

topographically suitable for a cemetery. Examination of aerial photographs might also be used to identify areas suitable for on-site survey, and some form of geophysical remote sensing device could be useful for recovering subsurface burial data.

A more fruitful approach, however, would begin with a detailed geomorphological and geoarchaeological study at several plantations. Our fieldwork has demonstrated that in the gully at Hanson active soil accumulation occurred over the last two centuries at least. Given Barbados' topography and extensive cultivation, such situations are almost certainly more widespread. However, we are unaware of any studies of the geomorphological processes active in these small bottom areas. A geoarchaeological study of the problem is needed. Such a project would combine geomorphological analysis of the soils and stratigraphy in these areas with archaeological analysis of collected materials (which might lead to determination of rates of accumulation based on datable artifacts) and archaeological testing of any possible sites

associated with buried land surfaces. The most efficient means of conducting such a project would be soil coring (using a hydraulic core rather than a hand probe), trenching (with a backhoe, or mechanical ditch digger), and hand excavation of archaeological units.

If many of these bottom areas do, indeed, contain buried sites it could lead to many new developments in Barbados archaeology. Slave cemeteries may not be the only sites buried in these areas. Except for the Newton cemetery, archaeological work on the island in the early 1970s (Handler and Lange 1978; cf. Lange and Carlson 1985) as well as this project have failed to find in situ, undisturbed sites relating to slave life. Thus far all archaeological data relating to slave habitation sites and other activity areas derive from surface collections made in heavily plowed fields. While it is unlikely that major slave living areas would be buried in the small gullies, other sites relating to slave activities might be found there.

## Chapter 8 Conclusions

### Summary of 1987 Fieldwork

The preceding pages give a detailed account of the archaeological research on Barbados plantations during the summer of 1987; in addition, they provide the results of the ethnographic and historical investigations bearing on the plantations where the archaeological research took place. Also described are the procedures involved in choosing the plantations for investigation as well as the background to the 1987 research within the context of the Senior Author's wider research project on Barbados slavery. Despite the failure to achieve the major objective of the archaeological fieldwork -- the discovery of one or more slave cemeteries and recovery of some skeletal and artifactual materials -- the historical and ethnographic data presented in this report nonetheless contribute to the history of Barbados' plantations.

During the approximately two centuries that slavery existed in Barbados, tens of thousands of slaves died on the island; and historical, ethnographic, and archaeological data (the last, from the Newton plantation excavations in the early 1970s) converge to provide incontrovertible evidence that most of these people were buried on plantations, in areas defined as slave graveyards. It might be easy to assume that the location of some plantation cemeteries would be known on an island as small as Barbados with its long history of slavery, high population densities, and intensive agricultural development over a long period. Yet, such is not the case. The nonsuccess of the 1987 archaeological, ethnographic, and historical research to produce evidence for a cemetery on a specific plantation was a major disappointment, and made us fully realize that slave cemeteries are far more difficult to locate than we anticipated before the fieldwork began. Yet, despite our failure we maintain that evidence of such cemeteries is obtainable. The fact that we did not find one only underscores the luck and unique circumstances that led to the discovery in the early 1970s of the Newton plantation cemetery; this cemetery continues to be the first slave

cemetery to have been identified in Barbados as well as the only one that is definitely known.

Chapter 6 describes the five plantations on which research took place in terms of their contemporary features and histories, and presents any ethnographic information that might have had bearing on the location/existence of a cemetery -- none of these data offered unequivocal evidence, but some offered clues that were archaeologically pursued. Chapter 7 describes the archaeological research itself and discusses several possible reasons why this research did not discover evidence for a cemetery on a specific plantation. Although these reasons include the possibility of methodological shortcomings, we believe that a plantation cemetery similar to Newton (for example, with a sloping topography, shallow soil cover and unsuitability for cane cultivation, proximity to the Negro Yard field), would have been discovered with the procedures we followed and the techniques we adopted. Moreover, we are aware that time and other limitations on our resources prevented any of the plantations from being exhaustively investigated. For example, there is certainly the possibility that the cemeteries being sought were located in areas that were inaccessible to archaeological survey or excavation, such as in fields with relatively dense or mature sugar cane growth. Yet, as was discussed in chapter 7, the amount of archaeological work and the land area that was covered on each of the five plantations seems to militate against lack of exhaustive coverage as adequately explaining why a cemetery was not found.

The 1987 field experience has led us to believe that, contrary to our initial expectations, the strongest reason for our lack of success derives from the possibility that the Newton cemetery model, which guided our research, may have been misleading; and that the location and topographic features of the Newton cemetery were more anomalous for Barbadian plantations than we believed while

our archaeological research strategies were being devised. The location and topographic characteristics of the Newton cemetery suggested that other plantation cemeteries would be found not far from the Negro Yard fields, in areas that had not been cultivated because of their rocky nature and shallow soil cover; moreover, the burials would be relatively shallow and not difficult to discover. Yet, it now appears that other slave cemeteries may not have been found because slave skeletal remains are too deeply buried to become easily visible or accidentally discovered.

Two types of evidence support this hypothesis (chapter 7). Briefly, the major one derives from the archaeological research itself and visual observation of plantation lands. There appear to be ample topographic situations on Barbados plantations in general wherein active soil accumulation has continued from the seventeenth century until the present. Agricultural activities as well as natural forces would have increased soil erosion from cultivated fields, resulting in soil deposition in

### Implications of Cemetery Investigations for the Study of Slave Biohistory and Sociocultural Life

We continue to believe, and historical archaeological research in other Caribbean and North American plantation areas supports this belief, primarily through negative evidence, that cemeteries such as Newton can provide relatively undisturbed archaeological contexts, particularly in plantation regions that have experienced intensive long term cultivation; such cemeteries can offer rich opportunities and sometimes unique possibilities for uncovering data on slave material culture and social life and customs. The relatively diverse, and sometimes unique, assortment of artifacts yielded by Newton cemetery (Handler and Lange 1978: 111-158), for example, illustrates the possibilities afforded by mortuary materials in the study of slavery. Moreover, and very importantly, cemetery excavations permit the acquisition of skeletal data; these data can be of great value for the study of the biological history of Africans and their descendants in the New World as well as contributing to a broader picture of slave life. And the value of cemetery sites for studying slave life becomes even greater for the earlier

lower areas or bottomlands; thus, if burials had taken place in lower (and agriculturally unused) areas during the period of slavery (for example, to possibly prevent exhumation by dogs) they would be even deeper today than they were when the corpses were initially interred. The second type of evidence is a small piece of unique information from an 1812 document. This briefly mentions in passing that an unidentified "bottom" area of Edgewcombe plantation contained "the common burial place" (Society for the Improvement 1811-1816: 43). Despite its brevity and vagueness, this reference suggests support of the first type of evidence, and the possibility that burial areas were in bottomlands such as gullies, draws, or even bowl-shaped fields. We barely investigated bottomlands because our research design caused us to look for cemeteries guided by the Newton model; and it was not until after the field season was over that we fully realized the possibility that cemeteries may have been located in bottomlands.

periods of colonial slavery, when creole cultures in the Americas were being forged, and during which historical documentation on slave life is frequently sparse.

**Biohistory.** Earlier analyses of Newton's skeletal materials, as well as more recent studies of the skeletal remains of persons of African descent, have demonstrated the significant contributions that bioarchaeology can make to understanding the biological history of African-Americans. "In a very real sense," Larsen (1987: 340) has recently written, "human remains are an integral part of the archaeological record, and their study provides key information on past behavioral patterns." Generally speaking, the study of archaeologically recovered skeletal materials can generate data and shed light on a multiplicity of issues directly and indirectly relating to human biology, such as nutrition, general health, possible causes of death, pathologies, demography, and these in turn can illuminate various dimensions of sociocultural life (see, for example, Larsen 1987). For slaves,

in particular, when viewed over the duration of the slave period in different New World slave societies, detailed data on such issues is often lacking; where the information is available, it can be highly inadequate and subjective. The analysis of slave skeletal materials is, as one historian prominent in the study of African-American biohistory observes, a "novel and intriguing, as well as crucially important, method of exploring the biological past of the black" (Kiple 1988b: 18). Not only can it provide a variety of data absent or inadequately reported in documents (see, for example, Kiple 1988b), but information from skeletal and dental remains can often provide an objective check on the information contained in more conventional historical sources.

**Material Culture and Domestic Life.** Intensively cultivated Barbados affords limited opportunities for finding evidence of slave domestic life in undisturbed archaeological contexts. Under such circumstances, and as strongly suggested by the Newton cemetery research, plantation cemeteries in Barbados (and probably elsewhere in the New World where similar conditions of agricultural history exist) have considerable potential for yielding relatively diverse information on various dimensions of slave material culture. Evidence from Barbados suggests that, especially in the earlier periods of slavery, a great deal of the slaves' material culture was organic, and consequently did not survive the deteriorative effects of natural and human alterations in the environment. However, the general absence of a variety of artifact types (except for ceramic materials) in former plantation slave village areas contrasted with the presence of a relatively diverse artifact inventory at Newton cemetery (Handler and Lange 1978), strongly suggest that slave cemeteries in general provide opportunities for acquiring diverse nonorganic artifacts. Such artifacts may be completely unreported or sparsely reported in primary historical sources, and can reflect hitherto unknown or inadequately understood dimensions of slave secular and socioreligious life.

"Slaves brought next to nothing in the way of material culture to the New World," Merrick Posnansky (1986: 2) writes, "but nevertheless they possessed mental blueprints of certain practices that may eventually show

up in their patterns of artifact distribution or use." However, most elements of material culture discovered in North American and Caribbean plantation slave sites have been of European origin in one form or another (although they may have been modified by slaves and used in different cultural contexts); and they do not appear to have been distinctively different from the material culture of other poor, albeit free black and white, populations in the slave society (see, for example, Adams 1987: 13; Adams and Boling 1989; Handler and Lange 1978: 227; Otto 1984; Singleton 1985 *passim*). Moreover, as Klingelhofer (1987: 115) has recently observed:

. . . certain early Afro-American activities and accompanying objects were never described in writing and others were perhaps never even observed by Whites. The Black world was, after all, generally restricted to what took place in slave cabins between sundown and sunup. This time and place was the cradle of Afro-American culture, and during the early evolution of that culture, there must have been many instances of specific survivals from African (and perhaps newly created beliefs and activities as well) that were soon discarded or blended into the heterogeneous cultural identity that Black Americans created for themselves.

Although Klingelhofer is speaking of another type of site, the findings at Newton cemetery support his observations and suggest that further cemetery explorations would add significantly to our corpus of knowledge about early slave material culture of African origin and influence, reflections of the "mental blueprints" (Posnansky 1986: 2) that the forced African immigrants to the New World brought with them.

In general, plantation archaeology in the Caribbean and the United States has found little direct artifactual evidence of the African past, "truly African artifacts" (Higman 1988: 91), or elements of material culture that are manifestations of early African-American cultures and acculturative processes. In a recent review of New World plantation archaeology, for example, Adams has observed how "the search for Africanisms has been disappointing,

for few such facets have been found . . . . relatively few items have been identified as having come from Africa with slaves" (Adams 1987: 11, 14). All of the artifacts he mentions which reflect African influences were found at Newton cemetery (see, for example, Handler 1983; Handler and Lange 1978, 1979; Handler et al. 1979; Lange and Handler 1985; cf. Handler et al. 1982). It is probably true, as Posnansky (1989) has recently argued, that there was "no significant transfer of tangible items" from West Africa to the New World; "the most important imports were invisible," he writes, "and are inaccessible from purely archaeological research. These invisible imports consisted of the slave's individual skills inherited from countless generations of West Africans." The paucity of non-European type artifacts which plantation archaeology in general has thus far generated seems to support Posnansky's observation, but the fact that most artifacts (even though in absolute terms they number very few) which manifest strong African influences have been found in a Barbados slave cemetery, strengthens the case for the slave cemetery as a site for finding African-type artifacts and exploring various dimensions of slave material culture.

**Rank and Social Control.** It was also hoped that the 1987 cemetery excavations would recover data applicable to a variety of other dimensions of the social system of slavery and slave social life. Although no such data were uncovered, the Newton cemetery experience has continued to convince us that archaeological data can shed light on several topics of fundamental importance. For example, rank and status/role definitions within the slave community; especially such roles as obeah practitioners, or shaman-healers, that were not associated with slavemaster-defined plantation work activities and were defined by the slave community itself, which gave these roles their social significance. Such roles would have been behaviorally manifest largely within the slave villages and were intrinsic features of slave community life.

Another aspect of the slave system which can be elucidated through mortuary evidence relates to the system of plantation social control, particularly that dimension involving rewards and incentives; through

these, slavemasters attempted to induce slaves to conform to master-defined rules of behavior. The Newton experience, as reflected in the patterning associated with coffins and clay pipes (and in conjunction with documentary evidence), shows that the mortuary complex was one major area of slave culture in which rewards/incentives were manifest. The mortuary complex, in turn, was an important dimension of slave life and the one most explicitly and obviously amenable to archaeological cemetery investigation.

**The Mortuary Complex and Socioreligious Life.** The mortuary complex and emotional attachment to the burial places of their dead were of major significance to Barbados slaves (Handler and Lange 1978). Historical evidence from other New World British colonies indicates that the mortuary complex played a similar role in slave life elsewhere (e.g., Abrahams and Szwed 1983: passim; Brathwaite 1971: 216-219; Curtin 1955: 31; Gaspar 1985: 244-245). The mortuary complex comprised a variety of beliefs and behavior reflecting slave religious life. Relatively little is historically known about the African and African-type religious beliefs and practices in the United States and the Caribbean, especially in the earliest periods of slavery (although modern scholarship gives the impression that relatively more is known about seventeenth and eighteenth century slave religion in the Caribbean than on the American mainland). Moreover, historical evidence is sufficient to indicate that the mortuary complex continued to be a central feature of slave religious life even with the changes brought about through intensive and prolonged contact with Europeans.

Writing about an urban cemetery in North America, Parrington (1987: 57) makes an obvious but nonetheless important point that is equally applicable to plantation slave culture: "The trash deposits which form much of the focus of historical archaeology are primarily manifestations of unconscious cultural practices. In contrast, burial remains and associated artifacts are direct and conscious manifestations of ideological beliefs and practices and can potentially provide more explicit information about the cultural standards of the society being studied." Cemetery excavations can provide

otherwise unavailable data which, when combined with information derived from documentary materials, can significantly contribute to an understanding of the slave mortuary complex. The mortuary complex, in turn, is an important cultural dimension that permits tracing culture change and acculturative

### Ethical Issues in Cemetery Excavations

The extent to which local contemporary cultural beliefs and standards may intervene in the investigation of West Indian slave cemeteries in general is not an issue that is addressed at length here. In Appendix B some attempt is made to deal with this issue for Barbados, and the appendix also presents information relating to other Caribbean areas. Although not copious, these data support one another and indicate that such research has not, and apparently would not, infringe on locally defined standards of behavior or socioreligious values. In fact, there is every suggestion that such research would be positively viewed. Experiences in Barbados in the 1970s and 1987 suggest that research in plantation cemetery areas is culturally acceptable (the actual handling of skeletal materials is a different cultural issue) and positively viewed because contemporary Barbadians, including the rural working class who inhabit the areas where the cemeteries are apt to be found, do not emotionally or psychologically identify themselves or their family histories with skeletons in unmarked graves. Such an identification, however, takes place with churchyard burials because modern Barbadians are Christians, and Christian burials, by local perspectives, are marked burials or, at least, burials found in churchyards; thus, burials in Christian cemeteries are viewed entirely

### Historical Archaeology and the Study of Slavery

Despite the limitations of the archaeological record in general, historical archaeology can significantly contribute to the history of "peoples who left no written records and about whom documentary sources are often silent, contradictory, or biased" (Handler and Lange 1978: 229), particularly if historical and archaeological data are used "to inform . . . [each] other in such a way as to arrive at conclusions that neither data set could provide

processes, and issues relating to the retention and modification of the African heritage in the New World (e.g. Handler and Lange 1978: 208-215); in fact, it may be "one of the most fruitful sources for identifying African continuities" in the Americas (Posnansky 1989).

differently from unidentified ones on plantation fields. <sup>18</sup> Why present day working class Barbadians (who are clearly descended from slaves) fail to identify with the "old time people" in unmarked cemeteries is a large issue which cannot be discussed here. The answer to this question, however, runs deep in Barbados' colonial history and the negative ideology that developed surrounding slavery and the African past. But in another way, slave cemetery excavations can be viewed positively (particularly among more formally educated Barbadians), not only because of the great West Indian cultural interest in mortuary customs, but also because of their potential for yielding information on a national heritage that was suppressed by traditional colonial perspectives and the educational system influenced by these perspectives. In any case, to the degree to which cemetery excavations might be a problem, that problem is to be understood only in relation to the cultural context of the area where the research takes place; and it hardly needs belaboring that researchers should be sensitive to the cultural attitudes and values that might affect such research, including the possibly increasing feeling in the West Indies that skeletal materials should be reburied after they have been analyzed.

alone" (Deetz 1988: 363; cf. Deagan 1982). <sup>19</sup> Historical archaeology can "offer answers to many questions ignored or only partially tested by other methods," the Caribbean historian Barry Higman (1988: 90) has written, "and it can work towards an effective integration of history and anthropology. Its great advantage is that it does not depend solely on the elusive archaeological record." With particular respect to the study of slavery, historical



archaeology, including bioarchaeology, can make valuable contributions "because it yields information and generates questions not available in the documentary sources" (Handler and Lange 1978: 216; cf. Singleton 1985). As Higman (1988: 85) has recently summarized: "Slaves left few written records. Oral testimony is almost as rare. Slaves did however discard material items of one kind or another and disturbed in various ways the physical environments in which they lived, inadvertently providing in the archaeological record a potentially rich and relatively neutral source of direct evidence about their everyday lives." In New World slavery, the potential contribution of historical archaeology may be the greatest in the study of the earliest colonial periods, where historical documentation is minimal, but where there is, as Deetz (1988: 367) has recently observed in another context, "sufficient documentary evidence to inform the archeology, but not in such a quantity as to make archeological analysis a weaker component [than historical research] in the total research design."

Although we failed to locate any plantation slave cemeteries in Barbados during the summer of 1987, we have little doubt that evidence for such cemeteries still exists in one

form or another. We remain convinced that Barbados, with its small size, relatively gentle topography, and large number of slave deaths over an extended period of time, still contains ample evidence of the plantation cemeteries in which most slaves were interred from the seventeenth century to 1834. Yet, we now realize, even more clearly, that our efforts at finding a cemetery were only a beginning: the 1987 project (and the several years of preceding ethnographic and historic research that directly led to it) makes it plain that finding cemeteries will require a more intensive ethnographic and archaeological effort than our 1987 field season permitted. Nonetheless, we hope that our experiences in Barbados and the description of our research procedures, including the specific cultural and biological questions and hypotheses we intended to address, can assist other scholars who might attempt similar research on the island or in other areas with comparable slave-plantation histories. Despite the apparent difficulty in finding plantation cemeteries, a search for them is highly justifiable because of their scientific potential for illuminating issues in the sociocultural and biological history of Africans and their descendants in the New World.

## Appendix A Cholera Burial Grounds

The original research design included the intention of recovering skeletal remains from a burial area that reportedly contained the victims of a cholera epidemic; the epidemic occurred from May to August 1854, barely twenty years after emancipation. Between 21,000 and 25,000 persons (about 15% of Barbados' population), mostly nonwhites, lost their lives. In December 1986, the Project Director was shown what informants identified as a cholera burial ground in a section of the Scotland District that had formerly contained a relatively large poor white population. The burial ground is in an old marl pit, today densely overgrown with vegetation. The existence of abundant human skeletal remains and some artifactual materials (but no coffins) was independently verified by several elderly informants who had collected marl from this pit when they were young men.

In constructing the original research design, it was felt that this "cholera ground" afforded a unique opportunity to collect skeletal materials representing nonelite whites as well as persons of African and mixed ancestry. Since local custom forbids excavations in church burial grounds (where most whites were buried during the slave period), the cholera burial ground had the potential of yielding important comparative bioanthropological data on many persons born during the slave era. Historical records suggest that Caribbean blacks were more likely than whites to contract cholera, and that cholera-stricken blacks were more likely to die than cholera-stricken whites (Kiple 1985). Skeletal data from the Barbados cholera ground could have been used to compare differential mortality of blacks and whites as well as to compare various biological attributes of persons born late in the slave period with non-elite whites, for example, general health, degree of skeletal lead concentration.

However, during the course of the 1987 fieldwork the Project Director decided to omit investigations of the cholera ground. One reason was the unanticipated ambiguity of the land's ownership; too much time and effort would have been required to gain excavation permission.

More important, however, were other unexpected problems: vague rumors that some Barbadians were anxious about the health implications of excavations in a cholera pit and the possibility that another epidemic could be unleashed; also, some questioned the legality of excavating in any former cholera area. There were several indications that such issues could be raised on a wider scale, once our work became known. Because the Project Director decided there was increasing malaise among people he knew that excavations in a cholera ground might bring "trouble," and because there was a great deal of other work to do, he decided to forgo excavation in this area.

During the field season elderly informants on several different plantations reported they had uncovered or observed human bones in marl pits in earlier years. Sometimes these marl pits were also identified as "cholera grounds," and because of this identification they were not investigated archaeologically. Yet, as discussed in chapter 7, some of these "cholera grounds," including the one described above, may have been, in fact, slave burial sites, and oral tradition may be misleading. (Oftentimes, it can be noted, plantation laborers refer to possible plantation burial sites as the "cholera ground," though no one interviewed could specify when the cholera epidemic occurred. Nonetheless, in questioning plantation laborers, if the researcher is interested in human skeletal remains it is often more useful to ask about a "cholera ground" than a slave cemetery, since no one refers to the latter.) Today there are plantations with Cholera fields (although such fields were lacking on the plantations we investigated) which "were used as burial grounds for those on the estate who had died from this scourge" (Chandler 1968:134). Although the present existence of arable Cholera fields might indicate burial grounds dating from the 1854 epidemic (as suggested in chapter 4, some of the Graveyard fields also may have been associated with the epidemic), it is also possible, as with former marl pits called "cholera grounds," that some of these fields contain slave cemeteries.

## Appendix B

### Excavation of Human Skeletal Remains in Barbados

A question that can be raised by readers of this report relates to the excavation of human skeletons and the way such excavations might be perceived in Barbados. In considering this issue, it must be stressed that North American models and the experiences of archaeologists in North America with respect to Native American burials (see, for example, Preston 1989) cannot be automatically transferred to the West Indian cultural milieu. For Barbados, the Newton cemetery experience in the early 1970s was essential in attempting to anticipate Barbadian reaction to the cemetery excavations planned for the 1987 field season.

The results of the work at Newton have always been well-publicized in Barbados and have received very favorable reactions from Barbadians. From the early 1970s, when the archaeological research at Newton began, to shortly before the onset of the 1987 field season, the Newton research has been shared with the wider public in Barbados through magazine and newspaper articles written by Barbadians, radio and television programs involving the Project Director or Barbadian historians, public lectures given by the Project Director at the Barbados campus of the University of the West Indies, and innumerable conversations between the Project Director and his many Barbadian friends and acquaintances. In brief, the whole Newton project and its findings, particularly with respect to slave mortuary patterns and, in more recent times, lead poisoning, have evoked wide popular interest and very positive local reactions.

Indeed, the Newton cemetery itself has become something of a landmark in contemporary Barbados, and is considered a symbol of the island's cultural and national heritage. The following illustrates the symbolic value now attached to Newton. In 1974 the Barbados Government and Office of Tourism reintroduced the "crop-over festival," which had been started in the later years of the slave period to celebrate the end of the sugar cane harvest. After emancipation in 1834, "crop-over" continued but gradually diminished, and by the late 1930s it had "very nearly died out"

(Old Plantation 1940:111); it does not appear to have survived the Second World War. In 1974 "crop-over" was reintroduced, primarily as a tourist attraction during the summer months, but over the years the festival gradually absorbed more and more Barbadians and became increasingly elaborate. Now an annual cultural event of major proportions, it includes a number of activities, including theatrical productions, calypso performances, art shows, and a variety of other cultural events. "Today, the annual Crop Over festival is more than a tourism gimmick," an observer recently noted, "as it has evolved into the biggest cultural event in Barbados, and one of the most spectacular in the [Caribbean] region" (Richards 1988). The festival is formally opened at a different plantation each year with a ceremony that involves delivery of the symbolic last load of sugar cane to the factory. In May 1985, the "crop-over" was opened by the Director of the National Cultural Foundation (a governmental agency) at Newton plantation -- on the cemetery site. The opening ceremony was well-publicized and included a television program hosted and narrated by Ronald Hughes, a well-known Barbadian historian; this program included a discussion of Newton's history, and frequently acknowledged the Project Director's contributions to knowledge of the island's past.

Another major confirmation of the positive value attached to the earlier work at Newton was the endorsement the Project Director received for continued archaeological research in plantation slave cemeteries. Prior to the onset of the 1987 fieldwork, letters supporting this research were received from a number of prominent Barbadians connected with cultural, educational, commercial, and governmental agencies. These letters, including one from the late Prime Minister, the Honorable Errol W. Barrow, were used as supporting data for research grant applications to private and public agencies in the United States.

In brief, the Newton research significantly contributed to an atmosphere in Barbados that positively viewed archaeological investigations of slavery.

Before the 1987 field season it seemed clear that many Barbadians supported such investigations as a way of exploring a past that was often obscured by colonial perspectives and an educational system which virtually ignored, until recent times, West Indian sociocultural history, the possible influence of Africa on this history, and the legacy of the African heritage.

In addition, during the 1970s there did not appear to have been any ideological difficulties with laborers or others at Newton plantation concerning the excavation of skeletons; in fact, some local residents were hired at various points to assist in the excavations. Comparative data on this general issue from other West Indian areas is not abundant, but it is instructive to record David Watters' (1987) recent observations concerning his experiences in Montserrat, a minuscule island in the Leewards. In 1979, Watters was asked by the Montserrat National Trust to conduct salvage operations at a house construction site, formerly a portion of an eighteenth century cemetery; ultimately the skeletal remains of 17 probable slaves were removed from highly disturbed contexts. Watters reports that the construction workers experienced some initial uneasiness in dealing with the site when the existence of skeletons became known; for example, "none of the workers would actually touch the skeletal remains we excavated." Yet, these workers came to show "great interest in the work we were doing and understood the careful excavation techniques used, once we explained why these methods were important. Word of the work at the cemetery spread quickly around the island and many Montserratians stopped by the site to watch the excavations. Visitors and construction workers alike regarded the work favorably since it was seen as one way to learn more about the heritage of their island." There is no indication that Watters or his group experienced any adverse reactions, either to excavations in this apparent cemetery or the removal of the skeletal materials to the United States for further study (Mann et al. 1987).

A similar experience in Montserrat was reported by Conrad Goodwin and Donald Jones (personal communication, January 7, 1989). For three weeks during the summer of 1987, they were involved in the partial excavation of a

slave cemetery at Galways plantation. The Galways project in general has received a great deal of positive publicity in Montserrat and has involved a number of Montserratians from different walks of life in the excavations at various parts of the site. Goodwin and Jones report that the Montserratians, including those who worked on the site as well as visitors, were actively interested in the cemetery excavations, not only as a curiosity in archaeological recovery techniques, but also as part of their wider interest in Galways and the island's history. The issue of actually touching the bones was something else, and there were mixed reactions to this, often expressed in the form of humor; only the archaeologists, however, actually excavated the burials.

Roderick Ebanks, Director of Archeology for the Jamaica National Heritage Trust, gave (personal communication, January 7, 1989) several opinions and impressions on the excavation of burials in Jamaica; these are generally consistent with the information discussed above. For Ebanks, rural Jamaicans would have no problem with burial excavations if they did not identify with the burials; and chances are slim, Ebanks opined, that rural Jamaicans would personally identify with burials in unmarked grave sites. As to the actual touching of bones, that would vary from individual to individual; some would be reluctant to do so, others not. Such impressions were corroborated by Douglas Armstrong (personal communication, January 7, 1989), an archaeologist with extensive experience in Jamaica.

In general, then, evidence presently available from the Caribbean (including that inferred from other reports on burial excavations) indicates that under normal circumstances, local populations would not object to the archaeological investigation of unmarked plantation cemeteries. Indeed, the Barbados and Montserrat cases confirm that there definitely would be local interest in such excavations, an interest that would increase when the nature of the excavations and their potential for shedding light on West Indian history are explained. Attitudes to actually touching the excavated bones would vary with the individuals concerned, regardless of the Caribbean society in which they live. Finally,

it can be observed that the meticulous care with which archaeologists normally expose burials can be interpreted as a respectful treatment of the remains of the dead, and there may be an increasing feeling in certain areas that skeletal materials should be reburied after they have

been analyzed for scientific purposes. Archaeologists contemplating cemetery excavations should be, naturally, sensitive to such cultural issues.

## Appendix C

### Regulations Surrounding Archaeological Research in Barbados

Legislation is apparently now being formulated that would regulate archaeological research and the export of archaeological specimens from Barbados; as this report went to press, however, such legislation had not yet been enacted. Since Barbados lacked such legislation during the 1987 fieldwork, no national permits were required. However, permission was required (and obtained) from the immigration authorities to remain on the island beyond the normal 28 days allotted visitors. On application, the Chief Immigration Officer extended our visitors' permits with the understanding that we would be engaged in archaeological and historical research and

would be supported by funds from agencies in the United States. Permission also was obtained from landowners to excavate on their properties. Lacking national legislation to the contrary, technically landowners are also the owners of any excavated materials. The Project Director signed agreements with plantation owners or their agents concerning research on their properties, and the disposition of any artifactual or skeletal remains that may have been discovered. A copy of this agreement is presented below to possibly assist future researchers in drafting their own agreements.

#### Archaeological Survey and Excavation Agreement

1. The undersigned owner(s)/agent of the plantation/locality known as \_\_\_\_\_ in \_\_\_\_\_ parish, Barbados, hereby extends permission to Professor Jerome S. Handler and his designated representative(s) of the Department of Anthropology and the Center for Archaeological Investigations at Southern Illinois University (Carbondale, Illinois, USA) to conduct archaeological survey and reconnaissance (and any excavation as may be described below) in the \_\_\_\_\_ field(s) of said plantation/locality.

2. Should archaeological excavations at the designated property be desired, Professor Handler and his research group, in return for the privilege of excavation, agree to the following terms:

a. all property rights will be respected and there will be no entry to any part of the property except as designated by the landowner(s) or his agent.

b. excavations will consist of hand excavations and will not employ any mechanized equipment.

c. any damage to property which might result from excavations shall be recompensed at the fair market value as determined by customary practices in Barbados.

d. all trenches, holes, pits, etc., resulting from excavations will be refilled, and

as much as possible the land will be restored to its original appearance and utility.

3. Permission for archaeological survey and excavations on the designated property covers the period from \_\_\_\_\_ 1987 to \_\_\_\_\_ 1987 and is subject to cancellation by the landowner(s)/agent provided the terms of this agreement are not properly carried out by Professor Handler or his research group.

4. Since it is presumed that all archaeological materials found on private lands are the property of the landowner(s), permission is also granted to Professor Handler and his research group to remove from the designated property archaeological materials for analysis and study. These materials will be considered as being on temporary loan from the landowner(s) to Professor Handler or his representative. If further scientific study and laboratory analysis of such materials is required in the United States, then Professor Handler or his representative is also granted permission to temporarily export these archaeological materials, in conformity with the laws of Barbados and subject to the following provisions:

a. The landowner(s) will be provided with an inventory or catalog of artifacts and



skeletal materials removed from the designated property for scientific study and analysis.

b. All such archaeological materials recovered from the designated property and loaned to Professor Handler or his representative will be returned to the landowner(s), unless the landowner(s) specify otherwise, at the expense of Professor Handler no more than one year after their removal from Barbados. An extension of this period will be considered by the landowner(s) upon request prior to the expiration of the initial one year period.

5. Professor Handler recommends that the landowner(s) donate all excavated artifacts to

the Barbados Museum for storage, protection, and possible eventual display.

6. Unless the landowner(s) wishes otherwise, his name and cooperation with the archaeological research will be acknowledged in all publications or publicity resulting from the research on the designated property.

7. Copies of all publications or technical reports resulting from the research will be forwarded to the landowner(s) as well as to the Barbados Museum, the Barbados Department of Archives, the Barbados Public Library, and the library of the University of the West Indies at Cave Hill, or other publicly accessible places that the landowner(s) might designate.

## Appendix D

### Tabulations of Excavated and Surface Collected Materials

by Rebecca House

The following is a provisional and preliminary categorization and tabulation of the ceramics collected in Barbados during 1987; these categories may require revisions under more intensive analyses than our resources permitted.

**Earthenware unglazed.** Wheel-thrown bodies, rims, bases of various thickness. Paste red to grey; has some limestone inclusions and small rock particles.

**Earthenware glazed.** Same as above, with thin glaze ranging from light yellow to dark green.

**Barbadian redware.** Dark red to grey paste with limestone inclusions, glaze ranging from dark to light green or yellow to brown. Wheel-thrown. See Handler and Lange 1978: 139-144.

It is to be noted that Earthenware unglazed, Earthenware glazed, and Barbadian redware are typologically very close and may have been unnecessarily sorted into three categories; in addition, some of the sherds classed as Barbadian redware may belong to another category.

**Refined redware.** Thin hard red paste with a thin glassy glaze ranging from dark red brown to brown. Wheel-thrown. Only 11 identified in the collection. Probably imported. See Miller and Stone 1970: 4, 63.

**Slipware.** Redware with a white slip, a design trailed or combed, and lead glazed. Most of the rims in the collection have a crimped "pie crust" lip treatment.

**Pearlware undecorated.** Rims, bodies, bases.

**Transfer prints.** Rims, bodies, bases. Colors are blue, purple, black, brown, and green.

**Edged rims.** Blue or green shell-edged.

**Handpainted ware.** Floral polychrome and monochrome rims, bodies, and bases. The polychrome florals are in two palette tones. Date range is 1790 to 1860; the lighter greens are pre-1830 and the darker greens are later

(Stewart- Abernathy 1980). The exterior of one piece of handpainted floral polychrome had traces of what appears to be copper luster (Lusterware; Lockett 1972: 68).

**Spongeware.** Rims, bodies, and bases with grey, green, blue, purple to lavender, or rose to pink decorative treatment.

**Annularware.** Banded rims, bodies with additional decorative treatments-Mocha (e.g., tobacco juice and urine to produce fern-like patterns between banded areas), dipped (circles of single colors), marbled (swirls of several colors), or engine-turned geometric designs spaced between the bands (Dodd 1967: 98; Van Rensselaer 1966: 337-342).

**Whiteware undecorated.** Rims, bodies, bases of white earthenware with no decorative treatment visible (Gates and Ormerod 1982: 7, 8).

**Whiteware decorated.** Rims, bodies, bases of white earthenware with various decorative treatments. These include what appear to be fragments of vessels with molded designs and solid colored surfaces (cobalt blue or green) under clear glaze; and plate or cup rims with single fine line decorative treatment similar to modern tableware.

**Creamware.** All rims, bodies, bases undecorated, except for one rim of brown on white handpainted monochrome.

**Tin-glaze enamels.** Rims, bodies, and bases. Most examples are Delft blue and white. One body sherd has dark cobalt blue exterior glaze and tin-glazed interior.

**Salt glazed stoneware.** Rims, bodies, bases. Some are English white salt glaze with slip casting (molded decorative treatment on the rim or body), ca. 1740 to 1770 (Miller and Stone 1970: 68).

**Lead glazed stoneware.** Rims, bodies, bases. Short "ink bottle" fragments; one example (bag 21-43) of Westerwald, a German blue and grey stoneware (Miller and Stone 1970: 74).





APPENDIX D TABLE

BAG	PLAN-TATION	FIELD	SQ	LEVEL	CREAM	TIN EN	SALT STONE	LEAD STONE	OTHER CERAMIC	GLASS	PIPE	SHELL	BONE	METAL	OTHER
21-30	HAN	PASTURE	32	2											
21-28	HAN	PASTURE	32	3											
21-29	HAN	PASTURE	32	4			1								
21-48	HAN	PASTURE	32	5											
21-52	HAN	PASTURE	33	1				1	1 STAMPED PEARL WARE						
21-24	HAN	STABLE	1	1				1							
21-39	HAN	STABLE	2	1											
21-82	HAN	STABLE	3	1				1	1 POSSIBLE PREHISTORIC SHERD					2	2 CLAY CONCRETIONS
21-74	HAN	STABLE	5	1											
21-98	HAN	STABLE	5	2							1			1	1 BRICK
21-59	HAN	STABLE	5	2											
21-44	HAN	STABLE	6	1						1					1 RED CLAY BLOB
21-83	HAN	STABLE	7	1			4			1				2	1 SLATE, 6 BRICK
21-62	HAN	STABLE	8	1						2				2	1 BRICK
21-79	HAN	STABLE	9	1					2 REF RED	1	2			1	
21-80	HAN	STABLE	9	2				1							
21-94	HAN	STABLE	9	2				1							
21-77	HAN	STABLE	10	1											
21-107	HAN	STABLE	12	1						1					
21-61	HAN	STABLE	13	1						2				8	
21-71	HAN	STABLE	14	1										1	7 BRICK
21-92	HAN	STABLE	14	1							2			6	1 COBBLE, 3 BRICK
21-85	HAN	STABLE	14	2				1							
21-70	HAN	STABLE	15	1					1 YELLOW WARE	2				4	4 1 PLASTIC, 1 GASKET
21-109	HAN	STABLE	17	1				1	1 PORCELAIN	7	1			5	1 COIN, 1962
21-101	HAN	STABLE	18	1						1				1	
21-60	HAN	STABLE	18	1				1						1	
21-91	HAN	STABLE	20	1			3	1	1 REF RED 1 POSSIBLE PREHISTORIC SHERD	5	2	1		6	2 BURNED BLOBS 1 PLASTIC
21-117	HAN	STABLE	21	1					2 DECALOMANIA						
21-67	HAN	STABLE	22	1						1	3				2 BRICK
21-65	HAN	UPPER NEGRO YARD								1	4	1			3 BRICK
21-10	MALV	GRAVEYARD					6	1	1 PORCELAIN						
21-64	MALV	GRAVEYARD					4	3	1 REF RED	2	5			4	2 PEBBLES
21-12	MALV	ROCK					3		1 PORCELAIN						

APPENDIX D TABLE

BAG	PLAN-TATION	FIELD	SQ	LEVEL	CREAM	TIN EN	SALT STONE	LEAD STONE	OTHER CERAMIC	GLASS	PIPE	SHELL	BONE	METAL	OTHER
21-13	MALV	ROCK					3	2	1 REF RED				1		
21-19	MALV	ROCK						2			2	1	1	4	1 SLATE
21-63	MALV	ROCK					1	2			2	7	1	3	
21-76	MALV	ROCK						1	1 REF RED		4			1	
21-106	MALV	ROCK													
21-1	MALV	ROCK							1 YELLOW WARE, 1 PORCELAIN						
21-2	MALV	ROCK					10								
21-3	MALV	ROCK					1								
21-6	MALV	ROCK					2	1							
21-9	MALV	ROCK					2	1	1 PORCELAIN, 2 YELLOW WARE						
21-5	MALV	ROCK	1	1			1							5	2 PLASTIC
21-86	MALV	ROCK	1	2											
21-47	MALV	ROCK	1	3			1								
21-7	MALV	ROCK	2	1											
21-14	MALV	ROCK	2	2			3		1 REF RED					2	1 SANDSTONE
21-78	MALV	ROCK	2	3						1					
21-4	MALV	ROCK	3	1			2	1						7	
21-90	MALV	ROCK	3	2											2 PLASTIC, 2 BRICK
21-81	MALV	ROCK	3	3											
21-88	MALV	ROCK	4	1							1				
21-41	MALV	ROCK	4	2			2								
21-8	MALV	ROCK	5	1											
21-11	MALV	ROCK	5	2			3	1						1	
21-68	NICH	BEN JONES	1	1						2					
21-22	NICH	BEN JONES	2	1											
21-34	NICH	BEN JONES	4	1											
21-40	NICH	BEN JONES	5	1										1	2 RED CLAY, 1 GRAVEL
21-116	NICH	BEN JONES	8	1						5	1				
21-87	NICH	BEN JONES	9	1											
21-35	NICH	BEN JONES	11	1											
21-112	NICH	BEN JONES	12	1											
21-103	NICH	BEN JONES	13	1											
21-89	NICH	BEN JONES	14	1											1 SLATE
21-114	NICH	BEN JONES	15	1											
21-53	NICH	BEN JONES	16	1											
21-46	NICH	BEN JONES	18	1			1			1		1		1	
21-75	NICH	SOUTH CRAB HILL							1 PORCELAIN			5			
21-66	BISS	GRAVEYARD								2	4	1			
21-72	BISS	GRAVEYARD					3	1							

## APPENDIX D TABLE

BAG	PLANTATION	FIELD	SQ	LEVEL	CREAM	TIN EN	SALT STONE	LEAD STONE	OTHER CERAMIC	GLASS	PIPE	SHELL	BONE	METAL	OTHER
21-97	BISS	GRAVEYARD	1	1											
21-96	BISS	GRAVEYARD	2	1					2 CLAY BLOBS						
21-113	BISS	GRAVEYARD	3	1					3 CLAY BLOBS						
21-115	BISS	GRAVEYARD	4	1											1 BRICK
21-118	BISS	GRAVEYARD	6	1					1 CLAY BLOB						1 LITHIC
21-111	BISS	GRAVEYARD	7	1											
21-38	BISS	GRAVEYARD	12	1					1 YELLOW WARE						

## APPENDIX D TABLE

BAG	PLANTATION	FIELD	SQ	LVL	EWU	EWG	BDS RED	SLIP	PEARL UD	TRANS	EDGRM	HANDP	SPONGE	ANN	WHUN	WHDE
21-25	CHALK	NO. 3			9					3		1		3		
21-15	CHALK	PICKUP 1			8		5									
21-17	CHALK	PICKUP 1			4	1				4			2	2		
21-73	CHALK	PICKUP 1			21											
21-21	CHALK	SITE 1			17	10										
21-102	CHALK	SITE 1			23	43										
21-105	CHALK	SITE 1							6	1					35	10
21-104	CHALK	SITE 1								32		3		18		1
21-110	CHALK	SITE 1			21	18										
21-119	CHALK	SITE 1			25	1										
21-120	CHALK	SITE 1			2											
21-18	GUIN	AREA 1			2	1										
21-93	GUIN	BURNED FIELD			1		1									
21-37	GUIN	GARDEN FIELD			15	3	8		4	9	3	2	1	2		
21-43	GUIN	NEGRO YARD			29	12	17	5	4	12	4	2	1	3		1
21-45	GUIN	NEGRO YARD			23	16	5	1	4	4	1			2		1
21-84	HAN	HANSON NO. 1			4			1		4		1		2	4	2
21-56	HAN	LOWER MILL			1											
21-58	HAN	LOWER NEGRO YARD			5	1	1	1		3	2	1		5	4	2
21-69	HAN	LOWER NEGRO YARD			18	5	7	15		30	10	7	3	30		3
21-31	HAN	PASTURE	25	1	2	1			1						1	
21-50	HAN	PASTURE	26	1	2						1				3	
21-51	HAN	PASTURE	26	2	2											
21-27	HAN	PASTURE	26	3	5											
21-36	HAN	PASTURE	27	1	2											
21-23	HAN	PASTURE	27	2	2											
21-26	HAN	PASTURE	29	1						1						
21-57	HAN	PASTURE	29	1	2											
21-55	HAN	PASTURE	30	1	8	2			3	1	1		1	5		
21-33	HAN	PASTURE	30	2	7				2	1				1		
21-54	HAN	PASTURE	31	1	4				2	1						
21-32	HAN	PASTURE	31	2	6										1	
21-95	HAN	PASTURE	31	3	3		1			1					1	2
21-42	HAN	PASTURE	31	4	3									1		
21-49	HAN	PASTURE	32	1	5			1		1				1		1
21-30	HAN	PASTURE	32	2	4		1			1				1		
21-28	HAN	PASTURE	32	3	7						1					
21-29	HAN	PASTURE	32	4	10					1						
21-48	HAN	PASTURE	32	5	5			1						1		
21-52	HAN	PASTURE	33	1						3		1		3		1
21-24	HAN	STABLE	1	1	38	4				1	1					

### APPENDIX D TABLE

BAG	PLANT-TATION	FIELD	SQ LVL	EWU	EWG	BDS RED	SLIP	PEARL UD	TRANS	EDGRM	HANDP	SPONGE	ANN	WHUN	WHDE
21-39	HAN	STABLE	2	1	14								1		
21-82	HAN	STABLE	3	1	19								1		
21-74	HAN	STABLE	5	1	41								1	1	
21-98	HAN	STABLE	5	2	1				3	1			1		
21-59	HAN	STABLE	5	2											
21-44	HAN	STABLE	6	1	1										
21-83	HAN	STABLE	7	1	48										
21-62	HAN	STABLE	8	1	9	4	1	3	1				1		
21-79	HAN	STABLE	9	1	28	5		2	4			1	3		
21-80	HAN	STABLE	9	2	6	1								3	
21-94	HAN	STABLE	9	2	2										
21-77	HAN	STABLE	10	1	2										
21-107	HAN	STABLE	12	1	6			1							
21-61	HAN	STABLE	13	1	57	5	1							2	
21-71	HAN	STABLE	14	1				2							2
21-92	HAN	STABLE	14	1	7										
21-85	HAN	STABLE	14	2	8			1							
21-70	HAN	STABLE	15	1	2			1							
21-109	HAN	STABLE	17	1	10	2			3					2	2
21-101	HAN	STABLE	18	1	1				2	1			1	5	2
21-60	HAN	STABLE	18	1					2					2	2
21-91	HAN	STABLE	20	1	6	1	2		11				2	4	
21-117	HAN	STABLE	21	1	10	2		1	1						
21-67	HAN	STABLE	22	1	42	6	1	1	1	1				2	
21-65	HAN	UPPER NEGRO YARD			9				6	2	2		3	2	1
21-10	MALV	GRAVEYARD			5	9	5	1	7	4		1	2		
21-64	MALV	GRAVEYARD			7	8	1	1	22		5	1	8	2	1
21-12	MALV	ROCK			3				7	2			3		
21-13	MALV	ROCK			2	3			7	1	1		5		
21-19	MALV	ROCK													
21-63	MALV	ROCK				2			5	3	5			1	
21-76	MALV	ROCK		2	2			1	9	3				5	
21-106	MALV	ROCK		1				1		1			1	1	
21-1	MALV	ROCK		3			2		3	1	1		8		
21-2	MALV	ROCK		8	6			1	5	4	2	1	2		
21-3	MALV	ROCK		1	2			7	12	6	1	1	15		
21-6	MALV	ROCK		2	2	2		5	23	8	4	4	19		
21-9	MALV	ROCK		2				2	7	3	2		4		
21-5	MALV	ROCK	1	1	4		1		1				1		
21-86	MALV	ROCK	1	2	3	4	2			2			1		
21-47	MALV	ROCK	1	3	9	5					1			2	

### APPENDIX D TABLE

BAG	PLANT-TATION	FIELD	SQ LVL	EWU	EWG	BDS RED	SLIP	PEARL UD	TRANS	EDGRM	HANDP	SPONGE	ANN	WHUN	WHDE
21-7	MALV	ROCK	2	1	4								1		
21-14	MALV	ROCK	2	2	5	4		1	3					1	
21-78	MALV	ROCK	2	3	3								1	2	
21-4	MALV	ROCK	3	1	7	3		4	2	1			1		1
21-90	MALV	ROCK	3	2	2					1					
21-81	MALV	ROCK	3	3										1	
21-88	MALV	ROCK	4	1	2	1			1						
21-41	MALV	ROCK	4	2											
21-8	MALV	ROCK	5	1	12	1									
21-11	MALV	ROCK	5	2	15	7			1		1				
21-68	NICH	BEN JONES	1	1	1										
21-22	NICH	BEN JONES	2	1	2				1						
21-34	NICH	BEN JONES	4	1	2	1			2				1		
21-40	NICH	BEN JONES	5	1									2	1	
21-116	NICH	BEN JONES	8	1	1										1
21-87	NICH	BEN JONES	9	1										1	
21-35	NICH	BEN JONES	11	1					1						
21-112	NICH	BEN JONES	12	1	1							1		1	
21-103	NICH	BEN JONES	13	1										1	
21-89	NICH	BEN JONES	14	1										1	
21-114	NICH	BEN JONES	15	1	1				1				1	5	
21-53	NICH	BEN JONES	16	1	1								1		
21-46	NICH	BEN JONES	18	1	4	2							1	2	
21-75	NICH	SOUTH CRAB HILL			6		1			1	1		1	2	
21-66	BISS	GRAVEYARD			10						1			2	
21-72	BISS	GRAVEYARD			4	3	1	2	8		4		6		
21-97	BISS	GRAVEYARD	1	1	1										
21-96	BISS	GRAVEYARD	2	1	1										
21-113	BISS	GRAVEYARD	3	1											
21-115	BISS	GRAVEYARD	4	1	6									1	
21-118	BISS	GRAVEYARD	6	1										1	
21-111	BISS	GRAVEYARD	7	1		1	1		1						
21-38	BISS	GRAVEYARD	12	1	3										



## Notes

1. Artifacts excavated at Newton in the early 1970s were returned to Barbados in the summer of 1980. They were given to Newton's owner who, in turn, donated them to the Barbados Museum. The artifacts are curated at the museum, and some are currently displayed in a major exhibit. (For regulations surrounding archaeological materials, see Appendix C).
2. In no case is it known how much area of any contemporary Negro Yard field was once occupied by the slave houses themselves. Current evidence only permits saying that the slave villages once had been located on or near what is today defined as a Negro Yard field. There are a few known plantation maps, dating from the slave period, which actually show the location of the slave villages by depicting the houses; the houses are clearly located in today's Negro Yards. In an effort to locate slave houses, these maps were used to guide some of the archaeological work in the early 1970s; however, no evidence for slave dwellings was found (Handler and Lange 1978: 46-54).
3. Information on Guinea's history, especially during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, is based on the research of Darla White (White 1972), mainly with manuscripts in the Barbados Department of Archives (as well as privately held manuscript lists of Guinea's slaves), and the Project Director's own research. Sources employed by the latter, and not specified in the text of this report, include the following: Barbados Department of Archives n.d., 1847, 1880, Deeds (vols. 1, p. 931; 24, pp. 295, 380; 28, pp. 495-497; 286, pp. 1-10); Extracts 1960: 83; Hughes 1974:159, 1977: 212; Shilstone 1934: 22; Some Records 1952: 126)
4. This was the first island map since that of 1717 to 1721 (Mayo 1722) to have been based on original survey; the survey was completed in 1818. The Barralier map was also the first to identify plantations by their common names as opposed to the owners' names. Earlier maps usually identified plantations by the latter, although at the same time, as indicated by wills and deeds, the plantation may have been known by other names as well (Campbell 1986a: 371).
5. During the fifteen years, 1817 through 1832, the death rate among Barbados' slaves in general was about 2.7% annually, the rate slightly decreasing from 2.8% during the first few years of the period to 2.6% at the end (Higman 1984: 643). Handler and Lange (1978: 173), using a similar data base, estimate 2.9 to 3.0% annually for the same period, but Higman's estimates are probably more accurate.
6. Gittens also learned from his mother, who received the information from her father, that people used to live in the "Nigger yard," but, he says, "I never yet see a mark of nobody" in that field. Gittens' mother's family name, Glasgow, was also her father's family name. Glasgow, in one or another variant spelling, also appears among several of Guinea's slaves during the 1820s.
7. Aside from items cited in the text, information on Malvern's history derive from: Barbados Department of Archives n.d., 1808, 1847, Recopied Deeds (RB 3/2, p. 818; RB 3/3, p. 20; RB 1/220, pp. 282 -285); Extracts 1959: 120; Malvern 1906; and Public Record Office 1817-1832.
8. Although within living memory "Rock field" has always been in pasture, several informants reported that it has good soil and, aside from a gully area and a section of the field which is rocky, much of it could probably be cultivated; archaeological work, however, revealed no evidence of a plow zone in the soil profiles--see chapter 7.
9. In addition to items cited in the text, sources relating to Hanson include Barbados Department of Archives n.d., 1822, 1847, 1880, Recopied Deeds (RB 1/202, pp. 14-15; RB 1/247, pp. 65-67; RB 3/9, p. 488); Extracts 1947: 121; Public Record Office 1817-1832; Sanders 1980: 152; and the 1891 map of Hanson.
10. Writing in 1942, Hutchinson (1942: 198) records an oral tradition, "handed on from generation to generation," in the neighborhood

of St. Nicholas which he fears "may possibly be dying out"; no dates or names are given. "The master of the Mansion House had a favourite slave whom, on one occasion when he visited England, he left in charge of his home. This slave, in his master's absence, decided to give a ball, quite a swell affair, to which he invited many slaves. The party was a success, but the organizer was told what he could expect when his master came back from England and heard that he had given a ball in the Mansion House. In time the master did return, but to the surprise of every one nothing happened."

11. Comments on St. Nicholas Abbey derive from field observations and conversations with Colonel Cave, as well as his published account of how he started restoration of the mansion house after acquiring the plantation in 1964 (Cave 1980).

12. A former manager reported that within the last 6 to 10 years he found on the surface of the Negro Yard a "Pineapple Penny." This was a copper coin minted in 1788 and 1792 for a Barbados planter; on some plantations slaves used this coin as a token for exchange (Pridmore 1962, 1965: 77, 82-84).

13. Aside from materials cited in the text, sources used for historical information on St. Nicholas in this and the following two paragraphs, include: Campbell 1986b: 55, 60; Cave 1980; Fraser and Hughes 1986: 15; Shilstone 1942: 120-124; Barbados Department of Archives, Recopied Deeds (RB 3/1, p. 932, RB 3/3, pp. 546-547, 655, RB 3/17, pp. 45-51, RB 3/19, pp. 228-231, RB 3/36, pp. 14-22, RB 6/9, p. 204, RB 6/11, p. 31).

14. The possibility of continuing excavations at Newton cemetery was considered because it was only partially excavated in the early 1970s and because it was a known burial area. The intention was to expand into new sections of the cemetery by excavating contiguous areas. Such excavations would have been directed not only toward increasing the size of the skeletal sample, but also toward recovering information on the cemetery's spatial structure as well as other mortuary and cultural characteristics. The decision not to pursue work at Newton was made for two reasons: all our resources became focused on the effort to locate a

new plantation cemetery; and an unanticipated and possible governmental public relations problem arose with respect to Newton. To resolve this possible problem would have taken too much of the Project Director's time away from other research and logistic efforts.

15. As a substitute for the hoe, the plough, supported by the harrow, did not become widely used on plantations until the late 1840s (Gibbs 1975:11); yet, the shorthanded fork continued as the major implement for soil cultivation until modern times (and until very recent years on hilly fields). On most Barbadian plantations, deep plowing, involving depths of about 18 inches and using mechanized equipment and discs started between the Second World War and into the 1950s.

16. Nor is the parish location specified, but Barbados' only Edgcombe plantation today is located in the vicinity of the intersection of the parishes of Christ Church, St. Philip, and St. George. As a result simply of oversight, Edgcombe was completely ignored in the plantation investigations before 1987 as well as during the 1987 fieldwork. This was an obvious flaw in the research procedures, since the brief passage quoted above is the only historical evidence giving some clue, however vague, to the location of a cemetery on a specific plantation.

17. However, we know of several plantation areas where dynamiting for marl exposed burials. Informants referred to these areas as "cholera grounds" (implying they contained the victims of the 1854 cholera epidemic), but a possibility exists that some of the areas identified as "cholera grounds" may have been, in fact, slave burial sites; see chapter 7 and Appendix A. In addition, a few cases came to our attention wherein human skeletal materials were found during recent years when house foundations were excavated on some plantation lands; these sites might represent portions of former cemeteries (see chapter 7).

18. No effort was made to investigate churchyard burials for several reasons: the vast majority of slaves neither died as Christians nor were buried by Christians; most slave burials in churchyards occurred relatively late in the

slave period; the location of slave burials in churchyards is extremely difficult, and none are presently known; excavations in churchyard cemeteries would have encountered considerable local resistance.

19. Deetz (1988: 363) states the case in the following manner: "Archeology's prime value to history lies in its promise to take into account large numbers of people in the past who were either not included in the written record, or . . . were included in either a biased or minimal way. Slaves, indentured servants, poor tenant farmers, and modest freeholders formed the

majority of the population in preindustrial America, but they were given less than full representation in the primary written sources. Even when they do appear, it is usually not their writing that we find, but that of others, and one must take into account the biases of the recorder who was writing about them. A second value of archeology to history is a function of the commonplace quality of most material culture . . . . Archeology has produced a rich corpus of closely dated evidence that, if used correctly, can provide insights not obtainable from the documentary sources."

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PLATES



1. Newton cemetery, 1972. Facing northeast; main burial area is along the slope bottom, in lower right. The trees no longer existed in 1987.

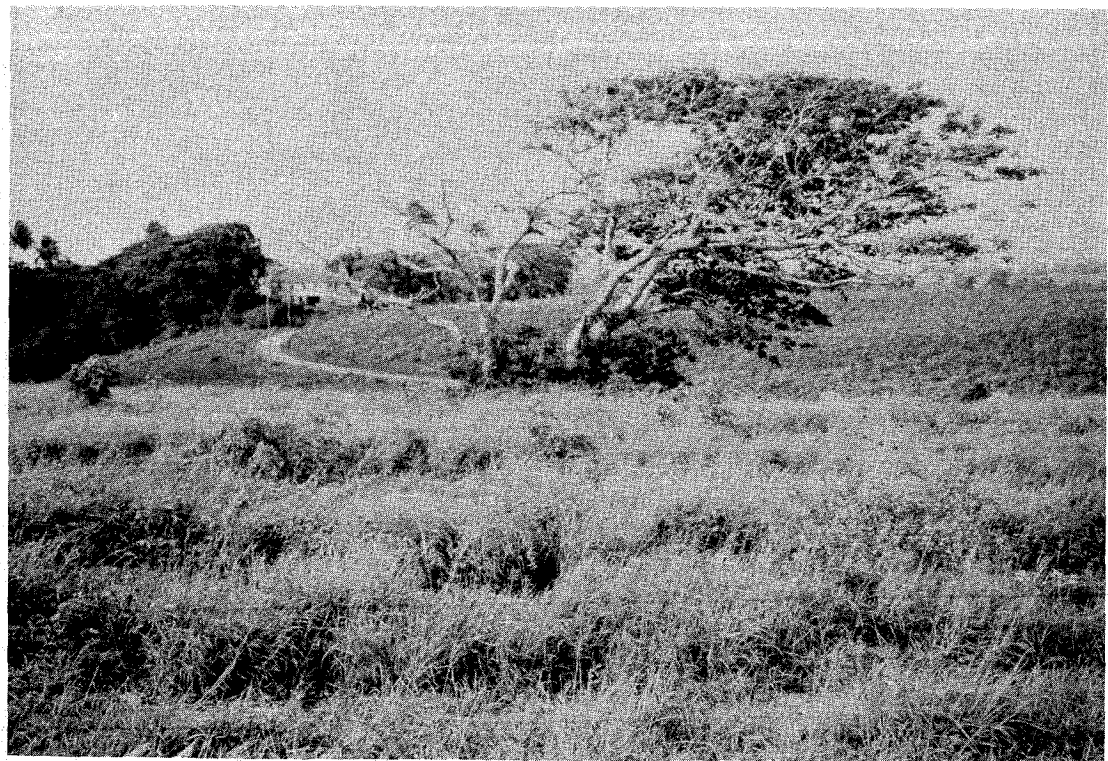


2. Churchyard burial vault of white family.

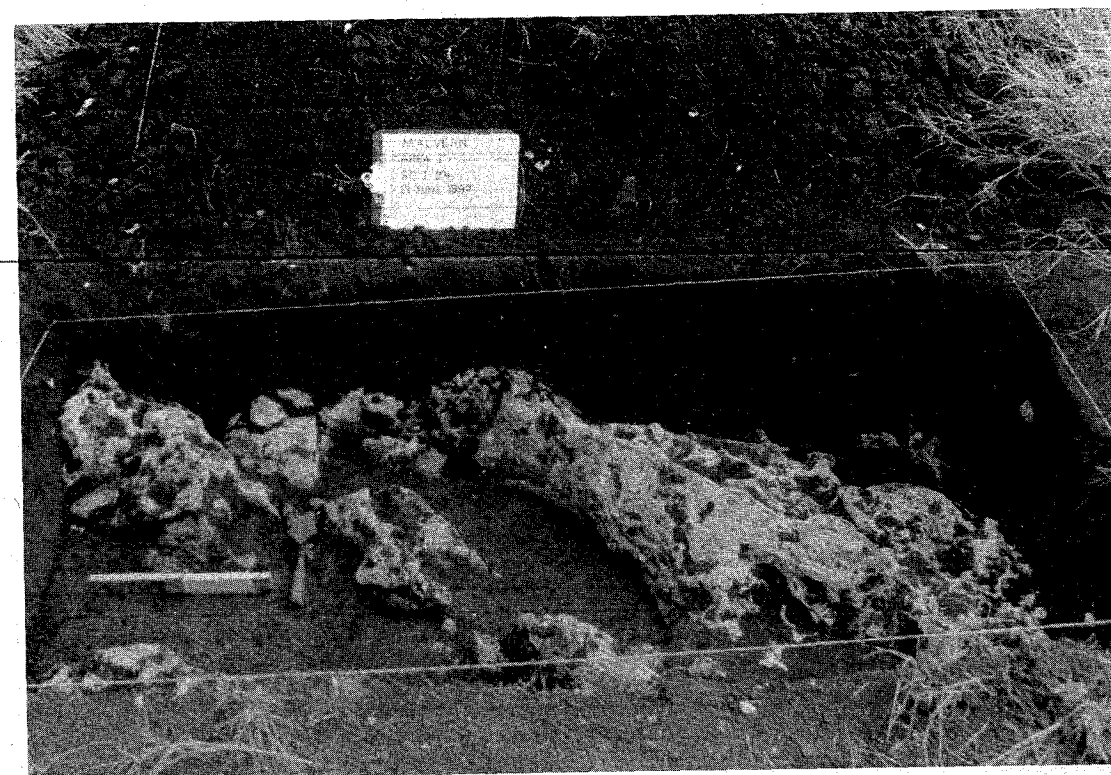




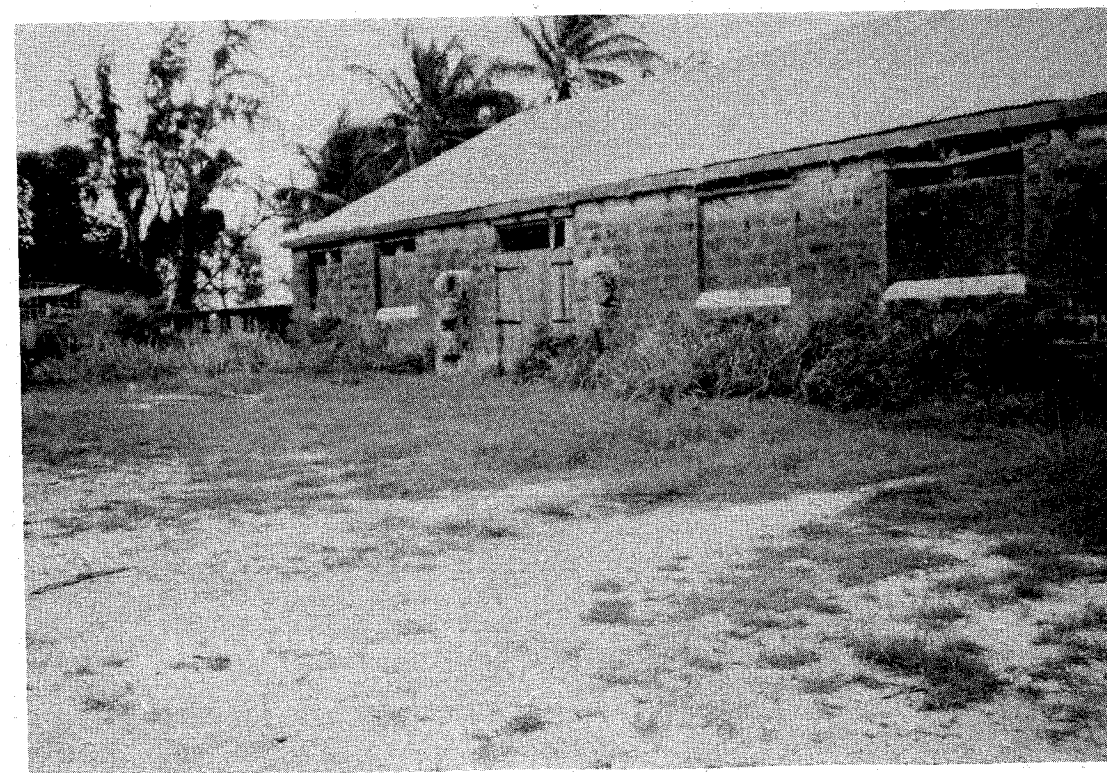
3. Guinea pasture area. Facing approximately west by north. Gully area with dense vegetation and coconut trees along center; Negro Yard field is just behind, in center right, and the southern tip of the Mill Yard is in the extreme right center.



4. Malvern: Graveyard and Rock fields. Taken from South Negro Yard field and facing approximately southeast. Rock field in foreground, Graveyard field behind it, with the plantation house and Mill Yard on the left, by the road.



5. Malvern: test square in Rock field. This shows a typical exposure of limestone bedrock in a square.



6. Hanson: front of stable. Facing Mill Yard on the east.

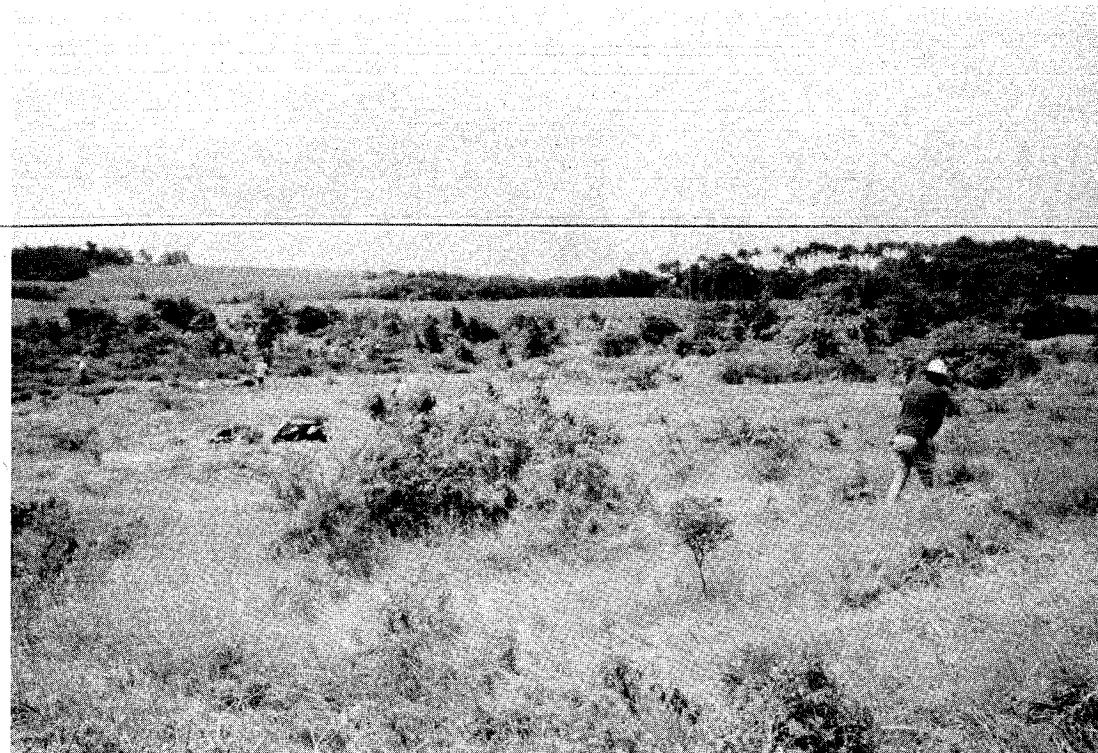




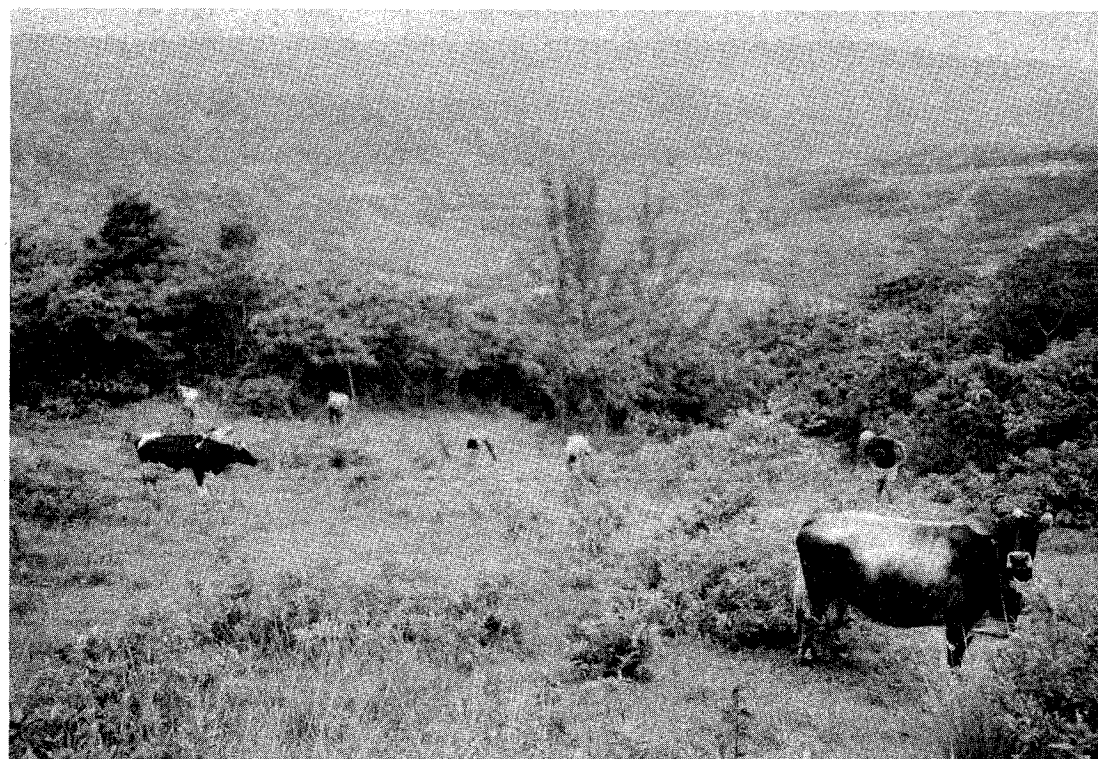
7. Hanson: excavation area behind stable in New field.



8. St. Nicholas plantation house.



9. St. Nicholas: pasture by Ben Jones field. Facing north east. Mill Yard and plantation house are in the right background, behind the line of tall trees.



10. Bissex-Parks: shovel testing in the swale area of Graveyard field; facing approximately northwest, with valleys of the Scotland District in the background.