceeds to list Purcell also as the Judge of the Admiralty, Register of Deeds, Collector of the Customs of Tortola, Anguilla, Spanish Town, and all the Virgin Islands, Deputy Naval Office of all the Virgin Islands, Deputy Secretary of all the Virgin Islands, and Deputy Provost of all the Virgin Islands.

During James Purcell's governorship we have a picture of government and legal disputes written by the visiting Dr. Poole in 1753:

> In this place there are no Lawyers, which the Inhabitants esteem as Part of their Happiness. Every Matter of Injury, Debate or Doubt, is brought before the Court, which is composed of seven Counsellors [sic], with the Governor, who is chief Judge. Here every Cause is heard, and soon determined…. The House of meeting for this Purpose is, at present, a private one in the Road [Road Town] (Poole 1753: 377)

Woolrich also notes that while he was in residence from 1753 to 1773, there was a court held three or four times a year administered by six local magistrates and the governor, and that this provided as "good and regular order as I judge it was in any of the other Islands" (House of Commons 1790: 281).

In 1773, Governor Ralph Payne of the Leeward Islands established a formal legislative government consisting of a Council of twelve (appointed by himself) and an elected Assembly of eleven men (Dookhan 1975: 31-3). While the Virgin Islands were now internally self-governing, they were still considered a colony of the Leeward Islands colony, and their laws were subject to the approval of both the Governor and the Crown. The voters were, of course, to be propertied white men. As part of this process, political power completed its slow shift from Virgin Gorda, to separate and shared, to entirely being vested in Tortola. This government was called with the explicit instructions that their first item of business would be to impose the same 4 ½% tax on themselves that others in the Leeward Islands had to pay (Dookhan 1975: 31-3; Edwards 1805: Book III:186).

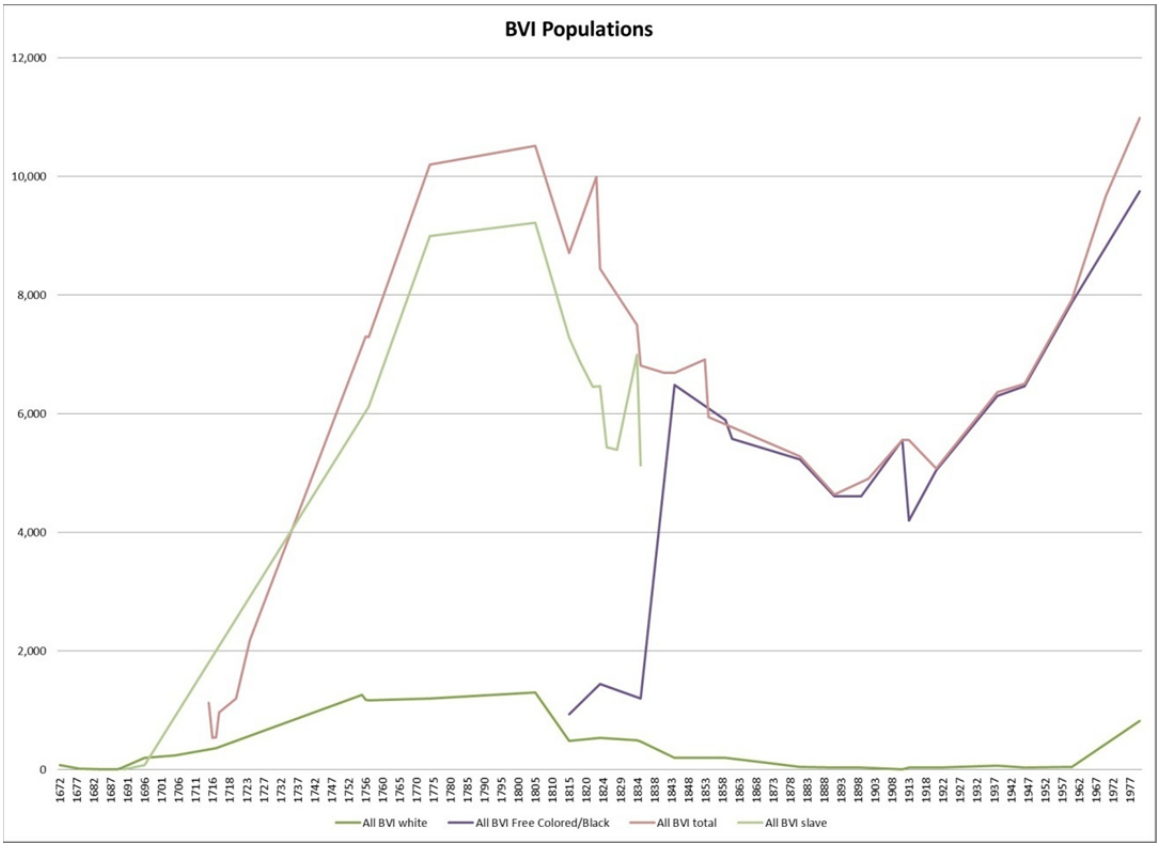

Figure 5.1: *Chart of the Population of the British Virgin Islands from 1672 to 1977, created by the author compiled from several sources (see text).*

Population History

The library and archival research for this project has resulted in a great deal of information on the various population figures that have been given for the BVI at various points in its history. These were compiled into one master table, which has been used to produce the chart of BVI populations given as Figure 5.1. Some notes are in order about how this chart were created.

First, all numbers given by contemporaries are most probably estimates to begin with. The substantial differences between two detailed censuses, in 1716 and 1717, have already been noted above. The inhabitants of the BVI had no love for early efforts to govern them, and many were probably suspicious of those who came to make such records. In 1717, when representatives from the government arrived "one Ham a notorious villain living on Beef Island [who] was on board of Bellame ["Black Sam" Bellamy] the Pirate when he was here, and as soon as they fired a gun at Virgin Gorda [i.e. when the government representatives arrived], he betook himself to a Bermuda boat he has and his negroes, and lurkt about the creeks and islands, until we were gone" (CSP 1717 639.i)

Some of the earliest sources mention the population of only white men, or how many "families" were present. Here these have been converted to specific numbers for women, children, and enslaved people, based on averages derived from two censuses, in 1716 and 1717. Terms like "a few" have been estimated (a "few" is given as 5) and ranges have been averaged ("about 70 or 80" is converted to 75). Nonetheless, with all these problems, these figures offer a basic window into population trends and changes.

The sources for this data include published works (Abraham 1933; Anderson 1764; Anonymous 1843; Burns 1965; Carey 1823; Commissioners for Trade and Plantations 1734/5; De Booy and Faris 1918; Dookhan 1975; Harrigan and Varlack 1975; Ingram 1983; Jenkins 1923; Martin 1834; Watkins 1924) and the following archival sources: Census of the BVI 1980 (Occasional Pub #3, Statistics Division, Chief Minister's Office, Road Town, BL CSF 336/16), CO 152/11#6 encl (vi), CO 152/12#67 encl (viii), CO 152/28#BC83, CO 239/1#8, CSP 1668:1788, CSP 1678: 741, CSP 1697-1698:1347, CSP 1717 639.i, CSP 1718:298, PP 1825(114):25, PP 1826(81):110-115, PP 1837-38(520):145, and PP 1844(591):333.

Trade and Communications

Although by no means inaccessible, the British Virgin Islands were, by and large, not well integrated into the Atlantic trade. Direct connections to England seem to have been rare. In 1724, the Virgin Islands had no direct shipping with England, and no customs houses, and their "small quantities" of sugar, molasses and cotton were generally traded to the Dutch at St. Eustatius (CSP 1724: 260(viii)). In 1734, a report by the Lords of Trade states that Tortola had "no immediate intercourse" with Britain and that the trade was not yet worth the trouble of establishing a Customs house (Commissioners for Trade and Plantations 1734/5: 10). This caused difficulty for at least two Quaker ministers to Tortola, who were detained there four months trying to find passage to Europe (Anonymous 1787: 284).

John Coakley Lettsom, son of the owners of Little Jost van Dyke, calls the whole of the BVI's export at the time of his birth "inconsiderable" and writes that it primarily took place with British ports of Lancaster and Liverpool (Lettsom 2003 [1804]: 15), but no ships from London regularly called in the BVI until the 1770s, and then only two or sometimes three a year came from that port (House of Commons 1790: 279). Communication with London proved as difficult as travel: in their letters to London Yearly Meeting, the Quaker community of the BVI frequently

mentioned others that had "miscarried" as in 1745 (FH Port 28:8), or apologizes for their letters arriving late (FH Port 28:34).

St. Thomas became the trade hub for the Virgin Islands, and most produce exported and manufactured goods imported there passed through this nearby Dutch port. In the 1820s, it was reported as a source for "India goods, tea, spices, Canton crape, Madras coifs, nankeens, &c.; wines, spirits, and preserved fruits from France; dried meats, medicinal waters, linen, &c., from Germany; lumber, shingles, maize, salt fish, &c. from the States; the coffee, cotton , rum of the Antilles; —these, with articles of European manufacture, whether for use of luxury, from a toy to a steam-boat, may find purchasers at St. Thomas" (Anonymous 1843: 92-3). In the 1920s it was noted that most BVI trade was still through that port (Jenkins 1923: 91-2), and in fact even today many BVIslanders travel to St. Thomas to shop at Kmart and other US chain stores.

Manufactured goods were available in the eighteenth century, but not always easily. Merchants were few, and frequently lived only part of the year on Tortola. Woolrich writes that at the time (the 1760s) "it was customary to hold the stores about six months in the year at the crop time, for the selling of their goods and loading the ships; and the merchants frequently returned to Liverpool in the ships they brought their cargos in, and shut up their stores the remainder part of the year" (House of Commons 1790: 278).

Only in 1785 with establishment of a "packet station" at Road Town and the use of that port as a rendezvous point for the Leeward Islands convoy to Britain was regular communication facilitated between the BVI and its mother country (Dookhan 1975: 56), and this did not last. By the 1830s, once again, "not above two or three" British ships call on the BVI in a year (Martin 1834: 508). Even in the modern era, as late as the 1970s, Pyle reported that all manufactured goods are frequently hard to come by even on larger islands of the Lesser Antilles; even items such as nails were difficult to acquire and residents had to develop ways to make do or wait until they could be located (Pyle 1981: 86). This problem even impacted early archaeological work: Figueredo reports that in 1972 eggs, meat and milk were difficult to obtain while in Virgin Gorda on a survey project, and most food was either from the sea or from cans (Figueredo 1974: 134). Thankfully, present-day archaeologists have no such difficulty, and today's BVI is well-supplied with virtually any item of merchandise or food.

Religion and the Planter Population

Religion has been a major structuring factor in British social life, but on the margins of the British colonial world, it was not always an early development. In the BVI, no formal religious institutions (other than the Quakers, see below) was present until the nineteenth century. I have already mentioned the 1709 report by Governor Parke that the people of the BVI "have neither Divine [Minister] nor Lawyer amongst them, they take each others words in marriage; they think themselves Christians because they are descended from such (CSP 1709: 597(i)). In 1740, a report to the Council for Trade and Plantations states of BVIslanders, "As for Religion that sits very light on them, when they have fifty or Sixty Children to baptize, they send for a Clergyman to some of the other English Islands, who comes down to make them Christians, and so returns back to his own Care" (CO 152/23#77). This practice was common in the rural Caribbean.

John Latham was appointed minister in Tortola in 1745, evidently "to combat the growth of Quakerism" (Dookhan 1975: 88). Quaker Meeting members write that their non-Quaker fellow "Islanders have hired [him] among them" and that this effectively dampened conversions to Quakerism (FH Port 28:38), suggesting that for at least some members, Quakerism may have been turned to because no other options existed. Latham had no church, and so it was his "Custom… as I am informed, to preach in private Homes, one Sabbath in one Place, and another in another, and extend his Attendance by Rotation to four parts of the Island" (Poole 1753: 373). This itinerant preaching seems to have continued even after a church and Methodist Meetinghouse were built in Road Town, as it is noted as late as 1820 (Anonymous 1843: 89).

However, Latham did not, remain long in Tortola. A few days later, Poole writes that Latham has "a few Days since, left them, and they have now neither Church or Minister." He does, however, mention one religious group which remains: "People, called Quakers, are said to have two Meeting-Houses, which they attend upon the Sabbath. Quakerism was chiefly propagated and promoted here, by Mr. Chalkley, some Years since, who died in this island" (Poole 1753: 377).

Some of Latham's successors as mainstream religious figures were sometimes depicted in less than complimentary stories, focusing not on Christian love but avarice or violence. For instance, Wentworth gives the story of "*parson* Audain" who was "not content with praying against the enemies of his country [but] fought against them also" by fitting out a schooner as a privateer (Wentworth 1835: 205-6). At one point, he even left in the middle of a sermon because he could see, from the pulpit, an enemy vessel within reach (Wentworth 1835: 208-9). Based on context, Audain would have been present in the BVI in the early nineteenth century.

In general, the historic accounts paint a substantially negative picture of BVI planter's religious and moral life. Dr. Poole laments the state of religion in the Islands, and writes that the "horrid Custom of profane Cursing and Swearing in the Place" was a "Matter of daily Grief and Concern to me" and he was unable to alter this practice, though he frequently "advised against it" (Poole 1753: 377-8). In 1771 Samuel Fothergill, a noted Quaker, writes to a friend, James Jolly of Warrington, heading for Tortola, "Thy lot is changed from the warm bosom of society to a land of drought, where the distilling of heavenly doctrine outwardly as the dew is little known and, with many, little desired" and he warns him ominously that "The climate is often unhealthy; let it put thee upon thy guard, in every respect, and raise fervent care, that whenever the Master of the house cometh, he may not find thee sleeping, or worse employed" (Crosfield 1843: 511). In point of fact, Jolly did die shortly after his arrival in Tortola.

As noted above, there was no church in the BVI in the eighteenth century, and ministers traveled to individual homes in different parts of the island to conduct services. Watkins suggests that a church was used for the meeting of the legislature in its early days, about 1773 (Watkins 1924: 137), but this is not substantiated. The author of the "Letters" writes that the Anglican church in Road Town was built about 15 years before, or the middle of the 1810s (Anonymous 1843: 18). Major Dougan writes in 1825 that until seven years earlier, there was no church in Tortola (PP 1825(115):11), placing the construction of the first church around 1818. The Methodist Meetinghouse appears to have been built about the same time, and it is not referred to before that

date, however, a 1789 letter by a Methodist Minister on Tortola at least alludes to the planned construction of a Meetinghouse at that time (HCL, Coll 861, Roberts Papers, Hammet to Lille 1789).

Enslaved people were not ministered to by the early Anglican ministers of Tortola, and it would be the Methodists who made the major inroads in proselytizing to the enslaved people. In 1789 Dr. Coke writes of the arrival of members of the Methodist "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel", and relates that a Mr. Hammet, who had been on his way to missionize Jamaica, received such a welcome in St. Croix and Tortola that it was decided that he would instead split his time between those islands (Coke 1789). Interestingly, he states that the minister was allowed to preach a sermon at the house of "an old Quaker-lady" on St. Croix. The existence of a surviving 1789 letter from Hammet to Dorcas Lillie, an active early member of the Tortola Meeting (see Lillie 1832) who relocated to that island in (HCL, Coll 861, Roberts Papers, Hammet to Lille) strongly suggests that this was her house.

A final note on religion is that some measure of religious toleration may have been present before the organization of the Quaker community in 1740. A single "Jew," Isaac Du Porto, is listed as a signatory of the 1727 proclamation of George II, read in Tortola October 7th of that year (CO 152/16#67). There are also Moravian, Baptist, and Wesleyan missionaries present in the 1820s (Anonymous 1843: 226).

The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

Although this time period falls outside the focus of this study, a very brief summary of later developments will be useful in understanding the political and economic context in which the archaeological work of 2008-2010 was conducted.

"Freedom" came to all enslaved people in the British Empire, nominally, in 1834, but in response to fears of various sorts, this freedom came with the baggage of the apprentice system. As elsewhere, the newly freed in the BVI were subject to 45 hours a week of compulsory labor, wage limitations for any work done beyond this, restricted freedom of movement, and assorted other laws which sought to prevent "indolence" among other perceived sins (Dookhan 1975: 120). The 5,115 people apprenticed in the British Virgin Islands were legally freed on August 1, 1838 (Dookhan 1975: 124-5), as apprenticeship ended throughout the British Empire.

Landowners desiring labor on their estates were now require to pay wages, but the continuing decline in the sugar industry limited the work to be done. This, in turn, led to property values declining, and this enabled some of the black population to acquire their own lands and begin their own small farms as they were unable to do elsewhere. This trend was exacerbated by various acts of civil disobedience and violence by the black population, especially the 1851 (1853 in some sources) "Rebellion" which, though the British military restored control, is claimed to have driven virtually every white person from the islands at least temporarily (Harrigan and Varlack 1991).

Planters found themselves pushed to implementing the sharecropping system known as *metayage*, in which the planters and workers, in effect, partnered, the former providing land and equipment the latter labor with both sides splitting the profits (Dookhan 1975: 128-9). Even this practice could not save sugar production, and Dookhan suggests that the white population was generally pessimistic about prospects in the Virgin Islands, and left the country in ever greater numbers over the last half of the nineteenth century. By 1865 the majority of the land of the BVI was legally held by blacks, and by the end of the century it was virtually all small landowners holding less than a hundred acres (Dookhan 1975: 136). While small, these parcels were generally much larger than other freed slaves could aspire to elsewhere in the Caribbean. By the end of the century, there were only 32 white residents of the BVI (Dookhan 1975: 129).

Conditions in the BVI were characterized as poor by the turn of the twentieth century, with the government deeply in debt and no viable economy to speak of (Dookhan 1975: 218). Economic progress was slow, and De Booy and Faris report that in 1918 the major products were fresh fruit and charcoal, along with "drawn work [embroidery], in the making of which the women are quite expert" (De Booy and Faris 1918: 236). Nonetheless, black residents were dissatisfied with the economic situation, and many sought work elsewhere, causing a decline in the overall population.

Watkins (1924: 141-2) provides us with general figures on occupation for the Leeward islands colonies, including the BVI, in 1921. At that time in the BVI about 34% were engaged in agriculture, 11% in Industries, 9% in Domestic service (which raises the question of whom they were serving), 3.5% in commerce, 1.5% in public service and professions, and the remaining 40% were "unemployed" (although this figure includes children). At that time, of the 5,082 people in the Virgin Islands, 2,307, or 45% were able to read and write.

A variety of governments were instituted and abolished by the British from the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries, but actual representative government was very limited until 1950. That year the Legislative Council was restored, now consisting of four elected and four appointed members (Dookhan 1975: 221). Property requirements remained for those who stood for election, but universal adult suffrage (after passing a literacy test) was instituted for the first time, as was the secret ballot.

Tourism began to be a major factor in the 1960s with the opening of a high-end resort at Little Dix Bay in 1964 and the arrival of charter yachts at the Moorings resort in 1969, leading towards a major boom in both visitors and residents in the 1980s (Rogers 2009). A 1984 act of the legislature opened the door to offshore banking and the financial services sector. Between these forces, the BVI has risen to become one of the most wealthy parts of the Caribbean.

Quakerism in the British Virgin Islands

Missionaries and Formation of the Meeting

The first Quaker recorded to have visited any of the Virgin Islands arrived the 30th of the Fifth Month (by the old calendar, July) 1727: Joshua Fielding, who spent just over a month on Virgin

Gorda and Tortola (Jenkins 1891: 6). In Virgin Gorda he "had sundry large meets, at ye Governours house [unnamed, but at this time Virgin Gorda had a separate Governor than Tortola], and Elsewhere on ye Island, at all wch ye People were very kind and attentive" (Fielding 1927 [1728]: 28). His description of his time on Tortola is equally sparse: "Leaving Spanish Town [Virgin Gorda], the 12th 6 mo. I arrived at Tortolla [sic], having many meetings among a sober ffriendly People, at Old Road [Road Town], and other Places, wch were large and comfortable" (Fielding 1927 [1728]: 28).

This brief visit made a great impression on a planter named Abednego Pickering, and on his son, John, then about 20. Fourteen years later, John wrote a letter to the London Yearly Meeting describing the events of that visit and following (reprinted, along with a great deal of other useful information in Jenkins 1923). He describes how his father, either already, or after Fielding's visit came to consider himself a Quaker, but was alone in this profession. A man, who goes unnamed, who works for Abednego (ironically as an overseer of his enslaved people) comes to share his beliefs, and after Abednego's death about 1734, it is around this man that a small group begins to form.

No formal Meeting, or possibly even regular religious Meetings take place, however, until several years later. Around 1738, another Quaker visits Tortola: James Birket, a Lancaster merchant who apparently has family ties to some of the planter families, arrives and finds half a dozen who consider "that to be the true Way of Worship which the People called Quakers hold with" (Jenkins 1923: 8). Birket himself wrote of this in 1739: "When I was first there they had not held any Meetings though Several were pretty fully Convinced of our [Quakers'] principles; But last year as their Number Increased, They were concerned to meet together in Silence On First Days and Some time after on Week Days also" (Vaux 1902). These early Meetings were held at John Pickering's house in Fat Hog's Bay one week and the house of a man named Townsend Bishops in Road Town the next, and also some Friends met more informally in smaller groups for mid-week meetings.

This is not, apparently, the beginning of the formal business meetings, for Pickering complains in his 1740 letter that they are "very Ignorant of True Order that I Believe is kept in the friends Meetings, Especially the Manner of Marriages, and the Intent of what is meant by Mens or Womens Meetings" (Jenkins 1923: 9). Thus he asks for help from London and in a separate letter to Philadelphia to send someone to instruct them in these matters. It is at this time that the formal records of the Tortola Monthly Meeting, as it came to be called, begin. These offer us an occasionally detailed, and often opaque window into the social life of the little community. The records mention 84 people as members, and record the deaths of 15 members and births of 53, and record marriages and disciplinary actions, although these (especially the latter) are often fragmentary. These were transcribed for this project from a microfilm made of the surviving documents held by Haverford College (HC Film 128). Additional records are held by Friends House Library in London, and include the record of formal annual correspondence between the London Yearly Meeting and Tortola.

There followed a stream of Quaker missionaries to the BVI, who came to stay for a few days or weeks, attend and advise Meetings, and preach to any who would listen. The histories of each are better recorded elsewhere, but they bear listing. The first and most famous was Thomas

Chalkley in 1741 (Anonymous 1787; Chalkley 1751; Chalkley 1808), then John Estaugh and John Cadwallader the following year. It should be noted that Chalkley, Cadwallader, and Estaugh all died within weeks or days of their arrival in Tortola, and were buried next to the Meetinghouse in Fat Hog's Bay. Their graves have been the site of interest for later Quaker visitors for decades, although many visitors have had difficulty locating them and misidentified a nearby graveyard near Bar Bay as their final resting place (see below). Each missionary also reports a great welcome by the planters, and large meetings in various parts of the BVI, including Jost van Dyke, attended by "many people, diverse of them not of our profession" (Chalkley 1808: 288). Next came Peter Fearon in 1746, then Daniel Stanton and Samuel Nottingham (who eventually settled in the BVI, the only person known to have arrived in the BVI as a Quaker rather than being a planter who converted later) in 1748, Phoebe Smith and Mary Evans, the only known female missionaries to Tortola, visited in 1750 then Thomas Lancaster and Peter Fearon on a second visit later that same year, and finally Thomas Gawthrope in 1756/7 (Anonymous 1787; Jenkins 1923).

Progress and Decline

The members of the new Meeting met frequently both in Meetinghouses (at least two of which were quickly established, one on Tortola's East End at Fat Hog's Bay and one at Road Town) and in private homes. These occurred regularly twice weekly and at other intervals as well. Monthly Meetings for Business or "Discipline" took place for the BVI Friends in the Meetinghouses in Road Town and Fat Hog's Bay (after 1743 exclusively at Fat Hog's Bay). These Meetings were monthly (although in practice in the BVI they were sometimes missed) and Records were generally carefully kept for these Business Meetings, although these too are incomplete, and the records of the Tortola Meeting survive (HCL Microfilms Box 128), albeit in fragmentary form, and have been used extensively in this project.

By the mid 1750s, we have many instances of minutes for meetings which consist of only a single line to the effect that there is nothing to report, as few members come to the Meetings for Business. The one for 27th of 10th Month 1755 complains that "Meetings for business are so much neglected from a Supineness among friends that nothing more remains at present then to nominate the date such a M^{g} should be held on" (TMM Minutes 1:33).

Membership may have been a more informal status than usually thought. In October 1741, the group writes "we have near One Hundred friends that attends the Meetings for Worship at these Meetings besides several that frequently comes in" (FH London Yearly Meeting Epistles Received 3:90, TMM to London 1741). Later on, expressing worry at the state of the meeting, the annual letter to London laments the casual nature of the association of many: there are "such who have at times been inwardly affected by its appearance to their illuminated understandings; joining with the Loves of it for a time, yet grown weary + ashamed of the Cross of Christ" (FH LYM Epistles Received 3:453, TMM to London, 1758).

As early as 1743, in their letter to London the Friends lament that "we can see a great Declension in some, and some Run quite Out, yet through Mercy we have had as many or more added to our number" (FH Port: 28:36). The next letter reports that most of these had returned to the meeting,

and there are "yet more added to our number" (6th of 10 Mo 1743, FH Port 28:37), but again in 1745 Tortolan Friends writing to London again note a "a great Slackness, and drawing back from the Truth, being among some of us" (FH Port 28:8).

The last few entries to the Men's minutes suggest that illness or death may have been the "last straw" to the recorded history of the Meeting. There is no record for the 4th or 5th Month of 1762, but the entry for the 6th seems to pick up in the middle of things, referring to "the yearly Epistle sent from London" (TMM Minutes 3:37). The context is that this letter has not yet been answered because the friend appointed has fallen sick. The persons almost universally appointed to respond to letters are William Strong, the clerk and person primarily responsible for keeping these records, and John Pickering, Senior, the force behind the founding of the Meeting. After the next entry, 7th month 1762, the record ends, suggesting that William Strong may have passed away, since we know that Pickering died in 1768.

However it is important to remember that the formal Meeting structure, while an important part of Quaker social and religious life, is not all of Quakerism. As a group founded on the lack of necessity of religious structures, it is capable of continuing with only a small group in an informal way. This appears to have happened on Tortola, where even after the records of the Meeting and correspondence with London end, a few who consider themselves Friends remain and continue to practice, gathering for religious Meetings if not Meetings for Business.

The few friends who remain still carried out some of the functions of Meetings for Business, despite their small numbers. At least two certificates—letters issued by Meetings for Business as a sort of recommendation to be carried by members of that Meeting traveling to other places—are sent, for Samuel Wyley and Thomas Humphreys in 1768 and 1770 respectively. In the latter, the remaining Friends write that they are "surrounded with" many "bad examples" and they live in a land "where pride and vanity almost universally prevails" (Jenkins 1891: 54).

A 1770 letter from Friends in Tortola to London relates that,

> We still continue to keep up our Little Meeting on first days, and although our Numbers are but few, we comfort ourselves together in that most gracious Promise of our blessed Saviour that where two or three are gather together in his Name He'd be in the midst of them; the verification of which we are earnest for, & I hope in measure experience (FH London Yearly Meeting Papers, 1770, #8 Misc. Papers)

The Lettsom Family

Context: Jost van Dyke

Three miles to the northwest of Tortola lies Jost van Dyke, the smallest of the BVI's four main islands. Like most of the islands other than Tortola and Virgin Gorda, Jost van Dyke (colloquially called just "Jost" by most BVIslanders, pronounced most often as "yost" but sometimes with a hard "j" sound as well) was probably first used by Europeans only as grazing

lands for cattle and goats, often without any residents to keep them. A 1711 report states of all the "Out Islands," Jost included, that "they serve only as so many Parks, for the inhabitants of the aforesaid Islands [Tortola and Virgin Gorda] to keep their Stocks on" (CO 152/10#66).

In a letter from Governor Hamilton to the Council for Trade and Plantations in London dated April 10, 1716, an enclosure gives a report on the potential of the various Virgin Islands, and states that "As for the Rest of the Small Islands or Keys Rather they are good for nothing but to food goats on being Rockey, Barren, Land having Nothing but Shruby Bushes thereon, Except one Called Gross Vandiks which has Som good houses built on it" (CO 152/11#6 encl. (v)). However, a 1717 report states that no islands except Tortola, Virgin Gorda, and Beef Island are occupied at all at the time, contradicting the suggestion that Jost was inhabited (CSP 1717 639.i). Perhaps the "good houses" were more temporary shelters for those tending livestock or crops left on the island?

Another possibility is that these "good houses" were the homes of enslaved people living without oversight, who were not included in counts of the 1717 report. This was not an uncommon practice, and was discussed by merchant Thomas Woolrich: he notes one planter who owned an unnamed cay and left six newly purchased slaves alone on the island to farm cotton. A white overseer came to put them to work on weekdays, but left them alone during the times they were given to build their own houses and farm their own provisions (House of Commons 1790: 273). This practice is known in the early nineteenth century on Norman, Cooper, Ginger, Great Thatch, Prickly Pear, Little Jost van Dyke, Great Tobago, and Dead Man's Chest islands (PP 1826(81):110-115), and appears to be relatively common in marginal areas: Armstrong reports that the same was the case in this time in the nearby plantations of St. John's East End, where prior to 1834 no free people lived on the estates at all (Armstrong 2003: 112-3).

The 1716 letter from Governor Hamilton, cited above, also came with a map which omits Jost can Dyke (as well as Norman island) entirely (Kew MPII 1/25). Jost and Little Jost both first appear on a survey map of 1739 (Kew CO 700/Virgin islands1). This suggests the low level of importance placed on this land early on.

In 1740, some of the out islands are listed as having very recently been "manur'd" or cultivated, and they are together reported to "make about 60,000 [pounds of?] Cotton and in a few years more will be Capable of making upwards of 400,000" (CO 152/23#78). That report also lists Jost specifically as having only just been settled: "Jos: Vandyke is just begun to be Cleared, and May make in a few years above 100,000 Cotton" (CO 152/23#78). However, by the 1820s, one traveler still described Great Harbor, Jost's main settlement then and now, as "a picture of the wildest seclusion I had yet witnessed" (Anonymous 1843: 74-5)

In the 1790s, cotton is the principle product of Jost, according to William Thornton (LoC, William Thornton Papers, MSS Collection 591, f. 2808). He also notes that "Sugar has also been made in several Estates, but they have all been deserted except one on the N. W. part, which still makes a little." In 1815, only about 4% of the island's land surface is under cultivation for cotton, producing about 21,000 pounds annually, a rather small amount, while about 3% is being cultivated for provisions; most of the land that is being used, about half, is for cattle (PP 1826(81):110-115). In 1823, this is down to 3% for cotton. With a population of 428 in 1815

and 506 in 1823, these figures are barely enough to survive, and most people probably gathered food from the nearby seas, reefs, and cays as their primary occupation, as well as being subsistence farmers.

The Lettsom Family

Although no source is offered, Fox states the Lettsom family came originally from a Cheshire town called "Letsom" which may be modern Ledsham, six miles northwest of the town of Chester (Fox 1919: 99). This is spelled "Ledsham" by Abraham (Abraham 1933: 8) and "Ledsom" by Pettigrew (Pettigrew 1817a: Vol 1, p. 5).

The earliest Lettsoms in the Caribbean region appear on two censuses, taken 1716 and 1717 on Tortola. In the first (CO 152/11#6 encl (vi)) "Jn^{o} Letsom" is listed with one woman, 5 children and 2 slaves living with him. This is very likely Edward's father, as it is a "John Lettsom" who first settled Little Jost van Dyke, where Edward lived in the 1740s (see below). While John and Jonathan are used interchangeably in the records, we will refer to this founder of the family line as "Jonathan" since that is how he is first listed, and in order to clarify what quickly becomes a tangled family tree. In the 1717 census (CO 152/12#67 encl (viii)) this Jonathan "Letsom" is listed as having only 4 children but 5 slaves; also listed that year is a "Robert Letsom," who is unmarried and has neither children nor slaves, and is most likely the eldest son of John, having left home between the two censuses. This places Jonathan Lettsom's age at about 40 in 1717, in order to have an eldest son leaving home.

The 1717 census also includes places of birth, and Jonathan is listed as having been born on St. Christopher's (today called St. Kitts), while Robert was born on Beef Island, an island nearly touching Tortola. This suggests that Jonathan Lettsom probably came to the BVI before Robert was born, around the turn of the century if he left home between the 1716 and 1717 documents, and settled for a time on Beef Island, where his eldest child was born. The 1716 census lists Beef Island separately, and Jonathan is included on Tortola instead, so he must have moved at some point between Robert's birth and the census, reflecting the informality of settlement at this early date, where planters may well have invested little in infrastructure and moved when convenient to another vacant plot of land.

At some point after 1717, probably around 1725, Jonathan Lettsom settles on the small island of Little Jost van Dyke (see below). He dies at some point after this and before the 1740s, when his presumed son and daughter-in-law, Edward and Mary Lettsom, are listed as owners of Little Jost. It is also only in the 1740s that the property is registered as being granted to Jonathan Lettsom, but this is backdated to 1725 (SCR, Deed Index, pages 317-318). It is Edward and Mary who become early members of the Quaker community, and whose occupation of the island we are focused on here.

Edward himself had at least two sons, Edward Jr., of whom virtually nothing is recorded, and John Coakley Lettsom, who was sent to England for schooling and eventually became a wealthy doctor (see below). Reconstructing the rest of the family history has been difficult due to the

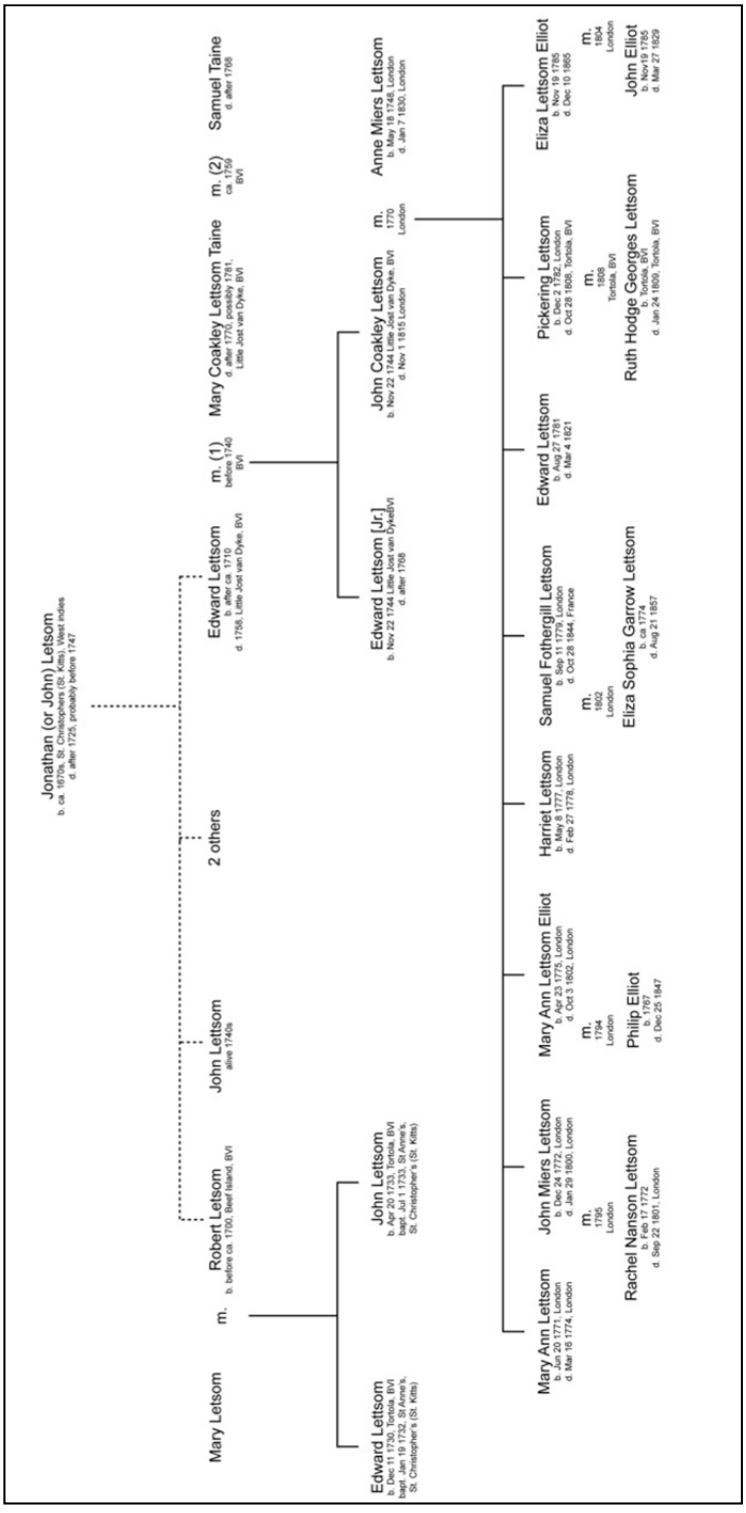

Figure 5.2: *Partially conjectural family tree of the Lettsom family of the eighteenth century.*

sparseness of records and the repetition of names. Figure 5.2 gives a partly conjectural family tree which clarifies the various Johns and Marys. Robert, probably the man listed in the 1717 census and a brother to Edward, also appears to have married a Mary, and they had at least two children: Robert (b. 1730) and John (b. 1733). Both of them were baptized a few months after their births in St. Kitts, probably the nearest accessible clergy (Oliver 1910: Vol 5, p. 321).

Another John Lettsom also appears in the records of the Tortola Monthly Meeting in the 1740s, and neither John Coakley Lettsom, nor his apparent cousin, John (born to Robert in 1733) would have been old enough. Jonathan, the father of Edward and grandfather of John Coakley, would not likely have still been alive (he would have been well over 60, which is quite possible, but if he had been living he would have likely still been the owner of Little Jost, while it is Edward and Mary who are listed as its owners in the BVI Supreme Court Registry records in the 1740s). Therefore, we may surmise that another of Jonathan Lettsom's children was named John as well, and this was he. Hunting also supposes this to be a brother of Edward Lettsom (Hunting 2003: 1), uncle to John Coakley Lettsom.

Edward Lettsom and Mary Coakley Lettsom Taine

The birth of Edward Lettsom, father to John Coakley, is not recorded, but he was not an adult in 1727 when his father and brother but not he appear as signatories on the proclamation of George II, read in Tortola October 7th of that year (CO 152/16#67). This places his birth after about 1710. Assent to this proclamation, a part of the succession of the throne, was required of all adult males. Edward died about 1758 (Lettsom 2003 [1804]: 18), and is described by Abraham (though without any source) as "a quiet pious, very hardworking planter who built up an excellent property by his own industry" (Abraham 1933: 15).

Mary, mother to John Coakley Lettsom, was, according to Pettigrew "lineally descended from Sir Caesar Coakley, an Irish baronet whose family for many years possessed a seat in the Parliament of that Kingdom" and suggests that some members of the family may have moved to the Caribbean during the Restoration in 1660, as they were "in favor of the Commonwealth" (Abraham 1933: 12). However, it should be noted that no Coakleys (or "Colcloughs," the Irish spelling) appear in Salmon's "A Short View of the Families of the Present Irish Nobility" (Salmon 1759), nor in the more substantial "Burke's Irish Family Records" (Montgomery-Massingberd 1976).

After the death of Edward in 1758, Mary remarried to Samuel Taine (erroneously named "Lane" by Jenkins in his otherwise excellent 1923 book, and by several other sources who have made use of that book), a cooper, almost immediately (Lettsom 2003 [1804]: 18). She was still alive when John Coakley Lettsom returned to Tortola in 1767, and Abraham suggests that she died in 1781, based on a letter which could not now be located (Abraham 1933: 55). She was definitely still alive in 1770 when her son John married, as his marriage certificate, preserved in the records of the Medical Society of London, lists him as "John Coakley Letsome of Greenwich Street London, Doctor of Physic, Son of Edward Letsome late of the Island of Tortola in the West Indies, deceased, and Mary his Wife him surviving" (MedSoc, Lettsom Papers).

Edward Lettsom was frequently given tasks by the Meeting, including "treating with" members seen as having acted in a disorderly manner and representing the Meeting on business. Mary Lettsom was less involved, and in fact was disowned by the Meeting shortly after her husband's death. This episode will be discussed further in chapter ten, but it should be noted here that this action does not imply Mary's rejection of Quakerism. A letter from Friends on Jost van Dyke concerning the proceedings in 1759 runs,

> Catherine George + Rebecca Clandaniel had Visited + treated with ye wife of Samial Tane formerly ye widow of Edward Lettsom De[cease]d for her Misbehaviour + Contrary walking Disagreable to Friends +Contrary to ye Church Discipline, + her Answer is that Friends Slited her + set her at Noat + she being Left as it where Destitute from human help not a Negro to asist her + thereby uncapeable of attending her Meetings being at a Distance from her, + thinking it hard to be slited by Friends in her Distress Resolv^{d} not to Attend Meetings til some Friend or Other should Visit her, *but she [de]Clared the Truth [i.e. Quakerism] having Nothing to say Against it*, but wold not Resolve whether she wold Attend her Meetings hereafter yea or nea (TMM Minutes 7:53, emphasis added).

When Mary remarries to Samuel Taine, a cooper, it is notable that she chooses a man who her neighbors on Jost van Dyke report "says his Mother was a weighty Friend in the Island of Barbados + he him self spakes well of Friends" (TMM Minutes 7:53). The influence of the Quaker Meeting may be cut short in the middle of the examined period on Little Jost van Dyke, but it appears that the influence of Quakerism was not.

Mary probably continued to live on Little Jost with her second husband. We are told in several letters between John Coakley Lettsom and William Thornton that *both* of Lettsom's parents are buried on Little Jost: it is highly unlikely that Mary's body would have been transported out to the tiny island for burial if she was living elsewhere, and so she most likely lived there until her death sometime after 1770, possibly 1781. As discussed below, the island was abandoned by 1791, and Mary is known to have kept only a few (possibly five, including two children) enslaved people with her, the rest of the people belonging to Edward's estate probably being hired out on Tortola, and so the island may have been abandoned soon after her death.

John Coakley Lettsom

While John, son of Edward and Mary, was only six when he left Little Jost van Dyke, returning only for a short period in 1767-8, and is thus not a major part of the story of that island, his fame has provided much of the historical documentation which survives, and so he deserves some discussion. Several substantial works exist to expand on this information (Abraham 1933; Lawrence and Macdonald 2003; Pettigrew 1817a; Pettigrew 1817b).

By his own account, John Coakley Lettsom was born November 22, 1744 on the island of Little Jost van Dyke (Lettsom 2003 [1804]). Because he went on to education and fame as a Doctor and member of British Society, founder of institutions and correspondent of many yet more

famous individuals, a wealth of archival and historical material has been gathered about him. Unfortunately, little written by him or others accounts for his early life, or even the six months he spent on Tortola in 1767-8.

One of the exceptions to this is an account written by Lettsom himself around 1804, only published in its entirety for the first time in 2003 (Lettsom 2003 [1804]). In this, he writes that his father owned "Little Vandyke, Green Island and Sandy island; besides which he owned a sugar plantation in Cane Garden Bay, Tortola" although his "favourite residence" was on Little Vandyke. On this island, "he cultivated cotton with the aid of about 50 slaves, whose humble cottages were situated on a declivity near his little mansion" (Lettsom 2003 [1804]). (This number of enslaved people is doubtful, as will be discussed more below.)

Probably through the connections of the Meeting, John's parents came to know the Quaker captain of a vessel which sometimes traded with Tortola, bringing its produce back to Lancaster. When he was six, in 1750, by agreement with his parents, this captain (a William Lindo) took him to England for education and placed him under the guardianship of two other Friends, brothers Abraham and Hatton Rawlinson. Lettsom says that he believes he was the first child from the Virgin Islands to be so educated. Lettsom's relationship with his parents, such as it was by the age of six (the last time he saw his father) was apparently close, as at the prospect of sending him away "a tenderness impressed their minds so forcibly" that they chose to postpone the plan a year. At the Rawlinsons', John met Samuel Fothergill, a well-known Quaker minister and the brother of probably the most famous medical doctor of the day, John Fothergill. These two would play key roles in both Lettsom's life and the Tortolan Meeting's spiritual life.

After beginning his medical education, but unable to afford to complete it, Lettsom returned to the BVI briefly. It was October of 1767 that Lettsom began his journey to return to the Virgin Islands for the first, and what would be his only journey to his birthplace since he left as a child (Oliver 1910: vol.3, 306). He arrived December 8, 1767 (Abraham 1933: 51) and appears to have lived and practiced medicine in Road Town, not on Little Jost van Dyke during this time: the anonymous author of the "Letters" describes him as "sometime a practitioner in Road-town" (Anonymous 1843: 74). He treated hundreds of patients, mostly enslaved people, in his six-month residency, amassed a near fortune of £2,000 from his practice, gave half to his mother, still apparently living on Little Jost, and returned to Europe to finish his medical education, begin his practice, and marry all by 1770 (Lawrence and Macdonald 2003).

John Coakley Lettsom's Enslaved People

Lettsom's fame in later life derives from his medical practice, founding of the Medical Society of London (an institution which still survives), and from his freeing of the enslaved people he inherited from his father. In a letter dated 1788 but without an addressee, Lettsom writes,

> When I came of age the only property I possessed was a little land and some slaves; to the latter I gave freedom, when I had not 50£ besides in the world. I never repented this sacrifice; indeed heaven has canceled it long ago, refunding innumerable unmerited blessings, and what I estimate still more gratefully, a heart to diffuse them. Though I practiced but five months in Tortola, I acquired nearly

> £2000, one half I gave to my mother; the other brought me to London, where I knew no individual.
>
> I had no address, no person or figure to show off, no relation whatever. In short, I might have tumbled out of a balloon from the clouds and met with as many friends. I have not the presumption to suppose that such an object as I feel myself, when contemplating infinite perfection and goodness, could merit my present blessings; but I hope it is not presumption to thank him that blesses me, for rewarding my humble imitation of his beneficence. I did not liberate my slaves from any advices of religions and professions, and I thought there was only one true Religion consisting in doing unto others, as we wished that others should do unto us (Lawrence and Macdonald 2003: 132-3).

The editors, however, point out that his description of his friendlessness upon arrival in London was a complete exaggeration, and the possible for creative memory is present in the remainder of the work as well, including the disposition of his slaves for which he is so famous.

Lettsom received an accounting of what was left of his enslaved people, which totaled 12 people valued at £444. The list is undated, probably an enclosure in a letter, and Abraham suggests that it may have been sent to him when he came of age in 1765 at the age of 21 (Abraham 1933: 55). The census survives (MedSoc, Lettsom Papers), and is worth quoting in full:

> An Inventory + Appraismenet of Sundry Negro Slaves Belonging to John Coakley Lettsome taken + appraised at the Request of John Downing Jun^{r}. Esq. by us the subscribers according to the best of our Judgements + Consciences + which we are willing to make oath to if thereto Required. –
>
> | | | |
> |---|---|---|
> | Rosett a Woman | old | £ 40.--.— |
> | Cudjoe a Man | d^{o} | 20.--.— |
> | Bentorah a Man | Young | 100.--.— |
> | Cassia a Woman | d^{o} | 83.--.— |
> | Cutto a Girl | d^{o} | 9.--.— |
> | Myal a Boy | | 9.--.— |
> | Toney a Boy | | 30.--.— |
> | Nanny a Girl | | 18.--.— |
> | | | £ 309.--.— |
>
> signed by Robert Johnson, William Niles + Caleb Rawleigh Esq.
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | Tom a Man sold for | 75.--.— |
> | Damon a Boy sold for | 60.--.— |
> | | £ 444.--.— |
>
> [In another hand, quick and informal]

> Tom proved such a Drunkard + Everything that was bad, I was oblidged to sell him for the above sum of £75
> Damon proves a Runaway + thief that I also sold him for £60
> Yr. Mother keeps Tracy, Issabel, Rosett + her Two Children, shall write you by Anderson

This document is also reprinted in Abraham (1933: 54) and most clearly in Hunting (2003: 304), although this transcription was taken from the original (MedSoc, Lettsom Papers). The quick second hand at the end is most likely that of Samuel Taine, who, as his step-father, would have probably controlled John's inheritance during his minority and absence, and so would have been legally able to sell Tom and Damon. The five mentioned as remaining with Mary Lettsom, probably on Little Jost van Dyke, imply that the remainder do not. If Little Jost was not under intensive cultivation, the others may have been taken to Tortola and hired out to produce income. This suggests that by the time of Mary's death very few remain living on Little Jost.

The question of Lettsom's slaves is a complicated one. As he relates it in the above quote, and as he is remembered by most writers, he freed his inherited enslaved people immediately upon arrival in the BVI in 1767. However, he also *purchased* two people, Sam and Teresa, from Samuel Taine, his step-father, at this time (Abraham 1933: 60-1). The sum paid for them, £200 for the two when a male slave in his prime was usually valued at £50-70 and a female quite a bit less, is quite substantial: a highly skilled artisan slave might cost £100, but these are listed as children, and so cannot have gained any great degree of skill. It appears that these people, too, were freed at least *de facto*, although formally and legally not until later.

It is tempting to imagine that Sam and Teresa may have been slaves of Lettsom's father, possibly even Lettsom's half-siblings. They are both listed as being of mixed-race. Their ages are not given, though they are referred to as "boy" and "girl," but this was less than ten years since Lettsom's father's death. The deed of sale was very formally recorded, and kept by the Lettsom family for two hundred years: a handwritten copy is present in the Medical Society of London (MedSoc, Lettsom Papers) along with a letter requesting the return of the original of Sir Thomas Colyer-Fergusson, a Lettsom descendant.

In contrast, none of Lettsom's other enslaved people appear to have been formally, legally freed until much later, if at all. Writing to Lettsom in the 1790s, his friend William Thornton writes: "Thy Slaves whose Services thou hast with great humanity never required, and who are free, *except in name* + thus enjoy thy protection might make Establishments in thy Island I think with advantage, and render productive what is now useless" (LoC, William Thornton Papers, MSS Collection 591, f. 2832, emphasis added). The quote shows two things: that John Coakley Lettsoms enslaved people were not legally freed, and at least in his friends' opinions were still under the influence of him, and that the island was, in 1791, well and truly abandoned. The exception to the lack of any legal manumission is the extraordinary case of Teresa, who Lettsom formally freed in 1782 in several extensive and extremely clear letters. Tom appears to have died while serving on a Navy vessel before this date.

Lettsom also freed eight additional people in 1792, also by mail from England. These are listed as "Isabella with her two children, Margaret with her two children, and Jane with her one child"

and this is recorded in "Lib. G. Folios 182 and 183" on October 17, 1792 (FH, Box L 20/06). The lack of overlap of names between this document and the 1767 appraisal of Lettsom's inheritance suggests that Lettsom may have held other enslaved people, possibly acquired when he was resident in Tortola in the 1760s, who he did not free. The only person who may be listed on both the 1767 census and the 1792 emancipation documents is "Issabel" or Isabella. These people might have been those who were with John's mother when she died, a decade earlier, but where they lived for that intervening period is a mystery, as they had not been on Little Jost for some time before William Thornton visited the island in 1791 (see below).

Little Jost van Dyke

Little Jost van Dyke, commonly referred to as "Little Jost" locally, is an irregularly shaped island, about a mile by a half mile at the greatest extent (800 meters by 1.6 kilometer). It is steep, rising to over 100 meters at its highest point, and largely rocky, having areas of enormous, well weathered volcanic boulders. Today it is populated primarily by feral goats, and is densely overgrown in areas with Seaside Balsam (*Croton sp.*), Acacia (*Acacia spp.*), cactus (especially *Cephalocereus royenii* the Pipe Organ cactus, and *Melocactus intortus*, the Turk's Head cactus), an as-yet unidentified vine with vicious curved thorns, locally called "catch-and-keep," and the famously deadly "Poison Apple" or Manchineel tree with its burning, blinding sap (*Hippomane mancinella*). An area of *Cocos nucifera*, the coconut palm, cultivated in the last century survives on the western coast. The only other economic plant growing in number identified on the island today is the occasional Tamarind (*Tamarindus indicia*) often planted for both shade and food historically. Plant species discussed here were identified with the help of Esther Georges, Deputy Director of the BVI National Parks Trust, the staff of J. R. O'Neal Botanical Gardens in Road Town, and the reference by Kingsbury (1988). Like its larger neighbor, Little Jost is predominantly volcanic, with a complex geologic history, some layers now having a strike of 100 to 110 degrees (Martin-Kaye 1959: 104).

Eighteenth Century

The "whole island" was granted by John Hart, the Governor of the Leeward Islands, to John Lettsom (called here Jonathan), on July 16, 1725, although, as was not unusual, this was not formally recorded until either 1739 or 1748 (SCR, Deed Index, pages 317-318). In 1747, it appears that 1/6th of the island was then sold by Edward and Mary Lettsom to Eleanor Fleming, but the record is very incomplete, as the next record is a grant of the whole island in 1861 (SCR, Deed Index, pages 317-318).

As noted above, Mary Lettsom remarries shortly after her husband's death in 1758 but appears to continue to live on Little Jost, presumably with her new husband Samuel Taine. Archaeological evidence indicates that somebody was present on the site into the 1760s and even to the end of the century, although the later occupation appears to be very light, with only a few artifacts dating to the 1780s and beyond. The archaeology, discussed in the next chapter, suggests that

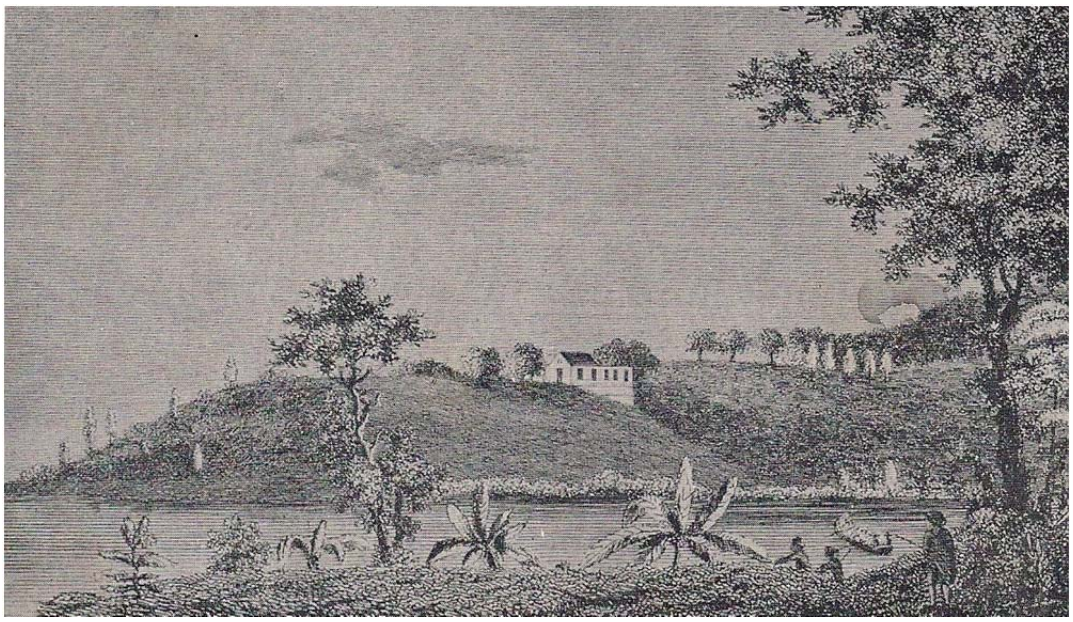

Figure 5.3: *Print of a drawing of the Lettsom Site sketched by William Thornton in 1791. The original is now lost and the print contains a number of inaccuracies, discussed in chapter six (image from Jenkins 1923: 50).*

the main house on the island was occupied only until Mary's death in 1781. The enslaved people who remained with her were probably few, as few as five from 1767 onward, and they are known to have left the island completely abandoned before 1791, according to William Thornton's description in that year, probably close to Mary's death.

William Thornton is another BVIslander born to Quaker parents who received education abroad and became a successful doctor. He is most well-known for being the architect of the first US Capitol building (Harris 1995; Stearns and Yerkes 1976), and is a friend and correspondent with his "countryman" John Coakley Lettsom. Thornton makes a drawing of Little Jost and the Lettsom family house, which he turned into a painting much later, and from which an engraving which survives was made (Figure 5.3, but see discussion of its history and accuracy in chapter six). It was first published in the London "Gentleman's Magazine" in 1814 with a notice about John Coakley Lettsom's death. Thornton's visit to Little Jost in 1791 prompts him to write a substantial description, parts of which at least were sent to John Coakley Lettsom in letters, but parts of which survive only in a long manuscript document now held by the Library of Congress (LoC, William Thornton Papers, MSS Collection 591). Thornton notes that the island is uninhabited at that time:

> We landed in a Bay overhung by shady mangroves, and mounted the Hillside by a winding path. The situation of was pleasant, and when inhabited must have had many charms. The outline of Nature remains the same as in thy Day, but silence has taken thy seat, and her reign is seldom interrupted. No voice was then heard save the melancholy cooings of Doves which sheltered in those waving Trees that adorned thy former residence, but now wave their soft Branches over thy departed

> Parents…. They lie under the two Tamarind Trees on the west of their old mansion (LoC, William Thornton Papers, MSS Collection 591, f. 2809)

In a letter dated July 25, 1792, Lettsom says that he has "even made proposals for the purchase of this island, tho' it can afford no emolument: but it contains the ashes of my family" (Harris 1995: 197), which indicates that some point from 1781 to 1791 the island passes out of the Lettsom family's control, although the new owner seems to do little with it and does not live there, as noted by Thornton. Lettsom eventually does repurchase Little Jost: he relates in 1795 that he has given a Mr. Skelton of Tortola a commission to buy the island along with Sandy and Green Cays, and expresses plans to build a "humble mausoleum" over the graves of his parents (Harris 1995: 298). Evidently these plans fall through.

In October 1809, John Coakley Lettsom signed a power of attorney giving Henry Hollis Floriman of Tortola the right to sell all his lands in the BVI. He specifically lists himself as owning or "being seized in fee simple of the Island of Little Vandyke in the West Indies and also of certain Lands and Hereditaments in the Island of Great Vandyke" and directs Floriman to either rent or sell Little Jost as he thinks best, and to sell any lands he has on Jost for whatever can be gotten for them (FH Box L 20/06).

Nineteenth Century

After John Coakley Lettsom's ownership, the island is again little recorded. A report by Major Moody on the produce of all the Virgin Islands includes Little Jost's status in 1815 and 1823. His estimates should all be taken with some skepticism as his totals for the sizes of the islands are off substantially (he totals 58,653 acres whereas the BVI Government today considers the total to be 37,113, although more than half of that error is his estimate of Anegada, and he estimates Little Jost to be 222 acres whereas it is 155). Nonetheless, they offer us insight into demographics, land use, and production/consumption. If his totals in land use are off, they should at least provide a proportional estimate, and his population figures appear to be quite compatible with other sources for the islands as a whole. The figures shown in Table 5.1 come from Moody's 1826 report.

On October 12, 1861, Little Jost van Dyke is recorded as having passed to Ellen Gibson Gordon by "Testament" from H. G. Gordon, though there is no indication as to how H. G. Gordon acquired the land (SCR, Deed Index, pages 317-318). On May 9, 1874, the island was sold by Joseph Gibson (who presumably inherited it from Ellen Gibson Gordon, although this too went unrecorded) and Alice Eleanor Joseph (his wife) to Edward Vanterpool, Joseph Armstrong and Sarah Hatchet for $110 (CO 1031/3685).

Table 5.1: Data on Little Jost van Dyke from Major Moody's Report (PP 1826(81):110-115).		
	1815	**1823**
Land used (in acres)		
Cotton	3	5
Provisions	7	9
Pasture	94	90
"Forrest and Brush"	106	106
"Barren"	12	12
Total (the island's actual mapped size is now known to be 155 acres)	222	222
Cotton Produced Annually	450 lbs.	750 lbs.
Population		
White	0	0
"Free Coloured"	0	3
Enslaved People	5	7
Annual Produce Estimated at	£71	£74
Annual Produce Sold	£26	£27
Annual Produce Consumed	£45	£47

Twentieth Century

In the 1960s, while claiming ownership over the whole island, Christian Vanterpool, descendant of Edward, would argue that the government co-opted the eastern half of the island to grow cotton during World War I (CO 1031/3685). The government appears to have dismissed this, but this would have occurred during Christian Vanterpool's early life, and thus is not secondhand. From about 1924, the government of the BVI has records of receiving annual rents from "several tenants" living on the eastern half of Little Jost, which is today listed as crown land, but a 1961 inquiry by the government could not determine how it had acquired the land, although this is apparently not unusual for government land in the BVI (CO 1031/3685).

A 1950s survey of water supplies throughout the BVI mentions that Little Jost is uninhabited, but part of it is cultivated as a coconut plantation (Martin-Kaye 1954: 68). An area of coconut palms survives today on the western coast of the island, opposite the "crawl." A 1956 land-use map of the BVI suggests that roughly the southern half of Little Jost was in rotation between "garden, pasture, [and] bush" while the north half is in "thorn bush and scrub" (Augelli 1956: 48).

The written record of Little Jost ends with this, but local informants have supplied additional information about the last fifty years. The following comes primarily from a July 2010 meeting with Jost native "Foxy" Callwood, MBE, as well as Bruce Donath and Beverly Martin, local residents and activists for preservation of the history of Jost van Dyke. The three are founding members of the Board of Directors for the Jost van Dykes Preservation Society.

Just north of the main eighteenth century habitation area on Little Jost, along the western coast, stands a cinderblock building variously called a "bar" or a "bordello" by local residents. This was reportedly built in the 1950s, but never put into operation, as the builder died. In the 1960s, a government plan to create a resort hotel on the eastern half of the island got as far as building several structures and a cistern in the middle bay of Little Jost's south coast, as well as a road to the east end, now almost entirely invisible in the dense brush, but briefly noted during the 2010 survey. After this failed, Tony and Jackie Snell, currently owners of Bellamy Cay and the "Last Resort" bar in Trellis Bay on Beef Island opened an informal bar there, catering to passing yachters, using the unoccupied buildings. They abandoned it in the early-to-mid 1970s, and in the early 1980s Beverly and Roldo Martin took up informal residence, first living on their fishing boat off shore and using the cistern ashore for water. In 1983 or 1984, they moved on to shore and began slowly improving the buildings, remaining there until Roldo suffered a stroke in the mid-2000s when they relocated to Tortola. Their son currently lives on Little Jost part time.

In addition to these residents, it was reported that in the past many of the locals used land on Little Jost and other outlying islands informally, or with an understandings with the technical owners of the properties. Birds' eggs and shellfish were gathered, cattle and goats were "run" over the islands, and small parcels were cultivated, especially for corn and peas. "Ground provisions," especially potatoes, sweet potatoes, and bananas, all grew well on the land on Little Jost, just as they did on Jost, suggested Foxy Callwood. Those not from the BVI often think the soil is more poor than it is, he suggests, because they are not used to growing produce in it. More recently, with increasing wealth and jobs in finance and tourism, there has been a decrease in such farming and food-gathering practices. They were usually accomplished with short visits, rather than extended occupation, crops or animals left to themselves between visits, and would have probably left little in the way of archaeological remains; in fact, only one item, an early twentieth-century tin-can discussed in chapter eight, was found that must have been related to one of these visits.

There is little trace of these activities on Little Jost observable today except a patch of coconut trees which may mark the remains of the plantation noted in 1956, behind the cinder-block structure of the bar on the west coast of the island. The archaeology, discussed below, does indicate minimal use in the nineteenth century (pearlware and Whiteware in very small quantities around the enslaved people's living area and even smaller amounts at the planter house) and into the twentieth (a single tin-can from the early years of that century associated with a rough hearth improvised amid the planter house foundations). The residents recorded in the 1813 and 1823 surveys may have lived on another part of the island, such as the middle bay which could not be surveyed by this project and is disturbed by later construction, or they may have had a very minimal amount of manufactured material culture, leaving little archaeological trace, quite possibly both.

The Fat Hog's Bay Meetinghouse Site

In 1740, John Pickering gave a small parcel of land to the Quaker Meeting for use as a burial ground and for a Meetinghouse. While weekly or more frequent religious "Meetings for Worship" would be held in local Meetinghouses or in private houses, the Fat Hog's Bay site

would be the heart of the Quaker community, being the location at which all members, ideally, would gather monthly to worship and also conduct the business of the group, financial and moral. It was the center of the hierarchical organization, discipline, and communication with the Meetings abroad, primarily the Yearly Meeting in London. The deed for the land is recorded in the Minutes of the Tortola Meeting:

> Tortola
>
> Be in known unto all Friends that I John Pickering of the Island aforesaid for the Love which I have and do Bear towards the People called Quakers, Do give unto them for the Use of a Burial Place a Spott of Ground in the Division of Fat Hog Bay on the land which was formerly known to be my Fathers and adjoining to the place where he Lived Enclosed Round with a Prickle Pear [Bar?] Fence containing about a half an Acre of Land, also a House within the said Fence furnished with Convenience for a Meeting house, all which I freely and Gratisly Give for the use of Friends, meaning the people called Quakers as long as there shall be any of them sort of people in the said Island that will make use of it; Either the House or lands for the use it is Given, which I hope there will be as long as Tortola remains Inhabited. Given under my hand and seal this sixth day of the first month called march 1741/2
>
> Signed Sealed + delivered in the Presents off W^{m} Thomas, George Powe, John Lake, Thomas Humphreys
>
> John Pickering [seal] (TMM Minutes 1:4).

The Meetinghouse is apparently under construction in October of 1741, or perhaps reconstruction of an existing building designed for some other use, when the group reports to London that there was a "Plat of Ground given by John Pickering for a Burying Place, and upon which *he is now Building* a Meetinghouse for the use of Friends, as is Townsend Bishop another in the Division called the Road" (FH, London Yearly Meeting Epistles Received 3:90, TMM to London, 1741, emphasis mine).

No major changes to this structure are reported, except that on the 20th of 5th Month 1753, the Meeting directed that a "Ruff House for Shelter for Horses be as soon as Conveniently it can, be set about and Compleated [sic] at the expense of the Meeting, Thomas Humpherys + William Thomas is desired to undertake the same as directors of the Work" (TMM Minutes 1:27). However, at the next meeting, these men report that they "having not nor can't get timbers to go on With the house." As noted below, a later visitor would comment that the building appears to exist in two parts, "as though an addition to the house had been built" (Pearson 1931). The site as visible today (described in detail in the next chapter) suggests this interpretation as well.

The Meetinghouse at Fat Hog's Bay still existed in workable condition in 1780, as Jenkins reports that Isaac Pickering, son of John, pays to repair the damage done to it in the hurricane of that year (Jenkins 1891: 55). This is noted in 1786, in the Minutes of the London Meeting for the Sufferings which writes to Tortola inquiring about the state of the Meetinghouse in the Road; that letter notes "With respect to the Meeting House and Land, given to Friends by our late friend

John Pickering, we understand it has been put in compleat [sic] Repair by order of Isaac Pickering his Son, and therefore we apprehend no application can be made to any other than himself who resides in this Nation [England]" (FH, London Meeting for the Sufferings Minutes, 3rd of 2nd Month, 1786). This letter is signed by John Coakley Lettsom, son of Edward, then a member of London's Meeting, but no follow-up to it is recorded.

In 1822, Peter Priest, who had been at St. Croix, writes of Tortola "They had a good meeting house & some Houses Built for the accommodation of any Friends that may thereafter come there, and when I left the Island was under the protection of Bazil. Hodge, I forget the Family's name that Patronized & formed this Establishment [this would have been the Pickerings], the survivor sent Over from St. Croix & Repaired the building &c, but I suppose it is now gone to decay" (FH Port 39:14). This probably refers to the 1780s repairs, and suggests that it was not long after that the Meetinghouse ceased being used.

The Search for the Meetinghouse

The ruins of the meetinghouse were visited by Gurney in 1840, who sketched them, although the surviving print of this drawing is extremely inaccurate, depicting the ruins along the shoreline when in fact they are fully a third of a mile inland (Figure 5.4). The engraver may have taken liberties with Gurney's sketch, or perhaps the sketch was made by Gurney from memory. This inaccuracy caused problems for many who searched for the ruins, including myself. They were also visited by Jenkins in 1913. The latter writes that he was shown there by a black woman named Rosanna, and that none of the whites who lived nearby had ever heard of the Quaker community (Jenkins 1891: 68). In 1913, the foundations were clearly visible and two of the tombs were still visible when Jenkins visited. He reports that they had been built of brick with a plaster coating, and the bricks had been taken away to build fireplaces and the brass name plates, according to local legend, had been removed to decorate the bows of local sailing ships (Durham 1972: 61).

In 1931, Paul Pearson, the Governor of the US Virgin Islands and a Quaker himself, visited the ruins of the Meetinghouse. He reports that the site was about a mile's walk from their landing place near the main settlement of the East End and that the land was owned by a Ms. Ella Penn, and the area is at that time called "Greenland" but was once called "Old Plantation" (Pearson 1931). He describes the site in detail:

> the burial ground as it appears now is a tumbled pile of masonry. Once brick had been a part of the grave walls, and a few pieces imbedded in the mortar are still to be seen, but bricks are used by the natives for fire places, and so nearly all have been carried away. Some ten yards south of the burial ground may be seen the foundation of the Meeting House, which is in two sections, as though an addition to the house had been built. As this foundation is of stone and mortar, it has not been disturbed…. According to [an approximate] measure, the foundation is 21 feet wide and 45 feet long (Pearson 1931)

The meetinghouse was searched for by George Vaux in 1969 and 1970. Though he was unsuccessful both times, in 1969 he learned that it was supposedly land which at the time belonged to Matfield Malone, a local schoolteacher. In 1970 he was guided to what was described as "the Quaker Property" and describes it as a place labeled "Long Swamp" on the current Ordinance Survey maps. To reach it, one turns left past the East End Police Station (if heading towards the East End) and goes about .35 miles before a trail leads off to the right towards "the Quaker property" (SCL, RG 5/238, George Vaux Papers, Box 1). Durham reports visiting the remains in 1972, noting dense underbrush and that all the remains of the Meeting and graves was "overgrown rubble" but does not describe the spot more precisely (Durham 1972: 68).

Figure 5.4: *Print of the ruins of the Fat Hog's Bay Meetinghouse, East End, Tortola, based on a sketch by Joseph John Gurney about 1840 (image from Jenkins 1923: 66).*

A number of authors and others (including myself for a short time) have misidentified a burial ground at Bar Bay Inlet, just south of Fat Hog's Bay, along the side of the main road but densely overgrown today, as the site of the Quaker Meetinghouse and Burial Ground of the 1740s (e.g. Lembo 1997-98). The mistake is based on the presence of the graves of Pickering and Ruth Lettsom, the son and daughter-in-law of John Coakley Lettsom (and the former, obviously, a namesake of John Pickering), and a knowledge of the Lettsom name being attached to the Quaker community. However, all marked stones clearly post-date the Quaker community of the BVI and there is no associated ruin which could be the Meetinghouse.

The actual Meetinghouse was located for this project with the assistance of Nancy Woodfield, of the National Parks Trust. It lies behind a house between Fat Hog's Bay and the area known as Greenland, about a half mile inland. Two graves are clearly identifiable, and indications of a third survive (although more probably existed originally) and the remains of the Meetinghouse are nearby. The landowner, Mr. Pickering, is aware of the history of his property and has endeavored to preserve it as much as possible while still making use of the land. Mr. Pickering relates that the land came to his possession through his wife's family, a Penn. As described

below, this project undertook a preliminary archaeological evaluation of the Meetinghouse, and produced artifacts consistent with mid-eighteenth century use.

The difficulty in locating the remains may have been related to the suggestion by Esther Georges, Deputy Director of the BVI National Parks Trust, that there is a great deal of dislike for the Quaker population by some BVIslanders, who are not inclined to remember this portion of their history. In a July 2010 conversation with Mrs. Woodfield, Mrs. Georges, and myself, several specific items of BVI history were noted which may have been misinterpreted to inspire this strongly negative opinion in a portion of the population, while many of the remainder have a strongly positive opinion of the BVI's Quaker past. Primary among these is a famous rhyme about John Coakley Lettsom, who "blisters, bleeds, and sweats 'em"; those unfamiliar with these eighteenth-century medical treatments, it was suggested, have interpreted these as punishments Quakers intended to inflict on their BVI enslaved people.

Summary

It is with this background that Edward and Mary Lettsom joined the nascent Quaker community in 1741. Poor, marginalized, probably living off the marginal land of their island more as subsistence farmers than by raising cash crops like wealthier planters, they nonetheless oppressed others as slaveholders. Their concerns and priorities would have included protection from any number of dangers from drought and crop failure to hurricanes to theft and even the enslaved people they and their neighbors held.

The British Virgin Islands

The islands of the BVI have generally been characterized as poor in economic and agricultural prospects, steep, dry, and distant from major historic trade routes. The pre-Colombian peoples have been studied by several archaeological projects, but had generally fallen victim to disease and Spanish slaving raids by the time Europeans took an interest in the BVI. The earliest recorded settlement by Europeans was in the middle of the seventeenth century, but, despite a tendency in historic accounts to label formal changes in sovereignty and identify founding moments of settlements, the earliest settlers were probably transient and unrecorded. These were poor people, families traveling alone or in small groups, often with one to three enslaved people per family. A relatively large free-black population seems to have been present in the BVI from the mid-eighteenth century.

In the early decades of settlement, a very limited government was in force in the BVI, and this did not seem to stabilize until the 1750s, when a court system of the wealthiest planters settled disputes. It was not until 1773 that any legislative government was formed. The population of the Islands peaked in the early nineteenth century, but economic failures and fear of the enslaved and later free black populations lead to "white flight" and the poor economy led to out-migration of the African-descended population as well. Traded items were available, but merchants were few and often returned to England for half the year, making manufactured items difficult to acquire. Most trade went through St. Thomas, as there has historically been little direct trade

with Europe, making communication and travel difficult through the eighteenth century. No formal religious institution was present in the BVI until after the Quaker group was formed, and throughout the eighteenth century the Anglican influence was small. The Anglican and Methodist churches were built in the 1810s or 1820s, and the latter group found success among the enslaved and free black populations.

After emancipation, the formerly enslaved people were able to transition to becoming small landowners, often raising cattle, due to the "white flight" and low land values. Economic stagnation also forced many people to look for work in other colonies, and out-migration led to a substantial population decline. Truly representative government came to the BVI first in the 1950s, and tourism and off-shore banking has since made the BVI one of the wealthiest parts of the Caribbean.

Quakerism, the Lettsoms, and Little Jost van Dyke

The first contacts known between members of the Religious Society of Friends and BVI planters came in 1727 with Joshua Fielding's trading visit. This sparked some interest and a very small, informal group followed, which formalized itself in 1740 with the support of the Lieutenant Governor, John Pickering. The Quaker community in London and Lancaster sent several missionaries to help the little group, several of whom died shortly after their arrival. It is in 1740, also, that the written (though often fragmentary) records of the Tortola Monthly Meeting began. The membership of the Meeting appears to have fluctuated over its history, and Meetings for Business cease in 1762. However religious meetings appear to continue more informally for twenty years or more.

The Lettsom family first arrived in the Caribbean during the seventeenth century, with Edward's father Jonathan arriving in the BVI around the turn of the eighteenth century, having been born in St. Christopher's himself. He settled on Little Jost van Dyke, probably uninhabited and unclaimed, around 1725, and he and then Edward farm cotton and provisions on it with an unknown number of slaves, fewer than fifty, but probably at least a dozen. Like most of the area's early inhabitants, the Lettsoms were probably quite poor compared to most white Caribbean slaveholders. Edward married Mary Coakley at some point before 1744, and he died in 1758. Mary remarried cooper Samuel Taine, and the two of them probably continued to live on Little Jost until her death after 1770 (possibly in 1781). John Coakley Lettsom, born on Little Jost in 1744, through the connections of the Quaker Meeting was sent to school in England and became successful and wealthy, although the story of his freeing his inherited enslaved people appears to be more complex.

The island of Little Jost van Dyke was first settled around 1725 by Jonathan Lettsom, and inhabited from the 1730s to 1758 by Edward and Mary Lettsom, then from 1758 until about 1780 by Mary and her second husband, Samuel Taine. Most of the enslaved people of Edward's estate appear not to be present on Little Jost, and so only a few people seem to have lived on the island late in Mary's life. The island passed out of the Lettsom family between Mary's death and 1792, when John Coakley Lettsom first writes about repurchasing it, and it appears to have been uninhabited for a time, being abandoned when visited by Thornton in 1791. John repurchased

the island for sentimental reasons in 1795, and sold it about 1809, having never revisited it and probably making few changes to it. By his death 1815 it is home to five enslaved people raising a small amount of cotton for an unknown absentee owner. While this is increased to ten people, three of them free, in 1823, the output increases only slightly, and the profit by only £2. The island became divided between the Vanterpool family and the Crown in the twentieth century, and the latter attempted to develop it as a resort, but the only use it has had recently was informal cattle and ground provision farming, and as a place to open informal bars or as a residence for a few people preferring a very quiet life.

Fat Hog's Bay Meetinghouse

The Meetinghouse at Fat Hogs Bay, the central meeting-place of the entire BVI Quaker community, was built in 1741 on land donated by John Pickering, possibly being expanded that year. Few changes were recorded to its structure, except that it was rebuilt in the 1780s, suggesting continued use by the dwindling Quaker population. The building was in ruins by the middle of the eighteenth century, and the bricks from the graves were nearly gone by the turn of the twentieth. A number of historians and tourists have searched for the ruins, often unable to locate them, but they were located for this project in 2010 on the land of Mr. Dwight Pickering.

6. Archaeology on the Lettsom Site

This chapter begins the formal description of the archaeological work conducted on the island of Little Jost van Dyke and at the Fat Hog's Bay Meetinghouse. It will describe how the project to investigate the sites came together, and the methodology and terminology employed, before turning to a description of the sites themselves, and their main surface-visible elements.

Project Background and Overview

In Spring of 2007 I began discussions about conducting archaeological work with the British Virgin Islands Department of Culture's Director, Mrs. Luce Hodge-Smith, the then-Vice President of H. Lavity Stoutt Community College (the only institute of higher education in the territory) Dr. Karl Dawson (now President of the College), and the Director of the National Parks Trust, Mr. Joseph Smith-Abbot. In the summer of 2007 I traveled to the BVI in order to examine potential sites associated with the Quaker community of the 1740s, identify landowners from whom permission to conduct the work could be obtained, and to conduct further government meetings. At this point, two sites were of primary interest: the Lettsom site on the western end of Little Jost van Dyke, and the Thornton site in Pleasant Valley on Tortola. Each was noted in historical records to be home to members of the Quaker community in the BVI, and a son born on each site during the Quaker period traveled to England for education, each becoming quite wealthy and providing a great deal of archival and historic documentation. This documentation, in fact made the identification of these sites as belonging to their Quaker parents possible in each case. This was an important concern, since there was virtually no government in the BVI during the time the Quaker community flourished (see chapter five), and therefore little in the way of surviving land records which could point to the homes of members. Property boundaries were not clarified until modern times.

Although no agreement could be reached with the owners of the Thornton site, the owners of the Lettsom site were more interested in a potential project. With the assistance of Susan Zaluski of the Jost van Dykes Preservation Society, I was able to contact Ms. Anita St. John and Mr. Kelvin Vanterpool, the two signatories on the property on which most of the Lettsom site sits, which is co-owned by several members of the Vanterpool family. Members of the family who have consulted on the project include Kelvin A. Vanterpool, Mario Leonard, David Blyden, Anita St. John, and others. This family reports that it has owned this land since the nineteenth century (see chapter five). After several conversations and proposals, the Vanterpool family agreed to allow the project access for a preliminary season of work in 2008, and permission was later extended to the excavations in 2009 and 2010.

The island of Little Jost van Dyke, just east of the larger island Jost van Dyke, is an irregularly shaped mile by half-mile in size at its greatest extent (Figure 6.01). The island has a current

population of one part-time resident who leases a small parcel of land in the middle of the island's three southern bays from the government, and a great number of feral goats. It is extremely rocky and steep, quite dry, and in areas densely overgrown with cactus and other plants. The Vanterpool property covers the western third of Little Jost van Dyke. The eastern portion of the island, and the nearby Sandy and Green Cays (which were also owned by the Lettsoms in the eighteenth century) are crown land. Permits for access to work on the latter were issued by the Department of Culture and the National Parks Trust, and the Department of Culture also provided substantial support to the project as well.

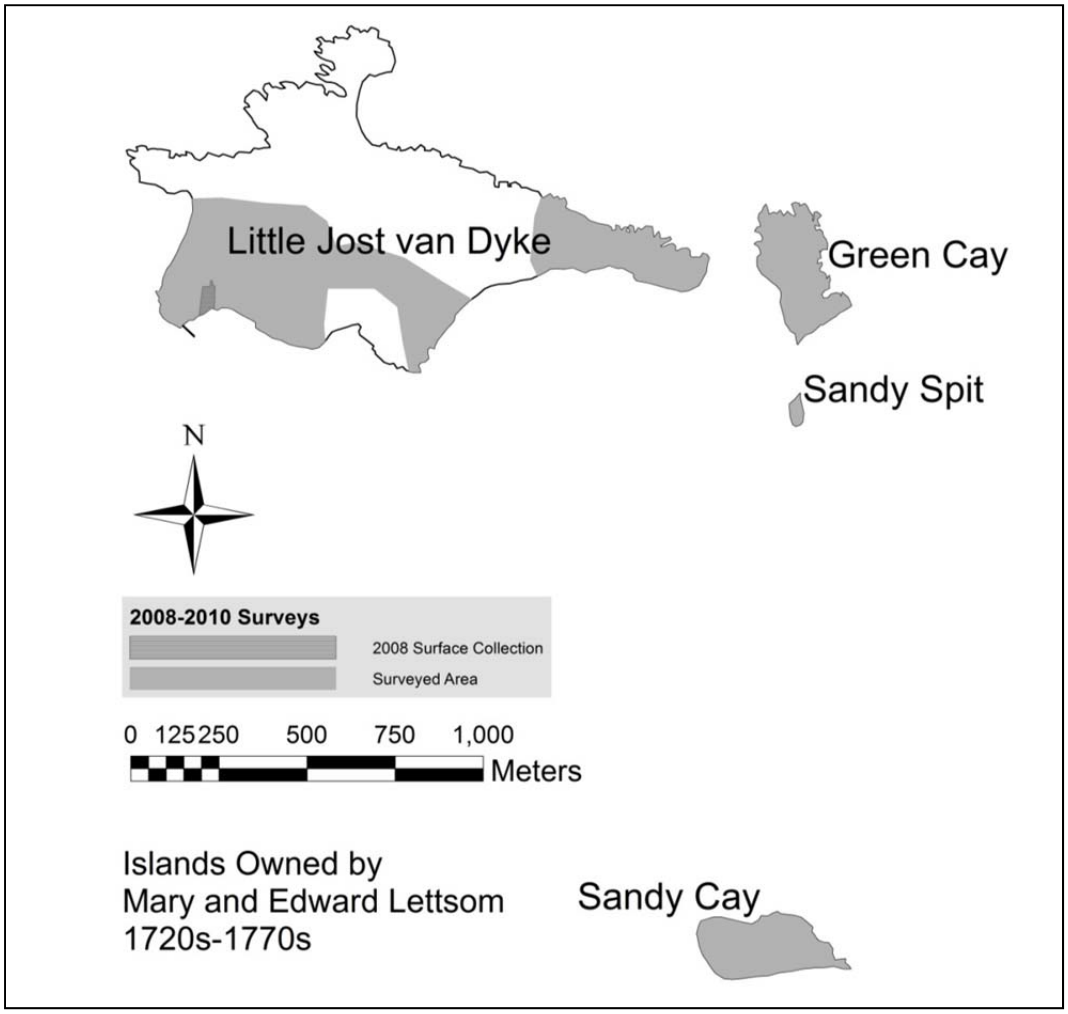

Figure 6.1: *Map of Little Jost van Dyke, Sandy and Green Cays, and Sandy Spit, with survey areas shaded.*

The other site touched on briefly by this project is on Tortola in Fat Hog's Bay, in the East End area (see Figure 6.2). This site, located in 2010, is believed to be the remains of the primary Quaker Meetinghouse built in 1740 and in use into the 1780s for both Worship and (until 1762) Business meetings of the Tortola Monthly Meeting. It was located with the assistance of Nancy Woodfield of the BVI National Parks Trust, and lies on the land of Mr. Dwight Pickering who graciously agreed to an initial testing of the site, the results of which are included here.

Following BVI law (as confirmed by communications with the BVI Attorney General's office) all artifacts recovered remain property of the owners of the land on which they were found. In fact, no artifacts were recovered or removed from any portion of the government land, and so effectively all artifacts from the Lettsom site remain property of the Vanterpool family, and those from the Meetinghouse in Fat Hogs Bay are the property of Mr. Pickering. These are all currently held in storage by H. Lavity Stoutt Community College in Tortola.

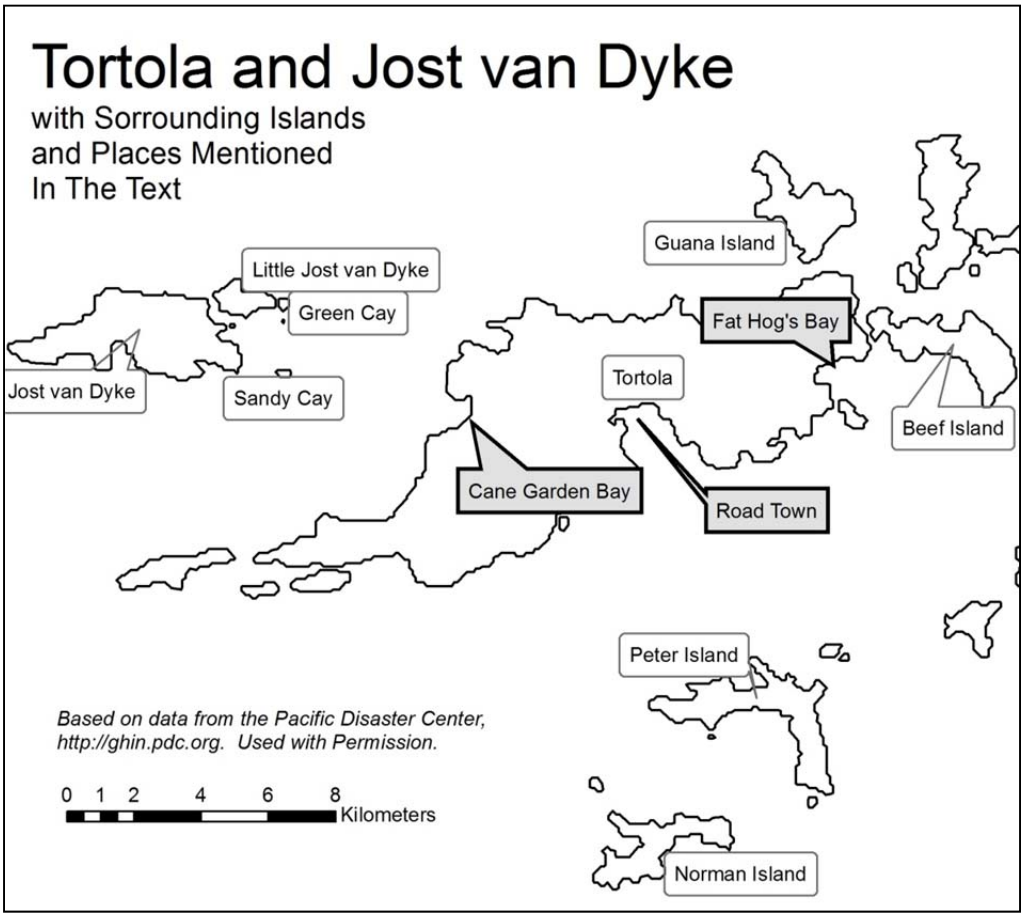

Figure 6.2: *Map of Tortola, Jost van Dyke, nearby islands and important places.*

Overview of the Archaeological Work

Three seasons of excavation and survey took place on Little Jost van Dyke from 2008-2010, aimed at recovering a cross-section of daily life for the enslaved people and the Quaker planters, and understanding the relationship between these groups. The work consisted of formal surface survey, mapping, targeted excavations (1x1 and 1x2m units located based on particular surface structures or artifact concentrations) and subsurface sampling excavations (50x50cm units set in a grid over a wider area), and non-systematic survey of larger areas of the island as a whole (because dense brush prevented systematic survey). Mapping was accomplished using a Sokkia SET5 30R Total Station (EDM) and a Trimble GeoXT GPS unit, both provided by the University of California, Berkeley's Archaeological Research Facility. The former was used to map architectural remains, excavation units, and topography which required the Total Station's

sub-centimeter accuracy, while the latter was used for mapping surface collection points and for tracking the survey of areas beyond the main site.

2008 Season

Season one was planned as a preliminary, two-week season, the goal of which was to test the logistics of working on a small island with no infrastructure, assess preservation and dating and gather basic data to guide the following seasons. This work took place August 4 to 14, 2008. The crew for this season of the project consisted of myself and five undergraduate students from UC Berkeley, who volunteered their time: Anne Marye Brodbeck, Anthony Vasquez, Alicia Bravo, Al Pickard, and Frances Bright.

All major architectural features except Structure H (see below) were first encountered during this work. Small-scale clearing of brush also took place, primarily to make it possible to move around the island, and to identify and map surface features. This was done with the goal of minimal disturbance of the natural habitat. A secondary goal was a need to clear the features (especially stone walls) well enough to prevent further damage from plants' roots. This was all accomplished with hand-tools, such as machetes and garden sheers or root-clippers.

This season saw extensive surface collection and mapping of surface-visible architectural remains, as well as the establishment of a site datum and grid. The surface collection provided material to assess dating and determine if the visible remains were associated with the period the Lettsoms were known to have occupied the site. This work covered approximately 2,835m^2 or 0.7 acres, and recovered 1,338 artifacts, including 191 pipe stems, 432 pieces of glass, and 694 ceramics. The pipe stem date provided by these materials was 1735, while the mean ceramic date was 1765, strongly suggesting association with the Lettsoms, thought to have occupied the site at least 1725-1770 (see above, Chapter five).

2009 Season

The second season of work took place May 28 to June 24, 2009. This was the first season to be funded by a National Science Foundation Doctorial Dissertation Improvement Grant (grant #929563). The crew for the project consisted of myself and five undergraduate students at UC Berkeley, who volunteered their time. These were Hanna Feldman, Jennifer Hall, Ren Yi Hooi, Hana Lee Licht, and Ilana Madorsky.

This season consisted of additional mapping and the excavation of 21 units, including 1x1m and 50x50cm ones. These units were divided between the planter house (labeled Area A) and the area where the enslaved Africans held on this site were thought to have lived (termed Area E). The finds and other results for this season are aggregated with those of 2010 and explained in the course of the following chapter.

2010 Season

The third and final season of the project took place June 27 through July 31, 2010. The crew consisted of myself and both undergraduate and graduate students from the US and the BVI: Alex Baer, Deborah Davis, Kate Gallant, Annelise Morris, Caitlin Pritzkat, Jennifer Salinas, Ajani Skelton, and Anthony Vasquez. A small amount of mapping took place in this season, along with the continued excavation and the completion of the judgmental survey of the island. Eighteen additional units were laid out and excavated in 2010. The finds and other results for this season are aggregated with those of 2009 and explained in the course of the following chapter.

Methodology and Terminology

Terminology, Site Datum, and Mapping Grid

Each area of the site has been designated with an arbitrary letter (or "Surf" in the case of surface survey collections) and termed an "Area." Within each area, excavation units were given numbers sequentially in the order of excavation, and each unit was itself divided into excavation "loci" (or separate "collection areas" for surface finds) which correspond with depositional events in a modified Harris system. During cataloging, most artifacts were also given a unique identifying number composed of this location information with the addition of an arbitrary unique identifier. For example:

- "LJvD-Surf-86-9" would be the ninth numbered artifact found in collection area 86, the 86th collection made in the surface survey, and the island is identified as Little Jost van Dyke by the prefix "LJvD"
- LJvD-B9-11-2 is the second numbered artifact found in locus 11 in the ninth unit excavated in Area B (excavation unit B9), the oven area.

Ten separate "Areas" were named, in an arbitrary order, to distinguish different activity areas and surface-visible architectural features, and surface collections and the work conducted at Fat Hog's Bay on Tortola is listed separately (Table 6.1).
A primary site datum was established based on the most substantial architectural remains observed, the planter house. The datum for the site is the exterior angle of the eastern corner of the inside wall of the structure, at ground level (Figure 6.3). A GPS point was taken on this datum with the project's Trimble GeoXT GPS unit, which was allowed to run to 1003 positions in order to achieve a high degree of accuracy. The post-processing accuracy for this particular point was estimated to be (at 1σ) +/- 10cm horizontally and +/- 20cm vertically, by the Pathfinder Office software. Using the WGS 1984 datum (UTM zone 20 North) this point was measured to be N2041172.928, E317904.211, with an elevation of 19.167m over mean sea level, post-processed.

Table 6.1: "Area" Designations used on Little Jost van Dyke and Fat Hog's Bay Meetinghouse sites	
Area A	Foundations of the Planter House
Area B	An oven and cooking area
Area C	Graves
Area D	Low walls North of Area A, possibly a corral
Area E	A level area of dense artifact scatter, probably the area of the enslaved peoples' village
Area F	A bounder modified into a cistern or tank for salt-making, on the west beach of Little Jost
Area G	A catch-all designation for the terraces of fields
Area H	A rough structure west of Area A along the N1000 line
Area I	*Not used.*
Area J	A distinct area of large crumbled mortar fragments north of Area A, near the main house foundations
Area K	A cave or rock shelter near the site
"Surf"	All Surface collections
FHB-MH	The Meetinghouse at Fat Hog's Bay on Tortola

Figure 6.3: *Main site datum*

A grid was established from this point with the use of the compass which attaches to the Sokkia Series SET5-30R Total Station. My own testing suggest that this compass consistently has a 15-minute or less margin of error. These tests consisted of aligning the machine to north using this compass, setting the angle to zero, and then realigning it repeatedly using the compass only,

without reference to the measured angle, and recording the difference between the original measure of magnetic north and the second. This process was repeated twelve times, to acquire twelve measures of difference from the original. The results of these tests are in Table 6.2. The average error is 8.13 minutes, about 0° 8' 8', or 0.1355°. At a distance of half a kilometer from the main site datum (far beyond any position mapped in this grid), this average error in the measurement of the magnetic north would translate into a horizontal error of only +/- 1.18m. No point actually measured on this grid was more than about 150m from the site datum, which translates to a horizontal error of only +/- 0.35m at this distance. The maximum error of 15 minutes (0.25°) produces a horizontal error of +/- 0.65m at a distance of 150m.

Table 6.2: Tests of the compass used to establish grid

Angle Measurements			Difference from Original Angle (in decimal minutes)
Degrees	Minutes	Seconds	
0	12	31	12.51667
0	2	11	2.183333
0	6	3	6.05
0	8	12	8.2
0	14	17	14.28333
0	12	6	12.1
0	15	0	15
0	8	12	8.2
0	9	29	9.483333
359	53	45	7.25
359	59	48	1.2
359	59	53	1.116667

After using this method to establish magnetic north with a high degree of confidence, the machine and thus the resulting grid was declinated by turning the machine 13° 26' to the east, reflecting the west declination provided by the website of the US National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA.gov) for that place and date (in 2008, this declination increases slightly each year, although this should have no effect on the grid established in 2008). This angle was then reset to zero, and backsites established for daily use. As a result, the grid was aligned to true north, and all coordinates on it can be translated into or out of UTMs through a simple addition or subtraction calculation, allowing easy combination of mapping done with the EDM and with the Trimble GPS unit. These calculations entail the error of the compass originally used to find magnetic north, as discussed above, but combining data from these different sources proved highly effective, suggesting that there is less than a meter of error in coordinating between these two techniques.

The site datum was arbitrarily given the value 1000 Meters North by 1000 Meters East by 20 Meters in Elevation so that all values measured with the EDM on this local grid would be positive. A series of subdata were then established throughout the site, and these were marked with nails in the ground and flagging tape with the point number and local grid coordinates. These were left in place on the site from season to season and appear not to have been disturbed.

The writing fades in the Caribbean sun on the exposed surfaces of the flagging tape, but can still usually be determined.

2008 Surface Survey

For the 2008 season, it was not possible for time and budgetary reasons to conduct any excavations. Nonetheless, a sample of artifacts from the site was desired in order to understand the site's dating, preservation, integrity and spatial structure. Shallow soils are common in the Caribbean, where they often do not allow for deeply stratified deposits. For instance, Handler and Lange noted that in none of the sites they examined in Barbados did average soil depths exceed 30cm (Handler and Lange 1978: 51). However the corollary to this is that surface finds often well-reflect subsurface deposits and can be used to characterize the entire span of occupation even for older sites (Armstrong 2003: 88).

Using the grid established in the course of mapping, we choose the 1000 meter north line as a "base" and walked transects north and south from that line. We used a four meter transect interval, and surveyors were instructed to examine the ground within two meters of their line for any surface artifacts. Rather than mapping the lines out, which would have been a prohibitively time-consuming process considering the heavy and irregular brush and cactus, walkers kept their bearings with the use of a declinated hand compass. When any artifact was encountered a flag was placed on the transect, and a more intensive search for artifacts commenced within two meters of this flag, resulting in a 2m-radius "collection area." All artifacts found in this four-meter diameter circle were bagged together as a single "collection area," and this area was mapped with the Trimble GPS unit. Since the transects were 4 meters apart and the collection areas were 4 meters in diameter, theoretically a 100% coverage was achieved. (In reality, later examination would reveal additional surface artifacts in areas that had already been surveyed; it is well known that such surveys cannot be truly 100% effective, but consistency, rather than complete recovery of all artifacts, was the true goal.)

As a back-up to the GPS, all surface collection points were also mapped based on a "step-count." When we first arrived, all participants had the average length of their normal walking pace measured. While surveying a transect, one surveyor was chosen to consistently keep track of their distance from the base line in terms of their own paces, which provided an approximate measure of the location of the collection area north or south of the 1000N baseline. While this proved unnecessary, as the GPS unit functioned perfectly throughout the project and the points produced with this method agreed very closely with the GPS data, suggesting that this technique was relatively effective: the average difference between the Northing provided by the GPS and that provided by the step-count (distance from base-line) was 3.18m, while that between the GPS Easting and step-count (deviation from chosen transect line) was only 1.29m. While significantly larger than the error provided by the GPS alone (and therefore, step-count data has not been used in the data analysis for this project) these results suggest that step counting is an adequate method for recording surface finds either as a backup or if one is unable to use a high-precision GPS unit. The step-count method is inexpensive, not very labor intensive, easily taught and maintained, and relatively accurate. In any case, it appears to be as or more accurate

than the more easily obtained, lower-cost GPS units (not those used on this project) which have margins of error of 3-10 meters.

For the 2008 surface survey, we did not collect any bone or shell, as these were ample and there was no way of determining the age or association of any of these artifacts without the vertical control provided by excavation. Shells could have been brought by later visitors, birds (which frequently drop them onto hard surfaces in order to access the meat), or hermit crabs (about which, see more below in Chapter nine) and bones could have been from feral animals who simply died on that spot (the island is home to dozens of feral goats at present). In addition, items which were clearly modern trash were not collected: anything plastic, soda or beer cans, and glass bottles which still retained paper labels were determined to be in this group. It is interesting to note that there were relatively few of these modern items, suggesting minimal presence of people on the site in the last few decades, despite the exposed nature of the island.

In addition to this formal, systematic survey, large areas of the island were surveyed more informally by myself, in order to establish if other areas of occupation existed. Just under 100 acres or 400,000m^2 were surveyed in this way (Figure 6.1). All materials encountered were mapped with the Trimble GPS unit. Apart from a few concentrations (mainly 3-5 pieces) of artifacts, and modern (early to mid-twentieth century) fencing intended to control cattle or establish property lines, the island appeared largely undisturbed. Several areas of more recent construction have been attempted, including a structure used as a bar in the 1950 on the east coast, a possible cattle-dip nearby, and an abortive attempt to build a house by one of the members of the landowning family in the 1990s. A cistern exists, visible from the shore, on the southern coast of the eastern end of the island, and which may have originally been built some time ago, but which informants remember being built or re-built in the 1950s. No pre-modern remains or artifacts are associated with it. Not all of the island could be surveyed due to the very dense brush, consisting in part of sharp, snagging, thorned vines locally called "catch-and-keep" as well as the poisonous Manchineel tree. The areas examined are shown in Figure 6.1. Local informants familiar with the island also agree that no other major area of "ruins" are known on the island.

Sandy Cay, Green Cay, and Sandy Spit, all historically owned by Edward Lettsom, were also briefly surveyed by the 2010 team towards the end of the season. Sandy Cay has been heavily modified in recent times as part of an effort by the National Parks Trust to restore pre-Colombian plant and animal habitat, and to create walking trails for visitors. No historic period remains were encountered by the survey of this island. Sandy Spit also produced no signs of human use, which is not surprising for an island only a few meters across. Green Cay, the largest of the three, did show signs of habitation. The island has a flat, southern end with excellent beaches and a dense forest, which thins out as the soil becomes more rocky and the land higher, towards a peak of just over 30 meters. No non-modern artifacts were encountered on the island, but the unmortared foundations of a long, narrow structure exist just inland from the southern coast. Mapping was difficult due to dense forest, which limited GPS reception. The structure is perhaps ten by four meters, and three walls (two long and a short) survive. No habitation artifacts are visible, and this may represent the remains of an ephemeral, temporary habitation, or a pen for animals. The island is also currently inhabited by a small group of perhaps a dozen feral goats.

Finally, a few artifacts clearly of eighteenth-century date were collected from near-surface contexts by Mr. Pickering, the owner of the Fat Hog's Bay Meetinghouse site. These were from a location approximately 20m northwest of the Meetinghouse foundations, where he reported frequently finding such materials, possibly representing a midden deposit from the site. He provided these remains to the project, and they were cataloged with the surface survey artifacts, and all FHB Meetinghouse artifacts are discussed in the next chapter.

Excavation Methodology

Excavations on the site took place using a modified Harris system following "natural" levels, and subdividing these into 10cm levels if they extended farther than that in any one area. All fill (except soil samples taken for flotation, see below) was screened with ¼" screens to collect the ceramics, glass, bone, and shell. For several days during the 2010 season, heavy rains made ordinary screening impossible due to the muddy conditions, and soil was wet-screened with ocean water. This proved to be very effective.

For those members of the crew unfamiliar with Harris, the system were explained as follows: rather than the traditional "layer cake" view, each locus is seen as representing either a past event of fill (these are "fill loci") or a past living surface ("interface loci"). A fill locus is a three dimensional area of soil with approximately the same color, texture, inclusions, etc. If a "fill locus" was an episode of fill (for instance, someone filling in a hole, or wind or water washing new dirt across an artifact), then the border between two episodes of fill represents a surface on which action could have happened: these are interface loci. Interface loci are two-dimensional, and so they have no artifacts associated with them. Each locus was given a number when it was encountered. While these numbers are not intended to be interpretive (that is, their sequence is not thought to represent depositional sequence), most units consist of sequential numbers, having a relatively simple deposition. When locus numbers were skipped or used clearly out of stratigraphic order, this was noted.

Colors were described using a Munsell chart. In an effort to standardize other aspects of description, all members of the crew were provided with a "quick reference" card defining particle size terms following the Wentworth Scale (Table 6.3), along with an abbreviated version of the USDA "Soil Texture By Feel" flow chart, and a selection of percentage guides from the Munsell book to determine percentage concentrations. For very low levels of inclusions, the term "trace" was used for the lowest observable levels.

Table 6.3: Particle size (Wentworth)

<2mm	"*Sand*" (or "*Particles*")
2-4mm	"*Granules*"
4-64mm (1/3-2.5")	"*Pebbles*"
64-256mm (2.5-10")	"*Cobbles*"
256mm+ (10"+)	"*Boulders*"

It was initially felt that shell and bone in the surface locus would not be informative. Because of an absence of plant growth or root mat over most of the site, the first fill locus in most units was defined as that which could be removed with a whisk brush. This material was not considered to be in situ, as the surface of the site was disturbed by passing animals and erosion, and could have arrived very recently since it was not possible to date it. Therefore when work began, shell and bone were not collected in this first loose sand and organic layer. However, after the first few units of 2009, it became clear that shell and bone were actually less common in this first locus than originally thought, and were not evenly distributed across the site. It therefore became both practical and informative to collect this material, even though the possibility of this being more recent and/or naturally occurring material (bones from animals dying in that area, and shells from seagulls dropping them on nearby rocks to obtain the meat or hermit crabs) precludes some analysis.

Soil samples were taken selectively throughout the excavation. Each was a scatter sample intended for flotation analysis for the recovery of macro-paleoethnobotanical remains and small faunal remains which would be missed in the ¼" screen used for most of the soil. These samples ranged from 3-10 liters. The light fractions were screened through chiffon fabric, while the heavy fractions were screened through 1mm mesh.

Lab Work and Cataloging

Due to the request by the BVI government that the artifacts remain in the territory, all artifacts were washing and cataloged in the field, during evenings at the field house. Artifacts were washed with fresh water and gently brushed with toothbrushes, unless doing so was thought to be potentially damaging. As a rule, any metal, any ceramics which appeared to have overglaze decoration, and any bone which appeared to be friable was not washed.

Material from each context was separated into three bags at this time: shell and coral were taken back to the Historical Archaeology lab at the University of California Berkeley, with the permission of the government of the BVI and the landowners. There they were analyzed by myself with assistance from Dr. Laurie Wilkie (see chapter nine). Bone was sent to the labs of the Cotsen Institute of the University of California, Los Angeles, where analysis was undertaken by Dr. Tom Wake as a paid consultant. The third bag contained all the rest of the recovered material, which was cataloged in the field, photographed, and stored at H. Lavity Stoutt Community College in the BVI. As noted above, this material all remains property of the landowners of the respective properties.

The cataloging was done in an Excel spreadsheet and while all members of the crew assisted, for instance, taking measurements and weights, I conducted all the data entry and identifications myself so as to provide consistency. The cataloging document was frequently backed up, but no loss of data occurred.

Each piece of ceramic, glass, pipe stem, or lithic was entered separately, and the following fields were recorded:

- Find Area
- Find Unit
- Find Locus
- Number (a unique, sequential number for each artifact)
- Size*
- Weight(in grams)
- Body Type (Glass, low-fired earthenware, creamware, etc.)
- Hardness of Body**
- Surface Modification: Type (incised, turned, rilled, edged, etc.)
- Surface Modification: Pattern
- Decoration
    - Sequence‡
    - Color(s)
    - Method (hand, turned, transfer printed, etc.)
    - Pattern (floral, abstract, lines, pictorial, etc.)
- Glazing (salt, lead, tin, none)
- Wear/Burning
- Writing/Manufacturing Marks (intentional and errors)
- Form of Vessel (guessed if not clear)
- Part of Vessel
- Crossmends
- For ceramics and glass fragments, where applicable:
    - Base Diameter
    - Base Percentage
    - Rim Diameter
    - Rim Percentage
- For pipe stem fragments:
    - Length
    - Exterior diameter§
    - Bore Diameter Metric 1§†
    - Bore Diameter Metric 2§†
    - Bore Diameter 64ths§†
- Photo Number
- Other Notes

* Size was measured with a sizing chart created by the project, consisting of squares each measuring one centimeter larger on all sides than the last. An artifact was given the size equal to the side of the smallest square it would fit entirely inside when laid flat and viewed from directly overhead.

**Hardness was not measured formally with the Mohs scale, but as "soft" (defined as being able to be significantly scratched with a fingernail), "medium" (scratched with metal but not by fingernail) and "hard" (not scratched easily by metal). This field was intended to help in the clarification of ceramic type after the field season.

‡The term "Sequence" provides the sequence of events necessary to have formed the design: the events recorded are painting, slipping, incision or turning, glazing, and certain repetitions of these. The terms used are "over" (the paint or other decoration was applied over the glaze or enamel), under (the paint or other decoration was applied under the glaze), "excised" (the painted design was cut, incised, or turned after decoration and before glazing), "filled" (the piece was cut with turning or incising, then painted over these cuts, before glazing), and "inlay" (the piece was cut, then colored, then cut again providing an "inlay" effect before glazing). This information is useful in dating and the determination of cost, since

certain techniques were developed later than others or are more labor intensive. For instance, overglaze was common in the early eighteenth century and before, when only the cobalt used in making blue was able to withstand the heat of firing required for the glaze and therefore was available for underglaze, although it also gained popularity 1880-1905 in freehand painting, and slightly later decals (Majewski and O'Brien 1987: 160).

[§]This information was only recorded for the 2010 season, but material from 2009 was reanalyzed during 2010 to gather this information on it as well.

[†]Pipe stem bore diameters are traditionally measured in an analog fashion, using drill bits in known diameters in 64ths of an inch. The bit is inserted into the opening in the pipe stem, and the largest size which fits entirely inside is considered to be a good measure of the opening. However, it has been observed that these openings are not always perfectly round, like the drill bits, and that this method blurs a degree of variability which might be used to refine traditional pipe dating measurements. Therefore a new method was tested on this project in which these openings were measured in a variety of ways using a pair of Tresna, high precision metric calipers able to measure "inside" as well as "outside" distances.

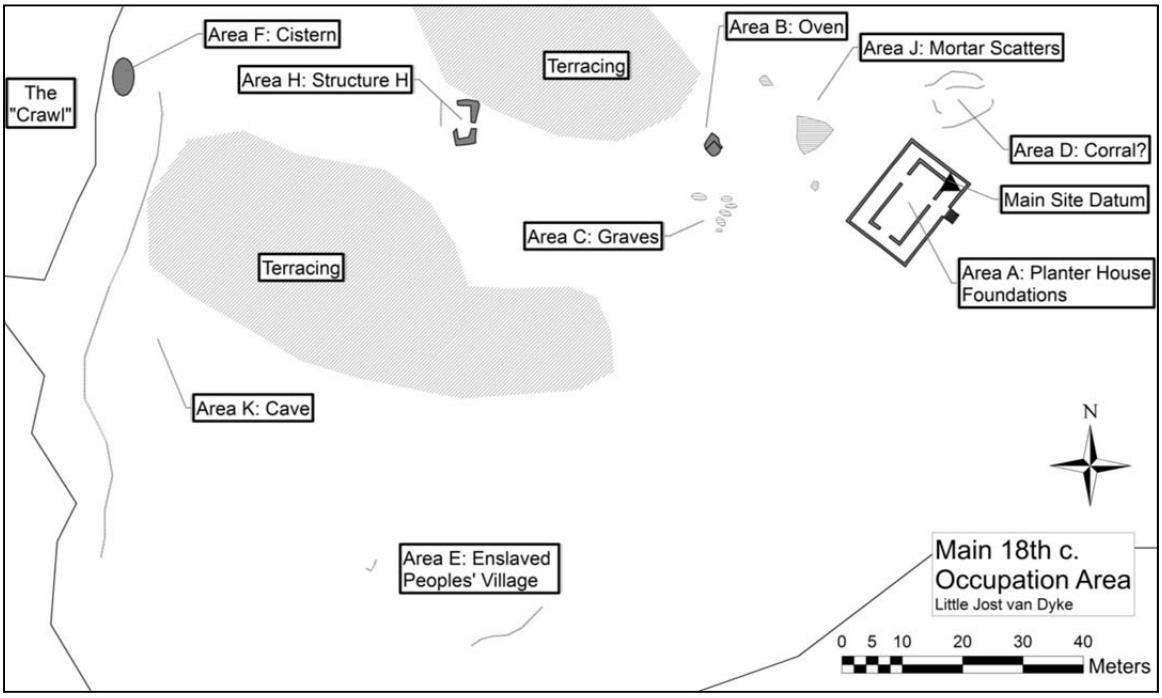

Figure 6.4: *Main occupation area, southwest corner of Little Jost van Dyke*

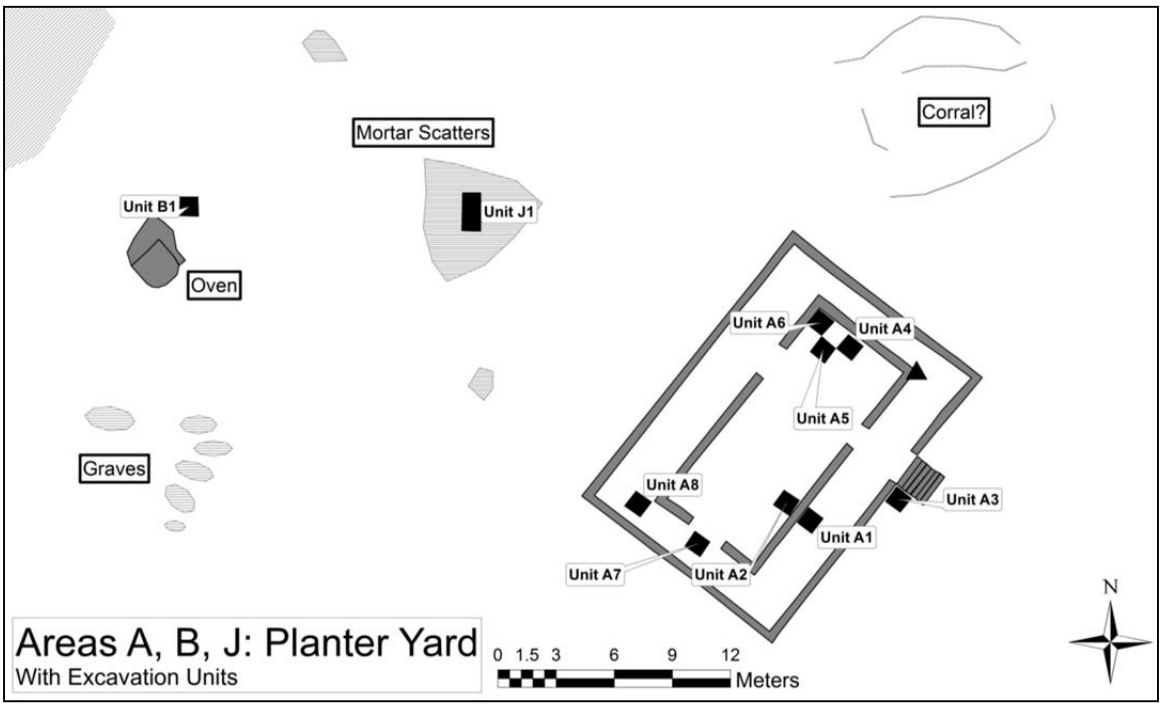

Figure 6.5: *Areas A, B and J: Planter yard map*

Figure 6.6: *Southeast wall of planter house*

Figure 6.7: *Main entry stairway of planter house*

Figure 6.8: Ruins of oven, Area B.

Descriptions of Site "Areas" and Surface Observations

The surface remains (architectural and artifactual) on Little Jost van Dyke are concentrated in a relatively small area on the southwest portion of the island (Figure 6.4). This section details the surface-visible remains, their relationships and interpretations.

Planter House and Yard

The major visible feature of the site is the foundation of what has been called the Planter House, and this is identified as the home of the Lettsom family following a description by Lettsom (Lettsom 2003 [1804]) and a description (LOC, Thornton Papers, MS. Collection 591, ff. 2807-2836) and drawing (Figure 5.3) by William Thornton. Different parts of the living area of this house have been given different identifiers for practical reasons, although it is understood that in practice all residents and visitors to the site would have moved in and through these spaces (although differentially). Figure 6.5 shows a map of this area.

Area A: Main Planter House Foundations
The site's main feature, structurally, is the two concentric foundation walls and grand stairway of the planter house. The foundations stand about 40 meters north of the shoreline, at an elevation of approximately 20 meters, with an excellent view of the entire north coast of Tortola from Sage Mountain westward to Steele Point. It is oriented approximately northeast-to-southwest, with what appears to be the main entrance, the staircase, off-center in the southeast wall. The outside wall measures approximately 17.5m by 12m, and covers an area of about 215m^2. The inner wall measures 13.5m by 6.5m and covers about 86m^2. The outside wall probably represents a covered terrace or walkway surrounding the main house, the inside foundation. This is suggested by the presence of drainage holes in the outside wall, near the top, and by comparison with similar sites. Post-holes, revealed in excavation, make it clear that supports for the superstructure of the house were set directly in the earth inside this foundation.

The house is sited at the top of a slope, such that the southeast wall is up to a meter and a half in height while much of the rest of the remaining wall does not exceed twenty or thirty centimeters, and the north corner and parts of the northwest wall disappear under a thin layer of soil and organic matter. It appears that, in most places, the remaining wall is still at the original height and that the walls were never intended for more than a foundation: the tops of the wall as observed are quite flat and level. The walls are mostly in good repair, with a few areas which have collapsed or where the outline is less clear. They are made of single-face cut stone (rather than full ashlar blocks), with unworked stones frequently used as fill, and are mortared throughout. The most carefully dressed area is the tallest, southeast-facing wall (Figure 6.6).

Large pieces of mortar, often with the impressions of wattle supports, litter the area. These fragments are the remains of walls made by weaving sticks (the wattle) and then covering them with mortar, a more permanent version of the wattle and daub structure. The main staircase (figure 6.7) originally consisted of seven to nine steps of about 12cm in width each, and was mortared over in order to produce a level surface. Fragments of mortar remain in situ, but many

have worn away. Excavation in unit A3, adjacent to the stairs, produced a large number of flat, thin mortar fragments probably representing this surfacing.

The house is sited as depicted in the 1791 Thornton drawing (Figure 5.3), but several differences from the building depicted in that drawing are apparent. The drawing places one door in the southwest wall but none where the main stairs are located in the southeast, and shows no surrounding walkway at all. It could be that the house as observed during the 2008-2010 fieldwork was modified after the drawing was made, and this possibility guided some of the excavation. However, as described in further detail in the next chapter, this does not appear to be the case: no part of the site has artifactual remains suggesting any construction or substantial occupation after Thornton's 1791 visit. The drawing appears to be simply inaccurate, which is surprising from architect Thornton, but may result from the fact that the surviving drawing is a print made after a painting by Thornton, rather than being his work directly. While Thornton writes that it was made from a drawing done on the spot, the painting itself from which the surviving image was made was actually painted in Philadelphia, as Thornton writes from there January of 1795 that it is not yet finished (Harris 1995: 293-4). This is a full four years after he visited the site. Lettsom writes that he received it on March 5, 1796 (Harris 1995: 386). Further changes could have been introduced as the piece went from painting to engraving for printing.

Units in this area were laid out to align with the architecture itself, and were placed judgmentally, in order to answer particular questions or assess preservation in particular parts of Planter House (Figure 6.5). An effort was made to gather a sample from the walkway and main house to determine if they were constructed at the same time. Three units were excavated in this area in 2009: A1, A2, and A3. Units A1 and A2 were placed adjacent to the main house wall, the former inside and the latter outside on the walkway. A3 was laid out in the crux of the stairway, outside the southeast wall of the walkway. In 2010, five additional units were excavated in Area A, three in the northern area of the house (A4, A5, and A6), and two on the walkway (A7 and A8). These units were primarily aimed at encountering other elements of architecture, such as the post-holes located in A4 and A6, and a stairway theorized to be in front of the southwest doorway based on Thornton's drawing which suggests this to have been a main entrance at one point (which was not located). As noted above, the image does not seem to be a reliable source.

Area B: Oven

A large stone pile approximately 1 meter high and 2.5 meters at its greatest diameter (Figure 6.8) was observed about 23 meters northwest of the main house, and has been identified as an oven based on comparison with more intact examples on other sites in the BVI and those described by Douglas Armstrong (2003) in the USVI. The original, "D" shaped outline of the oven is still visible and the lower meter or so of courses of unworked or minimally-worked stone are still mortared together. A large pile of similar stones overlies this foundation and extends northwards from this original footprint, suggesting a domed superstructure which has collapsed (the rubble and original footprint are mapped separately in Figure 6.5). The middle of the pile is quite

Figure 6.9: *A grave on Little Jost van Dyke*

Figure 6.10: *Graves at St. Paul's Church, Sea Cow's Bay, Tortola*

Figure 6.11: *Conch shells associated with the graves on Little Jost van Dyke*

Figure 6.12: *Planter's Graves, Johnson Ghut Burial Ground, Purcell, Tortola*

disturbed, and has no bricks, suggesting that the bricks usually used as hearths in the region before the middle of the last century have been removed previously.

A large concentration of surface materials, both included in and in addition to those collected in the 2008 surface survey, also support the interpretation of an oven. These include a high number of ceramics and pipe stems, the latter which may have been used by the person tending the oven's fire. The oven is placed such that the opening (probably in the flat side of the "D") would have faced away from or perpendicular to the prevailing winds (depending on the season), and the entire structure is downwind from the planter house, which may have been a safety concern.

The placement of unit B1 was arbitrary, though aligned with the site grid, and guided by a concentration of surface finds collected during the surface survey in 2008.

Area C: Graves

Directly west of the main house is an area, sheltered by several tamarind trees, with several low piles of stone, partly scattered but still clearly visible (Figure 6.9). Graves in the Caribbean were frequently marked by piles of unmodified stones like this, especially early and especially for the poor, since no local material suitable for carving was available and traditional European-style grave-markers would have to be imported only at great cost. Figure 6.10 shows in the foreground a similar burial from St. Paul's Anglican church, built 1937 on the site of an earlier church, with an associated graveyard having marked stones dating from the late eighteenth century to the present. Graves have also frequently been associated with tamarind trees in the region (Lenik 2004 and Michael Kent, pers. comm.), and with conch shells, several of which were found atop and nearby the features on Little Jost (Figure 6.11). The importance of these shells in marking graves is attested in the region and elsewhere in the BVI, for instance in more recent graves in St. Paul's on Tortola, where they were set into concrete (Figure 6.10, background). Finally, we have documentary help to confirm that the features in Area C are graves: in the letter Thornton wrote to Lettsom with the picture (Figure 5.3), he writes: "the place where thy parents lie is under the two tamarind trees which stand in the middle of the picture, a little to the left of thy old mansion house" (Harris 1995: 338-9). This places them precisely where these piles were identified.

These piles thus almost certainly represent human graves. They have a rough east-west alignment (see Figure 6.5) but this is uncertain due to the scattered nature of the stones. Also, their number is confusing. There appear to be at least five graves although there could be more in this area, since, again, the piles are somewhat scattered; Edward and Mary Lettsom are known to have had at least two sons who lived to adulthood. One, John, was buried in England, and the other's grave is unknown. But the story goes (told originally by John Coakley Lettsom, their son, to his early biographer, see Pettigrew 1817a) that these two boys were the seventh set of twins born to the couple. While this seems entirely unlikely (and, of course, it does not appear that enough graves exist for so many children, all of whom are said to have died at birth except the last, John and Edward, Jr.), the presence of other graves may indicate that the Lettsoms did indeed have other children who died young and therefore never entered the historical record. It is also possible that Samuel Taine, Mary Lettsom's second husband is buried on the island. The question of where the enslaved people were buried will be taken up in chapter ten.

Area D: Possible Corral
Just a few meters north of the house are a series of low walls or stone alignments in a roughly spiral shape. The feature is mostly one course high of un-mortared, unworked stones. Few surface artifacts appear to be associated with these remains, and we were not able to place a unit in association with them due to time restrictions. The soil visible in this area is rich and nearly black, unlike the sandy and clayey soils observed in excavation units, and the shape coupled with this highly-organic top soil suggests an animal pen.

Area J: Possible Storage Structure
Immediately behind the planter house, after a distance of some 5 meters with little or no mortar fragments, lies a dense cluster of mortar. These pieces are some of the largest encountered on the island, often 30-40cm in diameter and more than 5cm thick (Figure 6.13). Unlike most of the mortar in Area A, the planter's main house, or Area E, the enslaved area, many of these pieces are flat on both sides and without impressions from wattle supports. This suggests a mortar floor, rather than an earthen one, and only low walls (there were some fragments of wattle-and-mortar, but fewer than expected). This suggests a storage building for crops or other material that might be damaged by water or animal infestation, and so would require a sealed floor. It should be noted that even the Lettsom's own house did not possess the luxury of a mortar floor, as suggested by the lack of large, level areas of mortar on the surface or in any of the excavation units inside this structure.

Enslaved Peoples' Area (Area E)

Several archaeologists have noted the difficulty of identifying areas where the enslaved people of the Caribbean lived, due to the ephemeral nature of the buildings they were able to erect under the confines of the slave system (Armstrong 1990: 64; Handler and Lange 1978: 52) and which were a part of African building traditions (Farnsworth 2001). On Little Jost van Dyke, the area believed to be inhabited by the enslaved people was identified through a combination of historical documentation and surface observations.

John Coakley Lettsom, the son of Edward and Mary, once wrote of his father that "he cultivated cotton with the aid of about 50 slaves, whose humble cottages were situated on a declivity near his little mansion" (Lettsom 2003 [1804]), or just downhill of the planter house, Area A. The island's topography allows two areas to fit this description, either to the northwest or southwest of the planter house. The area to the northwest contains no visible surface artifacts, but does have a heavy concentration of surviving field terrace lines (see below), making this an unlikely locale for the enslaved people to have lived.

In fact, beyond the immediate vicinity of the planter house and its yard (Areas A, B, C, D, and J) the island appears to have very low concentrations of surface artifacts overall. This was confirmed by the 2008 surface survey, which showed that artifacts clustered tightly to the visible surface remains in that area (see next chapter, Figure 7.6), and by excavations in 2010 in Areas H and K, at some distance from the planter area and from Area E, which were almost devoid of

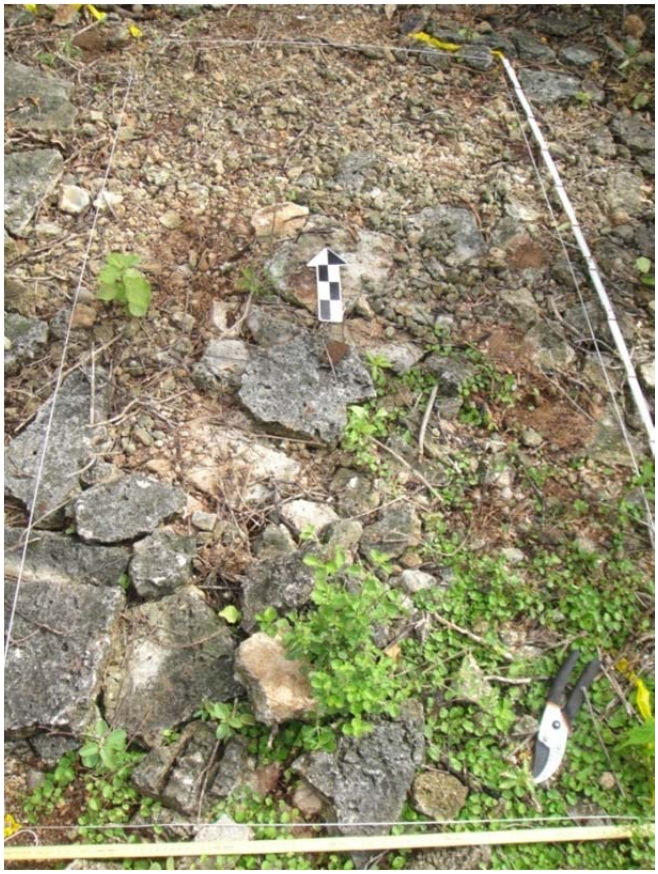

Figure 6.13: *Surface of unit J1 with large, flat mortar fragments*

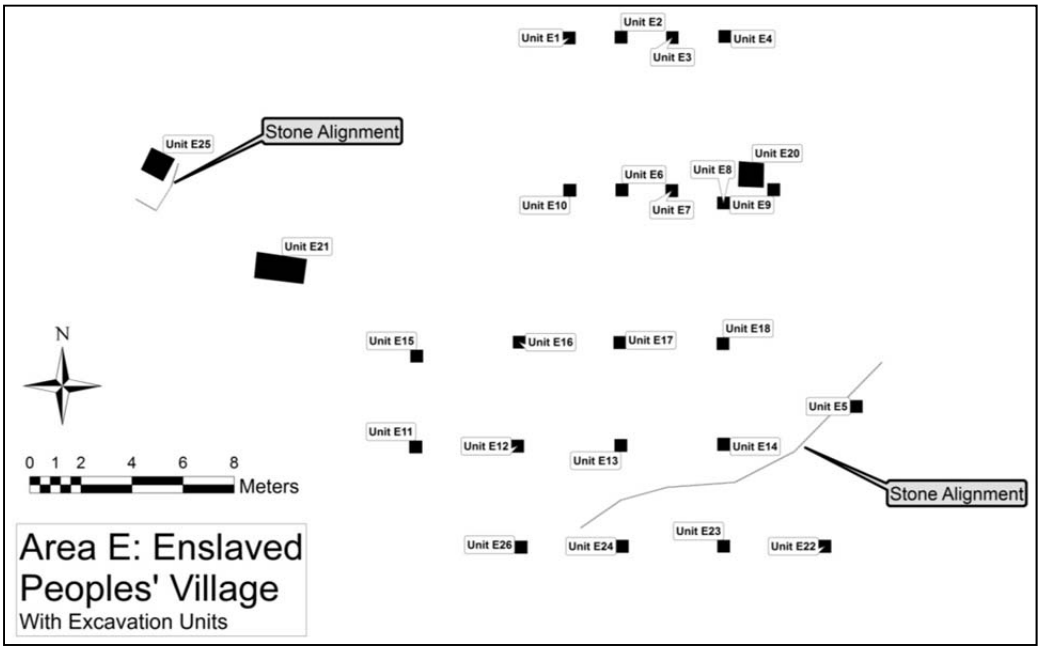

Figure 6.14: *Map of Area E excavation units and surface features*

artifacts. Judgmental surveys of much of the island in 2009 and 2010 also encountered only a handful of surface artifacts anywhere but the planter yard and Area E.

To the southwest of the planter's yard, termed Area E, however, a very high concentration of artifacts was spread over a broad area to the southwest of the house. No similar concentration was observed anywhere else on the island, and since this area fit the description of the enslaved peoples' village by John Coakley Lettsom, it was identified as the location of the homes of the enslaved people. As discussed below, this project had little success identifying architectural features here, but it is clear that at least two structures stood on this spot. Several poorly-preserved stone lines in Area E suggest the possibility of foundations, including one (the location of unit E25, see below) which clearly shows the angle of a building corner. A collection of wattle-and-mortar fragments was observed near units E9 and E20, suggesting that there was at least one wall in Area E made of mortar, but their rarity also implies that there was no more than this.

The remainder of the structures, consistent with other enslaved villages in the Caribbean, were probably of wattle and daub. Housing for enslaved people in the British Virgin Islands is expected to be relatively ephemeral. Woolrich relates that "their houses are small square huts, built with poles and thatched at the top and sides with a kind of bamboo" (House of Commons 1790: 268). Wentworth (1835: 160) gives a similar description, noting that a few such houses are furnished with stone walls or foundations, and both agree that floors were rarely other than clay. Of whatever construction, they must have been generally insubstantial, as slave cabins on Pleasant Valley plantation in 1791 are described as "blown down" but in only "a few days were rebuilt" (Harris 1995: 168). Nonetheless, the inhabitants of these structures would have had a full complement of ceramic and glass vessels, shell and bone remains, and other artifacts. The presence of enslaved people living on this location would, therefore, explain both the minimal presence of standing architecture (compared, at least, to the planter's house foundations) and the ample quantity of surface and subsurface artifacts.

A single line of low terracing runs along the approximate brink of a steeper slope which extends southwards towards the water, and this terrace seems to separate a level area relatively free from artifacts from a broad area of sheet midden which extends down this slope (see Figure 6.14). The former area is interpreted as a yard, the frequent presence and importance of which is common to Caribbean plantation enslaved villages (see discussion and sources in Armstrong 2003: 10).

Area E was the site of extensive excavations aimed at gathering a sample of the material culture in use by the enslaved people on the site, obtaining chronological information, and encountering architectural remains. A grid of 50x50cm test units also hoped to gain insight into the use of space across a portion of Area E (Figure 6.14). This strategy was selected based on Lightfoot's work, suggesting that subsurface survey at intervals smaller than the anticipated size of features was successful in locating these features (Lightfoot 1986). This grid consisted of 21 units (E1-4, E6-18, E22-24, and E26, see Figures 6.4 and 6.14), laid out with the use of the Total Station. Where large stones or other obstacles interfered with the grid, units were placed as close as possible to their intended place, producing a somewhat uneven grid, however, the actual locations of the units were used for spatial analysis, and so this should not affect the

interpretation. Other units in the area were placed on surface visible concentrations of artifacts (E5 and E21) or on features thought to be related to past structures, such as stone alignments (E25) or mortar fragments (E20). The designation E19 was not used.

The placement of the enslaved area in this area of the island is surprising. Unlike most other Caribbean plantations note by historians (Higman 1974: 41) and archaeologists (Armstrong 1990; Armstrong and Kelly 2000; Handler 1972; Wilkie and Farnsworth 2005) the site of the enslaved area on Little Jost does not appear to be chosen for observation or surveillance of the enslaved people, as it was fully out of sight of the owner and at a distance well beyond hearing, some 70m.

The site may to be more of the enslaved people's own choosing. During excavations, the crew often commented that the sea breeze, coming from the east and north around the high land in the middle of the island, was very refreshing and pleasant in Area E as opposed to the much more stuffy, sheltered planter's yard area. The artifact scatters which indicate Area E seem to center on a more or less level area just above a steeper decline towards the sea; this area would be fitting for a yard area, and indeed the archaeology discussed below is consistent with this conclusion.

An alternate possibility in the selection of this location may be more the work of the Lettsoms. As will be discussed further in chapter ten, their house seems to have been sited in part for visibility to Tortola, possibly as a display of wealth. The location of the enslaved people's houses makes them clearly visible from the same places, even though one could not see directly between them, and since wealth in the BVI primarily existed in the bodies of the enslaved people themselves, an easily viewed settlement of enslaved people might have served a similar purpose. The more refreshing breezes in this area may also be something the Lettsoms considered, since notions of health were closely connected to ventilation and "bad airs" from which they may have wanted to protect their enslaved people to preserve their investment. Perhaps both sets of ideas were at work, the enslaved people accepting the location because of its relative privacy from their owners, comfort, and health, and the Lettsoms pleased with its health as well, in addition to the ability to show off their wealth.

Other Areas

Structure H (Area H)

Only first observed towards the end of the 2009 season, Structure H lies almost directly east of the planter house by a little more than 100m (Figures 6.4 and 6.15). It is isolated from the rest of the site as currently visible behind a large line of volcanic bounders, and near an area of field terracing. It would have been easily accessible from the western shore of the island, specifically the area known as the "Crawl" where one can safely walk across from Jost van Dyke even at high tide. (The name suggests that the area had once been the site of a turtle pen or "crawl,"

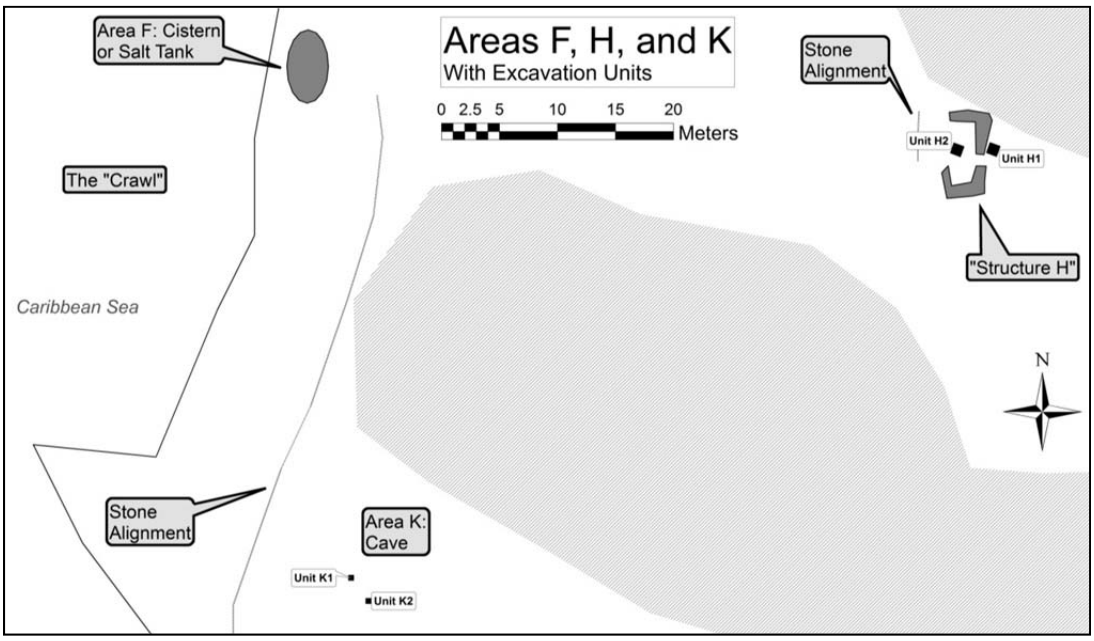

Figure 6.15: *Map of areas F, H, and K with excavation units*

Figure 6.16: *Structure "H" being mapped*

Figure 6.16a: *Wall on modified boulder*

such as those found in several parts of the BVI including White Bay on Jost van Dyke, but no traces of these usually large, stone structures is observable in this area.)

Structure H itself consists of unmortared, unshaped stones, including several very large ones which may have been used *in situ* rather than moved to the building (Figure 6.16). Three walls are moderately preserved, but the western wall, which is on the down slope side, has crumbled completely down the hill. An alignment off this side may be remains of that wall, or may represent the edge of a porch or shelter on that side. The building is roughly aligned north-south, and one doorway is clear in the east wall. Interestingly no surface artifacts were visible, and excavations carried out here in 2010 produced no finds whatsoever (see next chapter).

Cistern or Salt Tank (Area F)

On the western shore of the island, a line of large volcanic boulders extends to the water's edge, and the last of these was furnished with a natural, irregular depression. This was then modified by the addition of a carefully mortared stone wall which would have allowed the feature to hold water (Figure 6.16a). Several glass bottle fragments are still in situ in the depression.

The distance from the house is unusual for a water source, and the tank would have been relatively shallow, only 20-40cm, which would have promoted evaporation. An alternate explanation could be that the shallow water container near the shore was used in the creation of salt. Sea water could have easily been hauled up to this container in buckets and allowed to evaporate, leaving salt crystals. This was a common activity of poorer residents of the region, and was easily accomplished where natural salt ponds formed, as on the aptly named Salt island.

Figure 6.17: *Area K: the "cave"*

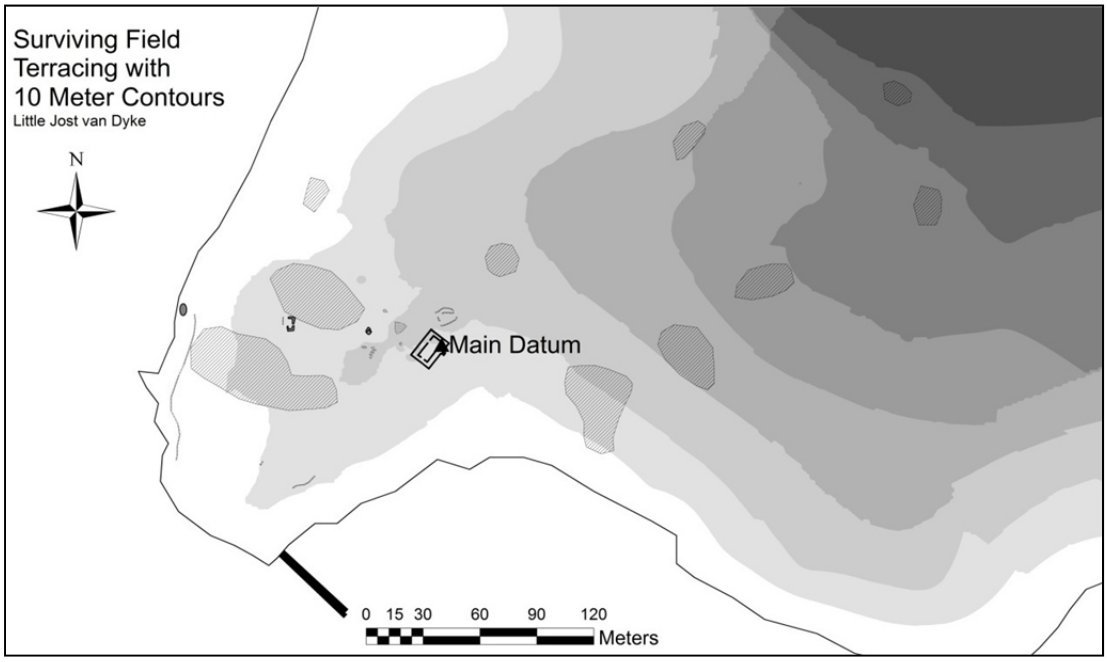

Figure 6.18: Map of areas of surviving field terracing with 10m contours

No natural salt features exist on Little Jost van Dyke, however, so an artificial tank would have been required.

Cave (Area K)
As noted above, large areas of volcanic boulders up to 10m in diameter exist in several areas of Little Jost. In one, a boulder has come to rest on top of several others, forming a cave or rock shelter of about a meter in height (Figure 6.17). Low-fired earthenware suggesting either use by enslaved Africans or pre-Colombian peoples was scattered nearby. Following work by Frederick Smith (2009) in Barbados identifying a cave site near the Mapps plantation as being a location to which enslaved people retreated for activities not allowed by the owner, two units were placed just inside this area in order to detect any historic occupation. As discussed further in the next chapter, no clear indications of historic use were recovered.

Figure 6.18a: *Low stone alignments of field terraces*

Field Terraces (Area G)
These long, low alignments of stones, usually only one course high, were used both to dispose of the many stones on the surface of the island, clearing it for planting, and to prevent the shallow soil from being washed away down the relatively steep grades (Figure 6.18a). The catchall term "Area G" was given to cover all of these areas in the event that a unit was excavated in one of them. No units could be placed in these areas due to time, but these areas of terracing were mapped using the Trimble GPS (Figure 6.18). The terraces are consistently similar to the widths suggested for cotton cultivation of 2 ½ to 6 feet (0.75 to 1.8 meters), depending on the quality of the soil (Brooks 1898: 134). The poorer the soils, the smaller the plants will grow to be, and

therefore the more closely they may be planted. Little Jost is not thought to have very high quality soils, and the terraces do tend to average about a meter apart where they are most clearly seen. The terraces are then suggested to represent cotton fields. The area of terraces visible today cover only about 1.5 acres (6321m^2). Estimates in Major Moody's 1826 report (PP 1826(81):110-115) suggest that from five to seven acres were under cultivation in cotton on Little Jost at that time, but all of his measurements tend to be over-estimates (for instance, he suggests the Little Jost is 222 acres in extent, whereas it is 155 acres) and so the visible terraces may represent a large percentage of the total area used intensively for cotton on Little Jost van Dyke.

The Fat Hog's Bay Meetinghouse Site

This site was identified as the 1740-1760s Meetinghouse of the Quaker community through correlation with historic accounts (see chapter five). In addition, artifacts visible on the surface and reported by the landowner, Mr. Dwight Pickering, were consistent with mid-eighteenth century occupation. The ruins are on land which, according to a 1793 map of the plantations on Tortola, would have been the property of John Pickering, a major figure in the foundation of the Tortola Monthly Meeting who gave the land for the Meetinghouse and Burial ground out of his own property. At the same time, most sources agree that John Pickering's own house was at some distance from this location, suggesting that another use was intended for this structure.

Figure 6.19 shows a map of the remains visible today. These consist of low walls very similar to the walls of the foundations of the Lettsom planter's house: un-worked or minimally worked (single-faced) stones mortared together with coral-and-shell mortar standing about 10cm above the current ground surface, which is here quite level (Figure 6.20). In one area, a depression of up to 70cm exists just inside the foundation walls, showing that the walls extend some ways below the surface. Openings for post-holes have been left at what appear to be regular intervals along the inside edge of these walls although not all of the wall is well-preserved enough at the surface to determine how many of these there were.

The walls form what appear to be two separate structures, aligned with and very close to each other. The northern one, labeled Structure One, appears to be approximately 6m by 9.5m (57m^2), while the other (Structure Two) is about 3m by 6m (18m^2). The size of Structure Two is less clear, as one wall is either missing or did not have a foundation. The two are only a meter and a half apart, and may well have been integrated into a single structure, although the reason for the foundation across what would then be the middle of the building is unclear. Structure Two may represent a lean-to, as is often the case with kitchens at domestic sites, but the site does not resemble other domestic sites of the period in the BVI. Most kitchen lean-tos did not have foundations, and would have been open on the three sides that have foundations here. The artifactual remains also do not suggest a kitchen.

It was noted in chapter five that a building is mentioned as being present on the Meeting's Fat Hog Bay lands, "furnished with Convenience for a Meeting house" (TMM Minutes 1:4), in

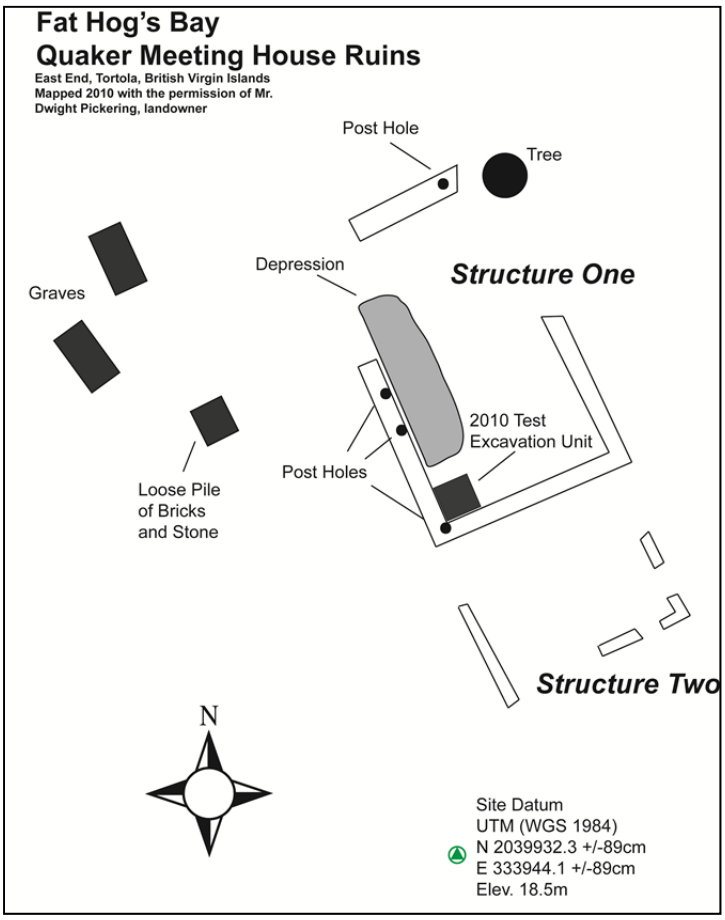

Figure 6.19: *Map of the Fat Hog's Bay Meetinghouse ruins with two associated graves and UTM position*

Figure 6.20: *Southwest corner of the Meetinghouse, "structure one," facing south with excavation unit laid out.*

Figure 6.21: *A grave at the Fat Hog's Bay Meetinghouse site*

March of 1741. It is also recorded that John Pickering is "*now Building* a Meetinghouse for the use of Friends" in October of that year (FH, London Yearly Meeting Epistles Received 3:90, TMM to London, 1741, emphasis added). The confusion over the date of the building's construction could result from Pickering *re*-building a structure already present an in use at the beginning of 1741, perhaps with the expansion of the building resulting in the two apparent structures noted here, starting in late 1741. Pearson (1931) also suggested that an addition might have been added to this structure when he visited it in the first half of the twentieth century.

Five to six meters west of these structures are several piles of unworked stone identical to the graves described above on Little Jost van Dyke (Area C) and other graves observed in the BVI (Figure 6.21). As noted in chapter five, the graves of three early missionaries to Tortola would have been located near the structure, although these were of brick and it appears that all the bricks have been removed. This agrees with several sources both published (Jenkins 1923; Pearson 1931) and archival (SCL, RG 5/073, Jenkins Papers, Box 1, Folder 1, Cruikshank to Jenkins, 1947) which suggest that all the relatively valuable bricks had been taken away for use as hearths in ovens. The graves currently visible may well be the graves of other members of the Quaker community known to have been buried here after these missionaries, but marked only with stones rather than brick tombs. As shown in Figure 6.19, the graves are oriented the same way as the structure, slightly north of northeast-southwest, suggesting association, and this non-

standard orientation for Christian burials is a highly charged aspect of Quaker burial in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Chenoweth 2009).

The area of these ruins is today planted with banana trees, making survey difficult. There was not enough visibility to use the total station, and so the map was made with tapes, paper and pencil. One excavation unit was placed in the interior angle of the southern corner of structure one, where the wall appeared most intact and able to withstand the pressures of people working around it. Mr. Pickering, the current landowner was clearing some brush during the time we were excavating this unit and encountered several large pieces of eighteenth-century slipware and free-blown glass, which he shared with us. These were recovered from an area about twenty meters northwest of the house, where he reports frequently finding similar remains, suggesting a midden heap for the Meetinghouse. This point was mapped, also using the GPS, to N2039981.6, E333939.0 (+/-40cm) and an elevation of 23.3m (+/-80cm). Two pipe stems were observed on the surface of the Meetinghouse foundation area as well, and these were mapped and collected. The work at this site was preliminary and further research is planned.

Summary

This chapter has described the terminology and procedures used in the work on Little Jost van Dyke and Fat Hog's Bay Meetinghouse, and detailed the surface-visible remains and the placement of the units excavated throughout the project. The project on the Lettsom site took place over three years, with a great deal of cooperation with the BVI Department of Culture, H. Lavity Stoutt Community College, the National Parks Trust, the Vanterpool family, and Mr. Dwight Pickering. During its course, much of the island was judgmentally surveyed, and targeted excavations and subsurface surveys were used to provide a sample of material culture from each identified area of the site, and provide information on dating and architecture. Mapping was conducted with and EDM and GPS, and 17 people formally took part in addition to myself. Excavations, which will be described in more detail in the next chapter, took place in the planter house foundations (Area A), the planter oven (Area B), the enslaved area (Area E), Structure H (Area H), the possible storage structure in the planter yard (Area J), and the cave or rock shelter area (Area K). The Fat Hogs Bay Meetinghouse site was identified in 2010 and a preliminary excavation took place here that year with the permission and kind cooperation of Mr. Dwight Pickering, the landowner.

7. Excavations, Surface Collections, and Dating

This chapter describes the archaeological excavations undertaken as part of this project, including descriptions of stratigraphic sequences and general comments on the finds in certain contexts. The information about artifacts and ecofacts (counts, weights, and densities) in each context will be recounted anecdotally, and is intended only to clarify points being discussed or to characterize the unit in general. Complete information on finds, including counts, weights, and densities in all contexts will be given in the next two chapters, and in the appendices. In preparation for discussions of dating which occur throughout this chapter as well as in chapters eight and nine, this chapter also undertakes a discussion of the standard archaeological practices of mean ceramic and pipe stem bore diameter dating, their advantages and problems, which will contextualize how they are used throughout.

Dating

Before a detailed discussion of the results of the excavations undertaken as part of this project can occur, a few items that will be used require some discussion. *Terminus post quem* (TPQ) dates are given for each unit in Table 8.1 and throughout the discussion for separate loci where relevant. Since the dates for units are aggregates, and the others only rarely refer to sealed contexts (see discussion below) it should be made clear that they generally represent the earliest possible date for the *latest* activity on a particular portion of the site, rather than providing a bracket for the earliest date at which the assemblage formed. For instance, most TPQs for units are from surface or near-surface materials, and show the latest possible date at which *some sort* of activity took place, but this may still be preceded by other activity. TPQs providing dates to sealed contexts, such as those in some parts of the foundations of the main house in Area A still give earliest possible dates for the formations of those contexts, of course.

Mean ceramic dating and pipe stem bore diameter dating have both been critiqued and called into question at various points over the last half-century of their use, but remain commonly employed in archaeological analysis. The remainder of this section will discuss some of their shortfalls and the ways in which they will be used here, hopefully minimizing most of those issues. These dates will be referenced throughout the study where relevant, but complete sets of ceramic and pipe stem dates will be provided in chapter eight with the discussions of ceramics and pipe stems, respectively.

Discussion of Mean Ceramic Dating

The practice of dating sites or deposits through the creation of an average production date of the ceramics was developed by Stanley South (1977) and has been in broad use in historical

archaeology ever since. These dates are based on type identifications which are discussed further in the next chapter. To make the calculation, the number of sherds of each type (or, as suggested here, the number of grams of weight recovered of each type) is multiplied by the mean production date, a point halfway between the earliest and latest recorded (or sometimes estimated) production of that type. The dates used here and their sources are listed in Table 7.1. The results of these calculations are summed, and then the total divided by the number of sherds used in the calculation, producing a date thought to represent the approximate middle of the site's occupation or deposit's formation.

From the outset, it was clear to many that the dates produced by this formula do not necessarily correspond to the actual occupation dates of the site. In the absence of any written records, the results of these calculations can provide rough indications of occupation time periods, but for most historical sites written documentation provides a much more accurate indication of occupation dates. Rather, mean ceramic dates (MCDs) are useful as an expression of the average production date for many (but clearly not all) of a site's ceramic contents, and can suggest intrasite patterns and in some cases chronology. In cases where the MCDs match well (or are strongly inconsistent with) patterns or conclusions based on other data, they will continue to be used. However it should be remembered that these dates need to be interpreted in concert with other lines of evidence, and may sometimes reveal trends and patterns having little to do with dating.

For instance, James Deetz's work on the Parting Ways site is a well-known cautionary tale for the interpretation of mean ceramic dating (Deetz 1996: 198-199). Here, Deetz recognized that MCDs for the site tended to fall earlier than the known habitation dates, but also observed that many of the pieces recovered were of very high quality and cost for a settlement of former slaves engaged in subsistence farming. He interpreted this to be a result of "hand-me-downs" from wealthy neighbors with abolitionist tendencies intending to support the small community of free Africans by giving them their out of date ceramics. Thus, the date suggests a pattern in the age of artifacts which relates more to material acquisition and use practices than temporal occupations. On this project, mean ceramic dates (like pipe stem dates discussed below) are not intended to suggest actual time periods of occupation, but are used in intrasite comparison. It is thought that this use is both better suited to the methodology of MCD calculation and to this site, where relatively well-established occupation dates of 1725-1781 for the "Lettsom" occupation are known historically.

The dates used in this process, along with their references are discussed in greater detail in the next chapter under "Ceramic Types Identified" and are outlined in Table 7.1. Dates were calculated whenever the total number of sherds in that context was over five. This number is more or less arbitrarily chosen, and is far lower than some studies recommend for "reliable" dates (suggested by Audrey Noel Hume to need at least 900 examples! (Noel Hume 1963)), but the dates produced seem to be consistent and meaningful across contexts with large and small samples. The more stringent standards are suggested in order to obtain actual occupation dates, already noted to not be a goal here in the same way. As noted above, the dates obtained here are used primarily for comparison, and counts of greater than five sherds seem to produce usable results for this purpose.

Mean ceramic dates are known to be problematic in a number of ways, many of which are accounted for by considering them to represent patterns in material manufacture rather than actual site occupation, but others are inherent and need to be discussed further. First, South recognized that tin-enameled wares, which he refers to as "delftware," have a production range of more than 200 years from ca. 1600 to 1802, which could easily skew resulting MCD calculations: a mean production date of 1700 is not probable on a site known to be occupied only 1750 to 1800. He suggests using 1650 as the median production date on which to base the calculations for these wares when a site is known to be of seventeenth century date and 1750 when it is known to be of eighteenth century date. Douglas Armstrong, working in a context more similar to Little Jost van Dyke, a Jamaican plantation with relatively well-established occupation dates, suggests using the approximate mid-point of occupation as the mean production date for tin-enameled wares (Armstrong 1990: 83). For Little Jost, this would be 1753. This allows tin-enameled wares to be incorporated but avoids the skew inherent in their actual mean production date of ca. 1700.

Still, tin-enameled wares are problematic in MCDs, and Wilkie and Farnsworth go farther and suggest using only refined wares to calculate MCDs (Wilkie and Farnsworth 2005: 137). These wares—creamware, pearlware and whiteware—are well-known chronological indicators without the vagaries of production or long production ranges that plague tin-enameled wares, stonewares, and redwares. They found this technique to work well on their nineteenth century site, but it introduces a different kind of bias on earlier sites like Little Jost van Dyke. Since these refined materials were not introduced until the 1760s and this technique would exclude all the ceramics present at this time, any sites occupied earlier than this will yield MCDs much later than their actual mean occupation period, and other interpretations of these dates will be similarly skewed. While not as closely-dated as creamware, pearlware, and whiteware, most other ceramics recovered from Little Jost at least have a more securely-established production range than tin-enameled wares (see sources cited in Table 7.1). Therefore, instead of calculating the dates based on only these three, they were calculated both with and without the tin-enameled wares (except "sponged" wares which were manufactured from 1708 to 1790, and so are included in both calculations due to this tighter date-range; it should be noted that only 17 such pieces were recovered, and their inclusion or exclusion makes little difference in the resulting dates).

Table 7.1: Dates and sources used in Mean Ceramic Date calculations and Terminus Post Quem (TPQ) dates for identified ceramic types recovered in excavation

Ware	Mean Production Date	TPQ	Source
Agate, coarse			
Astbury	1737.5	1725	(South 1977: 210-212)
Brick			
Creamware	1791	1762	(South 1977: 210-212)
Creamware, Green Glazed	1767	1759	(Miller 2000: 12)
Ironstone	1857	1813	(South 1977: 210-212)
Jackfield	1760	1740	(South 1977: 210-212)
Lead-Glazed Slipware	1732.5	1670	(South 1977: 210-212)
Low-Fired Earthenware			
Pearlware, Monochrome Hand-Decorated	1800	1780	(South 1977: 210-212)

Table 7.1: Dates and sources used in Mean Ceramic Date calculations and Terminus Post Quem (TPQ) dates for identified ceramic types recovered in excavation

Ware	Mean Production Date	TPQ	Source
Pearlware, Polychrome Hand-Decorated	1805	1795	(South 1977: 210-212)
Pearlware, Transfer Printed	1818	1795	(South 1977: 210-212)
Pearlware, Undecorated	1805	1780	(South 1977: 210-212)
Porcelain			
Porcelain, Brown Glazed	1740	1700	(FLMNH website)
Redware, Lead Glazed			
Stoneware, Brown English	1733	1690	(South 1977: 210-212)
Stoneware, Debased Scratch Blue	1780	1765	(South 1977: 210-212)
Stoneware, Dipped	1745	1715	(South 1977: 210-212)
Stoneware, Nottingham	1755	1700	(FLMNH website)
Stoneware, Scratch Blue	1760	1744	(South 1977: 210-212)
Stoneware, Type Unknown			
Stoneware, Westerwald	1738	1700	(South 1977: 210-212)
TinEnamel, Hand Decorated	1753	See discussion.	
TinEnamel, Plain	1753		
TinEnamel, Polychrome	1753		
TinEnamel, Sponged	1749	1708	(FLMNH website)
Whieldon	1755	1740	(Miller 2000: 12)
Whiteware	1860	1820	(South 1977: 210-212)
White Salt-Glazed Stoneware	1745	1720	(FLMNH website)

Another issue concerns calculations of MCDs based on sherd counts. The results may be skewed by fragmentation: one vessel in many pieces will be counted more than many vessels represented by only one sherd. Vessel counts are preferred, but in the Caribbean, with sandy, shallow soils and often scattered depositions, it can be rare to find large portions of vessels. On Little Jost, only a handful of pieces could be repieced, and vessel counts were problematic (see chapter eight). Therefore, most MCDs here are based on sherd counts, and subject to the fragmentation problem. In order to counter this, the calculations were also conducted using the weights of sherds of each ware: the total number of grams of each ware were simply used in place of the counts. This measure is rough, since different ceramic types have slightly different densities. It was thought that this would control for fragmentation, producing results determined by *how much* of a particular ware was present, rather than how highly fragmented it was.

As a result, MCDs were calculated for every context in four distinct ways: with and without tin-enameled wares and by weight as well as by count. The results suggest that in most cases calculations based on weights and counts tend to be separated by only a few years, but there are no patterns in the difference (i.e. consistently skewing earlier or later). Tin-enameled wares are one of the most common ceramic types encountered, making up fully a quarter of all ceramics by count or 15% by weight. They are also firmly associated with the earlier period of the site, being one of the few ceramic types recovered which would have been available when the site was first settled in the 1720s. Their exclusion certainly skews the MCDs later than they should be, but

their inclusion still may skew the results as well. I suggest that the use of sherd weights may be useful in addition to counts and can give an accurate comparison of two sites or areas when vessel counts are impossible, although further analysis and comparative studies would be beneficial. For the time being, I will generally report all four methods of calculating MCDs and discuss their different indications as needed.

Discussion of Pipe Stem Dating

Although other dating techniques using clay tobacco pipes have been proposed, most notably Oswald's typology (Oswald 1975) but also others based on stem length, bowl, heel and spur morphology, stem curvature and decoration (Walker 1977), the discussion here will focus on the use of stem bore diameter, which has been the most widely used method by far. Also, no other method is well suited to the assemblage recovered on Little Jost van Dyke, since this consists almost entirely of stem fragments with only highly fragmented bowls, making determination of shape impossible for most, and there were few decorations. The same comments on the use and meanings of MCDs made above apply for pipe dates as well.

The stem-bore diameter method was pioneered by J. C. Harrington (1954) who observed that the diameters of the stems tend to reduce in size over time, but has been widely modified and commented on. Binford introduced a straight-line regression formula which produced a specific (though qualified) "pipe stem date" for a collection (Binford 1978 [1961]). Walker suggests that the Binford method "appears to be accurate up to ca. 1765, after which it rapidly becomes too inaccurate to use, the dates produced being too early" (Walker 1977: 9). However, the model has been critiqued in several ways.

Walker expresses doubt that the formula works well outside the US (Walker 1977: 10), and Hanson has argued that a straight-line regression does not fit the data (Hanson 1969) although Binford responded to some of these critiques (Binford 1972). White's more recent study also suggests that a straight-line regression does not produce good results (White 2004: 60). Heighton and Deagan proposed a logarithmic regression producing an exponential curve rather than a straight line (Heighton and Deagan 1972). However, the large and well-dated assemblage from Port Royal, Jamaica, proved to be much better dated by the Binford model than Heighton and Deagan's (Fox 1999: 77), although, in general, large samples of 900 stems or more are desired for reliable dates (Noel Hume 1963), a figure rarely reached in any assemblage.

Other doubts about the creation of mean pipe stem dates come from the assumption that bore diameters are consistent within single pipes or that the trend towards smaller diameters is universal (Alexander 1983; White 2004: 57-58). For instance, Alexander expresses doubts about some aspects of the measurement, pointing out that up to about 3% of some assemblages exhibit more than one measurement at each end. This is caused by "finishing" wires, pockets of air or bits of wet clay accumulating in the bore during the manufacturing process. The application of decoration via pressure can also cause the bore to constrict slightly at points, and Alexander argues that the method is not generally useful, since other dating methods often are available and the pipes cannot be relied on without these. More recently, White conducted a study of

Yorkshire pipes and concluded that "variation along the stem is not particularly pronounced" (White 2004: 60).

White's review of the debate concludes that there

> is no doubt that the basic theory behind stem-bore analysis is sound…. The main disadvantage of the theory, however, is that it tries to encompass a wide range of regional, chronological, production and human variables within a single mathematical formula. Pipe-makers were practical people who would have used whatever they could most easily find for the wires that would produce the stem-bores (White 2004: 58).

White suggests that dates be given not as single numbers but as ranges (White 2004: 60), in a manner reminiscent of Noel Hume's original histogram.

Despite all these doubts, the technique will be used here is the Binford method, still the most widely applied one. Like mean ceramic dates discussed in the last section, these do not suggest specific dates of use for the site, as the technique was originally intended and for which it has become somewhat dubious. Here dates will be used primarily in intrasite comparisons and in the context provided by other lines of evidence. Complete sets of pipe stem dates are given in the next chapter under the general discussion of pipes.

As in the case of ceramics discussed above, pipe dates may be skewed by fragmentation. Here, however, we have an additional control to use to make sure the date is calculated based on how much of a particular pipe-stem bore diameter is present in each context: the length of the pipe. Dates were calculated on counts in the usual way but also on weights (where the input was the total number of grams of each diameter recovered) and on total lengths of the pipes (where the input was the total number of centimeters of each diameter recovered). As with ceramics, the calculation was performed on contexts with five or more measurable pieces; once again, this number is arbitrary but seemed to produce meaningful dates suitable for comparison. Again the techniques tend to agree, producing dates which vary by only two or three years on average. Nonetheless, making the calculations in multiple ways is suggested in order to counter the fragmentation issue and also to identify outliers which may suggest alternate interpretations.

Excavation Units and Stratigraphy

This section will discuss the details of the 40 excavation units opened as part of this project, and describe their stratigraphy and dating in terms of *termini post quem* (TPQ) and statistically-created dates based on ceramic production and pipe stems. These dating methods are used with the provisos discussed above. The dates and finds in the units will be discussed in a general way, calling attention to important points and implications for the interpretation of architecture, chronology, and the use of space on the site. Detailed discussions of the artifacts themselves including how the specific ceramic types and shell species were identified, glass manufacturing techniques noted, makers marks, and "small finds" of buttons, gun parts, and other items, will take place in the next chapter.

Stratigraphy on Little Jost van Dyke is somewhat complicated by the fact that, generally speaking, the first approximately 15cm of the soil across most of the island has been substantially disturbed by plant action. The stratigraphic analysis, discussed throughout this chapter, suggests that the very fast-growing *Croton spp.* plants which blanket the island disturb the soils to about 15cm, the depth of most of their roots. For example, the planter house foundations were cleared of these and other plants completely in 2008 for mapping and survey, and did not grow back in 2009. However, when we arrived on site in 2010, we were confronted with two meter high croton plants blanketing the site, suggesting just how rapidly these plants can sink their roots.

The conditions Armstrong encountered on the East End of St. John are perhaps the most similar in geography and geology to those on Little Jost van of any major archaeological study. Most stone architecture was easily visible on the surface, and artifacts clustered close to their places of deposition (suggested here by the analysis of the 2008 surface survey), often near the surface and just downhill from the occupation sites. Stratigraphy was present in some of Armstrong's contexts but his sites were usually characterized by sheet-midden-like deposits either due to original deposition or the shallow, sandy nature of the soils (Armstrong 2003: 90-2). This means that more ephemeral architecture, though not surviving itself, might be pinpointed through surface finds, as will be discussed under Area E, but between Armstrong's findings and the *Croton spp.* disturbance, chronology can only be considered on Little Jost van Dyke based on a few deposits likely to be undisturbed in the fill inside the foundations of the planter house.

Planter House and Yard

Area A: House Foundations

Eight units, all one-by-one meter squares, were excavated in the foundations of the planter house occupied by Mary and Edward Lettsom and later by Mary and her second husband Samuel Taine. Four of these (A2, A4, A5 and A6) were within the walls of the house itself, 3 (A1, A7 and A8) on the artificially leveled terrace surrounding this, and one (A3) against the outside wall, next to the main stairs to what appears to be the front entrance (Figure 6.5). Current ground surface on the platform of the walkway around the main house wall appears to be slightly below its historic level, as the drainage holes in the outer wall are a few centimeters above the ground. It is likely that any in situ, primary deposits were eroded away with these few centimeters of soil.

Unit A1

This unit was placed on the terrace surrounding the main house foundations, up against those foundations but in the deepest part of the artificially-leveled area. The loose soil and overburden, including 1-2% decayed mortar, was removed as locus 1, and then soils were removed in a series of generally horizontal natural levels, sometimes subdivided into arbitrary divisions if they extended more than 10cm in any area of the unit. There were twelve of these fill loci. After excavation, the stratigraphy was also recorded in the profile, and these two bodies of data were used to identify seven distinct episodes of fill, including the natural bedrock.

These strata varied in color between darker, more organic layers (locus 6, 7.5 YR 3/4, dark brown) and those with more reddish or yellowish clays (locus 9 at 5 YR 3/3 and locus 12 at 5 YR 3/4, both dark reddish brown) or were patchy combinations of these producing a faint "tortoise-shell" pattern. It is suggested that these are mixtures of near-surface organic soils and subsoils from other areas of the site, brought in as fill. Traces of charcoal were present throughout. Fragments and small concentrations of crumbling mortar are present on the surface, where they are ubiquitous around the main house, but rare in the first few loci. Thereafter, they increase markedly from locus 6 to 13, about 25 to 65cm below datum, including a dense patch of about 10x20cm in locus 10 and representing up to about 5% of the matrix of loci 12 and 13. There are also increasing numbers of artifacts in loci 9-13, 35-65cm below datum, and patches of deep red clay (2.5 YR 4/8, red) in these loci, which are sometimes found in the underlying yellow-red clayey subsoil (best encountered in the lower levels of unit A3 and in locus A2-17, which Munsell to 5 YR 5/8, yellowish red, and 2.5 YR 2.5/5, dark reddish brown, respectively).

Artifacts drop off sharply after locus 13, about 65cm below datum, and large rocks increase, eventually encountering bedrock unevenly, starting in locus 14, about 65cm below datum. As this was the first excavation on the site, work continued to confirm that we had encountered subsoil which was, in fact sterile. The unit was terminated at 82-86 cm below datum, the bottom of locus 17. It appears that unit A1 exhibits a series of distinct fill episodes used to fill in the area between the exterior terrace wall and the foundations of the main house.

For the large quantities of mortar observed in loci 6 to 13 to be present, it is likely that the structure was being renovated when these depositions were made and the space between the terrace wall and main house wall was filled. The large concentration of household refuse in these loci also suggest substantial earlier occupation. Finally, the face of the main house wall revealed in the northwest profile of this unit was finished with as much effort as the visible face of the terrace wall and the other visible portions of the walls, even though it was buried (Figure 7.1). This is not the case for the back of this wall, revealed in the southeast profile of unit A2 (see below), which was so rough and unfinished as to cause difficulty for the excavators. These facts suggest that the terrace was an addition to the original plan of the house.

Table 7.2: TPQs by Locus for fill loci in unit A1, disregarding superposition (loci are in stratigraphic, not numerical order)

Locus	TPQ
1	
3	1670
4	
6	1740
8	1708
10	1720
9	1762
12	1670
13	1762
14	1762
16	
17	

Table 7.2 shows the TPQs of this unit's levels (disregarding superposition). No strong pattern appears to exist between the levels, and it is possible that they were deposited within a short space of time anyway, as they are fill used to level the terrace. The pipe stem and mean ceramic dates of the different levels are consistently in the 1740s, mostly the earlier 1740s, but small pieces of creamware (TPQ 1762) were recovered from the lowest two levels. These pieces are all less than a centimeter square, and were pulled from the screens, not found in situ, so it is possible that they fell in from the sides or were brought in by bioturbation However, unlike A2 (see below), there are several of these pieces, and they are present in three different lower loci. Therefore it is concluded here that this construction took place after 1762, and so the whole of the unit is associated with the second "Lettsom-Taine" household (see the beginning of chapter ten for a discussion of the two households).

Unit A2

This unit was placed opposite unit A1, on the other side of the main house foundation wall, and so is located within the main house foundations (see Figure 6.5). It was placed on two stones which protruded into the house from the foundation and appeared to be mortared into place; this was thought to have possibly indicated an internal dividing wall. The loose surface material was removed as locus 1, followed by a thin layer of dense but disorded mortar fragments and pebbles suggesting wall-fall (locus 3). Under this the soil became more consolidated and was consistently a silty dark brown (7.5 YR 3/3, dark brown); mortar decreased although it was still present, and the unit was excavated in two arbitrary loci (5 and 6) to a depth of about 24cm below datum.

Table 7.3: TPQs by Locus for fill loci in unit A2, disregarding superposition (loci are in stratigraphic, not numerical order)

Locus	TPQ
1	1762
3	1740
5	1740
6	1762
7	1762
9	
10	1740
11	1670
12	1700
13	1740
14	1720
16	1762
19	
20	
17	

At this point a patch of almost pure, completely decomposed mortar having the texture of sand appeared in the western quadrant, which was excavated separately as locus 9, surrounded by

Figure 7.1: *Unit A1, showing buried, finished wall of main house foundation resting on irregular bedrock*

Figure 7.2: *Unit A2, showing possible foundation in trench (bottom of frame) and redder, sterile subsoil and bedrock (top of frame)*

locus 7; locus 9 expanded as the excavation proceeded, and was found to have a conical "pile" shape which ended on a relatively level, quite smooth and packed surface. This may have been a batch of mortar which was mixed incorrectly and did not "set" and so was dumped in to provide fill. The soil below the surface on which this pile of mortar was poured was excavated in five arbitrary loci (10, 11, 12, 13, and 14) and appeared distinct from that above this surface: above the soils were generally more organic and loose, while below they had a more clayey texture and were generally more red, including distinct patches a few centimeters across of deep red clay.

Throughout this excavation, pieces of stone which appeared to be mortared to or part of the house wall appeared in a rough and irregular fashion and expanded. This did not become a clear wall, but was a disordered mass. These were thought to be unmovable, but during the excavation of locus 11 (35-45cm below datum) it became clear that some of these pieces were not mortared together but were in fact a jumble of tightly packed stone and mortar fragments, containing areas of soil and a few artifacts as well. This was complicated by the unfinished, unfaced nature of the internal wall of the foundation, from which many stones and irregular patches of mortar protruded, locking fill stones into place. The loose part of this mass was then removed in levels intended to match those in which it would have been excavated if the fact that it was not part of the wall had been realized earlier, but this calls some aspects of the stratigraphy for this unit into question, especially in locus 7 and above. The back of the main house wall which was revealed by this work remained extremely irregular, however, consisting of unshaped stones protruding from and mortared into the face (see Figure 7.2, bottom of frame).

Artifacts dropped off sharply after 64cm below datum, but continued in low levels, showing that sterile subsoil had not been reached. At about 80cm below datum, the soil in the northwest half of the unit, away from the wall foundation became very rocky and difficult to excavate. No artifacts were observed in this area, designated locus 17, but they continued to be produced by the southeast half of the unit, locus 16, which appeared different in color and less like the subsoil (5 YR 4/4, reddish brown, in locus 16 versus 2.5 YR 2.5/5 dark reddish brown in locus 17). Locus 17 proved to be sterile subsoil, and excavation here was continued only to confirm this, down to 85-90cm below datum, and stopped.

The other half of the unit appeared to indicate a cut or pit extending about half a meter away from the wall, and was excavated as loci 16 and 19 down to between 90 and 95cm below datum. At this point the large boulders, present throughout the lower levels of the half of the unit close to the foundation wall, came to constitute most of the matrix of the loci and were impossible to move (Figure 7.2, middle of frame). Several voids were observed between these boulders, and they appeared more rounded and evenly sized as distinct from the tightly packed bedrock in the other half of the unit, and encountered at the bottom of every other excavation unit in the project. The cut (loci 16 and 19) and these boulders are thought to indicate the foundations for an earlier version of the structure.

The smooth surface and neat piling of the mortar excavated as locus 9 on top of the area excavated as locus 10 suggests two major conclusions besides the possibility of a failed batch of mortar. First, that the construction of the platform took place in stages, between which there was a leveling of the area and packing down of the soil. This is probably related to an effort to make

the platform stable and prevent subsidence later on. Second, the clear interface between locus 9 on the one hand and locus 10 below suggests that the stratigraphy from this point down is relatively undisturbed. The levels above this include stumps of *Croton spp.* to at least 17cm below datum, and below that are disturbed by the issues with the southeast profile. Therefore, loci 1, 3, 5, 6, and 7 are expected to be to some degree mixed, and thus associated with the post-1760 second household of Mary Lettsom Taine and Samuel Taine, while 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16 and 19 are thought to be undisturbed and relate to early occupations and the early construction history of the building, associated with the Mary and Edward Lettsom phase. Locus 17 was sterile subsoil, and locus 9, the intense area of mortar, also appears to be undisturbed, as the line between this area and locus 6 on top, 7 around, and 10 below was very clear and this area did not intersect with the problem area on the southwest profile.

Like unit A1, this unit contained a small (less than 2cm square) piece of creamware in the lowest layer, which would give a TPQ for the unit of 1762. However, this piece was found in the screen, and considering the difficulties with the profile discussed above and also the fact that here it is a single piece rather than several, it seems likely that this piece was intrusive. All the remaining creamware in this unit came from the disturbed contexts above locus 10. Table 7.3 shows the TPQ data for this unit, disregarding superposition. The most likely dating for the unit and therefore the main house's major reconstruction, then, is from the 1740s on, due to pieces of Jackfield and Whieldon ware in loci 10 and below, both of which provide at TPQ of 1740 for the remainder of the unit. This fits better with the mean ceramic and pipe stem dates calculated for the unit as a whole. The ceramic dates are in the mid 1750's by count but around 1740 by weight for the unit as a whole, and the pipe dates are around 1740.

This unit produced the Nichols' "WN" pipe (in A2-10, see next chapter) dated to between 1730 and 1775, as well as a minimally decorated pipe bowl with roulette circles around the rim (in A2-7) and a stem with substantial tooth-ware (A2-11). Like other units in the house, A2 had a relatively high level of iron fragments, including a possible hinge, as well as the rifle buttplate, sealed under the mortar-rich locus 9 in locus 10. These and the other finds are discussed in the next chapter.

A2 also showed the unfinished face of a wall never meant to be seen (Figure 7.3, left of frame), a marked difference with the smooth finished stone wall shown in unit A1 on the other side (Figure 7.1). This unit also dates the construction of the main house as being most likely in the 1740s. At the same time, the amount of decayed mortar present even in the lowest levels suggests that this was the rebuilding of an earlier structure, not a completely new one. Traces of that structure may survive in the boulders which A2 came down on: these, as noted above, were more rounded than most bedrock on the site, and there were voids between them. They also lie in a cut into the hillside: if the currently visible structure were the only one on this site and these boulders simply represent fill used to level its surface, why cut into the subsoil to lay them? These may be the remains of an earlier, unmortared foundation later surrounded by a more substantial wall. The archaeology suggests that this took place not too many years after 1740; the earlier structure cannot be dated, as it was impossible to remove the boulders that may compose its foundation, and no datable artifacts were located in association with it, but it is reasonable to suppose that it is associated with the earliest settlement of the island by the Lettsoms in the 1720s.

Figure 7.3: *Unit A2 after excavation, showing unfinished face of main wall (left)*

Figure 7.4: *Unit A3 after excavation, with bedrock visible*

Unit A3

This unit was placed outside the southeast terrace wall of the planter house in the angle formed by the wall and the main stairway (Figures 6.5 and 7.4). The original ground surface in this area slopes steeply away from the house. The unit was excavated in three arbitrary loci (1,2, and 3) from the surface down to about 15cm below datum (up to 30cm below the surface in parts due to the slope) where the soil began to show more red (7.5 YR 3/4, dark brown, in locus 4 as opposed to 10 YR 3/4, dark yellowish brown in locus 3) and more similar to the subsoil encountered in other units. The first three loci have a TPQ of 1762 based on a creamware sherd in locus 3 and the mean ceramic dates correspond well to this, all around 1760.

Another 10cm of excavation produced fewer artifacts than previous loci, and the excavators commented that these came almost entirely from the first few centimeters of the excavation. Therefore, from 25cm below datum, the unit was quartered and only the north corner, closest to the intersection of stairs and house foundations, was excavated further. This encountered bedrock in most of this quarter of the unit and excavation was ended at a maximum depth of 36cm below datum (Figure 7.4).

Overall, there is a trend towards reddening soil moving downwards in the unit, and by the bottom the site's subsoil, here a dense yellow to red clay (5 YR 5/8, yellowish red), is completely revealed and is densely packed with closely-fitting degrading bedrock. Locus 3 is not separated from locus 2 by an interface because no discernable division could be found; instead there is a gradual change of color. This change becomes a "tortoise-shell" pattern of mixed redder and yellower soils lower in locus 5, suggesting at least some disturbance of the soils above A3-7: a similar but less pronounced pattern was encountered in the lower non-natural layers of A1 (A1-12 and A1-13) and was interpreted as the result of sterile subsoil being excavated from elsewhere on the island and used in filling in the terrace. Here, on non-leveled soil, it is more likely the result of disturbance during construction.

Large pieces of mortar in flat, even shapes characterize the upper two loci of A3, and probably broke off the eroding stairs immediately adjacent: similar mortar was observed in situ and in the process of breaking off. The unit produced only 12 pieces of ceramic or 32.3/m^3, fewer by soil volume than almost any other unit in the house area, including others with similarly-shallow deposition, and one piece of glass, far less than any other unit in that area, and in fact the lowest level by volume 3.23g/m^3 than any other unit that produced glass at all. There were low levels of shell fragments as well, weighing in about the same as other shallow units, but a rather high number of pipe stems: equal to the number of ceramics and among the highest by volume from any unit on the site. In no other unit does the number of pipe stems approach that of the ceramics, which usually predominate by at least two-to-one. The pipe/ceramic ratio for this unit is higher than any other on the island, at 1.00, and well above the average of 0.2 pipes per ceramic found on the island as a whole. While this area may have been kept especially clean, as it was the first view visitors to the house had of the housekeeper's habits, it seems that smoking was particularly tolerated and no special effort was made to disguise it.

The pipe stem dates for this unit are a bit earlier than the ceramic dates mentioned above, around 1750, but the high density of pipes, as noted above, suggests that someone was in the habit of

smoking in this area and was generally lax in removing the stems; old pipe stems may well have been shifted around during construction suggested to have taken place in the 1760s, resulting in the terrace surrounding the main house. These dating suggestions all correspond well with the suggestion from unit A1 that the terrace construction took place after the early 1760s, and also with the fact that John Coakley Lettsom is reported to have gifted his mother with £1,000 in 1768 before returning from his only visit to the BVI. It was only a few years after creamware was introduced, which provides these dates, that Mary would suddenly have become flush and able to make modifications she may have long wanted.

Unit A4

A4 is a one-by-one meter unit, placed against the northeast wall of the main house in order to bisect what appeared to be a hearth feature on the surface: a rough square of partially charred chunks of mortar and rocks. The inside and outside of this hearth area were excavated separately, leaving a temporary baulk in between to support the rocks which defined the feature's edge, and then this baulk was excavated as well, leading to a complicated numbering of loci. In all three cases (the hearth inside, outside, and baulk) the excavation was divided into three fill loci: two upper levels of overburden and a loose scatter of rocks, mortar, and artifacts (approximately 0-10cm below datum, loci 3 and 5 outside the hearth feature, 2 and 4 inside and 1 and 20 in the baulk) and a lower, dark brown (near 10 YR 3/3), more consolidated sandy loam (about 10-18cm below datum, locus 11 outside, 9 inside, and 21 in the baulk).

Below these, the soil appeared homogenous, and was excavated as one context, becoming more clayey and lighter in color (loci 22 and 23, about 18-34cm below datum, Munselling to 10YR 4/3, brown). A stronger presence of mortar was noted in the north corner, but did not appear to warrant excavation as a separate locus. At 34cm below datum most of the unit became tightly packed rocks and clayey subsoil, except the north corner. There, in a 25cm diameter area flanked by two large stones, the soil continued to be the more organic, mortar-rich, dark-brown, exactly as the whole unit had appeared above. This feature, interpreted as a post-hole-robbing pit, was then excavated separately, and extended from 33 to 91cm below datum, slowly narrowing towards the bottom, where it ended in tightly packed bedrock. Tightly-packed rocks also made up the walls of this feature towards the bottom, suggesting that it had been cut out with great difficulty. The foundation of the house extended to approximately 48cm below datum, and within the post hole, small areas of mortar could be seen on this vertical surface which had the impression of a curved post, aligned with the post hole (Figure 7.5).

Dating of these upper levels is complicated by the fact that the post-hole pit was not initially recognized, and in fact this cut extended through the "outside" of the hearth contexts, as well as loci 22 and 23. The loci which did not intersect with the post hole did not contain any artifacts dating past creamware's 1762 TPQ (and these only in the upper few centimeters), but the levels which mixed the post-hole and stratigraphically earlier contexts had one piece of pearlware (post 1790) and two small pieces of whiteware (post 1820). These are probably from later occupations, as discussed below, and are probably from the post-hole pit. Locus 9 and 21 may be sealed, and relate to the period of early site-occupation and the 1740s house reconstruction, though these contain no readily datable material. These conclusions, then, are consistent with the chronology suggested by the findings of A2 above.

The post hole was excavated in six fill loci (24, 27, 28, 30, 31, and 32). The higher three appear much like the unit above them in color and texture, and contain substantial amounts of mortar; the lower three had a "crumbly" texture with comparatively high levels of charcoal and decreasing mortar, with none at all in locus 32. Few artifacts came from post-hole contexts: one piece of creamware (post-dating 1762) came from locus 27, and both 27 and 28 had far higher amounts of metal than most other units, mostly nail fragments (7 and 6 pieces at15.6g and 11.6g respectively, compared to a per-locus average of just 1.5 pieces and 5.5g across the site), and loci 28 and 30 produced the only two pins found in the excavation. Large amounts of bone and shell were recovered from loci 27 and 28, including six whole *C. pica*, and one very large, intact Atlantic Triton (*Charonia variegata*) shell was encountered in locus 27. Only two small fragments of shell were found below these, and loci 30, 31 and 32 appear to be effectively sterile. The rest of the unit, outside the post-hole was excavated only another ten centimeters (34 to 46 cm below datum) and produced only one piece of white-salt glazed stoneware and a few small shards of bottle glass, and some shell. By the end of the excavation here, degrading bedrock was reached throughout, and further excavation was not possible.

Figure 7.5: *Posthole in Unit A4; note curved mortar at top of frame*

The large intact *Charonia variegata* shell from locus 27 and pins from 28 and 30 deserve further comment. The shell was too large and not of the right shape to have been used by a hermit-crab, and was found pressed up against the stone foundation-wall near its lowest extend, 48cm below datum. It was by far the largest object recovered in the post-hole, and had not been broken as it would have to have been in order to remove the meat (by a cut or break near the spire). Instead, it had been hollowed out from the open end, apparently by inserting something to break an opening in the wall of the shell (Figure 10.1). This technique would not have been useful in

removing the meat, but would have allowed the shell to act as a container of sorts. This will be discussed further in chapter ten.

Overall, this unit produced mean ceramic dates in the 1770s and pipe stem dates much earlier, in the 1750s. The pipe dates on the island are more closely correlated with the Lettsom occupation, and it may be that the later occupants of the island in the nineteenth century did not have access to tobacco or consumed it in other ways. A piece of charcoal embedded in mortar recovered from the lower levels of the unit in the profile and freshly broken open during excavation produced a Carbon-14 date of 174 +/- 39 BP (uncalibrated, Arizona AMS Laboratory #AA91155). While this date is quite consistent with other indications of a mid eighteenth century date for the two phases of reconstruction, in keeping with the known difficulties of Carbon dating, it calibrates to a rather unhelpful span of 1665-1952 at one sigma. The greatest area of overlap on the plot, however, composing 46% of the overlap, is for a range of 1729 to 1785, in close agreement with the known occupation dates.

Table 7.4: TPQs by Locus for fill loci in unit A4, disregarding superposition (loci are in stratigraphic, not numerical order)

Locus	TPQ
1	1762
3	1780
4	1762
5	1762
8	
9	
11	1762
20	1762
21	
22	
23	1820
25	1720
27	1762
28	
30	
31	
32	

TPQs in this unit are complicated by the presence of a small piece of creamware (TPQ 1762) in locus 27 and two small pieces of whiteware (TPQ 1820) in locus 23. These two pieces of whiteware are the only two such pieces from Area A, and indeed the only items with a TPQ in the nineteenth century (a tin can from the near surface contexts of this unit with a TPQ in the early twentieth century was also present, and is discussed in chapter eight). This makes it unlikely that this dates the structure to this period, and these pieces are interpreted as having fallen into the post-hole after the post was removed, and therefore date that event to the 1820s or later. Creamware is present in many of the loci, providing a TPQ of 1762 (Table 7.4), but the

post-hole intrudes on almost all these contexts except A4-9 and A4-21, which are considered to have been sealed, and have no meaningful TPQs, containing only tin-enameled earthenware.

The chronology of this unit is interpreted as follows: first a post-hole was excavated (with a great deal of effort, into the bedrock) and a post inserted probably associated with the major reconstruction of the house suggested by unit A2 to be from the 1740s. Soil (lower down, loci 30, 31, and 32) and medium-sized rocks along with some household debris (higher up) were wedged in beside it to steady the post. At a later date, after 1820, the post was pulled out mixing the deposits originally used to steady the post with later materials (loci 24, 27, and 28), possibly leaving the hole open for a time, allowing several hermit-crabs to fall in and become trapped. During the field season, three or four hermit crabs would regularly fall into our open excavation units overnight and be trapped until we released them the next morning, providing the inspiration for the interpretation of the large number of whole gastropods found in these loci. However, these may represent household trash as well. Large amounts of mortar also fell into the hole both immediately upon removing the posts (suggesting at least partial walls being disturbed when the posts were removed) and slowly over time as the post-hole-robbing pit filled in with mortar, debris, and surface artifacts from nearby.

The historical evidence strongly suggests an early nineteenth century date for the removal of the posts, which are commented on as being "yet perfect" by Thornton in 1791 (LoC, William Thornton Papers, MSS Collection 591, f. 2809-2810). This is backed up by the presence of whiteware (TPQ of 1820) in the post-hole-robbing pit fill. As discussed in chapter five, the island continued to be inhabited both formally and informally for much of the next two centuries, but with relatively low impact. The hearth feature in the upper levels, constructed as it was out of already-ruined pieces of wall mortar, and on a level surface after the post-hole-robbing pit was completely filled in, probably dates to one of the more transient, later occupations. The tin can found near this feature (see chapter eight) dates to the early twentieth century and may be associated with this occupation. An individual or small group probably camped on the ruins while visiting the site to hunt feral goat, gather provisions, or cultivate small plots, and then returned to their primary residence.

Unit A5

This unit, a one-by-one square, was placed one meter from both the northeast and northwest walls of the foundation of the main Planter house, such that its north corner is the south corner of A6, and its east corner the same as the west corner of A4 (Figure 6.5). As with the other planter house units, the surface had large pieces of mortar, some with wattle impressions, but fewer than units A4 or A6 which were up against the foundation walls. This loose surface material, including organics, was removed with brushes as locus 1. The unit appeared homogenous below this and was excavated as two more-or-less level, 10cm arbitrary loci, called 2 and 3. Shortly after beginning a third arbitrary locus, locus 4, about 11-15cm below datum, the soil appeared more consolidated and lighter in color (10 YR 3/4, dark yellowish brown), and a new locus was begun. In the north half of the unit, this locus, locus 6, ended in tightly packed rock and yellowish subsoil after only a few centimeters, but in the south half, closer to the retaining wall and following the original slope of the hill, it continued to produce low levels of artifacts and a darker (7.5 YR 4/4, brown, in A5-8), more organic soil. The remainder of the unit was

excavated in 3 loci, 6, 8, and 9, to a depth of 33cm below datum in the far south corner, where it too ended in rock and sterile subsoil.

The first three loci, to about 11cm below datum, produced relatively high levels of ceramic (52 pieces or 124g), pipe stems (4 pieces) and glass (7 pieces, 7.3g), while all the remaining levels produced much lower amounts of manufactured goods, but similar amounts of shell. A small piece of lead was found in context A5-3. The mean ceramic date (MCD) for the unit is 1758.6 calculated on all datable wares by count and 1754.1 by weight. Because most of the datable ceramics (69% by count and 80% by weight) from this unit were tin-enameled wares, the MCDs of 1770.8 (by count) and 1758.4 (by weights) excluding these are calculated on only 16 pieces or 17.1g, and should not be given much credence. No pipe stem date was calculated, as there were only four pieces recovered, but these were all of 5/64ths bores, which tended to date to 1710-1750 by Noel Hume's original chart.

The unit is interpreted to consist primarily of fill, used to level off the house during its original construction. As such, the contents of the lower loci (loci 6, 8, and 9) might relate to the period of initial construction, contain refuse from the early years of occupation, and appear undisturbed. These contexts provide no useful TPQ, containing mainly tin-enameled wares and lead-glazed slipwares, both manufactured before the earliest recorded European settlements in the BVI. Above about 15cm below the surface, as elsewhere, the deposit appears mixed, containing pearlware in very small quantities, creamware, lead-glazed slipwares and tin-enameled ceramics along with possibly pre-historic low-fired earthenwares.

Unit A6

This unit, another one-by-one, was placed in the far north corner of the main house foundations. The area appeared level, and contained a dense scatter of mortar, and the overburden (locus 1) and first locus of excavation (locus 2) were removed evenly to a depth of 6-8cm below datum, when a soil change was noticed in the north corner of the unit, later interpreted as a post-hole-robbing pit. Thereafter, this area was excavated separately, in eight arbitrary fill loci (loci 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13). As in A4, this pit was bordered at several places with large rocks, probably wedged in to support a post, and narrowed from 40-60cm in diameter at the top to only about 15cm in diameter at the bottom. This post-hole pit ended 82.5cm below datum. Outside the post hole, the unit was excavated to 15cm below datum as locus 3, and then to about 19cm as locus 6, where the unit ended on hard-packed rocks and yellowish, clayey subsoil (10 YR 4/4, dark yellowish brown).

The interpretation for the post-hole is the same as that encountered in A4: a post hole was excavated into the bedrock of the island when the house was erected, and later pulled out, allowing surface material to fill the hole. Unlike A4, however, only a very small sample of artifacts were encountered here: the totals for the entire unit are 11 pieces (15.9g) of creamware, one very small piece of hand-decorated pearlware (0.1g), and one of tin-enameled ware (0.7g). These few sherds produce a late mean ceramic date of about 1790. One pipe stem was found low in the post-hole, in locus 12 (72-82 cmbd), with a 5/64ths bore, a diameter that tends to date to 1710-1750 by Noel Hume's original chart. Several corroded iron nail fragments were recovered as well, and these were the only artifacts recovered from loci 7, 8, and 11, in the post-

hole. The TPQ for the unit is 1780, but as with A4, the post-hole pit intrudes onto many context, and this date probably represents the date after which the posts were pulled out, not construction.

The limited dating here supports the conclusions about site chronology drawn in the discussion of the other units. Loci 3 and 6 are not associated with the post-hole, but locus 3 is too close to the surface to be considered sealed, when compared with other contexts on the island, so only 6 may be safely be associated with the early occupation of the site, the Edward and Mary Lettsom occupation.

Unit A7

This unit was placed on the terrace surrounding the main house foundations to align with the southwest door from the house onto the terrace. After the loose organics and pebbles of the surface layer were cleared away with brushes (locus 1), it was excavated in four arbitrary levels (2, 3, 4, and 5) to about 34cm below datum. The unit had near uniform color (7.5 YR 3/3 or 3/4, dark brown) and inclusions throughout. At this point the unit appeared to have come down onto the now familiar sterile subsoil, but the last locus, locus 5, did produce some artifacts, including ceramics. The unit was quartered, and only the eastern quadrant was excavated a further 10 cm to about 44cm below datum to verify that the soil was sterile; as expected this locus, locus 6, produced only a few small pieces of shell and coral and no artifacts.

One conclusion from the unit was that the house foundation in this area did not extend across the doorway. The northeast profile of the unit reveals that the threshold consisted of only one coarse of stones, and even this was partial. Perhaps more surprising was the shallow deposition in an area expected to contain a significant amount of fill to level the area, as elsewhere. The house was built on a rather steep hill and the southeast wall is as much as 2 meters high in order to level the surface. However, this unit suggests that the original ground surface here was more "U" shaped than an even hill, and this suggests that the original builders took advantage of a small natural ridge and positioned the house so as to require somewhat less labor to level than it might have appeared.

As noted above, artifacts continued to appear until the subsoil was reached. Finds included a single piece of lead, about the size and shape of a toothpick, weighing 8.5g, from locus A7-5, however the unit included significantly less metal than others nearby. The MCD for the unit, calculated on only 18 dateable fragments is somewhat late, in the 1780s or 1790s. Only four pipes, three of 5/64ths bore diameter and one of 4/64ths, were recovered from the unit, too few for a pipe stem date.

The TPQ for the unit is 1762 based on two sherds of creamware. The lowest levels (4, 5, and 6) have TPQs consistent with an earlier date (post-1740), and may be undisturbed and associated with the earlier household of Mary and Edward. This is complicated by the fact that the unit is placed on the surrounding terrace which was itself was dated by unit A2 to 1762 or later. It is quite possible to suggest, however, that an earlier sheet-midden deposit was covered over when the ground surface was raised to form the terrace, and so these earliest levels might still be associated with the first household. Only four sherds of ceramic were present in these levels, however.

Unit A8

This unit was placed on the terrace surrounding the main planter house, aligned with the walls of that house, and such that its east corner is adjacent to the exterior of the west corner of the house (Figure 6.5). After the surface organics and a small scatter of mortar fragments were cleared away as locus 1, the whole unit was excavated in two arbitrary loci (2 and 3) down to about 19cm below datum. At this point, the soil to the west appeared to differ from that in the eastern half of the unit, and the former, appearing more yellow (10 YR 5/6, yellowish brown) and consolidated, was thought to be subsoil. The two halves were excavated separately as locus 5 (the western, likely subsoil) and locus 6 (the eastern). While locus 6 produced small amounts of shell, locus 5 did indeed turn out to be sterile and so excavation there was stopped after only another 7cm, closing out at 26cm below datum. At about this depth, locus 6 also appeared to be sterile, and so the unit was quartered, and the eastern quarter (entirely within the closing outline of locus 6) was excavated a further 10cm to 36cm below datum as locus 7, which produced only a small amount of shell. At this point excavation on this unit ended.

The deposition in this area was more shallow than anticipated; like unit A7, the area was shown to be a natural rise and not artificially leveled by as much as first thought. The lower levels produced only very small fragments of unidentifiable shell and barnacle, which may have been transported by small animal or even worm action (Claassen 1998). These levels are effectively sterile. Five small pieces of unidentifiable iron (6.9g) were recovered from the first few loci, as were four pieces of glass. Only seven ceramics and no pipes were recovered from this unit, making MCD and pipe date calculations impossible. This was the only unit in the planter house and yard areas to produce no pipe fragments. Loci 6 and 7, as well as the sterile 5, all appear substantially undisturbed and may be associated with the earliest occupations of the Lettsoms, as they are more than 15 cm below the surface, but as just discussed, these are effectively sterile. As with unit A7, this unit's placement on the surrounding terrace of the house associates most of it with the second household, but the lack of an effective TPQ for the low levels makes it possible that they are part of a sealed surface deposit, covered over during the construction of the 1760s terrace.

Area B: Oven

Only one unit, B1, was placed in Area B, the remains of an oven located about 20 meters northwest of the planter's house. The unit was positioned about 2m east of the oven on a large surface concentration of artifacts, and was aligned with the grid, covering the area from approximately 1008 to 1009N and 962 to 963E. The surface organics and loose artifacts were removed as locus 1, and then the unit was excavated in three arbitrary loci (2, 3 and 4) to between 20 and 24cm below datum, where the soil became more yellow (10 YR 4/4, dark yellowish brown), rocky, and having a substantially lower density of artifacts. No features were encountered.

Substantial numbers of artifacts, especially ceramics and pipes, came from unit B1 compared to many of the other units excavated. Several nail fragments and other unidentifiable pieces of iron (totaling 20.6g) were located in the upper loci, as were 9 glass fragments, mostly green bottle-glass. Not surprisingly for a unit centered on a food preparation site, this unit produced by far the most shell of any in the project, more than 50% more than the next nearest unit, the one-by-two meter J1. Over 100 ceramics weighing over 160g came from unit B1 as well. These

were sufficient to calculate mean ceramic dates for several of the levels, as shown in Table 7.5, although these should be read caution, the samples being small.

The pipes of B1 deserve special comment. While B1 was tied with A2 for the most pipe stems produced (29), it should be noted that B1 is in an area where a surface collection was made in 2008 which gathered 28 additional stems. Even a cursory examination of the rest of the area of the oven shows significant numbers of additional stems, mostly on the eastern side of the oven with the most direct access and line of sight to the house. The pipe dates for the unit, calculated on 15 stems, were in the late 1740s or 1750s, consistent with the midpoint of the Lettsom occupation.

Table 7.5: Mean Ceramic and TPQ dates for unit B1

Locus	TPQ	By Count (all)	By Weight (all)	By Count (no TE)	By Weight (no TE)
1	1820 (Whiteware)	1750.2 (n=28)	1745.3 (n=26.7g)	1748.3 (n=16)	1742.7 (n=20.6)
2	1720 (WSGSW; of 1740 by superposition)	1746.0 (n=41)	1742.9 (n=52.6g)	1741.0 (n=23)	1737.8 (n=32.8g)
3	1720 (WSGSW; of 1740 by superposition)	1749.4 (n=8)	1748.5 (n=5.5g)	n=3	
4	1740 (Whieldon)	n=3		n=1	
6	n/a				
7	n/a				
8	n/a				

The dates are consistent with the Lettsom occupation of the site, and only a single small piece of whiteware (TPQ 1820) gives the unit a TPQ past 1740. A single piece of whiteware was also recovered during a surface survey special collection in this area in 2008 which overlapped with the location of this unit, along with one piece of creamware (TPQ 1762). This suggests that the oven may have been in usable condition into the mid-nineteenth century, but the vast majority of the artifacts suggest that the oven's primary period of use was restricted to the Lettsom period of the site. Loci 4, 6, 7, and 8 are considered sealed and undisturbed by root action, being below 15cm, and therefore may relate to early habitation of the area, consistent with the TPQ of 1740 for locus 4.

Area J: Storage Structure

A one-by-two meter unit was placed on the concentration of mortar located just north of the planter house, described in the last chapter. The larger size of this unit was chosen in the hopes that, by placing it across both an area of dense mortar and the edge of the mortar scatter, the excavation would encounter a post-hole or other signs of support for the wall, and clarify the nature of the structure. No such architectural remains were encountered, and time prevented any expansion of the unit in the search for them, but it did confirm the observation that more of the mortar in this area was flat-sided on both sides and solid, rather than having holes for wattle in the middle. This suggests that at least some of these pieces were part of flooring rather than wall-fall, which reinforces the interpretation of the structure as a storage space, having a mortar floor to protect cotton and other goods from burrowing animals, insects, and rising damp.

The unit, J1, was excavated in three arbitrary levels after the overburden was removed as locus 1. Due to the slight hill on which the unit was placed, the first of these, locus 2, merely leveled the unit to a depth of only about the level of the datum (that is, locus 2 began at 10cm above datum in parts). Towards the bottom of locus 3, about 10cm below datum, the level of artifacts began to markedly decrease, although the color remained consistent: the first locus produced 313 pieces (354.46g) of shell, for instance, and the second 339 (442.37), but the third only 120 (197.09g) and the final locus produced only 27 pieces (45.13g) of shell and only a single ceramic sherd. It appeared that sterile soil had been reached, but locus 4 was begun to confirm this, and was called at 15cm below datum, after very few artifacts were recovered.

What is more notable about this unit was the very high level of glass recovered. This unit produced more than 30% by weight of all the glass recovered in excavation during the project, over 200g, almost all of it green bottle glass. The unit had a far higher density of glass per square meter (104.35g/m^2) or by volume of soil excavated (414.09g/m^3) than the average for either the site (27.98g/m^2 or 91.06g/m^3) or the rest of the planter's area (26.60g/m^2 or 118.40g/m^3) and it had more than three times the glass by volume of any other unit in the planter's yard and house. This suggests that, among other things, the structure in Area J may have served to store the round, green glass bottles of the sort often used to contain liquor or wine, possibly containing some of them at a point when the structure collapsed. The unit has less clear glass than the average for the site or owner's area.

The shallowness of deposition in this area prevents any statement about chronology from this unit, most of the excavation being less than 15 centimeters from the surface. Only a very few sherds of pearlware and creamware were located in the unit, providing the unit as a whole with a TPQ of 1780, but again this represents the earliest possible date for the latest activity. Forty-five ceramic sherds (45.8g) were recovered, providing MCDs in the mid 1750s by count with or without tin enameled wares, and the 1760s by weight, consistent with the rest of the site. These dates probably represent the period of intense use of this area.

Area E: Enslaved Peoples' Area

Area E saw the placement of 25 excavation units covering almost 10m^2 over two seasons. These units effectively produced no viable stratigraphy, extending to an average depth of only 23cm before encountering bedrock. The work revealed no areas of artificial terracing or leveling of the ground, and no significant concentrations of artifactual materials, the midden apparently being a broad sheet down the steep hill towards the water, some 30m away. While almost every unit produced artifacts, almost none produced more than a handful (although two, E5 and E21, appear to have fallen on somewhat more dense midden concentrations), and no datable artifacts came from any context entirely sealed below the 15cm zone which appears elsewhere on the island to be undisturbed by plant-root action. As a consequence, the excavations here will not be discussed with the detail of those elsewhere on the island. In analysis, the data from all the E units is best considered in aggregate.

Area E was identified through a combination of historic documents suggesting the general area of the island on which the enslaved people lived and surface observations of more dense

concentrations of artifacts (see chapter six). There were also several rough stone alignments that may have been foundations, and one concentration of mortar fragments, some with wattle impressions, suggesting architecture, but nothing to guide the excavation like there was at the planter house. Therefore the excavation methodology here differed. The goals of excavations here were to 1) locate architectural remains in order to compare these with that of the planters, 2) acquire a sample of the material culture of the enslaved people, and 3) understand the use of space in this area by the past inhabitants.

Area E "Grid" Units

The primary approach to all three of these goals was to establish a grid of small test units across a large portion of the area. These were units E1, E2, E3, E4, E5, E6, E7, E8, E9, E10, E11, E12, E13, E14, E15, E16, E17, E18, E22, E23, E24, and E26. While block excavation would have been the preferred method of locating ephemeral architectural remains, time and budgetary constraints lead to a different approach. Following Lightfoot (1986), we spaced the 50x50cm "grid" units at 4m intervals, a figure anticipated to be small enough to encounter structures expected to be approximately that size or larger. We departed from this pattern in several cases: several individual units and small groups of units were off-set due to large trees or boulders which made excavation impossible in the designated place, one (E5) was shifted slightly out of alignment in order to cut a dense surface scatter, and some extra grid units were placed on what appeared to be the clearest potential house foundation which also had a concentration of wattle-impressed mortar on the surface (near units E1 through E4 and E6 through E10). While this placement breaks the rules of standard systematic sampling, the distribution results produced were calculated based on the actual positions of the units, and so the irregularities in placement should not have any effect.

The units in this grid were 50x50cm squares, excavated stratigraphically with the same methods as the larger units. The decision to conduct fully-stratigraphic excavations in these test units was based on a lack of familiarity with the deposition and soils of the island. In retrospect, no real stratigraphy was encountered, and the results from elsewhere suggest that the very fast-growing *Croton spp.* plants which blanket the island disturb the soils to about 15cm, the depth of most of their thick mat of roots. Therefore, shovel-test-pits or similar techniques would have produced equally valuable results with less effort, and this conclusion will guide future excavations in similar contexts.

The goal of encountering architecture was not achieved through excavation. It was hoped that living floors would have been observable if the excavation was not lucky enough to encounter clear architecture, such as post-holes, but the shallow deposition and activity in the soils prevented us from observing these if they were ever present. No post-holes were encountered in the grid units. Again, the limited time and budget prevented block excavations which may have been more successful at this goal. However, the second and third goals were more successful. The "grid" units produced 121 ceramic sherds, large amounts of glass and shell, and some pipe stems,. These all discussed in aggregate with the other units below.

Good data was also recovered from the "grid" units about the use of space in this area. Generally low levels of artifacts came from most of the units spaced systematically across the area, compared with those placed on visible concentrations. Several of the grid units produced

no artifacts whatsoever, suggesting that the area was generally kept clean. The grid was spread across a more-or-less level area above a sharper slope down towards the water, which may have been used as a "yard" area, a central place for working, cooking, and visiting. The importance of yard spaces in West African culture, and the potential of these observations to impact archaeological interpretation in the Caribbean have long been noted (Posnansky 1994). Most daily activities in West African villages would have taken place in front of houses, as women especially cooked and crafted, and families ate and talked, going inside mostly for stored items and to sleep.

Wilkie and Farnsworth see the arrangement of house yards in enslaved settlements to be "an opportunity for the [enslaved people] to exert control over the organization of their daily lives" (Wilkie and Farnsworth 2005: 165). At their site, Clifton Plantation, the fronts of the houses were designed by the planter to keep the enslaved people visible in order to exert control, but these were little used, the enslaved people preferring to conduct most of their activities in the more private backyards of the individual houses. In this, the enslaved people of Clifton were not alone, and other studies (Armstrong 1990; Armstrong and Kelly 2000) have similarly suggested that the enslaved people and planters competed over surveillance and privacy. On Little Jost, surveillance in this way was not an option, with the enslaved people entirely out of site of the planters, which will be discussed further in chapter ten. The few possible stone-alignments in Area E suggest no organized orientation to the settlement, and so the enslaved people here may have had the ability to place their houses as they wished, and chose a site structure similar to West African villages, organized around a central yard kept relatively clean of refuse. Further work locating more significant architectural remains would be required to clarify this, of course.

Units E20, E21, and E25

In a second attempt to locate architecture, in 2010, two units were placed on or near remains thought to represent fragmentary foundations or in association with mortar concentrations. E20 was placed on a mortar concentration near a rough alignment that may have been a foundation wall and E25 was placed on the inside of what appeared to be another alignment that included a 90° turn. It was hoped that each of these would encounter direct evidence of architecture, such as post-holes, and both were one-by-one meter units. Neither of these produced any clear indications of architecture, however.

Finally, E21 was a one-by-two unit placed on a dense surface concentration of artifacts at the edge of the level area at the center of area E, just above the modern, ruined dock. It was hoped that this might be the remains of a more specific midden area, as opposed to the sheet midden which appeared to cover much of this area and spread down the hill. This unit did produce by far the greatest number of artifacts encountered in area E, and a greater concentration than most of the other units as well, but in most categories by volume E21 is only marginally above average, and so a specific midden is not indicated.

Area E Artifacts

Artifacts recovered from Area E during the 2009 and 2010 seasons included 267 ceramic sherds (559.5g), 89 glass fragments (252.7g), 11 pipe stems and 6 bowl fragments, and 1,913g of shell fragments. The TPQs for these units vary greatly from the seventeenth century through 1820 but many units contain small amounts of pearlware dating to the 1780s and 1790s (Table 8.1). The

ceramics produced MCDs of about 1790, calculated by counts or weights, with and without tin-enameled wares, and pipe-stem dates of about 1755. Just over half of the ceramics by count, or just under half by weight consisted of undecorated creamwares, and Area E produced almost all the transfer-printed wares and most of the whitewares for the site, all suggesting later occupation or more up-to-date ceramic styles than present elsewhere.

Unit E21 produced a gun-flint or "strike-a-light," possibly a gunflint worn considerably or broken in half to prevent its use in a gun before being given to the enslaved people for use in starting cooking fires (see next chapter). Mortar was encountered in a number of units, but never in quantity except for a patch in unit E18, well below the surface, and in an area around units E6, E7, E8, E9 and E20. In other contexts mortar was noted at levels of 1-2% of the matrix, but never more. This strongly suggests only very minimal use of mortal for walls or other structures.

Shell was patchy, with some units producing quite high levels, and others almost none. As will be discussed further in chapter nine, the shell assemblage from the Area E units is generally quite similar to that from the planter's house and yard: primary and secondary foods appear in similar levels, and even coral constitutes a similar 20% of the assemblage by weight compared to the planter's area's 21%. This makes it possible that coral is less associated with construction than first thought, as its concentration does not seem to vary with the amount of mortar present in an area as would be expected if its main purpose was the creation of quicklime for mortar.

The glass was primarily green bottle glass (71% by weight) or of unknown form (21%) with a very small portion (2%) from case bottles or other flat forms. This area also produced the only confirmed piece of glass tableware from the site, a unique wine glass stem from unit E20, which is of a more decorated and high-value type than would have been expected. This piece is discussed in detail in the next chapter. Also discussed in the next chapter is a single white glass bead, pulled from the heavy fraction of a soil sample taken from locus E1-3. Metal was present but generally at much lower levels than in the owner's area of the site, as discussed in the next chapter.

"Structure H"

As noted above, this rough, dry-stone foundation made of large boulders and in a great state of disrepair was located at some distance from any other signs of settlement, directly west of the planter's house and north of the enslaved peoples' area. When first observed, it was remarkably overgrown, even for Little Jost van Dyke, with several large bushes covered in thick vines and "catch-and-keep" thorns. It took the better part of two days to clear with a machete to the point that excavations could be made or mapping could be accomplished. It should be noted that this dense vegetation, along with the considerable effort to clear it, may have somewhat disturbed the placement of the stones, and further obscured their original form. It should also be noted here that, due to a miscommunication, a few stones from the east wall were removed at one point and used to backfill the units.

Formal surface survey did not extend to this area, but a careful judgmental examination of the area around this structure revealed no artifacts of any sort. Two units, H1 and H2, were placed

here in an effort to identify the purpose or period of occupation of this building. H1 was placed just outside the clear doorway on the east side of the structure; the ground here slopes relatively steeply down towards the structure, and it was hoped that material dropped or swept out of the building by those walking to and from the planter house would collect up against the wall, be covered by colluvial material kicked down slope, and be left in situ. Unit H2 was placed in the center of the structure.

Both of these units were hampered by the weather, which turned rainy shortly after their excavation began. One day's downpours were so intense that some areas of the island, H1 and H2 included, were left as thick mud for days. When the units had dried sufficiently to allow excavation to resume, the matrix was still difficult to screen and so we turned to wet-screening. Without running water, we turned to submerging the screens in the ocean water; fortunately, the "crawl" area of shallow water between Jost van Dyke and Little Jost van Dyke was near at hand and is extremely calm, with only a few centimeters of water in places. This was ideal for wet-screening, and allowed us to be quite sure of our negative data: these units collectively produced only a single piece of coral (1.59g) and no other signs of habitation.

In H1, the surface material was brushed away as locus 1, and then the unit was excavated in arbitrary levels 2 and 3. By between 5 and 10 cm below datum, the eastern half of H1 clearly became the familiar clayey yellowish subsoil (the excavators used 10 YR 3/3 or 10YR 3/4, dark brown, for all contexts, but in discussions did identify a change from more organic upper, to more clayey and yellow soils below), and due to the poor excavation conditions and lack of any artifacts, excavation was halted here. The west side of H1 was continued as locus 4 and then 5, which ended at subsoil between 20 and 25 cm below datum. H1 also determined that the foundation for Structure H did not extend substantially below the surface, at least in this area.

For H2, again after the surface locus 1, excavation proceeded in arbitrary loci 2, 3, and 4. Due to the topography and the number of stones in the unit, it was apparently quite difficult to achieve or maintain a level excavation. By as little as 10 cm below the surface, the excavators noted increasing rock. The unit hit decaying bedrock and subsoil at 10-13cm below datum, and excavation was stopped at the end of locus 5.

The complete absence of artifacts is extremely unusual, since every other area of habitation on Little Jost seems to have substantial quantities of artifacts both above and below the surface. This suggests a very different sort of activity here, one important enough to justify the building in the first place, but requiring no artifacts. The lack of any crumbled mortar suggests that the superstructure was wooden, probably wattle and daub or even partially open, less substantial than the main house or storage structure.

Chronology is, of course, impossible to comment on without any artifacts to act as temporal markers, but it would not appear that Structure H dates to later than the Lettsom occupation of the site, when industrialization made materials of all sorts more readily accessible. It is possible that it may be a very early occupation, or even a temporary structure built when the Lettsom's first arrived, but the complete lack of artifacts makes any domestic habitation unlikely. It could be some sort of animal pen, but the location at such a distance from all the other inhabited areas

(including area D, suggested above to *be* an animal pen) and the construction using extremely large boulders of up to a meter in diameter at great effort makes this doubtful as well.

While it will probably never be proven, it is at least possible that the building was used or intended as a Quaker Meetinghouse. Little Jost was certainly the site of at least some, probably regular Meetings for Worship by members of the Quaker community from Jost, who met for worship separately in small groups even though they traveled to Fat Hogs Bay on Tortola for the monthly Meetings for Business. In November of 1742, for instance, visiting Quaker missionary John Estaugh is reported to have gone "ashore to the house of Edward Lettsom, who seemed to rejoice at his coming for he and his wife showed him more than ordinary kindness" (Abraham 1933: 11-12). No "signature" of a Meetinghouse as lacking artifactual remains is suggested, but the lack of any remains at all is at least consistent with this usage. This possibility will be explored further in chapter ten.

Area K: Cave Units

At a distance of approximately 60m northwest of the enslaved area on Little Jost and 115m directly west of the planter house, several large volcanic boulders form what should properly be known as a rock shelter, but which was generally referred by project personnel as a cave. Only about a meter high in most places, it contains not more than about 10m^2 of surface area, some of it virtually unusable due to mid-sized boulders or a very low roof. Nonetheless, several pieces of low-fired earthenware were visible on the surface eroding out of the soil below one of the entrances to this space. As noted above, work by Frederick Smith in Barbados identified a cave site near a plantation as being a location to which enslaved people retreated for activities not allowed by the owner (Smith 2009), and so two units were placed just inside this area in order to detect the nature of any occupation.

These were two of the last units excavated, and due to the limited ability to move around the area and the limited time left in the season, each was only a 50x50cm unit. K1 was placed just inside, in an area surrounded by boulders suitable for seats which seemed to be a likely area where those in the cave might have sat to work or eat. K2 was placed just outside the drip-line in front of one of the more convenient entrances. The former could only be excavated in one arbitrary locus after the surface material was brushed away, locus 2, which extended to 10-15cm below datum before it encountered another large boulder and excavation was halted without encountering any artifacts.

Unit K1 produced only a single small piece of glass, but contained an above-average amount of shell for the unit's small size: 66.27g in total, 265g/m^2 or 2,761g/m^3. These were mostly food shells: fragments of conch (*Strombus sp.*) and American Star Shell (*Astraea tecta*) along with unidentifiable pieces of bivalve with horizontal sculpture, possibly the delicacy *Lucina pensylvania* or Pennsylvania Lucine.

K2 was excavated in three arbitrary loci (loci 2, 3, and 4) after the overburden (locus 1) down to a depth of 30-35cm below datum. The soil in this area appears to be subject to substantial root action, as several large roots extended quite some way below the surface and were noted in the

excavation of K2. Several large pieces of low-fired earthenware were recovered from locus 2 and one smaller one from locus 4.

While it is hard to imagine that no eighteenth century occupants of Little Jost ever entered this shelter—indeed it is hard not to imagine four-year-old John Coakley Lettsom and the children of one of his parents' enslaved people not playing together here—it does not appear that it was resorted to with any regularity during the Lettsom occupation. The enslaved people do not appear to have stolen away with food or drink and consumed them away from the prying eyes of their owners, as they did at Mapps Cave (Smith 2009). However, it is clear that somebody made use of the cave, probably for temporary shelter rather than permanent habitation. Some of the fragments of low-fired earthenware recovered from K2 were sent to Dr. Brian Bates who is excavating a nearby pre-Colombian site on Jost van Dyke, and he identified the ceramics as pre-historic native products. While their low levels and the smallness of the cave do not suggest a substantial settlement, the proximity of a more substantial site Bates is currently excavating on Jost van Dyke does suggest that the rock-shelter on Little Jost van Dyke was probably in occasional use by pre-Colombian peoples.

Fat Hog's Bay Meetinghouse

As noted in the last chapter, the Meetinghouse is aligned roughly northwest-southeast, and the south corner of structure 1 presented the best preservation (Figures 6.19 and 6.20). It was here, just inside the angle of the southwest and southeast walls, that one test excavation unit, unit MH1, was placed. The unit was a one-by-one meter square. The surface material, removed as locus 1, contained a large amount of mortar, including many with wattle impressions, along with bone and a number of nail fragments. After this, the unit was excavated in five even, arbitrary levels (loci 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6), with the soil continuing to appear a highly organic dark red-brown (5 YR 2.5/2, dark reddish brown and 5YR 3/1, very dark gray), becoming gradually paler and more grey towards the bottom (7.5 YR 3/1, very dark grey and 10 YR 2/2, very dark brown). High concentrations of mortar continued to be encountered especially along the southeast wall, and the possibility of a decayed mortar floor was discussed, but further excavation would be required to be certain. At about 50cm below datum, a more marked change occurred with subsoil not unlike that encountered on Little Jost van Dyke appearing (Munselling to 2.5 Y 3/2, very dark grayish brown). The unit was excavated a further 10cm down to 62cm below datum (locus 8) to ensure that this was sterile subsoil, since this would be the first unit excavated by the team on Tortola, and locus 8 did in fact turn out to be completely sterile.

The artifacts recovered from the Meetinghouse were few. Five pipe stems were recovered, all with 5/64ths bore-diameters, two from the surface of the foundations and three from excavations in locus 2 and 3 along with two bowl fragments both of which exhibiting burn marks from use. Although unreliable with such low numbers, these produced pipe stem dates consistently around 1740 by count, weight and length (see chapter eight). Only three ceramic pieces, one redware, one tin-enameled and one very large brick fragment, were recovered, not allowing for MCD calculations. These pieces do not provide a meaningful TPQ.

The Meetinghouse unit produced a lower concentration of shell than was encountered on average in excavations from Little Jost, 128.3g/m^2 or 208.3g/m^3 compared to 366.1g/m^2 and 1103.3g/m^3. Relatively small amounts of coral were recovered from the site, suggesting that the excavation methods used will not inherently produce coral on a site with buildings made with coral mortar. It appears here that coral was not burned near the foundations, or that it had some other use on Little Jost, where it was found in quantity in many units. Almost all of the shell consisted of primary food species (*C. pica*, conchs and bivalves with latticed shell sculpture suggesting *Codakia orbicularis*, the Tiger Lucine), and lower amounts of secondary foods were recovered, on average, from most units on Little Jost van Dyke. The shells recovered were all fragments, suggesting some effort to keep the building clean, but the number of shells does imply that food consumption may have taken place. The low levels of ceramics and complete lack of glass, however, suggest that this was rare or took place at some distance from the structures more often than not. The very numerous and large pieces of eighteenth century ceramics and glass encountered by the landowner, Mr. Pickering, nearby (discussed in chapter six under "surface survey") both corroborates this and the attribution of an eighteenth-century date to the structure.

One unusual find in this unit was a very large gunflint, discussed in greater detail in the next chapter. It appears to be minimally used as a gunflint, but there is no sign of it being used for fire-starting as opposed to use in guns, and it is of a type which would have been in use at the time of the Meetinghouse's occupation. Additionally, the "Long Dane" pattern gun which it would best fit was the preferred gun for use in the "triangle trade," being exported to Africa in large numbers. It is not surprising that some of these guns would end up in the Caribbean with the owners of some of those whose lives were purchased with similar pieces. It does appear that BVI Quakers in general made use of such weapons and often had them near at hand, even when attending Meetings.

A charred post embedded in the Meetinghouse foundations was dated with Carbon-14 and produced a "post-bomb" date (Arizona AMS Laboratory #AA91154), suggesting that the site has been used for some sort of minimal construction in recent years. However, the disturbance to eighteenth century remains seems to be minimal, based on this preliminary work, since so few modern artifacts and so many eighteenth-century ones are in evidence.

Little Jost van Dyke Surface Survey Results

The 2008 surface survey covered approximately two-thirds of an acre, beginning in Area A, the planter house, and proceeding southwards to the waterline. The goal was to assess how the surface finds related to their probable use areas. Sixty-six collection areas were established. These are clearly concentrated closer to the house, and sharply fall off as distance from the house increases, with all but two areas being within about 20m from the house foundations. In addition, the concentration of artifacts recovered in each area drops off with distance from the house (Figure 7.6). This map of the 2008 surface survey area is coded with an interpolation of the expected concentrations of artifacts, by count, based on those recovered in the survey, using the "kriging" method and ArcGIS 10. It should be noted that the intense spike just southwest of the house is due to a single collection area with very high number of artifacts, as opposed to several adjacent collection areas each with a high level of finds suggesting a heap midden.

Nonetheless, it clearly shows that the artifacts are clustered closely by the house, despite the steep grade and moderate surface disturbance, and suggests excellent preservation of surface materials in or near their original depositional contexts. This is in keeping with the observations of Armstrong (2003: 88) in nearby St. John.

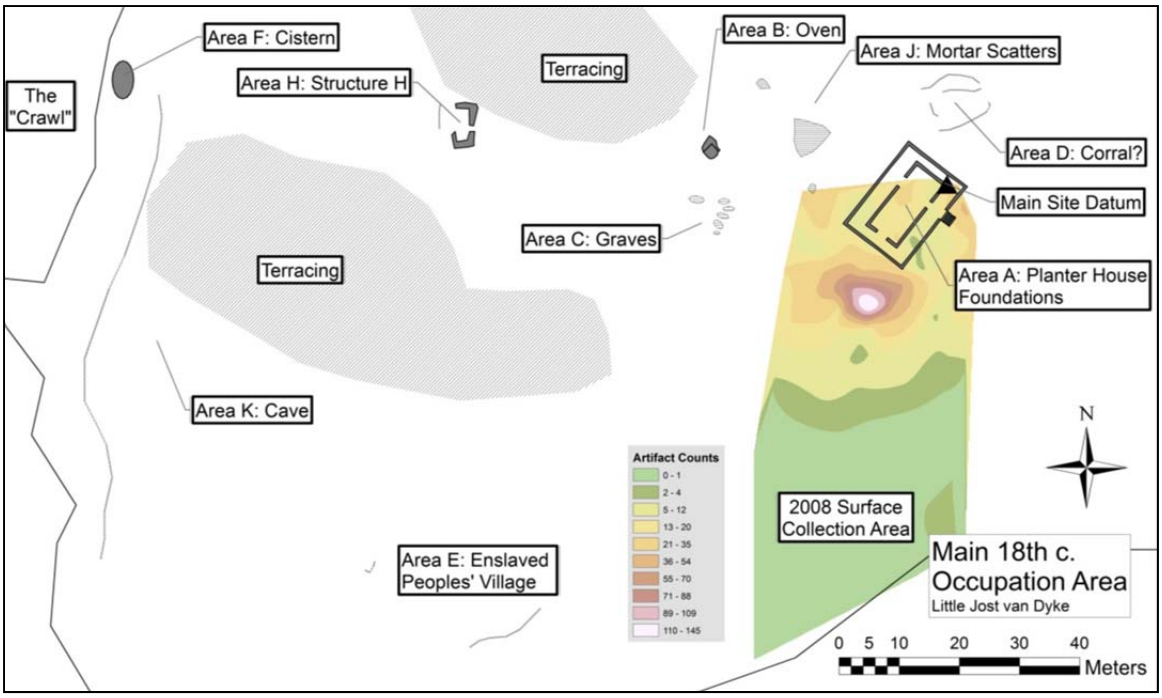

Figure 7.6: *2008 surface survey artifact concentrations*

Items which made up the bulk of the collected material were glass and ceramic. Approximately ten percent (about forty pieces) of this glass may be modern, as it does not "look old," and could be from modern remains which has lost or was never labeled. However, the bulk of the glass, almost 400 additional pieces, is substantially solarized or otherwise weathered, or appears to be hand-blown, suggesting an eighteenth or nineteenth century date. The ceramics in the surface deposits include a wide assortment of ceramic types ranging from simple to highly decorated, crude low-fired wares to imported porcelain, chronologically early tin-enameled wares (produced from long before Little Jost was settled) to whiteware (with a TPQ of 1820). These are discussed further in the next chapter, and incorporated into the comparisons of the owners and enslaved areas where appropriate (that is, where comparing surface and excavation deposits is not thought to be problematic), since all surface finds are associated with the planter's area of the site.

Since no chronology can be claimed for the different surface units, the pipes and ceramics from the surface collections are used in aggregate in calculating dates. The pipes consistently produced dates in the mid-1730s, while the mean ceramic dates produced by this assemblage range from the 1760s to the 1780s, depending on how the dates are calculated. It is logical that the surface deposits would be those associated with the latest occupations of the site, including those not well-represented in excavations, such as the ephemeral occupations described in chapter five which followed the ownership of the site by the Lettsoms. In general, the artifacts recovered from the surface survey are substantial similar to those recovered elsewhere on the

site. These are discussed in further detail, where relevant, with the other artifacts in the next chapter.

Summary

The dating for the units in the planter house and enslaved area are consistent with the historically suggested beginning occupation date of 1725, and the planter's area seems to be almost abandoned and the enslaved area little used (though not completely abandoned) after Mary Lettsom's death, probably around 1781. The main house foundations appear to have been built or re-built sometime after 1740 but before 1762 when creamware quickly became ubiquitous throughout the colonies, probably even in the out-of-the-way BVI.

The ubiquity of crumbled mortar even in the lowest layers of the main house fill suggests that it was rebuilt on the site of a yet earlier structure, parts of which may be represented by the trench and unmortared boulders at the bottom of unit A2, which suggest a much simpler structure. It is also worth noting that at least some ceramics were used in construction, as filler for mortar, suggesting some length occupation before the mortar was mixed. Several large pieces of mortar with pieces of tin-enameled wares embedded were observed on the site, and a few ceramics recovered had traces of mortar on them. This makes it clear that at least one phase of construction, or probably reconstruction, took place on the island after at least some time had elapsed from initial settlement.

The main house appears to have stood without the surrounding terrace for some time after this 1740s reconstruction, based on the probable dates of these units and the finished face of the main house foundation. These first two phases of the structure (unmortared foundation, the main house by itself) are followed sometime in the 1760s by the addition of the terrace surrounding the house and the substantial main entry stair on the southeast wall. The mortar present in the lower levels of the terrace unit A1 suggests that this work was accompanied by substantial rebuilding of the main house itself as well.

All of this dating corresponds very closely with several important events in the recorded history of the site: the historically-recorded initial settlement about 1725, the conversion of Edward and Mary Lettsom to Quakerism in 1740, the visit of John Coakley Lettsom to his mother in 1767-1768 when he leaves her with £1,000 from his medical practice, and Mary's death possibly around 1781. According to Thornton, only a few years later the island is abandoned and the house half-collapsed, suggesting that the enslaved people and any other members of Mary Lettsom's household (such as her second husband Samuel Taine and John's brother Edward, who both disappear from the historic record after 1768) also left the island at or before this time.

While the historical record tells us that the house was partially collapsed by the 1790s, it also shows that the island was in informal and temporary use by various visitors ("what remained covered was but the temporary abode of fishermen" (Harris 1995: 342)). These are probably responsible for the present, but low levels of pearlware and even whiteware on the planter house foundations (both having a TPQ after Mary Lettsom's death, 1780 and 1820 respectively), and these visits may have continued throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth. As

suggested by the A4 post-hole, in the early or middle of the nineteenth century, the house was robbed of its still-usable hard amarat wood posts, probably reducing it to a completely unusable state. Only a single artifact, the tin can in the upper layers of A4, relates to later nineteenth or early twentieth century use, suggesting that this use of the site became more temporary and ephemeral through time.

A few conclusions can be suggested about the lives and choices of the inhabitants of Little Jost van Dyke in the eighteenth century, which will be expanded on below. The site of the house was chosen for visibility, not ease of construction, as a more level but less exposed site was only a few meters northwest, but it was also chosen carefully to minimize the effort required: it was placed on a part of the exposed hillside where the natural ground required little filling in the western part of the structure. Unlike the enslaved quarters in Area E, the near constant sea-breeze coming between the islands of Jost van Dyke and Little Jost van Dyke is little felt here, making the planter's house site less cool by comparison to the enslaved peoples' area. That is, the site was chosen carefully, probably in the 1720s or 1730s for the first structure, in order to accommodate both limited resources and a desire for an impressive vantage, but with either a disregard for or lack of knowledge of the locale as respects comfort.

The pile of failed mortar located in the foundation fill of the main house (locus A2-9) suggests that it may have been mixed by those with little construction experience, possibly Edward and Mary themselves or their enslaved people. By the 1740s, the Lettsoms were moving up in the world to a more substantial, cut-and-mortared-foundation house, but not by leaps and bounds: they could afford the house but perhaps they needed to put in "sweat-equity." As in the location of the house, there are indications both of upward mobility and its limits.

Tobacco smoking seems to have been a regular part of the life of the Lettsoms, or at least some of them, being overtly present in relatively visible and probably regularly cleaned areas such as where unit A3 was placed, and present in large numbers by the oven, Area B. Such low concentrations were present in Area E that it seems unlikely that the enslaved people chose or were permitted to smoke frequently.

Glass distributions will be discussed more below, but the imbalance of unit J1 and the rest of the planter's yard area suggests a restricted use of these containers, often associated with alcohol although without certainty because of the possibility for reuse. The enslaved people did, however, have much more bottle glass per unit volume than the planters as a whole. Metal was generally present in only very low amounts in most of the enslaved peoples' area compared with the planters', and this suggests limitations to the tools and building materials they had available.

The units in Area E tended to confirm that people were living in the area during the Lettsom period, and possibly somewhat later, but the difference in ceramic dates between the two areas appears to be deeper than a simple difference in occupation based on the pipe stem dates and the historic records. The search for architecture in this area failed, even using the (rare) wattle-impressed mortar as a guide, and this suggests very ephemeral architecture without mortared foundations or substantial posts. The existence of a yard area at the heart of Area E has been suggested based on low artifact concentrations here compared to nearby units. The enslaved

people seem to have had control over the orientation and placement of their houses, and may have clustered them around this central place.

Historical documentation confirms that Meetings for Worship were certainly held on Little Jost, and that Edward Lettsom was involved in efforts to build a Meetinghouse for the use of Friends from the area. While this does not confirm that Structure H was built or used as a Meetinghouse, the possibility remains.

The very preliminary data from the Meetinghouse at Fat Hogs Bay suggests that food and drink were consumed near and even in that building, unlike Structure H, but this was minimal compared to the amount of eighteenth-century remains located only a few meters away by the landowner, Mr. Pickering. It is also worth nothing that the food remains uncovered at Fat Hog's Bay Meetinghouse were of the higher status shellfish and domesticates, as will be discussed more in chapter nine. More startling perhaps is the indication from the gunflint that weapons were present, perhaps even carried into the Meetinghouse, but again these results there are very preliminary. Finally, it is suggested that the enslaved people did not resort to the nearby cave for a respite or to engage in unsanctioned activities, as did those at Mapps cave on Barbados (Smith 2009), being generally unsupervised in the vicinity of their homes in Area E.

8. Artifacts Recovered

This chapter will detail the artifacts recovered in the work described in the last. For convenience, it follows the traditional division of artifacts primarily by material, and includes a discussion of how the types discussed were arrived at where relevant. Also described are the technical analyses conducted on some of the artifacts to determine the composition and marks of their use. The next chapter will discuss the ecofacts recovered before a discussion in chapter ten attempts to bring together the stratigraphic, artifactual, ecofactual, and historic/archival evidence outlined in chapters four through nine into a consideration of the relationships of those who lived on the site.

Ceramics

A complete record of the ceramics recovered by the project is included here as Appendix A. The ceramics from Little Jost van Dyke represented a wide variety of types but were highly fragmentary. Most came from the relatively disturbed upper few centimeters of soil, or from fill contexts in the main house, both secondary contexts making any possibility of reassembling vessels extremely difficult. Initial efforts with the 2008 sample were unsuccessful.

The fragmentary nature of the assemblage is most probably a result of a combination between the environment and depositional patterns: shallow, loose, sandy soils like those of Little Jost allow for artifacts to move to a degree, separating sherds of a vessel deposited in one place. This was encountered by Douglas Armstrong on a similar site on nearby St. John (Armstrong 2003). In addition, the deposition appears to be sheet midden almost everywhere except in the fill of the Planter House foundation. In a sheet midden, trash was probably thrown from habitation areas rather than carefully piled or buried, and so elements from one vessel were not necessarily deposited together. No significant concentrations of remains were observed that might suggest trash piles, and burying trash would have been extremely difficult on a rocky island where deep soils suitable for planting were at a premium.

As a result of these factors, the discussion here will be based primarily on sherd counts and weights, the minimum vessel counts being problematic, as will be discussed more below. Counts have been in traditional use, although the problems with use of counts are well-noted (Sussman 2000b), and so this discussion will also compare weights where applicable to account for fragmentation. The comparisons will also be standardized by excavated area (weights and counts per m^2), as is usual in the field, and also soil volumes where possible (weights and counts per m^3).

Volume calculations are problematic, since it is difficult to determine the exact volume excavated without painstaking recording in the field. Volumes here are approximate, calculated

by averaging the opening and closing depths and taking the absolute difference as the vertical dimension for the unit and multiplying by the area. This was considered useful due to the sharp differences between the depths of some units: those in the house foundations in area A being up to a meter in depth, while those in area E were rarely more than twenty centimeters. Even with unit size taken into consideration, such differences may skew some results. On the other hand, the very small size of some of the area E units (as little as $0.07m^3$) may exaggerate the importance of some materials found there: for instance, the large pieces of metal, probably a barrel hoop in E24 provides a figure of over 2,600g of iron/m^3 due to the small size of the unit, an order of magnitude greater than any other unit. As in the case of the ceramic and pipe dates calculated in multiple ways, the path chosen here will be to report the data in all of these ways where applicable and contextualize them as needed.

Ceramic Types Identified

The following discussion is not intended to be comprehensive of the information available on the following ceramic types. The discussion is instead intended to point to particularly important features of each type, such as dating evidence, cost, or instances where these are more difficult to determine, and also to clarify some of the specific ways they were identified and defined on this project, since usage in the literature tends to vary and be ill defined. Important efforts exist to clarify these terms, and these works should be referred to for more information on the types discussed here (Majewski and O'Brien 1987; Miller 1980; Miller 1991; Noel Hume 1970; Rice 1996; Rye 1981; Samford 1997; Sussman 1997).

Several types of coarse earthenware, redware, and unrefined wares were recovered on Little Jost van Dyke. Some low-fired earthenwares ("LFEW" in the project catalog and in the appendices) do not appear similar to other known-type historical ceramics: these wares are shell or mica-tempered, appear to be pinch- or coil-built, and some examples suggest burnishing. Since prehistoric settlements are known in the area (Bates 2001), it is surmised that these are related to a previous inhabitation of the island by Indigenous peoples. A sample of these sherds was sent to Dr. Brian Bates, who studies pre-Colombian settlements in the British Virgin Islands, who confirmed that they are pre-historic in origin, probably "ostionoid" and most probably "elenan ostionoid" (Brian Bates, personal communication, 2010) dating to approximately 1400 to 800BP. The possibility remains that some of these sherds could be historic in origin, as production of ceramics from local clays is known—especially among the enslaved people—throughout the Caribbean, but this seems unlikely.

"Brick" is the classification used for soft, red-bodied, coarse earthenwares without any glaze or surface treatment and in fragments without any but one or two adjacent and completely flat surfaces. These items often appear quite similar to the glazed redwares discussed next, but the pieces appear to be structural fragments of brick rather than vessels. Some (especially the smaller ones) may, in fact, be from redware vessels, although this is impossible to determine. "Redware" is medium-to-soft, red-bodied ware, and the examples recovered here had either a clear lead glaze over a thin brown or yellow slip or a thick black slip, often only on one side or at least excluding the underside of the base. These wares were inexpensive, and manufactured in

the colonies as well as Europe (Turnbaugh 1985). All categories of coarse earthenwares are excluded from dating discussions on this site.

Lead-Glazed Slipware ("LGS" in some catalogs) is coarse-bodied but buff or tan in color, as opposed to redware, and is often slip decorated in yellow, green, or white, which is trailed by hand (Noel Hume 1969: 25-26; Noel Hume 1970: 102-103). These wares are more securely dated, although still not as reliably as the refined earthenwares discussed below. South dates them generally to 1670 to 1795 (South 1977: 211).

Tin-Enameled ware, often called "Delft" in English contexts is a soft-bodied earthenware with a mixture of lead glaze and tin creating a thick, opaque white enamel, which could then be painted, almost always free-hand: "cobalt blue, manganese purple, copper green, antimony yellow, and an orange derived from iron rust" (Noel Hume 1970: 106). Noel Hume also discusses the mistaken name "delft" and clarifies that this ware is essentially the same as that called "maiolica" or "faience" at least in general description, when the origin of a specific piece is not known. These wares were produced in England from the late sixteenth century, but the technology dates to much earlier periods (Tite, et al. 2008). This material began to lose favor for everyday use by about 1730, partly due to its poor durability (Noel Hume 1969: 13). However, tin enameled wares were produced for an extremely long period, which may skew mean ceramic date calculations. Therefore, South used an artificial median date of 1650 on sites known to be of seventeenth century date, and an artificial median date of 1750 on sites known to be of eighteenth century date. In adapting this formula to this site, a median date of 1753 is used in some calculations, as this represents the mid-point of the known eighteenth-century occupation of the site (see above, chapter seven, under "dating" for more discussion of ceramic dates and the multiple ways they were calculated here).

Refined earthenwares developed later than the above types, were usually more expensive, and were used in more formal "table ware" forms more than storage forms. Creamware, pearlware, whiteware are all defined as being relatively soft-bodied wares (the body can be significantly scratched with a metal implement, such as a probe or paperclip) with a clear lead glaze, applied as a liquid and fired very smoothly (Noel Hume 1969: 19). Under magnification this glaze appears crazed, or cracked, often in patterns, much like shattered glass, but with few bubbles or inclusions. The difference between the three is color: creamware has a cream-colored body (when clean) with a clear glazes that appears yellow or green-colored in pools, while pearlware's glaze appears blueish in concentrations (Noel Hume 1970: 130). Whiteware, bright white in both body and glaze, and was developed about 1820, while most pearlware was produced from 1790 to about 1830, and creamware from 1762 to 1820 (South 1977: 211-212).

In mean ceramic date calculations and other aspects of the discussion here, each of these categories is further broken down into more closely-dated categories from South's work, often based on decoration. For instance, "Whieldon" wares are creamwares with characteristic "clouded" coloring of purple, gray, blue, brown, yellow, and green, but particularly often the last three together (Noel Hume 1970: 123). Whieldon himself, along with Josiah Wedgewood also developed a richly colored, shiny green glaze, perfected in 1759 (Noel Hume 1970: 124) and in use until about 1775 (Miller 2000: 12). These types are discussed in chapter seven under "dating."

"Agate" wares are produced by combining multiple colors of clay producing a "marbled" appearance much in demand on some high-quality wares, but this technique was also used to improve the quality of poor clays, and thus appears in a coarse fashion on utilitarian wares (Noel Hume 1970: 132). The single example of Agate recovered on Little Jost van Dyke appears to be of the latter variety, being two unrefined clays in large, irregular patches and being glazed only on one side. "Ironstone" was also recovered from surface contexts on Little Jost, and appears very similar to whiteware except that its body is extremely hard, and cannot be scratched with metal. The technique for making Ironstone was patented in 1813 by Charles James mason, but he had many imitators and Ironstone-like ceramics were widespread by 1827 when Mason's patent expired (Dieringer and Dieringer 1997). Ironstone was often transfer printed, especially with "flow-blue" but was also available in cheaper, plain types.

Stonewares are identified primarily by the hardness of their bodies (they cannot be significantly scratched with metal) but a lack of complete vitrification (as in porcelain) and are almost always salt-glazed. This glaze is usually identified by the characteristic "orange peel" pitting, which is usually visible without magnification. Sometimes, the pitting is more subtle and appears most clearly under magnification as an un-fractured more-or-less rolling surface. Under magnification, salt-glaze is also characterized by a great deal of bubbles in the matrix of the glaze and the presence of some pits which are actually tiny holes, appearing like craters into small burned pockets of inclusions. Work on Little Jost recovered several examples of more buff-bodied or even pinkish stonewares, very similar to types described as usually having grey bodies. Most of these types are relatively clearly dated (South 1977: 210-211).

"English Brown" stonewares are grey in body, although this may vary (Green 1999: 147), and gain a "pebbly" appearance in their iron-brown slip when salt-glazed, partially revealing the grey body beneath. Some examples from Little Jost show only a very little of the iron slipping and may be errors. "Nottingham" stonewares are also grey in body and have a brown to light brown slip described as "finely textured" (Noel Hume 1970: 113) which completely obscures the grey body beneath. The "orange-peel" pitting usually seen in salt-glazing is "barely evident" here (Florida Museum of Natural History n.d.). "Westerwald" stonewares are grey bodied with cobalt-blue decorations, and are generally assumed to be German in origin.

"Dipped" stonewares are described by Noel Hume as having a grey core which is dipped in an iron-oxide slip so as to appear opaque white before receiving the usual salt-glaze (Noel Hume 1970: 114). Both examples recovered on Little Jost are slipped only on one side, and so may represent base fragments, and both exhibit a more buff or tan-colored body than usually described. These are distinct from what is referred to here as "White Salt-Glazed Stoneware" ("WSGSW" in catalogs), a fully white-bodied stoneware with a clear salt-glaze which became popular for tablewares in the mid-eighteenth century and was often given molded decorations (Noel Hume 1970: 115-116). These latter were relatively fine wares, and were sometimes decorated with filled incising to make "Scratch Blue" wares (and, somewhat later, a more messily decorated version called "Debased Scratch Blue") (Noel Hume 1970: 117-118). Astbury ware and Jackfield ware are the other two types of finer stonewares recovered on this site. Astbury is a red-bodied stoneware with a lead glaze, giving it a smooth "ginger or light-

chocolate-brown" finish, while Jackfield ware is "purple to gray" but this is hidden by a deep black, glossy glaze (Noel Hume 1970: 123).

Porcelain is a fully vitrified ceramic with a glaze usually almost completely fused with the body, especially in higher quality and later materials. It is considered to be generally more expensive than any other type discussed, and to have high status. Often decorated with cobalt blue under the glaze and sometimes, more rarely, with red over it (called "Imari"), most porcelains found on American sites are probably Chinese in origin (Noel Hume 1970: 257) and so this origin is assumed of all porcelains on Little Jost. Porcelain is, however, less useful as a dating tool due its long production span, but South gives underglaze blue-decorated wares a production span of 1660 to 1800 (South 1977: 210). Porcelain is excluded from dating calculations here. The exception is "Brown Glazed" porcelain, which has a characteristic tan or brown glaze, usually only on one side, and is dated more closely to 1700-1780 (Florida Museum of Natural History n.d.).

Mean Ceramic Dating Calculations

Mean ceramic dates are discussed in chapter seven, including a number of problems with the technique. As discussed above, it is hoped that the use of these figures primarily for intrasite comparison, rather than in order to determine chronological dates of units or loci, will minimize these issues. Table 8.1 presents the dates calculated for each unit as a whole in the four different methods discussed in chapter seven: by counts and weights, with and without tin-enameled wares ("T-E"). The dates are reported for each unit in Table 8.1, and are calculated on every context with more than five sherds recovered, and for several aggregate groups, such as the owner's area and the enslaved area. In most cases, samples were too small to allow meaningful MCDs to be calculated for each level, and so they are presented by unit only. As noted at the beginning of chapter seven, the TPQ dates included in this table, since they are aggregates of the entire unit, represent the earliest possible date for the latest activity on that portion of the site.

Table 8.1: Mean Ceramic Dates for Excavations, calculated by counts and weights, with and without tin-enameled wares

Unit	MCD by Ct (all)		MCD by Wt. (all)		MCD by Ct. Excl. T-E		MCD by Wt. Excl. T-E		Unit TPQ
A01	1751.2	(n=48)	1745.4	(n=75.8g)	1749.8	(n=27)	1740.6	(n=46.8g)	1762
A02	1753.5	(n=52)	1744.7	(n=93.8g)	1753.9	(n=29)	1740.4	(n=61.7g)	1762
A03	1763.0	(n=11)	1759.7	(n=6g)	1765.2	(n=9)	1761.2	(n=4.9g)	1762
A04	1772.0	(n=53)	1772.3	(n=85.2g)	1783.6	(n=33)	1785.7	(n=50.2g)	1820
A05	1758.6	(n=51)	1754.1	(n=84.4g)	1770.8	(n=16)	1758.4	(n=17.1g)	1780
A06	1788.8	(n=13)	1789.5	(n=16.7g)	1791.8	(n=12)	1791.1	(n=16g)	1780
A07	1778.1	(n=18)	1785.3	(n=17.3g)	1785.3	(n=14)	1791.6	(n=14.5g)	1780
A08	1780.1	(n=7)	1771.6	(n=4.5g)	---	(n=5)	---	(n=2.2g)	1762
B01	1748.1	(n=80)	1744.5	(n=89.94g)	1744.6	(n=47)	1740.5	(n=61.21g)	1820
E01	---	(n=2)	---	(n=6g)	---	(n=2)	---	(n=6g)	1670
E02	---	(n=1)	---	(n=5.4g)	---	(n=1)	---	(n=5.4g)	1670

Table 8.1: Mean Ceramic Dates for Excavations, calculated by counts and weights, with and without tin-enameled wares

Unit	MCD by Ct (all)		MCD by Wt. (all)		MCD by Ct. Excl. T-E		MCD by Wt. Excl. T-E		Unit TPQ
E03	---	(n=5)	---	(n=27.51g)	---	(n=5)	---	(n=27.51g)	1780
E04	---	(n=2)	---	(n=5g)	---	(n=2)	---	(n=5g)	1762
E05	1785.3	(n=49)	1784.9	(n=82.2g)	1785.9	(n=48)	1788.1	(n=74.9g)	1795
E06	---	(n=2)	---	(n=3.1g)	---	(n=2)	---	(n=3.1g)	1795
E07	---	(n=1)	---	(n=0.9g)	---	(n=1)	---	(n=0.9g)	1670
E08	---	(n=5)	---	(n=3.2g)	---	(n=5)	---	(n=3.2g)	1762
E09	---	(n=3)	---	(n=6.6g)	---	(n=1)	---	(n=5.1g)	1762
E10	1787.6	(n=7)	1778.9	(n=4.2g)	1793.3	(n=6)	1798.3	(n=2.4g)	1780
E11	1792.8	(n=8)	1791.9	(n=4.8g)	1792.8	(n=8)	1791.9	(n=4.8g)	1795
E12	---	(n=1)	---	(n=0.3g)	---	(n=1)	---	(n=0.3g)	1720
E13	---	(n=0)	---	(n=0g)	---	(n=0)	---	(n=0g)	---
E14	1801.8	(n=7)	1775.9	(n=12.68g)	1801.8	(n=7)	1775.9	(n=12.68g)	1820
E15	---	(n=1)	---	(n=0.5g)	---	(n=0)	---	(n=0g)	---
E16	---	(n=0)	---	(n=0g)	---	(n=0)	---	(n=0g)	---
E17	1774.8	(n=8)	1772.8	(n=10.9g)	1777.9	(n=7)	1775.0	(n=9.8g)	1762
E18	---	(n=4)	---	(n=6g)	---	(n=4)	---	(n=6g)	1762
E20	1777.7	(n=10)	1778.9	(n=6.9g)	1780.4	(n=9)	1782.7	(n=6g)	1780
E21	1800.5	(n=122)	1798.3	(n=286.4g)	1800.5	(n=122)	1798.3	(n=286.4g)	1820
E22	---	(n=1)	---	(n=0.2g)	---	(n=1)	---	(n=0.2g)	1780
E23	---	(n=4)	---	(n=9.2g)	---	(n=4)	---	(n=9.2g)	1795
E24	---	(n=2)	---	(n=3.3g)	---	(n=2)	---	(n=3.3g)	1795
E25	1794.7	(n=14)	1767.4	(n=60.4g)	1794.7	(n=14)	1767.4	(n=60.4g)	1780
E26	---	(n=0)	---	(n=0g)	---	(n=0)	---	(n=0g)	---
H01	---	(n=0)	---	(n=0g)	---	(n=0)	---	(n=0g)	---
H02	---	(n=0)	---	(n=0g)	---	(n=0)	---	(n=0g)	---
J01	1754.4	(n=38)	1761.6	(n=32.8g)	1754.7	(n=31)	1764.3	(n=24.8g)	1780
K01	---	(n=0)	---	(n=0g)	---	(n=0)	---	(n=0g)	---
K02	---	(n=0)	---	(n=0g)	---	(n=0)	---	(n=0g)	---
Area A	1762.7	(n=253)	1757.4	(n=383.7g)	1769.9	(n=145)	1760.8	(n= 213.4g)	1820
Owner	1758.7	(n=371)	1755.3	(n=506.44g)	1762.5	(n=223)	1757.0	(n= 299.41g)	1820
Enslaved People	1791.1	(n=259)	1788.4	(n=545.69g)	1792.2	(n=252)	1789.3	(n= 532.59g)	1820
Little Jost van Dyke Excavations	**1772.0**	**(n=630)**	**1772.5**	**(n= 1052.13g)**	**1778.2**	**(n=475)**	**1777.7**	**(n= 832g)**	**1820**

Table 8.1: Mean Ceramic Dates for Excavations, calculated by counts and weights, with and without tin-enameled wares									
Unit	**MCD by Ct (all)**		**MCD by Wt. (all)**		**MCD by Ct. Excl. T-E**		**MCD by Wt. Excl. T-E**		**Unit TPQ**
FHB Meeting-house	**---**	**(n=1)**	**---**	**(n=0.4g)**	**---**	**(n=0)**	**---**	**(n=0g)**	**---**
2008 LJvD Surface Survey	1774.1	(n=669)	1763.8	(n=1497.1g)	1784.3	(n=466)	1766.9	(n= 1161.0g)	1820

A few general trends can be commented on here. Dates within these areas tend to be relatively consistent, although there is some variation between different parts of the owner's yard area where dates range from the 1740s (unit B1) to the 1780s. The most striking observation is the major difference between the enslaved area, where the dates are consistently in the 1780s, 1790s, and even 1800, and the owner's area, where dates average 30 to 35 years earlier. The reasons for this difference will be discussed in chapter ten, but some further discussion suggests that these differences are at least in part the result of past human choices.

The documentary record described in chapter five suggests that Mary Lettsom died about 1780 and that by 1791 the island was completely abandoned, and appears to have been for some time. Several enslaved people continue to be a part of the Lettsom family through 1792, when her son John Coakley Lettsom frees them. Their whereabouts before this date (and after for that matter) are unknown, except that they were not living on Little Jost in 1791, when Thornton suggests that John settle some of his enslaved people, still technically owned by him, on the island. As of 1767, it seems that as few as five enslaved people remain with Mary Lettsom on Little Jost. How long they stayed on the island after her death is unknown: the presence of transfer-printed ware and polychrome pearlware, both having a TPQ after 1790 when the island is already abandoned by the Lettsoms, suggests some later occupation, transient though it may be. In any case, both areas of the island were probably inhabited from the 1720s until the 1780s, with the enslaved area being used somewhat longer. While the difference in dates may be in part from this brief period of extended occupation, the differences between the assemblages are substantial enough to suggest that something else is going on as well.

The distribution of ceramic types, the data on which mean ceramic dates are based, can be subjected to a χ^2 ("chi-squared") analysis. The χ^2 value is a statistical means of comparing proportions of different assemblages to determine the likelihood that the observed differences between them is the result of random chance or if it shows evidence of some other selective factor. The principle of χ^2 is based on the construction of "expected" values for each sample if the two data sets were independent, and the items being considered randomly distributed. Then these values are compared to the observed values, and the differences summed and compared to a published table to determine significance. For a more detailed explanation see Drennan (1996) or Fletcher and Lock (2005). It should be noted that some of the ware categories in this analysis had to be aggregated so that no more than 20% of the "expected" values was under five, a requirement for this analysis. The groups and the resulting sherd counts of each ware are included in Table 8.2, along with the resulting χ^2 values.

Table 8.2: Groupings and Counts used in χ^2 analysis and resulting χ^2, degree of freedom, and probability values.				
Ware	Owner (sherd count)	Enslaved (sherd count)	Owner (weight in g)	Enslaved (weight in g)
Creamware	65	147	78.2	246.7
Lead-Glazed Slipware	34	11	100.5	23.6
Low-Fired Earthenware	40	0	197.3	0
Other	31	16	48.7	72.3
Pearlware	14	68	16.4	180.68
Porcelain	18	4	24.7	2.5
TinEnamel	165	7	215.43	13.1
White Salt-glazed Stoneware	69	14	56.31	20.61
Degrees of Freedom	7		7	
χ^2 Value	290.4748		676.0004	
P value	p >.001		p >.001	

Again, the analysis was conducted on both ceramic counts and weights and the results compared. Both are very clear, showing that the ceramics on Little Jost van Dyke are not distributed evenly. While this is not the exact same data as that used to calculate the MCDs because of the need to group some small values for χ^2 analysis, it strongly implies that these types are being distributed in a significant way. This data is contrasted with the discussion of pipe-stem bore diameter dating, later in this chapter.

Minimum Number of Vessels (MNV) Discussion

Minimum number of vessel counts on this site are problematic. As noted above, repiecing, which facilitates MNV counts, was not successful on this site, and most pieces were small. MNV counts were created by grouping sherds first by ware and then rim diameters and speculative forms, where these could be proposed. While of course sherds of different ware types cannot be from the same vessel, rim diameters assessed from sherds are somewhat more problematic. For instance, single creamware rim sherds were measured at each of the following diameters: 6, 8, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22, and 24cm. In almost every case, these measurements were based on rim fragments estimated at less than ten percent of the total vessel. While several vessels are clearly present here, it is possible that, for instance, the 14, 16, and 18cm could all be from the same, 16cm diameter vessel, with some of the sherds being slightly miss-measured on the rim-diameter chart, seeing as they each represent only about three percent of the rim. Therefore, MNV counts and the dates produced with them should be interpreted with caution.

Since decorations are problematic, as each sherd from the same vessel may not have all the marks and colorings present on the entire vessel, these were only used rarely to make MVC determinations, for instance in the division between polychrome and monochrome hand-painted, plain, and transfer-printed pearlwares. Lids were also excluded, since they are considered to be part of the vessel they came with.

Table 8.3: Minimum Vessel Counts by area, with Mean Ceramic Dates

	Area A	**Area B**	**Area J**	**Planter**	**Enslaved People**	**Area K**	**LJvD**	**FHB**
Agate					1		1	
Astbury	1			1			1	
Brick	1	1	1	1	1		1	1
Creamware	6		1	7	6		11	
Creamware, Green Glazed					1		1	
Jackfield	1		1	1			1	
Lead-Glazed Slipware	2	1		3	1		4	
LFEW	3	1		4		1	4	
Pearlware, MonoHand	1		1	1	1		1	
Pearlware, PolyHand	1			1	1		1	
Pearlware, Undecorated	1		1	1	1		1	
Pearlware, Transfer Printed					2		2	
Porcelain	1			1	1		2	
Porcelain, Brown Glazed	1	1		1	1		1	
Redware	1			1	1		1	1
Stoneware, Brown English					1		1	
Stoneware, Dipped	1			1			1	
Stoneware, Scratch Blue	1			1			1	
Stoneware, Unknown	1			1			1	
Stoneware, Westerwald	1	1		1			1	
TinEnamel, Hand	1	1	1	1	1		1	
TinEnamel, Plain	4		1	4			4	
TinEnamel, Poly	2	1	1	3			3	1
TinEnamel, Sponged	1	1		1			1	
Whieldon	1	1			1		1	
Whiteware	1	1		1	1		1	
WSGSW	2	2	1	4	1		5	
TOTAL	**36**	**12**	**9**	**41**	**23**	**1**	**54**	**3**
MCD	1763.1	1745.6	1770	1761.8	1778.8		1765.4	1753
Number used in MCD Calculation	(n=28)	(n=9)	(n=8)	(n=32)	(n=18)	(n=0)	(n=43)	(n=1)
MCD (excluding Tin-Enameled)	1766.5	1743.5	1780.2	1764.8	1780.3		1768.2	
Number used in MCD Calculation	(n=21)	(n=7)	(n=5)	(n=24)	(n=17)	(n=0)	(n=35)	(n=0)

The Minimum Vessel Counts which result and the Mean Ceramic Dates calculated on these are given in Table 8.3. These figures clearly narrow the gap in dates between owner and enslaved peoples' ceramic assemblage production dates suggested by the previous section to twenty or perhaps even fifteen years, but they do leave it intact.

Using MVCs, the planters' area's MCD is 1761.8 and the enslaved is 1778.8, still a difference of almost twenty years. As noted above, the sample of vessels available for dating is small and problematic, defined substantially on rim-diameter measurements made from relatively small sherds. All these MCDs will be contrasted with the pipe stem data at the end of the next section; in short, it will be suggested that pipe stems are distributed more randomly around the island by their age. This suggests that the difference between ceramic ages may not be primarily the result of different parts of the site being occupied at different times, but of a preference in ceramic choice for older ceramics on the part of the Lettsoms.

General Patterns in Ceramics, Dating, and Form

Although ceramic-based dating and the differences between the mean production dates of ceramics in the planter and enslaved contexts was discussed above, it is also worth noting here that the vast majority of ceramics recovered on the site either must or could have been manufactured during the lifetimes of Edward and Mary Lettsom: porcelain, creamware, tin-enameled wares, stonewares of various types were all made and widespread long before Mary's death around 1781. Only pearlware, whiteware, and the few pieces of ironstone must post-date the Lettsom period. Pearlware was developed around 1780 and was recovered in some quantities, but mostly from the enslaved peoples' Area E, and most of recovered examples of transfer-printed pearlware may all be from a single piece dropped by a later visitor, found in the upper levels of just three adjacent units. Whiteware made up only 0.7% by weight of the ceramics recovered, and ironstone was only recovered in the surface collection. Of the other artifacts, which will be discussed below, only the tin can from the near surface levels of unit A4 postdates the life of Mary Lettsom.

We know that the island was inhabited by five enslaved people in 1813 and seven enslaved people with three free blacks in 1823 (PP 1826(81):110-115). Noel Hume's (1970: 129-130) statement that "pearlware is undoubtedly the most common ceramic item found on sites of the early nineteenth century" makes it seem likely that the habitation of Little Jost by enslaved and free people of African descent recorded in 1813 and 1823 left little in the way of artifactual remains compared to the earlier Lettsom-era settlement. Perhaps they did not have access to manufactured goods, considering the economic hardship prevalent in the colony at the time, or perhaps their main occupation was elsewhere, such as the middle bay of Little Jost where the 1960s development effort took place and which could not be surveyed during this project.

Nearly twice as many ceramics were recovered from the owner's area than the enslaved people, but the difference is smaller when compared by the area excavated: 39 pieces/m^2 for the planter's Areas A, B, and J versus 28 pieces/m^2 for the enslaved people in Area E. The figures by soil volume are actually reversed, with the enslaved area producing 125/m^3 and the owners only 93/m^3. While some error may be the result of the small, shallow units exaggerating the

importance of some pieces recovered in Area E, it does seem that it is not possible to claim that one or the other had substantially greater amounts of ceramics available.

As noted above, form can be little discussed from the remains recovered from Little Jost. Only one piece has a clearly identifiable, specialized form, and that was recovered in a special collection from the surface in Area E. Figure 8.1 shows this to be clearly the spout of a teapot. Several other potential tea-related wares were identified in excavated contexts in both the enslave and the owner areas. While highly speculative, a few of the recovered sherds can be suggested to indicate form. Table 8.4 lists these counts for the enslaved people and the owners, respectively.

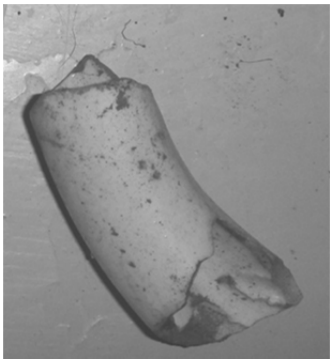

Figure 8.1: *Creamware teapot spout surface collected in Area E*

It suggests that the expected distinction (Adams and Boling 1989) between owners having more flatwares and the enslaved people having more hollowwares does seem to hold on Little Jost van Dyke, but not strongly. Potentially tea-related sherds included in Table 8.4 are identified based on manufactured forms which appear to have constricted rims, enabling lids to rest on them, as well as lids themselves, bulbous vessels resembling teapots, saucers with foot-rings for teacups, and light, thin-walled hollowware vessels of small rim diameter suggested to be teacups. It is interesting that the owner and the enslaved people have these items in exactly the same proportion; the addition of the surface-find teapot spout in Area E would mean that the enslaved people actually had slightly higher levels of potential teawares.

Table 8.4: Ceramic sherd counts by speculative form

	Owner		Enslaved	
Tea-related?	14	15%	5	15%
Flatwares?	42	46%	9	26%
Hollowwares?	34	37%	19	56%
Mugs?	1	1%	1	3%
Total	91		34	

Ceramic Decorations, Ware, and Status

For analysis, the sherds were categorized into one of five groups that characterize the extent to which they are decorated, with a few exceptions (five pieces were too small to determine).

These categories were based on Miller's economic scaling groups (Miller 1980) with some modifications. For instance, this grouping is not intended to represent cost, so it includes plain porcelain with the "undecorated" wares. "Utilitarian" includes coarse wares such as some stonewares and redwares, "undecorated" includes plain tin-enameled wares, creamwares and plain pearlwares and porcelains, "minimally decorated" pieces include painted wares that would have required little skill such as turned or decorated slipwares and debased scratch blue, edging or rouletting, molded wares, while hand-painted designs and transfer-printing still make up the final two categories. Low-fired earthenwares, as mentioned above are thought to be from pre-Colombian occupations and so are excluded from the analysis.

Table 8.5 presents the resulting data, divided between owner-related contexts (Areas A, B, and J) and those related to the enslaved people (Area E). The resulting distributions are significantly (using χ^2: $p>.001$) different, with the enslaved area having both more undecorated wares and more of the highly decorated transfer-prints. The transfer prints post-date the Lettsom occupation of the site, however, and so it appears that during the Lettsom tenure, the enslaved people of Little Jost kept (or were kept) to more undecorated ceramics. The Lettsoms had, by percentage, more minimally decorated wares and more hand-painted wares.

Several authors have suggested that Quakers should be expected to have fewer decorated and more plain white ceramics as an expression of the Quaker ideal of "simplicity," (Gray 1989; McCarthy 1999; Samford and Brown 1990), but this does not appear to be the case here. With the transfer prints excluded, as they would not have been present during the primary occupation of the site and the lives of Edward and Mary Lettsom, the enslaved people have more plain wares and the owners more elaborate ones.

Table 8.5: Ceramic sherds recovered in excavation by decoration category

	Owner		**Enslaved People**	
Utilitarian	48	12%	18	7%
Undecorated	240	61%	185	70%
Minimal	38	10%	9	3%
Hand Painted	68	17%	22	8%
Transfer	0	0%	30	11%
Total	434		264	

Wilkie has written about enslaved people in the Caribbean making choices among consumer wares, and connected a preference for more colorful ceramics, especially certain colors which are often found in West African art, to their African heritage (Wilkie 2000b). She found color choices to be different when she compared the owner and the enslaved contexts on Clifton Plantation in the Bahamas. The colors recovered on Little Jost are presented in Table 8.6, which shows remarkably similar distribution of colors (counts by percentage between the owner and enslaved contexts. Some differences begin to appear by weight, but this is almost entirely restricted to the color blue. Whereas Wilkie found that the owners of Clifton preferred the fashionable blue-and-white wares while the enslaved people chose colors that had echoes of West African art, here the reverse is true if anything: it is the enslaved people who have proportionally more blue and white wares. Again, these are primarily pearlwares dating from

after the death of Mary Lettsom, and so during her life, color seems not to have been meaningfully distributed between the areas.

Table 8.6: Ceramic sherds recovered in excavation by decoration colors

	Owner				Enslaved people			
	Count		Weight (g)		Count		Weight (g)	
Black	5	1%	13	2%	3	1%	7.1	1%
Blue	79	18%	100.3	14%	51	19%	161.4	29%
Brown	18	4%	64.8	9%	14	5%	16.7	3%
Dark Blue	1	0%	1.2	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Green	2	0%	1.2	0%	1	0%	0.6	0%
Grey	1	0%	0.4	0%	2	1%	1	0%
Light Blue	0	0%	0	0%	1	0%	0.3	0%
Purple	3	1%	2.3	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Two colors	13	3%	26.9	4%	5	2%	12.5	2%
Three colors	5	1%	7.1	1%	2	1%	2	0%
Four colors	1	0%	3.5	0%	0	0%	0	0%
No color	308	71%	516.84	70%	187	70%	355.99	64%
Total	128				79			

The substantial differences of planter and enslaved peoples' assemblages by ware (and especially the manufacturing dates of these wares) have already been discussed, but a different grouping here (Table 8.7) will make an additional point. Each side has similarly low levels of coarse wares, such as redware and stonewares, and the difference in pearlware is most likely chronological and due to a single concentration from the enslaved area, as noted. More interesting, however, is that the planter contexts on Little Jost have substantially more porcelain and especially white salt-glazed stoneware. Porcelain makes up about 4% of the planter's assemblage and 1.5% of the enslaved people; these are still relatively low amounts, but it is notable that the enslaved people have any porcelain at all. White salt-glazed stoneware makes up a sizable percentage of the assemblage from the planter's site, but a much smaller one from the enslaved people.

White salt-glazed stoneware was extremely expensive in the 1720s, when Little Jost was first settled, and though it quickly fell in price, moving from an extravagance to something available in rural areas by 1740 (Yentsch 1994: 144), it continues to suggest something more sought-after and higher status to many archaeologists. Porcelain, at this point almost entirely imported from China, is a widely acknowledge mark of status and wealth. According to Armstrong, working on other Caribbean plantations, a percentage of greater than 10% porcelains is considered "indicative of high economic status occupations" (Armstrong 1990: 197).

A few comments on comparative sites will put these figures into perspective. The ceramics from the earlier part of the slave period at Armstrong's Drax Hall site in Jamaica (in features 48 and 15, contemporaneous with the Little Jost van Dyke occupation) were mostly coarse earthenwares, and those in the later 18th century contexts (1, 37, and 52) where refined wares were more available, were mostly plain, reflecting the poorer end of Miller's ceramic valuations

(Armstrong 1990: 136-7). Chinese porcelains were virtually absent from slave contexts at Drax Hall at only 0.7%, but made up 10.2% of the planter contexts, which is in line with several other plantation great houses seen as displaying high status (Armstrong 1990: 197). At Windy Hill, a small plantation near Little Jost van Dyke, on the eastern end of the island of St. John, planter contexts had just 2.4% porcelain sherds, and the laborer contexts had none at all (Armstrong 2003: 152). This low amount, even for the planter, suggests that the site is, in general, relatively poor, but the enslaved people's material world is poorer yet. On Little Jost, the difference in economic scaling between the ceramic assemblages is much closer.

Table 8.7: Excavated ceramic counts by ware

	Planter				**Enslaved people**			
	Count		**Weight (g)**		**Count**		**Weight (g)**	
Agate, coarse	0	0%	0	0%	1	0%	4.2	1%
Astbury	1	0%	0.4	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Brick	8	2%	9.3	1%	1	0%	3.1	1%
Creamware	65	15%	78.2	11%	147	55%	246.7	44%
Jackfield	5	1%	4.4	1%	0	0%	0	0%
Lead-Glazed Slipware	34	8%	100.5	14%	11	4%	23.6	4%
Low-Fired Earthenware	40	9%	197.3	27%	0	0%	0	0%
Pearlware	14	3%	16.4	2%	68	25%	180.68	32%
Porcelain	18	4%	24.7	3%	4	1%	2.5	0%
Redware	3	1%	3.1	0%	3	1%	4.2	1%
Stonewares (Except WSGSW)	8	2%	24.3	3%	2	1%	50.6	9%
Tin Enameled	165	38%	215.43	29%	7	3%	13.1	2%
Whieldon	3	1%	5.6	1%	1	0%	0.6	0%
Whiteware	3	1%	1.6	0%	8	3%	9.6	2%
WSGSW	69	16%	56.31	8%	14	5%	20.61	4%

Perhaps most striking on Little Jost is the virtual lack of any locally-made ceramics on the enslaved people's area. Forty pieces of low-fired earthenware were recovered from the planter contexts, and more from Area K, the cave, but none at all from Area E. The pieces that have been recovered, as discussed above, are thought to be most likely of pre-Colombian origin, relating to an earlier occupation of the island and only incidental here. In either case, none appear to be related to the enslaved people. Locally made ceramics are a widely-discussed part of life for the enslaved people of the Caribbean, and their presence and circulation is seen as representing a separate slave-economy, offering opportunities of self-expression and economic advancement (Hauser and Armstrong 1999; Hauser and De Course 2003). This evidence suggests minimal engagement in that economy by the enslaved people on Little Jost, or an alternate expression of it.

Ceramic Marks and Surface Modifications

Only two clear maker's marks were recovered. One (Figure 8.2a) on a piece of brown-slipped stoneware found more than four hundred meters east of the main occupation area during the judgmental survey of the island. The mark is partial, and appears to be hastily impressed, such

that several features are doubled; it consists of a double circle with capital letters in between, and a possible crown motif in the center. The mark could not be located in several authoritative references (Chaffers 1988; Kovel and Kovel 1953; Macdonald-Tayloe 1989) but appears similar to published examples for Chamberlain & Company, Herculaneum, A. Stevenson, and Adams. All of these are from the nineteenth century, somewhat later than most of the other artifacts recovered on Little Jost van Dyke, and so the piece (if any of these identifications are correct) may be associated with later use of the island. Perhaps it was a water-container for some of the field-workers known to have labored on the island in the nineteenth century, so little represented by the rest of the material culture recovered by this study.

Figure 8.2: *Ceramics with maker's marks*

Another partial mark (Figure 8.2b) was recovered in excavation, artifact LJvD-E21-1-71. This piece of transfer-printed pearlware was recovered from a small, 50x50cm unit which nonetheless produced almost all the fragments of transfer-printed wares recovered in excavation (27 out of 30), and fully 40% of all the pearlware recovered in excavation on the site. The only other pieces of transfer printed wares recovered in excavation were in near-surface contexts of nearby units E23 and E24. Although too fragmentary to attempt to repiece or reconstruct the image, the design appears similar, and this could represent a single piece, broken and discarded in this area, after the primary Lettsom occupation (it having at TPQ of 1795). The mark on LJvD-E21-1-71 is unreadable, being hastily impressed and filled with glaze, but may begin "Da…" followed by a few more unreadable letters in an arc; to the right are a curve, possibly a circle, and a straight line, which together suggest the top of an anchor motif like that used by the Davenport manufacturing company, in operation 1793 to 1887 (Macdonald-Tayloe 1989: 205). This attribution is highly speculative, however.

The rest of the surface modifications to ceramics recovered on Little Jost were primarily edging. The patterns discussed here are defined by Noel Hume (1970: 116), Miller (2000: 3), and Sussman (2000a), except the terms for painting styles which are introduced here. Sussman (2000a: 40) notes that neither the sharpness of the edging motif nor the painting style are patterned chronologically or useful in dating but they are discussed here in order to consider the occurrence of similar patterns in both the planter and enslaved people assemblages. Only those pieces about which some conclusions can be drawn are included here.

A "feathery" painting style is defined as having many irregular but distinct lines from the edge of the piece inwards, like dripping paint or if the peace were painted with a feather; "band" is a solid band of color ending in a more-or-less distinct line, while "hazy band" is a solid line of color that irregularly fades out as it moves away from the edge of the plate. "Hazy bands" seem to characterize the earliest and most often pictured examples of shelledge wares, and a "band" is depicted by Sussman as a later version, but this temporal distinction cannot be relied on.

Table 8.8: Molded Ceramics from Enslaved people Contexts (Area E excavations)

Catalog Number	Ware	Edging Pattern	Painting Style
LJvD-E5-1-2	Creamware	"Royal Pattern"	
LJvD-E25-1-4	Pearlware	"Straight line" Blue Shelledge,	?
LJvD-E25-1-5	Pearlware	"Straight line" Blue Shelledge	Feathery
LJvD-E25-1-6	Pearlware	"Straight line" Blue Shelledge	Feathery
LJvD-E25-1-7	Pearlware	"Straight line" Blue Shelledge	Feathery
LJvD-E25-1-8	Pearlware	"Straight line" Blue Shelledge	Feathery

A number of other pieces (about 10) were roulette, rilled or otherwise modified in what is often classed as turned wares or "factory turned" wares (Sussman 1997) but most of these techniques do not supply secure dates. They are frequent and irregularly made by hand and so cannot be used to identify patterns that may have been shared between groups on the island, and fragments are often too small to make statements about the extent of this decoration. Also not considered here further are surface modifications made by hand, such as "Scratch Blue" stoneware's incising, or the modifications made to lead-glazed slipwares, such as incision and "crimping" of the edges.

Each area, planter and enslaved people, contained one example of "Royal Pattern" creamware, and several items of "Straight line" blue shelledge pearlware with "feathery" style painting (Tables 8.8 and 8.9). While a small percentage of the overall finds, these do suggest some sharing of either foods or ceramics between the owner and the enslaved people, however minimal.

Dates for shell-edge wares appear to be problematic, in that two of the most well-known authors on the subject, Sussman and Miller, appear to contradict each other. Miller gives dates of 1809-1831 for "straight line" shelledge wares (Miller 2000: 3) but Sussman argues that, while post-dating the earliest examples of shelledge, "series of closely spaced impressed vertical lines" are found on eighteenth century examples of pearlware, and this version of shelledge is quite early (Sussman 2000a: 38-39). Nineteenth century shelledge seems to have become more formalized and painted in a more controlled manner, and no examples of these wares were recovered on Little Jost.

Table 8.9: Molded Ceramics from Planter Contexts (Areas A, B, and J excavations, and 2008 Surface Survey)			
Catalog Number	**Ware**	**Edging Pattern**	**Painting Style**
LJvD-Surf-24-6	Creamware	"Queen's Shape"	Not painted
LJvD-Surf-36-32	Creamware	"Royal Pattern"	Not painted
LJvD-Surf-61-1	Pearlware	"Rococo" curved lined, Blue Shelledge,	Not painted
LJvD-Surf-52-8	Pearlware	"Straight line" Blue Shelledge	Band
LJvD-Surf-18-9	Pearlware	"Straight line" Blue Shelledge	Band
LJvD-J1-1-39	Pearlware	"Straight line" Blue Shelledge	Feathery
LJvD-Surf-33-1	Pearlware	"Straight line" Blue Shelledge	Feathery
LJvD-Surf-2-2	Pearlware	"Straight line" Blue Shelledge	Feathery
LJvD-Surf-52-13	Pearlware	"Straight line" Blue Shelledge	Feathery
LJvD-Surf-52-21	Pearlware	"Straight line" Blue Shelledge	Feathery
LJvD-Surf-60-8	Pearlware	"Straight line" Blue Shelledge	Hazy band
LJvD-Surf-23-6	Pearlware	"Straight line" Blue Shelledge	Hazy band
LJvD-Surf-18-2	Pearlware	"Straight line" Green Shelledge	Band
LJvD-Surf-49-50	WSGSW	"Dot, Diaper, and Basket" pattern, 1740-1785	Not painted
LJvD-Surf-60-9	WSGSW	"Dot, Diaper, and Basket" pattern, 1740-1785	Not painted
LJvD-Surf-16-14	WSGSW	"Dot, Diaper, and Basket" pattern, 1740-1785	Not painted
LJvD-Surf-42-66	WSGSW	"Dot, Diaper, and Basket" pattern, 1740-1785	Not painted
LJvD-Surf-36-49	WSGSW	"Dot, Diaper, and Basket" pattern, 1740-1785	Not painted

Use Wear

Wear from extended use can be noted in a number of examples. Since the artifacts recovered from Little Jost were highly fragmented no systematic evaluation of wear was possible, and such wear is difficult to quantify. Therefore only general comments can be made, but the differences observed are so stark that they are thought to be meaningful nonetheless. Of the twenty-five or so ceramic sherds exhibiting noticeable wear likely to be the result of prolonged use, only one came from the enslaved area. By contrast, edge and base wear consistent with use was present on 24 pieces of ceramics of several types coming from the planter's area. More than half of these were tin-enameled wares, known for their lack of durability, and also tending to be older than many other types encountered. This difference appears to preclude any substantial number of "hand-me-downs" moving from the planters to the enslaved people, the former apparently preferring to continue using wares as long as possible rather than replace them with newer ones, and the latter preferring less worn items. This is consistent with the ceramic dating evidence suggested above. Burning was present on 13 examples, all from the planter's area, but most of these are low-fired wares which seem to be, as noted above, from pre-Colombian occupations.

Pipes

Clay pipes for smoking tobacco were cheap, disposable, and ubiquitous in eighteenth-century life, and this combined with their durability makes them ubiquitous in the archaeological record as well (Noel Hume 1970: 296). Fox (1999: 61) writes that "the quantity of kaolin clay pipes recovered during the 1981-1990 excavations at Port Royal, suggests that clay pipes were both cheap and plentiful" there, only a few hundred miles from the Virgin Islands. Walker notes a

1799 advertisement in Bristol offering "short tobacco pipes, suitable for the different American markets" at as little as a shilling a gross, or a penny a dozen (Walker 1977: 410). At the other end of the century, the price was higher but still not out of reach for almost anyone: 2s 4d for a gross in 1711 (2.3 pence per dozen) and 1s 6d in 1714 (1.5 pence per dozen) (Walker 1977: 412). More useful for this study may be some of the figures from Port Royal, which predate the site on Little Jost by some decades but are significantly closer geographically and so include shipping costs. The following figures in Table 8.10 are abstracted from Fox's (1999) discussion of probate inventories.

Table 8.10: Data on the valuation of pipes in Jamaica, late seventeenth century, abstracted from Fox (1999: 65-67)

Name on Probate	Year Proved	Valuation for Pipes	Resulting Price per Dozen Pipes (pence)
Nicholas Verbraak	1685	"10p gr."	0.83
Joseph Brown	1686	"15p per gr."	1.25
John Ellis	1686	"18p per gr."	1.50
John Tull	1690	"4:6p gr."	4.50
Michael Baker	1693	"2s gr."	2.00
Robert Rawlins	1693	"2s per gr."	2.00
		Average	**2.01**

Clearly the value of pipes varied widely, but they maintain relatively accessible levels throughout the eighteenth century and the price does not increase significantly in the Caribbean, at least at the trade hub of Port Royal, where they averaged just two pence per dozen at the end of the seventeenth century, comparable with Walker's figures for Bristol only a few years later.

Pipes on archaeological sites are often linked with specific activity areas, especially the kitchen and house areas, and are historically linked with both males and females (Armstrong 1990: 187). This appears to be the case on Little Jost. Figure 8.3 shows the concentrations of pipe stems across the planter's yard, with high levels near the oven (upper left of this map) and in the front of the planter's house. As noted above in the discussion of unit A3, by the main front steps, this area was kept particularly clear of other refuse, but A3 had a proportionally very high amount of pipe stems. Again, as this was the first view visitors to the house had of the housekeeper's habits, it seems that smoking was particularly tolerated and no special effort was made to disguise it.

Handler comments that tobacco use was common among the Caribbean enslaved people, and that while some produced it themselves on their provisioning grounds, far more received it from "plantation owners or managers as a treat and as a reward or incentive for good behavior" (Handler 1983: 245). He notes also, based on his own work in Barbados, that pipes were frequent grave goods for enslaved people. He specifically suggests that a unique pipe, probably of African manufacture, may have been associated with an Obeah practitioner (Handler 1983: 246).

Pipes are widely found on plantations in both owner and enslaved contexts, but often in much greater numbers in enslaved contexts. For instance, Otto found nearly four times the pipes of the planter site in the cabins of the enslaved people (Otto 1984: 77), and nearly twice as many were recovered from enslaved people as opposed to planter contexts of Drax Hall plantation, Jamaica

(Armstrong 1990: 82, 205-6). Armstrong notes that tobacco pipes were widely used by enslaved people, and were even referred to as "negro pipes" (Armstrong 1990: 187). On Little Jost, however, they were found in much greater numbers in the planter's house, especially near the oven and the main front entrance, and were nearly absent from the village of the enslaved people. Tobacco (apparently among both the enslaved and free people) was also nearly absent at Windy Hill, on nearby St. John, which Armstrong found highly unusual, and the only suggestion there was that few people on this site chose to smoke (Armstrong 2003: 160). The same may be true here, and this will be discussed further in chapter ten.

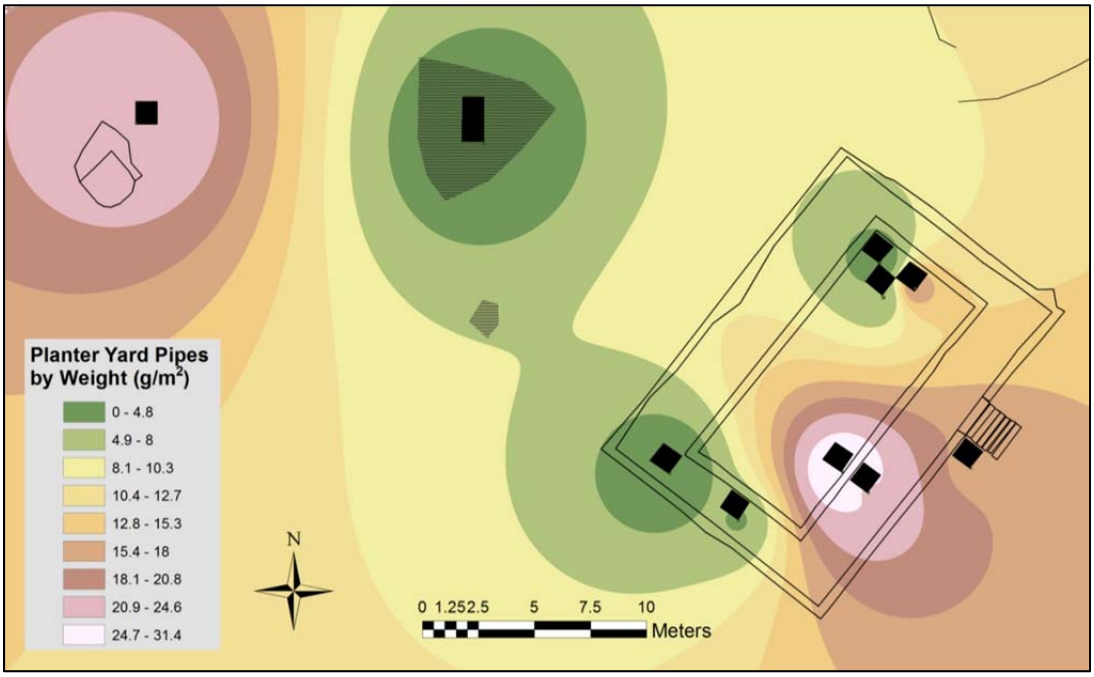

Figure 8.3: *Concentrations of pipe stems in planter's yard*

Pipe Stem Dates

The method of calculating dates from pipe stem bore diameters is discussed in the last chapter, including a number of problems with these calculations. Table 8.11 contains pipe stem dates calculated in three different ways.

Table 8.11: Pipe Stem dates by counts, total lengths, and weights

Context	Counts	Pipe Date By Count (n>5)	Total Length (cm)	Date by Length (n>5cm)	Total Weight	Date by Weight (n>5g)
A01	16	1742.9	31	1743.4	15	1746.2
A02	19	1738.5	45.5	1739.5	25.4	1745.1
A03	11	1751.0	35.5	1752.6	17.4	1755.3
A04	13	1746.4	29.2	1750.2	17.6	1749.7
A05	4	---	10.9	1740.6	4.7	---
A06	1	---	2	---	0.8	---

Table 8.11: Pipe Stem dates by counts, total lengths, and weights

Context	Counts	Pipe Date By Count (n>5)	Total Length (cm)	Date by Length (n>5cm)	Total Weight	Date by Weight (n>5g)
A07	4	---	9	1750.3	4.5	---
A08	0	---	0	---	0	---
B01	15	1748.2	29.7	1746.5	18.8	1754.2
E01	0	---	0	---	0	---
E02	0	---	0	---	0	---
E03	0	---	0	---	0	---
E04	1	---	3	---	2.5	---
E05	2	---	9.8	---	8.1	---
E06	0	---	0	---	0	---
E07	0	---	0	---	0	---
E08	0	---	0	---	0	---
E09	0	---	0	---	0	---
E10	0	---	0	---	0	---
E11	0	---	0	---	0	---
E12	0	---	0	---	0	---
E13	0	---	0	---	0	---
E14	0	---	0	---	0	---
E15	0	---	0	---	0	---
E16	0	---	0	---	0	---
E17	0	---	0	---	0	---
E18	0	---	0	---	0	---
E20	0	---	0	---	0	---
E21	7	1751.5	15	1748.5	9.9	1748.7
E22	0	---	0	---	0	---
E23	0	---	0	---	0	---
E24	1	---	2.6	---	1.1	---
E25	0	---	0	---	0	---
E26	0	---	0	---	0	---
H01	0	---	0	---	0	---
H02	0	---	0	---	0	---
J01	2	---	3	---	0.7	---
K01	0	---	0	---	0	---
K02	0	---	0	---	0	---

Table 8.11: Pipe Stem dates by counts, total lengths, and weights						
Context	**Counts**	**Pipe Date By Count (n>5)**	**Total Length (cm)**	**Date by Length (n>5cm)**	**Total Weight**	**Date by Weight (n>5g)**
MH01	3	---	8.1	---	6.4	---
MH Surface	2	---	3.7	---	1.2	---
Area A Surface Survey	162	1734.6	368.8	1735.4	190.911	1735.9
Area B Surface Survey (pt. 29)	28	1737.8	69.3	1736.7	39.78	1736.7
Owner Surface Survey	190	1735.1	438.1	1735.6	230.691	1736.0
Area A Excavations	*68*	*1743.9*	*163.1*	*1745.7*	*85.4*	*1748.3*
Area B Excavations	*15*	*1748.2*	*29.7*	*1746.5*	*18.8*	*1754.2*
Area J Excavations	*2*	---	*3.0*	---	*0.7*	---
Owner Excavations	*85*	*1744.6*	*195.8*	*1745.7*	*104.9*	*1749.3*
Owner Surface & Excavations	*275*	*1738.0*	*633.9*	*1738.8*	*335.591*	*1740.2*
Enslaved Excavations	*11*	*1754.5*	*30.4*	*1755.1*	*21.6*	*1755.1*
Little Jost van Dyke	*286*	*1738.7*	*664.3*	*1739.5*	*357.191*	*1741.1*
FHB Meeting-house Excavations	*3*	---	*8.1*	---	*6.4*	---
FHB Meeting-house Surface	*2*	---	*3.7*	---	*1.2*	---
FHB Meeting-house	*5*	*1740.6*	*11.8*	*1740.6*	*7.6*	*1740.6*

As in the case of ceramics discussed above, pipe dates may be skewed by fragmentation. Here, however, we have an additional control to use to make sure the date is calculated based on how much of a particular pipe-stem bore diameter is present in each context: the length of the pipe. Dates were calculated on counts in the usual way but also on weights (where the input was the total number of grams of each diameter recovered) and on total lengths of the pipes (where the input was the total number of centimeters of each diameter recovered). As with ceramics, the calculation was performed on contexts with five or more measurable pieces; once again, this

number is arbitrary but seemed to produce meaningful dates suitable for comparison. Again the techniques tend to agree, producing dates which vary by only two or three years on average. Nonetheless, making the calculations in multiple ways is suggested in order to counter the fragmentation issue and also to identify outliers which may suggest alternate interpretations.

What is notable about the pipe stem dates is that they tend to fall much closer together throughout the site than the MCDs. The dates for the enslaved area do fall somewhat later than the owner's, but only by about 10-15 years, unlike the 30-year-plus difference observed with some calculations on the ceramics. The comparison between the stems recovered in excavation from the owner and enslaved areas—the best comparison to make since each sample was recovered with the same methodology—is less than 10 years in each of the methods, and only 6 calculated by weights.

It should be noted that the total number of stems recovered from the enslaved area was small, just 11 stems totaling 30cm in length and 21g. The figures for the Fat Hogs Bay Meetinghouse are even smaller, at just 5 stems totaling almost 12cm and 7.6g. These figures cannot be relied upon as dates, but they do indicate a different pattern in the distribution of pipe stems than that observed in the distribution of ceramics discussed above.

The data on which the pipe stem dates are based, namely the distribution of pipe stems by their bore diameter, can be subjected to statistical analysis to determine if it shows a significant pattern: that is, if the pipes are distributed randomly or not. When the distribution of pipes is evaluated with a χ^2 test by count, it yields a value of $\chi^2 = 2.75$ with 2 degrees of freedom ($p > .5$) which is not statistically significant. This is increased to $\chi^2 = 6.36$ ($p > .05$), which is statistically significant although just barely when this analysis is conducted by lengths, but reduced to only $\chi^2 = 0.8$ when conducted on pipes by weight ($p > .7$). The method of making these calculations based on multiple data sets (lengths, counts, and weights) is useful here to gain a broader picture than when only one of these is used. While one of the three methods is significant at the 95% level, the other two are quite clearly not, and I suggest that the results of these analyses show that the pipes are randomly distributed between the owner and enslaved areas, not subject to other selective factors. This is in contrast to the ceramics, which as described above are non-randomly distributed by their date, and this will be taken up again in chapter ten.

Pipe Marks and Decorations

"WN" Pipe Bowl

In 2009, artifact LJvD-A2-10-2 was recovered in excavation in the fill of the main planter house foundation wall. This piece is most of a half of a pipe bowl with no burn marks visible and an impressed "WN" in a circle, topped by a three pointed star or crown and over three dots in a triangle shape, slightly off-center to the left (Figure 8.4a). This appears to be very similar to the mark of William Nicholas, a Bristol pipe maker noted by Walker as working from 1730 to 1775 (Walker 1977: 1223-1224, 1465). Oswald dates Nicholas' work to 1730-1771 (Oswald 1975: 56) and shows two versions of his mark, one of which is very similar to the Little Jost example, except that the latter has a crown or three-pointed star on top rather than a dot.

Nicholas' pipes are also known to have been exported to the Americas, and have been found archaeologically in New Brunswick and Port Royal (Walker 1977: 666). Higgins identifies two "WN" marked pipes from Godalming, Surrey, England as being nineteenth century in date (Higgins 1981: 231), but no illustration or reference to a specific collection is included, nor is the justification of the date explicit, and so it is not possible to determine if this "WN" is the same as the one recovered on Little Jost or evaluate the date assigned. Three other "WN" pipes, all also decorated with flutes and/or leaf motifs but with no date assigned, were recovered from Staines, Surrey, as well, but again no image is included (Higgins 1981: 237). The "WN" marks which Higgins does illustrate are undated and bear no resemblance to the Little Jost example (Higgins 1981: Figure 10.8 and 10.9). No bore diameter measurement is possible with this fragment, but based on the similarity with the Nicholas mark from Bristol, this pipe likely dates to from 1730 to 1775.

Shield Marked Pipe Spur

The base of one bowl with a spur marked on either side was recovered in the upper layers of unit A4, inside the planter house's main foundation wall and cataloged as LJvD-A4-5-9. On either side of the spur is a "Gouda" shield, a shield divided down the center with three stars on either side, and a faint "S" is visible on the left side (left from the point of view of the smoker) above this shield (Figures 8.4b and 8.4c). The base is very faded, but an "asterisk" or six-pointed star motif is visible (Figure 8.4d). The shield motif appears in several variations on a number of examples excavated from Marseilles and depicted by Gosse (2007). The marks are all associated by Gosse with Dutch makers, and the shield identifies the pipe as being from Gouda, a major center of pipe manufacturing; this mark came into use in 1740 to counter copying of Gouda manufacturing marks by others. The "S" mark above the shield is used to "denote pipes of ordinary quality" (Gosse 2007: 323). These "Gouda shield" marks were, of course, also copied by other manufacturers.

Gosse (2007) depicts a range of Dutch makers using these marks dating from 1740 to 1805, but none exactly matches the Little Jost example. While the shield was often on only one side of the spur, and a few appear without the "S", no depicted examples include the shield with "S" on one side and without on the other, as the Little Jost example appears to do. It seems likely that the "S" on the right may have worn off or an air bubble in the mold prevented it from being formed in the first place. The asterisk was used by at least 7 Dutch makers from 1684-1803 (Gosse 2007: 124), but the addition of the Gouda shields and "S" marks date it to after 1740. The bore diameter for this piece is 5/64th, measured in the traditional way with drill bits, and this suggests the period of 1710-1750 following Harrington's original histogram (Harrington 1954), or 1682-1757 following White's more recent study of only Yorkshire examples (White 2004: 60). There is precedent for these pipes to be exported well beyond their area of manufacture; in addition to Gosse's work in Marseilles, a "Gouda shield" pipe heel was recovered in Oslo and is dated there to 1756-1771 in that context (Skre 1980: 302, 313). The Little Jost example, therefore, is most likely of Dutch manufacture and dating from the very middle of the eighteenth century.

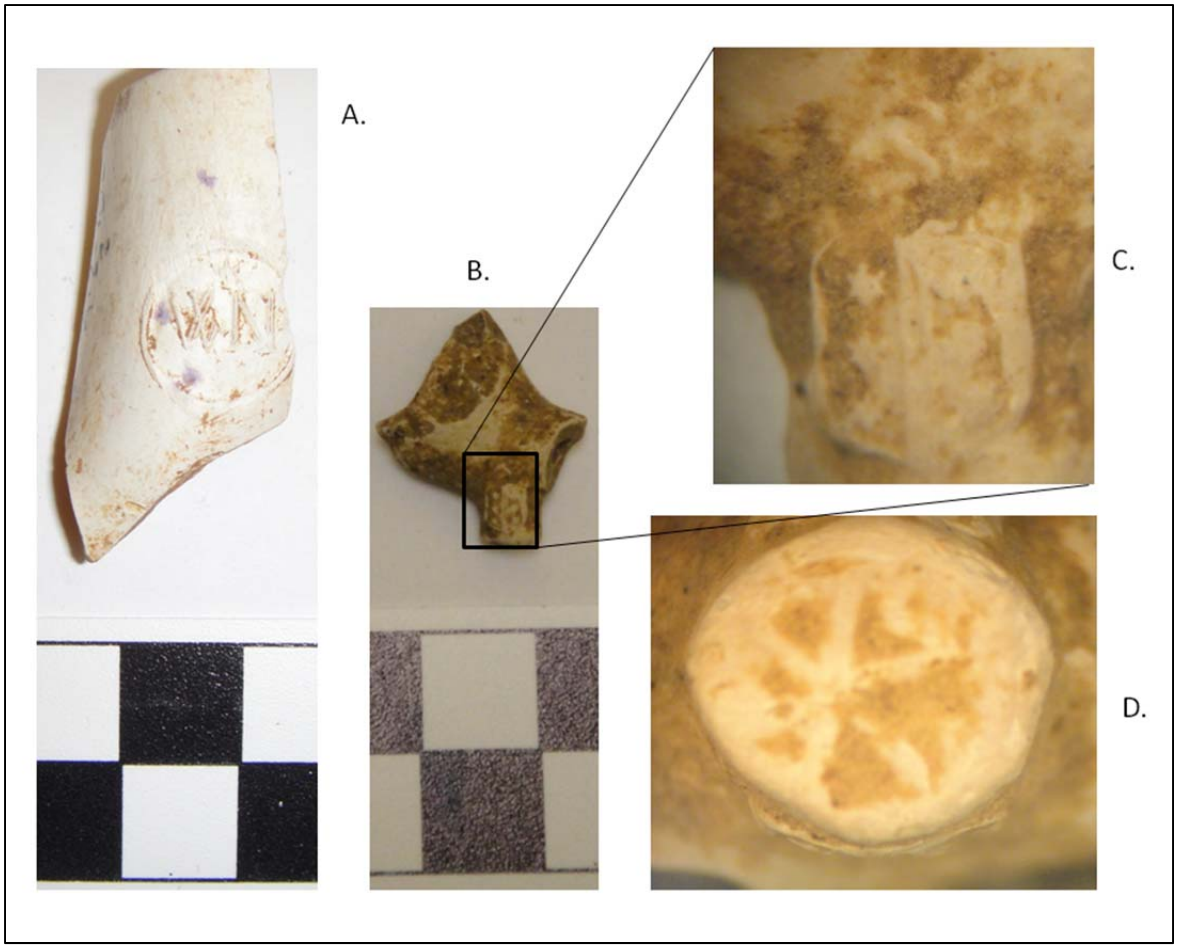

Figure 8.4: *Pipe bowls with maker's marks*

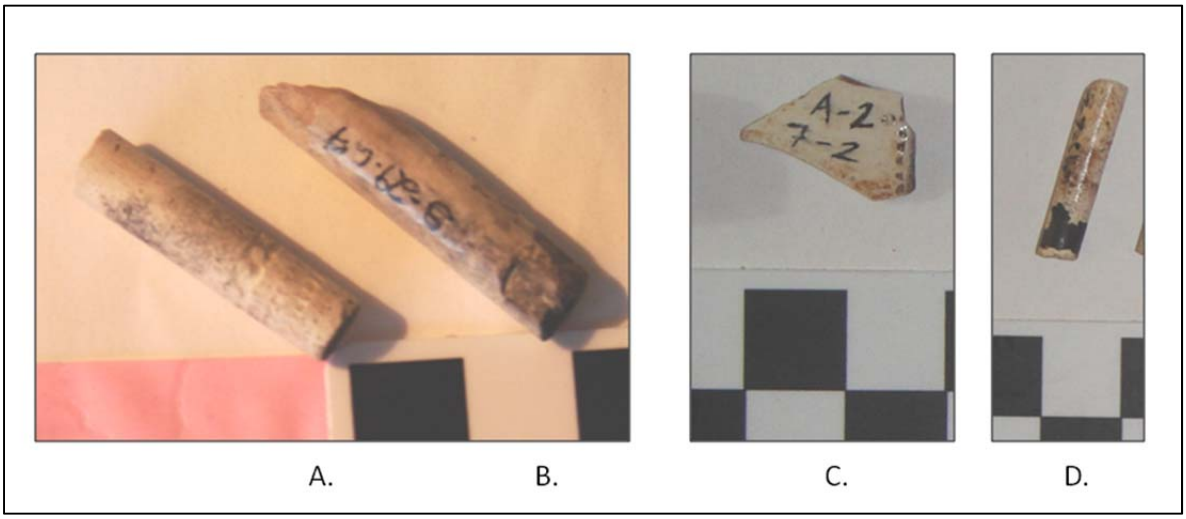

Figure 8.5: *Worn and decorated pipe fragments*

"Liverpool" Pipes

At least three of pipes collected in the surface survey of 2008 are stamped with the word "LIVERPOOL" similar to examples from Coney (1980: 34). Walker (1977: 320-328) notes that Liverpool became a major center of pipe-making and export about 1760, although pipe makers were known in Liverpool from the beginning of the century, and declined by the early decades of the 19th century. Mould-imparted marks of makers and place of manufacture become common among Liverpool manufacturers only shortly before the turn of the nineteenth century, although this practice is noted from at least 1757 (Walker 1977: 320). However, it appears that Walker's dating of the practice is determined by archaeological examples and therefore may not have the precision of historic documents. Coney suggests that some makers in Rainford, near Liverpool, were also stamping their products "Liverpool" (Coney 1980: 32) and Walker notes that pipes were made in and exported from Rainford from the late 1600s and were generally of a poorer quality than those from Liverpool and eventually undercut the latter's market (Walker 1977: 325-6). These Rainford pipes were almost never marked as being from Rainford, and thus the recovered examples, which exhibit more than a few examples of manufacturer defects (pre-firing scratches exhibited on several recovered examples, including LJvD-Surf-36-3 and LJvD-Surf-36-9, LJvD-A4-11-1) could well be of this lower quality, imitation "Liverpool" type and date to almost anywhere from the middle of the eighteenth to the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Considering their association exclusively with the planter house on Little Jost and the fact that almost every other datable artifact from that area is from the middle of the eighteen century, an earlier date for these pipes is suggested.

Decorated Pipes, Use Wear, and Manufacturing Errors

Only a few decorated pipe parts were recovered in the fieldwork. The first was during the 2008 surface collection. The piece, LJvD-Surf-29-62, was found near the oven and is minimally decorated, with a simple row of circles over a row of squares around the stem (Figure 8.5a). This example is substantially simpler than most of the decorated stems depicted, for instance, in Rutter and Davey (1980), however it is notable that the piece came from a context most likely used by the owner, specifically Mary Lettsom, who is thought to have tended the fire. Item LJvD-Surf-29-76, another pipe stem, was similarly minimally decorated.

The other two were both fragments of a bowl rim with a very simple decoration of dots around the rim: LJvD-A2-7-2 (Figure 8.5c) and LJvD-A1-13-7. Again, these decorations are much simpler than most of those noted in the literature and best fit the description of "milling" common only until about 1700 (White 2004: 65). Finally, one example (LJvD-A3-2-2) was noted with a black slip coating with what appears to be the original end of the mouthpiece (Figure 8.5d) and another with a longer (about 2cm) area slipped (LJvD-A7-3-6, Figure x8.11).

Several pipe stems were also noted to have substantial tooth wear from long use. These came from both excavated contexts (LJvD-A2-11-7) and surface survey (LJvD-Surf-29-69, LJvD-Surf-36-14 and LJvD-Surf-52-28) (Figure 8.5b). Others are marked with streaks and scratches made when the clay was still wet.. These errors may have lowered the value of the resulting pipes, making them "seconds" and possibly indicate that the BVI in general, or the Lettsoms in

particular were receiving lower-quality goods. However, to make this suggestion stand, further research regarding the frequency of such marks in other collections would be required, and at present none such studies are available.

Glass

More than three kilograms of glass was recovered in surface survey and excavation on Little Jost van Dyke, totaling 675 pieces (summarized in Table 8.12). Like ceramics, the glass was recovered entirely in fragments, and no attempt to reconstruct vessels was feasible. Consequently, it is difficult to discuss form or manufacture (the latter since seams and other marks of manufacture technique would appear on only some of the fragments from a given bottle, once broken) in a systematic way. While approximately equal amounts of clear glass by volume was uncovered on the planter and enslaved areas of the site, substantially more green glass by excavated soil volume was recovered from the enslaved area.

Table 8.12: Glass recovered from excavation by color and unit

Unit	Clear Glass (g)	Clear /m^2	Clear /m^3	Green Glass (g)	Green /m^2	Green /m^3	Total Glass	Total/m^2	Total/m^3
A01	1.80	1.80	2.17	26.80	26.80	32.29	28.60	28.60	34.46
A02	4.31	4.31	4.89	19.01	19.01	21.59	23.32	23.32	26.48
A03	-	-	-	1.20	1.20	3.23	1.20	1.20	3.23
A04	6.20	6.20	14.14	53.60	53.60	122.28	59.80	59.80	136.43
A05	1.80	1.80	6.21	15.80	15.80	54.48	17.60	17.60	60.69
A06	4.10	4.10	11.06	0.30	0.30	0.81	4.40	4.40	11.87
A07	24.40	24.40	62.72	12.90	12.90	33.16	37.30	37.30	95.89
A08	9.80	9.80	41.93	-	-	-	9.80	9.80	41.93
B01	1.90	1.90	5.25	22.90	22.90	63.26	24.80	24.80	68.51
E01	-	-	-	0.90	3.60	12.86	0.90	3.60	12.86
E02	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E03	-	-	-	24.11	96.44	430.54	24.11	96.44	430.54
E04	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E05	0.20	0.80	2.99	52.02	208.08	776.42	52.22	208.88	779.40
E06	-	-	-	10.50	233.33	42.00	10.50	233.33	42.00
E07	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E08	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E09	-	-	-	2.90	11.60	66.67	2.90	11.60	66.67
E10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E11	-	-	-	1.50	6.00	27.03	1.50	6.00	27.03
E12	-	-	-	1.30	5.20	24.07	1.30	5.20	24.07
E13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 8.12: Glass recovered from excavation by color and unit

Unit	Clear Glass (g)	Clear /m^2	Clear /m^3	Green Glass (g)	Green /m^2	Green /m^3	Total Glass	Total/m^2	Total/m^3
E14	-	-	-	9.30	37.20	92.54	9.30	37.20	92.54
E15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E16	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E18	-	-	-	0.60	2.40	7.02	0.60	2.40	7.02
E20	16.50	16.50	67.97	68.00	68.00	280.12	84.50	84.50	348.09
E21	8.10	4.05	19.47	49.00	24.50	117.79	57.10	28.55	137.26
E22	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E23	-	-	-	5.10	20.40	84.30	5.10	20.40	84.30
E24	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E25	-	-	-	2.70	2.70	18.24	2.70	2.70	18.24
E26	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
H01	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
H02	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
J01	1.60	0.80	3.17	207.10	103.55	410.91	208.70	104.35	414.09
K01	-	-	-	1.20	4.80	50.00	1.20	4.80	50.00
K02	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Area A	*52.41*	*6.55*	*13.78*	*129.61*	*16.20*	*34.07*	*182.02*	*22.75*	*47.85*
Planter (A, B, J units)	*55.91*	*5.08*	*11.97*	*359.61*	*32.69*	*77.00*	*415.52*	*37.77*	*88.98*
Enslaved (E units)	*24.80*	*2.61*	*11.62*	*227.93*	*23.99*	*106.78*	*252.73*	*26.60*	*118.40*
Little Jost van Dyke	*80.71*	*3.36*	*10.98*	*588.74*	*24.53*	*80.08*	*669.45*	*27.89*	*91.06*
FHB Meeting-house	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Project Total	***80.71***	***3.36***	***10.13***	***588.74***	***24.53***	***73.93***	***669.45***	***27.89***	***84.06***

As noted in the discussion of unit J1 in the last chapter, glass is not distributed evenly across the planter area. Though minimally present in most units, it is substantially concentrated in Area J, suggested to be a storage structure behind the Lettsoms' house. Figure 8.6 shows the concentrations of glass in grams per meter-square in the planter's house yard, clearly showing the high levels encountered in Area J. Glass in the enslaved peoples' area was not completely evenly distributed, with E5 producing a high level, there does not seem to be the same controlled distribution of glass in Area E as in the planter's yard.

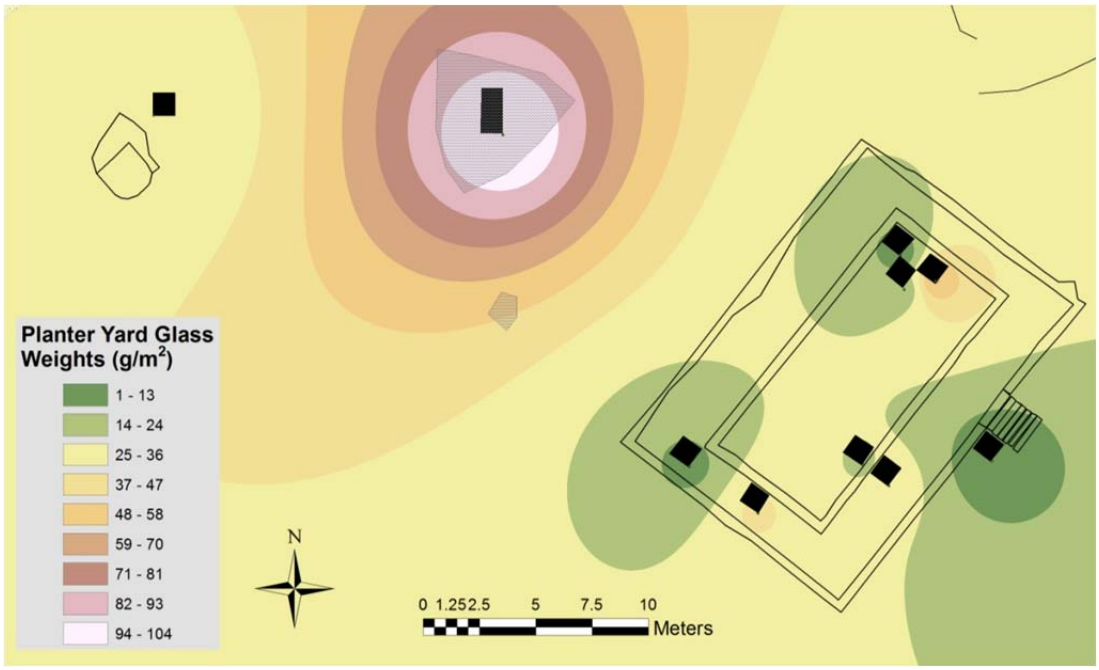

Figure 8.6: *Glass concentrations in planter yard*

The vast majority of the glass from the site was free-blown, of the dark green color sometimes called "black glass" (Smith 2009: 19). These are sometimes referred to generically as "wine" bottles and are probably eighteenth century in origin based on their globular shape and the lack of any evidence of mold-blowing. Smith's discussion argues against the idea, once floated by Ivor Noel Hume, that the shade of green (light or dark) could suggest original uses for bottles: light green for wine and darker for beer and ale (Smith 2009: 19). Instead, it seems that bottles were sometimes re-used so many times that nothing short of chemical analysis of individual samples can determine associations with particular liquids with certainty. Re-use could last decades, and while the level of scratches and abrasions from use can indicate how long re-use lasted before a bottle was deposited into the archaeological record (Busch 1987: 68, 77), no study has yet quantified this wear sufficiently to be precise.

Certainly, many of these bottles could have been and probably were reused in many different ways over the course of their use-life, for instance for water storage or carrying. Nonetheless, the suggestion that bottles like those which make up the bulk of the assemblage on Little Jost are associated with alcohol at least in a general way is frequently made, and will be suggested here. For one, in a sugar-producing colony like the BVI, where rum was also known to be manufactured regularly (John Pickering, founder of the Tortola Meeting, had a distillery on his land) whatever the original contents, the probable reason bottles like these would have been

reused was also for alcohol transport. The discussion by Smith cited above, and that on the place of rum in both planter and enslaved society here (see chapter ten), suggests that rum was available and frequently given to enslaved people throughout the BVI.

Whatever reuse might have occurred, most of these bottles probably arrived on the site containing alcohol. Jones (1993) lists a variety of items commonly sold and transported in glass bottles, but also notes that many of the non-alcoholic ones often had special-shaped or smaller containers not common on Little Jost, and it is hard to believe that mustard, capers, snuff, or the other non-alcoholic bottle-contents discussed were being purchased or produced in such quantities on this site. Cotton is the only product indicated historically to be in general production on Little Jost van Dyke, and no other cash crop grown in the area seems likely to use such bottles for production except rum. As discussed above, sugar almost certainly could not be grown on the island and there is no evidence of a works or distillery, which would have been necessary to produce cane juice and then rum. None of the non-alcohol-related reasons for large deposits of such bottles discussed by Smith appear to apply: marking planting beds, to aid drainage, in the production of tools for cutting, or spiritual or aesthetic uses (Smith 2009: 25-27).

Farnsworth interpreted similar bottles on a Bahamian plantation as being for water-storage, but this was based on a suggestion that the enslaved people there rarely had access to liquor as well as the Bahamian preference for drinking stored rainwater as opposed to well water (Farnsworth 1999: 127). The same preference for rainwater exists in the BVI, but alcohol appears frequently in the historical record as being available to the enslaved here (see chapter ten). Further, barrels, a more efficient and easily-filled water-storage means, would have been easily available to the residents of Little Jost for at least the last twenty years of its occupation, since Mary Lettsom's second husband, Samuel Taine, was a cooper. The metal straps recovered in unit E24 suggest that barrels were present on the site.

Certainly, some of the glass bottles might have been used to carry water into the fields during the work day, although no glass was encountered in the fields; in contrast, a few stoneware ceramics were encountered across the island, and these could keep water cooler than dark-colored, translucent bottles, which the sun would heat quickly. Small casks of the sort that any cooper could produce would also have kept water relatively cool, compared to glass bottles, and may have been more durable, less likely to break when being carried. Finally, William Thornton relates the most likely means of carrying water into the fields in use in the BVI, describing how goat skins were seamlessly dressed by his enslaved people in Tortola in the 1790s so as to hold a great deal of water and provide convenient straps for carrying during the work day, after the fashion used by West Africans (LoC, William Thornton Papers, MSS Collection 591, f. 2817-18).

The context of the concentration in J1 also suggests something other than generalized reuse for the bottle glass recovered here. The remains in that area suggested that Area J was once the site of a storage structure carefully constructed to keep out the weather, having the only mortar floor on the island; such precautions against moisture—probably to protect cotton—would have made the building more secure against human entry as well, and the location just behind the Lettsoms' house would have guarded it as well. If the bottles found here were used for storing water or other general purposes, such a concentration in the storage structure would be unlikely: if the

bottles had little value they would not have been so guarded, suggesting that their contents were in demand. The more even distribution of clear glass across the site, more often used for smaller and non-alcoholic containers and tablewares, also suggests that the uneven distribution of green or "black" bottles is the result of an intentional practice. Quite possibly, these bottles were used (and re-used) for alcoholic beverages which were kept in the storage structure under close watch of the Lettsoms, and then distributed to the enslaved people, leading to the more generalized distribution of green glass in Area E. The relatively low levels of bottle glass in the planter's yard in other contexts besides Area J, on the other hand, suggests that the Lettsoms themselves drank alcohol more rarely.

Glass Form

The same problems afflicting identification of ceramic form also applied to glass form: the scattered nature of the deposits encountered and the small fragment size. Glass was given the same size categories as ceramics: a category defined by the smallest sized square (described by the length of the side, measured in centimeters) in which it would completely fit. Glass did tend to break into larger pieces than ceramic, probably as a result of being more thickly made and consisting more of pieces intended for transport than ceramics, which were often tablewares. Only 12% of the glass fragments fit into a 1cm square, while 73% fit into a 2 or 3cm square, and the remaining 15% were larger.

Table 8.13: Excavated glass weights by area, color, and possible form

	Owner (g)		**Enslaved (g)**	
Glass, clear				
Demijon	6.9	2%	0	0%
Flat/Case	6.3	2%	4.5	2%
Round	6.9	2%	1.3	1%
Small Round	24.68	6%	0	0%
Stemware	0	0%	14.9	6%
Unknown	11.13	3%	4.1	2%
Glass, green				
Case	17.2	4%	0	0%
Flat/Case	2.8	1%	1.6	1%
Round	310.3	75%	177.2	70%
Small Round	0.4	0%	0	0%
Unknown	28.91	7%	49.13	19%
Total	**415.52**		**252.73**	

Some rough categorizations were made, however, based on the shape and color of the glass, as follows. Thick rounded-shaped fragments were identified as coming from round bottles, and those which had flat sides including a corner were identified as case bottles. Sometimes the size

of these bottles could be suggested based on the curve of the glass; "small round" bottles appear to resemble most closely those mentioned by Jones (1993) as containing olive oil, mustard or capers (although reuse precludes the suggestion that any of these specific items were in use on the island) and medicines were often sold in small, clear, flat-sided bottles, the base of one of which was recovered in surface collection. Flat green glass was assumed to be from case bottles as green glass was not generally used for windows, but flat clear glass could have been from clear flat-sided bottles or window glass. Many fragments were too small even to say with certainty that they were part of a round or case bottle, and so the vast majority of fragments (457 pieces or 68% by count, 985.83g or 30% by weight) are classed as "Unknown" in form. The results are in Table 8.13 (excavation glass) and Table 8.14 (surface survey glass).

The very small percentage of glass fragments which could have possibly been window glass, strongly suggests that no building on the island ever had glass windows. None of the few lead fragments encountered (see below) appear to be related to window panes. Flat, clear glass fragments accounted for only 3.5% by count of the entire glass assemblage, but these being very small fragments, this is only one-third of one percent by weight. The historical record suggests, in fact, that no buildings in the BVI had glass windows until well into the nineteenth century (Anonymous 1843: 21; Poole 1753: 374).

Table 8.14: Surface survey glass by probable form

Color	**Possible Form**	**Count**	**Weight (g)**
Blue			
	Round	1	0.81
	Small Round	1	3.08
	Unknown	16	10.44
Blue Total		*18*	*14.33*
Clear			
	Round	21	164.92
	Small Round	2	17.22
	Rectangular, Flat Chamfered	1	38.3
	Unknown	113	154.13
Clear Total		*137*	*374.57*
Green			
	Case	18	480.33
	Flat/Case	9	31.15
	Round	45	943.39
	Small Round	2	11.69
	Unknown	211	726.79
Green Total		*285*	*2193.35*
Glass Total		**440**	**2582.25**

A few interesting forms appeared in this analysis: a rectangular, flat-chamfered patent medicine bottle base and the lip to a demijohn, or large glass jug. Both appeared at the planter's house, the former during surface survey in 2008 and the latter in Excavation Unit A8, on the terrace surrounding the main house. Several other fragments, all from various parts of the planter's house suggest small, thin-walled glass bottles rather than the usual "wine" bottles which account for most of the glass assemblage. Figure 8.7a, for instance, shows the complete base of a phial only 2cm in diameter, suggestive of use for medicines (Laurie Wilkie, pers. comm.). None of the fragments were noted to have signs of being worked or modified for use as tools.

Glass Manufacture

No seams from mold-blowing were observed during cataloging. This does not categorically prove that all glass remains on the site pre-date this technique, since not all shards of a broken bottle manufactured with a mold would exhibit such marks. A few examples show manufacturing techniques which suggest date ranges, described using the terminology of Jones (1989) and also her dating discussions(1986). All are dark green "wine" bottle closures. Table 8.15 includes only those artifacts about which chronological interpretations can be made based on the information available.

Table 8.15: Glass bottle closure descriptions and dating

Artifact	Figure	Lip	String-Rim	Dates/Comments
LJvD-J1-1-1	8.7b	roughly and slightly "down-tooled," partway between the "V" and the italic "*L*" shape	slightly "*L*" shape	1760 (beginning of lip-tooling) to 1770 (end of "*L*" string-rims)
LJvD-A1-12-2	--	?	"V" (?)	1700-1770 (v-shaped string-rims)
LJvD-E3-1-4	8.7c	"V-Shaped"	Flattened	1760-1785 (v-shaped lips)
LJvD-Surf-44-1	--	Flared and Rounded	Flattened	1780-1800 (dated examples of "rounded" from Jones' table 4 (Jones 1986: 43)
LJvD-Surf-11-15	8.7d	Flared and down-tooled	down-tooled, "*L*" shape	1740-1770 (down-tooled string-rims)

Wine Glass Stem

Only one piece of table glass was recovered on the entire project. LJvD-E20-1-16 is a fragment of a decorative piece of stemware, 4cm long and 1.4cm wide, weighing about 15g (Figure 8.7e). It was recovered from a near-surface context in the enslaved Area E. The stem has straight sides and numerous small (1mm in diameter) "air twists" or bubbles of air within the stem drawn into a line and then twisted, all going in the same direction, giving it a "candy-cane" appearance. This identifies it as a drawn stem, which developed popularity in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, and while it is of heavier, more durable character than many of those depicted by Noel Hume, it appears to be earlier in this drawn-stem tradition (Noel Hume 1970: 192-193). A very small fragment of the base of the bowl is detectable on the top of the stem,

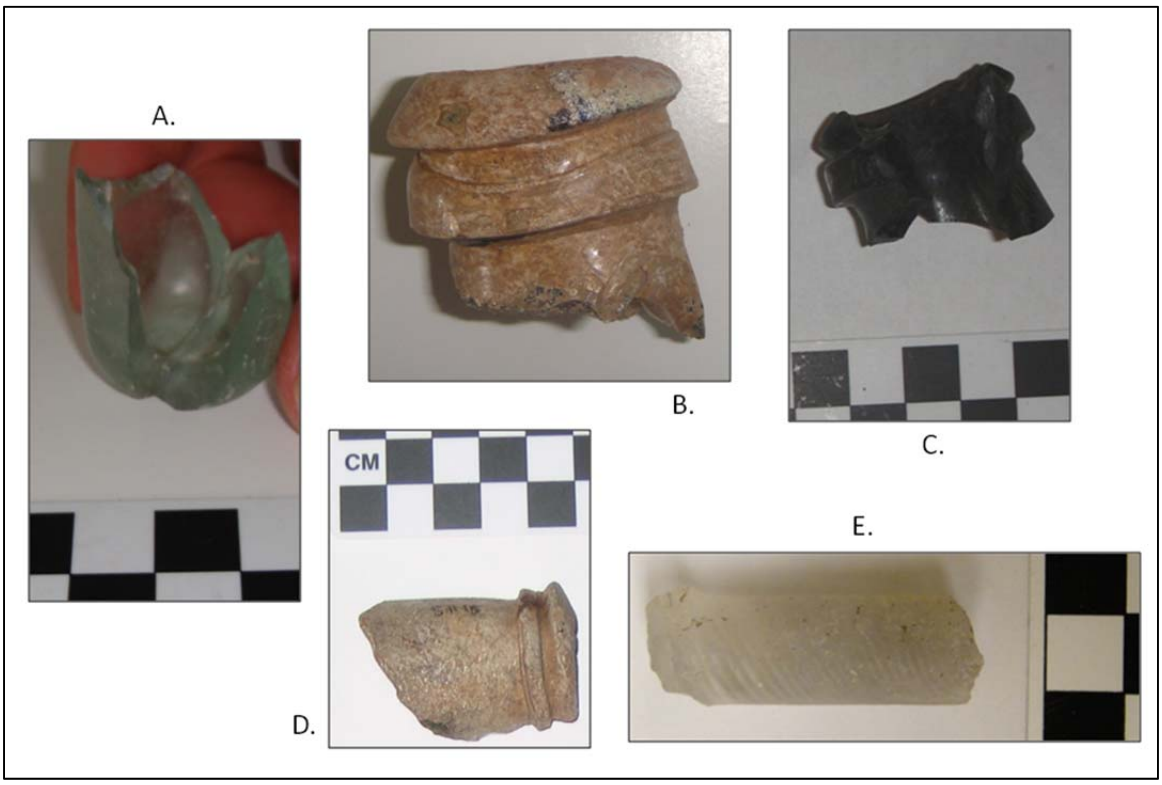

Figure 8.7: *Glass artifacts*

Figure 8.8: *Glass beads recovered, from E1-3 (right) and E4-3 (center and left) with scale in millimeters*

showing that no other bulbs or spheres of glass, called "balusters," came between the stem and bowl, as often occurred on later examples. Following Noel Hume's chronology (where it is similar to type "XX") this glass probably dates to between about 1730 and 1760 in production. This piece is relatively heavy, as noted above, at 1.4cm in thickness and thus comparatively durable, but nonetheless represents a relatively elegant counterpoint to most of the glass and ceramics recovered on Little Jost van Dyke.

The stem was analyzed using a Quantex ED-XRF at UC Berkeley and found to consist of up to 25% lead, with a relatively high level (8%) of potassium, identifying it as a potash-lead glass, potash being high in potassium. This type of glass was first produced in England in 1676 and it was made through the middle of the nineteenth century (Jones and Sullivan 1989: 11-12).

Beads

Three beads were recovered from the work on Little Jost, all from the heavy fractions of soil samples, and all from Area E, the enslaved people's area, and within a few meters of the mortar fragments thought to indicate a crumbled wattle and mortar wall in the vicinity of units E9 and E20. One bead was pulled from locus E1-3 and the other two from E4-3, just six meters away, associated with the same potential structure. All are extremely small, having exterior diameters of 2.5mm to 3.5mm and a hole of 1mm (Figure 8.8, note that the scale is in millimeters). This size suggests that other similar beads would not have been recovered using the techniques applied on this or most similar projects, specifically screening using 1/4" mesh, nor those using 1/8" mesh either. It is impossible to determine at this point if beads were been common on the site or if these were chance finds, but the number of beads coming from such a small number of soil samples implies that there are many others on the site. Soil samples totaling 138.5 liters were taken and sorted during the project to produce these three beads, and (imagining an average soil depth of 0.25m) this translates to about 5.5 beads per square meter or nearly 22,000 beads per acre on the site. Though obviously statistically flawed, these numbers suggest that beads were not rare among the enslaved people on Little Jost van Dyke.

The bead from E1-3 is of opaque white glass, and identified by Elliott Blair (personal communication) as probably being of drawn construction and Kidd and Kidd type IIa14 (Kidd and Kidd 1970). This piece was analyzed by Mr. Blair using the XRF at the American Museum of Natural History with settings and techniques he has developed specifically for glass bead analysis, and determined that this example is opacified with antimony, dating it to have been manufactured between the late seventeenth and early nineteenth centuries. The two from E4-3 are more poorly preserved: one may be of wound construction, although very small for such a manufacturing technique, and may have been burned, and the other appears to be drawn and has traces of red coloring along the edges.

Metal and Small Finds

Most of the metal pieces recovered on the site were badly corroded iron fragments, not identifiable as to form at all. This section will discuss a few exceptions which could be identified, as well as the miscellaneous artifacts usually classed as "small finds." These latter

consist of two pins, one button, a gun buttplate, four fragments of non-local lithic material, and two worked bone items. Three glass beads are discussed with Glass, above.

Iron

No metal was recovered in Area K (the cave units) or Area H ("Structure H"). Most of the nail fragments on the site were too corroded to determine head shape or form with certainty, which prevents any major statements about chronology, but none suggested any signs of being a cut nail, the earliest forms of which emerged in the late 1700s and became prevalent by the early 1800s (Wells 1998). As far as can be determined, all the nail fragments are wrought, and so eighteenth century or earlier in date.

Table 8.16: Iron recovered from excavations by unit, with concentrations

Unit	Iron (g)	Grams of Iron/m^2	Grams of Iron/m^3
A1	191.80	191.80	231.08
A2	147.50	147.50	167.49
A3	50.70	50.70	136.47
A4	70.20	70.20	160.15
A5	8.60	8.60	29.66
A6	56.80	56.80	153.18
A7	6.00	6.00	15.42
A8	6.90	6.90	29.52
B1	20.60	20.60	56.91
E01	-	-	-
E02	-	-	-
E03	3.10	12.40	55.36
E04	12.70	50.80	209.92
E05	10.10	40.40	150.75
E06	-	-	-
E07	-	-	-
E08	4.60	18.40	105.75
E09	16.50	66.00	286.96
E10	-	-	-
E11	-	-	-
E12	-	-	-
E13	-	-	-
E14	-	-	-
E15	0.40	1.60	7.92
E16	-	-	-
E17	-	-	-
E18	-	-	-

Table 8.16: Iron recovered from excavations by unit, with concentrations			
Unit	**Iron (g)**	**Grams of Iron/m^2**	**Grams of Iron/m^3**
E20	1.50	1.50	6.18
E21	-	-	-
E22	-	-	-
E23	-	-	-
E24	231.30	925.20	2,628.41
E25	1.80	1.80	12.16
E26	5.70	22.80	154.05
H01	-	-	-
H02	-	-	-
J01	17.40	8.70	34.52
K01	-	-	-
K02	-	-	-
Area A	*538.50*	*67.31*	*141.56*
Owner	*576.50*	*52.41*	*123.45*
Enslaved	*287.70*	*30.28*	*134.79*
Little Jost van Dyke	*864.20*	*37.57*	*117.55*
FHB Meetinghouse	38.00	38.00	62.09
Project Total	**902.20**	**37.59**	**113.29**

Table 8.16 shows that a clear majority of the metal from Little Jost came from the area of the planter's house, which had 67% of the iron recovered in excavation, by weight. The difference is minimized when metal is considered by area excavated: 52g/m^2 for the planter area and 30g/m^2 for the enslaved people. This comparison is actually reversed when considered by unit volume, but these numbers are somewhat misleading. The figures for metal by volume are skewed by the find in unit E24 of a substantial quantity of metal, possibly a barrel hoop, weighing 231g, and the fact that unit E24 was one of the smallest units by volume, emphasizing the per-volume importance of any finds there out of proportion to the others. This one find represents 80% of the metal in Area E, by weight. While measurements by volume are intended to standardize comparisons, they also allow a small sample to represent a large area: it is not thought that the amount of metal present in the 50-by-50cm area of unit E24 is representative of the metal extant on Area E. As always, the solution here is to give all the relevant measurements and interpret them contextually.

If this unit is excluded, the enslaved area had only 6.1grams of iron/m^2 or 27.56g/m^3, compared to the owner's areas 52.41g/m^2 or 123.45g/m^3. The point of excluding the metal from unit E24 is that, while the totals suggest approximately equal use of metal, this is misleading: the metal finds in the owners' area are many small fragments in many different contexts suggesting that metal was used in many aspects of life. An example to clarify this is the nail fragments (Table 8.17): the owner's area produced 39 nail heads and 72 shaft fragments compared to the enslaved area's two nail heads and only seven shaft fragments. Clearly the enslaved people did not have benefit (or need?) of metal nails in their construction.

Table 8.17: Iron remains recovered from Little Jost van Dyke by form and area.

Area	**Nail Heads**		**Nail Shafts**		**Flat Metal**		**Other**		**Total**		**Area**
	Ct.	**Wt.**	**Ct.**	**Wt.**	**Ct.**	**Wt.**	**Ct.**	**Wt.**	**Ct.**	**Wt.**	
A	32	145.5	63	219.6	31	40.4	46	133	172	538.5	A
B	5	6.5	3	3.9	0	0	6	10.2	14	20.6	B
J	2	9.9	6	13.6	0	0	4	2.3	12	25.8	J
A, B, J Total	*39*	*161.9*	*72*	*237.1*	*31*	*40.4*	*56*	*145.5*	*198*	*584.9*	*A, B, J Total*
E	2	10.3	7	24.7	28	250.1	2	2.6	39	287.7	E
LJvD Total	***41***	***172.2***	***79***	***261.8***	***59***	***290.5***	***58***	***148.1***	***237***	***872.6***	***LJvD Total***

The enslaved people appear to have lived virtually without metal, at least metal that is evidenced archaeologically, although there are three interesting exceptions: an iron cooking pot, a grater, and the barrel hoop mentioned earlier. The lower levels of unit E4 produced a fragment of iron which appears to be part of an iron cooking pot. This is similar to cooking pots recovered on several other Caribbean plantations (Armstrong 2003; Wilkie and Farnsworth 2005) although Armstrong's finds on nearby St. John suggest that they are rare in association with the enslaved people, being more frequently found in Planter contexts and in the post-slavery period as mass-produced wares became more available. Such pots were common on Montpelier plantation in Jamaica, as were knives (Higman 1998: 217-218): here on Little Jost, knives were absent and the single cooking pot fragment suggests a very limited range of metal in use.

Nearby, in the first locus of unit E5, nine thin fragments of metal were recovered at least two of which appear to have been pierced as if the working surface of a grater. This proved difficult to photograph, being based on sharp curves on the edges of several parts of the fragments, but is most clearly represented in figure 8.9a. Graters are used in processing cassava and other root crops common to plantation life but are not frequently found archaeologically. As mentioned above, one unit, E24, produced a very high amount of iron, over 200g in sixteen pieces. Several of these are strips approximately 3 centimeters wide and half a centimeter thick. The pieces are heavily corroded but could well be the remains of a barrel hoop.

Two other iron items are worth noting, both from the Lettsoms' house. An iron bar, perhaps a file, was located in locus A1-9, a context having a TPQ of 1762 and associated with the later Lettsom-Taine occupation. The item is about 13cm in length (though it appears to have been

broken short) and 3cm in width. If this were a file, it would be of the "cabinet" or "half-round" shape in cross section (Ross and Light 2000). It is possible that Samuel Taine, Mary Lettsom's second husband, thought to have lived on Little Just from about 1760 to 1780, could have used such a file in his work as a cooper, although any connection is purely speculative.

Table 8.18: Notable metal remains from Little Jost van Dyke by form

Planter Contexts (A, B, J)	**Enslaved Contexts (E)**
Half-round file (iron)	Grater (iron)
Gun Buttplate (copper alloy)	Cooking Pot Fragment (iron)
Pins (copper alloy)	Barrel Hoop? (iron)
Small Hinge (iron)	
Can or pail (iron or steel)	

A half of a metal hinge was found, broken in two, in locus A1-13, also associated with the second household (see chapter ten). The hinge is a very simple triangular design, simpler than anything depicted by Priess (2000) suggesting that it most likely is hand wrought (Figure 8.9b). It is most likely of the "double-strap" type due to its size (about 6cm in length) and even so would be on the small side, suggesting that it may have held a smaller weight than a door, and possibly been a hinge on a chest or cupboard. The flat of the hinge appears to have been bent at a ninety-degree angle about the place it has since broken, as if it were mounted on something without being the correct size for the space allotted, and the excess bent down to keep out of the way. This suggests an improvisational use or even re-use of the item in a context for which it was not originally designed.

Finally, a near-surface context in the planter house foundations (A4-4) produced a number of small fragments of flat metal including what appear to be seams or crimped edges of a container. These are far too thin to be part of a cooking pot and more closely match the seam of a sanitary-type "tin" can. As Busch points out, this technology dates from long after the Lettsom occupation of Little Jost: though the pieces recovered were generally too corroded to determine the manufacturing technique used, at least one piece appears to be part of a "double seam" crimp which was developed in 1897, providing that TPQ for this context (Busch 1981). This makes this the most recent artifact on the site, but the lack of any other materials clearly of this era suggests that it is associated with a transient, brief occupation or visit. The fragments were all well within the first fifteen centimeters of soil, suggested in chapter seven to be very active and to lack any stratigraphic relationships.

As discussed in chapter five, Little Jost van Dyke appears not to have been permanently inhabited after about the end of slavery, but the island was certainly visited and made use of. Indeed, as early as the 1790s there are reports of people picnicking on small islands like Little Jost (LoC, William Thornton Papers, MSS Collection 591, f. 2824), a practice which continues to this day with passing tourists and charter-boat passengers. Until the very recent past, residents of nearby Jost van Dyke visited many small islands to gather wild provisions and even cultivate small areas, as reported by Foxy Callwood, a life-long Jost van Dyke resident and community leader (pers. comm.). It is thought that these occupations will have left little trace in the evidence as gathered in this study, and while clearly present, the very low levels of nineteenth and twentieth century materials suggests that these occupations will not significantly interfere with the evidence of eighteenth century activities. They are also a testament to the difficult

conditions of life in the nineteenth century BVI, with manufactured goods so prevalent in the rest of the world but rare here.

Metal finds at Fat Hog's Bay were more similar to those of the planter house on Little Jost. Slightly lower but comparable amounts of iron by area and volume were recovered from the one test unit placed in the Meetinghouse foundations. Nails were especially in evidence, with five heads and eight shaft fragments recovered in FHB, suggesting that metal was made available for the construction of the building in measure much like that of the Lettsom's home. The source for these materials is suggested by the chance survival in the Meeting papers of a receipt for the purchase two pairs of "hooks & hinges" purchased from "Pickering Woolrich + Rawleigh" and "being for the use of friends Meeting House" which was dated 1761, about twenty years after the building was originally erected (TMM Minutes 7:75).

Copper Alloy Gun Buttplate

One of the more notable metal objects from Little Jost van Dyke was a copper-alloy butt-plate to a rifle or musket, found in the west profile of unit A2 in locus 12 (Figures 8.9c and 8.9d). It was under the area of decayed mortar represented by Locus A2-9, and lightly encrusted with mortar itself, suggesting that it was either encased in the wall from which that mortar decayed or buried with wet mortar. The TPQ of this context is 1700 by itself, and was interpreted in chapter seven as being associated with the 1740s reconstruction of the house. The buttplate appears to be in perfectly workable condition, unbent or damaged in any way. It is surprising that such a piece was discarded, since it would have been common for such undamaged parts of a damaged weapon to be salvaged and a new stock carved for it, manufactured items being so difficult to acquire in the early BVI.

The piece bears some resemblance to a "Brown Bess" musket, which was common among British military forces for over 100 years, from the first quarter of the eighteenth century to the first quarter of the nineteenth (Peterson 1956: 165). This type had brass mounts, like this, although early examples exist made of iron (Peterson 1956: 165-7). The butt-plate recovered from LJvD-A2-12 resembles "type 1" plates used in English infantry muskets during this time (Peterson 1956: 161), being as long in the "tang" (the top or stepped end) as on the butt-end. The tang was shortened when the barrel was shortened, around the end of the reign of George II (Peterson 1956: 167), loosely dating the production of this piece to sometime between 1700 and 1760.

To refine this, Jonathan Ferguson, Curator of Arms at the Royal Armouries Museum in Leeds, England, examined photographs of this object and suggested that it is likely of the "pre-pattern" Brown Bess, dating to before the 1730s, although the match is not precise and this suggests that it may have been a non-military weapon (personal communication, December 9, 2009). It is likely not, in Mr. Ferguson's view, one of the commonly known later "Brown Bess" patterns, such as the "Long Land," "Short Land," or "India." It may also be a shorter-form weapon, such as a carbine or blunderbuss, but the suggestion remains for an earlier date of production, that is before the 1730s.

Figure 8.9: *Metal artifacts*

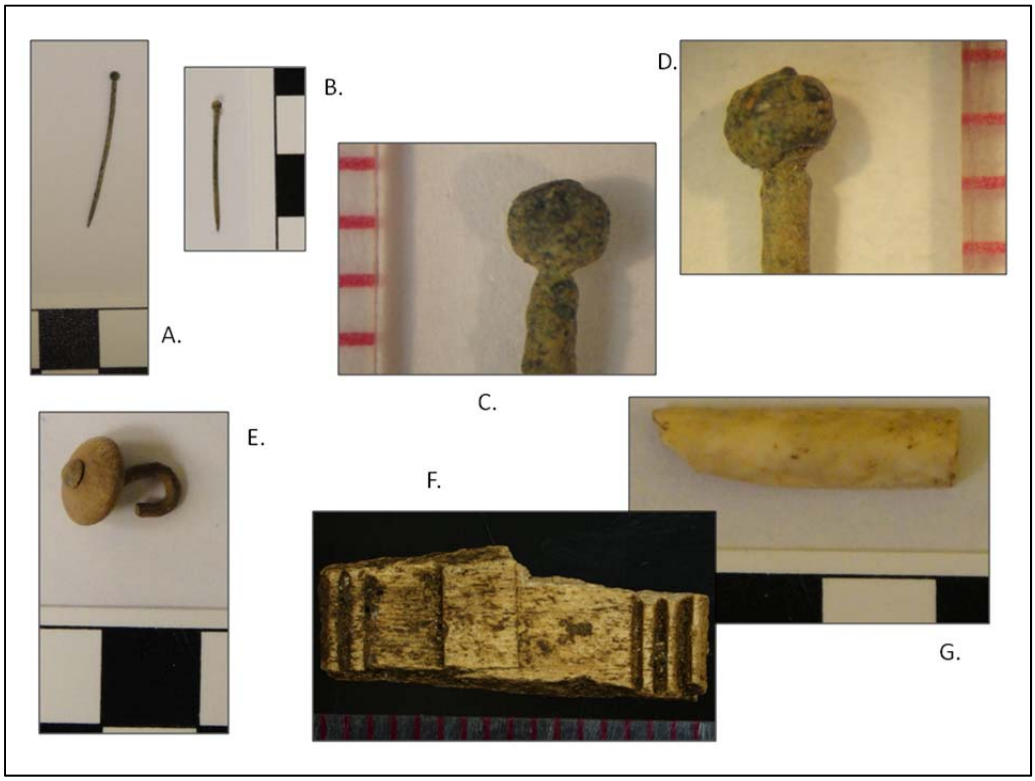

Figure 8.10: *"Small Finds": pins, button, and worked bone*

It is interesting to note that one of the gunflints discussed below (LJvD-Surf-39-12) is of the type used in a rifle such as the Brown Bess (Peterson 1956: 228-229). The age of the piece is also interesting. Little Jost van Dyke was first settled by Edward Lettsom's father, Jonathan, about 1725, suggesting that the rifle from which this plate came may have been a family heirloom, used by Jonathan before settling on Little Jost. The precise reason why this apparently still perfectly good item was curated and presumably used for decades before being deposited in such an unusual manner, along with or encased in wet mortar, may never be determined, but it is tempting to suggest that it is related to the Lettsoms' conversion to Quakerism. The curation of the piece for so long, and the fact that the difficult-to-replace metal buttplate was still perfectly usable and could easily be added to a newly carved stock for re-use, makes its deposition seem intentional. One wonders if further excavation in the foundation of the house would produce other pieces of the weapon similarly sealed in 1740s contexts. Pacifism is a fundamental part of Quaker thought, and ultimately the reason why later Quakers would turn against slavery, since they realized that it hinges on force or the threat of force.

Copper Alloy Pins

Noel Hume writes that "large numbers of pins are found on historical sites" (Noel Hume 1970: 254), and Beaudry states that they "are recovered in impressive numbers from almost all domestic sites of the medieval, early modern, and modern eras" (Beaudry 2006: 10), but only two examples were recovered from Little Jost van Dyke, from context A4-28 (Figure 8.10a) and A4-30 (Figure 8.10b), only a few centimeters apart. Noel Hume and Beaudry write about Continental American contexts primarily, not the Caribbean but they are recorded as being present in a few cases, even among the enslaved people, identified primarily from slave burial contexts (Handler and Lange 1978: 249; Watters 1996: 62). Armstrong located pins and needles at all three sites he examined on St. John's East End (2003: 161). Both of the contexts in which the Little Jost pins were located are at the bottom of the post-hole in unit A4, contexts which appear to have been disturbed and mixed when the posts were extracted in the early nineteenth century, having at TPQ of 1820 from a small amount of whiteware but with most artifacts dating earlier and probably deposited during the building's reconstruction in the 1740s.

Both of the Little Jost pins are complete, with the heads still attached to the shank, of brass or other copper alloy, and are slightly bent. The A4-28 example is 2.7cm in length and ranges from 0.81 to 0.93 mm in diameter while the A4-30 is slightly shorter at 2.2cm, and thinner at 0.72 to 0.78mm in diameter. The size for both fits the category described by Beaudry as "short whites" commonly used in sewing and a variety of other purposes (Beaudry 2006: 25).

The heads are both 1.7mm in diameter and on the A4-28 example it looks as if it were formed out of a single piece, stamped or hammered nearly spherical and without any visible seams (Figure 8.10c, the scale is in millimeters), rather than wound wire, as the A4-30 example more clearly is (Figure 8.10d). Egan and Pritchard's discussion suggests that it is not always possible to distinguish these two types of pin-head construction (Egan and Pritchard 1991: 299), so both may be the same. In medieval contexts approximately equal numbers of wound and spherical-headed pins are recovered (Beaudry 2006: 16). The wound-wire construction was less favored because it often left rough places on the head which could snag cloth, but the Little Jost

examples are both quite smooth despite A4-30's clearly wound construction. The pins are still likely not higher-quality items, smoothed with a file after manufacture (Egan and Pritchard 1991: 299) as irregularities in the head shape are clearly visible under magnification for the A4-28 example and without it for the A4-30 example. Dating for such pins is nearly impossible (Beaudry 2006: 21-22), and Tylecote (1972: 184) notes that pin manufacturing technology remained essentially unchanged from 1550 to 1810.

Beaudry notes that pins became substitute buttons on poor men's clothing by the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in England, but were usual in fastening baby's clothing and for many elements of women's clothing during that period (Beaudry 2006: 13-15). While Beaudry and Noel Hume both discuss pin types which would not survive on Little Jost van Dyke (wooden pins and iron pins, for example) the recovery of so few examples from the site is surprising. Soils on the site were screened through quarter-inch mesh which may have allowed some examples to pass through, but one assumes that the many sites referred to in the opening of this section by Beaudry and Noel Hume, which produced so many pins, used similar if not identical methods of recovery. In fact, Beaudry suggests only that the number of pins recovered from sites may be reduced by not screening soils at all, or by post-deposition transformations or simply a low number of pins present on a site due to poverty of its occupants (Beaudry 2006: 41), although recovery is thought to be variable based on excavation techniques as well (Beaudry 2006: 43). The pins and the associated materials will be discussed more below, in chapter ten.

Lead Fragments

Three small fragments of lead (totaling 17.8g) were recovered in excavation, and all appear to be scrap lead. One (from context A5-3) is the size and shape of an eraser removed from the end of a pencil, while the others (from A4-4 and A7-5) are simply strips, square in cross-section, and 4-5cm in length. The former contexts have TPQs in the 1760s while the latter may be associated with the 1740s occupation of the site, and the earlier Lettsom family of Edward and Mary (see chapter ten). These pieces may have been curated for later melting and use in making seals for bags of cotton intended for export or for musket balls. Noel Hume (1970: 221) also notes that strips of lead were often wrapped around the base of gunflints to secure them in the hammer arm, and at least the latter two of these may represent trimmings from such strips. Use as fishing weights is also possible, but these fragments are all quite small and none have holes or are bent to attach them to lines. As mentioned above in the discussion of flat glass, none of the lead appears to be associated with windows, which seem unlikely to be glazed here considering the glass assemblage and the fact that historical commentators mention that there seem to be no glazed windows in all of the BVI in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Anonymous 1843: 21; Poole 1753: 374). In any case, most mentions of lead in the literature associate it firmly with the use of firearms.

Two small lead balls were also recovered from the heavy fraction of soil samples taken from A4-9 and E4-3, respectively. The balls are 3mm and 3.75mm in diameter, respectively, and the composition of the A4-9 example was confirmed with the use of a Zeiss Evo10 SEM equipped with an EDAX Genesis EDS X-ray detector, producing a spectrum of almost entirely lead oxide. They both appear to be only minimally weathered compared to the other examples of lead

recovered, and could be modern. Their small size makes it possible that they worked their way down in the relatively sandy and active soils of the island in a short period of time, being small enough to be ingested by worms (Claassen 1998) or affected by other bioturbation, and therefore not impacting the dating of these units. Most likely, they are from shot-gun shells used in hunting the feral goats which populate Little Jost.

Button

Only one example of a button was recovered from the work on Little Jost (Figure 8.10e). This example, from LJvD-A1-12, is a bone button almost perfectly oval in cross section with a simple, undecorated "pinhead shank" made of brass. The context has a TPQ of 1762. The head for the shank is rounded and appears to be undecorated. The head is 9.3mm in diameter (0.36 inches). Luscomb observes that some eighteenth century examples were made in this fashion (Luscomb 2006: 25), though more precise dating is not possible. In general, this example much more closely resembles the pre-1700 examples pictured by Egan (2005) than it does the 19th and 20th century examples in Luscomb (2006) or Osborne (1997). It is extremely simple in appearance.

Small patches of reflective material which resembled gold were visible on the head of the button's shank under light magnification (10x). However, these patches were identified with the use of a Zeiss Evo10 SEM equipped with an EDAX Genesis EDS X-ray detector, and were shown to be copper, probably resulting from the dezincification of the alloy. The rest of the shank was shown with this analysis to have only 4.5wt% zinc, and is therefore identified as brass, consisting of aluminum as well as copper and zinc and apparently without any tin. The same analysis showed that the part of the button identified visually as bone is certainly organic, composed mostly of carbon, nitrogen, and oxygen, along with some calcium, iron, silicon and aluminum (some of the latter probably from soils encrusting the artifact) as expected for bone, but without traces of phosphorus, a part of hydroxylapatite. While this is somewhat mysterious, it at least rules out the material being glass or rubber, and probably eliminates shell since calcium should compose significantly more of the structure than detected.

Worked Bone

Two items of worked bone were recovered: an unidentified item from context B1-3, next to the oven at the planter's house (Figure 8.10f), and a piece identified as a tube bead fragment, made from bird-bone in locus J1-2 (Figure 8.10g). Both are in mixed contexts the dating of which is uncertain. The B1-3 item is slightly convex with five fine grooves carved into the interior surface and is 1.6cm long, 5.7cm wide and .17cm in thickness. The long ends are broken off, as is at least one of the short sides, suggesting that it once formed a tube which was probably longer. The grooves vary slightly in both width and depth, and appear to be parallel, suggesting that they are not threads for a screw. In addition, there is a slightly raised area in the middle of the artifact, suggesting that the inside of the bone was cut down to its present thickness.

Despite consulting several knowledgeable sources, no firm suggestions can be made at this time about the specific role for the B1-3 item. The most likely candidate so far is that it represents a very small container or case, and that the grooves were part of a capping system. Egan and Pritchard note at least one example of a needle case made of bone, in this case a polished bird bone, from medieval contexts in London (Egan and Pritchard 1991: 386) and this could represent something similar, needle or pin cases being relatively common in this era.

The potential tube bead fragment from context J1-2 (Figure 8.10g) was identified by the faunal analyst processing the rest of the collection, Dr. Tom Wake. The piece is a bird-bone, so naturally thin-walled and hollow, and Dr. Wake suggested that one end is smoothed, suggesting use as a bead. The modification is slight.

Gunflints or "Strike-a-lights"

Three pieces of non-local, worked lithic material were recovered from Little Jost and one from the Fat Hog's Bay Meetinghouse. One of the items from Little Jost and the one from FHB are clearly in the form of a gunflint (technically a "spall") and the other two may be the remains of former flints worked down by use or broken apart for use as strike-a-lights, starting fires by means of sparking the flint on metal.

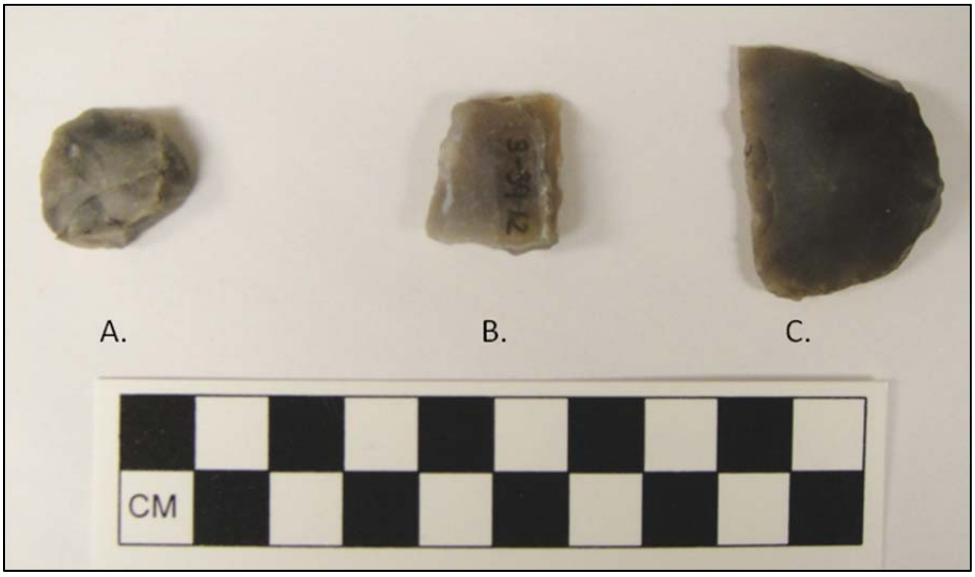

Figure 8.11: *Gunflints or "strike-a-lights"*

LJvD-Surf-29-12 (Figure 8.11b) was recovered in the 2008 surface survey in the middle of the planter's house, Area A, not far from where Unit A2 would be placed a year later. It is the example most clearly a gun flint, or technically a "spall" being triangular or "wedge-shaped" in cross-section with a flat "heel" suggesting English manufacture (Kenmotsu 1990). Spalls were less-efficiently produced than later "prismatic" flints, which were trapezoid-shaped in cross-section. While prismatic flints were developed by the late 1600s, "spalls" of the type found here probably made up the majority of flints in use until about 1750. This example measures 2.1cm in width, 0.82cm in thickness, and just 1.73cm in length suggesting long use as a gunflint as this

is perhaps half of the original length, judging from examples depicted in publications of less-used flints (Durst 2009; Kenmotsu 1990; Peterson 1956: 228). It is of a honey or tan color, becoming whiteish in patches.

LJvD-A4-11-6 (not pictured) is a tiny chip of non-native flint, found in a lower context of unit A4, in the main house foundations. It is roughly a centimeter square in size and too small to say anything about its original shape or function; it is of the same or slightly darker tan or honey color as LJvD-Surf-29-12, found nearby. It is probably too small to have even been in regular use as a strike-a-light, being very difficult to grip, although it is possible that it was used as a cutting implement, being quite sharp still. Most likely, it is a flake off a larger piece used for striking sparks to start fires.

LJvD-E21-3-21 (Figure 8.11a), recovered from a lower context in a grid unit of the enslaved peoples' Area E, is a well worn example with the triangular cross-section of a gun spall but clearly reduced from its original form. It appears to have originally had a curved, or "D-shaped" heel suggesting French origin (Kenmotsu 1990: 98; Noel Hume 1970: 220), and is mottled in color, light grey and white. The very reduced nature of this example suggests that the enslaved people on Little Jost were forced to be economical with the use of worn out items, suggesting the poverty of all occupants of the site. Another possibility is that the enslaved people were only given flints to use as fire-starters which were too reduced to use in guns. Whether this is a matter of preventing the enslaved people from using guns or of passing on "hand-me-downs" is not known, but the discussion of ceramics above strongly argues against "hand-me-downs" passing from the planter to the enslaved people, and so it seems more likely that the item represents either economic efficiency or an effort at control by the planters, providing fire-starters that could not be used in weapons. The wear around its edges appears to be minimal, however, and is consistent with a gun flint being struck in half to intentionally reduce its size.

This piece was examined using a Zeiss Evo10 Scanning Electron Microscope equipped with an EDAX Genesis EDS X-ray detector and two distinct patches of residue were observed. Several very small patches (2-3μm in diameter) with a high percentage of lead (about 15 wt%) were observed near the thin edge of the piece, and this could be taken to suggest association with lead shot, perhaps storage, at one point during the piece's use-life. However these patches are very small compared to the more frequent and much larger (40-100μm) patches of ferrous material on the thin edge. These patches were determined to be 5-35 wt% iron. The piece was being examined to determine if organic materials indicating use as a cutting implement could be located, and ferrous patches such as this might result from dried blood after being used in butchering. Further study, including comparative work, is required before any conclusions can be made.

One piece of non-local worked lithic material was recovered from the Fat Hog's Bay test unit, in locus 3 (Figure 8.11c). This was a very large gunflint, well-shaped, with minimal use wear. It measured 3.46cm in width, 0.97cm thick, and 2.63cm in length. It's heel is well-rounded, and it is colored slightly darker than the other examples, but still more tan or dark-honey colored than grey or black. It appears, like the others, to be a "spall" rather than a prismatic flint, exhibiting a very large, single bulb of percussion on its dorsal surface. Its size matches what Peterson (1956:

228) illustrates as a flint for a "Long Dane," a rifle popular in the "triangle" trade between Europe, Africa, and the New World by 1750 (Kea 1971: 199), or a musket.

Color has usually been considered a marker of source, with English flints being nearly black and French or other Continental sources producing lighter, tan-colored materials. However, Kenmotsu points out that the quarry producing the distinctive dark English flint at Brandon, was not in regular use until 1790 (Kenmotsu 1990: 95), and recent sourcing work has also cast doubt on this formula anyway (Durst 2009). Therefore it should not be surprising that all examples from Little Jost and Fat Hog's Bay are of the lighter, tan color, suggesting not so much that they are French but that they date to before 1790. This date is narrowed down by shape, as the "spall" shape exhibited by the two examples for which shape can be determined (and suggested for a third) suggests they were produced before about 1750, the date when spalls were replaced by "prismatic" flints. Shape of the heel of the flint is a better indicator of origin with round-heel examples being termed French or Continental and square-heels English (Kenmotsu 1990: 98; Noel Hume 1970: 220). Here LJvD-Surf-29-12 is quite clearly square-heeled, or English in origin, while FHB-MH1-3-1 is clearly rounded, or French/Continental; LJvD-E21-3-21 appears to be rounded as well, suggesting French or Continental origins.

Kenmotsu's study of use wear on flints (Kenmotsu 1990) provides expectations for patterns of use wear resulting from use in guns which shed some interesting light on the present examples. The primary characteristic identified to mark flints used in guns is "step flaking" on the working edge of flints, where it struck the pan to create sparks, but not elsewhere. Pieces identified as "strike-a-lights" from European-era contexts in South Africa were described as having a "chunky" and "bruised" appearance and being amorphous in shape, with bruising and occasional step-flaking all around their perimeters (Schrire and Deacon 1989). My own experiments produced similar results with a piece of flint struck against a steel trowel blade approximately a dozen times, producing sparks one quarter of the time. The edge struck quickly gained a "crushed" look with small fractures the length of the straight side, quite distinct from the "step flaking" of repeated use depicted by Kenmotsu.

LJvD-Surf-29-12 and FHB-MH1-3-1 both exhibit extensive step flaking on their working edges and very little wear elsewhere. This observation was confirmed in consultation with a lithic specialist (Lee Panich, personal communication, 2010). LJvD-Surf-29-12 exhibits a small amount of "crushing" on the heel as well, suggesting brief or limited use as a "strike-a-light" after its use-life as a gun flint was exhausted. LJvD-E21-3-21 shows almost no visible use wear. This suggests two possibilities: first, it may be that it was never intended to be used as a gun-flint and that rather than a reduced gunflint it is a little-used "strike-a-light" similar to those amorphous examples encountered in South African by Schrire and Deacon (1989). However, the general shape of the piece very closely fits a well-worn flint: it has a rounded heel, a spall-like cross section, and is of the correct size. The second possibility is that it is a new or little-used flint with a large portion, including the "working edge" removed to intentionally reduce its size. This action may have been intended to reduce the piece to a size impossible to use in a gun before providing it to the enslaved people for use in fire-starting.

Taken together, these flints suggest manufacture in the first half of the eighteenth century, varied use, and diverse origins. Under any interpretation, the Lettsoms seem to have made use of a gun

at some point, evidenced by the characteristic use wear on LJvD-Surf-39-12, and the copper alloy buttplate mentioned above. The same is true of the example recovered at the Fat Hog's Bay Meetinghouse. The enslaved people on Little Jost van Dyke seem to have had a piece suitable for fire-starting, but too small for use in a flintlock weapon which does not exhibit any signs of being used in a weapon and worn down.

Summary

Almost all the recovered artifacts with solid dates come from the middle of the eighteenth century, including the most common ceramic wares, pipe marks, gun spalls, and other materials. The exceptions are pearlware, whiteware and ironstone, but these are in relatively small quantities, and even these may be skewed by what appears to be many pieces from a single vessel in a low-volume unit in Area E. A few other items, such as the tin can, come from clearly post-Lettsom occupations, but their rarity in a time when manufactured material culture was multiplying exponentially suggests both the material poverty and brevity of later occupations and use of the island. The enslaved and free African-descended people known to be resident for a few years in the early nineteenth century may have been living in the area disturbed by modern construction and which was not surveyed.

The identification of both English and Dutch pipes and both English and Continental gun spalls or flints represent small hints to the probably much wider variability in national sources for the manufactured goods recovered on the island. Historic records indicate that smuggling and wrecking were common, and that passing ships of all nations traded (usually illegally, but since there was no customs office in the Virgin Islands, without difficulty) with many plantations as they passed through the area. In any case, the occupants of the island appear not to have had any particularly strong feelings against trading with non-English ships, despite it being illegal under the English "Navigation Acts" of the 1600s.

Both the owners and enslaved people on Little Jost also appear to have had approximately equal access to ceramics, each area producing similar densities, although there are differences between the assemblages. The enslaved people have ceramics with later manufacturing dates and more plain wares during the Lettsom period, while the Lettsoms seem to have had moderately high levels of high-status porcelain and white salt-glazed stonewares compared to nearby small planter sites in St. John excavated by Armstrong, although not nearly enough to name Little Jost a "high status" site. Surprisingly, the enslaved people on Little Jost had also acquired some porcelain, in higher levels than usual on Caribbean plantations. The lack of low-fired earthenwares dating to the historic period is interesting, since they are usually very common on Caribbean plantations, especially among the enslaved people. This may suggest that they were not participants in the informal market economy which has received so much attention from scholars, or at least that the system in the BVI differed from that elsewhere.

A few ceramic patterns (a type of shelledge pearlware and a "Queen's Shape" Creamware plate) appear in both the enslaved peoples' and planters' homes, but indications of actual sharing of ceramic collections is limited. Interestingly, these two patterns are the same detected at both the planter and enslaved people's contexts at Clifton Plantation in the Bahamas, where Wilkie and

Farnsworth nonetheless show that on the whole, the enslaved were responsible for acquiring most of their ceramics themselves (Wilkie and Farnsworth 2005: 266-267). On Little Jost, it is notable that these two shared types are both quite late: past the Lettsom period at all in the case of the pearlware. "Hand-me-downs" appear not to contribute to the enslave assemblage, based on the differences in the frequency of use-ware between the assemblages (where the planter's house has much more wear evident) and the generalized differences between them in every examined category except color choice, where no pattern appears. Overall it appears more likely that each group, planter and enslaved people on Little Jost, was largely responsible for the acquisition of their own ceramics. This fits the historic evidence available for food provisioning: in the 1750s food was "very seldom" imported, almost all being grown locally because there was "no certainty or dependence on the importation of foreign food"(House of Commons 1790: 265) and a later commentator writes that this work was done chiefly by the enslaved people for their own tables, there being "almost unlimited" range and pasture land available for their use due to poor soils unsuitable for cash crops (Wentworth 1835: 178).

Marks of poverty or thrift mix with statements of wealth and status in the artifacts associated with the Lettsoms' home. Throughout the Lettsom period, the Lettsoms themselves appear to have made an effort to display some measure of wealth and status through the use of limited amounts of white salt-glazed wares and porcelains. This performance would have certainly been, in part, for the Quakers known to have visited their home, probably congregating at the house for communal meals after Meetings for Worship (see chapters five and seven). Such meals have been noted in other Quaker communities (Ward and McCarthy 2009), and are discussed (in the context that they ought to be limited to "necessity") in some Quaker writings (Philadelphia Yearly Meeting 1797). It is reasonable to expect that, when members gather from some distance, requiring several hours of travel, that they would bring food and consume it together. The journey between Jost van Dyke and Fat Hog's Bay would have taken an entire day by sail, roundtrip (Geoff Brooks, H. Lavity Stoutt Community College Maritime Program, personal communication) while that from the West End of Jost van Dyke (by sail or rowboat), or the middle of the island (by foot), to Little Jost would have been several hours.

At the same time, use ware on ceramics was restricted almost entirely to the planter contexts; this may be associated with their use of older, less durable tin-enameled wares, but also suggests economy or avoidance of wasting still-usable ceramics. In addition, several items discussed here have signs of errors made in manufacture: pipes with marks made in the wet clay, poor quality glazing, and lack of iron slip on parts of "English Brown" stonewares, for example, all suggest "seconds." Well-tooth-worn and generally undecorated pipe stems, the possibly repurposed metal hinge, and a highly worn gunflint used first in a weapon and then briefly as a fire-starter are other signs of economic efficiency. These may be related to the peripheral position of the BVI in trade networks and a practice of "dumping" lower quality or out of fashion goods on small markets, as well.

During the early years of the island's occupation, the enslaved people seem to have had few ceramics at all, and these more commonly undecorated wares. This apparent poverty may also suggest that fewer enslaved people lived on Little Jost during this early period than later. The levels of porcelain on both sites suggest poorer habitations than large plantations such as Drax

Hall, but the enslaved people here have much higher levels of porcelain than those at most other sites in the Caribbean, including ones of similar size on St. John.

It was argued above that, despite the complexities of re-use, many of the free-blown, "black" glass bottles on the site are related to alcohol consumption, and that this practice was controlled by the planters who kept a stock in the storage structure behind their house, Area J, and distributed them to the enslaved people. Metal was readily available for the construction of the Fat Hog's Bay Meetinghouse and the Lettsom's house, but not among the enslaved people. Metal fragments there suggest objects typical of enslaved quarters (a grater, a metal cooking pot) were present, but this presence of metal was quite limited overall compared to its extent in the area of the owners' house, where elements of simple door or window hardware and many more nails indicate a more substantial structure as well as more common metal-use. Despite this, several indications are present that the enslaved people of Little Jost had more and more expensive material goods than expected. The moderate levels of white salt-glazed stoneware and porcelain among the enslaved peoples' homes, along with the higher-quality wine-glass stem (the only element of glass tableware on the site) suggests that the enslaved people of Little Jost managed to acquire some level of material wealth.

This chapter has argued that pipes were inexpensive and readily available in the Caribbean, where they are usually common on enslaved peoples' sites and sometimes in planter contexts as well. On Little Jost, however, this situation is reversed, with most pipes coming from the Lettsom's own home. Usually received from the planter, the enslaved people here appear to have rejected tobacco or been denied it. The distribution of the pipes in the planter area, however, suggests that smoking was frequent and public for the Lettsoms, with stems in quantity in otherwise well-cleaned areas, such as that of unit A3.

The written record of the Tortola Meeting is filled with worries about members being forced to take up arms or muster for militia (see TMM to London, FH Port 29:147 and TMM to London, FH Port 28:37) counter to their testimony of peace, but the actual relationship of the Tortolan Quakers to weapons is complicated by the story told here. Pacifism is a fundamental part of Quaker thought, and the brass buttplate suggests the intentional burial—even an effort to seal in mortar—of perfectly usable gun-hardware around the time of the house's first rebuilding, in the 1740s, the first years of Quakerism's influence on the Lettsoms. The probable age of this piece suggests that it may have been a family heirloom, first used by Jonathan Lettsom, Edward's father, as it most likely dates to the time the island was first settled or before. Nonetheless, two clear gunflints were recovered—one in the Lettsom's home and one in the Meetinghouse foundations at Fat Hog's Bay. Both show signs of having been use as flints and not as generic fire-starters. Lead had many uses in the eighteenth century, but several possible uses of scrap lead such as that found distributed in three different units in the Lettsom's house are related to firearms. The one example of a very reduced flint found among the enslaved people, probably used as a fire-starter, suggests either economy or an effort at control by the planters, providing fire-starters that could not be used in weapons due to their reduced size.

9. Ecofacts Recovered

This chapter will detail the non-artifactual remains encountered by this work considered to be brought to the site by human action: the ecofacts. Primarily, these are interpreted as food remains, although uses of some of the shells could be more complex, and these possibilities are discussed as well. Since the shell analysis was conducted by myself, a discussion of the identification of the specimens recovered is included, along with a listing of the species encountered and any biological or historical notes of potential uses. As part of this discussion, the shellfish are classed as primary or secondary foods, and this classification is explained. The analysis of animal bones was conducted by Dr. Tom Wake of UCLA's Cotsen Institute, as a paid consultant, and his report is included as Appendix C. Two examples of worked bone are discussed in the artifacts section, above.

Shell and Coral Remains

Shellfish and coral remains are almost ubiquitous in excavated contexts on Little Jost van Dyke and at the Fat Hog's Bay Meetinghouse site. In total, nearly 7,500 fragments (NISP) representing at least 274 individuals (MNI) were recovered with a total weight of nearly seven kilograms (see Appendix B for a complete catalog). These remains were transported back to UC Berkeley's archaeological laboratories for analysis. This section will describe the analysis conducted, including comments on the species from which the excavated examples originated and their uses and habitats. It will also address several complicating factors.

Analysis Procedures for Shell

The materials were sorted and identified with the aid of publications detailing and picturing the shellfish of the Caribbean (Abbott and Morris 1995; Kaplan 1982; Rehder 1981; Sutty 1990; Warmke and Abbott 1961) as well as comparative collections gathered in the BVI. They were grouped by species and context, and each grouping was weighed, the number of fragments and whole specimens counted, and a number of other observations made, noting working, firing, and association with building mortar.

Fragmentation was high in most contexts, and so the same difficulties apply for shell counts as for glass and ceramic. MNI (Minimum Number of Individuals) for univalves was counted based on the apex. For bivalves both left and right umbones were counted during cataloging, and in the final analysis more left umbones were recovered for almost every bivalve species than right umbones, and so the left was universally used in calculating the MNI for bivalves. Chitons are composed of eight separate plates which disarticulate after the animal's death, the two ends of which are quite similar and the middle six nearly indistinguishable from each other. For chitons,

counts for MNI were made in two ways: by counting the medial plates and dividing by six (the number each animal has in life), and by counting the rounded end-pieces and dividing by two; the larger of these two numbers was then used.

Counts were also made of "whole" items in the cataloging, defined for gastropods as specimens missing only a few small chips, chips generally of the size that would not have been collected during screening anyway. For bivalves, this refers to whole halves of the shell, and for chitons to individual plates, and therefore "whole" counts in the catalog may not relate directly to MNI. Many analyses and comparisons were also conducted by weights of each type of shell in each context as another counter to the fragmentation issue. These procedures were chosen notwithstanding the difficulties in quantifying archaeological shell, and the critiques of MNI, NISP, and weight (Claassen 1998: 104-105). It is hoped that primarily using the resulting numbers for intra-site comparison and considering absolute numbers, as well as both MNI and weights, will minimize these issues.

Shell and Coral Species Identified

Shells recovered as part of the project were classified to one of 37 categories, identified as specifically as possible (Table 9.1). About one third of the fragments could not be identified at all, and about 18% (mostly corals and barnacles) could only be identified to the class level, but more than a third of the specimens recovered could be identified to genus or species with some confidence. This section will discuss the habitats and known uses of some of these categories, and a few issues with identification.

Table 9.1: Shell identifications made

Class	**Family**	**Genus and Species**
Anthozoa (Corals)	---	Species unknown
Bivalvia	Arcidae	Acar domingensis
Bivalvia	Arcidae	Arca zebra
Bivalvia	Isognomonidae	Isognomon alatus
Bivalvia	Lucinidae	Codakia orbicularis
Bivalvia	Lucinidae	Lucina pensylvania
Bivalvia	Pholadidae	Cyrtopleura costata
Bivalvia	Tellinidae	Species unknown
Bivalvia	Unknown Family	Species unknown
Cirripedia (Barnacles)	---	Species unknown
Echinoidea (Sea Urchin Test Fragments)	---	Species unknown
Gastropoda	Acmaeidae	Species unknown
Gastropoda	Ranellidae	Charonia variegata
Gastropoda	Cerithiidae	Species unknown
Gastropoda	Columbellidae	Columbella mercatoria
Gastropoda	Cypraeidae	Cypraea sp.
Gastropoda	Cypraeidae	Cypraea zebra

Table 9.1: Shell identifications made		
Class	**Family**	**Genus and Species**
Gastropoda	Fasciolariidae	Leucozonia nassa
Gastropoda	Fissurellidae	Species unknown
Gastropoda	Littorinidae	Species unknown
Gastropoda	Littorinidae	Tectarius muricatus
Gastropoda	Muricidae	Purpura patula
Gastropoda	Muricidae	Species unknown
Gastropoda	Muricidae	Thais sp.
Gastropoda	Naticidae	Polinices lacteus
Gastropoda	Neritidae	Nerita sp.
Gastropoda	Olividae	Oliva sp.
Gastropoda	Ovulidae	Cyphoma gibbosum
Gastropoda	Strombidae	Strombus sp.
Gastropoda	Triviidae	Trivia sp.
Gastropoda	Trochidae	Cittarium pica
Gastropoda	Turbinidae	Astraea tecta
Gastropoda	Turbinidae	Astraea tuber
Gastropoda	Turbinidae	Turbo castanea
Gastropoda	Vermetidae	Species unknown
Polyplacophora (Chitons)	Chitonidae	Species unknown
Unidentified Shell	---	Species unknown

Corals (Class Anthozoa)

Identification of the coral recovered on the site was complicated by the fact that much of it appears to have been transported to the site for the purpose of making mortar, and was therefore partially burned, abraded, or encrusted with mortar. Additionally, many examples appear to be quite worn, suggesting that they spent considerable time at the edge of the surf before being collected or were badly abraded during or after collection. It is not clear that the different species of coral would have been distinguished by eighteenth-century occupants of the site, except insofar as some were easier to collect or more of the right shape for the intended use. Therefore, although attempts were made to classify the corals to the genus level in 2009, this final accounting will identify them only to the class level.

Bivalve Mollusks (Class Bivalvia)

Larger specimens of this class are one of the most likely food sources, as it includes some species still widely eaten today. Some fragments could be identified as bivalves based on their shape and the presence of characteristic "latticed" (cross-hatched) shell sculpture, but could not be identified to family or genus. Some larger examples of these (larger than about 2cm on a side) were identified to the species *Codakia orbicularis* (Tiger Lucine) on the basis of the distinctive nature of this sculpture even if the umbo was not present. This species displays latticing with characteristic irregularly-spaced more-pronounced horizontal growth lines, a

feature observed in all clearly identifiable examples (this applies to only approximately one quarter of the identified specimens, by count).

For the Arcidae Family (*Acar domingensis* and *Arca zebra)* two types of Arks were distinguished. Those that were larger, with strong ridges running from the umbo to the edge of the shell were classed as *Arca zebra* (Turkey Wing Ark) and those much smaller, with a relatively smooth surface and no such ridges were identified as *Acar domingensis* (White Miniature Ark). They have different, but similar genus names. Both are common from North Carolina to Brazil, including the whole Caribbean, and attach to corals from the low-tide line to depths of 20-25 feet (6.1-7.6 meters) (Rehder 1981: 667-668). The meat is often used by fishermen as bait today and heaps of *Arca zebra* shells have been observed in modern times around fishing spots in Jamaica (Humfrey 1975: 207). Abbott and Morris (1995) report that it is eaten in pies in Bermuda, though Sutty (1990: 75) reports that while it has been eaten in stews it has a bitter taste. Due to the small size of the examples recovered here (no example more than about 4cm in length), it is considered a secondary food source here rather than one of choice.

Isognomon alatus—This species, known as the "Flat Tree Oyster" primarily lives attached to the roots of mangroves (Warmke and Abbott 1961: 165), and its presence here hints at the extensive mangroves which surrounded many of the islands and cays in the BVI until the middle of the last century. A small patch of mangroves can still be found on Little Jost, just below the planter house. The shells recovered here are very few and very small, far too small to even use for bait, and probably came to the site incidentally with sand for construction.

Codakia orbicularis—The "Tiger Lucine" lives in one to ten feet (0.3 to 3.0 meters) of water in both muddy and sandy areas, and is extremely common (Humfrey 1975: 238). Keegan notes that in prehistoric contexts in the Bahamas, *Codakia orbicularis* was the "most commonly used infaunal mollusk species" in part because their high density in shallow waters provided a stable food supply, although a less efficient one than intertidal mollusks (Keegan 1992: 130-1). Due to this longstanding role as a major food, this species is considered a primary food source.

Lucina pensylvania—The Pennsylvania Lucine, lives in slightly deeper, sandy areas of four to ten feet(1.2 to 3.0 meters) in depth (Humfrey 1975: 236). The specific name is technically to be spelled with one "n" due to the rules of scientific nomenclature and a mid-eighteenth century spelling error (Abbott and Morris 1995: 48). It is considered a delicacy in West Indian cuisine, and its harvest is a Christmas activity for families (Sutty 1990: 88-89), so it is considered a desirable primary food source. However, the low numbers in which it was found in archaeological contexts on Little Jost suggest either that it was rare in the BVI, or that the slightly deeper waters in which they grow made them more difficult to access.

Cyrtopleura costata—The "Angel Wing" was very rare on Little Jost, identified only from a few fragments of characteristic sculpture of beaded or scaly radial ribs on the shells. Its habitat is mud (Warmke and Abbott 1961: 208). It is apparently more rare in the Caribbean generally, being not found in Jamaica (Humfrey 1975: 279) and rare in Puerto Rico (Warmke and Abbott 1961: 208). It is considered a "staple article of food in parts of the West Indies" (Abbott and Morris 1995: 107) and so here is considered primary food source.

The Tellinidae Family—Examples could not be identified past the family level in most cases and so the entire group was left at that level. *Tellina radiata* (the "sunrise tellin") and *Tellina listeri* (the "speckled tellin") are mentioned as being particularly common in the Virgin Islands (Warmke and Abbott 1961: 192), and so many examples may be of these species. This large family is generally found just below the surface in sandy or muddy ground in shallow water (Rogers 1934: 343). One species of donax is mentioned by Rogers (1934: 343) as being used for food and especially as a broth for invalids, but this species only occurs in California. Wing, deFrance, and Kozuch consider them a food source in pre-historic St. Thomas due to their seasonal abundance and easy accessibility (Wing, et al. 2002: 161), but the low numbers and generally small sizes recovered here and lack of other historical references to tellins being eaten suggest their use only as a secondary food source here.

Barnacles (Class Cirripedia)

Several species of barnacles were observed in the shell samples recovered. Due to the difficulty of distinguishing between these from fragments, they were identified only to the class level. Most fragments most closely resembled species of the family Balanidae, especially *Balanus unguiformis* and other *Balanus spp.* described and illustrated by Charles Darwin (Darwin 1851). It is not thought at this point that identification to a lower level will be very informative of how these fragments came to the site.

At this point, the presumption is that while some certainly arrived having grown on shells brought to the site for food or other uses, the sheer number of barnacles in some contexts suggests that they arrived incidentally in baskets of sand, pebble, coral and crushed shell for use in making mortar. Barnacles of course grow on virtually any surface regularly in the water, such as boat bottoms, but these collections were made more than 20m above sea level, and it is unlikely that boats or other large items would be carried so far from the shore to be cleaned, removing the barnacles. MNI was calculated based on complete opening rings, but these were very few, and I remain cautious in my interpretations of MNI numbers.

Sea Urchins (Class Echinoidea)

A very few, small fragments of sea urchin shells (known as "test") were recovered in the project, and it is assumed that they were transported to the site incidentally with sand and crushed shell used in construction. An additional seven fragments of sea urchin were identified by Tom Wake, the analyst who cataloged the bone data (see below) and were not included in the original shell data until after the majority of the calculations were completed. Their small size and number of the fragments makes it appear that sea urchin was not an important material on the site, and so they have not been incorporated into the statistics conducted on shells.

Gastropods (Class Gastropoda)

This very large family, also called "Univalves," includes snails and important edible Caribbean species such as conchs (*Strombus spp.*) and West Indian Top Shell, locally called "Whelk" in the BVI (*Cittarium pica*).

The Acmaeidae and Fissurellidae Families— These two families are discussed together, as they represent the families of Limpets and Keyhole Limpets respectively. Both are widely spread across the Caribbean, as well as other tropical and temperate areas, and most live on rocks in the intertidal or "splash" zones (Sutty 1990: 21). While some Fissurellidae have also been reported at depths up to 90 fathoms or 164 meters (Warmke and Abbott 1961: 36), several species of both families are very common today on the shores of Little Jost in the intertidal zone and there would have been no need to go to such depths to acquire these animals. Humfrey suggests that *Fissurella barbadensis* (the Barbados Keyhole Limpet) is "widely used in the manufacture of shell artifacts throughout the West Indies" (Humfrey 1975: 53). He also notes that *Acamaea leucopleura* is often found attached to the still-living *C. pica* shell (Humfrey 1975: 56), possibly providing a reason for many of the Acmaeidae shells present on site, considering the large numbers of *C. pica* examples recovered. While they are edible, their small size makes it unlikely that they would be chosen as a primary food source.

Charonia variegate—This large species, the Atlantic Triton, is a member of the Ranellidae (formerly Cymatiidae) family, and is found throughout the West Indies; they are reported to be fairly common in Puerto Rico from depths of 6 to 30 feet (1.8 to 9.1 meters), often in caves (Warmke and Abbott 1961: 99). Abbot and Morris, however, list it as preferring "moderately shallow water" (Abbott and Morris 1995: 204). Only a single example was recovered from this work, whole but modified, and is discussed in greater detail in chapter ten (and see Figure 10.1).

The Cerithiidae Family—This is a large family of small, elongate, many-whorled snails which generally live on grasses and seaweeds (Abbott and Morris 1995: 164). Many species are abundant in shallow water in the Caribbean (Humfrey 1975: 87). The examples recovered on Little Jost were only identified to the family level, and all were so small that it seems unlikely that they would have been resorted to as food except under extreme conditions. Ceriths may have arrived on the site incidentally on grasses or rushes, their natural habitat, used for thatching, basket or mat making, or other purposes. These grasses filled the area of the "crawl" between Little Jost and Jost van Dyke until recent decades (Foxy Callwood, personal communication).

Columbella mercatoria—The "Common Dove Shell" is a small colorful shell that is very common in Jamaica, and lives on rocky surfaces in depths of one to six feet (0.3 to 1.8 meters) (Humfrey 1975: 147). No reference was found to it being eaten, but the recovered examples are large enough that this would have been possible as a secondary food source.

Cypraea sp. and *Cypraea zebra*— The cowry (also spelled "cowrie" in many sources) family, has only one genus that occurs in the Caribbean, Cypraea, but identification to the species was generally not possible so all cowry shells were cataloged as *Cypraea sp*. Examples on Little Jost are few, but include some very large shells, probably either *Cypraea zebra* or possibly *Cypraea cervus*. Humfrey reports that the most common Caribbean species is *Cypraea cinerea* and that this species is more often found in rocky environments and shallower water (Humfrey 1975: 106). They prefer mud flats but also live on reefs (Rogers 1934: 127), often hiding in crevices during the day and emerging at night to feed on algae (Sutty 1990: 39). They remain primarily in shallow water, listed at four to thirty feet (1.2 to 9.1 meters) by Humfrey (1975: 105). Their cultural and economic importance in West African and for enslaved people is well attested (Ogundiran 2002), and Rogers (1934: 128-129) notes instances of their being found or

mentioned in historical and archaeological contexts in many cultures over several thousand years, although her specific value conversion of cowry shells in West Africa to English-unit currency is probably of exaggerated specificity.

Leucozonia nassa—The Chestnut Latirus is considered relatively common in rocky areas at depths of one to six feet (0.3 to 1.8 meters) (Humfrey 1975: 158). There is no mention in the literature of uses for this species, but it is presumable edible and could have been resorted to as a secondary food. It is quite rare on Little Jost van Dyke.

The Littorinidae Family and *Tectarius muricatus*—This is the family of the periwinkles, and most identified specimens on Little Jost were the Beaded Periwinkle, *Tectarius muricatus*, perhaps one of the most common shells in the Caribbean. The habitats that most species of Littorinidae frequent are, generally rocky shores in intertidal zones and just below (Robertson 2003: 32), though *T. muricatus* is often found out of the water entirely, just above the high tide line, rather than in the shallows (Rehder 1981: 409). It and a few other species of Littorinidae can survive for weeks out of the water and breath atmospheric oxygen (Sutty 1990: 29). A local species of periwinkles (*Littorina littorea*) is still a relatively affordable item of food in Europe, sometimes also used as bait (Abbott and Morris 1995: 147; Rogers 1934: 174), but no mention is made of *Tectarius muricatus* being eaten in the Caribbean, so it is considered a secondary food possibility. *T. muricatus* shells are also favorites of hermit crabs (*Coenobita clypeatus*). In a recent study in the Bahamas, 60-90% of hermit crabs observed were in periwinkle shells (Morrison and Spiller 2006: 313). Their choice of the shell seems to be correlated with hermit crab size, with Littorinidae hosting the more numerous, smaller animals, while larger crabs sought out the larger Top Shell, *C. pica* shells (Morrison and Spiller 2006: 314).

The Muricidae Family, *Thais sp.* and *Purpura patula*— This is a very large family with over 700 species, and identification is difficult to the species level. Most species of Murex live on rocks and reefs such as are ubiquitous in the British Virgin Islands, and feed on bivalves, other gastropods, and other invertebrates (Rehder 1981: 506). The Wide-mouthed Purpura, *Purpura patula,* and several types of Rock Shells (*Thais sp.*) were found in limited numbers on Little Jost; they both live intertidally on rocks and the animal in the former can be used to make a purple dye (Abbott and Morris 1995: 214-215). The liquid obtained from the Purpura for dye-making has a "most noxious smell" and stains the hands if touched, making it unlikely to be a food source at all (Humfrey 1975: 140). Several unidentified murex species were encountered as well, and these are considered a secondary food possibility, as are the Rock shell species.

Polinices lacteus— This species is more commonly known as Milk Moon Shells or Milk Moon Snails, which are carnivorous gastropods. They commonly burrow into the sand during the day (Sutty 1990: 41-2), and so the few examples encountered here may have been brought to the site incidentally with sand being brought for construction or other purposes. They live in sandy intertidal areas (Warmke and Abbott 1961: 94). These species could presumably be eaten, but no instance is recorded, and so they are considered a possible secondary food.

Nerita sp.— All members of the nerite genus live on rocks in intertidal zones and just below (Robertson 2003: 32). Several species were identified from Little Jost, and many of these can also be seen on the rocks surrounding the island today. Some live in estuaries far inland, but

they are most abundant where wave action oxygenates the water (Sutty 1990: 23). No uses are described for nerites despite their commonality, but they could be eaten as a secondary food source. They are sometimes eaten in the Bahamas (Laurie Wilkie, pers. comm.).

Oliva sp.— The Olive family live relatively close to shore and, like the Moon snails, are carnivorous and burrow into soft sand (Sutty 1990: 65). They live in shallow or intertidal zones, sometimes but rarely traveling in "schools" or "companies" (Rogers 1934: 92-93). Strings of Olive shells were reportedly used as currency and ornamentation in the Caribbean before contact as well as being common ornamentation more recently (Abbott and Morris 1995: 235; Rogers 1934: 92-93). The species is nocturnal and must be collected at night (Humfrey 1975: 162-163). While this species could have been eaten, it provides a very small return of meat for the effort of nocturnal collection and probably was not collected intentionally for food.

Cyphoma gibbosum—The Flamingo Tongue is a small, heavy-shelled gastropod which lives in one to twenty feet of water (0.3 to 6.1 meters), often on sea fans or on rocky areas (Humfrey 1975: 108). It is reported to be common and beautiful in its unbleached state (Warmke and Abbott 1961: 93). Few uses are discussed in the literature: food seems possible, but unlikely given its small meat size to shell-weight ratio, and it may have been used like Olive shells for decoration. Only one complete and one partial example were recovered on Little Jost, both from the planter's yard, where they may have been incidental or for ornamentation.

Strombus sp.— This is the genus of conchs, including the ubiquitous Queen Conch (*Strombus gigus*) which is today a favorite food with locals and archaeologists alike throughout the Caribbean and beyond, though seriously overfished in some areas. The members of this family are algae feeders which usually live in shallow waters but can occasionally be found as deep as 120 feet (35 meters) below the surface, and can live for up to 25 years (Sutty 1990: 33-4). They prefer grassy or sandy areas (Warmke and Abbott 1961: 88). It is the largest mollusk native to the United States, and occasionally produces a lower-quality natural pearl (Rogers 1934: 117). Conchs are common in the Virgin Islands, and have been much more so in the past, as the enormous conch-shell midden mounds on Anegada attest (Davis and Oldfield 2003).

Keegan suggests that in the context of prehistoric sites, large conch shells were usually discarded on the beach rather than transported back to settlements, due to the large size and weight of the shell (Keegan, et al. 2003: 1611). Small Strombus shells, it seems, were often transported back to settlements for processing. In historic contexts, Wilkie and Farnsworth also suggest that conch may be underrepresented in archaeological counts due to initial processing at the point of collection rather than returning the entire shell to settlements (Wilkie and Farnsworth 2005: 238). This could lead to underrepresentation of the conch in shell assemblages, compared to its actual importance as a food source.

In addition to the meat, which is removed by puncturing the shell near the top with a knife or sharp stone (L. Wilkie, pers. comm.), the shell itself has had a variety of uses. Pre-historic peoples used them to manufacture a variety of tools such as scrapers and chisels (Abbott and Morris 1995: 185; Sutty 1990: 34) and these same possibilities were obviously available historically as well. The shells are used for decoration in a variety of contexts today, and scraps have in more recent times been ground for use in the production of porcelain (Abbott and Morris

1995: 185). Historically the blowing of conch shells was used as a signal to summon the workers to and from the fields, and this was noted in the BVI as well (Truman, et al. 1844: 28). Thornton muses about a fictional slave thinking of "when the Shell calls me from my Slumber to the Toils of each Day" (LoC, William Thornton Papers, MSS Collection 591, f. 2836). Therefore, higher levels of conch shells might also indicate other uses besides food.

Trivia sp.— Trivias resemble cowries, and are common throughout the Caribbean, where they live on rocks in the intertidal zone and in shallow waters under rocks and in crevices (Sutty 1990: 38). Many species are quite common in the Caribbean (Warmke and Abbott 1961: 90). Their shells are not suitable for hermit crabs, having a long narrow opening, but it is possible that they took on some of the socio-religious import of cowries for African-descended peoples. Like cowries they would have been edible but were probably a secondary food source if at all. Some species are commonly used in ornamentation today, and would have been available for that use in the past (Humfrey 1975: 104). Of the five examples, all whole, recovered on Little Jost, four of them are from the planter's house.

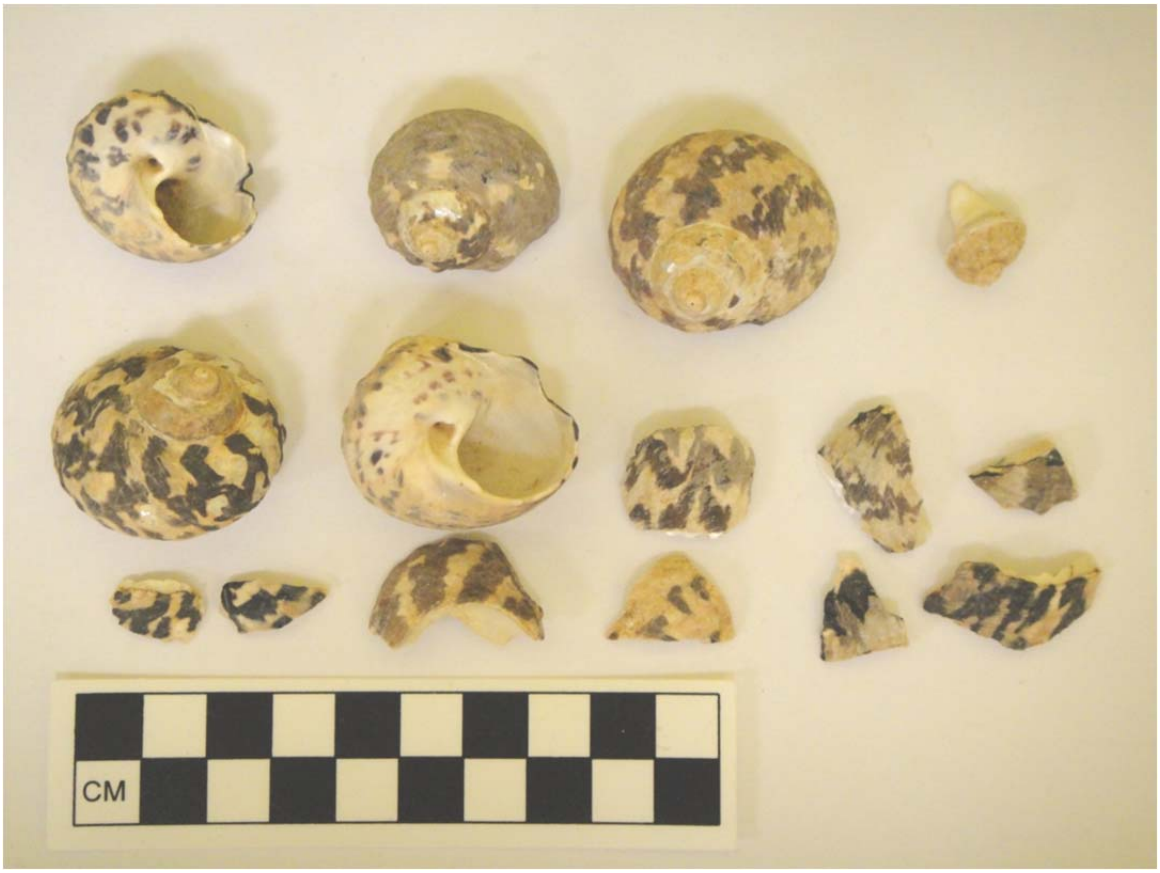

Figure 9.1: *Examples of* Cittarium pica *recovered*

Cittarium pica—This species is usually called West Indian Top Shell in books, but is referred to as "Whelk" in the British Virgin Islands (Figure 9.1). It is called "burgao" in Puerto Rico (Warmke and Abbott 1961: 44). The species' natural habitat is generally rocky shores in intertidal zones and just below, where they consume algae growing on the rocks (Robertson 2003: 32). They are apparently occasionally carnivorous, consuming small crabs as well (Sutty

1990: 25). Larger specimens are found on more exposed areas such as offshore cays and windward sides of islands, but these are relatively rare while smaller specimens are more common and more often found in sheltered areas and the leeward sides of islands (Toller and Gordon 2005: 2). In addition, larger animals are found more frequently lower in the water, and are often under boulders or in crevices (Toller and Gordon 2005: 8).

The species can grow to quite substantial sizes, with the largest reported specimen being 137mm (5.4 inches) in shell diameter (Robertson 2003: 27). The shells grow 1-2mm per month, attaining these sizes in seven years or more (Robertson 2003: 36). They are found throughout the West Indies (Robertson 2003: 37). Both size and abundance of *C. pica* have probably been negatively impacted over the past few decades (Toller and Gordon 2005: 10-11), suggesting that during the period of study for this project they may have been an even more important food source. It is reported as a common element in pre-Colombian shell middens in Florida (Abbott and Morris 1995: 137).

This species is an important food source and probably remains the most common shoreline gastropod in the West Indies (Toller and Gordon 2005: 9). *C. pica* is reported to be the third most important food source among marine invertebrates in the West Indies, behind *Panulirus argus*, the Spiny Lobster, and *Strombus gigus*, the Queen Conch (Robertson 2003: 37). Robertson also suggests that it is not generally traded or sold, but consumed by those who collect it, but Toller and Gordon state that it is commercially sold in the USVI and goes for about $10 per pound (Toller and Gordon 2005: 2) and I myself have very recently (2010) enjoyed a "whelk roti" at a local restaurant in Road Town, BVI. In short, these animals are still commonly eaten and enjoyed today, making them a primary food source. The season for whelk collection in the USVI is open from October to March (Toller and Gordon 2005: 10). To prepare, the animal is extracted from the shell either by breaking the shell or by briefly immersing it in boiling water which kills it, enabling it to be pulled free; the meat is often chopped and then boiled for a long period of time to create "whelk chowder," or boiled whole and then chopped and mixed with rice (Robertson 2003: 41).

By itself, *C. pica* does not stray more than a meter above mean low water, but its shells are also a favorite of the hermit crab (*Coenobita clypeatus*) which sometimes carries them high above the water line, including into the mountains (Robertson 2003: 32). I have observed live hermit crabs in *C. pica* shells on Tortola at altitudes of greater than 50m and on the site itself, which is at an altitude of 20m and at a distance of more than 40m from the nearest water. The hermit crabs themselves are a favorite bait for fishermen throughout the Caribbean, resulting in accumulations of *C. pica* shells around fishing areas (Sutty 1990: 25, L. Wilkie, pers. comm.).

Astraea tecta and *Astraea tuber*—These species of "star" shells, the American (sometimes "Imbricated") and Green Star Shell, respectively, are discussed together as they are quite similar. Both are found in one to eight feet (0.3 to 2.4 meters) of water, although the former is reportedly more rare (Humfrey 1975: 63-64). Like *C. Pica* these animals live on exposed costal reefs where they eat algae. These shells have been well known for some time as sources of raw material for jewelry making, especially "mother-of-pearl" buttons which are cut from their shells (Sutty 1990: 27). No worked examples were recovered on Little Jost, however, making their use for this purpose on the site indeterminate. Presumably they could be eaten like *C. pica* which is of a

similar size and shape, but no mention is made of this, and so they are classed as secondary food sources.

Turbo castanea—The Chestnut Turban (also called Knobby Turban) was found on Little Jost only in three fragments. It is common in the Caribbean, living on rocks (Warmke and Abbott 1961: 46) living at depths of one to four feet (0.3 to 1.4 meters) (Humfrey 1975: 61). No uses are suggested and while it is considered a possible secondary food source, its rarity on the site suggests that it was not preferred.

Family Vermetidae— This is the family of sea worms, a few examples of which were found on the site. These shells grow into tangles of tubes without order to them. They are filter feeders, preferring more active environments such as coasts where waves churn up the water and add oxygen (Sutty 1990: 31). Examples recovered from Little Jost appear to resemble the shells of *Petalonconchus irregularis*, the Irregular Worm Shell, most closely, but specific determinations are difficult. *Petalonconchus irregularis* occurs primarily in shallow water on stones (Abbott and Morris 1995: 160). Its presence on the site is almost certainly incidental, brought with sand or gravel for construction; three of the four examples are from contexts where mortared construction is known to have taken place.

Chitons (Class Polyplacophora)
The family Chitonidae includes the Fuzzy Chiton, *Acanthopleura granulata* and its common cousin the West Indian Chiton, *Chiton tuberculatus*. These unique mollusks have eight separate shells, making MNI determinations difficult, and as noted above MNIs were calculated in two ways: the number of medial plates divided by six and the number of end pieces divided by two. Several species of chiton are very common in the Caribbean in shallow water, intertidally or even just above the high-water mark (Humfrey 1975: 37, 291). The animals are active nocturnally, but can be pried (sometimes with difficulty) from the rocks where they rest during the day (Rogers 1934: 238). Archaeologically, chitons are not usually identified to the species level (Blick 2007: 177), and the recovered examples are identified only to the class level here.

Although not mentioned in the biosciences literature, chitons have been a regular, though probably not major food source in the Caribbean. Wilkie and Farnsworth note that they are still consumed in the Bahamas, where they are known as "curbs" (Wilkie and Farnsworth 2005: 228). Typically, however, they are eaten raw out of the water when encountered while collecting other shellfish, rather than sought specifically or brought back to land. This is attested to in the BVI by college student Ajani Skelton, a member of this project's crew on the 2010 season, who stated that people of her grandparent's generation often ate chitons raw where they were found, although she herself never had.

Discussions of Shell Issues

Identification Bias and Issues of N-Transformations
Some of the prevalence in this assemblage of *Cittarium pica* (West Indian Top Shell or "Whelk") may be due to the ease with which this species is recognized in fragmentary form based on its distinctive colorings which do not fade over time; that is, *C. pica* may be

overrepresented compared to other species the shells of which are not so identifiable in fragmentary form. By the same token, relatively few fragments of conch (*Strombus spp.*) were found on this site, and this may be due to the difficulty of recognizing them in fragmentary form, with identification made primarily by shape and size. Again, Keegan suggests that prehistoric peoples often discarded conch shells at the point of collection due to their weight (Keegan, et al. 2003: 1611). Small Strombus shells, it seems, were often transported back to settlements for processing, and the shells themselves were sometimes used as tools. These issues are likely to have afflicted all areas of the site equally, and so intrasite comparisons should be minimally impacted by this problem, which is inherent in all such studies, and so may be only a small issue when shell identifications are compared intersite as well.

Claassen also notes that birds can play a role in creating assemblages of shell, often a greater role than expected by archaeologists (Claassen 1998: 71). Bird-sourced assemblages of shell are characterized by being "along stretches of beach" and up to 70 feet (21.3 meters) above sea level, but are generally small in size, with only a few or a single species represented, and they are associated with prominent points and rocks, where birds can presumably drop shells in order to fracture them. When other animal bones, such as fish or bird remains, are present, or there is almost any level of species diversity, this is taken to suggest that birds are not significant contributing factors. Birds are not anticipated to have substantially contributed to the shells recovered in the LJvD excavations, which are rarely associated with rocky points, include bone as well as shell, and have a high degree of diversity. Rodents also eat shelled animals (Claassen 1998: 79), but the signs of their gnawing into shells are anticipated to be readily apparent, and were not observed in any number on this site. The assemblage, in short, in considered to have been formed primarily by human action.

Hermit Crabs

The possibility that some of the *C. pica* shells observed on the site were brought to those locations naturally by hermit crabs rather than by human action needs to be considered. As noted above, by itself, *C. pica* does not stray more than a meter from mean low water, but its shells are also a favorite of the hermit crab (*Coenobita clypeatus*) which sometimes carries them high above the water line, including into the mountains (Robertson 2003: 32). Certainly, it is possible that some of the *C. pica* shells observed and collected in the project were a function of their use by *C. clypeatus*, and not humans, but several factors argue for this to be a small influence.

A study by Morrison and Spiller (2006) indicate a preference among hermit crabs for Periwinkle (*Tectarius muricatus*) shells to the extent that if hermit crabs were a major factor in transporting shells on LJvD, a great number more *T. muricatus* shells would have been expected as well. Topshell (*C. pica*) is the shell of choice for very large hermit crabs, but logic dictates that these animals would have been vastly outnumbered by their smaller juniors: therefore, smaller nerite and periwinkle shells (the choice of smaller hermit crabs) should outnumber topshells in contexts where hermit crabs were the primary factor transporting the shells. This is not the case on Little Jost, with and MNI of 254 *C. pica*, but only 35 *Nerita spp.* and 30 *Tectarius muricatus* recovered during the project.

Additionally, in a study in the Bahamas, the size of hermit crabs was found to be negatively correlated with the elevation (i.e. distance into the land, away from the shore) at which they were observed (Morrison and Spiller 2006: 320-1): the bigger the animal the closer it is likely to be to the shore. While this was interpreted to be a factor of shell availability and island geography, it does suggest that more smaller hermit crabs would be found farther from the water's edge, such as at sites like those excavated in this study, thus exacerbating the expected prevalence of Nerite and Periwinkle shells over Top Shell if the assemblage was composed primarily by the action of hermit crabs. Again, this was not observed, suggesting that the high levels of *C. pica* shells at this site are related more to human than animal action.

Claassen only briefly notes that hermit crabs can affect the formation of shell assemblages, but also cites Carucci in observing that they cannot remove dirt from shells once buried or dig into a deposit of shells or deep into the ground (Claassen 1998: 79). While this is an argument more for the lack of hermit crabs as a factor in disturbing considerably older sites, it does suggest that other researchers have not considered them a major factor, and so the recovered shells on Little Jost can be considered primarily to be the results of human activity.

Shellfish Acquisition

The shell species identified come from a variety of habitats, presenting different difficulties and advantages to their collectors. Identified shells are listed in Table 9.2 by their habitat and depth. Little Jost and the surrounding area provides a diversity of habitats, including both rock and sand at present, as well as a small patch of mangrove that used to be much more extensive in the past according to local informants. With more mangroves, the island may have once had more extensive areas of mud as well, but few species preferring mud environments were identified.

The relative equality of left and right bivalve halves is taken to suggest that processing generally occurred at the house sites, not on the beach (Armstrong 1990: 228). The shell-half patterns for Little Jost's planter and enslaved contexts were similar, approximately equal amounts of left and right halves were recovered from each, with a maximum left/right ratio of 1.8 for tellins (members of the family Tellinidae), but most others between 1.3 and 0.6. This suggests that processing occurred at the time of cooking at the site rather than elsewhere.

The vast majority of identified specimens come from intertidal zones or just below or above, meaning that they could have been easily collected. Only two types which only come from a depth of greater than 4 feet (1.2 meters) were recovered, and both in surprisingly small numbers considering their desirability: *Lucina pensylvania* and cowries. The scarcity of these desirable resources suggests that gathering may have been limited by other factors, restricting the species collected to more shallow ones. One possibility is that it may have been children or the elderly and infirm primarily tasked with gathering shellfish. They may not have been able or were told for their safety not to work in zones deeper than where they could stand. *Cypraea spp.* are often nocturnal, adding difficult to their collection, as are *Oliva spp.* which are also relatively desirable for decoration; the latter were present in larger numbers than the Cypraea, but neither was very common, suggesting that those gathering these resources tended not to work at night.

Table 9.2: Shell species identified by habitat and potential uses			
Species or Family	**Habitat**	**Depth (in feet)**	**Uses**
Arks	Corals	1-20	bait, sometimes food
Isognomon alatus (Flat Tree Oyster)	Mangroves	0-1	incidental
Codakia orbicularis (Tiger Lucine)	Sand	Shallows	primary food
Lucina pensylvania (Pennsylvania Lucine)	Sand	4-10	primary food
Cyrtopleura costata (Angel Wing)	Mud	?	primary food
Tellins	Sand or Mud	Shallows	secondary food
Limpets	Rock	Intertidal	secondary food
Columbella mercatoria (Dove shell)	Rock	1-6	secondary food
Ceriths	Grasses and Mossy Rock	Shallows	incidental
Cowries	Mud or Coral	4-30	ornamentation, spiritual, secondary?
Leucozonia nassa (Chestnut Latirus)	Rock	1-6	secondary?
Periwinkles	Rock	Intertidal or above	secondary
Purpura patula (Wide-mouthed Purpura)	Rock	Intertidal	purple dye
Rock Shells	Rock	Intertidal	secondary?
Other Murxes		Varies	secondary?
Polinices lacteus (Milk Moon Snails)	Sand	Intertidal	secondary?
Nerites	Rock	Intertidal	secondary?
Olives	Sand	Intertidal	decoration
Cyphoma gibbosum (Flamingo Tongue)	Rock and on Sea Fans	1-20	incidental, secondary, or ornamentation
Conch	Sand and Grass	Shallows and up to 120 feet	primary food, shell use, pearls
Trivias	Rock	Intertidal	ornamentation, spiritual? secondary?
Cittarium pica (West Indian Top Shell, or Whelk)	Rock	Intertidal and just below	primary food
Star Shells	Rock	1-8	button production?, secondary?
Turbo castanea (Chestnut or Knobby Turban)	Rock	1-4	secondary?
Chitons	Rock	Intertidal	primary

Claassen suggests, based on ethnography, that women are "almost universally" the primary collectors of shellfish, and notes (not coincidentally) their typically low cultural status in many contexts, including Early Modern England (Claassen 1998: 175-6). Shellfish was often used as

bait, and this is evidenced by Claassen's own observations in the present-day Bahamas, where they are generally gathered by men, the primary fishers (Claassen 1998: 178). However, collection for bait seems more likely to have been conducted at the time and place of fishing, and so would not likely have contributed much to the archaeological deposits. Wilkie and Farnsworth suggest that the very fact that shellfish collection usually takes place in shallow waters makes it an ideal task for children, whose contribution to subsistence on sites tends to be under considered (Wilkie and Farnsworth 2005: 240). Modern ethnographic observations such as those by Claassen may be inapplicable to a time when children were expected to contribute to the economic welfare of a house through their work from an early age, a time before most children went to school.

Shells in Area E did include a much lower level of chitons (class Polyplacophora) by NISP and MNIs: these creatures were often eaten raw historically, as noted above, sometimes as a snack for those searching for other shellfish to bring back to a residence. This would result in a low level of chiton remains, since the shells would be discarded at the site of collection. The fact that the owners do have chiton remains at about three times the level of the enslaved people by weight-percent, and by an MNI of seventeen versus an MNI of one, suggests that the enslaved people may have been tasked with acquiring shellfish for the owners: while they worked to do so, they may have eaten their chitons fresh, as is generally preferred, and returned fewer to their homes producing the lower counts of those shells in Area E, while the owners were supplied with chitons still in their shells to eat later. This suggests a different pattern of consumption practices between the enslaved and free people, fresh from the water versus preparation in the home, as well as a division of labor.

Figure 9.2: *Shell and coral fragments from A2-14, encrusted with mortar*

Shell Use Analysis

Shell most likely arrived on the site for many activities, sometimes more than one. For instance, any shell procured for food could then be burned to make quicklime for mortar for use in construction, or crushed to use as filler in that mortar. A number of fragments and some small whole shells were found encrusted in mortar (Figure 9.2). Some general comments can be made about species selection and the overall nature of the assemblages from the owner and enslaved people areas.

Perhaps what is most interesting about the shell recovered on the project is the overall similarity of the assemblages between the areas identified with the owner and the enslaved people, and across the site. Substantially larger amounts of shell were produced by the planter house and yard units than the enslaved people, at almost 5,500g versus just 1,600g, but these differences are much smaller when considering shell weights per soil volume excavated (1,175g/m^3 for the planter and 750g/m^3 for the enslaved people). Since shell is likely used in construction of mortar walls, obviously much more present in Areas A, B, and J than in Area E, this may also be a factor.

Once the differing assemblage sizes are taken into consideration by considering each species as a percentage of the total for each area of the site, remarkably few differences appear whether the calculations are based on counts, weights or MNIs (Table 9.3). Diversity indices were calculated on the MNIs for the areas identified with the owner and enslaved people respectively. Pearsall describes diversity as "a measure that takes into account both total number of species or taxa present in a population and the abundance of each species" (Pearsall 2000: 209). The Shannon index is probably the most common of these measures (Shannon and Weaver 1949). The planter house and yard had a Shannon index of 2.24 while the enslaved area had a figure of 1.88. The difference may be due in part to the greater richness of the planter's area due to larger samples, as 21 species are represented there as opposed to only 15 among the enslaved people. Nonetheless, it seems that there are more different species present in the Lettsoms' yard than in that of their enslaved people.

Table 9.3: Shell and coral species identified in planter and enslaved people's contexts as a percentage of the total shells recovered in each area

	Planter			Enslaved People		
	Ct	**Wt. (g)**	**MNI**	**Ct**	**Wt. (g)**	**MNI**
Anthozoa (Corals)						
Species unknown	8%	18%	n/a	11%	16%	n/a
Bivalvia						
Acar domingensis	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Arca zebra	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%
Codakia orbicularis	2%	3%	4%	1%	1%	2%
Cyrtopleura costata	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Isognomon alatus	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%
Lucina pensylvania	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Species unknown	11%	4%	2%	7%	3%	3%

Table 9.3: Shell and coral species identified in planter and enslaved people's contexts as a percentage of the total shells recovered in each area

	Planter			Enslaved People		
	Ct	**Wt. (g)**	**MNI**	**Ct**	**Wt. (g)**	**MNI**
Cirripedia (Barnacles)						
Species unknown	6%	1%	1%	10%	3%	2%
Echinoidea (Sea Urchins)	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Species unknown	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Gastropoda						
Astraea tecta	0%	1%	1%	0%	0%	1%
Astraea tuber	1%	3%	3%	0%	1%	3%
Charonia variegata	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Cittarium pica	30%	45%	43%	31%	42%	41%
Columbella mercatoria	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%
Cyphoma gibbosum	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Cypraea sp.	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%
Cypraea zebra	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Leucozonia nassa	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Nerita sp.	2%	1%	7%	0%	0%	2%
Oliva sp.	0%	0%	2%	0%	0%	2%
Polinices lacteus	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	1%
Purpura patula	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%
Species unknown	2%	2%	20%	2%	1%	32%
Vermetidae family	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Strombus sp.	1%	6%	1%	2%	11%	2%
Tectarius muricatus	0%	0%	6%	0%	0%	3%
Thais sp.	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%
Trivia sp.	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	1%
Turbo castanea	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%
Polyplacophora (Chitons)						
Species unknown	3%	1%	4%	0%	0%	1%
Unidentified Shell						
Species unknown	32%	14%	1%	35%	18%	2%

The classification of shellfish species as "primary" or "secondary" food sources is outlined in Table 9.2 and based on discussions of the individual species above. In general, species of *Strombus* and *Cittarium pica* are still regularly eaten in the BVI today, often in both local and tourist restaurants (and often for very high prices!) and so it seems reasonable to consider them primary food sources. Smaller gastropods (such as nerites, and limpets) which are not generally eaten today are considered secondary because of the added work of gathering more to provide the same amount of meat, and the fact that more work would be required to prepare these individually, or, if boiled in stews, because only that preparation would be possible. As noted above, *Codakia orbicularis* was a major food source prehistorically due it its accessibility and

stability, and *Lucina pensylvania* is still considered a delicacy in the West Indies today, marking these as primary food sources along with chitons, while others (arks) are noted to have a bitter taste and are often used only as bait. These classifications, primary and secondary, can be used to consider access to preferred marine resources among the enslaved people and planter groups.

Table 9.4: Primary versus secondary shellfish foods by area

	Primary Foods (g)	Secondary Foods (g)	Ratio of Primary to Secondary	Primary as % of total	Secondary as % of total
Area A	2325.96	415.83	5.59	55%	10%
Area B	963.41	173.23	5.56	65%	12%
Area E	1114.9	129.87	8.58	58%	7%
Area J	657	281.4	2.33	63%	27%
Area K	63.5	0.77	82.47	92%	1%
Planter	3946.37	870.46	4.53	59%	13%
Enslaved	1114.9	129.87	8.58	58%	7%
Fat Hog's Bay	119.75	10.4	11.51	93%	8%

Due to the difficulty in comparing different species and even different classes of animal, only weights are used to compare primary and secondary food sources, and these are given in Table 9.4. It is recognized that these are not the same as meat weights, but since they are being compared only with other assemblages calculated the same way this should not affect the results. Whereas expectations might be that the planter took the most desirable foods and the enslaved people were forced to eat what was left, here primarily desirable shellfish food sources make up a similar 58-59% of each assemblage, and secondary food sources are relatively rare in both areas. If anything, the enslaved people had more high-value foods proportional to the secondary ones. This corroborates the suggestion made on the basis of chiton remains that the enslaved people may have been those primarily responsible for gathering shellfish resources for all occupants of the island.

The diversity indices also suggest that the enslaved people may have taken their preferred species and passed on whatever was left, including a mix of lesser-used species. This would produce the higher diversity in the planters' assemblage, and speaks to a lack of oversight of the enslaved people in their daily tasks: neither Edward nor Mary Lettsom seemed to take the time to inspect the day's catch to ensure access to the best portions. An alternate interpretation is that the Lettsoms practiced a measure of self-denial, intentionally choosing less-desirable foods, but the suggestion that the difference is a result of lack of oversight better fits with the overall arrangement of the site and other indications that the enslaved people here were not closely guarded discussed above, and elaborated on further in chapter ten.

Conch (*Strombus spp.*) was probably a major food source to the eighteenth century inhabitants of Little Jost, being both accessible, easily gathered, and pleasant tasting. The low numbers of conch shell fragments do suggest, as Keegan (2003: 1611) and Wilkie and Farnsworth (2005: 238) note, that processing often took place at the point of collection in order to avoid transporting the heavy shell, except for some smaller examples. Nonetheless, the enslaved

people also have a substantially higher percentage of conch remains than the planters, which suggests two possible causes (both of which may well have applied).

Table 9.5: Potential non-food uses for shells, with amounts by weight and percentage of total shell/coral assemblage for the enslaved people's and planter's contexts.

	Planter		Enslaved people	
Decoration (cowries, flamingo tongue, olive shells)	20.77g	0.309%	6.51g	0.304%
Dye (*Purpura patula*)	0.99g	0.015%	2.81g	0.147%
Tools (conch)	403.06g	5.994%	212.97g	11.133%
Button manufacture (star shells)	262.57g	3.905%	26.91g	1.407%

First, if they were collecting many of the shell resources, as suggested by other lines of evidence, they would have had first access to the food collected, and may have chosen to keep the most desirable items (conch being still a much sought-after commodity in the area). The conch recovered may have been disproportionately appropriated by the enslaved people before the rest of the shell was delivered to the planter house. Alternately, the enslaved people may have been using the shells as tools in a variety of ways, a practice with precedence among the native peoples of the Caribbean, and which might also be justified by the low levels of metal recovered in most of Area E discussed in chapter eight, suggesting that they were not well supplied with metal tools. It should be noted, however, that no clearly modified conch remains were recovered, though the modifications necessary to make scrapers and even dull blades would probably have been minimal.

In addition to conch shells as potential tools, some other shells could have been used themselves, rather than (or in addition to) their meat. The amounts of these shells recovered, compiled by their potential use, are presented in Table 9.5. Star shells (*Astraea spp.*), for instance, are noted for use in button-making. Several species are suggested in the discussion above to be primarily decorative, providing little food for their shell weight, but being colorful and both historically and recently known for spiritual, economic, or decorative importance: cowries, flamingo tongues, trivias and olive shells. The meat of the *Purpura patula* can make an important purple dye, usually accessed by crushing the entire animal in its shell, and it is unlikely to have been eaten, the animal producing a noxious liquid that stains the skin. Only three examples were recovered on Little Jost, making it unlikely that dye-making was occurring on a large scale, but this is the only good reason for the shells to be present at all: two of the three were in the enslaved area while the third was near the storage structure, Area J. It is possible that the enslaved people produced limited amounts of a purple dye using the *Purpura patula* shellfish, suggesting that although their ceramics may not have been brightly colored (see chapter eight), they pursued bright colors in other ways.

Olive shells were present in moderate numbers, and the extra effort required to collect these nocturnal species, combined with the low meat yield suggests that it was for ornamentation that they were sought on Little Jost. None of the recovered examples show clear modifications for being worn, however. If the shells were worn, however, most of these modified examples would have left the site with those who wore them, and any collected in order to be so modified would be more likely to have been left. Interestingly the majority of examples recovered archaeologically (11 NISP, 18g) were in the planter area, not the enslaved area (which had only 5 NISP, 5g). Collectively, shells that have been noted to be used in ornamentation (trivias, cowries

and flamingo tongues in addition to olive shells) appear in approximately equal proportions on both the enslaved and owner's areas. While such ornaments are often imagined to be associated with enslaved people alone, it is quite possible that Caribbean planters, especially poorer, Caribbean-born planters like the Lettsoms without direct knowledge of clothing and decorative practices in England, also decorated their bodies with locally-available shells. Handler and Lange (1978: 147) note historical references to some Caribbean whites wearing seed jewelry similar to that of the enslaved.

Ceriths may have arrived on the site incidentally on grasses or rushes, their natural habitat, used for thatching, basket or mat making, or other purposes. These grasses filled the area of the "crawl" between Little Jost and Jost van Dyke until recent decades (Foxy Callwood, personal communication).

Bones Recovered

Identification of bones recovered on the site was conducted by Tom Wake, PhD, at the Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, University of California, Los Angeles, as a paid consultant. The funds for this work were provided by a generous grant from the American Philosophical Society's Lewis and Clark Fund. The examples here are generally highly-fragmented, with no large bones being found whole. The complete catalog, as produced by Dr. Wake is included here as Appendix C.

Less discussion is devoted here to the potential sources and uses of the bones than to shellfish, since these are more widely known, and there is a longer tradition of consideration of bones in historical archaeology than there is of shellfish. The bones will be considered as coming from four potential sources: domesticates most likely raised by the site's occupants and consumers although possibly purchased, wild birds probably hunted by the consumer, oceanic sea resources (pelagic fish caught from boats), and reef or shore resources potentially line-caught or trapped from near the site, including turtles and most fish.

Two species were identified which do not fit in any of these categories: the black rat (*Rattus rattus*) is assumed to be a commensal species and is not considered further, since only one specimen was identified, and the Puerto Rican Racer snake (*Alsophis portoricensis* or *Borikenophis portoricensis*), which is discussed separately. The implied association for all the remaining bones here is as food, since only two worked bones were recovered (excluding chop and cut marks), and these are discussed in the last chapter.

Fish Species Identified

Specimens of fish from fourteen different species in the Class Actinopterygii, infraclass Teleostei, the "bony fishes," were recovered, along with a single example of a fish from class Chondrichthyes, the cartilaginous fishes (Table 9.6). Almost all the species represented are reef fish, available both currently and historically just off Little Jost van Dyke and caught by line, spear, or trap, the latter being the most-frequently noted method historically. The exception is

the family Scombridae, the family of mackerels and tunas, which are generally oceanic and would have required a boat to catch, although this makes up only a small portion of the identified specimens.

Table 9.6: Fish species identified

Class	Order	Family	Genus and Species	Common Name
Actinopterygii	Clupeiformes	Clupeidae	Sardina spp.	Sardines
Actinopterygii	Infraclass "Teleostei"	Family Unknown	Species unknown	Bony Fish
Actinopterygii	Perciformes	Acanthuridae	Acanthurus coeruleus	Blue Tang
Actinopterygii	Perciformes	Carangidae	Caranx sp.	Jack
Actinopterygii	Perciformes	Carangidae	Chloroscombrus chrysurus	Atlantic Bumper
Actinopterygii	Perciformes	Carangidae	Species unknown	Jacks
Actinopterygii	Perciformes	Haemulidae	Haemulon sp.	Grunt
Actinopterygii	Perciformes	Haemulidae	Species unknown	Grunts
Actinopterygii	Perciformes	Labridae	Bodianus rufus	Spanish Hogfish
Actinopterygii	Perciformes	Labridae	Bodianus sp.	Hogfish
Actinopterygii	Perciformes	Lutjanidae	Lutjanus sp.	Snapper
Actinopterygii	Perciformes	Lutjanidae	Lutjanus synagris	Lane Snapper
Actinopterygii	Perciformes	Scaridae	Scarus sp.	Parrotfish
Actinopterygii	Perciformes	Scaridae	Sparisoma sp.	Parrotfish
Actinopterygii	Perciformes	Scaridae	Species unknown	Parrotfishes
Actinopterygii	Perciformes	Scombridae	Scomber sp.	Mackerel
Actinopterygii	Perciformes	Scombridae	Scomberomorus cavalla	King Mackerel
Actinopterygii	Perciformes	Scombridae	Species unknown	Mackerels and Tunas
Actinopterygii	Perciformes	Serranidae	Epinephelus sp.	Hind or Grouper
Actinopterygii	Perciformes	Serranidae	Mycteroperca sp.	Grouper
Actinopterygii	Perciformes	Serranidae	Species unknown	Groupers
Actinopterygii	Perciformes	Sphyraenidae	Sphyraena barracuda	Great Barracuda
Actinopterygii	Scorpaeniformes	Scorpaenidae	Species unknown	Scorpionfish
Actinopterygii	Scorpaeniformes	Sparidae	Archosargus sp.	Seabream
Actinopterygii	Scorpaeniformes	Sparidae	Calamus sp.	Porgy
Actinopterygii	Tetraodontiformes	Balistidae	Species unknown	Black Triggerfish
Actinopterygii	Tetraodontiformes	Balistidae	Balistes sp.	Triggerfish
Actinopterygii	Tetraodontiformes	Diodontidae	Diodon sp.	Porcupinefish
Chondrichthyes	Carcharhiniformes	Rhizoprionodon	Rhizoprionodon porosus	Caribbean Sharpnose Shark

Clupeidae (Sardines)—Sardines are generally small schooling fish, often used for both bait and food, and all species of this family are shallow-water dwellers, common in bays, lagoons, and estuaries (Robins and Ray 1986: 67).

Acanthurus coeruleus (Blue Tang) —The family of Acanthuridae, sturgeonfishes, are reef fish inhabiting rock and grassy inshore areas, often in large schools (Robins and Ray 1986: 255).

Carangidae (Jacks)—Jacks, of the family Carangidae, are an important food and sport fish today, and come close to shore to spawn although the young of the species are generally pelagic (Robins and Ray 1986: 159). The Atlantic Bumper (*Chloroscombrus chrysurus*), one of the members of this family identified to the species level, at least, is a one of the most abundant shore fishes in the tropics of America (Robins and Ray 1986: 162). One example recovered here in J1-3 is noted by the analyst to be very large, suggesting an adult which would have probably been captured in-shore, rather than the pelagic young.

Haemulidae (Grunts)—Several species of Grunts are common to Caribbean reefs, and all occur in shallow waters; during the day most adults of the species congregate in sheltered areas of reefs, feeding at night in the open (Robins and Ray 1986: 177).

Bodianus rufus and *Bodianus sp.* (Spanish Hogfish and Hogfishes)—Hogfish are in the family of Wrasses (Labridae), a large group of shore fishes which do not generally school (Robins and Ray 1986: 200-201). The Spanish Hogfish (*Bodianus rufus*) which was identified to species here is found from the water's edge to about 60m in depth in coral reefs and rocky areas.

Lutjanidae (Snappers)—The snapper family, Lutjanidae, is an important food species, generally living in reefs though a few species do stay further from shore and the surface, but none of those specifically noted to do so were identified here (Robins and Ray 1986: 167-172). *Lutjanus synagris*, the Lane Snapper, was the only species specifically identified here.

Scaridae (Parrotfishes)—The parrotfishes are a colorful family of commonly eaten fishes, living especially around coral reefs, but generally in-shore (Robins and Ray 1986: 207). Two genera, Scarus and Sparisoma, were recovered here. Wing, deFrance, and Kozuch suggest that they are generally caught with traps rather than alternative methods, such as nets or lines (Wing, et al. 2002: 161).

Scombridae (Mackerels and Tunas)—The family of mackerels and tunas provides several very important food species, which are generally oceanic (swimming near the surface but far from land), although a few species come close enough to shore to be caught from bridges today (Robins and Ray 1986: 259). Some species, such as the bluefin tuna, reach very large sizes, up to 1,500 pounds. Adults of the King Mackerel (*Scomberomorus cavalla*), identified in at least one specimen here, must be caught by trolling over deep water, although some young of the species come closer to shore. This species was sometimes salted and barreled, and examples have occurred of bones being included in these (Laurie Wilkie, pers. comm.) but it is assumed here that these examples were locally caught: the Lettsom site's generous seafood resources make it unlikely that salt fish would have been purchased, especially a species that is accessible locally. More likely, whenever the Lettsoms traveled over deeper water, they simply put out a line to see if anything could be caught.

Serranidae (Hind or Groupers)—Groupers, of the Sea Bass family (Serranidae) are a diverse group of mainly in-shore fishes, often eaten, and generally bottom-dwelling near rocky and coral reef bottoms (Robins and Ray 1986: 131). Common species of the family Epinephelus, identified here, are all reef fishes, although a few occur more often at greater depths (Robins and Ray 1986: 131-134).

Sphyraena barracuda (Great Barracuda)—The barracudas, famous predator fish of the family Sphyraenidae, are widely eaten today even though they are now known to cause the disease ciguatera, especially the Great Barracuda, *Sphyraena barracuda*, the species identified here. The species is wide-ranging, with the young generally close to shore but adults ranging from inshore channels to the open ocean, but it is often caught in shallow waters with a spear (Robins and Ray 1986: 214).

Scorpaenidae (Scorpionfishes)—Scorpionfishes are a large family of fishes with at least twenty-five species occurring in the Caribbean. The reef-dwelling species are nocturnal, and can be dangerous to handle, having poisonous tissue associated with the fins, but many species are an important food source anyway (Robins and Ray 1986: 271). Most species in this family are shore-dwelling, although a few come from greater depths (Robins and Ray 1986: 270).

Archosargus sp. (Seabream) and *Calamus sp.* (Porgy)—The Porgy family, Sparidae, contains two genera identified on this site. Most species in Sparidae are shore-dwelling or live in bays and estuaries, including all those species of the genera identified here (*Archosaegus sp.* and *Calamus sp.*) for which Robins and Ray give specific habitats.

Balistes sp. and Balistidae (Black Triggerfish and Triggerfishes)—Triggerfishes are part of the Leatherjacket Family (Balistidae), and occur in all coastal habitats, although some adults are also pelagic; they are reported by Robins (1986: 299) to not be used for food along the North Atlantic coast today, but in the Bahamas, they are considered a healthy food for children and the rough skin is used as a scrubber (Laurie Wilkie, pers. comm.).

Diodon sp. (Porcupinefish)—The porcupinefish and balloonfish (Diodon sp.) are members of the Spiny Puffer family (Diodontidae), and occur in both pelagic and coastal waters in their adult stage, although they are entirely pelagic when young (Robins and Ray 1986: 308).

Rhizoprionodon porosus (Caribbean Sharpnose Shark)—The Caribbean sharpnose shark is the only cartilaginous species identified, and it was recovered only in one specimen, from E14-3. It is a shore-dwelling species which often enters bays and estuaries, closely related (in fact, possibly only a subspecies of) to the Atlantic sharpnose (*Rhizoprionodon terraenovae*) which is not found in the Caribbean (Robins and Ray 1986: 30). It is a member of the Rhizoprionodon family.

Mammal, Reptile, and Bird Species Identified

Almost all the mammals identified are domesticated species or probable domesticates identified only as “artiodactyla” or a lower supra-genus level within that group, the order of even-toed

ungulates (hoofed animals) that includes pigs, goats, and cattle. The three latter groups, *Sus scrofa*, *Capra hircus*, and *Bos taurus*, make up the bulk of the mammal specimens identified to the species level. Most mammal specimens were only identified as "large" or "medium" or were not identified further than "mammal." A single specimen of the commensal species *Rattus rattus* (Black rat) was recovered. In most of the analyses, all mammals identified as artiodactyls and all those identified as "large" or "medium" mammals are considered to be domesticates, since the only native mammals found in the Virgin Islands are bats (Woods 1996) and all extent introduced species are domesticates.

On this project, four specimens of sea turtle and six of tortoise were recovered, all in Area A. The former were only identified to the family level, "Cheloniidae". The tortoise is of the genus Geochelone. Sea turtles have historically been a common food, and occasioned the construction of "crawls" or pens at the waterside to keep them captured but alive, several examples of which survive in the BVI. The advantages of sea turtles as food, and the results of their exploitation are discussed by Bustard (1972), who notes that they could be easily captured, kept alive, and were used to feed sailors, enslaved people, and planters alike in the Caribbean. Eventually, although largely after the period of focus for this study, this would result in greatly reduced populations, and many sea turtle species are now endangered and the subject of conservation programs.

Most major Caribbean species have been sighted by modern naturalists in the BVI, including *Chelonia mydas* (the Green Turtle), and *Caretta caretta* (the Loggerhead); reported as also nesting there are *Eretmochelys imbricate* (the Hawksbill), and *Dermochelys coriacea* (the Leatherback) (Philibosian and Yntema 1977). There is no indication that any of these species were historically more prized for food than others from the literature on the Caribbean consulted. The examples recovered here could come from any of these.

The Red-Footed Tortoise (*Geochelone carbonaria*) is an introduced species known to be present in the BVI today (Philibosian and Yntema 1977, 7) and is the probable source for the recovered tortoise remains on the site. The species was introduced to these islands probably by pre-Colombian peoples (MacLean 1982: 21). The species is relatively small, adults being only about a foot in length; it is found in various habitats, from forest to savanna (Pritchard 1979: 326-330). Along with its closely-related cousin, *Geochelone denticulate*, the Yellow-footed Tortoise, the Red is found in almost all the lowlands of South America and probably is also native to Trinidad; having been introduced to the rest of the Caribbean, it is now found on many islands, including in the US and British Virgin Islands (Pritchard 1979: 322-3).

Pritchard writes that tortoises and turtles are widely used as food in many parts of the world, and in this respect "have a unique and, for them, disastrous combination of characteristics; they are at the same time excellent to eat, ridiculously easy to catch, and with virtually no way of defending themselves when picked up, except by withdrawing into the shell and thereby making themselves a very convenient bundle to carry" (Pritchard 1979: 820). They are also commonly used as pets today, but it is probably safe to consider the examples recovered from Little Jost van Dyke a locally-available food source.

Examples of the Puerto Rican Racer (*Alsophis portoricensis* or *Borikenophis portoricensis*) were recovered from only one unit, A4, near the base of the post-hole. The encountered remains

probably represent only a single individual, being all ribs and vertebrae, and exclude the head. While many publications still refer to this species as part of the genus "Alsophis" it has been recently renamed to "*Borikenophis portoricensis*" (Henderson and Powell 2009: 361). This species is native to the area, and is found in both the US and British Virgin Islands (Tipton 2005: 64). They eat lizards, and have a bite which immobilizes their small prey (Greene 1997: 88). They are primarily ground-dwelling, but do climb trees, and hunt in the day; their bite can cause severe reactions in humans but is not fatal (Henderson and Powell 2009: 360-1). MacLean (1982: 41) suggests that the bite is no more harmful than a few pinpricks, suggesting that different people have differing reactions. Henderson also compiles cases where the snake scavenges dead flesh from bones, suggesting a possible interest in human middens, and notes that it is "phenomenally abundant" on Guana Island, very near Little Jost. It is quite a small animal, most shorter than two feet (0.6 meters) in length, and is very quick (MacLean 1982: 41).

The inclusion of this species is somewhat of a mystery: it is difficult to catch and noted as being fast-moving, not dangerous enough to justify seeking it out for elimination but probably unpleasant to be bitten by. Its size would provide virtually no food, and there is no record of it being used as a food resource. Many Caribbean peoples today, those of the BVI included, do have a strong dislike for snakes, however, and fear even those known to be non-poisonous, making efforts to kill any snake encountered. This makes it even more odd to find the remains so close to the family home, buried inside the house foundation.

Relatively few examples of Aves, birds, were recovered during the work. Most of those which could be identified to the species level were *Gallus gallus* the domestic chicken (NISP 6) but at least one example of *Pelecanus occidentalis* (the Brown Pelican) was encountered. Eleven more specimens were recovered which could only be identified to the class level as "Aves." These are excluded from discussions of domestic versus wild species, below. Birds are little mentioned, wild or domestic, in BVI historic contexts, and probably made up little of the diet. Nonetheless, these remains are interpreted to most likely be food-related. Wentworth describes the life of a free, mixed-race man living on the shores of Fat Hog's Bay who had become well known for his skill in boat-building and also possessed a gun, which he used to hunt birds, reportedly catching plover, ground doves, guinea-birds, and any "common foul" which came close to his home (Wentworth 1835: 179-181). Birds are not suggested to be a major food source in pre-historic times in this region, either (Wing, et al. 2002).

Bone Analysis and Discussion

Fish and Fishing

Fishing is obviously a major subsistence activity for residents of the Virgin Islands, black and white, free and enslaved. It was noted as a major activity for residents early, when in 1697, a Jonathan Turner and his unnamed wife came to live on Tortola to "breed stock, plant a little cotton and go fishing" (CSP 1697-1698: 1347). Fish are noted to be plentiful (CO 152/23#78) and cheap (House of Commons 1790: 285) through much of the history of the Virgin Islands.

An 1820s account notes a black man (whether free or enslaved is not said, and probably not known by the author) in a "little raft-like affair" who caught jake, snappers, a "barracouta," and a

parrot-fish; it is said that many also have "ground seins [seines, see Pyle below]" and crawl baskets for catching turtle, but no ability to catch deep-sea fish locally (Anonymous 1843: 132-3). Sharks are also sometimes caught, and sea-lions are hunted with harpoons when they are spotted. Deeper water fishing trips certainly took place for those with the resources to reach pelagic waters. In 1751, Lt. Gov Purcell complains that the Spanish manned privateers which attacked BVI fishing vessels (CO 152/27#Aa.39), suggesting something more substantial than a raft, but both the archaeology and the historical documents suggest that deep-water fishing trips are less common than shore or reef fishing or trapping.

Pyle describes a modern practice of cooperative fishing in the rural Grenadine islands, in the southern part of the Lesser Antilles, where several boats together pen a school with a seine (a large vertically-hanging net) and scoop up the fish from the middle in hand nets (Pyle 1981: 53). The technology in use, small boats and nets, would have been available for centuries, and though the technique is adapted to the context of the Grenadines Bank and the specific fish, it suggests that cooperative fishing may have occurred elsewhere.

The produce from all of these various tasks appears to have been plentiful in the BVI. One author notes that the Kingstown People, free Africans settled near Road Town but apprenticed to whites for their "training," rather than applying themselves to their apprenticeships, which he seems to think they should be grateful for, their "inherent disposition to indulge in idleness, favoured by the facility of gaining a living by fishing and petty theft, rendered most of them incorrigible" (Wentworth 1835: 220). An 1825 report on Jost van Dyke suggests both whites and blacks made fishing a principle part of their subsistence practices: the population is given at 34 whites, 76 free coloreds, and "near 400 slaves of a most insubordinate state" who primarily cut firewood and fish (PP 1825(114):25). By the early twentieth century, Jost's population is reported at about 350, and these are said to be "even better boatmen and fishermen than the other inhabitants of the British Virgin Islands. It is said locally that they are so confident of their ability as sailors that they have never taken the trouble to learn to swim" (De Booy and Faris 1918: 235).

Domesticates

Fresh meat from domesticates, on the other hand, appears to have been more scarce in the BVI in general. Thomas Woolrich, while a resident merchant on Tortola, notes that he brought with him his own food and enough to feed his clerks and the few enslaved people he himself held, and that these were generally "salt provisions, such as beef and pork, and sometimes dried pease from American." This is because "fresh meat is both dear and scarce through the whole island" although available when planters choose to slaughter an animal; the chief protein source he mentions is fish, "which are always sold very reasonable" by comparison (House of Commons 1790: 285). In 1740, the quality of the sheep and goats are noted to be high (CO 152/23#78).

Interestingly, the enslaved people of the BVI certainly owned and often sold domestic animals at market. Noting that, under the laws of the Leeward Islands, enslaved people are prohibited from owning horned cattle or sheep, Wentworth asserts that enforcement has "fallen into disregard in this island" and many of them in fact owned cattle (Wentworth 1835: 178). Some were even rented from the slave by the owner of one of the estates. An 1826 report suggests that it was common for the enslaved people to sell the products they produced from their provisioning

grounds (specifically including poultry and pigs), possibly by smuggling them to St. Thomas or selling them to those who would, and gaining manufactured items this way (PP 1826(81): 108).

This practice was not discouraged by plantation owners. When it did not impact the owner, the enslaved people were often allowed perquisites which they could direct towards their own material advancement. For instance, as noted in chapter five, they were generally allowed to take crushed cane tops and sometimes the skimmings off the boiling in order to feed their animals (House of Commons 1790: 288).

The Little Jost van Dyke and Fat Hog's Bay Assemblages

The bone assemblages of the planters and the enslaved people show some sharp differences. The discussion here also incorporates the unit excavated at the Fat Hog's Bay Meetinghouse, which produced a surprisingly high level of bones. All these conclusions are tentative because of the uneven size of the samples and the preliminary nature of the work at Fat Hog's Bay, but the results are clear enough that they must be considered.

Table 9.7: Bone counts (NISP) by species for the planter, enslaved, and Fat Hog's Bay Meetinghouse contexts.

	Owners		**Enslaved**		**Fat Hog's Bay**	
	NISP	%	NISP	%	NISP	%
FISH						
Caribbean Sharpnose Shark	0	0%	1	3%	0	0%
Sardines	1	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Scorpionfish	1	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Groupers	30	5%	1	3%	0	0%
Jacks	10	2%	1	3%	0	0%
Snappers	11	2%	2	6%	0	0%
Grunts	11	2%	2	6%	0	0%
Seabream and Porgies	10	2%	1	3%	0	0%
Hogfish	6	1%	1	3%	0	0%
Parrotfish	12	2%	13	39%	0	0%
Blue Tang	0	0%	1	3%	0	0%
Great Barracuda	1	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Mackerel	4	1%	0	0%	0	0%
Triggerfish	7	1%	0	0%	0	0%
Porcupinefish	1	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Unidentified Boney Fish	192	34%	5	15%	0	0%
REPTILES	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Puerto Rican Racer Snake	20	4%	0	0%	0	0%
Tortoise	6	1%	0	0%	0	0%
Sea Turtle	4	1%	0	0%	0	0%
BIRDS	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Brown Pelican	1	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Large Bird	2	0%	0	0%	1	2%
Medium Bird	4	1%	0	0%	3	6%
Bird	0	0%	0	0%	1	2%

Table 9.7: Bone counts (NISP) by species for the planter, enslaved, and Fat Hog's Bay Meetinghouse contexts.						
	Owners		**Enslaved**		**Fat Hog's Bay**	
	NISP	%	NISP	%	NISP	%
Chicken	1	0%	0	0%	5	10%
MAMMALS						
Cow	7	1%	0	0%	4	8%
Goat	6	1%	1	3%	0	0%
Pig	6	1%	0	0%	0	0%
Probable Domesticates (Artiodactyla, large and medium mammals)	125	22%	1	3%	27	53%
Unidentified Mammals	84	15%	3	9%	10	20%
Black Rat	1	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Total Count	**564**		**33**		**51**	
Total Certain Domesticates	*145*	*26%*	*2*	*6%*	*36*	*71%*
Total Certain Wild	*328*	*58%*	*28*	*85%*	*0*	*0%*

The bone counts (NISP) from the work are shown in Table 9.7, and show significant differences between the types of animals excavated at the three locations considered. The bulk of the assemblages are made up of fish bones and those of probable domesticates, but these are in varying proportions. A quarter of the bones from the Lettsom's area were definitely from domesticates, while just over half were clearly wild. Area D has already been suggested to have been a cattle pen, and was located very close to the main house in an area easily supervised. The faunal remains also suggest that the Lettsoms kept at least some domestic cattle, pigs, goats, or other animals, which they consumed, but they also took a great deal of their food from the sea, in fish and shellfish.

The enslaved people appear to have had some access to domesticates, primarily goat, but the vast majority of the remains identified (85% by count) come from wild-caught fish. The source of the fish is also interesting. Almost all the identified species were reef fish, except the members of the Mackerel family which are generally caught over deep water and would have required a boat to catch. These make up a very small portion of the remains, but these are only present in the Lettsom's area. As noted above, some bones may have been present in barrels of salted fish imported to the colony, but since this species is available just off-shore in the BVI (and sea resources in general are abundant on Little Jost) it seems unlikely that they would have been brought in. It is more reasonable that whenever the Lettsoms traveled they put out a fishing line to see what might be caught. The absence of any remains not available within casting or swimming distance from Little Jost van Dyke among the enslaved people suggests that they did not have this option.

Cases of enslaved people being given access to their owner's boats are more common than one might suspect. Such was certainly the case for Clifton Plantation (Wilkie and Farnsworth 2005) and Otto suggests that one explanation for the fact that faunal remains from the enslaved peoples' village at Cannon's Point included fish from open water further downstream is that the

enslaved people may have occasionally been allowed to use boats for fishing trips (Otto 1984: 56). In contrast to Little Jost, high levels of mackerel and other members of that family on nearby sites in St. John are taken to show that access to deep-water sailing craft was regular among the residents (Patterson cited in Wilkie and Farnsworth 2005: 235). Here, the enslaved people on Little Jost appear not to have had access to transportation which might have enabled them to fish for deeper-water species.

The foods eaten in different social contexts also seem to be important to the Lettsoms and the rest of the Quaker community. The proportion of domestic to wild caught species on the three different areas tested, the Lettsoms' house and the enslaved peoples' area on Little Jost, and the Fat Hog's Bay Meetinghouse on Tortola, are extremely distinct. The only animals identified specifically at Fat Hog's Bay are cows and chickens: all the remaining bones excavated there might also be of those two species, being identified as "unidentified bird," "unidentified mammal," "large mammal," etc. Surprisingly, on an island where the principle subsistence is recorded historically to be either fish or (usually boneless) salt-provisions, no fish remains were encountered at the Meetinghouse, where almost all the identified remains are domestic mammals or birds.

This also adds a new perspective to the shell remains recovered. As shown above in Table 9.4, the Fat Hog's Bay Meetinghouse unit produced significantly higher amounts of shellfish labeled "primary" food sources and virtually none considered "secondary." This mirrors the pattern encountered here, with more difficult to acquire, more in-demand, and probably more high-status foods being consumed at the Meetinghouse than at the Lettsom's house. Members appear to have presented their best foods—domesticates and primary shellfish—for Monthly Meeting at Fat Hog's Bay.

Ongoing Paleoethnobotanical Samples and Analysis

Soil samples for macrobotanical analysis were taken from many contexts during the work. In 2009 these were 3 liter samples in deference to the difficulty of transporting the soils, but analysis produced very few remains in these samples. Therefore, in 2010 sample size was increased to 10 liter samples, although fewer samples were taken. In some small contexts, such as post-holes, the entire context was preserved for flotation, since it was smaller than 10 liters. Table 9.8 shows the samples collected.

Table 9.8: Soil samples collected during the 2009-2010 excavations on Little Jost van Dyke

Sample	Season	Volume (L)	HF Mesh size
LJvD-A1-3	2009	3	.5mm
LJvD-A1-4	2009	3	.5mm
LJvD-A1-6	2009	3	.5mm
LJvD-A1-8	2009	3	.5mm
LJvD-A1-9	2009	3	.5mm
LJvD-A1-10	2009	3	.5mm
LJvD-A1-13	2009	3	.5mm
LJvD-A1-16	2009	3	.5mm
LJvD-A2-3	2009	3	.5mm
LJvD-A2-5	2009	3	.5mm

Table 9.8: Soil samples collected during the 2009-2010 excavations on Little Jost van Dyke			
Sample	**Season**	**Volume (L)**	**HF Mesh size**
LJvD-A2-11	2009	3	.5mm
LJvD-A2-16	2009	3	.5mm
LJvD-A2-17	2009	3	.5mm
LJvD-A3-3	2009	3	.5mm
LJvD-A3-5	2009	3	.5mm
LJvD-A4-4	2010	10	1mm
LJvD-A4-9	2010	10	1mm
LJvD-A4-11	2010	10	1mm
LJvD-A4-27	2010	6	1mm
LJvD-A4-28	2010	5.5	1mm
LJvD-A4-30	2010	4	1mm
LJvD-A4-31	2010	4	1mm
LJvD-B1-3	2010	10	1mm
LJvD-B1-4	2010	10	1mm
LJvD-E1-3	2009	3	.5mm
LJvD-E1-6	2009	3	.5mm
LJvD-E4-3	2009	3	.5mm
LJvD-E4-4	2009	3	.5mm
LJvD-E4-6	2009	3	.5mm
LJvD-E5-4	2009	3	.5mm
LJvD-E5-6	2009	3	.5mm
LJvD-E5-8	2009	3	.5mm

Analysis of both the heavy and light fractions is currently being conducted by the author and graduate student Jennifer Salinas, and a team of undergraduate volunteers. Professor Christine Hastorf and graduate student Rob Cuthrell have also consulted on the identification of remains recovered. The analysis of the heavy fractions has produced several artifacts, including two pins and three small glass beads. These are discussed with the rest of the artifacts in chapter eight, and as warranted in the discussion of the individual units. The analysis of the light fractions has produced few identifiable botanical remains, and these seem mostly to be native shrubs, probably burned for fuel. Preservation is generally quite poor, as is to be expected in the hot, tropical environment of the BVI, with its alternating long periods of dry weather and torrential rain. This analysis has not yet been completed, and will be published separately if the recovered data warrant.

Summary

Shell made up the vast majority of all remains recovered as part of the project, with nearly 7,500 fragments being cataloged. Analysis of shell was conducted by the author. Overall the assemblages recovered from the enslaved people and owners were quite similar, including in terms of food species classed as primary versus secondary. Primary foods appear to be quite common among both, and the presence of very low levels of common and easily accessible potentially edible but secondarily-preferred shellfish, such as the Chestnut Turban, suggests that the collectors has the ability to pick and choose among species. This agrees with other indications that, while not wealthy, there was rarely a resource stress on the inhabitants of Little Jost van Dyke. Shells which may have been used as decoration were present in equal proportions among the enslaved people and owners, and, though few, the presence of *Purpura*

patula shells may indicate that the enslaved people dyed some materials the bright purple color produced by that inedible species.

The fact that the shell species represented can almost universally be found in very shallow waters, while some species that are desirable but from deeper water were not present in numbers, has been taken to suggest that those collecting these resources might have been children or elderly. The absence of chitons, a common food usually eaten at the point of collection, in the remains of Area E, but their presence in higher numbers at the Lettsom's home suggests that it was the enslaved people who were principally responsible for the collection, supplying the chitons to the owners but consuming their fill at the point of collection. Higher levels of conch among the enslaved people have two possible causes, either or both of which may have applied: that they took more of these highly-desirable foods for themselves before passing on their collection to the owners, and that they used the shells as tools to make up for their lack of metal tools. The former suggestion is also indicated by the higher diversity index of the owner's area, and it also reinforces the suggestion made for several reasons in chapter eight that the owners enforced relatively little oversight of the enslaved people. Processing of most species besides large conch appears to have taken place at the point of cooking, suggested by even numbers of left and right bivalve halves.

Bones recovered on the site were analyzed by Dr. Tom Wake of the Cotsen Institute of UCLA. The Lettsoms made use of both domestic and wild species in amounts very different than the enslaved people. The latter group appears to have eaten almost no domesticates. Historical accounts suggest that meat from domesticates (except when salted, which would generally leave no bones) was quite expensive and sometimes very rare in the BVI, but fish were both cheap and plentiful, if of a lower status and associated with laziness. It is also suggested, based on similar accounts, that the enslaved people of the BVI commonly owned and raised their own domestic stock. The bone data suggests that the enslaved people on Little Jost may have been more restricted in their movements than others, being unable to acquire deep-water fish species, which they Lettsoms did in at least occasionally.

The remains at the Fat Hog's Bay Meetinghouse indicate uniformly higher-status foods being consumed there: fresh domestic meat, which is rare and expensive, and almost exclusively primary shellfish remains were recovered from the Meetinghouse foundations where members probably dined together after long trips to their Meetings for Business. Surprisingly, no fish remains were recovered in the preliminary test unit excavated there.

10. Interpretations: The Lettsoms' Relationships

The autumn of 1740 must have been a strange time to be living on Little Jost van Dyke. For those who did not choose to make it their home, the talk would have been of what Mary and Edward's new visitors and activities meant for them. What exactly did they mean by the "Light of God in Everyone"? And how did one change one's religion, anyway? Wouldn't that be like trying to change one's ancestors? What you believed was who you were, and how could that be changed? But the Master and Misses had always had strange ideas, like all whites, and if they were so inclined to change who they were, nothing short of a hurricane would stop them.

Edward and Mary had probably always been concerned with what the whites on Tortola thought of them—little did they know, as their enslaved people probably did from talking with friends on that island, that the planters on Tortola *did not* think of them or their fellow Out Islanders much at all—but suddenly the Pickerings were the talk every day. Most of Little Jost's residents probably had other concerns than their owners' reputations. For instance, now Edward and Mary had to disrupt everyone else's Sundays—days they held sacrosanct to work their own gardens—to prepare the day's feast and help with the boat for their trips to Fat Hog's Bay on Tortola.

Some of the enslaved people may have missed the trips to other colonies for the Lettsoms to find a minister, rare as they were. Would they really be going to Fat Hogs Bay every month now? Such a long sail, it would take the whole day. Perhaps whoever went along to help with the boat would be able to put out a line for a deep-water fish or trade a few chickens for a new cassava grater. But little chance of another trip to St. Christopher's, where the prices were cheap, if the Master and Misses spoke so about the "hireling priests" they had once sought out there. Now they even refused to call it "Saint Christopher's." Like these new visitors to the island who came to sit in silence with them and the locals from Jost they had all long known, Edward and Mary Lettsom now called it "Christopher's island." Sundays were "first days" now, but that didn't make them longer, and the same amount of work had to be done in the provisioning fields, else they would starve during the week while they tended the Lettsoms' cotton.

It was a small island and they all saw each other daily, but things may have changed between owners and enslaved people about this time. Perhaps the Lettsoms talked less to their enslaved people, and kept their distance. They were a part of something larger, now, and that something was a white man's concern, and a rich white man's concern at that. There were rumors that Master had said something about getting rid of his gun. Did he really mean what he'd said about never hitting another man again? Did that include *all* others, including those who worked his fields? And you would think they were already rich, not just making friends with the rich, the way they ate when the others came to visit: would they slaughter fresh meat every week? That was on top of the house: from the plans they were making, it would be a grand mansion when they finally finished it, and nothing like that old shack old Master Jonathan, Edward's father, had built twenty years ago. Well, the slaves of the rich always seemed to be fatter than those who

lived on the Out Islands. Perhaps something good would come of it after all. But such a somber, quite religion may have seemed bizarre to the enslaved people of Little Jost van Dyke: after all, what kind of spirits could be reached without even talking?

For the Lettsoms—probably by now a middle-aged couple by local standards, and childless, almost certainly having lost several children in order to foster the ledged of their six previous sets of twins, all dead—the talk would have been different, but perhaps just as anxious. Having heard it was John Pickering's group, he was most likely at the center of their thoughts: the richest man on the islands and the Lieutenant Governor. They may not have been sure what they Lieutenant Governor did, exactly, beyond settling some disputes for Tortola planters and writing occasionally to Christopher's island. Pickering's father had arrived in the BVI when Edward had been a child, sometime after 1716, from nearby Anguilla, another poor colony with poor prospects. Abednego Pickering had owned at least ten slaves then (CO 152/12#67 encl (iv)), but that was probably not what made his son and heir rich: his wealth came from connections.

While the Lettsoms watched for ships and worried about their cotton rotting while they waited for someone to come and buy their produce, Pickering's house was the first stop when the traders came by in their longboats, while their ships watered and bargained for barrels of salt fish in Road Harbor. That was where this idea had come from, of course: the traders seemed to have everything one could ever want, from pots and pans, to dishes from China, to salt beef and corn for when you tired of whelk and parrotfish, to nails and guns and books, and even a little coin from time to time. But it was the books that changed everything, books about a religious group they had all heard of but about which they knew little: Friends, the people called Quakers. Edward may have even been allowed to borrow one of the books for a time, keeping it wrapped carefully in oilcloth when he wasn't reading it.

Edward was a younger son, and probably pleased to inherit Little Jost van Dyke from his father, Jonathan, although his brothers held other lands—probably including the nearby lands on Jost van Dyke that John Coakley Lettsom would inherit and order sold in 1809—and those were probably better lands. There they might grow some sugar cane and sell it to a Tortola planter with his own works; from there it might end up on the King's table for all they knew! That, or lost at sea on its way to England. That was a far off place Edward had never seen, of course, nor had his father. They were, others told them, probably often with distain, a *creole* family with no ties left to their ancestral homeland and its resources. And on Little Jost, even making the King's sugar probably seemed out of reach, as even the cotton plants would not grow to be more than meter-high shrubs. Still, unlike his brothers, huddled against their neighbors, Edward would raise his family on his country seat—just like a proper gentleman! Perhaps one day, his sons wouldn't have to tend the cotton plants alongside the slaves at all, and would be gentlemen indeed.

And Quakers might just be the path to all that. It was little enough sacrifice that Mary and Edward give up their evening rum when they took their pipes, except perhaps on special occasions. If Mr. Chalkley said God helped those who helped themselves, well, they could work hard. And they could live simply, too. They liked new things when they could be had, but using the dishes until they broke apart would save on costs anyway and sometimes doing a chore for

the Meeting—well, it was an honor to be asked by your Governor to fulfill your duty. Plus that duty would no longer include mustering for militia, not that most people on Jost bothered to turn out for that anyway.

Besides, what the Quaker ministers and missionaries said probably made good sense to Edward and Mary: for one, if God was in all, then he was as equal as Friend Pickering. But beyond all this, beyond the prospects for getting ahead and little changes to their daily lives, Quakerism probably made sense on a more fundamental level. Edward and probably Mary as well had lived all their lives in the BVI, far from churches and had only rarely seen ministers. Why were they kept so distant from God's Church, just because they had been born in the Virgin Islands where no one had built one? Had God not made the sea and the tiny rocks of the Lettsoms' home when he made Europe and Jamaica and all the other islands where churches and money were both plentiful? This was home, and for them literally not Godforsaken: it was a dangerous place, of course, when God sent hurricanes and earthquakes to admonish them and humble them, but it was home, and God was here too. Quakers saw that. Perhaps, in time, they too would learn to hear that small, still voice inside, just like the Pickerings and Humphreys and Thomases and Chalwells, and receive God's revelation directly.

This is where the story starts for the inhabitants of Little Jost van Dyke. The rest of this discussion aims to tell these stories and show how they have been reconstructed from the archaeological and historical evidence detailed in chapters four through nine. These last two chapters will also try to extend the anthropological argument, building on the foundation of the works discussed in chapters two and three. Those chapters saw religion as a group of people defined by their collaboration to draw privileged differences between ways of acting based on a particular set of precedents. This religion is fundamentally contextual and variable, and so local groups engaged in creating these distinctions—even individuals like Edward and Mary—must be at the heart of any effort to understand a religion.

What Mary and Edward did on their small island can best be understood by studying these local practices within a synchronic and diachronic context, such as that described briefly in chapters four and five. Chapters six through nine detailed how the site on which the Lettsoms and their enslaved people lived was studied and the results from that work, drawing out moments of their daily lives: the catching of dinner, presentation of the food, building a house or preparing to host visitors. The goal of this chapter is to bring all these data together and, through both the archaeological and archival resources gathered for this project, to explore the relationships between the players in this story.

These relationships are cross-cut by a variety of factors, not least the economy and social organization of the slave-Caribbean. Throughout, the synchronic context of these actions, understood through archaeological work conducted in related contexts (especially non-Quaker plantations in the Caribbean, though occasionally their contemporaries elsewhere and even their pre-Colombian predecessors) will be appealed to in order to clarify what is being privileged and why. The goal is to chart the interplay of citational precedents of Quakerism, the immediate influences of the context of performance, and the practical actions which come to create the Quaker group from the Lettsom family's perspective. This, in turn is a fundamental part of what

will form the next link in the chain of religious identification, the conditions which make future actions of performance (i.e., creation) possible, and play into the creation of Quakerism everywhere. It will also, in doing this, hope to tell the stories of a poor white family and their struggles, and the even poorer enslaved people who they, in turn, oppressed.

The Households of Little Jost van Dyke

The island of Little Jost was home to several families during our period of focus: most numerous of course would have been the enslaved people about whom we know very little through the documentary record. As discussed below under "Economics", John Coakley Lettsom, son of Mary and Edward, claimed that his father held fifty enslaved people on the island, but this figure seems very unlikely considering the agricultural potential of Little Jost. John's inheritance, discussed in chapter five, consisted of ten enslaved people: and man and woman listed as "old" (Rosett and Cudjoe), a man and woman listed as "young" (Bentorah and Cassia), two girls (Cutto and Nanny) and two boys (Myal and Toney), and an apparently older boy (Damon) and a man (Tom) both sold. Rosett "and her two children" along with two other women not listed elsewhere, Tracy and Issabel, are listed on the census as staying with John's mother, Mary, probably still living on Little Jost. This census was taken about 1767 or slightly before, nearly a decade after Edward's death. Mary's claim that, when her husband died, she was left alone "not a Negroe to assist her" (TMM Minutes 7:53) appears to have been an exaggeration, although it seems unlikely that she had a large group of people. As noted in chapter five, John Coakley Lettsom also freed eight people in 1792, only one of whom, Issabel, was also listed explicitly on the 1767 census. Some of those freed in 1792 could be those mentioned only as the children of Rosett on the 1767 census, now grown and with children of their own, also freed at the same time.

While clearly partial, these records might indicate an extended family of enslaved people on Little Jost: in 1767 an older couple, perhaps the parents of one of a younger couple or of a pair of siblings, and several of their children of various ages. The possibility has also been raised that two people of whom John took especial care and expense to secure the freedom and offer assistance to, Sam and Teresa, might conceivably have been his half siblings, mixed-race children of his father, although this conjectural. These two might have been Rosett's children, still with Mary Lettsom in 1767 but unlisted elsewhere. Although several distinct concentrations of surface artifacts and at least two possible structures in Area E suggest that more than one house was present in Area E, it is impossible to state how many separate households might have been present, or the potential uses of these buildings, but the documentary evidence does suggest at least some family structure. Whatever the biological relations these people had, it is likely that they worked together somewhat as a family.

Though I have referred to "the Lettsoms" as a somewhat homogenous group, this is clearly a simplification. At the most basic, there were at least two separate Lettsom households on the site during the period of our interest: the earlier family of Mary and Edward Lettsom, from sometime before 1740 to Edward's death in 1758, and the later which we might call the "Lettsom-Taine" household of Mary and her second husband Samuel Taine, from 1759 until Mary's death in the

1770s or possibly 1781. Unfortunately, chronology fine enough to separate these two households has been difficult to come by on Little Jost van Dyke. This is due to the shallow, active soils on the island and the scattered, sheet-midden nature of the deposits, as well as the extraction of posts from the main house foundations, where the most deeply-stratified deposits are, which mixed some of the contexts most likely to give clear chronology. In addition, as noted above, due to the loose and active nature of the top fifteen-or-so centimeters of soil, these near-surface deposits cannot be seen as having any stratigraphy

A few contexts can be separated out as being associated with the different occupations, as discussed in greater detail in chapter seven. All of unit A1 was given a TPQ of 1762 based on several small pieces of creamware in the lower levels, and so is entirely associated with the Lettsom-Taine household, and dates the construction of the terrace surrounding the main house to the 1760s. A3 is similarly associated with the second household based on a TPQ of 1762 in the lower levels that produced any substantial level of artifacts, and matching MCDs near 1760. The discussion in chapter seven suggested a date of construction for the initial structure in the 1720s, for which very little evidence remains, and a substantial re-construction in the 1740s. The earlier structure is evidenced by a possible unmortared foundation at the bottom of unit A2 and by substantial amounts of crumbled mortar, suggesting re-construction, mixed in with the sealed contexts dated to the 1740s, and therefore these earlier layers are associated with Mary and Edward's household. However, as noted above, the activity of the soils and the robbing of posts mixed several of these contexts, so that many can only be said to potentially contain artifacts from both households.

As described in detail in chapter seven, in Unit A2, loci 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16 and 19 are thought to have been sealed during the 1740s reconstruction, as are A4-9, A4-21, A5-6, A5-8, A5-9, A6-6. Also having earlier dates are contexts A7-4, A7-5, A7-6, A8-5, A8-6, and A8-7, all the lower levels of units A7 and A8 in the terrace surrounding the main house built in the 1760s, but possibly sealing in surface and subsurface remains near the house during that construction. Also in the planter's yard are units B1 and J1. J1's lowest levels have a TPQ of 1762 based on creamware, and so the entire unit may be associated with the Lettsom-Taine household. In B1, the lowest levels contained artifacts having a TPQ of 1740 and loci B1-4, B1-6, B1-7, and B1-8 were deep enough to avoid disturbance. While this appears to be a substantial list of sealed contexts thought to have been sealed in the 1740s and so have association with the household of Mary and Edward, the majority of these contexts were effectively sterile.

Comparison between these earlier assemblages and later (or mixed) ones was also problematic, since they could not be standardized by area or volume, and the artifacts connected to the second or mixed occupation contexts clearly outnumber those associated only with the earlier occupation in nearly every category. The complete data for these two assemblages is given in Appendix D, and in the following discussion raw counts, weights and MNI figures will be given as applicable, and the percentage of each assemblage composed of each type will also be used. One other comparison that proved useful is the ratio of items of a given type in the second/mixed household group to the first household group. This proved relatively consistent in most major categories (from 4.5 to about 7.5), allowing potentially meaningful exceptions to stand out. For instance, for the ratio of all shells in the second/mixed contexts over the first household contexts is 5.4 by weight, 6.0 by count, and 5.2 by MNI; for ceramics it is 7.7 by count and 4.6 by weight;

for bones (NISP) the ratio is 7.5 and for pipes 4.8 by both count and length, and 4.5 by weight. These figures suggest a baseline which accounts for sample size, and differences between the assemblages due only to sample size should be roughly within this range.

Compared to these figures, a number of specific categories stand out as substantially different between these two groups of artifacts. Most notable is the difference in glass: all categories of glass—all forms and colors—increase markedly between the first and second assemblage, suggesting a real increase in the use of these containers at the planter house between the earlier Lettsom household and the later Lettsom-Taine. The ratio of second-over-first household glass artifacts is 13.5 by count and 25.3 by weight: so whereas in most categories of artifacts the more numerous later and mixed deposits have four to seven times more than their counterparts in the earlier assemblage, there is more than twenty-five time more glass by weight later than earlier (399.7g versus 15.2g), and more than thirteen times more pieces by count (135 versus 10). Discussions in the next section will link the green bottle glass, which makes up the vast majority of all the glass from Little Jost, to alcohol use, storage, and distribution (despite issues with bottle reuse, which will be discussed), and suggest that the Lettsoms kept a supply of alcoholic drinks and distributed them to their enslaved people although the drank little themselves. The comparison between earlier and later assemblages suggests that this distinction is a practice more associated with the earlier Lettsoms, before 1760, and that perhaps later on the Lettsom-Taines consumed somewhat more alcohol.

Cittarium pica (West Indian Top Shell or "whelk"), a primary food source, increases from 17.2% of the first assemblage to 32.3% of the shell assemblage (NISP) in the second and there is a slight increase in the use of conch (from 0.3% to 1.4% of NISP) from the first and second households respectively. Conch also increases from 1% to 7% of the assemblages by weight, however, both conch and whelk are unchanged by MNI (whelk at 44% of each assemblage and conch at 1%), and whelk actually decreases somewhat when considered by weight, from 54% of the first to 42% of the second assemblage. Ratio data for the shells is even less clear, as the comparison of second assemblage over first assemblage counts, weights, and MNI do not consistently show increases or decreases. One exception is the Beaded Periwinkle (*Tectarius muricatus*) which shows a substantial increase in the ratio of second over first occupation assemblages: 25 by MNI, 25 by count, and 9 by weight. By any measure, these animals are clearly more present later in the site's occupation than earlier. By both weight and count there appears to be an increase in Conch usage (ratios of 31.7 and 31.0 respectively); the ratio for MNI is only four, well within average, but MNIs for Conch are complicated by the tendency to discard shells at the point of collection, as discussed in chapter nine. Whelk (*Cittarium pica*) also shows an increased usage in the later contexts, but only by count (a ratio of 11; 1,442 versus 128 NISP).

While problematic, these data may suggest a moderate increase of conch and whelk, and certainly do show an increase in periwinkles over time. This increased use of primary food sources, whelk and conch, might be related to increasing oversight of the enslaved between the two households: data discussed below suggest that lack of oversight allowed them to take what they wished from the shellfish catch before supplying the Lettsoms with somewhat less of the most desirable foods and a greater diversity of species. In Samuel Taine and Mary Lettsom Taine's household, this may have been curtailed somewhat, although more species (24) are present in the second/mixed household assemblage than the first (which had 13 different species

represented), which may be the result of sample size and the second group being a mixed deposit.

Gathering these resources, though perhaps not as demanding as cane-cutting or other tasks, was also difficult work and could be dangerous: clambering over slippery rocks in what was, on the north side of the island at least, usually high surf. Chapter nine suggested that it might have been child or older and more infirm slaves who were charged with collection of such near-shore resources as shells.: The historic record, discussed in chapter five, shows several young children and an older couple on the island about 1767, associated with the second Lettsom household: Myal and Cutto, who, being valued that year at only £9, might be quite young, and also two older adults, Rosett and Cudjoe. All of these people might have been set to gathering shellfish but not been physically fit enough to reach deeper water species. As discussed in chapter nine, periwinkles are distinguished as the only major resource gathered here which can be regularly found above the water line. It is considered secondary food source, one with no record of being regularly eaten in the area, but a related species is still sometimes eaten in Europe. If either group, young or old, was tasked with gathering shellfish more frequently in the later period, an increase in periwinkles as well as the more desirable conch and whelk might be expected.

Differences in the ratios of different ceramic types in the second/mixed as compared to the first household assemblage are remarkably consistent by both counts and weights. Only white salt-glazed stoneware shows a marked difference, with a ratio of 9.6 by weight and 12.8 by count (compared to 4.6 by weight and 7.7 by count for all ceramics). As discussed in chapter eight, this ware became increasingly inexpensive over time, although it is still often seen as a higher-status ware. The increase here could be due to increasing prosperity as well as decreasing cost of this material. This trend towards financial well-being over time is discussed further below.

The bone assemblage suggests a decreasing focus on domesticates between the first and second households. The known and probable domesticated animals drop from 38% in the earlier to 23% of the later assemblage (NISP) while the wild species grow slightly from 48% to 56%. The ratio data are less clear, but also suggest a reduction in the use of domestic species (119 in the second over 26 in the first, for a ratio of 4.5) as opposed to wild (294 in the second compared to 33 in the first, a ratio of 8.9). These ratios are compared to the overall ratio of bone counts in the second over the first assemblage of 7.6 (NISP of 521 to 69). Domesticated species can be linked to a particular expression of Quakerism which is performed when the group gathers together at the Fat Hog's Bay Meetinghouse: these events would be a part of the Lettsom's lives before the death of Edward, when they were still actively involved in the formal Meeting structure, but Mary rejected (and was rejected by) the Meeting after Edward's death, and the particular meaning of domesticates may have changed with this rejection. These issues will be elaborated on in the next section under "Foodways."

All of these suggestions, it should be made clear, are unfortunately suspect: the interpretive difficulty here is that while a few of these contexts may be directly tied to Edward and Mary Lettsom's household, predating 1758, the remainder represent *mixed* deposits, probably incorporating remains both from this earlier phase *and* the second household of Mary Lettsom-Taine and Samuel Taine, from 1759 to as late as 1781. So it is extremely difficult to clearly separate these two groups. Analytically speaking, then, we have to treat these two households as

one for most purposes, and this will be the approach used in much of the rest of this analysis. The common denominator of each household was Mary Lettsom herself. Even though Mary was expelled from the Quaker community, she continued to profess Quakerism, and probably had a substantial say in the goings-on of both houses. While this blurring of contexts is less than ideal, since we know that Mary considered herself to be living (what she saw as) a Quakerly life even after her disownment, we can still gain insight into the conceptions of Quakerism at work on the site throughout Mary's life.

The Lettsoms and the Enslaved People

The Built Environment

On large plantations, those having fifty or a hundred enslaved people or more, such as Stewart Castle (DAACS n.d.) and Drax Hall(Armstrong 1990) in Jamaica, the enslaved people usually lived in a village separate from but very close to the main house or the houses of other "supervisory whites" (Higman 1998: 100). This was for economic reasons, minimizing travel times, but also, plantation landscapes were often carefully managed to allow for oversight (Delle 1998; Delle 1999; Higman 1998). The owner's house was often raised so as to be an impressive and threatening sight, or an overseer would have a house between the owner and enslaved people or among the enslaved people. Handler and Lange reviewed at least fourteen plantations in Barbados, as well as conducting extensive historical and archival research, and conclude that there was a "general pattern" of slave villages being close to the owner's or manager's house and within full view of that location (Handler and Lange 1978: 46). They quote a late eighteenth-century observer of that island who writes that, in general, "the managers dwelling house is…situated where they enjoy the sight of all the doors of the [enslaved people's] buildings at one view" (Handler and Lange 1978: 298n4).

At Clifton Plantation in the Bahamas, the observation was less direct by the owner, William Wylly, who lived at some distance from the enslaved people's village, but one of the buildings in the village itself, Locus G, was identified as a "driver's" house and thus a potential seat of oversight (Wilkie and Farnsworth 2005: 123). Here, Wilkie and Farnsworth detected a struggle between the owner's desire for direct observation of the enslaved people and the enslaved people's creative reuse of the space given them to ensure their own privacy (Wilkie and Farnsworth 2005: 165). A struggle between planter oversight and enslave people's desires for privacy has been reported on sites studied by Armstrong as well (Armstrong 1990; Armstrong and Kelly 2000). At small plantations with poorer planters who could not afford an overseer, such as those on St. John's East End (Armstrong 2003) plantations took a different form: while things would change later in the history of the families at Windy Hill, the layout selected early on had the main house only a few meters from the structures interpreted as houses for the enslaved people.

Sharing of cooking facilities is suggested by Armstrong (2003) and by others (Farnsworth 1999) as a means of controlling the enslaved people and their foodways. This might be a trait of smaller plantations, such as those considered by Farnsworth in the Bahamas and Armstrong in the USVI, although on large plantations in Barbados most food seems to have been prepared by

the enslaved people individually rather than there being any corporate cooking (Handler and Lange 1978: 54). At Windy Hill, St. John, the oven was probably shared by both parties and is immediately between the two, allowing foods eaten by the enslaved people to be controlled by the owner during the early period, when efforts were still being made at differentiation between the two groups before the creolization that is Armstrong's focus (Armstrong 2003: 131-152). At Wade's Green, a small plantation in the rural Turks and Caicos Islands, the kitchen was also intermediate between the great house and at least some of the enslaved people's houses, with at least one other located apart from the kitchen but near the overseer's house (Farnsworth and Wilkie 1995: Figure 23).

These patterns do not hold on for the people of Little Jost van Dyke. Many of the same activities took place: bread was cooked in an oven, fish was cleaned and vegetables boiled in kitchens, and fish traps and farming equipment was repaired in yards. The layout of the site (Figure 6.4) shows the same features as the Windy Hill site on St. John: a main house, an oven, and structures for the enslaved people. But on Little Jost, the enslaved people lived up to 70m away from the owners, around the curve of the island and completely invisible. The entire planter's yard, a level area north of the main house to at least one storage structure (Area J), an oven, and (eventually) several graves near the oven, is also screened from being able to view the enslaved people in Area E by a line of volcanic boulders. Structure H, the possible Meetinghouse, is also cut off from direct view or easy access from the enslaved people's area by a line of boulders. In short, the privacy worked for by the enslaved people at Clifton plantation seems to have been easily available to those on Little Jost van Dyke.

The distribution of material remains on the island suggests that the enslaved people and owners did not share cooking space. More likely, after cooking for the Lettsoms (perhaps with the help of Mary Lettsom, since few were likely to have been without work on this poorer plantation), the enslaved cooks would have had to return to their own homes to cook for their families. The oven is placed very conveniently to the main house, but at a substantial distance of about 100m from Area E by the most likely path, which goes by the main house, due to a line of large volcanic boulders directly between the oven and Area E. The planter and enslaved people's yards each also have their own substantial levels of food-related remains (ceramics, bone, and shell) suggesting preparation, not just consumption, took place apart. While it is certainly possible that the enslaved cooks also made use of the ovens for their own bread and foods, the spaces between the oven and planter's yard are virtually free of surface artifacts. If most dishes were prepared using the oven communally, as they were at Windy Hill on nearby St. John, then one would expect more breakage would occur in transit, and thus visible remains would occur in between. Perhaps the most direct evidence that the enslaved people did their own cooking in their own area is the fragment of an iron pot, recovered in unit E4.

The location of the enslaved people's houses also has implications for how they moved around the site. While Little Jost van Dyke is an island, this would not have acted as a security-measure to control the enslaved people. The "crawl," the area between Little and "Big" Jost is never more than about a meter in depth and can always be easily forded. Indeed, local resident "Foxy" Callwood remembers in his youth when this area was full of grasses and so was the best area to gather conch. If this were so two hundred years earlier as well, the enslaved people would

always have had an excuse to be out in the water, searching for this favorite food. The view from the Lettsoms house would not have taken in the "crawl:" all this would have been unsupervised. However, this path between the islands was very close to the enslaved village (Figure 6.4). The people held by the Lettsoms could have come and gone to Jost van Dyke at will and without any fear that someone in the main house would have found out about it.

Yentsch (1994: 211) argues that it seems increasingly over time that planters involved themselves as little as possible in the lives of their enslaved people when not at work, but the organization of space on Little Jost van Dyke suggests a lack of interest in the work the enslaved people did as well. Although theoretically subject to invasion at any moment, it was very rare that a white person ever actually entered plantation slave cabins (Higman 1998: 144-145; Otto 1984: 44) and so potential panoptic surveillance was the mode probably most often used to exert control. Delle (1999) considers the supervision of the enslaved people a economic issue, wherein the panopticon of the plantation was focused on the "works," it's economic heart, in order to control production, but here it seems that the Lettsoms made little effort at surveillance at all.

While there was no sugar works on Little Jost, this not being a sugar plantation, the Lettsoms not only risked the flight of their people, but would have been unable to observe them on their way to and from the fields, represented by the surviving areas of terracing shown in figure 6.18. On a small island, some of the oversight of the enslaved would have come in the form of daily face-to-face interactions. It would not have been possible to hide or keep secrets too long in such a small place. While such daily interactions of the residents of Little Jost were different that those who lived on large plantations where surveillance was panoptic, some concern with runaways, resistance, and possibly even violence was probably still on the minds of the Lettsoms. After all, the shellfish evidence described in chapter nine does suggest a lack of oversight of those who gathered these resources and their resistance, in the form of taking what they wished from the catch.

Actual escapes would probably only have been feared for a few, since, as suggested above, many of the enslaved people were probably related to each other and escape meant abandonment of one's family. Tom "proved a runaway" but was returned in order to be sold away; still his sale suggests that future escapes were feared enough by Samuel Taine that he aimed to head them off. Despite the intimate nature of the daily contact between free and enslaved people on plantations like the Lettsoms, we do see an early concern with enslaved people escaping from their BVI plantations. As discussed in chapter five, even during the 1730s, a period when probably none of the planters were much wealthier than the Lettsom, and probably all had close, daily contact with their enslaved people, escapes were cited as a major problem and obstacle to economic growth (Dookhan 1975: 27-8), worthy of frequent complaint to the Governor of Puerto Rico into the 1750s (CO 152/27#Aa.39).

Whereas the owner of Clifton, William Wylly, aimed to turn his enslaved people into "productive" members of a peasant society of his own design, including instilling in them desired religious and economic values (Wilkie and Farnsworth 2005), what the enslaved people of the Lettsoms did on their own time in their homes and the yard around them appears to have been unimportant to the Lettsoms.

This separation and lack of oversight should not be overstated: it is unknown just how many enslaved people lived on Little Jost, but it was probably no more than about twenty or twenty-five at once, and so all the occupants, free and enslaved, would have seen each other daily and known each other well. The Lettsoms probably worked alongside the enslaved people, and were often aware of what they were doing and where most of the day. Jost van Dyke is a small island, and allowing enslaved people to travel to and from it across the crawl unobserved may not have posed a substantial risk of flight, there being few places to run. It is possible that food may have been taken communally during the work day, either in the fields or at the plantation house, but at least at some points—points where on other plantations this was not the case—the enslaved people living on this site had a degree of privacy and separation from even the potential of their owners' gaze that seems more substantial than that discussed above for other Caribbean plantations.

Alcohol

The distribution of glass bottles described in chapter eight was taken to suggest that the Lettsoms may have kept a supply of alcoholic drinks in the storage structure just behind their home, where by far the most intense concentration of these bottles was located. However, as shown in Table 8.8, it was the enslaved people who had more of this material overall. The suggestion was made that alcoholic drink was kept in these bottles, and these secured in the storage structure in Area J under the watch of the Lettsoms, who then distributed it to the enslaved people.

It is tempting, when considering religious groups, to generalize a Victorian-era idea of propriety and sinfulness to other contexts. However, the notion that alcohol and tobacco are, in a straightforward way, sinful cannot simply be transported elsewhere without a close examination of the context in which they are debated. The attitude of Philadelphia Quakers to alcohol, for instance, was complex: a waste of money for the poor and a breeder of sin for the sinful, but acceptable for the wealthy and holy, so long as taken in moderation (Chenoweth 2006). The discussion here cannot be appropriated wholesale for BVI Quakers either, but can clarify the potential roles alcoholic drinks may have played on the Lettsom site.

Alcohol is also known to have had a special place in the slave society in the Caribbean. Smith has compiled a number of cases of its use in celebratory or spiritual practices among the Caribbean enslaved people, for whom it was both religiously important and offered a social escape (Smith 2004; Smith 2009). This record applies as well to the Virgin Islands. The theft of rum is reported as a usual complaint against the enslaved people in the BVI as elsewhere (Anonymous 1843: 152). The wedding of a free African-descended couple on Tortola is described in the 1820s as being catered with cakes decorated with the British flag and several kinds of alcoholic drinks, as well as being accompanied by a fiddler (Anonymous 1843: 124-5).

The same anonymous author of that observation also quotes a piece by another unnamed writer describing the burial of an enslaved person on nearby St. Croix: three people dance around a grave, "one of them leading with a recitative, in the Bunda tongue, addressed to the deceased. Then would follow a chorus of a few short sentences, constantly repeated; the dirge was at once

wild and plaintive—exceedingly so," and the ceremony ended with the pouring of a small amount of new rum on the grave (Anonymous 1843: 271-272). In another service, a woman speaks at the grave of her deceased husband and then produces a "pepper-pot," a roasted chicken, and a plate of rice. She "made an oblation to the African Libitina" (Libitina was the Roman goddess of death, and while an "oblation" can be any offering it is especially associated with the Eucharistic offering of bread and wine), and then the white observer, not before noticed (and not invited at all) is politely offered a drink of wine or sorrel-water before the funeral feast at the graveside, showing that if not part of the "oblation" wine was at least present for the feast (Anonymous 1843: 272-3).

Rum was not only socially but economically important in the BVI. In 1717, a report states that the planters there converted *all* their sugar into rum at that time (CSP 1717 639.i). A century later, a doctor on a slave ship which calls at Tortola in 1803 notes that alcohol was a primary pastime of the planters on the island. He is obliged to spend some time on Tortola, and describes it being taken up with business of one sort or another during the day, but the evenings with the local planters seem to be consumed entirely by dining, drinking, and finally gambling. "Late at night they retire to sleep off the effects of their debauchery, and prepare for the same routine to-morrow" (Anonymous 1843: 211).

Alcohol is mentioned several times in the written records of the Tortola Meeting, always with negative connotations, but also always with the phrase "drinking *to excess*" rather than simply drinking (emphasis added). In 1747, the possible brother of Edward Lettsom, another John Lettsom (see figure 5.2), is the target: "the Overseers reports that John Lettsom to the dishonor of the way he makes profession of [i.e. Quakerism] goes on in the evil Practice of Drinking to Excess. Ths. Humpheries + Alex^{r} Balneives were desired to deal with him, to let him know if he continues to go on in that practice the Meeting will be under the Necessity of giving out a Testimony agst him" (TMM Minutes 1:15). At the next meeting we find that "the friends appointed to deal with John Lettsom report that he gave them tolerable satisfaction and shewed a sensible Concern for his Offence + promises to endeavor to Refrain from Drinking in future to Excess." Towards the end of the Meeting, Jonas Lake, who had once served a year as treasurer of the Meeting, was disowned on the 28th of 1st Month 1760: "Nevertheless, his former acknowledgements & promises of amendment, has since Run out into Extravagent Excesses & Breaches of our Discipline Occasioned through his Excessive Drinking" (TMM Minutes 3:5).

But these notes do not mean that alcohol itself was anathema to BVI Friends in a simplistic way. John Pickering, the force behind the founding of the Tortola Meeting, had a distillery to produce rum on his plantation (House of Commons 1790: 288) although there is no specific indication that Pickering himself drank. In contrast to Philadelphia where the waste of good grain and money for those who could ill-afford it was the objection to alcohol (Chenoweth 2006), the objection in the BVI was to the *behavior* of those who partook. For them, the production of rum was from sugar cane, a cash crop which provided a spectacular return, allowed one to provide for one's family and freedom to live a Quakerly life (as discussed in chapter four) but did not consume any resources better used elsewhere. Rum was success in the Caribbean. The objection to drink here was in the behavior occasioned by those who drank: they "Run out into Extravagent Excesses & Breaches of our Discipline" rather than simply sit at home.

In this environment, the Lettsoms probably felt no compunction about using alcohol as a reward for their enslaved people, purchasing and owning it, keeping it under lock-and-key and distributing it when required. That they were not able to observe the enslaved people, who based on the glass bottle remains took the rum back to their houses, out of sight of the Lettsoms, suggests that Mary and Edward felt little concern for the potentially sinful behavior drinking might occasion in their enslaved people. As discussed in chapter four, the principle concern of Quakers about the enslaved could be described as paternalistic, but not for Edward and Mary.

They themselves may have avoided drinking or at least consumed less alcohol than many BVI planters. Their home would have frequently been visited by Friends who would have seen plentiful alcohol as a problem in the Lettsom's home, perhaps worthy of "treating with" in the Meeting for Business. No record of such action exists, and the Lettsoms appear to have kept their alcohol out of sight. It is interesting that, however flawed, the evidence discussed in the first section of this chapter suggested that bottle glass, possibly associated with alcohol in this context, was kept to a minimum in the planter house during the 1740-1760 period, but was significantly more present after 1760. After the Lettsoms no longer saw themselves as beholden to the Quaker community, alcohol might have become a bigger part of their lives.

For their part, the enslaved people appear to have embraced alcohol as they did elsewhere in the Caribbean: for their own ends. While specific religious ideologies are difficult to claim for the enslaved people, their apparent acceptance of alcohol fits closely with its role in social and spiritual practices (Smith 2004). The physical distance between them and the owners coupled with the presence of a substance with many spiritual purposes in African-derived traditions strongly suggests that the enslaved people had a degree of freedom to practice their own religions. No signs that they actually did so were visible in the evidence recovered from Little Jost, but it is important that they had the opportunity. It does not appear that the Lettsoms attempted to exert spiritual control over their enslaved people, or even control their potentially sinful behavior by overseeing their use of alcohol. If the enslaved could freely travel to Jost, they could of course trade for more rum as well. While Mary and Edward may have limited their use of alcohol, they made no effort to encourage the enslaved people, for whom it may have had a much stronger spiritual meaning, to do the same. After Edward's death, Mary and Samuel Taine may well have abandoned the practice of tea totaling, using their own judgments to control their own behavior.

Tobacco

A different picture emerges with another drug often lumped together with alcohol as "sinful" but rarely examined in depth: tobacco. As discussed in chapter eight, tobacco-smoking was widespread in the Caribbean, especially among enslaved people, and was, like alcohol, often used by the planters as a means of control via incentives and addiction. In addition to the evidence discussed in chapter eight about pipe-stems being most numerous in enslaved peoples' villages, bio-archaeological work also suggests heavy use of tobacco by enslaved people. Khudabux (1999) examined a slave cemetery in Suriname, and found that in addition to signs of trauma, infections, deficiency diseases, and other disorders during life, 100% of the adults showed tooth-wear consistent with heavy tobacco use.

Archaeologically, as described in chapters seven and eight, on Little Jost the distribution of pipe stems was unusual: they were present in relatively high numbers on the site of the Lettsom's house but almost absent among those of the enslaved people. Their placement in the otherwise well-maintained and very public front of the house, was taken to suggest that smoking was both usual and public on the site. Considering this, and since Tortolan Quakers were known to have visited the site, probably frequently, it seems that the Meeting did not consider tobacco scandalous.

Tobacco pipes are noted by Handler and Lange as frequent grave goods for the enslaved people (Handler 1983: 246) and they and Wilkie and Farnsworth (2005: 289-90) both have suggested connections with African-derived religious practices, although in the latter case it was the decorations on pipes rather than the act of smoking which was interpreted to be symbolically charged, and in both cases they were highly elaborated pipes, unlike anything recovered in the BVI. It seems that the enslaved people on Little Jost had some small access to tobacco, since pipe remains were recovered, but that it was not a major part of their lives.

Tobacco could have been grown in the BVI, and was grown elsewhere in the Virgin Islands pre-historically (Righter 1990: 14-15). It was grown at least to some degree early in the colonial history of the region, being mentioned in reports of 1701 (Labat 1724), 1711 (CO 152/10#66), and 1715 (CO 152/10#65), however it is not discussed as a major crop in any of these. There seems to be no sense of history to its production in the BVI when a 1928 pamphlet on Tortola's modern production of tobacco states that it only began in 1921 as a result of efforts by the government Agricultural Experiment station (BL 10481.a). Therefore it was probably an import in the days of the Tortola Meeting.

The practice of providing tobacco to enslaved people in the BVI was mentioned only once in the examined archival and historical sources. Thomas Woolrich paid the enslaved people of others for grass for his horse, usually paying them in tobacco, salt herrings, and sometimes in cloths such as "osnaburghs or coarse linens" (House of Commons 1790: 287). Woolrich was a merchant who was well connected to the trade with England, and we know from the chance survival of a 1761 receipt for the purchase two pairs of "hooks & hinges" purchased from "Pickering Woolrich + Rawleigh" that he was in business with John Pickering. Pickering is known to have died one of the wealthiest men in the colony (Lettsom 1786: 67), and so one assumes that his business associate was well-off as well. This suggests that perhaps only the wealthy and those well-connected with trade in the BVI could afford to provide tobacco to enslaved people.

The Quakers in the BVI and elsewhere seem to have had little complaint about tobacco use. Tobacco is almost absent from Quaker writings in general, including those in the BVI. Though mentioned a few times in George Fox's journal as something, for instance which made one "light and loose" (Fox 1952: 79) neither of which were deemed strictly proper, it is not a focus of Quaker writings on proper conduct; it did not cause partakers to "run out into excesses" like alcohol might. The Tortola Meeting records include only one mention: a letter to James Birket contained a version of the "Queries" written by Friends in Philadelphia in 1743 (Anonymous 1858: 156). The Queries were questions the Yearly Meeting intended each local group to ask its

members at each Business Meeting to ensure mindfulness of proper behavior. This version includes the question "do they [members] refrain from sleeping in meetings or do they Accustom themselves to Snuffing or Chewing Tobacco in meetings?" (TMM Minutes 7: 101). This document, it should be noted, is the product of the Philadelphia Friends and not indigenous to the Virgin Islands version of Quakerism, as well as being a rather mild condemnation of tobacco: only a problem if a custom, and actually during Meetings. The Queries themselves were seldom read in Tortola's Meetings.

Several potential interpretations can be made from this evidence, but the most likely is that tobacco was difficult to acquire or expensive in the out-of-the way Virgin Island group since the historical record suggests that it was not generally grown there. The difficulty of acquiring tobacco is suggested for a remote plantation examined archaeologically in the Bahamas (Farnsworth 1996; Farnsworth and Wilkie 1995: 46) and Armstrong also notes a lack of tobacco pipes on some contemporaneous sites near Little Jost van Dyke in St. John (Armstrong 2003: 160). Using rum, a local product, as an incentive for the enslaved people may have been more cost-effective. It also appears that alcohol had a more prominent place in African-derived spiritual practices, as noted above, than tobacco seems to have held. For their part, the suggestion has been made that the enslaved people are generally responsible for the acquisition of their own material culture, and thus the lack of tobacco among them may be seen as a result of their choice to limit their consumption of certain, potentially expensive items, deploying their limited resources elsewhere.

Foodways and Food Production

In general, the enslaved people and the owners appear to have had similar diets, with the exception of domestic animals (discussed below). Both made use of primary and secondary shellfish in similar proportions, and both ate a great deal of fish accessible just off the shores of Little Jost van Dyke. The owners had at least some access to Mackerel, a deep-water species that must be caught from a boat, and despite precedent in other contexts described archaeologically, the enslave here did not.

As described in chapter nine, the enslaved people of Little Jost van Dyke appear to have eaten very few domestic species. The lack of pig or foul in some faunal assemblages has been interpreted to verify the contemporary observation that the enslaved people most often reared these animals for sale at market, not consumption (Wilkie and Farnsworth 2005: 219). Something similar is probably at work here. The argument has already been made above that the Lettsoms tended to exert little control over the daily lives, or even the comings and goings of their enslaved people. In this context, it seems highly unlikely that access to domesticates would have been actively restricted by the Lettsoms as part of an expression of inequality, as has been suggested in other contexts (Armstrong 1990: 211). Armstrong also suggests that the lack of wild-caught species at Drax Hall's village was a result of greater restrictions on the time and movement of the enslaved people (Armstrong 1990: 224). Although Little Jost is somewhat different, being much closer to the sea, no such restriction appears to apply here, with the faunal remains of the enslaved people having a preponderance of wild species, and so this data lends

itself to the suggestion that the enslaved people were generally not as tightly controlled as they were on some other plantations.

The data on shellfish (see Table 9.4) suggested that both planter and enslaved people enjoyed similar access to primary and secondary sea foods, or even that the enslaved people perhaps controlled the diet of their owners to a degree, since they may have collected most of the shellfish and "skimmed" off some of the more desirable foods, providing the owners with a more diverse group including more secondary items. In any case, there seems to be no effort on the part of the Lettsoms to restrict access to desirable foods, and no shortage of foods among the enslaved people.

The probable higher cost of domesticates might be a factor limiting access by enslaved people, but the fact that by 1823 the enslaved of the BVI held £14,762 worth of goods, chiefly cattle, pigs, chickens and horses (Dookhan 1975: 84), suggests that it was common for enslaved people to raise their own domesticates. This figure is placed at £15,032 by another source for the same year (PP 1825(115):152). By either measure, this works out to more than two pounds and three shillings of personal property *per person* among the enslaved, nearly enough for 3 goats or pigs or 18 chickens for each enslaved person in the BVI, man, woman, and child, based on rates used by Major Moody in 1825 (PP 1825(115):152). Other indicators, discussed along with ceramics and glass, also suggest that the enslaved people on Little Jost were materially better off than many of their counterparts, and so it is possible that they could exceed these levels. Raising domesticates would have been particularly easy for the enslaved people on Little Jost van Dyke, with a great deal of marginal land available for animals to wander and feed, and the freedom of movement just discussed above.

An 1826 report suggests that it was common for the enslaved people to sell the products they produced from their provisioning grounds (including poultry and pigs), possibly by smuggling them to St. Thomas or selling them to those who would, and gaining manufactured items this way (PP 1826(81): 108). When it did not impact the owner, the enslaved people were often allowed perks which they could direct towards their own material advancement, such as using crushed cane tops to feed their pigs (House of Commons 1790: 288).

The lack of domesticates among the enslaved people on Little Jost van Dyke, then, probably indicates not that the enslaved people were forbidden or unable to acquire them, but that they chose to employ them differently: for trade not for consumption. The Lettsoms appear to not be particularly wealthy planters, and the material well-being of the enslaved people is often impacted when the owners are poor, as it is advanced when the owners are wealthy (Adams and Boling 1989). What domesticates they were able to raise may have been traded away for access to other desirable goods, such as higher-status ceramics and table-glass, suggested in the next section to be present in higher-than-expected levels in Area E. The role of domestic and wild species among the Quaker community, and the faunal assemblage from the Fat Hog's Bay Meetinghouse, will be discussed below.

Ceramics

The discussion of ceramic production dates in chapter eight suggested that the assemblages on the enslaved people's and owner's portions of the site have some sharp differences. In particular, chapter eight showed that they were distributed around the site by date. The owners consistently had older ceramics while the enslaved people had newer ones. The first explanation for such a distinction, of course, is that one area was inhabited longer than the other or at a different time. The archaeology suggested that the posts of the planter house were removed in the first half, perhaps the first quarter of the eighteenth century, and so could have been usable for a time after Mary Lettsom's death. If the house were occupied after the Lettsom period this might account for the difference, but it is the less-substantial houses of the enslaved people which show the later date, not the well-positioned, substantial foundations of the main house.

Mary Lettsom dies sometime after 1770, probably about 1781; by 1791, when William Thornton visits the site and writes of it to his old friend, Mary's son John Coakley Lettsom, the house and island were abandoned. He writes, "The Roof of the Principal part was gone, and what remained covered was but the temporary abode of fishermen. …This Island is now a Desart [sic], as well as Sandy Island, Green Island and all the other Keys that surround it" (LoC, William Thornton Papers, MSS Collection 591, f. 2810). This shows that a person has taken up temporary residence in the planter house ruins, but this occupation appears to have had little impact detectable archaeologically. Thornton even goes so far as to suggest that the enslaved people that Lettsom is remembered for freeing in 1767 might return and cultivate the island: "Thy Slaves whose Services thou hast with great humanity never required, and who are free, except in name + thus enjoy thy protection might make Establishments in thy Island I think with advantage, and render productive what is now useless" (LoC, William Thornton Papers, MSS Collection 591, f. 2832).

Besides suggesting that John, famous for freeing his slaves, actually did not formally do so, this quote shows that the enslaved people held by Mary at the time of her death had left the island by 1791. By this time, the island has long been out of the Lettsom family, as John Coakley Lettsom writes in 1792 that he is considering purchasing it (Harris 1995: 197). It is possible that the enslaved people of Little Jost continued to live on the island for a time after Mary's death, which might explain some of the difference in ceramic dates, but this could not have been for more than a few years. It seems unlikely that whoever inherited control over the enslaved people left behind by Mary Lettsom would have left so much wealth (in the form of the enslaved people themselves) sit idle on the island for a decade, or that John Coakley Lettsom would sell and then immediately discuss purchasing back the land. More likely, the executors of Mary's estate sold Little Jost and moved the population elsewhere soon after her death, where they lived until John Coakley Lettsom freed them (or some of them) legally in 1792 and considers repurchasing the island.

The owner's and enslaved people's areas of Little Jost van Dyke, thus appear to have been more or less contemporaneously occupied. The distribution of another item which can be used to calculate dates, pipe-stems, can also act as a control to make this contemporaneous occupation clear. Ceramics are subject to the whims of style: any contemporary in the mid eighteenth century would have witnessed a progression of styles entering and leaving vogue. The

archaeological categories of tin-glazed, Staffordshire, creamware, pearlware, etc., would have been available to contemporary purchasers, who would have noted them and ascribed values and meanings to them: which were "better," which were "stylish." However, pipe stem bore diameters are something probably noted only by the archaeologist. An otherwise visually and functionally identical, undecorated clay pipe would probably not have been distinguished on the basis of its bore diameter by a contemporary, and with the very few exceptions noted in chapter eight, all the pipes on Little Jost were undecorated and unmarked except for the occasional maker's mark. As discussed in chapter seven, stems are statistically randomly distributed between the two occupied areas of Little Jost, and their average dates in the 1750s is not far from the historically-known median date for the site in 1753. Therefore, we can use the pipe stem data as an indication that the pattern observed for ceramics (being unevenly distributed by date) is not due to some other selective factor, for instance a relocation of the site from one area to another, and suggest that someone was making an active choice. The Lettsoms appear to have, overall, preferred older over newer ceramics. This is also reinforced by the much higher presence of use wear on the Lettsom's wares, mentioned in chapter eight.

All this is to suggest that the Lettsoms were making choices in the ceramics they had in their home. The ideas that ceramic choice (and limitations) can be an index for social status (Miller 1980; Miller 1991) and that this choice can be a medium for the expression of identity (Wilkie 2000b) are long-standing in archaeological analysis. There is also precedent for viewing newer materials (that is, more "up to date" items compared to a contemporarily-occupied site) as marking higher status. For instance, in James Deetz's analysis of the poor, African-American "Parting Ways" site, older yet higher quality ceramics are interpreted as "hand-me-downs" rejected by wealthy whites for being out of fashion (Deetz 1996). But the higher-status Lettsoms appear to have chosen consistently older ceramics than those they held in bondage. The presence of newer ceramics in the homes of the enslaved people on the same tiny island clearly shows that the Lettsoms could have acquired them if they wanted to. Why did they not?

As discussed in chapter five, the British Virgin Islands have long been isolated from trade routes to England and its products. A similar situation has been suggested to limit ceramic assemblages on other small, Caribbean islands (Farnsworth 1996), but in this case it is clear that a variety of traded items *were* available, as evidenced by the goods recovered from the homes of the enslaved people on Little Jost, although they were probably difficult to acquire and arrived at best intermittently. In such a location, the scarce, newly arrived, fashionable items may have taken on an aura more significant than in London or Philadelphia, where each day may have brought a new design or fashion, or shipment from Staffordshire.

Several authors suggest that Quakers should be expected to have less decorated ceramics as an expression of the Quaker ideal of "simplicity" (Gray 1989; McCarthy 1999; Samford and Brown 1990), but the discussion Quaker identity in chapter four and elsewhere (Chenoweth 2009) makes it clear than we cannot use this to mark Quakerism in every context. The slave Caribbean is an extremely different place from the sites of these studies, focused on the northeast US. Undecorated ceramics do not "mean" simplicity, to Quakers or anyone else; rather, they may in some places and times have been used to negotiate religious, class, and other influences. In the context of the eighteenth century British Virgin Islands, other distinctions may be drawn between Quaker and non-Quaker. Here, the luxury of new, fashionable items could have been what

seemed counter to the "simple" lives they were striving for: the rare thrill of new goods arriving at this relatively distant colony may have been more important than the particular decorations (or their lack) they bore. When Quakers in this place thought of "worldly" fashions they could reject, seeking out these newly arrived goods may have been the first item to go, and so they performed their Quaker simplicity through the use of ceramics of whatever style, which they already held.

At the same time, the conclusion of chapter eight argued that the enslaved people and owners on Little Jost may seem to have been largely responsible for the acquisition of their own material culture from their own sources. Hand-me-downs are not suggested to have been passed from owners to the enslaved people. While hand-me-downs have been noted on other plantation sites (Heath 1999; Wilkie 2000a), they do not appear to be a universal phenomenon and Otto in the US Southeast (1984: 61) and Wilkie and Farnsworth in the Bahamas (2005: 266) find similar lack of interchange between the owners and the enslaved people to that being suggested here. Despite a few ceramic patterns appearing in both owner and enslaved people's houses (as noted in chapter eight, the same two patterns which overlap on this site) Wilkie and Farnsworth show that "there is no compelling evidence to suggest that Wylly [the owner] provided any more than a minimum of cheap ceramics to his enslaved and apprenticed families" (Wilkie and Farnsworth 2005: 267). This appears to be a common pattern on at least those plantations engaged in the task system (Adams and Boling 1989: 70).

It seems, then, that the enslaved people of Little Jost van Dyke were probably responsible for acquiring their own ceramics and made their own choices as consumers, including the choice to invest in some level of higher status ceramics. While the Lettsoms had both more porcelain and white salt-glazed stoneware (at 4.1% and 15.8% of the assemblage, respectively), these two higher status early-dated wares were more present among the enslaved people than in most other Caribbean contexts (at 1.5% and 5.2%, respectively). Compared with the owners on the same site, the enslaved people on Little Jost came far closer than elsewhere.

The English "tea ceremony" has long been discussed in archaeology as part of the creation and expression of social class and aspirations. Teawares and porcelain were especially considered to be marks of status and rank in Maryland in the 1730s (Yentsch 1994: 143) and so probably longer, well into the Lettsom occupation of Little Jost van Dyke, in more far-flung places such as the Virgin Islands. The argument will be made below that such aspirations were fundamental motivators to the actions of the Lettsom clan on the island, yet teawares are quite rare there. What is most surprising, as suggested in chapter eight and by Table 8.1 (although speculative, due to the difficulties surrounding discussions of ceramics by form) is that the enslaved people appear to have about the same level of these wares as the owners. The only clearly tea-related vessel, a teapot spout depicted in Figure 8.1 came from Area E's surface finds.

Teawares are rare in other Caribbean enslaved contexts (Armstrong 1990: 140), although often present. At Cannon's Point plantation, in Georgia, the enslaved people did have some teawares and also "chamberwares" such as washing bowls, pitchers and chamber pots, even though Otto states these were regarded as a luxury for them (Otto 1984: 68). Wilkie and Farnsworth (2005: 257) note the variety of uses to which ceramic forms may be put besides those they were

intended for: teacups could be measuring devices, water scoops, or containers for fish broth or other medicines. Farnsworth (1999) also notes elsewhere the potential use of teawares as containers for multiple sauces in keeping with West African dining practices. The precise uses for these wares, on both the enslaved and owner areas, cannot be suggested from the evidence available, but such creative re-use of ceramic forms is quite possible, as it is clear that the enslaved people on Little Jost van Dyke were the principle force behind the composition of their own material world. The statement of raised status, however, may have been made by these wares whatever specific uses to which they were put.

Trade Possibilities and Restrictions for the Enslaved People

The relative lack of oversight of the enslaved people by the Lettsoms suggested above may have allowed the enslaved people to work for their own material ends. This is suggested in the discussion of foodways, above, which argued that the enslaved probably were able to produce domesticates but chose to trade most of them away rather than eat them, and in the discussion of ceramics, which observed that the enslaved people had surprisingly high levels of high-status and high-cost porcelain, white salt-glazed stonewares, and teawares. Economic advancement by the enslaved people is also suggested in other finds. The only piece of glass tableware recovered came from Area E: the potash-lead wine glass stem which is suggested to be comparatively high in cost and status. This makes it clear that the enslaved people on Little Jost had the ability to acquire what the Lettsoms may have regarded as relatively high-status wares, and they did so in levels lower than their owners, but nonetheless much closer than most other enslaved people in the Caribbean.

Their own economic advancement, if that is what is suggested by these higher status or at least more difficult to acquire items, was also the result of careful work and choices by the enslaved people. Though apparently left to supply themselves, they may have improvised tools rather than expended the necessary outlays to acquire metal tools; this was suggested by the higher levels of conch shells in Area E, materials that were usually left at the point of collection if for food, but which have a longstanding tradition of use as scrapers and blades by pre-Colombian peoples. Again, no modifications of these shells were observed, but none would have been necessary for at least some uses. The only clear metal items found on the enslaved area were of types where shell tools could not be substituted: graters, cooking pots, barrel hoops.

Another surprising find was the lack of low-fired earthenwares among the enslaved people. These wares, once called "Colono-wares" were produced by many enslaved people across the Caribbean and the US South, both for trade and for their own use, and have been studied productively as indicators of trade among the enslaved. As discussed in chapter eight, the few sherds of low-fired earthenwares that were recovered on Little Jost, however, are thought to be most likely of pre-Colombian origin, relating to an earlier occupation of the island and only incidental here. Dating for such sherds is quite difficult, but in any case none of these ceramics were found associated with the occupation of the enslaved people, all being found at the planter's yard or in a nearby cave. Since these ceramics are usually associated by archaeologists with participation of the enslaved people in an informal market-economy, their absence among them here suggests either a lack or a different kind of engagement in that economy here.

Part of the reason for this is certainly the availability of local clays for ceramic production. Wilkie and Farnsworth(2005: 252) note that in the Bahamas, the lack of readily available clays has prevented the development of long-standing pottery traditions. The few examples of low-fired earthenwares recovered at Clifton plantation there are interpreted as being acquired through long-distance trade with other Caribbean islands, possibly even indicating direct ties to African-descended peoples elsewhere. Hauser and De Corse recognize the existence of a Virgin Islands low-fired tradition known as "Afro-Cruzian" ware, but also note how rarely it is encountered archaeologically (Hauser and De Course 2003: 73-74), possibly as a result of a lack of good clay sources in the Virgin Islands. While at least two untested clay sources are known to exist in the BVI today, according to local informants, there seems to be no substantial local tradition of pottery-making, with most observed ceramics being imported. But even in the Bahamas, with no such sources at all, some small level of these ceramics were present. Why none at all here?

There can be no suggestion that an informal market economy did not exist for the enslaved people of Little Jost van Dyke. The technically illicit, unrecorded exchanges which took place in small boats between nearby islands is estimated by Dookhan (1975: 59) to be up to about a sixth of that with London but these boats were vital in the trade with England as well, the financial life-blood of any British colony. Merchant ships visiting the Virgin Islands generally stayed at Road Harbor and sent small vessels ("shallops") to trade with the outer islands, purchasing their cotton and other produce and bringing them to be loaded onto the main vessel (Lettsom 2003 [1804]: 15). In addition, small vessels were principally responsible for the trade with the nearby hub of St. Thomas. Importantly, this trade was carried on "principally by slaves" who operated about 20 vessels in 1774 (Dookhan 1975: 59). Other sources agree that these small boats were frequently manned by blacks, whether slave or free, having few restrictions whatever the laws said (Anonymous 1843: 75). In a detailed consideration of the place of small boats in the Eastern Caribbean, Douglas Pyle suggests that islands whose economies were based primarily on large-scale plantations were served by large vessels built elsewhere or at best intermittently, while those with less long distance trade, like the Virgin Islands, had to make their own small vessels (Pyle 1981: 276). This work was that of the poor and even the enslaved people. He writes,

> Boatbuilding is slow, heavy work which has to be done in the heat of the tropic sun. It is work done by poor people and people forced by economic circumstances to provide their own employment. It is not work done by entrepreneurs, by people with capital who must move quickly to keep their resources employed to best advantage. Such people are consumers of vessels, not builders (Pyle 1981: 171).

The extent to which this work, both in making and trading in small boats, was carried on by those of African descent is also suggested by a (probably exaggerated, but nonetheless interesting) note by one author in the 1820s who asserts that virtually none of the white population of Virgin Gorda could sail a boat at all, with blacks having a virtual monopoly on the export of cotton grown there (Anonymous 1843: 136). Armstrong sees small boats as a key to the economic and social development of the Creole community on the East End of St. John, less than an hour's sail from Little Jost with favorable winds. Even though marginalized to the

unproductive lands of that island, that community "gained control over a means of production through the development of maritime trades" (Armstrong 2003: 16). This small-scale commerce eventually took over from provision planting as the principle element of the economy for this group (Armstrong 2003: 60). So even without access to a boat of their own, as suggested here based on the faunal evidence, the enslaved people on Little Jost van Dyke would have had no shortage of potential trading partners.

The enslaved people on Little Jost van Dyke would also not be alone in amassing some level of material wealth from their own work. As noted above, in 1823, Major Moody reports that the enslaved people of the British Virgin Islands possessed goods worth £15,032; he also states that they had control over 1675 acres of land, and could produce £3.5 (gross) per acre on an annual basis (PP 1825(115):152). They also owned 23 boats and £700 worth of property in buildings in town at this time (Dookhan 1975: 84). An 1826 report suggests that it was common for the enslaved people of the BVI to sell the products they produced from their provisioning grounds (including poultry and pigs), possibly by smuggling them to St. Thomas or selling them to those who would, and gaining manufactured items this way (PP 1826(81): 108).

The discussion of foodways, above, suggested that the enslaved people on Little Jost may have produced domestic animals for sale, rather than consumption. There is no evidence of domestic animal production in Area E to match that of Area D, the possible animal pen just north of the Lettsoms' house, but even into the nineteenth century fences were almost unknown in the BVI and animals could either roam free or were tethered to a post (Truman, et al. 1844: 28). Therefore, pens or fences would not be expected. It was also suggested that while the enslaved people on Little Jost had minimal ability to travel themselves, as was the case with some other plantations, and probably did not have access to a boat. They did, however, seem to have a degree of personal freedom of movement around Little Jost and at least as far as Jost van Dyke, in that the owners on the site made little effort to surveil their daily activities. They may have also had a less-restricted ability to work their own provisioning grounds, gather extra shellfish, or produce basketry or other perishable crafts not recognized archaeologically. Basket-covered bottles are one of the few traditional crafts recognized in the BVI, although the practice is thought to have been introduced in the early twentieth century, but basketry may be a reason to bring reeds to the site which could explain the presence of cerith shells. These extremely small gastropods live on grasses such as those which grew until recent decades in the crawl, but have no likely uses themselves, and their low by universal presence in excavated samples might indicate grasses being brought to the island for working into baskets or mats. So the informal market economy of the enslaved and free African population observed elsewhere was probably alive and well in the British Virgin Islands, and the enslaved people on Little Jost would have had ample opportunity to participate in it.

The relative poverty of the Lettsoms, suggested below, probably filtered down to the enslaved people as well, who were apparently left to fend for themselves for food and tools. This they managed, but with the only available trading partners being those on neighboring Jost van Dyke, an out-island with similar poverty, items traded long-distance to areas where local pottery production was common may have been out of reach. What the enslaved people of Little Jost van Dyke probably had in quantity, since it may have been their task to acquire it for the Lettsoms as well, were shellfish and reef fish, and grasses for basket making and other uses. The

poor quality of land on Little Jost may have made ground provisions more difficult to grow, but those having provisioning grounds higher on the slopes of Jost van Dyke where rainfall was greater by several centimeters a year may have had an easier time growing plants but not have had access to nearly as much of the shore-line as available to those on Little Jost. The economy here may have functioned more around these geographic advantages and limitations, as the enslaved (and perhaps even the free) people exchanged such provisions from each according to her or his surplus to each according to her or his need.

While the market-economy of the enslaved people has been argued to be larger and more substantial than once thought based on historic records, and this has been connected to the distribution of low-fired-earthenwares, it also seems likely that this trade included many smaller, even more local transactions as well. The trade from neighbor to neighbor of a few shellfish, some baskets, or a handful of yams would have left little in the way of archaeological *or* historical traces, but this sort of exchange probably characterized that between the very marginal peoples throughout the Caribbean. Here it is evidenced only by a lack: the lack of domesticates being consumed by the enslaved people living on Little Jost, but also by circumstantial evidence. Importantly, this very small scale, local trade and the frequent contacts between neighbors it would have occasioned may have also been integral to the creation of a community identity among the people of Jost van Dyke and its neighboring islands, a community still very much in evidence today.

Graves

At least five clear graves are visible on the site, as described in chapter six, marked in the usual way for eighteenth and nineteenth century burials of all but the richest people: a simple pile of fist-sized or somewhat larger, unmodified field stones. These are somewhat scattered from more than two hundred years of weathering and animal traffic, but several distinct concentrations are still clear. The only people we know to have been buried on the island are Mary and Edward Lettsom, and the description of the location of their burial matches that of these graves perfectly. William Thornton writes to his friend, John Coakley Lettsom, the son of Edward and Mary of a visit he made to their former home:

> No voice was then heard save the melancholy cooings of Doves which sheltered in those waving Trees that adorned thy former residence, but now wave their soft Branches over thy departed Parents. I avoid not to recall thy loss. It is a loss that human nature cannot avert. When I mention them I recall to thy mind those pleasing Scenes that engaged thy infancy, + those endearing attentions that impress towards thy Parents a lasting Gratitude. They lie under the two Tamarind Trees on the west of their old mansion (LoC, William Thornton Papers, MSS Collection 591, f. 2809)

The piles are quite scattered and may represent more graves which have since blurred together. It seems unlikely that they represent fewer graves, unless these were extremely large. Perhaps most interesting is the presence of several whole, well-weathered conch shells (some directly on or adjacent to the piles, and others fewer than three or four meters from the graves), the only

such shells observed on the surface of the island beyond the beach (figure 6.11). As discussed in chapter six, the practice of placing conch shells on graves is widespread in the Caribbean, and usually associated with African-derived spiritual practices. In today's BVI, the practice has survived and become a part of Christian religious practice, and conch shells are a regular part of twentieth-century grave-marking practices (Figure 6.10, background).

Graveyards and burial practices were central to Quaker practice in some places and times, particularly early and in England (Chenoweth 2009). The themes most often of focus in this citational legacy are burial apart from non-Quakers, minimal marking of graves, and burial orientation (Stock 1998b). Orientation was impossible to determine with any certainty on Little Jost van Dyke, except that a slight suggestion of east-west (or west-east) pattern may be present (see Figure 6.5). The practice of placing conch shells on graves is not expected in England, of course, but more importantly would seemed problematic to most contemporary Quakers. As I have written elsewhere in the context of seventeenth and eighteenth-century Quaker burial practices in England,

> it is the use of symbols *at all* which would have seemed idolatrous to Quakers, as they feared that such practices tended to become ritualized: things to be accomplished in and of themselves, the *doing* of which makes one holy. Rather…Quakers felt that holy actions should be the *result* of inward righteousness, which should *precede* the action(Chenoweth 2009: 331-2).

Placing of anything on graves, except simple markers intended only to prevent future burials from intruding on earlier ones (and this with a practical justification, and explicitly not out of respect for the dead bodies), would have smacked of idolatry to contemporary English Quakers.

Another interesting and confusing feature of the area is the number of graves. John Lettsom told his biographer an unlikely story that he and his brother were the seventh set of twin boys born to his parents, all of whom died but the last two (Pettigrew 1817a: vol 1, p. 5). If true, this would have produced a great many more graves than encountered. If only Edward and Mary Lettsom are buried there, we have too many graves. Despite an extended search, no other apparent graves were discovered on Little Jost van Dyke in any of the areas surveyed. In most contexts, the enslaved people are buried quite close to their former homes, or even the yards themselves (Armstrong and Fleischman 2003). Handler and Lange also note that the burial grounds of enslaved people are almost always very close to their living places (Handler and Lange 1978: 51). It is unlikely that they would be buried in an unsurveyed part of the island, fully a half hour's walk away or more. The only site of burial appears to be that identified here as Area C, and so this may contain the graves of both the Lettsoms and their enslaved people.

If this is so, it would be extremely unusual both for Caribbean planters, enslaved people, *and* Quaker practice. It was certainly the usual practice in the Caribbean for enslaved Africans and whites to have separate burial grounds (see for instance Armstrong and Fleischman 2003; Handler 1989; Handler 1996; Handler and Corruccini 1983; Handler and Lange 1978; Lenik 2004; Mann, et al. 1987; Watters 1987; Watters 1996). Planters in the Caribbean generally had separate burial grounds: for instance in Barbados, whites were often buried on their plantations or in church cemeteries (Handler 1989: 13), or in a separate ground dedicated for the purpose, as

is the case in Tortola, where Johnson's Ghut burial ground near Road Town (Figure 6.12) was in use from the eighteenth century. This place was noted in the 1820s as being specifically reserved for the whites of the island (Anonymous 1843: 156). Cases do exist of people of African descent being buried in Quaker burial grounds, and Cadbury notes three (Cadbury 1936: 161-2, 185), but when Quaker authors discuss the issue of where the enslaved people of members should be buried, the written record emphasizes the separation of white Quakers from black (and in this sense apparently un-Quaker) peoples' graves, but these notes are few (e.g. Fox 1952: 598). Even free blacks were generally not allowed burial in Friends burial grounds (Cadbury 1936: 160).

Would burial near their owners seemed like an appealing prospect to the enslaved people? Would Mary Lettsom have allowed or even asked her enslaved people to place their dead next to her husband, in a statement of their status as (lesser) members of the Quaker community, and a paternalistic care for their souls? Could the Lettsoms have made a gesture towards the equality suggested by their Quaker faith by considering themselves and their enslaved people equal in death? The complicated nature of Quakerism's defining quality of "equality" was discussed in chapter four, but if this interpretation is correct, there is little precedent for it despite the flexibility of that term. A further complicating factor is the suggestion by Handler and Lange and enslaved people's graves frequently went entirely unmarked, possibly even excluding fieldstone piles (Handler and Lange 1978: 203). Therefore they might well be present on Little Jost, perhaps among the building foundations of Area E, but are invisible. It is unlikely that any study short of excavation of the burial ground on Little Jost (and perhaps not even that) will determine once and for all if the free and enslaved people of that island were buried together, and no such excavation is planned.

The Upwardly Mobile Lettsoms: Relations with Other Planters

Economics

John Coakley Lettsom writes that his father held "about 50 slaves," and, in addition to Little Jost van Dyke and the surrounding islands, a sugar plantation in Cane Garden Bay, on Tortola (Lettsom 2003 [1804]). William Thornton, John's friend, included his father in a group of "respectable and rich planters" who came to the BVI from Anguilla (LoC, William Thornton Papers, MSS Collection 591, f. 2810). John Coakley Lettsom himself was a wealthy man by the time of his death, both through his medical practice and as a result of a chance inheritance from his son, who married the heir to the BVI's greatest fortune, Ruth Hodge Lettsom, but these suggestions of Edward Lettsom's wealth are more suspect.

For one, Thornton is most likely incorrect about John's father coming from Anguilla. His probable grandfather, Jonathan, to whom John's birthplace of Little Jost was first granted in 1725, is listed on the 1717 census of the BVI (CO 152/12#67 encl (viii)) as being born in St. Christopher's. Robert, John's uncle, was born on Beef Island in the BVI, so the family had been there for a long time. For another, as discussed in chapter five, Lettsom inherits only ten enslaved people, two listen as "old" and four as either boys or girls, while his mother keeps five

more, two of these children. John's brother Edward Jr. is probably still alive at this time, and one supposes that an approximately equal value of enslaved people went to him, and five are left with Mary Lettsom, but this still is a total of twenty-five at most, including the aged and children.

When he hears about the death of his father around 1758, he also finds that "my Father's executor had neglected my property, and had disposed of the sugar plantation in Cane Garden Bay" (Lettsom 2003 [1804]: 18). This would explain Lettsom's poverty early in life, but appears to be inaccurate as well, as a sale of a property of 100 acres (quite a large parcel for Tortola, and two-thirds the size of Little Jost itself) in Cane Garden Bay is recorded from Mary and Edward Lettsom to James Purcell in 1754 (SCR, Deed Indexes). It was suggested above that this was done in order to pay for John Coakley Lettsoms schooling and living expenses, being four years after he left home.

The data on Little Jost van Dyke's productivity presented in Table 5.1 also provide some insight into the potential profitability of that island. The data are for two years, 1815 and 1823, both long after the Lettsom's ownership, but with similar resources (the island and slave labor) and technology available. Between the two dates, the population rises from five enslaved people alone to ten people, three of them free people of mixed or African-descent. It is notable the even with the addition of free people—presumably the owners of the enslaved people or at least their hired drivers, to force the others to work—*and* with the doubling of the population, that the output of the land increased only £3 or about 4% in those eight years. The increase of a *single pound* in profit seems to have been wrung out of the people by lowering their per person consumption of the island's resources, rather than worked out of the land. It may be suggested here that these figures represent something close to the maximum agricultural output of Little Jost van Dyke, a paltry five acres of cotton, plus enough provisions and sea resources for several families to survive. Were it feasible for planting, one imagines that at least some of the "forest and brush" could have been cut and turned into fields by the additional hands between 1815 and 1823, but the area of the island dedicated to cash crops was not expanded significantly.

In 1697, Cotton sold for 12-20 pence per pound in the Leeward and Virgin Islands (CSP: 1697-1698:1347), and in 1780 for 19 pence in Jamaica and 22 in St. Domingo (Donnell 1872: 34) making the prices appear quite stable over the century. Estimating a maximum value of about 20 pence per pound of cotton in the 1740s and 1750s, this translates to 9000 pence, or £62.5 per year for peak cotton production of Little Jost, only two-thirds the price of a single enslaved person (based on the average of the prices given those inherited by John Coakley Lettsom in 1768). Moreover, the actual *profit* from this work appears to be only a few pounds at best.

This also suggests that the maximum population that could be sustained by working on Little Jost is about ten people, although greater reliance on fishing and shellfish might have expanded this, albeit on a subsistence basis. This contradicts John Coakley Lettsom's statement that his father farmed the island with about 50 enslaved people. Even during the 1820s, the smaller islands owned by Edward Lettsom, Sandy Cay and Green Cay, were all uninhabited and produced nothing (PP 1826(81):110-115). Each could have supported a few goats (about a dozen wild goats were encountered on Green Cay during the 2010 survey, along with a very ephemeral possible structure, without associated artifacts) or a very small patch of provisions or

cotton, but probably not enough to have made a difference, or they would have been cultivated in the 1820s.

Even the crop grown on Little Jost suggests that Edward Lettsom would not have been a wealthy man. Although the sugar boom there did not occur until the late eighteenth century, Woolrich notes that it was always planted in the BVI wherever it was possible or could be made possible by the availability of labor (House of Commons 1790: 280). Cotton, in general, was only planted "upon the poorest parts of the island…upon rocky and steep places" where sugar was impossible, such as "the keys and rocky hills" (House of Commons 1790: 280). If no sugar was grown on Little Jost during this time, it must have somewhat limited agricultural potential. In addition, Woolrich notes that "planting sugar I apprehend would require a larger body of Negroes than the cotton planters generally are master of" (House of Commons 1790: 280). The labor of cotton planting is easier, and can be carried out by "women and children" as well who would be unable to work in sugar production. Indeed, in the 1820s, cotton was referred to as "the cheapest of all cultivation" (M'Queen 1824: 175).

By the late eighteenth century, John Coakley Lettsom had a substantial investment in appearing to be of the upper classes: he had joined the ranks of London's elite, and was welcome in even the bedchambers of the most wealthy and influential people as their Doctor. His religion freed him from some aspects of wealth expression and qualifications such as having attended Cambridge or Oxford, both restricted to Anglicans, but he certainly participated in others. He was a philanthropist, integral to the founding of the Medical Society of London, probably the world's oldest still surviving medical society, for more on which, see Hunting (2003). He was also a man of science, which at the time also entailed being a man of leisure. Botany, as Yentsch notes, was a way of expressing learning and power, as only the wealthy could make use of the long-distance communication and transportation networks needed to acquire specimens, and the leisure to study them (Yentsch 1994: 122-23). For such a man, a "colonial" birth might be forgiven, but not parental poverty, which might explain the way Edward Lettsom is portrayed by the historical record—as a wealthy planter and member of the gentry. The evidence here suggests that he was far more likely a member of the "middling sort." Though perhaps not strictly "poor," being landowners and slaveholders, the Lettsoms were certainly poor-*er*. Most likely, they had to work themselves, rather than being gentlemen and gentlewomen, entirely at their ease; this is suggested by the fact that Mary Lettsom's second husband was also known to be a cooper, a "mechanical employment."

In studies or contemporary accounts cited by Adams and Boling (1989) the Lettsoms would be classed as "Yeomen" or "Middle Class Farmers," based on the number of enslaved people they held. This number is not really known, although a maximum of about twenty-five is suggested above: the list of John Coakley Lettsom's inheritance printed in chapter five suggests that he and his mother collectively inherited about fifteen enslaved people from Edward's estate, with John's twin's inheritance unknown. Even in the most optimistic assessment, that of John Coakley Lettsom himself, Edward had no more than fifty enslaved people (Lettsom 2003 [1804]: 13). This is only a tenth of what John Pickering, the first clerk of the Meeting and Lieutenant Governor of the Islands about 1739-1742, is recorded to have had, suggesting, in any case, some distinctions between the Lettsoms and the highest levels of planter society in the BVI.

The Setting

The most noticeable aspect of the stage on which these relationships play out is the island setting of the Lettsom estate. The Lettsoms did own "Green Island and Sandy island; besides which he owned a sugar plantation in Cane Garden Bay, Tortola," the latter being what is today a famous tourist beach, but his "favourite residence" was on Little Jost (Lettsom 2003 [1804]). Yentsch notes the ideal in English class relations that "a gentleman should locate his home apart from those of great neighbors" in order to keep his achievements and possessions from being overshadowed by close neighbors (Yentsch 1994: 47).

This attitude was at work in the colony of Pennsylvania, where many wealthy Quakers took to establishing "plantations" houses in the country, often highly impractical ones which could not be used for more than day-trips because of their size, in an effort to imitate the landed gentry of England (Tolles 1963 [1948]: 96, 132). Reinberger and McLean also suggest that this attitude was common both in colonial settings and among Quakers, and write that "William Penn and the Philadelphia Quakers demonstrated perhaps the earliest expression of a country house ideology in the American colonies" (Reinberger and McLean 1997: 243). This may be behind Edward's preference for his home on Little Jost: an island estate apart, however humble the land may actually be for cultivation, may have been an impressive idea among a group at least ancestrally hailing from England, where land was expensive, difficulty to acquire, and the ultimate status symbol since aristocracy was based on land ownership.

This pattern combined with several other lines of evidence suggests that Edward and Mary Lettsom, despite their apparent lack of substantial wealth, were making great efforts to appear upwardly mobile. Importantly, while this is in part about money, it is perhaps more about status. For instance, the sale of the Cane Garden Bay estate noted above confirms that Edward and Mary preferred their island to living more closely with other planters, perhaps an expression of the country estate ideal. But this step was taken at the expense of the family's long term interests, since Cane Garden Bay, as the name implies, is far superior agricultural land than Little Jost van Dyke. John Coakley Lettsom inherited a moderate sum of about £450 when his father died, but all of it came in the form of enslaved people (see chapter five). His mother evidently retained the island of Little Jost van Dyke, where she lived the rest of her life and was buried. His father seemed to have little in the way of wealth at this point other than enslaved people and Little Jost. It may be that he was forced to sell Cane Garden Bay to cover debts, or other losses, but it seems not to have made him any lasting profit. One possible explanation for Edward's need for funds is John Coakley Lettsom himself.

John was sent away to England for schooling at the age of about six. We know that he thinks that he was the first person born to Virgin Islands colonists sent back to Europe for such an opportunity, so that it was a rare occurrence, and we know that he was placed "in the care" of the Rawlinson family and eventually sent to boarding school (Lettsom 2003 [1804]). All of this must have cost a great deal of money, and the arrangements for this are never discussed. We know that John had little money available to him later in life, for he complains that his "pecuniary circumstances" prevented him from spending more than a year educating himself in London (Lettsom 2003 [1804]: 24), and that when he does make his fortune as a young doctor in

the Virgin Islands in 1768 he leaves fully half of this money with his mother, suggesting that she also had little money. And what of Edward Lettsom? John's brother is almost unrecorded by history, and we know little of him except that he did not go to school in England, an advantage he certainly would have been given if his parents were able to send both children. Quite possibly, Edward and Mary had to sell off the Cane Garden Bay estate in order to pay for John, aged about ten and in school for four years at that point, to continue his schooling. They were sacrificing land with, as the name implies, great agricultural potential which could have provided stability for them, to live on an island that was "apart" but unproductive and pay to educate a young gentleman rather than a prospective farmer. While there was probably an expectation that John Coakley Lettsom would use whatever wealth his education provided him with to assist his family back in the Caribbean, an expectation that was repaid seventeen years after he left home, this was a very long-term investment strategy. The benefit of having a gentleman in the family may well have been a more immediate attraction than any prospect of eventual monetary return.

Being Watched and Watching

The archaeology of the site suggests that the house and its setting also played a part in this effort at upward mobility. It was built probably with limited resources, with Edward and Mary doing some of the work without expert assistance, and was sited carefully to take advantage of the natural rise in the land to avoid too much leveling work. But simple minimization of effort does not seem to be the goal: the post-holes were cut deep into tightly packed rock and subsoil (probably by an enslaved person) and the setting at the brow of a the hill required substantial effort to level the platform. While this was kept at a minimum by the choice of the knoll on which to build, it could have been eliminated entirely by setting the house only a few meters further back, on the more-or-less level area between what has been here labeled Area A, Area B, and Area J, the space probably used as the planter yard.

It was clearly important for Caribbean planters to see and be seen. Clement (1997) suggests placement of plantation houses was ruled by a number of factors. They were placed for intervisibility of plantation houses in part as a safety mechanism, to alert neighbors to potential slave uprisings so that help could be sent, and also for the breeze. While the possibility of slave revolt is clearly more of a concern on larger plantation islands, by the time of Edward Lettsom's death, free people in the BVI were outnumbered at least five-to-one by enslaved people, and substantial rebellions did take place in the late eighteenth and throughout the nineteenth centuries (Dookhan 1975: 85-86).

If safety and oversight were goals in the placement of the Lettsom's house, one would also expect the ability to see the enslaved people to be a priority: the construction of "landscapes of surveillance" wherein the owners of plantations show their power and practically observe the actions of the enslaved people has been discussed by Delle (1999) and includes both an element of safety (i.e., oppression) and economic maximization. While the Lettsom house would be visible to many plantation houses on the north side of Tortola, the houses of the enslaved people and even most of their work areas (if these are defined by the extent of the surviving field terracing) would have been invisible. As discussed above, the Lettsoms seemed to distance themselves from their enslaved people at the expense of control.

Comfort in terms of cooling breezes is also considered by Clement (1997) to be a major factor in plantation house location. But as already noted, the modern excavators on Little Jost over two seasons found the house and its yard to be very stuffy compared to the excellent breeze which always seemed to blow across Area E, where the enslaved people made their homes. Only the final factor discussed by Clement, making statements of symbolic power and prestige and fostering a sense of community among the planter families, seems to fit the available evidence. This goal seems to have been pursued at the expense of comfort from the breezes and the economic advantages of tight control over the enslaved people. From both William Thornton's drawing (despite the problems with this image, Figure 5.3) and his description of the house (LoC, William Thornton Papers, MSS Collection 591, f. 2808), we know that the house was clearly in view from some distance even in a semi-ruined state, and so this goal of visibility appears to have been accomplished.

The orientation of the house is also surprising. If fostering a sense of community and safety were the primary goals, they would have been best served by focusing on the planters on neighboring Jost van Dyke. The eastern end of that island would have been clearly visible from the Lettsom's house, and these would have been the most likely to send aid in the event of an emergency. There was at least one large plantation present in this area, at a place called Brown Ghut, which I briefly surveyed in 2010: very substantial remains of a plantation house and several out buildings, including an oven of similar design to that on Little Jost, are present half-way up the hill, and middle eighteenth-century ceramics are visible on the surface showing that this site would have been occupied at the same time as the Lettsoms. Indeed, the name of this area "Brown Ghut" implies that it was the plantation of David Brown, whom Edward Lettsom was asked to meet with concerning the purchase of property for a Meetinghouse (see below).

Yet the Lettsom house is not oriented to face Jost van Dyke or the direction from which Jost visitors would be coming at all: its main stairway is in the southeast wall, and firmly focuses the house on Tortola's north side. The drawing by Thornton even assumes that the door would have faced Jost, and depicts it that way in its reconstruction (the drawing has several features not borne out by the archaeology, and the surviving version is a print made from a painting drawn years after Thornton's visit, not the original). The community being fostered by this intervisibility was, apparently, also exclusive. It was focused on the wealthier planters on Tortola and their closer connections to Europe, material goods, and cosmopolitanism. The Lettsoms could have walked to their neighbors on Jost, but instead they placed their enslaved people between them as if a buffer, and then kept distance and cultivated difference with the enslaved people as well, while they focused their attentions on connections to the local "core" on Tortola.

So it was not merely enough to make money; it was not simply a goal of providing for one's family or ensuring that they had enough money to live in the Quaker way. Mary and Edward, and probably Edward's father Jonathan before him, the first owner of Little Jost, made efforts to appear more wealthy than they were, to fit trends of land ownership and living apart that marked them as country gentlemen and lady.

Figure 10.1: *Modified* Charonia variegate *shell from context A4-27*

A Possible Folk Magic Charm

A number of finds in the lower levels of a posthole in unit A4 are unusual, and when taken together may indicate a very non-traditionally Quaker religious practice. These contexts appear to have been somewhat disturbed by the removal of the post, but the lower levels all seem to have little intrusive material, and were probably filled in by debris eroding in from the walls shortly after the post was pulled. In these contexts were recovered the only two pins encountered on the entire site just below the large (12cm in length), hollowed out *Charonia variegate* shell (also the only one of its kind encountered), and all the recovered examples of *Borikenophis portoricensis* bones found, the Puerto Rican Racer, the only snake remains recovered.

It was argued in chapter eight that the *Charonia* shell was not used for food, since the extraction of the meat could not have been affected with the kind of breakage it exhibited: being hollowed out from below as if to contain something rather than broken at the apex in order to remove the animal from the shell (Figure 10.1). It was also found pressed up against the lowest extent of the foundation, as if placed at the base of the wall during construction.

The Puerto Rican Racer, as noted above, is a small snake which would have provided virtually no food. The examples recovered here suggest a animal of no more than a centimeter's diameter. It is also difficult to catch, being very quick and having a mildly poisonous bite, but not dangerous enough to justify seeking it out for elimination. The example here appears to be

headless, suggesting intentional burial of only a part of the creature, not simple disposal of a dead one or the animal simply falling in the open hole after the removal of the post and dying. Although almost all the recovered specimens are from deep in the unit, two snake bones were found as high up as locus nine, suggesting that the animal was already skeletonized when the post was removed and the context disturbed.

The *Dictionary of English Folklore* includes a number of folk understandings about snakes, or "Adders" as they are classed, none of them positive (Simpson and Roud 2002). It was thought that if you killed a snake, its mate would come looking for you, and adders coming to the door of a house was seen as a death omen. The animal and its byproducts were seen as having several medicinal properties (i.e., "snake oil") but the negative connotations make it seem unlikely that the animal encountered here, even if sought for these qualities, would be buried within the foundations of the house itself casually. More possibly, on the folk magic principle of like-curing-like, it could have been part of a charm intended to ward off omens of death or other snakes.

Pins are also often associated with spiritual uses. This is discussed most fully by Longman and Loch (1911), who provide substantial, if anecdotal, evidence of pins being involved in both "black" and "white" magic in English traditions. Pins were used in magical attacks, such as to stab an image or "manikin" of an intended target, and in defense, such as counter spells of witches and in the famed "witch bottles." Several examples of these bottles, containing pins and needles along with items such as human hair and finger-nail clippings and a "foetid fluid" (probably human urine based on discussions cited below) have been found in old house foundations and walls (Longman and Loch 1911: 37-38).

These bottles have been found in at least a dozen archaeological sites around London (Painter 1980) and Harrington claims that about 200 such bottles are known including those discovered in still-standing buildings (Harrington 2000). One described recently in the magazine "Archaeology" was from the site of Reigate, and contained nine pins bent into an "L" shape and, unlike all the earlier finds actually still contained the "foetid liquid" which was shown through chemical analysis to be urine (Harrington 2000). Painter (1980) writes of a witch bottle made from a small, clear glass phial dating to between 1690 and 1750, and containing about twenty-five pins and several nails. He reported a "light amber-colored residue" on the inside walls of the bottle and suggests that this might be from human urine (Painter 1980: 68). The bottle was buried upside-down and Painter suggests that it was intended to counteract an evil spell.

Becker (1980: 20) describes a rare archaeological find of such a bottle in the New World, from Tinicum Island, near Philadelphia, which contained six round headed pins and appearing in his illustration indistinguishable from those recovered on Little Jost. Becker suggests that similar deposits buried in the confines of houses are intended as "prophylactic amulets" and notes that Hanselmann connects these to "foundation sacrifices" (Becker 1980: 19). Buried next to, but not inside of the bottle on Tinicum island were a sherd of redware and a bird-bone. The association of the sherd was unique in similar bottles Becker considered, which suggests some variability to these deposits. However, "Animal bones…are a long-standing ingredient in magical charms" (Becker 1980: 21). In addition to glass bottles, like the Tinicum example, charm bottles were made with ceramic containers and "steeple-shaped" glass phials (Becker 1980: 22) suggesting

that the nature of the container may be less important than the fact that it contains something. Becker's example dates to about 1748, near the mid-point for the Quaker occupation of Little Jost van Dyke. Startlingly, Becker notes that during this period, Tinicum Island was owned by the Taylor family who were also Quakers!

The soil samples taken from the context of and just below the shell in A4-27 produced vast amounts of fish bone compared to their size, although very little other refuse came from these contexts (no glass, or pipe stems, for instance, and only one tiny, 0.1g, piece of ceramic interpreted as intrusive from the removal of the post, dating to the 1820s). These deposits also produced almost all the fish scale fragments recovered in the soil samples, representing dozens of scales compared to only one or two from the rest of the site, suggesting that not only bones, but pieces of fish meat were deposited. In light of this, the possibility that other finds of animal bone in association with such charms actually represented meat should also be considered.

There is one explicit connection of pins and specifically fish bones in the literature about magical charms reviewed, which is that pins and fishbones were sometimes swallowed to dispel bad luck (often producing rather unlucky consequences themselves) (Longman and Loch 1911: 50). It is interesting to note the frequency with which traditionally "Christian" practices are mixed with magical ones in these charms: saying a paternoster, praying to certain saints, or making charms with pins on certain saint's feast days are all a regular part of pin-related magic (Longman and Loch 1911: 41ff). Pins are often associated with Christian shrines and pilgrimage sites, such as "saint's wells" (Longman and Loch 1911: 53ff). This, coupled with the example from Tinicum island, makes it clear that some may have seen magical charms compatible with Christianity, even Quakerism.

Finally, the soil from inside this *Charonia* shell was preserved, and subjected to analysis with a handheld Brucker XRF device to determine if chemicals often present in human urine may have been present in unusual amounts. Detecting such light elements as these is not the strength of XRF, but the results of this analysis were compared with soils recovered from inside other shells found in the same context, A4-27, as the *Charonia* shell, where it had caked and could not be removed in ordinary washing, making these results comparative. These other shells were sonicated in distilled water for about 15 minutes, and then removed from the water, which was dried at 105°C for 24 hours to produce the soil sample for comparison, which was conducted at the same time and with the same instrument.

The composition of human urine varies, but it contains high levels of (in decreasing order of concentration) chlorine, sodium, potassium, sulfur, phosphorus, calcium, and magnesium (Putnam 1971). It is phosphorus that is usually associated with human waste in archaeological contexts, and is thought to be relatively stable in the soil (Eidt 1977; Sjober 1976), although the usual archaeological analysis of phosphorus is on a somewhat different scale than that attempted here. The comparison of the soils from inside the *Charonia* shell with the soil from inside other nearby shells from the same context did, however, show a modest but notable peak of phosphorus in the former but not in the latter, consistent with the inclusion of urine inside the large shell in the past (Figure 10.2). The vertical line at about 2.0 keV shows the point around which peaks representing phosphorus would form: the upper, pink line shows the sample from inside the *Charonia* shell while the green and red lines below are from soils recovered from

inside other shells in the same context, A4-27, and in a context just above, A4-23. The close fit between the latter two lines, and between all three lines at most points, suggests that good results are being produced by the instrument and that an increase in phosphorus within the *Charonia* shell is the cause of the variation observed. Other rotting material could have been inside the *Charonia* shell and account for the peak, but the same is likely true of the other shells from which the comparative material was extracted. Further analysis of this item is planned.

Figure 10.2: *XRF spectra of soil samples from shells in unit A4 (figure by Elliott Blair)*

None of these findings are conclusive, but taken all together they suggest something out of the ordinary, especially considering the number of finds unique to this project all from an area about 10x15x20cm, even after it was moderately disturbed by the pulling of the post. The hollowed-out shell possibly containing urine, found near the pins, the lack of other refuse but a high density of fish bones and scales suggesting the burial of meat, and the presence of the snake all seem to indicate intentional deposition. There is certainly precedent for magical charms, devised by English-descended people in both the New World and the Old who bury them in their own house foundations as a spiritual prophylactic. These precedents even include a Quaker family contemporaneous with the reconstruction of the planter house on Little Jost in the 1740s. The items might have been placed in the post-hole by one of the enslaved workers charged with building the house, but the similarity of the finds with English folk-magic makes the Lettsoms the more likely source. If it represents a magical charm devised by the Lettsom family, this find speaks to commonalities the Lettsoms maintained, even in private, with the non-Quaker English worldview.

Conflicting Quakerisms: Relations Among the Quaker Community

Community

The position of many BVI planters in the middle of the eighteenth century was a precarious one. Though not as outnumbered by their oppressed enslaved people as Jamaican planters or those in many other colonies, by the time Little Jost van Dyke was settled in the 1720s they were still outnumbered nearly two to one, 760 to 1430 (Burns 1965: 461) and by the heart of the Quaker period, 1756, by more than five to one, 1,168 to 6,121 (CO 152/28#BC83).

In contrast to much of the rest of the Caribbean, there was no standing militia for most of the BVI's history during slavery, and Dookhan suggests that this led to a lax enforcement of regulations for slaves. In general, he argues, whites were at all times forced to consider the limits of their own enforcement (Dookhan 1975: 74). Theoretically, order was to be maintained by the militia, but this force existed only during times of war or revolt, so in effect there was no legal mechanism of control over the population (Dookhan 1975: 170). Even later in the colony's history, militias seem to have only been irregularly maintained, and after emancipation, in 1839, a law was passed which repealed all previous laws establishing and regulating militias in the BVI; no further action was taken after this to establish any other force, and so the infrastructure for maintaining public order was reduced to a "only a number of rural constables" who were "inadequa[te] to deal with even a minor disorder" (Dookhan 1975: 155). During major upheaval, such as the revolt of 1853, forces from other colonies were dispatched to restore order, but these rarely remained long; in the case of the most severe disturbance of 1853, they remained only until March of 1855 (Dookhan 1975: 204).

As discussed in chapter five, government of the British Virgin Islands was almost non-existent until the 1770s and even then often ineffective. In addition to threats from within, colonists worried about attacks from the Spanish, French and other European powers with which their mother country was often at war. In 1740, several of the Islands' residents petitioned London that "being destitute of Forts and of any of your Majesty's Land Forces and ships of War, and too far removed from the other Leeward Islands to expect Assistance from them, That two of your Majesty's twenty Gun ships, or even Sloops properly Stationed at those Islands [i.e. the BVI] would not only prove a great security thereto, but would likewise protect the Navigation of them and all the Leeward Islands" (CO 314/1#9). No action was taken by London or the Leeward Islands government. The response of General Fleming to the request was directed at London, and he wrote that "If we have a the misfortune to have a War with France it [Tortola] Probably will be Desserted for it is so full of bays and Landing Places that there will be no Defending it against an Invasion" (CO 152/23#78) and the islands were generally seen in 1755 as indefensible because of their scattered nature (CO 152/28#Bb65).

Perhaps more threateningly for planters, the colony contained no social institutions that brought them into regular contact with each other. Again as discussed in chapter five, there was no organized religion in the colony before Quakerism, and no other central place for community worship until the nineteenth century. As if this were not enough, the historical accounts of life in the BVI are replete with mentions of hurricanes and earthquakes, which frequently destroyed houses and crops and took lives.

Although the majority of Tortola's white planters during the colony's early years were born in the Caribbean, some certainly had grown up in England and other parts of Europe as well as in northern colonies much different than the land they came to in the Virgin Islands (CO 152/12#67 encl (viii)). Months would pass without the ability to even send letters to these places, much less visit. For example, in 1756, the Tortolan Friends report that they have delayed even bothering to write a letter to London, since "Opport^{y} but seldom happening from Our Isle to Europe" and it would not be sent for some time (TMM Minutes 1:34).

So BVI planters could have perceived threats to their property and lives from within and without, had a diverse background in terms of national and geographic birth, and were far from the centers of power and commerce with little contact or protection. If they could not form a community they would be socially as well as geographically and economically marginalized. Clement (1997) discusses the importance of a sense of shared identity for planter families in Tobago, suggesting that they constructed their homes in part for intervisibility as a way of creating this sense of community and safety.

Quakerism, at least by some interpretations, was remarkably well-suited to providing for this need. The poverty of the BVI has been noted, at least compared to the rest of the Caribbean. This is a probable reason why no Anglican group was organized until late in the settlement's history, since a church and pastor required significant financial outlay. Yet Quakerism's very philosophy denies the need for any continued investment: not paying ministers was a fundamental tenet, as was the lack of a need for a Meetinghouse for daily worship or traveling to a central place, such as a consecrated church. The ideals of equality, also, may have appealed to the white population who, regardless of whatever degree of wealth they had acquired (or the irony, from our present-day perspective, of having done so on the backs of enslaved people), probably came from poor roots in England to this out-of-the-way colony with poor prospects.

The social and economic support network, discussed for Quakers in general in chapter four and whose local BVI manifestations will be elaborated on below, may also have been understood by potential converts. Meetings for Worship were formally held in the Meetinghouses at Fat Hog's Bay and Road Town twice weekly, but worshippers also met more informally in homes between these times or instead of traveling to those central points. The Meeting itself began by congregating in the home of John Pickering before a Meetinghouse existed at all (FH London YM Epistles Received, 3:52), and the likelihood of Friends Meetings being held in the home of Edward and Mary Lettsom on Little Jost van Dyke has been noted above. Later in life, member Dorcas Lillie reports that she and Dorcas Pickering, in addition to the usual meeting times, "also frequently went up an high hill to Thomas Humphrey's house, there to meet, for the purpose of performing divine worship. Sometimes there would be but us three, at other times a few more assembled" (Lillie 1832: 202).

The ability to meet anywhere was certainly a practical advantage to Friends, separated by sometimes thousand-foot tall hills between adjacent bays, having no roads until modern times, and reliant on sailing or rowboats—impossible during bad weather—even to visit the next plantation over. But in addition to this practicality, religious service could be an excuse to visit another person at any time. This is not to suggest that Quakerism was adopted insincerely, as

"only" a means to a social end. Rather, whatever the intentions behind the practice of frequent social/religious gatherings as part of religious Meetings, the effect would have been the same: social contact and a strengthened sense of identity both as Quakers and as whites/English/planters and a host of other identities shared among the members. It was this shared identity, constructed in part through the practices of Quakerism (as Quakerism was constructed, in part, through the practices of whiteness and planterness, through separation with the enslaved) which may have helped members survive on the margins of the Atlantic World under threat from domestic, foreign, and natural powers.

Another indication of this network, albeit a second-hand one, comes from the family relations of the members. Admittedly, a limited pool of culturally "suitable" associates was present in the BVI (although the high numbers of mixed-race free people in the colony recorded in later censuses strongly suggests that "suitable" was flexibly interpreted by many BVI whites and blacks alike) and no comparable data about non-Quaker BVI planters survives. Nonetheless, the number of family connections between members of the Tortola Meeting was notable. Dorcas Lillie relates that John Pickering and his wife and her sister were all "near relations to me" and Lille herself was ultimately convinced of Quaker principles by another cousin, Dorothy Thomas (Lillie 1832: 202). Mary Nottingham's sister, Tabitha Madix, is one of the five remaining friends in 1770, along with Isaac Pickering, nephew to John, whose first wife Dorcas Pickering is sister to Dorothy Thomas, overseer for the Women's Meeting in Road Town. Rebecca Zeagers Pickering, the second wife of John, is sister to Dorcas Downing Zeagers Thornton, wife of William Thornton and mother of the famous architect. Dorcas Lille also reports that John Coakley Lettsom was "a near relation of mine," making either Mary or Edward Lettsom a part of this cloud of relations as well. Even John Pickering and John Coakley Lettsom are said to be "distant relations" by John Coakley Lettsom, bringing the network even tighter (Lettsom 2003 [1804]: 18).

These relations were clearly part of how the community formed, with siblings and spouses converting each other frequently, but they were also the result of Quaker practice. Quaker endogamy was a widespread and often-discussed part of Quaker life for much of its history and remained so until the mid-eighteenth century (Davies 2000: 221). It was particularly a part of the "revival" of Quaker discipline that swept through North America about the time the Meeting was forming in Tortola as well (Marietta 1984: xii). The minutes of the Tortola Meeting suggest that marriages made up a major part of the business conducted: more than a third of the times a member is named in the meeting records it is relation to their own marriage or their inquiring about or vouching for the "clearness" or freedom of another to marry. Several members were also "dealt with" for "marrying out" to a non-Quaker, or allowing their daughters to do so. Two of the former were disowned.

Foodways and Gatherings

As discussed in chapter nine, the faunal remains recovered on Little Jost van Dyke and at the Fat Hog's Bay Meetinghouse exhibit some interesting patterns. Both enslaved and owner contexts on Little Jost show a major reliance on wild caught species, primarily fish, and included relatively high (and equal) levels of shellfish foods classed here as primary with some use also of

secondary ones. The Fat Hog's Bay Meetinghouse bucks this trend. Virtually all the food remains encountered there were primary as opposed to secondary shellfish and domestic mammals with some birds, rather than wild-caught fish.

Members came from all over the Virgin Islands to congregate at the Meetinghouse, in some cases a roundtrip journey could last the entire day, and it seems that members would most likely eat together when they met. There is precedent for this archaeologically (Ward and McCarthy 2009) and the 1797 Discipline of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting makes comments on how Friends should handle communal meals. There is no record of this being a communal expense, paid out of the Meeting treasury, and the wealthier members are recorded to have taken payment, for instance for small items of hardware for use in the Meetinghouse (TMM Minutes 7:75), and so it is not expected that they would have simply paid to feed the entire community monthly. Rather, this was likely to have been a "pot-luck" affair, or even the case that each member brought and consumed their own food.

Considering the comments cited in chapter nine about the expense and rarity of fresh meat compared to the abundance of fish, it is somewhat surprising that members would have chosen to bring only the former to their Meetings. Although in a different context, Yentsch also notes that domesticates gained higher social associations in the New World than hunted game or caught fish (Yentsch 1994: 152). . One interpretation of the Quaker ideal of "simplicity" might have held fancy, expensive foods to be a waste when cheaper but quality ones were available. It is clear that not all the members of the Tortola Meeting were wealthy but the evidence here seems to suggest a choice to perform a measure of wealth to other members of the community, or make statements about the community's importance through the foods they brought

But the form this expression took may also have been charged with meaning for Quakers. The association of fishing with laziness in the BVI has already been noted. Wentworth despairs of a group of free Africans becoming "productive" members of (British) society because their "inherent disposition to indulge in idleness, favoured by the facility of gaining a living by fishing and petty theft, rendered most of them incorrigible" (Wentworth 1835: 220). Domesticates, in addition to being more expensive as discussed in chapter nine, were also more difficult to raise, and required the kind of industry and diligence praised by Quaker authors discussed in chapter four. One expected Quaker value, that of consuming low-value, "simple" foods when gathered together, appears to be inapplicable for Tortolan Quakers, but another may be at work: showing off the fruits of one's own honest and diligent labor.

The Central Place of Meetinghouses

While not conclusive, chapter seven suggested that "Structure H" on Little Jost may have functioned as a Meetinghouse for the Friends of Jost van Dyke. The Lettsoms, that chapter argued, are known to have hosted Meetings on several occasions on their island. Another reason to suspect that Structure H may have been a Meetinghouse comes from the Minutes of the Meeting. In 8th Month 1753, Edward Lettsom is appointed by the Meeting to "treat with David Brown concerning the Ground the Meeting house stands upon at the East End of Joes van Dyke and to make a Report to our next Monthly Meet[g]" (TMM Minutes 1:27), suggesting some sort of

structure existed there. The valley on Jost van Dyke just opposite the Lettsom's house on Little Jost is today known as "Brown Ghut" suggesting that it is the land associated with the intended purchase, just across the "crawl" from Structure H, an easy walk away.

However, the next report makes it clear that it is a *planned* meetinghouse in this area. For the 29th of 10th Month 1753, the minute includes: "From Edward Lettsoms intelligence to the Meeting we have David Browns ready concurrence in the disposing of the Ground treated of at Joes Van Dykes where upon the said Edward Lettsom is desired to make purchase of the same in Order to Erect a Meeting House thereon" (TMM Minutes 1:29). The records of the Tortola Meeting do not indicate if the purchase was ever made, or if a Meetinghouse was ever constructed, although the fact that the discussion was "continued" in several subsequent Meetings suggests that Edward Lettsom was having difficulty coming to an agreement with David Brown. Perhaps Edward abandoned this effort and offered instead to allow the Meetinghouse to be built on his own property? No record of such an offer exists, but neither is there a record of a Meetinghouse being built on Jost van Dyke or a decision not to do so, and Structure H is easily accessible from the East End of Jost van Dyke where the Meetinghouse was to be built. It stands to reason that Lettsom may have simply allowed the structure to be built on his own land, just across the easily-walkable "crawl" only a few dozen meters from where they had hoped to make the purchase.

Another reason to suggest that Structure H had such a purpose comes from the relationship Tortolan Quakers appear to have had with Meetinghouses in general. Meetings for worship could have been held anywhere, of course, as this was one of the organizing principles of Quakerism, but the members from the British Virgin Islands seem to have placed special importance on Meetinghouses. The creation of the Meetinghouse at Fat Hog's Bay was one of the first activities they undertook when they organized themselves, and by 1742 they had at least two separate buildings set aside as Meetinghouses, one at Fat Hog's Bay and one at Road Town. In October 1741, the records refer to three separate, recognized worship groups within the Tortola Monthly Meeting: one at each of these Meetinghouse sites and one "at a Small Island called Joes Vandike" (FH London Yearly Meeting Epistles Received 3:90). It seems reasonable that the third Meeting might have a Meetinghouse as well at some point.

The actions of one member of the Tortola Meeting some years later also suggest a particular focus on Meetinghouse buildings as important to the BVI Quaker community. One of Dorcas Lille's first acts upon returning to Quakerism in her later years, while living on St. Croix, was to apply for permission to build a meetinghouse on her husband's land, which she did shortly afterwards even though there were only about 18 members at the highpoint of the St. Croix meeting. In 1776 they lost access to this Meetinghouse due to the death of Lille's husband and the breaking of his estate. At this time the Meeting was reduced to only *three* members, Dorcas and Henry and Mary Shayltz (also spelled "Shoultz") (Lillie 1832: 220). Even so they asked London members for and receive assistance of £60 to build a new meetinghouse in Christiansted on St. Croix. By 1779 plans were well underway, and a drawing of the house proposed to be built on Lot #33 of that town survives (FH London Yearly Meeting Papers, 1780, Sufferings #93-98). It has not yet been possible to determine if the building was ever actually constructed or used, but the expense and effort of building a house for a Meeting of only three people seems out of proportion, to say the least.

The presence of Meetinghouses in Tortola at this time should be further contextualized by the lack of almost any other public building of any sort in the Islands. According to Poole, in 1752 formal meetings of the Council (the main governing body of the islands) and court procedures as well as the occasional religious sermon all took place in private homes (Poole 1753: 373). There was no courthouse, nor even a prison until after there was a legislature in 1773 (Suckling 1780: 14-15). In Road Town, according to Poole in 1752 there were only "eight or ten" buildings in total "at such considerable Distance from each other, as wholly to lose the Appearance of a Town" (Poole 1753: 370), and Woolrich notes that when he arrived in the BVI only two years later in 1754 there were half a dozen merchant's stores in Road Town, which must makeup almost all of the structures (House of Commons 1790: 278).

It is not suggested here that lack of artifacts observed in Structure H should either measure up to or provide some sort of "signature" for a Quaker Meetinghouse. However, the level of artifacts in Structure H is at least consistent with such usage. The artifacts found at Fat Hog's Bay Meetinghouse were in greater numbers than in Structure H (see chapter seven) but still quite few compared to the dense concentrations reported by the landowner, Mr. Dwight Pickering, which he often encounters when digging nearby. As noted above, during our excavations he produced several very large pieces of eighteenth-century lead-glazed slipware and free-blown glass bottles from what might be a dump or a separate area of activity related to the Meetinghouse; these were only five pieces but were all quite large (being hand-collected) and weighed 115g together. While the FHB Meetinghouse was not as sterile as Structure H, it was nonetheless quite low in artifacts considering how much more use it had and how many more were nearby.

Whether or not Structure H was a place of worship for the Friends of Jost van Dyke, or even just the Lettsoms, the Tortola Quaker community appears to have had a particularly strong focus on having a building in which to meet. All the funds collected by the Meeting for which records were kept go either to the support of the widow Rebecca Britt (see next section) or the maintenance of the Meetinghouse. Deeds to the buildings and the land on which they are sited are drawn up and included in the records of the Meeting for the Meetinghouses on Fat Hog's Bay and in Road Town, despite the informal nature of the BVI legal and land tenure system at the time. This informality was driven home when in 1751, John Downing, the executor to the estate which granted the Road Town Meetinghouse to the Meeting simply chose to deny access to the building because of his own disownment despite a formal, signed and sealed deed held by the Meeting to that property (TMM Minutes 1:5). The Meeting objected, but eventually could do nothing about it (TMM Minutes 1:23).

All of this is in explicit contrast to the written record's version of Quaker's attitudes towards buildings as focal points for the community. Though "convenient" they are far from necessary. Indeed, the lack of need for a building dedicated to worship is a central part of George Fox's writings, where he refers to the churches derogatorily as "steeplehouses":

> And when I was at Ulrome before in the steeplehouse, there came professor [i.e., minister or priest] and gave me a push in the breast in the steeplehouse and bid me get out of the church. 'Alack, poor man', said I, 'dost thou call the steeplehouse

> the church? the church is the people whom God has purchased with his blood, and not the house.' (Fox 1952: 93-94).

Rather, "God did not dwell in temples made with hands" but instead "in people's hearts" (Fox 1952: 8) such that buildings were at best unnecessary. In the Virgin Islands, however, they appear to be a starting point for Meetings.

Surprisingly, for a group for which religious services can be anywhere and anytime, there are two instances where members are disowned *exclusively* for not coming to Meeting. On the 28th of 1st Month 1760, the Minutes record, "It is reported to this Meeting that Wm Thornton Absenting + shewing slight + Contempt to Meetings [for] Worship, Notwithstanding being other[wise] altogether According to good order, Friends are agreed for the Clearing of [Tr]uth to disown him" (TMM Minutes 3:5). Most relevant to this study is the case of Mary Lettsom Taine, the widow of Edward and mother of John Coakley Lettsom. Friends visited Mary

> for her Misbehaviour + Contrary walking Disagreable to Friends +Contrary to ye Church Discipline, + her Answer is that Friends Slited her + set her at Noat + she being Left as it where Destitute from human help not a Negro to asist her + thereby uncapeable of attending her Meetings being at a Distance from her, + thinking it hard to be slited by Friends in her Distress Resolvd not to Attend Meetings til some Friend or Other should Visit her, but she [de]Clared the Truth having Nothing to say Against it, but wold not Resolve whether she wold Attend her Meetings hereafter yea or nea (TMM Minutes 7:53)

While she appears to have been accused of other "Misbehaviour" it was her not attending Meeting that appears to have been the focus of the proceedings. She was disowned not for religious differences, for "she [de]Clared the Truth having Nothing to say Against it," but rather for refusing to commit to coming to Meetings.

"Money and Morals": The Advantages of Quakerism

As discussed in chapter four, Quakers often supported each other in various non-religious ways, with religious justifications. Quakerism is a religion of practice, and one must have certain basic needs met in order to practice it: personal needs such as housing and food, as well as needs of a community, such as security and a measure of religious freedom. The Quaker answer was organization to provide relief to the poor, the persecuted, and to appeal to the powers that be for freedom to practice their religion in their own way. In at least some contexts, this support network was instrumental in members amassing significant wealth, as detailed by James Walvin's book *The Quakers: Money and Morals* (1997). But the mutual support network which resulted from this (and its accompanying personal scrutiny of the lives of Meeting members, to be discussed more below) has been identified in Quaker "core" communities of Philadelphia and London, and a somewhat different version can be traced here in the British Virgin Islands.

The Tortola Meeting did engage in activities to help the poor, but not until 1756, at least as far as the Minutes record. From 1756 to the end of 1758, the minutes record the collection of between

zero and ten pounds at each Monthly Meeting, but averaging about two pounds and five shillings. There are records of at least three expenditures on the Meetinghouse itself: a pound and ten shillings to Jonas Lake for work he did on the Meetinghouse before being removed as treasurer in 1757, six shillings to Christopher Fleming for "work done" in 1761, and ten shillings for "hooks & hinges" in May of that same year for use on the Meetinghouse. Almost all the rest of the money, over fifty pounds, was paid to support Rebecca Britt, a widow.

Thomas Britt, presumably Rebecca's husband, joined the Meeting in late 1746 and presumably died about the time she began to receive assistance. The minutes for the 27th of 6th Month 1757 record "It is required by this meeting to give out of the Treasury Monthly for the Relief of Rebecca Britt £1.2.6 beginning at this date" (TMM Minutes 1:14). Eighteen pounds of this money, about half of what Britt received in total, was paid to Mary Nottingham, another member, for back-due rent on a house Rebecca Britt lived in. The Nottinghams appear to have been rather wealthy, owning a plantation quite near John Pickering's on Tortola's East End in addition to at least the one rental property, and both Mary and Samuel traveled for the ministry or business several times, something quite rare for Tortolans. Otherwise, Britt received her £1.2.6 at every Meeting, even when the Meeting was so poorly attended that one member had to pay the full amount personally, as was the case on the 30th of 7th Month 1758, when Thomas Humphries made the entire required donation.

The last section argued that Mary and Edward Lettsom saw themselves as upwardly mobile both economically and socially. While these goals were personal, their accomplishment may have been intimately tied up with the Quaker community and the connections it afforded people like them. Rather than direct financial support, the Lettsoms gained access to influential people and their network of personal connections, which promoted wealth among Quakers elsewhere (Tolles 1963 [1948]: 89). For instance, it may not be coincidental that Edward Lettsom's properties were registered when they were. After twenty years of Lettsom family settlement without a formal claim, it is in the years shortly after Quaker conversion, which gives Edward access to the most wealthy and powerful men of the colony, notably John Pickering, the Lieutenant Governor, that the property is finally registered with a legal grant.

Another advantage the Lettsoms received as an extension of their membership in the Quaker community was the education of John Coakley Lettsom. Born in 1744, a few years after the Meeting begin, John believed he was the first person born in the Virgin Islands to be sent abroad for education (Lettsom 2003 [1804]). It certainly was unusual, so much so that his own twin brother, Edward, was not afforded the opportunity. Moreover, the captain of the ship that took him to England, William Lindo, as well as his guardians there, Abraham and Hatton Rawlinson, were Quakers. In England, Lettsom was sent to a school near Lancaster, in the suburb of Penketh, and he along with 15-20 of his classmates at the school lived with a sister of the Rawlinsons nearby named Barnes. Both his hostess and the master of the school, Gilbert Thompson, were leading members of the nearby Quaker Meeting, so virtually every adult figure in Lettsom's young life in England was an active Quaker.

Even Lettsom's mentor, whose medical practice he inherited and therefore the person most directly responsible for his later wealth, John Fothergill was a well-known Quaker and brother to Samuel Fothergill, one of the most noted Quaker ministers and writers of his day. Through these

connections as well as his own work, John Coakley Lettsom built a substantial medical practice, including treating the Duke of Clarence (later King William IV) and co-founding the Medical Society of London in 1773. It is hard to imagine that the young child of six born of at best middling parents on a desolate island far from even the local core settlements of the Virgin Islands, could have caught the attention of so many wealthy and powerful people were it not for the connections afforded by his parents' involvement with the Meeting.

Archaeological evaluation of the Lettsom's home also suggests that they received very material advantages during the time they were members of the Quaker community, if not as a result. The discussion in chapter seven suggested at least three phases to the main house structure, starting with a first phase probably dating to the earliest years of occupation, as early as 1725, which was prominently placed but less substantial, being made of unmortared and unshaped foundation stones. This was modified probably in the 1740s with the creation of a substantial, mortared foundation with cut-stone making up the outer face. While this remains today, it was modified, probably in the 1760s, with the addition of an outer terrace surrounding this faced foundation, burying it. Each episode of building is associated with a large amount of crumbled mortar in the fill, much of it wattle-impressed, suggesting substantial rebuilding of the rest of the structure as well.

This dating corresponds very closely with two important events in the recorded history of the site: the conversion of Edward and Mary Lettsom to Quakerism in 1740 and the visit of John Coakley Lettsom to his mother in 1767-1768, when he leaves her with £1,000 from his medical practice (Lettsom 2003 [1804]). It is possible that the first of the two phases of expansion on the site is associated with wealth made possible by Mary and Edward's joining the Quaker community. The possibility of later additions following wealth brought from John Coakley Lettsom suggests that expansion of the house was a goal that Mary Lettsom at least aspired to and was willing to invest money in when able.

A final note about this assistance offered to Members of the Meeting is that at least some of them appear to have come to regard such assistance as one of the principle functions of the group. This seems to be the case for Mary Lettsom, at least, as the quote at the close of the last section suggests. Upon the death of her husband Edward, Mary told the Friends who visited her that she felt "Left…Destitute from human help[,] not a Negro to asist her," but apparently expected some help from her religious community. When none came, she thought it "hard to be slited [slighted] by Friends in her Distress" and abandoned attending Meetings until they showed some concern for her well being and came to her aid.

Rifts within the Quaker Community

Walvin's study, cited above, suggests not only that Quakers assisted each other materially and profited financially from their membership and the business associations it offered, but also that these advantages came with costs. For reasons alluded to in chapter four, Quakers had a concern for the public image of their Society, especially financially. As well as policing each other's behavior to avoid sin and turning to "worldly things," Walvin notes (1997: 78-79) that Quakers

acted as auditors for each other's businesses, explaining and revealing all aspects of their business history upon demand of their Meeting. In effect,

> Businessmen were under the permanent scrutiny of their immediate meeting. Whenever a member was in financial trouble, when doubts or complaints surfaced about business practice, bad debts, poor judgment or, worst of all, insolvency, a deputation from the meeting would examine the matter (Walvin 1997: 72)

Again, the situation in the British Virgin Islands seems to have developed somewhat differently.

Poverty and Wealth

To begin with, the makeup of the community was economically diverse. This is far from abnormal for Quaker groups, but some discussion of the nature of this divide in the BVI is necessary. In essence, the wealthiest members of the Meeting seem both to be on Tortola, to be those with leadership positions, such as clerk and overseer, and to be those most frequently assigned tasks for the meeting, a measure of community involvement (Brown 1987; Chenoweth 2006). On the other hand, although there were certainly poor members on Tortola, in general those from the "Out Islands" were more likely to be less-well-off, and these had a somewhat different relationship to the Meeting: more watched and more negative.

That those who held their lands in the "Out Islands" were poorer deserves some justification, and the argument is based primarily in geography and agriculture. Rainfall is significantly lower in the outer islands, due to their lower elevations, as little as 35 to 40 inches (89 to 101cm) (Little, et al. 1976b: 5) and this directly impacts agricultural potential. Another limit to agriculture was the land itself: most of the BVI is steep and has poor soils, but the out islands have far more areas labeled "Barren." In the report of Major Moody in 1826 (PP 1826(81):110-115), 19% of Tortola is listed as being "Forrest and Scrub," "Barren," or "Salt Ponds" while more than 37% of the other islands are so listed. According to Moody's estimation, only Tortola has any potential to produce sugar, the most profitable cash crop in the Caribbean, and the report shows no other island producing any sugar at all in 1815 and 1823 (PP 1826(81):110-115). An undeniable sugar works does exist on Guana Island, identified by Norman Barka, and that island does have two level areas where sugar may have been grown, but the fact that none was produced there in 1815, probably not many decades after the works were built, suggests that this was a failed venture.

Another measure of the wealth of the various planters is the enslaved people they held. In 1756 there were 21.3 enslaved people per white man on Tortola, whereas the other islands together—Anegada, Virgin Gorda, Jost van Dyke and all the smaller islands—had an average of 10.3 enslaved people for each white male (CO 152/28#BC83). In 1815, Tortolan planters held 19.5 enslaved people on average for each white person on the island, while those on the other islands had just 8 (PP 1826(81):110-115). Clearly the planters on Tortola had better lands and produced more wealth than those on the smaller islands.

While this suggests that the members from the Out Islands were less wealthy than those on Tortola, there is other evidence to suggest that it was not just any Tortolans but some of the wealthiest who held positions of power in the Meeting. Many aspects of Meeting life went unrecorded or are otherwise lost, but much of the available surviving evidence—the Minutes—

seem to be entirely the product of a very small minority of the members. Indeed, just four people account for almost a third of all the times Friends were named in the record: William Strong, William Thomas, Thomas Humphrey and John Pickering, Sr. Of those two whose financial state is known, both appear to be very wealthy.

John Pickering, the first clerk of the Meeting and a major force in its founding, is known to have died one of the richest men in the colony (Lettsom 1786: 67). We have no direct evidence of the wealth of Thomas Humphreys, second only to Pickering in how many times he is mentioned (always favorably) in the records of the Meeting and an extremely devoted member, signing both the first and last items of meeting business recorded . However, we know that one of his two sons, Richard, was sent to Philadelphia and apprenticed to a goldsmith (Jenkins 1923: 62), a position usually requiring a substantial outlay whatever religious connections are at work . On Richard's death in 1832, he left $10,000 (merely a tenth of his vast estate) to found a school for blacks, the Institute for Colored Youth, the first historically black college in the world (still in existence as Cheyney University of Pennsylvania).

Other members frequently mentioned in the records were clearly wealthy as well: Mary and Samuel Nottingham traveled extensively and Mary was the widow of a former governor, John Hunt (Pickering's successor). Samuel only arrived in the BVI in 1749 and shortly after owned a large plantation, suggesting that he arrived with capitol. They freed the enslaved people they held there in 1776 when they left the island, giving them (or allowing them to remain on) their plantation, and at the time these numbered twenty-five people (FH Box 315/4). However, it seems that these were probably not field slaves (Anonymous 1843: 113), and so this suggests a much greater number of other enslaved people also owned (and probably sold) by the Nottinghams. That they could give away a plantation and twenty-five enslaved people and still retire to England is another measure of their wealth.

William Thornton was a frequently-mentioned Tortola Meeting Member whose oldest son, Edward, became a wealthy planter in Barbados, while his younger was educated in the American Colonies, became a doctor and architect, and gained fame as the designer of the first US Capital building (Harris 1995). One of John Pickering's business partners was a Rawleigh (TMM Minutes 7:75) and John Downing, one-time overseer for the Road until he fell out with the Meeting, married the widow Frances "Rawley," although it is unclear if her former husband was the one with the business connection to the colony's wealthiest man.

One final indication suggests that the Meeting was directed primarily by those of wealth. On the 20th of 5th Month 1753, the Minutes record, "It being considered in this Meeting, and is Ordered that Convenient Ruff House for Shelter for Horses be as soon as Conveniently it can, be set about and Compleated at the expense of the Meeting" (TMM Minutes 1:27). In 1813, some sixty years later and during a comparatively wealthy period on the history of the British Virgin Islands, there were only 230 horses in the entire colony, though there were over 1,400 free inhabitants (PP 1826(81):110-115). Clearly, horses were the reserve of the better-off, and despite the fact that the "Ruff House" was never actually built due to difficulties in getting supplies for the purpose, the expense of building a stable to shelter them while the few who owned a horse went to Meetings seems not to serve the interests of all members. If nothing else,

the generally poorer members from the out islands would all have been without horses, having arrived by boat.

In short, where there is any evidence at all, those most involved in the Meeting's formal structure were Tortola-based and wealthy, part of the social establishment. Those who were from the outer islands were less wealthy, and as discussed below, it was these who bore the brunt of the meeting's disciplinary effort.

Discipline and Formality

Quaker Meetings all engaged in enforcement of the "Discipline," probably always to varying degrees. Table 10.1 records the occasions where a member of the Tortola Meeting was specifically recorded in the minutes has having been "dealt with" or met with in order to attempt to correct the member's behavior. In Tortola, the suggestion made here is that over time the Meeting became more and more formalized, and those in leadership positions (the rich) increasingly used their religious authority over those outside of the power circle (those from the out islands, among others).

Table 10.1: Offenses recorded in Tortola Monthly Meeting Minutes worthy of members being assigned to "treat with" others and results

Offense	Occurrences	Disownments Resulting
Unspecified	12	0 disowned, 0%
Marrying Out	3	2 disowned, 67%
Violence	3	1 disowned, 33%
Dancing	2	2 disowned, 100%
Not Attending	2	2 disowned, 100%
Drinking	2	1 disowned, 50%
Allowing Daughter to Marry Out	2	0 disowned, 0%

In its early days, the Monthly Meetings or "Meetings for Discipline" appear to have been semi-formal, with months often being missed, but over time, the regularity of the Meetings seems to have increased markedly. In 1743, between the Men's and Women's Meetings fifteen of the scheduled twenty-four dates appear to have been missed. In fact, during the first three full years of the Meeting's existence, 1742-1744, a total of twenty-three scheduled meetings did not occur, out of the seventy-two there should have been (one per month for 36 months for each the Men's and Women's, or almost a third of the scheduled meetings: 32%).

Despite the intentions of the newly formed flock, the minutes also appear to have been updated only irregularly in the early years. Several composite entries, like the following, describe several Meetings at once:

> At a meeting at Fat Hog Bay the 5th of the 7th Mo 1742 was Read an Epistle from John Bringhurst of Phil[adelphia] date 14th of 5th Mo And James Brown declared his Intention of Marriage with Elizabeth Bacon, she declaring her Unity so Friends were Appointed And at the next Meeting in the Road the 3^{d} day of the 8th Month 1742 James Brown again appeared, but full satisfaction not appearing was put off 'till the next meeting at Fat Hog Bay the 7th of 9th M^{o} 1742 when John [James] Brown + Eliz^{h} Bacon again declared the Continuation of their Intention of

> marriage, their free Liberty was given to proceed + Solemization was held in this Meeting (TMM Minutes 1:6)

But eventually, the Meeting became more formalized, less frequently-missed, and records were more consistently kept. From 1745 until 1759, when either the Meeting or its records (or both) begin to break down in advance of the end of the Meeting in 1762, only twelve further Meetings for Business do not occur when they are supposed to (out of 336, there being 168 months in 14 years with both Men's and Women's each month, or 3.5% of the scheduled dates being missed).

While the Meetings were becoming more formal, there seems to have been less and less business each day. After 1747, fully half of the entries for each Meeting report no business being accomplished. Many entries simply read "in the General things were pretty well, the Meeting Ends in Love" as for 4th Month 1748, or "Overseers Report things in General were pretty Well their Constant [care] was required" for 5th Month 1746, or for 1st Month 1750, the entry reads "the Necessary Inquiry being made the Overseers report things to be in general pretty well, no further Business, the meeting ended in Love." By the end, even these notes were sometimes shortened. For instance, for 12th Month 1759 the entire entry reads "No Business was Done + being a Rainy Day." The count of such notes increases to 18 in 1755 and 1761, fully three-quarters of the scheduled meetings. By contrast, during the first three full years of the Meeting, 1742-1745, only ten such short entries appear.

Core and Peripheral Friends

The Meeting minutes also suggest some tension between Friends on peripheral Jost van Dyke and Tortola, where the core of both Meeting and the colony's economic and social life was located. A conciliatory note is struck early on, when the Meeting, formerly alternating between Fat Hogs Bay and Road Town was switched to being held exclusively at Fat Hogs Bay "for the Convenience of Joes Van Dyke Friends" on 6th of 10th Month 1743. However, overall this does not seem to have encouraged more friends from Jost van Dyke to attend the Meetings for Business on Tortola. Friends from Jost seem to have had a much more difficult time attending the Meetings for business, or were less inclined to. Certainly some of this has to do with the distance and difficulties of travel by sea, but other lines of evidence also suggest some tension.

The records make mention of there being no friends from Jost present on many occasions; it is, of course, possible that other occasions when no friend made the trip from Jost van Dyke went un-recorded in addition to these. Even so, during the seventeen years from 1744 to 1760, there are eighty-three specific mentions of Meetings occurring on Tortola with none of the appointed overseers from Jost attending or members at all from Jost van Dyke (almost a quarter of the 370 Meetings known to have occurred during that time). By 9th month of 1760, the minutes for the women's meeting record, with an air of finality, "having no Return as yet to this Meeting from Josvandik we leave them" (TMM Minutes 4:58). No further mention of Jost van Dyke's Meeting, or any friend known to be from Jost, appears in the records of the Meeting, either Men's or Women's.

It is not just the frequency of Jost van Dyke Friends attending or being included in the records of the Meeting's activities that suggests a split: Friends from Jost are mentioned in *different* contexts as well. In order to assess this statistically, the number of times any individual was

specifically mentioned in the records was counted: the 78 individuals named in the minutes are mentioned a total of 452 times collectively. These "mentions" are not evenly distributed, it should be noted, with four members (William Strong, John Pickering, William Thomas, and Thomas Humphrey) accounting for fully one third of these, mostly to do with the creation and forwarding of correspondence with London, but also with their being sent to "treat" with various members for misbehavior. The average member was mentioned just under six times in the records.

Friends from Jost are mentioned much less often than their counterparts on Tortola, and most often in a negative context. Twelve Friends, or 15% of the membership, are known to be from Jost van Dyke, and these members collectively receive just twenty-seven mentions, only 6% of the mentions of specific people made, and only 2.25 per Jost Friend, well below the average for the rest of the members. Mentions of Friends in the records could also be classed as positive (both in major ways, such as being appointed to office, and minor ways, such as accompanying a member seeking marriage to speak to their character and "clearness" to marry) or negative (such as being "dealt with" or "treated with," being admonished, or being mentioned during proceedings to disown or expel a member, the worst punishment available to Friends). While only 11% of all the mentions made in the records were negative, 44% of those involving Friends from Jost were negative; put another way, while only 15% of the membership, Friends from Jost were the target of fully one quarter, 25%, of these negative mentions.

Slavery and BVI Quakers

Until abolition became a major goal for the Religious Society of Friends, there existed a nearly deafening silence about the topic of slavery in their writings, at least compared to other topics. The ambivalence of Quakers as a group on the topic of slavery is discussed at length in chapter four. It is clear than many Friends outside the BVI owned enslaved people, and that Meetings rarely took a stand on the matter until the late eighteenth century. The records of the Meeting in Tortola includes several contradictory statements on the matter.

As noted in chapter four, the earliest Quaker ministers did not condemn slavery, but advised slaveholding Friends to teach their enslaved people "Christian ways" to be merciful, and to "study their consciences as to this practice" (Durham 1972: 18, 79-80), and that while they were regarded as members of the Quaker *community*, in need of paternalistic protection, they were not generally seen as members of the *Meeting* or equals in any real way (Soderlund 1985: 181).

At some moments, it seems that Quakers in the BVI did hold more enlightened attitudes towards slavery than the average white planter in the Caribbean. A remarkably inclusive passage begins the 1746 letter to London, invoking "that wonderful Love, which Unites into one Body whether Jew or Gentile, *whether Bond or Free*, Whether Male or Female, All the Children of God everywhere throughout the World, however distant in the Flesh" (FH Port 28:34, emphasis added). It is difficult to conclude much from a single passage like this, but the author of this passage certainly seems to include the enslaved people in the Quaker community in some way.

London takes up the issue, albeit not as a major focus, in several letters later in the history of the Tortola Meeting. While perhaps a metaphor for sinners, it seems that some Londoners regarded slavery to be something *deserved* by the enslaved people, yet still requiring Tortolan friends to

work for their spiritual good. London writes in 1757, to "neglect no opportunity of uniting in the Worship + Service of God, + in ardently seeking the Good one of another, + of mankind in general, not forgetting the deplorable situation of those amongst you, who, thro' the prevalence of an unchristian Spirit, have been deprived of their Liberty and reduced to a State of Slavery: but let it be your pious care & Endeavour, by good Example + Instruction, to promote their Spiritual Interest" (FH London Yearly Meeting Epistles Sent 4:32).

This is also a period where many Quakers in many parts of the Atlantic World were beginning to debate the issue of slavery and Quaker values. Most historians trace the beginning of widespread anti-slavery sentiments among Quakers to the Seven Years' War, which broke out in 1754, and occasioned the "Crisis of 1755" in Pennsylvania in which Quaker political leaders largely removed themselves from political power (Soderlund 1985: 8-10). The year 1758 seems to have been a watershed in the relationship of Quakers and slavery. It is that year the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting agreed that Quaker slave traders should be dealt with, and punished if they did not reform (Soderlund 1985: 4).

London tended to view slavery as a "Colonial problem" (Jennings 1981: 99), and, apart from a rather anemic statement in 1712 that the slave trade was "not commendable nor Allowable" (Jennings 1981: 99) made no statement on the matter and certainly did not consider it an offense worthy of dealing with members. But this changed also in 1758 with the printed epistle of that year. This letter, sent to all Monthly Meetings affiliated with London, including Tortola, where it was read in the Meeting on the 1st of 5th Month 1758 (TMM Minutes 1:39), reads in part,

> We also fervently warn all in profession with us, that they be careful to avoid being any way concerned in reaping the unrighteous profits arising from that iniquitous practice of dealing in negroes and other slaves; whereby, in the original purchase, one man selleth another, as he doth the beast that perishes, without any better pretension to a property in him, than that of superior force; in direct violation of the Gospel rule, which teacheth every one to do as they would be done by, and to 'do good' unto all; being the reverse of that covetous disposition, which furnishes encouragement to those poor ignorant people to perpetuate their savage wars … (London Yearly Meeting 1818: 313)

The complaint is that the slave trade and thus slavery is based on violence and slaves captured in war, and that the possessors of slaves do damage to themselves in the form of "haughtiness." More explicitly, London writes to Tortola in particular in 1760, "We take the liberty at this time to refer you to this Meetings Caution against being anyway concernd in dealing in Negroe Slaves in our Printed Epistle in the year 1758, and hope you pay due regard thereto" (FH London Yearly Meeting Epistles Sent 4:117).

When Tortola begins to take up the issue, it is not a consideration of the injustice of slavery that is at issue. The Tortola Meeting suggests in their 1759 letter that their condition as slaveholders is a problem, but primarily for *themselves* and not for the enslaved people they hold: "Our hinderance in a Divine Progress may be attributed as much to that of Dominion over such our Servants or rather Slaves, where our Authority is not stamped with the impressions of the true fear of god with it" (FH London Yearly Meeting Epistles Received 4:27, TMM to London,

1759). The issue for them is not the righteousness of holding others in slavery, but the damage it might do *to them,* the slave holders, to exercise a power which should be reserved for God. They cite the Apostle James' admonition that "to Suffer is better than Reign."

Their solution is vaguely worded: they suggest that "Solomons Choice may become ours; for nothing less than true Wisdom can direct to Walk Circumspectly and furnish us with such a Fellow feeling that our Moderation may be known and Exercised in a Godly fear towards all such over whom we are placed in Authority" (FH London Yearly Meeting Epistles Received 4:27, TMM to London, 1759). Clearly abandoning slavery is not something being seriously considered, their goal being "Moderation" and ruling over their enslaved people in a Godly manner. Nonetheless, London has begun to meddle in the "Colonial problem" and push the small Meeting in Tortola on the topic of slavery.

Women's Meeting minutes for the 28th of 9th Month 1760 also includes a warning that friends are "costiend [cautioned] against to grate [too great] an indulgence to those of whom they have the over Sight as Children +c which careys the appearance of conformity to tat arey [that airy] Spirit that raines [reigns] in the children of pride" (TMM Minutes 4:59). The inclusion of "+c" shows that the authors had another group in mind over which they had power as adults do to children: presumably the enslaved people. Here the worry is equally the power they possess over others, which may occasion the sin of pride, but also that they may be too lax in exercising that power, presumably allowing the enslaved people to become, in their estimation, sinners.

Writing and the Imagined Quaker Community

Writing itself seems to have had a privileged place in the Meeting's social and religious life. Notwithstanding the travels of a few foreign Quakers to Tortola, and those of even fewer from Tortola out into the world, writing was the primary means by which all BVIslanders communicated with the outside world. In particular, it was the main connection to fellow Quakers in London who continually instructed them in their newly-found faith. In explaining the beginnings of Quakerism in the BVI, John Pickering writes in 1741, that it had been

> about 14 years Since [i.e. in 1727] One Joshua Fielding a friend Visited us, as he did all the English West India Islands, his Stay here was but about a week or ten Days, in which time he preached Several times, & twice at my house, And after he got home he Sent me but three Books, Namely Barclay's Apology, The Mite in the Treasury, and No Cross, No Crown, in which I found great Satisfaction (Jenkins 1923: 7).

These books were the spark which lead to the formal creation of the Meeting in 1740. Moreover, the writing of letters, primarily to London, seems to be regarded as a quasi-religious exercise, for on discovering that the letters of 1744 and 1745 had not arrived in time for the London Yearly Meeting, the members from Tortola write that they hope it "may be no cause for any to be jealous of our Diligence in maintaining our Christian and Brotherly Correspondence" (FH Port 28:34, TMM to London 1746). By 1752, when the meeting finds it has no good news to report to London, they write that "was it not out of a Sincere Desire we have of preserving a Christian Correspondence with you, we would Choose to lay our Mouths in the Dust" and not write at all (FH London Yearly Meeting Epistles Received 3:308, TMM to London 1752). The power of the

written word to bring people together was also noted in the creation of the imagined community of nation, described by Benedict Anderson (1991), which also centered on the written (in his case printed) word to spread the feeling of national unity broadly. Something similar seems to be at work here, though on a handwritten scale.

Most members of the Tortola meeting seem to have been literate (only William Clandaniel signed documents by making his mark), but those able to write well, suggesting a degree of education, often available only to the elite, appear to have been in short supply. In 1749, the Meeting laments the death of a member "most knowing amongst us and a Serviceable member this way of helping out with Epistles as he wrote well and good English" (Jenkins 1923: 39).

Compare one of the more informal, intra-Meeting communications with a letter sent to London. The former is the only surviving item written by Edward Lettsom himself, addressed to the Meeting in 1746.

> Josvandicks y^{e} 27th day of the 7th mth 1746
>
> Friends
>
> As We W^{m} George + Edward Lettsom Was Chusen By the Last monthly meeting to treat with Thos Smith conserning of his Disorderly Walking as hat Been Repor[ted] uppon him, Which most of the Report he Decleared was Lieys Which he made a very Great Acknolwedgemt to us that he had not Beheaved as Well as he ought at many times, and very much hoped to Come to See a good Day with himself in ways of Truth renu'd and Seem^{d} to be Prety much Tendered and Cast Down of his Long [agast?] life that he Perhaps had now Seen not much Good in it But Confessing Pashion to be very hard to over Come, at all times, Which he Reackoned Was his failing haveing too much or a Large Stummick. The mans Acknowledgement So Very mildly and Sattisfactory Case Joy Between us Both So as I am not well to Come my Self have Rete [written] These Lines as I hope will be of Sum Comfort to Friends in Genarel.
>
> I remain Your Sensar Friend,
>
> Edw^{d} Lettsom (TMM Minutes 7:10)

While able to communicate his point effectively, his writing does not measure up in mechanics or elegance to the official letter received by London from the Tortola Meeting in 1741. That letter begins:

> To Our Friends + Brethren of the Yearly Meeting in London,
>
> Dear + Well Beloved Friends
>
> In the Love + Fellowship of Our Lord + Saviour Jesus Christ we tenderly Salute you and Joyfully Embrace this Opportunity to Inform you that we have Received

> your kind and Brotherly Epistle signed by the Meeting for Sufferings in London the 17th of 5th month 1741, which was Read in this meeting to the Universal Satisfaction of all Present, and we hope the same hand and arm that raised us up to be a People in this Remote part of the World, will Still Enlighten our Understandings more + more by his holy Spirit, to the Enabling of us, in the Discharge of our Duty to him + one to another, as we are diligently Concerned to wait upon him in the Silence of all Flesh, and we can say by Blessed Experience that he hath been found of us, and has broke in upon our hearts, to our Greta Comfort and Edification, + to the Glory of his great House… (London Yearly Meeting Epistles Received 3:90)

John Pickering, Clerk for the meeting and former Lieutenant-Governor, does not display especially proficient writing ability despite his higher status, and it seems that in general the Tortolan Quakers were poorly educated. John Coakley Lettsom writes that Pickering was "early brought up to a mechanical employment" and was otherwise self taught (Lettsom 1786: 67). There was of course no school in the BVI until the nineteenth century, and so education was a luxury few had access to beyond the religiously-important ability to read the Bible.

Throughout the existence of the Meeting Minutes, writing was also closely tied to the power structure of the Meeting, and its framework of "Discipline." A document included at the end of the miscellaneous documents of the Meeting also provides some insight (TMM Minutes 7:88-98). These pages contain minutes, with a few dates from the mid 1750s scattered in the content, but without headings. The names all appear as initials, and are unfamiliar. This section begins with the line: "Those Lines May Serve as helps to the Clark of the Meeting" and contains lines like "The Certificate for Our Friend TB Directed to Friends in such a place" and "At this meeting was Read a Certificate of such a one from the Monthly Meeting of such a place" so it appears to be that these are only example minutes. It is about this period, the end of 1753, that John Pickering requests to be relieved as Clerk, and so perhaps he created this document to assist William Strong, the new clerk.

The great length of this document, which contains variations of entries for almost every event that had or might occur in the Meeting, suggests the personal dedication John Pickering had to the idea of the record. It even includes a hypothetical appeal to London in a matter of a disagreement between two members "about their Interest in a worldly affair…for Determination of their Case" in a very legalistic fashion, suggesting an interest in the hierarchical nature of the Meeting structure.

Persecutions, Real and Imagined

Throughout their correspondence with London, the Letters from the BVI friends represent themselves as underdogs, persecuted and endangered by their non-Quaker neighbors. Reports of this conflict are inconsistent, however: those authored by the Meeting's leadership, especially John Pickering the first Clerk but also later authors of the formal annual letters to London, continually refer to these threats of persecutions. When they are lobbying for a "public dispute" or debate over doctrine with the newly arrived Anglican minister John Latham in 1745, they feel they cannot press the issue, "we knowing our weakness" (FH Port 28:38). Again in 1748, they

report that they "are but few, + weak, being Lessened by Several of the most worthy in our Church" (FH Port 29:147).

Even while they report in their 1744 letter that "we have been preserv'd from Suferings" at the same time, they state that it is only God who "keepeth us from the Wills of creul Men" (FH Port 28:38). In fact, in 1743, the Meeting writes that there was "*but one* called a Friend that has Suffered Persecution amongst Us, which was for Refusing to bear Arms, he was Tyed neck + heels" (FH Port 28:37, emphasis added). In general, though the "Governour has often threatened us, but [he] has hither to been withheld" from harming them (FH Port 28:37). Foci of fears over persecution are on the issue of taxes for military purposes and being forced to bear arms and stand for the militia. This suggests Quaker non-violence was a central feature of how these authors conceived of Quakerism.

These threats are particularly are seen as coming from the two men who succeeded John Pickering as governor, John Hunt and James Purcell. Before leaving that office himself Pickering writes to Friends in Philadelphia "I find it a hard matter for a Man to be a Governor, + a Christian too, in such a place as this is. I would have acquitted my Self of the Government e'er this time, but I find if I do it will come into ye hands of a very Creul Enemy to Friends, a haughty, proud, Austere Man, whose wife [Mary Hunt, later Mary Nottingham] has Suffere'd cruel Persecution on account of her being one" (FH MS.Vol.335 (Gibson) 2:61).

However, other sources do not agree that Hunt and Purcell were enemies to Quakers at all. Dorothy Thomas, writing a private letter to Elizabeth Estaugh, the widow of John Estaugh, a minister from England who visited Tortola and died shortly after arriving in 1742, describes his trip to Jost van Dyke just before he took ill. Accompanying Estaugh was "John Pickering, John Hunt, Governor[,] Jonas Lake, Jeremy Martin Dorcas Powell and myself" (Nicholson 1894: 41). If Hunt was such an enemy to Quakers, why would he accompany one of their leading ministers and most of their leading members on a religious visit to Jost van Dyke? Another version of the persecutions of Friends in Tortola comes from a 1745 letter of James Birket, who helped form the Meeting but was a merchant ship captain working out of Liverpool and Antigua and never resident. He writes that "their new Governor [Hunt] had been very indulgent to Friends wth regard to bearing Arms &c. although he had been very severe upon those of his own society [i.e. non-Quakers] when he thought they were deficient in their duty" (Birket to John Wilson, FH Port 1:37).

The documentary record is similarly contradictory with Governor Purcell's attitude towards Quaker dissenters. When an act calls for them to keep arms and contribute money to pay for a fort, they write to London that there is no legal authority to force them to pay, but

> yet we expect no Less than Soon to have it taken by Force from us, + as far as we can perceive are quite Remedyless as to outward help or Countanance from any in these parts, so that we are greatly to be Pittyed, who are obliged to live under such arbitrary Power where our properties are Liable to be invaded and Violated, if the Governour be of a Dispostion so to Do, as ths our present one, lately appointed for this Island Seems strongly to be of, and a great Enemy and Dispiser of Friends" (FH Port 29:147, TMM to London, 1748)

In 1748, the Governor "lately appointed" was Purcell. The next year, 1749, no trouble has been caused, and they must admit that Purcell "has lately Carried himself in a general way pretty moderate to Friends, and in Respect of Compelling us to Carry arms is quite Silent, the Cause he says being taken away there is no more need for it." Nonetheless, "some can See the poison of Asps yet under his Lips" (FH, London Yearly Meeting Epistles Received 3:242).

Yet a very different view of Purcell's attitude is offered from other sources. A 1751 dispatch written by Purcell himself to the Council for Trade and Plantations includes the note: "I think it proper to inform their Lordships that we have had in the Virgin islands a great many of that profession who are commonly called Quakers who are not only very well affected to his Majesty's person but also persons of great industry a [page torn] would humbly recommend them to their Lordships as persons worthy of enjoying and well intitled to all th[page torn] may be claimed by any of his Majesty's subjects in these parts" (CO 152/27#Aa.75).

Based on this evidence, it seems most likely that very few instances of persecution actually occurred in the BVI and that any which did may not have been sanctioned by the government. Rather, a feeling of persecution, governmental oppression, and the appeals it occasioned them to make to Friends in London may have been part of how some members authoring these letters conceived of Quakerism and its expected relations with non-members.

Martyrdom was an essential part of Quakerism in its early years. Sufferings of persecution make up a substantial part of George Fox's journal (Fox 1952). In the first dozen years of George Fox's preaching, twenty-one of his associates or followers are known to have died in prison or otherwise as a result of their faith (Nuttall 1952: xix) and over 400 did so throughout the course of the seventeenth century (Davies 2000: 178). By the middle of the eighteenth century, however, Quakerism had changed significantly: they had reigned in their millennial claims and disruptive actions, become more middle class and stable (Davies 2000; Vann 1969). But depicting themselves as "greatly to be Pittyed" may still have seemed to Tortolan Quakers an effective way to make connections to members from far away in an environment alien to many of them: the core of power, commerce, wealth, and religious enlightenment that was England.

11. Conclusions

The last chapter attempted to reconstruct some aspects of daily life and relationships for the Lettsom family, the enslaved people they held, and the larger BVI Quaker community to which they were all tied. What can we learn from these relationships, disputes and reinterpretations, demands and challenges, identifications and disidentifications—in short from this community—about Quakerism in general or religion as a whole? This final chapter attempts to address this by summarizing the conclusions of chapter ten in the context of two central sets of questions which arise of any local context when considered through the theoretical structure outlined in chapter three. That chapter argued that the way religious groups define and create themselves on the local scale through daily interactions is a fundamental part of the larger thing we refer to as a "religion" which results from those interactions. This process of group creation is one of creating privileged differences in ways of acting—ritualization—based on a certain set of uniting precedents. Ritualization is itself seen as part of identification, the creation of groups, "identities." This, in turn, is a process of exclusion and inclusion, a contextual process that is cross-cut by other identifications: one way to understand religion is to chart this differentiation of types of action and the resulting differentiation of types of people.

So, of the dataset outlined in this work, we can ask 1) how do we see the Lettsoms and other BVI Quakers creating a sense of Quaker identity? That is, what are the privileged differences drawn on this site and in this community between their ways of acting and their material world and other peoples' actions and things which may be connected to (may be seen as citing) the chain of precedents which binds them to the worldwide Quaker community? What are they doing differently than other Caribbean planters and how is this related to large-scope practices of Quakerism? And 2), we can ask in what ways does this process take place differently here because of the peculiarities of local context? That is, how is the creation of religion in practice influenced by the context of daily life? How are the differences observed as part of the first set of questions related to the context in which these actions are taken—the slave Caribbean and the BVI in particular—and, despite connections to Quaker precedents, how do they differ from these?

Opposing Ritualizations: Quakerism, Whiteness, and Class

The Lettsom's relationship with the enslaved people they held provides a vivid window into some of the differences between them and other Caribbean planters. The structure and material culture of most Caribbean plantations have been interpreted by archaeologists as part of an effort to materially create and enforce differences between the free and enslaved people. This differentiation often takes on class-based undertones and is also part of the oppression of the institution of slavery, with control and intimidation of the enslaved people and exposition of the wealth and power of the owners being central themes (Armstrong 1990; Clement 1997; Delle

1998; Delle 1999). Though material and social differences between owner and enslaved people are clearly seen on Little Jost van Dyke, they take on much more of a theme of separation.

The argument that the enslaved people of Little Jost van Dyke had less than the usual level of surveillance and oversight by the site's owners has been made on several grounds. The owners' and enslaved peoples' houses were placed at some distance from each other, and they appear to have only minimally shared many of the spaces of daily life, such as cooking centers. Acquisition, preparation, and consumption of food—a central part of any person's life and one consuming a great deal of time in this context—was for the most part separate. The structure of the site is such that the owners would have been unable to see the homes of the enslaved people or their path (via the "crawl") to Jost van Dyke, allowing the enslaved people to come and go from the island without oversight. Though they appear to have been denied access to a boat for deep-sea fishing or long distance travel, the site layout and the high levels of wild species in their diet indicate that the enslaved people had quite a degree of freedom of movement around the island.

Other lines of evidence suggest that it was more than a simple lack of oversight, a "laissez faire" enslavement. The *differences* between the two groups seem to be especially important, perhaps to both sides. For their part, the Lettsoms were part of a community which generally disapproved of the over-use of alcohol. This disapproval was confirmed and actively performed when the members based a rare disownment on excessive drinking, in the case of Jonas Lake in 1760. They also "dealt" with John Lettsom, probably Edward's brother and John Coakley Lettsom's uncle, for his excessive drinking in 1747. Yet Edward and Mary Lettsom seem to have supplied alcohol to their enslaved people, suggested by the distribution of bottle-glass, and made no effort to oversee how it was used (this is not to suggest that the enslaved people here abused alcohol, merely that the Lettsoms appear not to have cared if they did or not). Whereas Quaker paternalism could have suggested that they deny the enslaved people alcohol or supervise their consumption and their other practices much like other planters did through panoptic spaces, the suggestion here is that the Lettsoms did not care to oversee what was going on in Area E. Rather than paternalistic concern, this suggests exclusion of the enslaved people from the Quaker community in the minds of Mary and Edward Lettsom.

Tobacco seems to have been commonly used by someone in the Lettsom house, but not by the enslaved people. Perhaps too expensive to be provided to the enslaved people in quantity, it not being a common product in the BVI, the enslaved people may have chosen not to pursue it as an economic strategy. Whatever the other reasons for the enslaved peoples' and owners' different choices in regards to tobacco use, the common, visible difference in practice—that the latter smoked often and the former rarely—would have served to further mark separation.

The ceramic assemblages also suggested sharp differences between the two groups, ones resulting from active choices. Although mostly contemporary (suggested by pipe stem dates and documentary record) with the occupation of the enslaved area, the owners held onto consistently older ceramic types, possibly as a result of their local interpretations of Quaker "simplicity." Meanwhile, though still poor and clearly oppressed, the enslaved people managed to acquire a higher level of higher-status, more contemporary items compared to their owners than most other Caribbean enslaved people. For instance, they had a level of porcelain and white salt-glazed

stoneware much closer to their owners, and the enslaved had the only higher-status glass tableware piece, represented by a fragment of wine glass stem. Teawares were present in equal levels (as far as can be determined given the limitations of the assemblage) among the enslaved people and free, and although their usage and meanings may have differed, they nonetheless represent somewhat more expensive and difficult to acquire goods.

How are all these efforts at differentiation connected to Quakerism? Historians have long argued some common Quaker practices were directed at establishing difference between Quakers and non-Quakers in core, English communities, creating a "hedge" around Quakerism (Frost 2002: 25). I have suggested elsewhere that this difference was carefully crafted: not just separation but separation in a certain way, the rejection of overtly religious actions as separate from daily life and the incorporation of an interpretation of their religious ideals into all aspects of life (Chenoweth 2009). The foregoing summary has shown how the Lettsoms differentiated themselves from their enslaved people in ways not usual among Caribbean planters: rather than surveilling and intimidating, these choices seem to be ones of separation in virtually every act of daily life from foodways, to ceramic choices, to physical separation between the houses, to bodily practices like drinking and smoking.

The Quaker practice of community building via separation was played out here in the context of Caribbean slavery and isolation from other planters, which altered the pattern of emphasizing certain highly-ritually charged differences in daily conduct: rather than white non-Quakers, the Lettsoms spent most of their time on an island with their enslaved people. The creation of Quaker separateness became tied up with the creation of whiteness, of an idea of leisure-class planter identity, and religious interpretations of simplicity all at once. Even habits not typically associated with religious activities, like smoking may have taken on an added importance, being used to show difference between slave and free *and* Quaker and non-Quaker at the same time.

What the enslaved people on Little Jost chose to do with their relative freedom has also been indicated, and suggests an interest in differentiation from the Lettsoms as much as the Quakerly Lettsoms saw themselves as different from the enslaved people. As just noted, they were able to acquire a level of higher-status ceramics above that of many other enslaved people. While the inter-island-scale market economy between enslaved people often indicated by the presence and transport of locally-made, low-fired earthenware appears to have missed this out-of-the way corner of the Caribbean, this does not mean that the enslaved people of Little Jost van Dyke were inactive. The lack of domesticates being consumed in Area E was taken to suggest that they sold their more desirable, high-priced produce rather than eating it themselves. With this money, they were able to acquire manufactured material goods which opposed the Lettsoms' Quakerly tendencies: while the Lettsoms used older ceramics and eschewed teawares compared to most planter families, the enslaved people may have embraced these, putting them to their own uses, while at the same time declaring their independence from the Quaker ideology which, at best, was paternalistic to them.

After the Meeting

The discussion at the beginning of chapter ten defined some possible changes over time between the two different households which lived on the planter site: that of Mary and Edward Lettsom, closely connected to the formal Meeting in Fat Hog's Bay, and that of Mary and her second husband Samuel Taine, following Edward's death and Mary's disownment. These data were problematic for a number of reasons, and so can only be taken so far, but they suggest a change in this theme of separation from the enslaved people in the later household. For instance, early on alcohol is used to define non-Quakerly activity, and thus to create Quaker identity in opposition to the enslaved when given to them. The place of alcohol in Quaker performance is changed, however, by the suggestion that after Mary left the Quaker community, the second Lettsom-Taine household increased its alcohol usage.

Shellfish data suggest that the Lettsom-Taines might have been eating somewhat more primary food shellfish, conch and whelk, than Edward and Mary Lettsom, earlier. This was connected to the possibility that Mary and Samuel were somewhat better off financially than Mary and Edward, in part probably due to John Coakley Lettsom's assistance. Indications from the architectural changes in the house and the ceramics (in the increase in white salt-glazed stoneware from the first to the second household) also suggest this. But changes in shellfish patterns may also possibly be related to increased oversight of the enslaved people, distance from whom may have defined Quakerism earlier on. After all, the shellfish were not likely purchased from off-island (making them easier to acquire with more wealth) since they were so abundant on the island itself, but were acquired through the labor appropriated from the enslaved people. At first, this appropriation was less efficient due to the emphasis on separation instead of oversight, but with the loss of the Meeting's influence and Mary's formal membership, she may have reversed this trend. It is also notable that this increased oversight is associated with at least the possibility of a greater effort to put the young and/or old to work, resulting in increased use of periwinkles, the most easily gathered secondary food source.

As the Quaker community faded from the minds of Mary Lettsom and her second husband, separation from the enslaved people became less of a religious duty—the creation of a "hedge"—and more of a practical, economic issue as it was for other planters. This may have expressed itself as a reassertion of control, with work being checked and the enslaved people being pressed to produce more, despite their physical limitations. The resources of the island also may have been directed less to raising domesticates—a socially charged item important to Quaker ideals of industry—resulting in the decreased percentage of domesticate faunal remains in the later deposits. The creation of whiteness and class lost its religious connection, and daily practice for the Lettsoms altered again.

Creating Quakerness versus Creating Planterness: Social Climbing in Two Communities

If we are asking how the Quakers of the BVI created their identity as a group, we need to consider several contextual factors which surrounded this process. The Quakers of the BVI walked in two equally important worlds, each pulling them in different directions. The need to mark clear separation between members and non-members has already been noted, but in the

Caribbean, there were other concerns. Quaker and non-Quaker planters in the BVI alike lived at the edge of their world. They had no standing militia for protection against either the enslaved people, who outnumbered the white population by nearly as much as elsewhere in the Caribbean, or foreign enemies, and their requests for aid from the Leeward Islands Government often went unanswered. Many were far from their places of birth and travel to or even communication with other parts of the world was difficult at best. This situation is perhaps more extreme, but not fundamentally different from that of other Caribbean planters, vastly outnumbered by their enslaved people and living a somewhat tenuous existence at the mercy of uprisings, hurricanes, and earthquakes. The performance of Quakerism had to fit within these concerns.

To cope with these difficulties, Caribbean planters needed cooperation, and they needed a sense of shared identity, commonality, and the implicit promise of mutual support which such commonality provokes. Efforts to create Quakerism as distinct and different were important, but no negotiation of Quakerism could threaten the potentially life-saving ties with other planters too deeply. Here, there appear to be two interesting results of the competition between these forces: 1) that Quakerism, divisive among the whites, was expressed more privately, while unifying marks of social advancement were made more publicly, and 2) that the typical Quaker mutual support network, with its religious foundations discussed in chapter four, was repurposed into the support of a generalized class and race-based difference of planter over enslaved people.

Public Planterness

Despite the discussion in the last section, statements of wealth and power, including those maintained over the enslaved people, were not absent from the Lettsom's world, of course. A comparison of the architecture of the enslaved people and the Lettsoms, for instance, is heavily weighted towards the latter, with a mortared and cut stone foundation, much more substantial than the remains of the enslaved people houses, suggested only by a few alignments of unshaped stone, a single wattle-and-mortar wall, and an artifact scatter. But, in contrast to most other Caribbean planters, most such statements seem to be more directed at the planters of Tortola, a group of generally higher status, and are interpreted here as part of the Lettsoms' desire to be upwardly mobile. It is notable that the positioning of the Lettsoms' house and those of their enslaved people would make both very clearly displayed to Tortola and to any passing ship in the channel north of Tortola. The statement of superiority over the enslaved people made by the architectural differences between the two was a very public one, but directed at Tortolans, not at the enslaved.

Despite indications from some sources in the historical record that the Lettsoms were wealthy planters, many by or related to John Coakley Lettsom, who probably had a great motivation to be seen as descending from wealth, the evidence here suggests a more middling or even poor status, based on the productive capability of Little Jost. However, there are many indications that the Lettsom family was making efforts towards their own social advancement. With no small amount of extra effort, the house was placed very specifically to view and be directed towards Tortola, rather than towards the nearer but poorer neighbors of Jost van Dyke, for reasons of cooling breezes, or for surveillance over the enslaved people. The choice of Little Jost itself as a home, perhaps seen as a kind of country mansion, may have been part of this effort as well. John

Coakley Lettsom's education, too, may have been orchestrated to produce a gentleman rather than for the direct—or at least immediate, having at least a seventeen year delay in payoff—economic goals of the family, which appears to have suffered the loss of their land in Cane Garden Bay, land with far better potential than Little Jost van Dyke, as a result of the choice to send him away and the desire to "live apart" on something like a country estate. Again, these are very public statements, probably understood by all members of the planter community to establish Englishness, whiteness, and commonality. They used a vocabulary of country mansions and gentlemanly prospects common to the English-descended world, evidenced by its deployment among Philadelphia Quakers, and not based on purely economic ideas of class or control. This was social climbing, not economic maximization.

One of the few performances of wealth that took place more privately is smoking. It was suggested above that tobacco was a more expensive habit in the BVI, which produced little tobacco, and so may have been seen as a mark of class or at least of having a measure of disposable income. Since the enslaved people appear to have chosen not to pursue this resource, it functioned effectively to distinguish between owner and enslaved people. However, it was also noted that the distribution of smoking-related artifacts on the site suggests a very public consumption on the front terrace of the house, possibly visible to passing ships and any visitors arriving from Tortola. By contrast, some expected private proclamations of social status, such as those associated with the English tea ceremony, were present in much lower than expected levels. These were held at about the same levels as the enslaved people on Little Jost.

Private Quakerism

Statements of Quaker simplicity in the BVI, however interpreted, may have been more carefully selected and less-all-encompassing than they were elsewhere in the Quaker world in an effort to not upset the ties created between white planters, which were established in part with the material statements just discussed. Marks which may have been interpreted not just as simplicity but as poverty may have been too closely associated with the enslaved people, difference from whom was primary to all whites in the Caribbean. Those elements observed here which might be associated with Quaker practices of thrift and simplicity appear to be more private, visible to the enslaved people from whom differences were made clear otherwise, and to visitors to the Lettsoms' home, many of whom were Quaker, but not to the entire planter community. The continued use of highly worn items (gunflints and ceramics) could be related to ideas demonizing waste and excess (as these were locally defined), and the acquisition and use of inferior quality (in the case of tin-enameled wares, which wore poorly), out-dated, and older ceramics may have been gestures to a version of Quaker "simplicity" sourced in practices of Quakers elsewhere. Alcohol was little used in the Lettsoms' home, at least during the period of the formal Meeting.

Marriage seems to have been one of the major activities of the Quaker Meeting: 35% of the times individuals were mentioned in the Minutes being related to a wedding in some capacity. The practice of Quaker endogamy is one often pointed to by historians as creating insularity in the Quaker community (Isichei 1967). While public in a sense, this particular practice was not likely to cause substantial rifts with non-Quakers, and the choices of partners and wedding

ceremonies were certainly private on the scale of the entire colony. The community which grew up in the BVI appears to have been a tight one with deep connections, especially those of marriage which appear to have tied many members into an intricate web of "near relations." Although the nature of the graves on Little Jost van Dyke is uncertain, if owners and enslaved people were buried in one location, this would have been a remarkable innovation in practice for either white planters or Quakers in general. It would also have been a relatively private decision, invisible to passing ships and perhaps known only to close friends and visitors to the house.

Mutual Support to Create Whiteness

It would be cynical in the extreme, and unjustified, to suggest that Mary and Edward joined the Quaker community only in an effort to use these connections for material gain. Indeed, their religiously-based differentiation from their enslaved people, discussed above, could have only hurt them materially, since a lack of oversight probably hurt their production of cash crops. Mary "[de]Clared the truth having nothing to say against it" even when she was disowned and cut off from further assistance, and the "benefit of the doubt" discussed in the first chapter suggests that we must consider the Lettsom's faith real and heartfelt, whatever other advantages they received.

Nonetheless, the Lettsoms had reason to believe that they would receive real, material assistance as a result of their membership. The Meeting provided direct cash charity for at least one member, Rebecca Britt, although a large portion of this money went into the hands of another leading (and probably wealthy) member of the Meeting: Mary Nottingham. More indirect assistance may have come to the Lettsoms through the personal contacts afforded by involvement with the Meeting, for instance the ability to register their property and send John Coakley Lettsom to school in England. Physical changes to their house also suggest new and greatly improved construction during the early years of their involvement with the Meeting.

Social climbing is not, of course, a (specifically) Quakerly trait. But elements from the chain of Quakerly practice here become entailed in this very Caribbean effort to create and enforce class and race distinctions: a community and a system of mutual support put in place to ensure that Quakers retained the ability to put their beliefs into practice (a religious necessity) becomes the machinery of creating Englishness and whiteness. The advantages of Quaker connections are put to work by the Lettsoms on very public projects to enforce the commonality of planters, even as other distinctions are made privately between Quaker and non-Quaker.

Quakerly Citations and Aberrations

What of the performance of wealth to other Quakers, such as the indications of foods eaten when the community gathered together at Fat Hog's Bay? While the Lettsoms appear to have eaten mostly wild fish and shellfish at home, domesticates appear to have been the almost exclusive food served at gatherings such as that at the Fat Hogs Bay Meetinghouse. While not all members were wealthy, it is clear that they always put their "best foot forward" presenting what were

clearly higher-status foods to each other. The choice of domesticates to show off access to resources, however, has been suggested to be not-coincidental, being charged with symbolism of productivity and opposed to an image of laziness associated with fishing. Simplicity does not mean poverty, as a number of Quaker historians have argued, and a performance of status that was earned through Godly work might have served to perform both Quakerness and planterness.

This performance of industry and economy has other indications in the material record of Little Jost. The fragmentation of the bone assemblage could be taken to represent efforts at efficient use of the resources, for instance the extraction of marrow, an avoidance of waste despite the lack of other indications of resource stress. The Lettsoms, and from the limited evidence available apparently other BVI Quakers when meeting at Fat Hog's Bay, made full use of their food despite not being particularly unable to acquire more. There is some precedent for this, for instance the "highly fragmentary" bone assemblage noted in the Burlington, New Jersey, Meetinghouse remains (Ward and McCarthy 2009). The almost complete removal of the building materials at the Burlington site for use elsewhere might also be interpreted as an avoidance of waste. The Lettsoms appear to have chosen older ceramics rather than fashionable newer ones, acquired by their enslaved people, perhaps as another gesture to this particular interpretation of frugality and simplicity.

Also, as discussed in chapter eight, some conflicted evidence seems to indicate that at one point the Lettsoms attempted to give up their weapons, burying the perfectly re-usable gun buttplate under wet mortar in the foundations of their home during its 1740s rebuilding. Nonetheless, gunflints and perhaps lead fragments might suggest later return to weaponry, since there are several such items substantially higher in the stratigraphy on the site. Perhaps the Lettsoms came to fear for their safety during the war with France around the time of Edward's death (a time when Quakers in Philadelphia also struggled with the peace testimony), or perhaps Mary or her second husband, Samuel Taine, chose to have a weapon after their association with the Meeting had ended. If so, Mary seems to have seen protection of one's property as not inconsistent with Quaker "Truth," perhaps a practical necessity in the lawless and often violent Caribbean slave society in which she lived. In any case, the enslaved people seem to have been denied the possibility of access to materials usable in weapons, since the fire-starter they used appears to have been reduced to a size impossible to fit in a flintlock.

But other material markers expected of Quakerism are more complex. For instance, the shell assemblage and the one example of a bone bead (the latter found in the planter yard) suggests the possibility that the Lettsoms adorned themselves with shells and beads not entirely unlike the enslaved people, a practice not unprecedented among poorer Caribbean whites. Chapter five also noted the story of the two mixed-race people once owned by Edward Lettsom, Sam and Teresa, over whom John Coakley Lettsom showed a deep concern, offering significant assistance and going to great lengths to legally register Teresa's freedom after Sam's death. It was suggested that these two might represent half-siblings to John, children of his father and an enslaved woman on the island, possibly Rosett, once listed as staying, "with her two children" who are not themselves named, with Mary Lettsom. Sexual activity with a person outside of marriage, as noted in the discussion of the syphilitic skeleton encountered in excavation in England, was highly frowned upon by Quakers. Perhaps with enslaved people, this was either ignored by or unknown to the BVI community, an unspoken-of practice much as it was with

other Caribbean whites? It was certainly a common practice among BVI planters, judging from the abnormally high population of free, mixed-race people recorded there (see chapter five).

Perhaps most spectacular is the possibility of magico-religious practice in the form of a charm buried in the foundations of the house. Placed probably during the 1740s rebuilding, this assemblage would have been another level more private than even the performances of private Quakerism noted above. Like others who felt no particular inconsistency between Christianity and folk magic, the Lettsoms may have seen such actions as acceptable, if perhaps not something to be shared openly. These factors of personal decoration, sexual relationships with enslaved people, and conceptions of a place for magic in Christian and even Quaker practice may have been practices, even if some went unspoken, which formed ties between the Lettsoms and the rest of the non-Quaker planter society.

Division, Differing Quakerisms, and the End of the Tortola Monthly Meeting

Thus the Quaker community in the BVI was one where members were pulled in multiple directions, even as they worked to unite themselves into a single group. Some of those other influences will certainly have caused rifts within the group, as members came to differing individual conclusions about how best to navigate these other concerns. All the different practices which resulted—those which together created "Quakerism"—were not always compatible, however.

Several historians have suggested that Quakerism was simply incompatible with slavery in the Caribbean, and that this was behind the end of the Tortola Meeting (Dookhan 1975; Jenkins 1923). This conclusion, however, is not supported by the fact that the two co-existed for nearly a century from the movement's founding and George Fox's Caribbean travels in the 1670s through the formal end of the Tortola Meeting in 1762. Caribbean Quakers met in small pockets like that discussed here in the BVI, but were also a large part of mercantile life in Port Royal before the 1692 earthquake (Cadbury 1971), and had meetinghouses in Barbados, Nevis, and other islands at various times (Durham 1972).

In general, Quaker's attitudes towards slaves and slavery were highly varied. Even in Philadelphia, the center of the early anti-slavery movement, the attitudes varied from vocal opposition, to a self-focused desire to "purify the society" because "slavery—and perhaps the slaves themselves—polluted their religion," to complete acceptance of slavery and a view that it was compatible with Quaker teachings (Soderlund 1985: 174).

I suggest, then, that Quakerism did not fail in the Virgin Islands because of an incompatibility with slavery. In fact, the first section of this chapter argued that the enslaved people were an integral part of the creation of Quaker identity, at least for the Lettsoms, who marked themselves as different from their enslaved people in a more pointed way than other planters and in ways connected to the chains of practice associated with Quakerism elsewhere. Distance from the enslaved people helped to create BVI Quakerness and tie it fundamentally, in the minds of at least some members to whiteness, Britishness, and higher social standing. The more the white population was Quakerly, the more they were like each other, did well both materially and

socially, and the more different they were from the "Other" of the enslaved people. In turn, the enslaved people profited by this distance, at least in the case of the people held by the Lettsoms: they built their own material world largely separate from the plantation whites, and did almost as well on their own as the whites did with the labor they appropriated from them.

Rather, Quakerism's demise in the BVI might have been more a result of the relations among the Quakers themselves. Several sections have discussed the many ways the Lettsoms and others created ties of mutual support among members of the Quaker Meeting and also between Quaker and non-Quaker planters. Such ties had concrete results for the Lettsoms, and are seen here as a vital part of the tenuous life of white planters on the edge of the British Empire, outnumbered by those they kept in bondage and endangered by natural and foreign powers alike. But the evidence recounted here also suggested elements of division and conflict within the Quaker community. These differences appear to crystallize around the issues of wealth and class.

Discipline of the Poor, Oversight of the Rich

The discussion of the Lettsoms throughout this work has suggested that they were certainly a part of the middling social class at best, having quite marginal land and far fewer enslaved people than leaders of the Quaker group. It has also been suggested that the Lettsoms received some material advantages from their membership in the Quaker community, marked by the expansion of their home and education of their son. This support, while not the only reason a person probably joined the Meeting, does seem to have held an important place in the minds of some members. Mary Lettsom, at least, resolves not to attend Meeting until some Friend offers her some help after she is widowed (TMM Minutes 7:53). Not only providers of most of the funds for it, the wealthier members of the Meeting would have been the arbiters of Meeting-centered assistance, deciding who should get what assistance and how.

But the support offered by Quaker Meetings always came at a price: the social control and oversight of meeting leaders. As discussed in chapter four, this control was both religious—to ensure that members practiced Quaker values in their daily lives—and secular—to ensure the welfare and separateness of the Society as a whole. In the BVI oversight appears to have been centered on members physical attendance at Meetings.

BVI Members were disowned for marrying out, violence, and "the odious practice of Dancing" but notably in two instances for not coming to Meeting, despite recorded acknowledgement that the offender was otherwise largely still in agreement with Quaker principles. The disowning of members simply for not attending Meetings, especially towards the end of the Meeting, suggests that those in leadership positions were more interested in enforcing the structure of Meetings and their social control over members than they were some of the other aspects usual to Quaker ideology, such as the ability to commune with God everywhere and the lack of hierarchy in church structures. The written record also suggests a trend towards formalization of Meetings for Business over time, with an increasing emphasis on Meetings being held more regularly despite there being less business, perhaps suggestive of increasing emphasis on the control of members. Considering the geography of the BVI, direct observation and surveillance of

members could only take place on (often difficult) visits to individual plantations or when the group was gathered together in one place.

This tendency towards Meeting oversight is also related to the distinctions between rich and poor. This study suggested that, based on agricultural potential or measures of the wealth that enslaved people represented, Virgin Islander planters living on the "Out Islands" were generally poorer than those on Tortola, and that this was probably in general true for Quakers as well. It does seem that poorer Friends from Out Islands like Jost van Dyke, including the Lettsoms, received more than their share of admonishment from the Meeting's leaders, and were much more frequently mentioned negatively in the written records than the wealthier members.

Different Imagined Quakerisms

While speculative, a picture of two differing ideas of how to define the Quaker community begins to take shape. As discussed above, it appears that the Lettsoms were interested in ties *both* to Quakers and non-Quaker BVI planters, and attempted to declare their Quakerness without threatening their ties to other planters. The written record, however, created more by the Meeting's leadership, the wealthier members, betrays an interest in a Quakerism more homogenous and separate from the non-Quaker world, following a pattern more common to core Quaker communities in London. For them, Quakerism was created primarily in practices of Meeting organization, oversight, and enforcement of regulations, much of which centered around the written word and communication with Quakers abroad, not focus on other whites close by.

Since writing is a class-privileged ability that few in the BVI could do well, it may have also had an effect on Meeting social relations. Both London and the core members of Tortola's Meeting regarded letters as not just a practical, but almost a religious necessity. Writing, through the sharing of books and sending of letters in what has been called "a fine web of literate contact" (Walvin 1997: 46), was a central part of how Quakerism was formed and maintained throughout the Atlantic World. Through annual letters, the sending of certificates, and sharing of books (all major parts of Meetings for Business) BVI Quakers were connected to London and other places far beyond the shores of the Virgin Islands. But it also may have been a divisive factor, something that many poorer members could not have participated fully in, and for some it may have been a reminder of their own lower status compared to those in the Meeting's leadership positions. There are few surviving written documents by poorer members of the Meeting, and these (like Edward Lettsom's note, quoted in chapter ten) betray a much lower sense of literacy.

The surviving writings sent to London also paint a picture of how the authors wanted to be seen by other Quakers beyond the BVI. The potential for persecution and harassment by non-Quakers takes on a disproportionate part of the content of the letters, and other sources have been used here to suggest that this fear was largely unwarranted. While the letters contain fears of persecution by hateful and Godless governors bent on the destruction of the community, the Governors themselves accompany visiting Quakers on religious visits and report to their superiors nothing but positive things about the group. Suffering on behalf of their beliefs is something that has united Quakers in various ways throughout their history, and being seen as enduring hardships for their membership was apparently a goal of the authors of the Meeting's

communications. Persecution of early Friends is accounted by some modern adherents as one of the reasons for the strong sense of community among Quakers in its early days (Philadelphia Yearly Meeting 1997: 3), and would have been a part of a creation of a common Quaker experience among very distant communities. For the leaders of the Tortola Meeting, difference from other planters was key to the worldwide community of Quakers, but as suggested above, this difference was dangerous especially to those more remote and poor, like the Lettsoms.

Along these fault lines we might see two groups developing over the twenty-year history of the Tortola Monthly Meeting. Some members of the Meeting saw Quakerism as something which united them into a close local community of mutual support, gave them a reason to visit and care for each other, providing assistance so that each could maintain stability in the home and freely seek God. Assistance like that Mary Lettsom expected at her husband's death was a part of this Quakerism. More like the groups which would emerge in England and America in the early nineteenth century known as Hicksite or "liberal" Quakers (see chapter four), there is evidence of *creative* expression of Quaker values over a reliance on "legalism" or strict adherence to specifically-formulated rules. For them, Quakerism was the lived reality of a Godly existence, expressed in a variety of ways, even the use of older ceramics and the industrious production of domestic animals. For them also, a somewhat darker side of Quakerism can be defined, in which the group was defined in opposition to enslaved people, excluded from most of God's Light.

Yet other members saw Quakerism in a somewhat different way, ritualizing aspects of life which tied them to the broader worldwide Quaker group, beyond the BVI's shores, such as writing. Meeting together was for them an opportunity to ensure that each member was representing the Society *as a whole* in the proper way. More like those who in a few decades would be called "orthodox" Quakers, some members may have focused on the written word of the Bible, and proscriptions such as temperance in alcohol use. When the influence of these members wanes on Little Jost, the suggestion has been made that Mary and Samuel Taine reject this temperance and worry less about their separation from their enslaved people. For the generally wealthier members, ties to the economic and social core of London were much more central, and in this light, they focused on how Quakerism marked them as different from local non-Quakers: they emphasized their fears of persecution if there was no actual persecution to report, and so created bonds of fellow-suffering with Quakers abroad. The written records, the formal procedures of the Meeting to disown a member, the demands to meet in person to conduct business, and this emphasis on suffering for their faith may have proved divisive within their local community, as others chaffed under the structure imposed on them.

Polysemy Among Members: Enslaved People and Meetinghouses

Yet slavery may have still had a role in the demise of the Tortola Meeting. Slavery, when first considered in the written records of Quakers in Tortola, appears to have been seen as a danger primarily to the slaveholders, not the enslaved people, for the sin of pride that such power might occasion. The enslaved people, when considered at all, are a part of the community on some level, being "Unite[d] into one Body" with the rest of the members by God's love, but are themselves considered only as part of a fear that their owners may exercise "to grate [too great] an indulgence to those of whom they have the over Sight as Children +c." But the rumblings

which represent the nascent anti-slavery movement among Quakers must have been heard by BVI Quakers, as they received the 1758 and 1760 letters from London which contain explicit anti-slavery sentiments, though not ones demanding of immediate, specific action.

However vague, those letters hinted at the idea of abandoning slavery. While it is highly doubtful than many of the wealthy Quakers considered putting this idea into effect, it is more likely in their case than for the poorer members of Caribbean society. Without their enslaved people they had little or no capitol (as evidenced by John Coakley Lettsom's inheritance from his father Edward, which consisted *entirely* of enslaved people) and nothing to fall back on. The above discussion of how the Lettsoms constructed their Quakerness (along with their whiteness and what social privilege they did possess) through differentiation with the enslaved people also clarifies how distasteful the ideas coming from London may have been to the poor BVI Quakers. That the wealthy Quakers would have at least considered freeing their slaves as a possibility is suggested by the fact that the Nottinghams, members of the core Meeting leadership, actually did so in 1778.

So perhaps the final split in the Meeting, the one that led to the end of the formal Meetings for Business in 1762, was occasioned, ironically, by the consideration of equality with the enslaved people on a more fundamental level than the poorer members were able to accept. If emancipation was a possibility for the wealthy who could take their fortunes and return to England where their connections still remained, it was not for the poor, mostly born in the Caribbean and with nothing else to fall back on. For them Quakerism was explicitly formed in opposition to the enslaved. If the Quakerism of Tortola's wealthy came to represent social control, perhaps even to the extent of suggesting that members free their enslaved people, this may have come to outweigh and benefits the poorer members like the Lettsoms could have expected to received from it. For Mary, when in her time of need no support was offered, she was quick to reject the Meetings for Business, the main instrument of direct control, even while she maintained her own ideals of living a Quakerly life.

Positioned between all these forces are the buildings which served as Meetinghouses. These structures seem to be one item on which all BVI members were in agreement. Despite the explicit lack of their necessity in Quaker writings, actual Meetinghouses as communal foci appear to have been central to BVI Quakers. At a time when the colony was without a courthouse, church, meeting hall or jail, the only public buildings in the colony were the two and perhaps three buildings erected and maintained by the Quaker Meeting at Fat Hog's Bay, Road Town, and possibly Structure H on Little Jost van Dyke or another building on Jost van Dyke's East End. The story of former Tortola Meeting member Dorcas Lille and her later Quaker community's plan for a Meetinghouse on St. Croix (despite numbering only three members at one point!) also suggests that buildings were considered vital center-points for Virgin Island Quakers, in contrast to their depiction in writings from in England where they were seen as a convenience.

These structures were used for worship, a practice which Quaker ideology holds could happen anywhere. But worshipping in groups created and reinforced a sense of community—even if the definition of that community was under dispute—and social ties (including those of marriages),

the network of support each could expect in the form of access to power and aid in times of need. This community was important, probably to all members, but for some it also came with other implications. The fact that Mary Lettsom and William Thornton, Sr. were disowned explicitly for not attending Meetings for Business suggests that those in control of the Meeting also put a great deal of weight on the gatherings, affording them an opportunity for direct oversight of the scattered flock. Like any artifact, the buildings came to have multiple meanings: representing both sociability and social control, both access to social power and domination by it.

The Contextual Ritualization of BVI Quakerism

What were the Lettsoms doing differently than other Caribbean planters which can be tied to large-scope practices of Quakerism? Like all identities, Quakerism is created through opposition as much as inclusion. In a way unusual among Caribbean planters, the Lettsoms emphasized separateness and difference from their enslaved people, living so far apart that there was little oversight and having material worlds distinct in ways different from the usual performance of power an inequality, despite sharing a tiny island. While most planters drank alcohol daily, and as a major part of their social interactions with each other, the Lettsoms appear to have limited their own drinking, at least during Edward's life. By simultaneously supplying it to their enslaved people, alcohol also served to further separate the groups, as did differing patterns of tobacco use and ceramic choices. The process of differentiation between Quakers and "Others" took place for the Lettsoms in opposition not to white Anglicans but to the enslaved people on Little Jost, and so Quakerness was created along with whiteness and the potential for social mobility.

This process is altered by the local, Caribbean context in other ways, as well. Simplicity is expressed (and defined) as a lack of newer ceramics, the reuse of worn items, and presentation of domesticates requiring investment of time and effort as opposed to wild-caught fish, an easily acquired resource in BVI planters' eyes. The dangers of the life as a white planter in the Caribbean also matter in this story. While some planters, having perhaps greater resources on which to fall back, identified more strongly with the broadest community of Quakers, and specifically aimed to maintain ties with those in London, the Lettsoms were more or equally concerned with local ties beyond the Quaker group. The practices chosen for ritualization, for marking as special and privileged and Quakerly, were generally private ones for them. In more public contexts, such as the placement of their house and display of their enslaved people (and thus wealth) they elected not to ritualize, not to make statements of Quakerness, but to enforce their ties with other planters and make claims of social mobility.

BVI Quakerism was created through actions like these but it was also contested. There has always been a tension inherent in Quakerism between individuality and communality, creativity and control. The split of wealthy and poor, oversight and support, which developed here was not new, but in the dangerous environment of the Caribbean, where unity among whites was a necessity of survival (at least for those who had no option to pick up and move to the economic core of London), this split may have become fatal to the group. When London began to pressure members on the issue of slavery in the late 1750s and early 1760s, the suggestion of any

interference may have been too much for some—who had not only built what wealth they had on the backs of the enslaved people but also vested all of that wealth in their bodies—to accept.

Final Thoughts

In recent decades, work in historical archaeology has sought to reconstruct the lives of "those of little note" (Scott 1994), literally those rarely noted by written history but a vibrant and vital part of the past. Work on plantation sites, especially those in the Caribbean, has been particularly effective at bringing to light the stories of some of the most oppressed, on whose backs the modern world was built. This project has tried to honor this work and these people, focusing on a poorer corner of the Caribbean, and the lives of the inhabitants of a less wealthy plantation. Black, white, free, and enslaved on this site were all removed from the core of political and economic power for the colony, although to varying degrees, and the British Virgin Islands were themselves outside the economic heartland of sugar production on other British islands.

What was the Quaker community to these different players? It varied tremendously: for Mary Lettsom it was a community of support and assistance as well as religious fellow-feeling, while for the enslaved people of Little Jost it was another reason for distance and difference with their owners, something which produced a small measure of freedom of movement in their otherwise restricted lives. For some in the core of the Meeting structure, this group was a community of guidance and control, even within the exclusive community of whiteness, this study has suggested that the Lettsoms and other "out island" residents were expected to play their subordinate roles, obeying the commands from those who were both the colony's wealthier members and the leadership of the Quaker Meeting. For a time, they did, at least in some ways, make the proper performances to gain membership in this group and access to government, trade, and other connections which gave them direct benefit. In the end, however, Mary Lettsom—in what might be seen as a very Quakerly spirit by some—chose her own interpretation of the Meeting's role in her life over that of the economic and social core, propelling herself out of the Meeting organization and at the same time out of written history. Her death is not recorded, even by her famous son, and she and the enslaved people she keeps become "little noted."

This project has also sought to evaluate religion in the past, and suggested that religion will be performed—and thus created—differently in different places. Cross-cutting influences, such as the slave economy in the case of the BVI, will matter for how any group takes shape, especially one based on the performance of privileged distinctions in ways of acting, as religion has been seen here. Evaluating the actions of the inhabitants of Little Jost in the context of the BVI and the history of Quakerism has suggested many ties to Quaker practice elsewhere, but also new interpretations. While the citational precedents of Quakerism, especially large-scope practices of writing and reading, were a vital part of the creation of Quaker identity, so were moments of daily life like those which divided the Lettsoms from their enslaved people and proved their industry to their fellow Quakers. These practices were not recorded historically, and do not, in this case, follow in a simplistic way from the chains of Quaker practice which influence them: this is a different Quakerism, inspired by but realized differently than that of Quakers elsewhere seen through the written record. In some ways, historical archaeology has been tied down by written works in our interpretations of religious issues: this study has tried to push at the

definitions of religious practice from these works and free us up to see variation where is exists, rather than thinking of religion as a set of static rules.

While Catherine Bell sees ritualization as a strategy "for the construction of a limited and limiting power relationship" (Bell 1992: 8) this gives an impression of a more coherent and agreed-upon practice of ritual than is always the case. At least if we apply her understanding of ritual as more flexibly practiced and not set aside from the world, we are also invited to include the more contested, ephemeral, and even fleeting efforts to evoke strategic, value-laden distinctions. Not all participants may be in complete agreement about what values are emphasized how and how they ought to be acting ritually. In fact, these actions are almost certain to be differentially performed, since citation is never perfect and all actions can have unintended consequences. But these actors are no less a part of ritualization, and their actions contribute to the shape of the religion that results.

Power relations were certainly being negotiated here, but what is interesting is that there is no agreement of the people about how, even within the same, relatively small local group. The Lettsoms ritualized aspects of life which asserted their separateness from and superiority over the enslaved people, while the Meeting Leadership focused on what proclaimed them superior to the poorer members like the Lettsoms and connected them to London. One community certainly did exist—why else would we be discussing it more than two centuries after its end?—but that community was not one of agreement, recapitulation of ritual forms or following of prescribed rules. It was actively created and argued over.

Disagreements over that which is ritualized—how distinctions between Quakers and others can best be drawn—are influenced by other factors and concerns. In this case, local context appears to have had a central role in determining how Quaker identities were constructed (and contested). For the Lettsoms, their religion was intimately tied to their race and possibilities for economic advancement: their Quakerism was one created out of daily differentiation in ways of practice from the enslaved people they held. For other Members, those already socially advanced locally but knowing that their colony little measured up to wealthier ones, Quakerism was a way of tying themselves to the social core of London. In a real sense, we may say that multiple Quakerisms coexist at one time, each drawing on the same chains of past practices to bring them together, but each marking the ways they are different from those surrounding them in nuanced ways. What happens when these different Quakerisms interact and directly conflict? This appears to have been the case within the Tortola Quaker community, and the result may eventually have occasioned the end of the group as a coherent body.

Under a practice-centered perspective, we can have no illusions of grand unified theories of human social relations; this conclusion does not attempt to explain religion in every context. The goal of this discussion is to show how Quakerism was created and contested locally in one place and time, in all its complexities, and allow these complexities to speak to those elsewhere.

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Appendix A: Ceramics

Ceramics collected in excavations in 2009 and 2010, by type and area

	Area A		Area B		Area E		Area J		Area K		FHB MH	
Type	**Ct**	**Wt.(g)**	**Ct**	**Wt.(g)**	**Ct**	**Wt.(g)**	**Ct**	**Wt.(g)**	**Ct**	**Wt.(g)**	**Ct**	**Wt.(g)**
Agate, coarse					1	4.2						
Astbury	1	0.4										
Brick	2	2	3	4	1	3.1	3	3.3			1	>250g
Creamware	61	71.6			146	246.3	4	6.6				
Creamware, Green Glazed					1	0.4						
Jackfield	4	4.2					1	0.2				
Lead-Glazed Slipware	22	74.9	11	24.9	11	23.6	1	0.7				
Low-Fired Earthenware	19	128.2	17	59.4			4	9.7	9	206.4		
Pearlware, MonoHand	1	0.1			16	41.1	1	0.9				
Pearlware, PolyHand	1	1.4			4	7.3						
Pearlware, Transfer Printed					30	109						
Pearlware, Undecorated	10	11.8			18	23.28	1	2.2				
Porcelain	6	3.5	6	7.4	3	2.3						
Porcelain, Brown Glazed	3	2	3	11.8	1	0.2						
Redware, Lead Glazed	3	3.1			3	4.2					1	13.9
Stoneware, Brown English					2	50.6						
Stoneware, Dipped	2	10.3										
Stoneware, Scratch Blue	2	1										
Stoneware, Type Unknown	2	10.5										
Stoneware, Westerwald	1	0.9	1	1.6								
TinEnamel, Hand	32	53.2	15	15.6	7	13.1	2	4.3				
TinEnamel, Plain	69	102	16	8.73			4	2				
TinEnamel, Poly	7	15.1	2	4.4			1	1.7			1	0.4
TinEnamel, Sponged	13	5.9	4	2.5								
Whieldon	2	2.7	1	2.9	1	0.6						
Whiteware	2	1	1	0.6	8	9.6						
WSGSW	20	25.2	26	16.91	14	20.61	23	14.2				

Appendix B: Shells

Shells Recovered by Species

Class	Family	Genus/Species/Common Name	NISP	MNI	Wt. (g)
Bivalvia					
	Arcidae				
		Acar domingensis			
		White Miniature Ark	6	1	1.16
		Arca zebra			
		Turkey Wing Ark	11	4	8.49
	Lucinidae				
		Codakia orbicularis			
		Tiger Lucine	113	22	219.8
		Lucina pensylvania			
		Pennsylvania Lucine	2	1	4.41
	Tellinidae				
		Species unknown			
		Tellin Family	23	13	18.44
	Unknown Family				
		Species unknown			
		UBV latticed sculpture	731	1	359.66
	Pholadidae				
		Cyrtopleura costata			
		Angel Wing	3	--	1.16
	Isognomonidae				
		Isognomon alatus			
		Flat Tree Oyster	8	4	0.96
Bivalvia Total			**897**	**46**	**614.08**
Gastropoda					
	Acmaeidae				
		Species unknown			

Class	Family	Genus/Species/Common Name	NISP	MNI	Wt. (g)
		Limpet Family	55	46	11.6
	Cypraeidae				
		Cypraea sp.			
		Cowry	1	1	0.66
		Cypraea zebra			
		Measled Cowry (large)	3	--	9.88
	Fissurellidae				
		Species unknown			
		Keyhole Limpet Family	41	35	14.06
	Littorinidae				
		Tectarius muricatus			
		Beaded Periwinkle	30	30	24.49
		Species unknown			
		Periwinkle Family	1	1	0.39
	Muricidae				
		Species unknown			
		Murex (large)	11	1	85.69
		Murex (small)	3	1	1.09
		Purpura patula			
		Wide-mouthed Purpura (small)	3	2	3.8
		Thais sp.			
		Rock Shell	5	--	12
	Naticidae				
		Polinices lacteus			
		Milk Moon Shell	5	5	5.04
	Neritidae				
		Nerita sp.			
		Nerite	95	35	69.32
	Olividae				
		Oliva sp.			
		Olive Shell	16	12	24.59
	Strombidae				
		Strombus sp.			

Class	Family	Genus/Species/Common Name	NISP	MNI	Wt. (g)
		Conch	107	8	710.12
	Triviidae				
		Trivia sp.			
		Trivia	5	5	2.13
	Trochidae				
		Cittarium pica			
		West Indian Top Shell	2256	254	3856.94
	Turbinidae				
		Astraea tuber			
		Green Star Shell	33	20	198.04
		Astraea tecta			
		American Star Shell	29	5	92.21
		Turbo castanea			
		Chestnut Turban	3	3	3.05
	Vermetidae				
		Species unknown			
		Worm Shell	5	--	1.49
	Cerithiidae				
		Species unknown			
		Cerith Family	65	49	18.77
	Ovulidae				
		Cyphoma gibbosum			
		Flamingo Tongue	2	1	2.03
	Fasciolariidae				
		Leucozonia nassa			
		Chestnut Latirus	1	1	2.4
	Columbellidae				
		Columbella mercatoria			
		Common Dove Shell	3	1	2.93
	Ranellidae				
		Charonia variegata			
		Atlantic Triton	1	1	63.31

Class	Family	Genus/Species/Common Name	NISP	MNI	Wt. (g)
Gastropoda Total			**2779**	**517**	**5216.03**
Anthozoa (Corals)					
	---	*Species unknown* Assorted Corals	649	--	1498.8
Anthozoa (Corals) Total			**649**	**--**	**1498.8**
Cirripedia (Barnacles)					
	---	*Species unknown* Barnacle Cluster Fragments	526	10	142.7
Cirripedia (Barnacles) Total			**526**	**10**	**142.7**
Echinoidea (Sea Urchins)					
	---	*Species unknown* Sea Urchin Test Fragments	10	--	0.88
Echinoidea (Sea Urchins) Total			**10**	**--**	**0.88**
Polyplacophora (Chitons)					
	Chitonidae	*Species unknown* Chiton	151	18	92.43
Polyplacophora (Chitons) Total			**151**	**18**	**92.43**
Unidentified Shell					
	---	*Species unknown* Unidentified Shell	2439	10	1271.01

Class	Family	Genus/Species/Common Name	NISP	MNI	Wt. (g)
Unidentified Shell Total			**2439**	**10**	**1271.01**
Grand Total			**7451**	**583**	**8835.93**

Shells Recovered by Unit

Unit	Class/Family	Genus/Species/Common Name	NISP	MNI	Wt. (g)
A01					
	Anthozoa (Corals)				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Assorted Corals	37	--	42.96
	Bivalvia				
	Lucinidae	***Codakia orbicularis***			
		Tiger Lucine	7	--	16.07
	Tellinidae	***Species unknown***			
		Tellin Family	2	--	0.43
	Unknown Family	***Species unknown***			
		UBV latticed sculpture	62	--	31.67
	Cirripedia (Barnacles)				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Barnacle Cluster Fragments	16	--	4.59
	Echinoidea (Sea Urchins)				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Sea Urchin Test Fragments	3	--	0.35
	Gastropoda				
	Acmaeidae	***Species unknown***			
		Limpet Family	1	1	0.32
	Fissurellidae	***Species unknown***			
		Keyhole Limpet Family	2	2	0.25
	Littorinidae	***Tectarius muricatus***			
		Beaded Periwinkle	3	3	2.69
	Muricidae	***Species unknown***			
		Murex (large)	1	1	33.59
	Naticidae	***Polinices lacteus***			
		Milk Moon Shell	2	2	2.36
	Neritidae	***Nerita sp.***			
		Nerite	12	7	10.84
	Olividae	***Oliva sp.***			
		Olive Shell	1	1	1

Unit	Class/Family	Genus/Species/Common Name	NISP	MNI	Wt. (g)
	Strombidae	***Strombus sp.***			
		Conch	2	--	14.85
	Trochidae	***Cittarium pica***			
		West Indian Top Shell	205	22	436.76
	Turbinidae	***Astraea tuber***			
		Green Star Shell	1	1	3.58
		Astraea tecta			
		American Star Shell	2	--	1.5
	Cerithiidae	***Species unknown***			
		Cerith Family	2	1	0.66
	Polyplacophora (Chitons)				
	Chitonidae	***Species unknown***			
		Chiton	6	--	4.84
	Unidentified Shell				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Unidentified Shell	126	1	94.7
	Faunal Not Collected				
	---	***(blank)***			
		---	0	--	0
A01 Total			**493**	**42**	**704.01**
A02					
	Anthozoa (Corals)				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Assorted Corals	148	--	386.25
	Bivalvia				
	Arcidae	***Acar domingensis***			
		White Miniature Ark	4	0	0.68
		Arca zebra			
		Turkey Wing Ark	8	3	3.07
	Lucinidae	***Codakia orbicularis***			
		Tiger Lucine	2	2	1.98
		Lucina pensylvania			
		Pennsylvania Lucine	1	--	3.31
	Tellinidae	***Species unknown***			
		Tellin Family	3	2	2.46
	Unknown Family	***Species unknown***			
		UBV latticed sculpture	27	--	13.42
	Isognomonidae	***Isognomon alatus***			
		Flat Tree Oyster	3	2	0.2
	Cirripedia (Barnacles)				

Unit	Class/Family	Genus/Species/Common Name	NISP	MNI	Wt. (g)
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Barnacle Cluster Fragments	224	6	54.93
	Echinoidea (Sea Urchins)				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Sea Urchin Test Fragments	5	--	0.31
	Gastropoda				
	Acmaeidae	***Species unknown***			
		Limpet Family	9	8	1.29
	Fissurellidae	***Species unknown***			
		Keyhole Limpet Family	17	16	3.49
	Muricidae	***Species unknown***			
		Murex (large)	1	--	1.78
		Murex (small)	1	--	0.26
	Neritidae	***Nerita sp.***			
		Nerite	15	3	13.03
	Olividae	***Oliva sp.***			
		Olive Shell	2	2	7.07
	Strombidae	***Strombus sp.***			
		Conch	2	1	12.34
	Triviidae	***Trivia sp.***			
		Trivia	1	1	0.82
	Trochidae	***Cittarium pica***			
		West Indian Top Shell	120	44	655.91
	Turbinidae	***Astraea tecta***			
		American Star Shell	4	--	1.57
	Vermetidae	***Species unknown***			
		Worm Shell	2	--	0.45
	Cerithiidae	***Species unknown***			
		Cerith Family	14	7	2.42
	Polyplacophora (Chitons)				
	Chitonidae	***Species unknown***			
		Chiton	4	--	2.65
	Unidentified Shell				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Unidentified Shell	171	--	55.86
	Faunal Not Collected				
	---	***(blank)***			
		---	0	--	0
A02 Total			**788**	**97**	**1225.55**
A03					

Unit	Class/Family	Genus/Species/Common Name	NISP	MNI	Wt. (g)
	Anthozoa (Corals)				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Assorted Corals	20	--	54.39
	Bivalvia				
	Arcidae	***Acar domingensis***			
		White Miniature Ark	1	1	0.29
		Arca zebra			
		Turkey Wing Ark	1	1	3.19
	Lucinidae	***Codakia orbicularis***			
		Tiger Lucine	4	--	7.4
	Unknown Family	***Species unknown***			
		UBV latticed sculpture	14	0	6.7
	Isognomonidae	***Isognomon alatus***			
		Flat Tree Oyster	5	2	0.76
	Cirripedia (Barnacles)				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Barnacle Cluster Fragments	27	--	8.73
	Echinoidea (Sea Urchins)				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Sea Urchin Test Fragments	1	--	0.16
	Gastropoda				
	Acmaeidae	***Species unknown***			
		Limpet Family	2	2	0.47
	Fissurellidae	***Species unknown***			
		Keyhole Limpet Family	3	3	0.36
	Muricidae	***Species unknown***			
		Murex (small)	1	--	0.22
	Naticidae	***Polinices lacteus***			
		Milk Moon Shell	1	1	0.69
	Neritidae	***Nerita sp.***			
		Nerite	5	0	1.8
	Olividae	***Oliva sp.***			
		Olive Shell	1	1	0.52
	Strombidae	***Strombus sp.***			
		Conch	3	--	48.1
	Trochidae	***Cittarium pica***			
		West Indian Top Shell	42	2	65.5
	Turbinidae	***Astraea tecta***			
		American Star Shell	1	--	0.15
	Cerithiidae	***Species unknown***			
		Cerith Family	2	2	0.63
	Polyplacophora (Chitons)				

Unit	Class/Family	Genus/Species/Common Name	NISP	MNI	Wt. (g)
	Chitonidae	***Species unknown***			
		Chiton	1	--	0.99
	Unidentified Shell				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Unidentified Shell	40	0	13.69
A03 Total			**175**	**15**	**214.74**
A04					
	Anthozoa (Corals)				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Assorted Corals	94	--	348.52
	Bivalvia				
	Lucinidae	***Codakia orbicularis***			
		Tiger Lucine	11	1	24.08
		Lucina pensylvania			
		Pennsylvania Lucine	1	1	1.1
	Tellinidae	***Species unknown***			
		Tellin Family	2	1	1.19
	Unknown Family	***Species unknown***			
		UBV latticed sculpture	41	--	18.44
	Cirripedia (Barnacles)				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Barnacle Cluster Fragments	6	--	1.51
	Gastropoda				
	Acmaeidae	***Species unknown***			
		Limpet Family	2	2	0.76
	Fissurellidae	***Species unknown***			
		Keyhole Limpet Family	2	2	0.78
	Littorinidae	***Tectarius muricatus***			
		Beaded Periwinkle	10	10	8.97
	Muricidae	***Species unknown***			
		Murex (large)	6	--	34.1
	Neritidae	***Nerita sp.***			
		Nerite	6	3	3.26
	Olividae	***Oliva sp.***			
		Olive Shell	4	4	6.96
	Strombidae	***Strombus sp.***			
		Conch	21	2	76.13
	Trochidae	***Cittarium pica***			
		West Indian Top Shell	160	29	336.14
	Turbinidae	***Astraea tuber***			

Unit	Class/Family	Genus/Species/Common Name	NISP	MNI	Wt. (g)
		Green Star Shell	2	2	13.89
		Astraea tecta			
		American Star Shell	2	--	4.11
		Turbo castanea			
		Chestnut Turban	1	1	0.88
	Cerithiidae	***Species unknown***			
		Cerith Family	5	5	1.97
	Ranellidae	***Charonia variegata***			
		Atlantic Triton	1	1	63.31
	Polyplacophora (Chitons)				
	Chitonidae	***Species unknown***			
		Chiton	4	--	2.09
	Unidentified Shell				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Unidentified Shell	206	3	118.81
A04 Total			**587**	**67**	**1067**
A05					
	Anthozoa (Corals)				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Assorted Corals	14	--	33.33
	Bivalvia				
	Arcidae	***Acar domingensis***			
		White Miniature Ark	1	--	0.19
	Lucinidae	***Codakia orbicularis***			
		Tiger Lucine	5	1	6.22
	Tellinidae	***Species unknown***			
		Tellin Family	3	2	6.79
	Unknown Family	***Species unknown***			
		UBV latticed sculpture	17	--	6.9
	Cirripedia (Barnacles)				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Barnacle Cluster Fragments	3	1	1.12
	Gastropoda				
	Acmaeidae	***Species unknown***			
		Limpet Family	1	1	0.55
	Littorinidae	***Tectarius muricatus***			
		Beaded Periwinkle	2	2	1.39
	Naticidae	***Polinices lacteus***			
		Milk Moon Shell	1	1	0.79
	Neritidae	***Nerita sp.***			

Unit	Class/Family	Genus/Species/Common Name	NISP	MNI	Wt. (g)
		Nerite	4	3	3.85
	Strombidae	***Strombus sp.***			
		Conch	5	--	37.02
	Trochidae	***Cittarium pica***			
		West Indian Top Shell	68	8	206.25
	Turbinidae	***Astraea tecta***			
		American Star Shell	1	--	2.8
	Ovulidae	***Cyphoma gibbosum***			
		Flamingo Tongue	1	--	0.4
	Polyplacophora (Chitons)				
	Chitonidae	***Species unknown***			
		Chiton	53	--	28.59
	Unidentified Shell				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Unidentified Shell	70	--	30.84
A05 Total			**249**	**19**	**367.03**
A06					
	Anthozoa (Corals)				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Assorted Corals	14	--	76.54
	Bivalvia				
	Lucinidae	***Codakia orbicularis***			
		Tiger Lucine	3	1	10.98
	Tellinidae	***Species unknown***			
		Tellin Family	1	1	1.19
	Unknown Family	***Species unknown***			
		UBV latticed sculpture	13	1	6.94
	Cirripedia (Barnacles)				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Barnacle Cluster Fragments	2	--	0.65
	Gastropoda				
	Acmaeidae	***Species unknown***			
		Limpet Family	2	--	0.89
	Fissurellidae	***Species unknown***			
		Keyhole Limpet Family	1	--	0.18
	Neritidae	***Nerita sp.***			
		Nerite	2	--	0.98
	Strombidae	***Strombus sp.***			
		Conch	1	--	1.32
	Trochidae	***Cittarium pica***			

Unit	Class/Family	Genus/Species/Common Name	NISP	MNI	Wt. (g)
		West Indian Top Shell	54	6	79.99
	Turbinidae	***Astraea tuber***			
		Green Star Shell	1	1	45.17
		Astraea tecta			
		American Star Shell	1	--	1.68
	Vermetidae	***Species unknown***			
		Worm Shell	1	--	0.17
	Cerithiidae	***Species unknown***			
		Cerith Family	3	3	1.14
	Ovulidae	***Cyphoma gibbosum***			
		Flamingo Tongue	1	1	1.63
	Polyplacophora (Chitons)				
	Chitonidae	***Species unknown***			
		Chiton	4	--	3.15
	Unidentified Shell				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Unidentified Shell	34	--	29.78
A06 Total			**138**	**14**	**262.38**
A07					
	Anthozoa (Corals)				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Assorted Corals	21	--	61.56
	Bivalvia				
	Lucinidae	***Codakia orbicularis***			
		Tiger Lucine	5	2	15.52
	Unknown Family	***Species unknown***			
		UBV latticed sculpture	8	--	3.73
	Cirripedia (Barnacles)				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Barnacle Cluster Fragments	8	--	2.75
	Gastropoda				
	Fissurellidae	***Species unknown***			
		Keyhole Limpet Family	1	1	1.71
	Trochidae	***Cittarium pica***			
		West Indian Top Shell	57	--	115.24
	Turbinidae	***Astraea tecta***			
		American Star Shell	1	--	1.04
	Polyplacophora (Chitons)				
	Chitonidae	***Species unknown***			
		Chiton	1	--	0.45

Unit	Class/Family	Genus/Species/Common Name	NISP	MNI	Wt. (g)
	Unidentified Shell				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Unidentified Shell	55	--	31.23
A07 Total			**157**	**3**	**233.23**
A08					
	Anthozoa (Corals)				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Assorted Corals	28	--	75.01
	Bivalvia				
	Lucinidae	***Codakia orbicularis***			
		Tiger Lucine	3	2	1.52
	Unknown Family	***Species unknown***			
		UBV latticed sculpture	7	--	2.65
	Pholadidae	***Cyrtopleura costata***			
		Angel Wing	1	--	0.19
	Cirripedia (Barnacles)				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Barnacle Cluster Fragments	6	--	2.11
	Gastropoda				
	Littorinidae	***Tectarius muricatus***			
		Beaded Periwinkle	1	1	0.97
	Neritidae	***Nerita sp.***			
		Nerite	3	--	0.96
	Trochidae	***Cittarium pica***			
		West Indian Top Shell	16	2	18.83
	Turbinidae	***Astraea tuber***			
		Green Star Shell	2	2	3.78
		Astraea tecta			
		American Star Shell	1	1	11.62
	Cerithiidae	***Species unknown***			
		Cerith Family	1	1	0.51
	Unidentified Shell				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Unidentified Shell	38	1	15.73
A08 Total			**107**	**10**	**133.88**
B01					
	Anthozoa (Corals)				
	---	***Species unknown***			

Unit	Class/Family	Genus/Species/Common Name	NISP	MNI	Wt. (g)
		Assorted Corals	21	--	44.5
	Bivalvia				
	Arcidae	***Arca zebra***			
		Turkey Wing Ark	2	--	2.23
	Lucinidae	***Codakia orbicularis***			
		Tiger Lucine	32	7	35.05
	Tellinidae	***Species unknown***			
		Tellin Family	5	3	3.25
	Unknown Family	***Species unknown***			
		UBV latticed sculpture	207	--	92.27
	Cirripedia (Barnacles)				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Barnacle Cluster Fragments	13	--	4.06
	Gastropoda				
	Acmaeidae	***Species unknown***			
		Limpet Family	11	11	2.89
	Cypraeidae	***Cypraea zebra***			
		Measled Cowry (large)	2	--	2.31
	Fissurellidae	***Species unknown***			
		Keyhole Limpet Family	7	4	1.9
	Littorinidae	***Tectarius muricatus***			
		Beaded Periwinkle	7	7	4.98
	Neritidae	***Nerita sp.***			
		Nerite	31	15	19.71
	Olividae	***Oliva sp.***			
		Olive Shell	3	1	3.19
	Strombidae	***Strombus sp.***			
		Conch	24	1	184.5
	Triviidae	***Trivia sp.***			
		Trivia	3	3	0.96
	Trochidae	***Cittarium pica***			
		West Indian Top Shell	595	56	634.22
	Turbinidae	***Astraea tuber***			
		Green Star Shell	14	6	21.38
		Astraea tecta			
		American Star Shell	7	2	12.77
		Turbo castanea			
		Chestnut Turban	1	1	1.75
	Vermetidae	***Species unknown***			
		Worm Shell	1	--	0.34
	Cerithiidae	***Species unknown***			
		Cerith Family	16	11	5.13

Unit	Class/Family	Genus/Species/Common Name	NISP	MNI	Wt. (g)
	Fasciolariidae	***Leucozonia nassa***			
		Chestnut Latirus	1	1	2.4
	Columbellidae	***Columbella mercatoria***			
		Common Dove Shell	1	--	1.24
	Polyplacophora (Chitons)				
	Chitonidae	***Species unknown***			
		Chiton	30	--	17.37
	Unidentified Shell				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Unidentified Shell	689	1	378.72
B01 Total			**1723**	**130**	**1477.12**
E01					
	No Faunal Material				
	---	---			
		(blank)	0	--	0
E01 Total			**0**	**--**	**0**
E02					
	Gastropoda				
	Trochidae	***Cittarium pica***			
		West Indian Top Shell	3	--	2.73
	Unidentified Shell				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Unidentified Shell	3	--	2.31
E02 Total			**6**	**--**	**5.04**
E03					
	Anthozoa (Corals)				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Assorted Corals	2	--	1.65
	Gastropoda				
	Trochidae	***Cittarium pica***			
		West Indian Top Shell	2	--	1.26
	Unidentified Shell				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Unidentified Shell	13	1	3.79
E03 Total			**17**	**1**	**6.7**

Unit	Class/Family	Genus/Species/Common Name	NISP	MNI	Wt. (g)
E04					
	Anthozoa (Corals)				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Assorted Corals	10	--	26.16
	Gastropoda				
	Neritidae	***Nerita sp.***			
		Nerite	1	--	0.15
	Trochidae	***Cittarium pica***			
		West Indian Top Shell	5	1	19.91
	Unidentified Shell				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Unidentified Shell	1	--	1.28
E04 Total			**17**	**1**	**47.5**
E05					
	Anthozoa (Corals)				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Assorted Corals	16	--	30.54
	Bivalvia				
	Lucinidae	***Codakia orbicularis***			
		Tiger Lucine	9	1	18.75
	Unknown Family	***Species unknown***			
		UBV latticed sculpture	62	--	27.63
	Cirripedia (Barnacles)				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Barnacle Cluster Fragments	6	--	1.2
	Gastropoda				
	Acmaeidae	***Species unknown***			
		Limpet Family	4	3	0.57
	Cypraeidae	***Cypraea zebra***			
		Measled Cowry (large)	1	--	7.57
	Fissurellidae	***Species unknown***			
		Keyhole Limpet Family	2	2	0.45
	Littorinidae	***Tectarius muricatus***			
		Beaded Periwinkle	4	4	1.66
	Muricidae	***Species unknown***			
		Murex (small)	1	1	0.61
		Purpura patula			
		Wide-mouthed Purpura (small)	1	--	2.22
		Thais sp.			
		Rock Shell	2	--	4.34

Unit	Class/Family	Genus/Species/Common Name	NISP	MNI	Wt. (g)
	Naticidae	***Polinices lacteus***			
		Milk Moon Shell	1	1	1.2
	Neritidae	***Nerita sp.***			
		Nerite	3	1	1.39
	Strombidae	***Strombus sp.***			
		Conch	12	--	52.99
	Triviidae	***Trivia sp.***			
		Trivia	1	1	0.35
	Trochidae	***Cittarium pica***			
		West Indian Top Shell	362	23	187.7
	Turbinidae	***Astraea tuber***			
		Green Star Shell	2	2	1.69
		Astraea tecta			
		American Star Shell	1	1	0.97
		Turbo castanea			
		Chestnut Turban	1	1	0.42
	Cerithiidae	***Species unknown***			
		Cerith Family	10	11	3.48
	Columbellidae	***Columbella mercatoria***			
		Common Dove Shell	1	1	0.99
	Polyplacophora (Chitons)				
	Chitonidae	***Species unknown***			
		Chiton	3	--	1.67
	Unidentified Shell				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Unidentified Shell	217	--	83.07
E05 Total			**722**	**53**	**431.46**
E06					
	No Faunal Material				
	---	---			
		(blank)	0	--	0
E06 Total			**0**	**--**	**0**
E07					
	Anthozoa (Corals)				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Assorted Corals	1	--	1.63
	Bivalvia				
	Unknown Family	***Species unknown***			

Unit	Class/Family	Genus/Species/Common Name	NISP	MNI	Wt. (g)
		UBV latticed sculpture	8	--	2.54
	Gastropoda				
	Fissurellidae	***Species unknown***			
		Keyhole Limpet Family	1	1	1.48
	Trochidae	***Cittarium pica***			
		West Indian Top Shell	3	--	0.72
	Unidentified Shell				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Unidentified Shell	4	--	1.84
E07 Total			**17**	**1**	**8.21**
E08					
	Gastropoda				
	Olividae	***Oliva sp.***			
		Olive Shell	1	1	1.5
	Strombidae	***Strombus sp.***			
		Conch	1	--	11.58
	Trochidae	***Cittarium pica***			
		West Indian Top Shell	8	5	161.54
	Unidentified Shell				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Unidentified Shell	4	--	2.95
E08 Total			**14**	**6**	**177.57**
E09					
	Bivalvia				
	Unknown Family	***Species unknown***			
		UBV latticed sculpture	1	--	0.44
	Gastropoda				
	Acmaeidae	***Species unknown***			
		Limpet Family	1	1	0.13
	Trochidae	***Cittarium pica***			
		West Indian Top Shell	4	--	0.66
	Unidentified Shell				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Unidentified Shell	15	--	13.48
E09 Total			**21**	**1**	**14.71**
E10					
	Anthozoa (Corals)				

Unit	Class/Family	Genus/Species/Common Name	NISP	MNI	Wt. (g)
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Assorted Corals	1	--	5.89
	Gastropoda				
	Strombidae	***Strombus sp.***			
		Conch	1	--	0.17
	Trochidae	***Cittarium pica***			
		West Indian Top Shell	1	--	0.3
	Unidentified Shell				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Unidentified Shell	16	--	7.79
E10 Total			**19**	**--**	**14.15**
E11					
	Unidentified Shell				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Unidentified Shell	5	--	3.43
E11 Total			**5**	**--**	**3.43**
E12					
	Cirripedia (Barnacles)				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Barnacle Cluster Fragments	1	--	0.23
	Gastropoda				
	Acmaeidae	***Species unknown***			
		Limpet Family	1	1	0.15
	Trochidae	***Cittarium pica***			
		West Indian Top Shell	2	--	0.24
	Unidentified Shell				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Unidentified Shell	4	--	0.99
E12 Total			**8**	**1**	**1.61**
E13					
	Anthozoa (Corals)				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Assorted Corals	1	--	10.1
E13 Total			**1**	**--**	**10.1**
E14					

Unit	Class/Family	Genus/Species/Common Name	NISP	MNI	Wt. (g)
	Anthozoa (Corals)				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Assorted Corals	4	--	25.03
	Bivalvia				
	Unknown Family	***Species unknown***			
		UBV latticed sculpture	5	--	1.5
	Cirripedia (Barnacles)				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Barnacle Cluster Fragments	2	--	0.37
	Gastropoda				
	Acmaeidae	***Species unknown***			
		Limpet Family	1	1	0.16
	Fissurellidae	***Species unknown***			
		Keyhole Limpet Family	1	1	0.03
	Trochidae	***Cittarium pica***			
		West Indian Top Shell	14	--	19.39
	Cerithiidae	***Species unknown***			
		Cerith Family	1	1	0.14
	Unidentified Shell				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Unidentified Shell	18	--	9.47
E14 Total			**46**	**3**	**56.09**
E15					
	Unidentified Shell				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Unidentified Shell	1	--	0.22
E15 Total			**1**	**--**	**0.22**
E16					
	No Faunal Material				
	---	---			
		(blank)	0	--	0
E16 Total			**0**	**--**	**0**
E17					
	No Faunal Material				
	---	---			
		(blank)	0	--	0

Unit	Class/Family	Genus/Species/Common Name	NISP	MNI	Wt. (g)
E17 Total			**0**	**--**	**0**
E18					
	Anthozoa (Corals)				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Assorted Corals	2	--	1.98
	Bivalvia				
	Unknown Family	***Species unknown***			
		UBV latticed sculpture	1	--	0.62
	Gastropoda				
	Trochidae	***Cittarium pica***			
		West Indian Top Shell	16	2	20.35
	Cerithiidae	***Species unknown***			
		Cerith Family	1	1	0.29
	Unidentified Shell				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Unidentified Shell	47	--	7.04
E18 Total			**67**	**3**	**30.28**
E20					
	Anthozoa (Corals)				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Assorted Corals	18	--	16.23
	Bivalvia				
	Unknown Family	***Species unknown***			
		UBV latticed sculpture	7	--	3.08
	Pholadidae	***Cyrtopleura costata***			
		Angel Wing	1	--	0.42
	Cirripedia (Barnacles)				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Barnacle Cluster Fragments	3	--	1.01
	Gastropoda				
	Littorinidae	***Species unknown***			
		Periwinkle Family	1	1	0.39
	Olividae	***Oliva sp.***			
		Olive Shell	1	--	0.87
	Strombidae	***Strombus sp.***			
		Conch	2	--	3.76
	Trochidae	***Cittarium pica***			
		West Indian Top Shell	22	3	11.74

Unit	Class/Family	Genus/Species/Common Name	NISP	MNI	Wt. (g)
	Cerithiidae	***Species unknown***			
		Cerith Family	1	1	0.11
	Unidentified Shell				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Unidentified Shell	26	--	15.36
E20 Total			**82**	**5**	**52.97**
E21					
	Anthozoa (Corals)				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Assorted Corals	140	--	107.45
	Bivalvia				
	Lucinidae	***Codakia orbicularis***			
		Tiger Lucine	4	1	4.3
	Tellinidae	***Species unknown***			
		Tellin Family	1	--	1.33
	Unknown Family	***Species unknown***			
		UBV latticed sculpture	29	--	8.85
	Cirripedia (Barnacles)				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Barnacle Cluster Fragments	198	3	54.77
	Gastropoda				
	Acmaeidae	***Species unknown***			
		Limpet Family	10	5	1.63
	Fissurellidae	***Species unknown***			
		Keyhole Limpet Family	3	2	1.43
	Neritidae	***Nerita sp.***			
		Nerite	2	--	0.24
	Olividae	***Oliva sp.***			
		Olive Shell	3	2	3.48
	Strombidae	***Strombus sp.***			
		Conch	9	--	8.46
	Trochidae	***Cittarium pica***			
		West Indian Top Shell	51	4	44.45
	Turbinidae	***Astraea tuber***			
		Green Star Shell	1	1	2.04
		Astraea tecta			
		American Star Shell	2	--	1.48
	Vermetidae	***Species unknown***			
		Worm Shell	1	--	0.53
	Cerithiidae	***Species unknown***			

Unit	Class/Family	Genus/Species/Common Name	NISP	MNI	Wt. (g)
		Cerith Family	6	2	1.07
	Unidentified Shell				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Unidentified Shell	254	2	112.26
E21 Total			**714**	**22**	**353.77**
E22					
	Anthozoa (Corals)				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Assorted Corals	25	--	51.97
	Bivalvia				
	Tellinidae	***Species unknown***			
		Tellin Family	1	1	0.47
	Unknown Family	***Species unknown***			
		UBV latticed sculpture	4	--	1.52
	Gastropoda				
	Cypraeidae	***Cypraea sp.***			
		Cowry	1	1	0.66
	Trochidae	***Cittarium pica***			
		West Indian Top Shell	2	--	1.37
	Polyplacophora (Chitons)				
	Chitonidae	***Species unknown***			
		Chiton	1	--	0.68
	Unidentified Shell				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Unidentified Shell	4	--	1.94
E22 Total			**38**	**2**	**58.61**
E23					
	Anthozoa (Corals)				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Assorted Corals	2	--	11.47
	Bivalvia				
	Unknown Family	***Species unknown***			
		UBV latticed sculpture	1	--	0.37
	Unidentified Shell				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Unidentified Shell	4	--	3.29
E23 Total			**7**	**--**	**15.13**

Unit	Class/Family	Genus/Species/Common Name	NISP	MNI	Wt. (g)
E24					
	Anthozoa (Corals)				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Assorted Corals	8	--	21.65
	Bivalvia				
	Tellinidae	***Species unknown***			
		Tellin Family	4	2	1.02
	Unknown Family	***Species unknown***			
		UBV latticed sculpture	22	--	10.98
	Pholadidae	***Cyrtopleura costata***			
		Angel Wing	1	--	0.55
	Cirripedia (Barnacles)				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Barnacle Cluster Fragments	2	--	0.75
	Gastropoda				
	Acmaeidae	***Species unknown***			
		Limpet Family	6	6	0.82
	Muricidae	***Purpura patula***			
		Wide-mouthed Purpura (small)	1	1	0.59
		Thais sp.			
		Rock Shell	1	--	6.68
	Neritidae	***Nerita sp.***			
		Nerite	2	1	0.56
	Strombidae	***Strombus sp.***			
		Conch	12	2	125.15
	Trochidae	***Cittarium pica***			
		West Indian Top Shell	158	14	323.11
	Turbinidae	***Astraea tuber***			
		Green Star Shell	1	1	20.26
		Astraea tecta			
		American Star Shell	1	--	0.47
	Polyplacophora (Chitons)				
	Chitonidae	***Species unknown***			
		Chiton	1	--	3.31
	Unidentified Shell				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Unidentified Shell	94	--	72.3
E24 Total			**314**	**27**	**588.2**
E25					
	Gastropoda				

Unit	Class/Family	Genus/Species/Common Name	NISP	MNI	Wt. (g)
	Strombidae	***Strombus sp.***			
		Conch	2	--	1.12
	Trochidae	***Cittarium pica***			
		West Indian Top Shell	1	--	0.52
	Unidentified Shell				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Unidentified Shell	2	--	0.33
E25 Total			**5**	**--**	**1.97**
E26					
	Anthozoa (Corals)				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Assorted Corals	2	--	1.59
	Bivalvia				
	Tellinidae	***Species unknown***			
		Tellin Family	1	1	0.31
	Unknown Family	***Species unknown***			
		UBV latticed sculpture	6	--	1.69
	Cirripedia (Barnacles)				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Barnacle Cluster Fragments	1	--	0.84
	Gastropoda				
	Strombidae	***Strombus sp.***			
		Conch	1	1	9.74
	Trochidae	***Cittarium pica***			
		West Indian Top Shell	17	2	16.12
	Columbellidae	***Columbella mercatoria***			
		Common Dove Shell	1	--	0.7
	Polyplacophora (Chitons)				
	Chitonidae	***Species unknown***			
		Chiton	1	--	0.92
	Unidentified Shell				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Unidentified Shell	17	--	3.4
E26 Total			**47**	**4**	**35.31**
H01					
	Anthozoa (Corals)				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Assorted Corals	1	--	1.59

Unit	Class/Family	Genus/Species/Common Name	NISP	MNI	Wt. (g)
	No Faunal Material				
	---	---			
		(blank)	0	--	0
H01 Total			**1**	**--**	**1.59**
H02					
	No Faunal Material				
	---	---			
		(blank)	0	--	0
H02 Total			**0**	**--**	**0**
J01					
	Anthozoa (Corals)				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Assorted Corals	17	--	59.18
	Bivalvia				
	Lucinidae	***Codakia orbicularis***			
		Tiger Lucine	26	3	73.84
	Unknown Family	***Species unknown***			
		UBV latticed sculpture	175	--	107.32
	Cirripedia (Barnacles)				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Barnacle Cluster Fragments	6	--	2.63
	Echinoidea (Sea Urchins)				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Sea Urchin Test Fragments	1	--	0.06
	Gastropoda				
	Acmaeidae	***Species unknown***			
		Limpet Family	4	4	0.97
	Fissurellidae	***Species unknown***			
		Keyhole Limpet Family	1	1	2
	Littorinidae	***Tectarius muricatus***			
		Beaded Periwinkle	3	3	3.83
	Muricidae	***Species unknown***			
		Murex (large)	3	--	16.22
		Purpura patula			
		Wide-mouthed Purpura (small)	1	1	0.99
		Thais sp.			
		Rock Shell	2	--	0.98
	Neritidae	***Nerita sp.***			

Unit	Class/Family	Genus/Species/Common Name	NISP	MNI	Wt. (g)
		Nerite	9	2	12.55
	Strombidae	***Strombus sp.***			
		Conch	6	1	28.8
	Trochidae	***Cittarium pica***			
		West Indian Top Shell	253	30	421.32
	Turbinidae	***Astraea tuber***			
		Green Star Shell	9	4	86.25
		Astraea tecta			
		American Star Shell	4	1	51.28
	Cerithiidae	***Species unknown***			
		Cerith Family	3	3	1.22
	Polyplacophora (Chitons)				
	Chitonidae	***Species unknown***			
		Chiton	42	--	25.72
	Unidentified Shell				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Unidentified Shell	234	1	143.89
J01 Total			**799**	**54**	**1039.05**
K01					
	Gastropoda				
	Strombidae	***Strombus sp.***			
		Conch	2	--	63.5
	Turbinidae	***Astraea tecta***			
		American Star Shell	1	--	0.77
	Unidentified Shell				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Unidentified Shell	3	--	2
K01 Total			**6**	**--**	**66.27**
K02					
	Unidentified Shell				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Unidentified Shell	4	--	2.91
K02 Total			**4**	**--**	**2.91**
MH01					
	Anthozoa (Corals)				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Assorted Corals	2	--	1.63

Unit	Class/Family	Genus/Species/Common Name	NISP	MNI	Wt. (g)
	Bivalvia				
	Lucinidae	***Codakia orbicularis***			
		Tiger Lucine	2	1	4.09
	Unknown Family	***Species unknown***			
		UBV latticed sculpture	14	--	10.4
	Cirripedia (Barnacles)				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Barnacle Cluster Fragments	2	--	0.45
	Gastropoda				
	Strombidae	***Strombus sp.***			
		Conch	1	--	30.59
	Trochidae	***Cittarium pica***			
		West Indian Top Shell	15	1	74.67
	Unidentified Shell				
	---	***Species unknown***			
		Unidentified Shell	20	--	6.31
MH01 Total			**56**	**2**	**128.14**
Grand Total			**7451**	**583**	**8835.93**

Appendix C: Animal Bones

This catalog of bones recovered in the 2009 and 2010 excavations on Little Jost van Dyke and at the Fat Hog's Bay Meetinghouse on Tortola was created for this project by Dr. Tom Wake of the Cotsen Institute, UCLA, as a paid consultant.

Unit	Level	Taxon	Element	Portion	Side	count	Burnt	Cut	Notes
A1	6	Mammal, Md.	limb bone	fr		7			
A1	6	Carangidae	vert. #1	ct		1			
A1	6	Haemulidae	vert., cdl.	ct		1			
A1	6	Sus scrofa	m-mp	fr		1			
A1	6	Teleostei	bone	fr		4			
A1	6	Artiodactyla	humerus	sh		1			dog chewed at 1 end
A1	8	Bos taurus	vert., thor.	nsp		1			
A1	8	Sparisoma sp.	dentary	most	r	1			
A1	8	Carangidae	vert., cdl.	ct		1		1	r side, 1 diag cut to pst, knife cm
A1	9	Mammal, Lg.	bone	fr		1		1	knife cut
A1	9	Mammal, Lg.	bone	fr		5	1		
A1	9	Teleostei	bone	fr		9			
A1	9	Aves, Md.	limb bone	fr		1			
A1	9	Epinephelus sp.	premaxilla	anterior	r	1			
A1	9	Bodianus sp.	premaxilla	anterior	r	1			
A1	9	Epinephelus sp.	dentary	dist	r	1			
A1	10	Teleostei	bone	fr		3			
A1	10	Ovicaprid	tibia	dist	r	1			juvenile
A1	10	Mammal	basioccipital	fr		4			
A1	12	Mycteroperca sp.	maxilla	anterior	l	1			
A1	12	Mammal	limb bone	fr		6			
A1	12	Teleostei	bone	fr		10			
A1	12	Scarus sp.	vert., cdl.	ct		1			
A1	12	Aves, Md.	femur	sh		1			
A1	12	Calamus sp.	premaxilla	co	r	1			
A1	12	Haemulidae	vert., cdl.	ct		1			
A1	13	Bodianus rufus	lower phar pl	co		1			
A1	13	Bodianus rufus	upper phar pl	co	r	1			
A1	13	Mammal	bone	fr		11			
A1	13	Mammal, Lg.	limb bone	sh fr		4			
A1	13	Artiodactyla	m-mp	fr		1			poss. Pig
A1	13	Epinephelus sp.	dentary	dist	l	1			
A1	13	Epinephelus sp.	basioccipital	ct		1			
A1	13	Teleostei	bone	fr		10			

Unit	Level	Taxon	Element	Portion	Side	count	Burnt	Cut	Notes
A1	13	Calamus sp.	dentary	co	l	1			
A1	14	Teleostei	bone	fr		3			
A1	14	Mammal	bone	fr		9			
A1	16	Mammal	bone	fr		2			
A2	3	Serranidae	vert.	ct		1			
A2	6	Teleostei	bone	fr		1			
A2	6	Calamus sp.	vert.	ct		1			
A2	6	Haemulon sp.	hyomandibular	prox	l	1			
A2	6	Lutjanus sp.	preopercle	sup	l	1			
A2	6	Mammal, Lg.	bone	fr		10			
A2	6	Calamus sp.	premaxilla	most	l	1			
A2	6	Calamus sp.	dentary	co	l	1			
A2	7	Mammal, Md.	rib	sh		1			
A2	7	Teleostei	cranium	fr		1			
A2	7	Teleostei	vert.	ct		1			
A2	7	Capra hircus	LM3	co	l	1			juvenile
A2	7	Balistes sp.	tooth	co		1			
A2	7	Geochelone sp.	plastron	fr		1			
A2	7	Cheloniidae	cranium	fr		2			
A2	7	Epinephelus sp.	maxilla	prox	r	1			
A2	7	crab	claw	co		1			
A2	7	Bodianus sp.	jaw	fr		1			
A2	9	Mammal	bone	fr		2			
A2	10	Epinephelus sp.	basioccipital	ct		1			
A2	10	Mammal	bone	fr		3			
A2	10	Geochelone sp.	plastron	fr		1			
A2	10	Teleostei	bone	fr		8			
A2	10	Scaridae	vert., cdl.	ct		1			
A2	10	Artiodactyla	scapula	dist	l	1			
A2	11	Mammal, Lg.	limb bone	fr		6			
A2	11	Teleostei	bone	fr		4			
A2	11	Balistes sp.	premaxilla	anterior	l	1			
A2	12	Mammal, Lg.	bone	fr		1			
A2	14	Teleostei	spine	co		1			
A2	14	Mammal, Md.	limb bone	fr		4			
A2	17	Teleostei	bone	fr		1			
A2	17	Bodianus sp.	lower phar pl	fr		1			
A2	17	Calamus sp.	premaxilla	fr	l	1			
A2	17	Cheloniidae	shell	fr		1			
A2	17	Mammal	limb bone	fr		2			
A2	22	Lutjanus sp.	vert., cdl.	ct		1			
A3	1	Aves, Md.	limb bone	fr		1			
A3	2	Mammal	limb bone	fr		1			
A4	4	Scarus sp.	lower phar pl	crn		1			
A4	4	Mammal, Lg.	bone	fr		1			
A4	5	Bos taurus	cranium	fr		1	1		sinus
A4	9	Mammal, Lg.	bone	fr		2			

Unit	Level	Taxon	Element	Portion	Side	count	Burnt	Cut	Notes
A4	9	Alsophis portoricensis	vert.	co		2			
A4	9	Teleostei	bone	fr		3			
A4	11	crab	chitin	fr		4			
A4	20	Mammal	bone	fr		1			
A4	20	Sus scrofa	carpal	fr		1			
A4	21	Serranidae	vert., cdl.	ct		1			
A4	21	Bos taurus	limb bone	sh fr		1			
A4	23	Mammal	bone	fr		3			
A4	23	Mammal	bone	fr		1			
A4	24	Teleostei	spine	fr		1			
A4	24	Alsophis portoricensis	vert., thor.	ct		1			
A4	24	Mammal	bone	fr		2			
A4	27	Ovicaprid	scapula	prox	l	1		1	chop marks on dorsal and ventral surfaces
A4	27	Alsophis portoricensis	vert., thor.	ct		2			
A4	27	Serranidae	vert.	ct		1			
A4	27	Teleostei	bone	fr		1			
A4	27	Calamus sp.	premaxilla	most	l	1			
A4	28	Mammal	bone	fr		2			
A4	28	Haemulon sp.	dentary	most	r	1			large
A4	28	Teleostei	bone	fr		22			
A4	28	Alsophis portoricensis	vert.	co		4			
A4	28	Alsophis portoricensis	rib	co		5			
A4	28	Alsophis portoricensis	dentary	co	r	1			
A4	30	Teleostei	bone	fr		22			
A4	30	Archosargus sp.	premaxilla	most	l	1			
A4	30	Alsophis portoricensis	rib	prox		1			
A4	30	Haemulon sp.	vert., cdl.	ct		1			
A4	30	Lutjanus synagris	premaxilla	anterior	l	1			
A4	31	Haemulon sp.	vert.	ct		1			
A4	31	Mammal, Lg.	limb bone	sh fr		1			
A4	27s	Clupeidae	vert.	ct		1			
A4	27s	Teleostei	bone	fr		4			
A4	27s	Alsophis portoricensis	rib	co		1			
A4	27s	Alsophis portoricensis	vert., thor.	co		1			
A4	27s	Teleostei	scale	fr		37			
A4	NEWp	Serranidae	vert.	ct		1			
A4	NEWp	Teleostei	spine	co		1			

Unit	Level	Taxon	Element	Portion	Side	count	Burnt	Cut	Notes
A4	NEWp	Mammal	bone	fr		1			
A4	NEWp	Alsophis portoricensis	vert., thor.	co		2			
A5	2	Mammal	limb bone	fr		2			
A5	2	Teleostei	bone	fr		1			
A5	3	Mammal, Md.	limb bone	fr		1			
A5	3	Geochelone sp.	plastron	fr		1			
A5	3	Sea urchin	test	fr		7			
A5	3	Teleostei	vert., ult.	ct		1			
A5	4	Mammal, Lg.	bone	fr		1			
A5	4	Serranidae	vert.	ct		1			
A5	4	Scomber sp.	vert., cdl.	ct		1			
A5	6	Teleostei	vert.	ct		1			
A5	6	Mammal, Lg.	limb bone	fr		5			
A6	3	Lutjanus sp.	vert., cdl.	ct		1			
A6	4	Scombridae	vert.	ct		1			
A6	4	Serranidae	vert.	ct		1			
A6	7	Caranx sp.	vert., cdl.	ct		1			
A6	8	Lutjanus sp.	dentary	co	l	1			
A6	8	Lutjanus sp.	vert., cdl.	ct		1			
A6	11	Serranidae	vert.	ct		1			
A6	11	Archosargus sp.	premaxilla	most	l	1			
A6	12	Teleostei	bone	fr		4			
A7	2	Crab	chitin	fr		2			
A7	2	Capra hircus	M	crn		1			
A7	3	Mammal	bone	fr		3			
A7	5	Serranidae	vert.	ct		1			
A7	5	Mammal, Lg.	bone	fr		1			
A8	2	Rattus rattus	innominate	most	r	1			adult
A8	2	crab	chitin	fr		10			
B1	1	Scomber sp.	vert.	ct		1			
B1	1	Scaridae	vert.	ct		1			
B1	1	Scorpaenidae	vert.	ct		1			
B1	1	Mammal	bone	fr		20			sun bleached & weathered
B1	1	Scarus sp.	lower phar pl	crn		1			
B1	1	Mammal, Lg.	cranium	fr		1			
B1	2	Bos taurus	phlx 1	prox	l	1			
B1	2	Mammal, Lg.	bone	fr		21			
B1	2	Bos taurus	vert., cerv.	fr		1		1	
B1	2	Caranx sp.	vert., pc	ct		1			
B1	2	Mammal, Lg.	limb bone	fr		2		1	chop marks
B1	2	Bos taurus	calcaneus	epi	l	1			juvenile
B1	2	Teleostei	bone	fr		10			
B1	2	Geochelone sp.	shell	fr		3			
B1	2	Epinephelus sp.	vert.	ct		2			
B1	2	Epinephelus sp.	vert. #3	ct		1			
B1	2	Chloroscombrus	vert., pc	ct		1			

Unit	Level	Taxon	Element	Portion	Side	count	Burnt	Cut	Notes
		chrysurus							
B1	2	Caranx sp.	vert., cdl.	ct		1			
B1	2	Melichthys niger	vert., pc	ct		2			
B1	2	Melichthys niger	basioccipital	ct		1			
B1	2	Ovicaprid	mandible	asc. Ram.	l	1			
B1	2	Bovidae	tooth	fr		4			
B1	2	Sparisoma sp.	premaxilla	co	r	1			
B1	2	Haemulon sp.	anal pter.	prox		1			
B1	2	Sphyraena barracuda	vert., thor.	ct		1			
B1	2	Epinephelus sp.	quadrate	co	r	1			large
B1	2	Diodon sp.	jaw	fr		1			
B1	2	Epinephelus sp.	supracleithrum	prox	r	1		1	cut off, filleting behind head cut
B1	2	Haemulidae	vert.	ct		1			
B1	2	Ovicaprid	tibia	dist	r	1			juvenile
B1	3	Gallus gallus	sternum	ant		1			
B1	3	Aves, Md.	vert., cerv.	ct		1			
B1	3	Epinephelus sp.	vert., cdl.	ct		1			
B1	3	Haemulon sp.	vert. #1	ct		1			
B1	3	Epinephelus sp.	vert. #1	ct		1			
B1	3	Teleostei	vert.	ct		8			
B1	3	Sus scrofa	accessory metapodial	fr		2			
B1	3	Aves, Lg.	vert.	fr		1			
B1	3	Scaridae	vert., pc	ct		1			
B1	3	Mammal, Lg.	bone	fr		22			
B1	3	Sus scrofa	metatarsal 3	prox	r	1			
B1	3	Scomberomorus cavalla	vert., pc	ct		1			
B1	3	Bodianus sp.	dentary	dist	r	1			
B1	3	Sus scrofa	phlx 2	co	l	1			
B1	3	Teleostei	bone	fr		13			
B1	3	Cheloniidae	femur	sh	l	1		1	3 chop mks
B1	3	Serranidae	vert.	ct		6			
B1	3	Balistes sp.	vert. #2	ct		1			
B1	3	Balistes sp.	dentary	co	l	1			
B1	3	Archosargus sp.	premaxilla	anterior	l	1			
B1	3	crab	claw	fr		1			
B1	3	Ovicaprid	m-mp	fr		2			
B1	3	Mammal, Lg.	limb bone	fr		3			
B1	3	Artiodactyla	limb bone	fr		1			
B1	3	Sparisoma sp.	dentary	dist	r	1			
B1	4	Epinephelus sp.	epihyal	co	l	1			

Unit	Level	Taxon	Element	Portion	Side	count	Burnt	Cut	Notes
B1	4	Teleostei	spine	co		1			
B1	4	Mammal	bone	fr		1			
B1	4	Haemulon sp.	vert., pc	ct		1			
B1	4	Lutjanus sp.	basioccipital	co		1			
B1	6	Mammal, Lg.	bone	fr		4			
B1	6	Bos taurus	vert., thor.	nsp		1			
B1	6	Lutjanus sp.	vert. #3	ct		1			
E14	2	Calamus sp.	premaxilla	anterior	r	1			
E14	3	Rhizoprionodon porosus	vert.	ct		1			
E20	2	Mammal, Md.	bone	fr		1			
E21	1	Scaridae	vert.	ct		1			
E21	3	Carangidae	vert.	ct		1			
E21	3	Sparisoma sp.	dentary	most	r	1			
E21	3	Mammal	limb bone	fr		1			
E21	3	Capra hircus	UM2	co	r	1			
E24	1	Scaridae	vert., pc	ct		1			
E24	2	Lutjanus sp.	dentary	most	l	1			
E24	2	Lutjanus sp.	preopercle	mid	r	1			
E24	3	Mammal	bone	fr		1			
E24	3	Sparisoma sp.	upper phar pl	co	l	1			
E24	3	Haemulon sp.	premaxilla	m	r	1			
E24	3	Sparisoma sp.	dentary	dist	l	1			
E24	3	Teleostei	bone	fr		4			
E24	3	Sparisoma sp.	dentary	most	r	2			1 lg, 1 md
E24	3	Sparisoma sp.	vert.	ct		6			
E24	3	Bodianus rufus	upper phar pl	co	l	1			
E24	3	Acanthurus coeruleus	anal pter.	most		1			
E24	4	Teleostei	spine	co		1			
E24	4	Serranidae	vert.	ct		1			
E5	3	Mammal	bone	fr		1			
E5	6	Haemulon sp.	vert. #1	ct		1			
FHB-MH1	1	Gallus gallus	humerus	fr		1			female, yolk bone
FHB-MH1	1	Gallus gallus	tibiotarsus	sh		2			
FHB-MH1	1	Gallus gallus	tarsometatarsus	sh	r	1			female
FHB-MH1	1	Aves, Md.	limb bone	sh fr		2			
FHB-MH1	2	Aves, Md.	phlx 2	co		1			
FHB-MH1	3	Mammal, Lg.	bone	fr		6			
FHB-MH1	3	Bos taurus	carpal	fr		2			
FHB-MH1	4	Bos taurus	intermediate carpal	most	r	1			
FHB-	4	Mammal, Lg.	limb bone	fr		6			

Unit	Level	Taxon	Element	Portion	Side	count	Burnt	Cut	Notes
MH1									
FHB-MH1	4	Bos taurus	navicular	co	l	1			
FHB-MH1	5	Mammal, Lg.	bone	fr		14			
FHB-MH1	6	Mammal	bone	fr		10			
J1	1	crab	claw	fr		1			
J1	1	Mammal, Md.	limb bone	fr		1			
J1	1	Caranx sp.	scale	co		1			
J1	2	Mammal, Lg.	limb bone	fr		1			
J1	2	Aves, Lg.	limb bone	sh fr		1		1	tube bead fragment, 1 end cut off & smoothed
J1	2	Caranx sp.	vert., cdl.	ct		1			
J1	2	Serranidae	vert.	ct		1			
J1	2	Mammal	bone	fr		8			
J1	2	Lutjanus sp.	quadrate	co	r	1			
J1	2	Capra hircus	phlx 2	co		1			
J1	2	Sparisoma sp.	premaxilla	co	l	1			
J1	2	Teleostei	bone	fr		2			
J1	2	Sparisoma sp.	dentary	co	r	1			
J1	2	Sparisoma sp.	dentary	most	l	1			
J1	2	Mammal, Lg.	rib	fr		1		1	chop marks
J1	3	Pelecanus occidentalis	radius	prox	r	1			adult
J1	3	Mammal, Md.	limb bone	fr		3			
J1	3	Capra hircus	phlx 1	co	l	1			
J1	3	Lutjanus sp.	articular	most	l	1			
J1	3	Capra hircus	phlx 2	co	l	1			
J1	3	Haemulon sp.	maxilla	anterior	r	1			
J1	3	Capra hircus	metacarpal	prox	l	1			
J1	3	Caranx sp.	vert., cdl.	ct		1			large
J1	3	Lutjanus sp.	dentary	dist	r	1			
J1	3	Caranx sp.	scale	co		1			
J1	3	Teleostei	bone	fr		3			
J1	3	Mammal, Md.	limb bone	fr		1	1		
J1	4	Teleostei	fin ray	fr		1			
K1	1	Capra hircus	scapula	prox	r	1			
K1	1	Capra hircus	LI2	co	l	1			
K1	1	Capra hircus	UM1	co	r	1			juvenile
MH1	2	Gallus gallus	fibula	prox	r	1			
MH1	2	Aves, Lg.	cranium	fr		1			
MH1	4	Aves	bone	fr		1			
MH1	4	Mammal, Lg.	limb bone	fr		1			

Appendix D: Comparison of Lettsom Households

The division of the earlier household of Mary and Edward Lettsom (before 1758) and the later household of Mary and Samuel Taine, its difficulties, and contexts associated with each are discussed in chapters seven and ten.

Ceramics by Ware

	First			Second		
Ware	**Ct.**	**MVC**	**Wt. (g)**	**Ct.**	**MVC**	**Wt. (g)**
Astbury	0	0	0	1	1	0.4
Brick	3	1	2.5	5	1	6.8
Creamware	1	1	1.1	64	5	77.1
Jackfield	2	1	1.5	3	1	2.9
Lead-Glazed Slipware	4	1	41.5	30	2	59
Low-Fired Earthenware	5	1	33.9	35	4	163.4
Pearlware, MonoHand	0	0	0	2	1	1
Pearlware, PolyHand	0	0	0	1	1	1.4
Pearlware, Undecorated	0	0	0	11	1	14
Porcelain	2	1	1.2	10	1	9.7
Porcelain, Brown Glazed	1	1	1.5	5	1	12.3
Redware, Lead Glazed	1	1	0.2	2	1	2.9
Stoneware, Dipped	1	1	4.3	1	1	6
Stoneware, Scratch Blue	0	0	0	2	1	1
Stoneware, Type Unknown	0	0	0	2	1	10.5
Stoneware, Westerwald	0	0	0	2	1	2.5
TinEnamel, Hand	6	1	11.7	43	2	61.4
TinEnamel, Plain	12	3	15.7	77	2	97.03
TinEnamel, Poly	2	1	2.7	8	3	18.5
TinEnamel, Sponged	3	1	1.7	14	1	6.7
Whieldon	2	1	5	1	1	0.6
Whiteware	0	0	0	3	1	1.6
WSGSW	5	1	5.3	64	3	51.01
TOTAL	50	17	129.8	386	37	607.74

Animal Bones

Species	First	Second/Mixed
Alsophis portoricensis	2	18
Archosargus sp.		3
Artiodactyla	1	3
Aves, Lg.		2
Aves, Md.		4
Balistes sp.	1	3
Bodianus rufus		2
Bodianus sp.	1	3
Bos taurus	2	5
Bovidae		4
Calamus sp.	1	6
Capra hircus		6
Carangidae		2
Caranx sp.		7
Cheloniidae	1	3
Chloroscombrus chrysurus		1
Clupeidae		1
crab		19
Diodon sp.		1
Epinephelus sp.	2	12
Gallus gallus		1
Geochelone sp.	1	5
Haemulidae		3
Haemulon sp.	1	7
Lutjanus sp.	3	7
Lutjanus synagris		1
Mammal	8	76
Mammal, Lg.	19	74
Mammal, Md.	4	14
Melichthys niger		3
Mycteroperca sp.		1
Ovicaprid		6
Pelecanus occidentalis		1
Rattus rattus		1
Scaridae	1	2
Scarus sp.		3
Scomber sp.		2
Scomberomorus cavalla		1
Scombridae		1
Scorpaenidae		1
Sea urchin		7
Serranidae	2	13
Sparisoma sp.		6
Sphyraena barracuda		1
Sus scrofa		6

Teleostei	19	173
Grand Total	**69**	**521**

Shells

	First			Second/Mixed		
Species	**MNI**	**Wt (g)**	**NISP**	**MNI**	**Wt (g)**	**NISP**
Acar domingensis	0	0.54	3	1	0.62	3
Arca zebra	2	0.89	5	2	7.6	6
Astraea tecta		2.2	4	4	86.32	20
Astraea tuber				16	174.05	29
Charonia variegata				1	63.31	1
Chitons	7	12.68	28	10	73.17	117
Cittarium pica	36	565.21	128	163	2404.95	1442
Codakia orbicularis	5	21.5	9	14	171.16	89
Columbella mercatoria					1.24	1
Cyphoma gibbosum				1	2.03	2
Cypraea zebra					2.31	2
Cyrtopleura costata					0.19	1
Isognomon alatus	1	0.12	2	3	0.84	6
Leucozonia nassa				1	2.4	1
Lucina pensylvania		3.31	1	1	1.1	1
Nerita sp.	5	13.84	14	28	53.14	73
Oliva sp.	1	3.86	1	8	14.88	10
Polinices lacteus				4	3.84	4
Purpura patula				1	0.99	1
Species unknown	28	404.88	547	88	2200.94	2567
Strombus sp.	1	12.32	2	4	390.74	62
Tectarius muricatus	1	2.27	1	25	20.56	25
Thais sp.					0.98	2
Trivia sp.	1	0.82	1	3	0.96	3
Turbo castanea				2	2.63	2
Grand Total	**88**	**1044.44**	**746**	**380**	**5680.95**	**4470**