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# A Comparative Approach to Slave Life on Bermuda, 1780-1834

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# A COMPARATIVE APPROACH TO SLAVE LIFE ON BERMUDA, 1780-1834

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by

Margaret M. Bellhorn

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**APPROVAL SHEET**

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## DEDICATION

This master's thesis is dedicated to my parents, Patrick and Barbara Brunett with thanks for all their support and encouragement throughout my years of schooling.

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## LIST OF TABLES

**ABSTRACT**

Slave life on Bermuda is often portrayed by historians as being less harsh than in other New World English colonies, particularly those based on staple-crop plantation agriculture. This assertion is critically examined in light of slaves residing on one well documented Bermuda estate during the period 1780-1835. Ceramics, faunal, remains and architectural data recovered from the Cox slave house in Orange Valley, Devonshire Parish, are analyzed in terms of the results of architectural survey and documentary research concerned with island-wide patterns of slave-holding. This preliminary portrait of slave-holding, furnishings and diet on Bermuda is contrasted with contemporary examples, both rural and urban from tidewater Virginia. There is a convergence in several aspects of the material life of slaves in Bermuda and Virginia that is not necessarily matched by other aspects of their historical experience. It is argued Bermudian slaves fared better than their Virginia counterparts.

Integration of both material culture and historic documentation provides insight into the relations which once existed between the master and the slave on the island. Economic variables play an important role in understanding these behaviors of the past however, much more can be gained by interpreting the material remains which have been manipulated and become the product of past social relations.

# A COMPARATIVE APPROACH TO SLAVE LIFE ON BERMUDA, 1780 - 1834

## INTRODUCTION

The study of plantation archaeology has been an increasingly popular area of research for historians and historical archaeologists alike, particularly within the last two decades. Historians such as Eugene Genovese (1974) and Mechal Sobel (1987) have aided in narrowing the gap between archaeology and history by focusing upon questions of culture and acculturation. Archaeologists such as Theresa Singleton (1980) and Thomas Wheaton and Patrick Garrow (1983) on the other hand, have been searching for an African American "pattern" in the material record. While enormous amounts of valuable data and information have been contributed by these researchers and many others, most of the comparative efforts have been performed regionally, particularly within the southern United States and coastal region. Unfortunately, very little focus has been placed upon systematic cross-regional analysis within the study of "slave archaeology".

The purpose of this thesis is two-fold. The first aim is to present a portrait of slave life in Bermuda, and compare what is already understood about slave living in Virginia for the years 1780-1834, noting both the similarities and

differences. Both the historic and archaeological records will be integrated with hopes of inspiring further investigation of these two regions in greater detail, as well as encourage greater application the cross-regional method of research.

The second aim of this paper is to examine more closely the hypothesis presented by historian, Virginia Bernhard in her article entitled, Bermuda and Virginia in the Seventeenth Century: A Comparative View. She states, "slavery in Bermuda appears to have been much milder than slavery in either Virginia or the Caribbean"(1985:57). Bernhard believes that although the colonies, Bermuda and Virginia, were born of the same mother country they do not necessarily develop along similar parallels over time. She also recognizes that the English immigrants of these colonies, possessing one set of cultural traits, do not necessarily maintain the same cultural mindset once transplanted into a new geographical region. Each colony instead adapts to its new environment and responds as an independent society to factors such as native populations, disease, and economic opportunity. Bernhard comes to understand the institution of slavery was no exception to this theory.

In order to investigate Bernhard's statement more

carefully, we must first determine how the writer interprets the terms "mildness" and "harshness" in regards to slavery. Bernhard turns to elements such as Bermuda's size, demographic statistics and economic opportunity to measure the state of slavery in both regions. In this thesis the terms "mildness" or "harshness" refer to those elements related to the manner in which slaves were treated on the island by other individuals. "Treatment", therefore, refers to such things as the enforcement of laws or actual incurred punishment, degree of supervision and the physical conditions of living provided by the master - food, housing, clothing and other material goods. Several external factors including demographics and economic opportunities are sure to impact the condition of slave life on the island, however, they should be examined in light of more complex internal elements such as the master-slave relationship, which are often difficult to measure.

A critical evaluation of slave living on the island of Bermuda during 1780-1834 will provide greater insight as to whether or not the "mitigated harshness" of slavery which Bernhard refers to (1985:57), was continued from the colonial period throughout the following centuries until the time of Emancipation on Bermuda - 1834. This study draws upon a valuable analytical tool for investigation, archaeological excavation and analysis. While vast quantities of data have

been gathered in the last decade examining slave living in the United States, very little archaeological work has been performed in this area on the island until the summer of 1989. With the support of the College of William and Mary in Virginia, this thesis research was made possible.

In addition to extensive documentary research performed at the Bermuda Government Archives, an archaeological excavation was performed at the Orange Valley estate in Devonshire Parish. This well-documented estate has existed in the Cox family for several generations and is currently owned by Michael Cox. John William Cox, son of Michael, was a valuable source of information. Both his oral interpretation of the estate and written genealogical history served as a basis for researching the site of excavation. Due to a limited stay on the island, only three days were spent excavating the slave dwelling site. With the aid of a crew of two volunteers it was possible to expose the entire dwelling foundation and excavate a small area outside, and adjacent to, the structure.

Several additional modes of research were utilized in order to acquire as much information as possible within a two week period. First, documentary research was performed including careful examination of maps, journals, estate

inventories, tax records and slave registration returns. A better understanding of slave holding patterns was gained by examining these materials. Second, architectural data was analyzed in terms of an architectural survey on the island recording location, size, and methods of slave building construction. Lastly, ceramic and faunal materials retrieved from the site were analyzed, interpreted and then compared to data bases from the Tidewater region.

The scope of this study is only a preliminary sample of what remains to be studied in greater depth in the future of "slave archaeology" on Bermuda. However, the use of a multi-disciplinary approach and wide variety of research techniques brings us one step closer to understanding whether or not slavery in Bermuda was actually "milder" than slavery in Virginia.

## CHAPTER I.

## BERMUDA AND VIRGINIA: A Historical Perspective

Bermuda and Virginia prove to be two interesting areas worthy of comparison. Both colonies were similar in historic nature. They were settled at approximately the same time and both existed approximately 3,000 miles from the mother country, Great Britian. The settlers, joint-stock companies, in both territories also set out with the same goals in mind - to turn a profit in the most economical manner possible. After only a few years however, these similarities between colonies began to dissipate and the two colonies were faced with very different problems.

Bermuda flourished with its new colonists. They immediately took to the year-round mild climate and abundance of food. Virginia's colonists however, were immediately faced with severe winters and threats of starvation. Added struggle against the native populations greatly increased Virginia's mortality rate early on. The vast quantities of arable land in Virginia and the untouched tropical soil of the island allowed for the flourishment of the tobacco industry as the two companies had planned. The heart of production was not

the result of the hard work of indentured servants, but that of several hundreds of exploited slaves who were imported into both regions. While no slave felt contentment being treated as chattel in either region, the conditions of living for slaves appears to be inconsistent throughout the development of the institution of slavery in these regions.

The majority of slaves in the rural Chesapeake area were occupied as plantation field laborers. Most worked in tobacco fields turning a profit for their avaricious masters. The focus from the tobacco industry in Bermuda however, was shifted in 1722 when the soil was no longer arable and the competition from Virginia's superior grown crop became too great (Brooke, 1980:9). This shift was one from an agricultural producing colony, to a colony highly dependant upon other lands for imported goods.

As might be expected, the Bermudian slave was channeled into a lifestyle very different than the Tidewater plantation field slave during this era. Bermuda's slave labor was now linked to various aspects of Bermuda's economy. Occupations included shipbuilders, sail-makers and domestic servants. A few still tended to farmland even though this was considered the most demeaning of occupations. Other male occupations included, carpenters, masons, sawyers and blacksmiths. The

majority of females were occupied as domestic servants performing duties such as cooking, cleaning, washing and tending to the children.

The Slave Registration Returns for the years 1821, 1830 and 1833, confirmed that the majority of slaves on the island during this period were occupied as domestics. Only 18 field laborers existed per 3,936 slaves at the time of Emancipation (Packwood, 1975:14). Many researchers have come to recognize that the occupation of "domestic servant" was considered to be one of greater prestige than that of the "fieldhand", particularly in the South (Adams, 1989; Kelso, 1984). The domestics in a rural setting usually possessed certain advantages over their fieldhand counterpart such as greater access to foodstuffs, shelter from extreme climates, as well as less demanding physical labor.

The lack of agricultural success on the island in combination with external political developments such as a blockade during the Revolution prohibiting trade of food and supplies, made it nearly impossible for Bermuda to maintain a stable economy. Another blow to the island came with the advent of the steamship in 1802. This injured Bermuda's second largest industry - shipbuilding. Non-domestic slaves comprised a large portion of the laborers in the shipbuilding

industry (Smith, 1976:214). The island faced a period of poverty and unemployment as well, and its inhabitants both black and white neared starvation.

One of the greatest differences between the two slave-holding regions during this period, remains within the slave-holder's ideology for slave possession. It is clear their reason for ownership was similar during the earliest years of settlement, however, as Bermuda's economy changed, so did the philosophy of ownership. In Virginia the primary reason for slave ownership was to turn a profit. This was accomplished by the exploitation of inexpensive labor which could be easily bought and sold. Slaves were relatively inexpensive to maintain in comparison to the return brought forth by their physical labor. This remain the primary reason for slaveownership in Virginia until Emancipation.

In order to most fully reconstruct a portrait of slave life in Bermuda, it is important to recognize the setting, both demographic and economic in Bermuda and Virginia in which these slaves were held in bondage. In the earliest years, labor on the island was similar to the Chesapeake. Both regions imported indentured servants, Bermuda however, was the first English colony to import blacks as laborers. This was in 1616 when the demand for labor became too great for the

first English colony to import blacks as laborers. This was in 1616 when the demand for labor became too great for the servants. They were mainly imported from both Africa and Central America, yet many were imported from islands such as Antiqua, Turks, Barbados and St. Domingo. By the early 1820's, approximately 40% of the imported slaves had come from Africa and the majority from the West Indies (Slave Registrations, 1821, 1830, 1833).

A population study was made possible through the use of both census and registration records. Only a few references are available today in which the black populations are broken down into slave and free black populations statistics for the years under study. According to Virginia Bernhard, by the end of the seventeenth century Bermuda had 2,247 blacks or 38% of the total population of 5,862. Virginia on the other hand, had a black population of about 6,000 in 1699, or less than 10% of it's total population of 62,800 (1985:63). By Emancipation, Bermuda had 4,898 blacks or 53% of the total population. At this time 1,286 were free blacks and 3,612 were slaves. Slaves comprised 39% of the total population (Slave Registration, 1833). According to the Census Bureau, Virginia had a black population of about 50% at this time which continued to increase.

The slave population of Bermuda increased gradually over a century and slaves were Emancipated before Virginia's total slave population reached its greatest numbers. It is interesting to note that Bermuda's slave population which grew by nearly 1,000 in approximately twenty-five years after 1807, was the result of a natural increase. In 1807 the British Parliment abolished the slave trade and all manner of dealing and trading of slaves was ceased (Smith, 1976:140). The large number of Bermudian-born slaves listed in the earliest slave registration (1821), is evidence for the its continuance.

It is probable the natural population increase began much earlier than 1807. Several attempts were made at limiting the importation of human cargo beginning as early as 1670. In 1730 a tax was levied on all imported blacks or slaves except those shipped directly from Africa (Packwood, 1975:77). Various new taxes were enforced throughout the eighteenth century to inhibit the black population increase until the slave trade was finally abolished.

These statistics raise a puzzling question which remains unanswered. If the overpopulation of slaves was burdensome on the island both before and after the abolishment of the slave trade, why weren't slaves sold more frequently by their owners. With a large portion of Bermuda's white male

population occupied at sea selling and trading goods, the opportunities for slave sale would have been numerous. The slave population of Bermuda increased gradually over a century and slaves were emancipated before Virginia's total slave population reached it's greatest numbers. By comparing Bermuda, which measures only 21 square miles to Williamsburg, James City and York Counties together, a more focused study has been made. During the years 1782 to 1834, approximately 5,000 blacks were held in bondage, outnumbering the white population on the island. This is approximately as many as slaveholder's owned in the three Virginia areas. More importantly, the rate at which the slave populations increased in both regions was similar.

Slave Registration records for the years 1821, 1830 and 1833, made it was possible to compare sex ratios, as well as average number of slaves held per slaveholder. For all three years females outnumbered males (Table 1). These statistics are a direct reflection of the number of males who were seafaring men as well. The greatest difference in numbers were revealed in 1833 with 54% of the population female.

**TABLE 1.**

Slave Populations by Sex - Bermuda and Virginia

| **BERMUDA** | 1821 | 1830 | 1833 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Male | 2,620 | 2,107 | 1,858 |
| Female | 2,622 | 2,264 | 2,319 |
| Total | 5,242 | 4,371 | 4,277 |

| **VIRGINIA** | 1820 | Numbers include James City County, York County and Williamsburg. |
|---|---|---|
| Male | 2,297 | |
| Female | 2,328 | |
| Total | 4,625 | |

| | 1830 | Numbers include James City County only. |
|---|---|---|
| Male | 989 | |
| Female | 985 | |
| Total | 1,974 | |

This was not only true of the slave population, but also true of the white Bermudian population (First Census of U.S.:1790). However minor, these statistics may have played a significant role in promoting better living conditions for the Bermudian slave. Less effort may have been placed on slave supervision and enforcing discipline with numerous other household responsibilities placed in the hands of master's wives. In this situation, the Bermudian slave would have gained an ounce of freedom not frequently experienced by their Virginia counterpart.

Approximately 83% of the families in Bermuda are believed to have held slaves in their possession during this period. The average number owned per family was figured from the Slave Registration records and was found to equal between 4-6 slaves per family. In order to be certain the less wealthy slave owners were not underrepresented in the slave registrations, the names of several slaveowners with very low estate values listed in the tax records were compared with the slave registration records. Almost all the names were found to correspond to both listings. Tax records reveal the wealthiest of Bermudians owned no more than twenty slaves and estate inventories indicate even the poorest Bermudians owned a slave or two. Slaves were found to comprise up to 85% of entire estate values as well, particularly in the case of very poor white Bermudians who owned one or two slaves. Together, these statistics suggest that slave ownership may have been more than a hierarchical, power relationship. Perhaps slave ownership was a sign of the slaveholder's affluence.

In Williamsburg, Virginia approximately 83% of the families held slaves in bondage, yet less than one-half of the slaveowners possessed no more than one or two (Tate, 1965:29). This may be attributed to the fact that living space in this urban setting was frequently scarce and cramped for those one or two slaves who were owned.

## CHAPTER II.

## THE MASTER-SLAVE RELATIONSHIP

Careful analysis of both the material culture of a group of people and the social affects of binding institution upon humans, provide insight to the explanation of past social relations. The cross-regional comparative approach utilized in this study has aided in unveiling both similarities and differences embedded within the complex social relationship of the master and the slave.

The master-slave relationship was the major social process that affected the acquisition and usage of material goods. The following chapter focuses upon the Orange Valley assemblage, measuring the quality of material goods in terms of both social and monetary values. This chapter however, focuses upon those elements other than the material culture, which may have influenced social interactions between these two groups.

According to Charles Orser, "power" is the underlying force in this social relation. He emphasizes the external role economics plays upon this relationship yet examines less

closely the elements directly affecting the internal process in this relationship. The one internal element which he brings forth focuses upon "the power the planter exercised over his slaves and the slave's reaction to it" (1988:741). Orser does little more to grasp at the mindset of either the planter or the slave, or to explore how this relationship could be one based upon reciprocity. The external power connecting economics to this relationship plays a large role in this study, however an economic deterministic viewpoint has been avoided. This study integrates both historic and archaeological records and attempts to reconstruct past ideology by advancing beyond the simplified power relation.

As one would anticipate, Orser states that power in the master-slave relationship most often resides in the hands of the slaveholder (1988). Many researchers have discovered, however, that slaves in most geographic regions including Bermuda and Virginia, became quite proficient at influencing, manipulating and testing their masters from time to time gaining a power of their own in the game of domination (McKee 1988; Smith 1932; Gutman 1976; Genovese 1976).

In both Bermuda and Virginia slaves acquired material goods and food through illegal barter and sale and often times theft. In many instances root cellars were used to hide these

goods from the master. Lawrence Mckee (1988) studied the power of the master in his control of food supplies and its affects on the master-slave relationship in rural Virginia. He states "The acceptance of a certain level of stealing as a fact of life my many planters indicates a strong element of compromise, if not surrender, on the part of the ruling race". Demonstration of fine clothing, jewelry and African culture through celebration and religion were also manners in which slaves could exhibit their power. The development of slave communities, particularly in Virginia, aided in concentrating and reinforcing this power with "strength in numbers"(1988:138).

Power is only one aspect of this complex social relation. According to Isaac, meaningful exchanges must be continuously performed in order for authority to be effective (1988:48). "Paternalism" is the term used today by many historians and archaeologists alike to refer to this reciprocal relationship between the master and the slave.

One of the most popular works addressing reciprocity within the master-slave relationship has been written by Eugene Genovese. In Roll Jordon Roll: The World the Slaves Made (1976), Genovese explores this power relation in terms of a paternalistic ideology. He believes paternalism developed

out of the necessity to morally justify and control a system of exploitation. This ideology however, was viewed very differently by both sides of the relationship. The slaveholder used paternalism as a method of overcoming objectification of human beings while insisting "upon mutual obligation - duties and responsibilities, and ultimately even rights (1976:5). The slaves translated this recognition of humanity by the slaveholder into a "weapon of resistance" in defense of their own rights and values as a distinct social group. (1976:7).

Patriarchalism, on the other hand, is believed by many to have existed prior to the evolution of paternalism, the more docile system of slavery. The patriarchal system places emphasis upon authority, order and obedience. Slave living was much more constricting with patriarchal masters and violent punishment much more common. Objectification and dehumanization of the human being was the nature of patriarchalism in the eighteenth century. Genovese and many others believe this system of slavery was gradually shifted to one with more paternal characteristics into the nineteenth century.

It is truly a difficult task to measure the degree to which paternalism existed in both Bermuda and Virginia. Yet

historic and archaeological evidence indicates attempts were made by slaveholders in both regions to become more paternal, particularly during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Information gathered from several journals indicate that many planters had the common goal of "literally putting slaves in their place". This movement or "reformation", brought forth detailed guidelines for designing the "ideal" building in which to house slaves, thus promoting a tighter link between architectural form and behavior while simultaneously exhibiting the paternal nature of the slaveholder (McKee 1988).

Susette Harriette Lloyd, a British governess visiting the island from 1829-1831, describes the paternal nature of the Bermudian master in her descriptive journal entitled Sketches of Bermuda.

> The character of the Bermudians is kind and humane, and their slaves enjoy many secular advantages of which the poor in our own country are frequently destitute. To the enslaved Negro all the wants of nature are amply supplied. He is, under every contingency clothed; fed, and attended in sickness, and at his master's cost. The ancient laws of slavery, odious and merciless as they are, are never enforced against him, and instances of domestic or private cruelty are, I believe I may venture to assert almost unknown (1835:93-94).

"Treatment" of slaves or slave conditions were a direct extension of the law. While British laws appear to have

evolved along similar parallels between Bermuda and Virginia, enforcement did not. Legislative minutes and articles written to the Gazette of Magistrates, refer to the neglect to enforce the law and imply the degree to which it is enforced, as too lenient (Smith, 1976: 118,223). In both regions the laws appear very harsh with cruel and severe punishment for violations. With the exception of capital punishment, the Board of Trade states that moderation must be practiced in the correction of slaves. "Under no circumstance would it tolerate any mutilation or 'inhumane severity.... contrary to all Christian laws'" (Magistrate of the Court, Journal of Assembly:1766).

One of the most common methods of imposing authority over slaves on the island was through "Civil Watch". The law to back this was entitled "An Act for the Establishment of Civil Watch in these Islands"(Bermuda Acts, 1789:12-16). It incurred that every white male over 21 years of age was obliged to perform duty as a watchman. A watch comprised of three men was to take place between nine o'clock am and daybreak. Any slaves about during these hours without a ticket from their owner was to be apprehended by the Watch. Most crimes on the island were petty in nature. The most common was theft, usually of food due to it's short supply. The committers of more serious crimes usually resulted in a

punishment lighter than expected. The most common form of punishment on the island was flogging which was performed by the town "Jumper" (Wilkenson, 1950:249; Bermuda Acts, 1789:15).

While it is difficult to compare accurately the rate of crime between Bermuda and Virginia during the latter half of the eighteenth century, early nineteenth century, it is possible to compare the established laws for slave violations. For minor offenses, punishment remain similar in both regions. Illegal weapon possession, or attendance of unlawful meetings were punishable by upwards of 39 lashes. For more serious crimes, such as giving false evidence, a slave may be penalized with mutilation or dismemberment. Crimes such as poisoning of a master were punishable by the death penalty, usually hangings (Hening Statutes:1823; Schwarz, 1988). In Virginia, to free the court of petty trials, punishment was often left to the slave's master. In many instances this was a much harsher punishment than that of the "Jumper's" flogging in Bermuda.

It is also difficult to determine the degree to which the laws were actually insurrected in both regions. In instances in which the master maintains the power to punish slaves, harsh treatment was likely to have been mitigated. There was

greater opportunity for public knowledge of unjust or cruel treatment by a slave owner on the small island, than on a Virginia plantation which was often isolated from nearby plantations. On Bermuda, the slaveholder's reputation always at stake, therefore, it was in their best interest to treat their slaves favorably. Many prided themselves with this kind of behavior.

The economic state of Bermuda during the period 1780 - 1834, led to a state of "survivalism" for Bermudian blacks and whites alike. This situation did not affect slaves in the same manner it affected white Bermudians. Slaves were accustomed to a social existence of struggling for those rights and material goods robbed from them early on. White Bermudians however, particularly the affluent, were not accustomed to this state of depression and struggle for survival. It is probable these circumstances aided in slightly narrowing the social gap which existed between the master and the slave.

In both Bermuda and Virginia the slave's situation was directly influenced by the occupational status of the slave, the master's beliefs and the slave's disposition. In both regions household slaves received preferential treatment compared to field slaves. One would assume this urban-like

occupation would promote white supervision over slaves even though the majority of Bermuda was rural in nature. However, the lack of overseers and frequent owner absenteeism provided greater freedom for the Bermudian slave in comparison to their Virginia counterpart. According to Thad Tate in The Negro in Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg (1965) the life of the average urban slave was very regimented and difficult resulting from close supervision and primitive living conditions.

Even though Bermudian slaves may have fared better than those in Virginia, absconding occurred as often, if not more frequently on the island. The numerous advertisements which exist in the Bermuda Gazette (1784-1827) and Royal Gazette (1825-1835) on the island, and the Virginia Gazette of Williamsburg (1736-1780) and Richmond (1781-1835), provide evidence for this activity. Absconding on the twenty-one square mile island frequently occurred because visitation of relatives was within reach, or was more feasible if the opportunity arose. Many families became separated through slave sales and auctions. Frequent absconding may also have been promoted by the "laissez-faire" attitude taken by so many slaveowners. While it was easier to run away, it was also easier for masters to retrieve their slaves, as long as the slaves did not escape by vessel. Nearly all the runaway advertisements in the Bermuda Gazette warn masters of ships

against "carrying him off these Islands" (Oct 12, 1930). Most advertisements also suggest where a runaway may be harboring, usually with a separated family member or friend. It appears that to be with a loved one was a more common reason for absconding than escapement of harsh treatment by slaveowners on the island. This however, may not have been the case in Virginia where the ultimate goal of most runaways was in search of freedom usually North, relieving them of the harsh working conditions particularly those slaves on staple-crop plantation.

Several factors, interacting with one another, play a large role in the social relations between the master and the slave. Occupation of both master and slave, the structure of the slave system itself, and the nature of the primary caregiver together, influence the behavior which resulted between these two groups in the late eighteenth, early nineteenth century.

## CHAPTER III.

## THE ORANGE VALLEY ASSEMBLAGE

### Part 1. Architecture

An archaeological excavation of one slave dwelling upon the Cox family estate, known as "Orange Valley" was performed during the summer of 1989 and examined in light of an island-wide architectural survey also compiled at this time. Architectural, ceramic and faunal material was retrieved, analyzed and interpreted with the hopes of gaining a better understanding of the quality of life the Cox slaves were living during the late eighteenth, early nineteenth centuries. This research was enhanced by making comparative analyses of material culture from Tidewater, Virginia region. Sites include Shirley Plantation in Charles City County, the Polly Valentine site in Williamsburg, and Flowerdew Hundred in Prince George County.

Orange Valley, located at the north end of Devonshire Parish has remained in the Cox family for a period spanning five generations. The property, totalling 15 acres, was first purchased by Honorable Sir William John Cox in 1796. At this time he built the large Georgian-style house which was typical

in style for Bermuda architecture during the late eighteenth century. The house was completed within the year and his wife, Mary Ann Cox and son joined him in 1802.

Today, only a few outbuildings remain behind the Big house including a privy designed to resemble a buttery and a storage building once built for servants, yet never occupied. It serves as the gardener's storage facility. Approximately 100 meters behind the Big house lie the ruins of what was once the "cottage" for the Cox slaves. The dwelling was constructed in the garden area. Today this area exists as dense, jungle-like foliage covering the site (Figures 1 and 2).

Historic documents indicate the slave dwelling was occupied from the time it was built in 1796, and abandoned immediately following Emancipation. During this period, 6 to 9 slaves resided in the "cottage" at one time. Those who were listed in the Slave Registration records for the year 1821 include Fanny age 37, Patience Mary age 11, Jack age 8, Joe age 5, and Charlotte Alivia, age one (Appendix A), (Slave Registrations: Oct. 13, 1821). According to a diary kept by the Captain's granddaughter, Laura Ann Bluck, at the time of Emancipation the household also included Edward, son of Patience, age 7 and Hannah, daughter of Patience age 3.

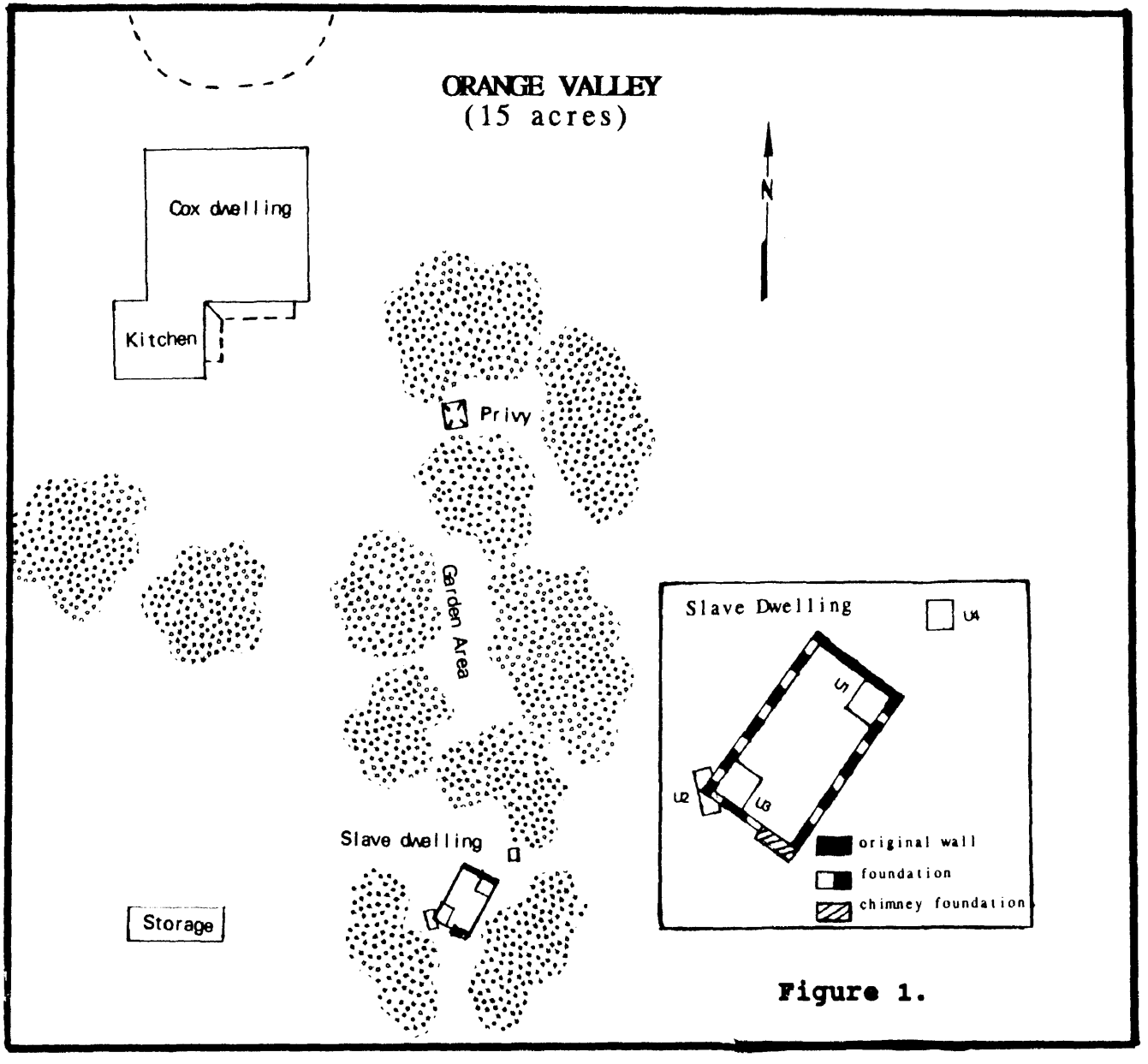
ORANGE VALLEY
(15 acres)
N
Cox dwelling
Kitchen
Privy
Garden Area
Slave dwelling
Storage
Slave Dwelling
U4
U1
U2
U3
original wall
foundation
chimney foundation

**Figure 1.**

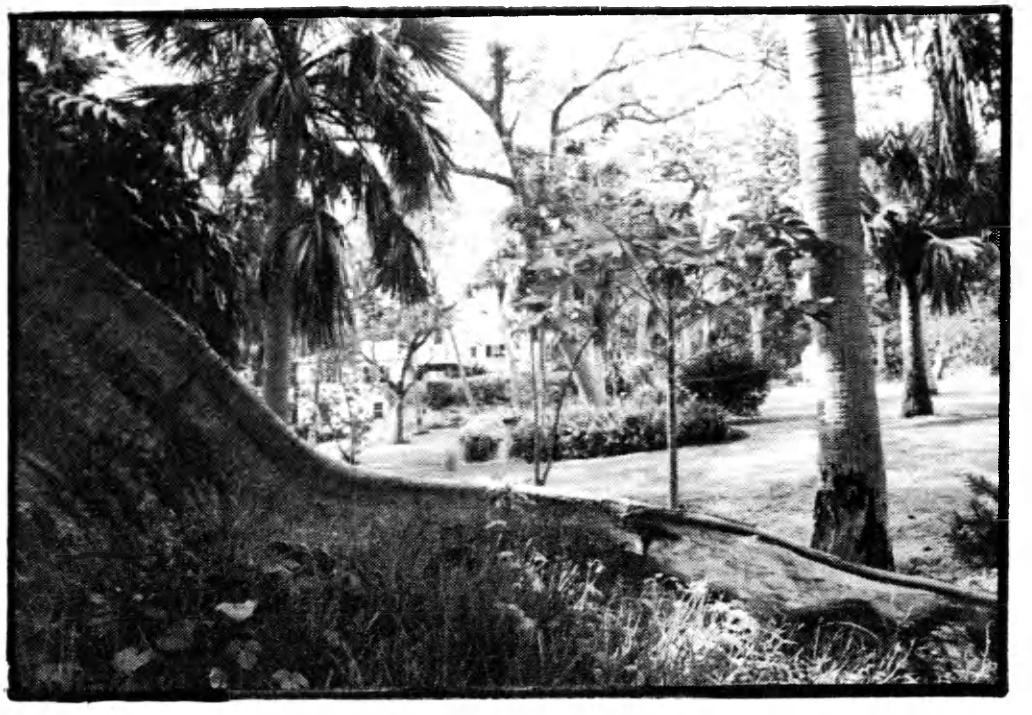

**Figure 2.** The property at Orange Valley is covered by a variety of trees including cedar, palmetto, mahogany, citrus and black ebony. Many were planted by the Cox slaves in the early 1800's.

Slaves from nearby relatives or neighboring estates are likely to have been rented or loaned to the Cox family during the hardest of times. According to the registration records, Philip, a favored slave on the estate is listed as a mason under the proprietor of William Cox, but is also considered to be an "agent for others" (Appendix A). Slave rental was common in both Bermuda and Virginia.

Although the Cox family struggled for self-sufficiency as most families were during this period, comparisons of the Devonshire Parish Church Register indicate the Cox family were still among the elite on the island. Estimation of the estate of Captain William Cox for 1821 reads as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| House: | 400 | |
| Furniture: | 70 | |
| Land: | 150 | |
| Timber: | 30 | |
| Negroes: | 200 | |
| House for Negroes: | 30 | |
| Livestock: | 24 | |
| Total Value: | 904 | (Pounds) |
| | | (April 27, 1821) |

It is interesting to compare the values placed upon slaves to the total estate figures. The slaves at Orange Valley comprise only 16% of the total estate. This is a relatively low percentage compared to the figures derived from the York County Records (Wills and Inventories: 1783-1811) in Virginia. Slaves here, comprised between 50-59% of the total value of the owner's estate. This may be both a reflection of the importance of profit in Bermuda and Virginia as well as the decreasing value of slaves in Bermuda as emancipation neared.

Archaeological excavation of the Cox slave dwelling site also provides a better understanding of the amount of living space available per slave. At the same time, it brings forth figures for comparison to other slave sites. It was not possible to perform a correlation when three factors including dwelling size, number of slaves per dwelling, and relative wealth were compared. Even if an owner's slaves were registered, and the owner was registered with the Parish records, it was difficult to locate family slave dwellings extant today to determine size and then continue to trace ownership of the dwelling into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This method of research was attempted with the use of historic island maps and aid in the area of local history

provided by the Bermuda Archivist, however it proved to be an inefficient method of research.

Excavation at Orange Valley included four units which resulted in the total exposure of the dwelling foundation (see Figure 1). Three which were in direct contact with the structure (Units 1, 2, and 3), and one which was a short distance east and outside the dwelling (Unit 4). The soil stratigraphy within Unit 4 was greatly disturbed by a recent hurricane which had uprooted a nearby tree. The artifacts retrieved from the remaining units provided the diagnostic information utilized for this study.

Prior to excavation only the northeast wall remain exposed and standing from the original structure. The width of this wall and others excavated measured between 7" and 1', which proved to be a primary characteristic of mid-eighteenth century style Bermudian architecture. Most buildings prior to this period existed with walls at least 2 inches thick (Strode, 1932:233).

The chimney is a prominent feature of the Bermuda house, both large and small (Figure 3). The thick chimney walls are constructed of limestone as the majority of Bermudian dwellings are today. In one and one-half story houses where

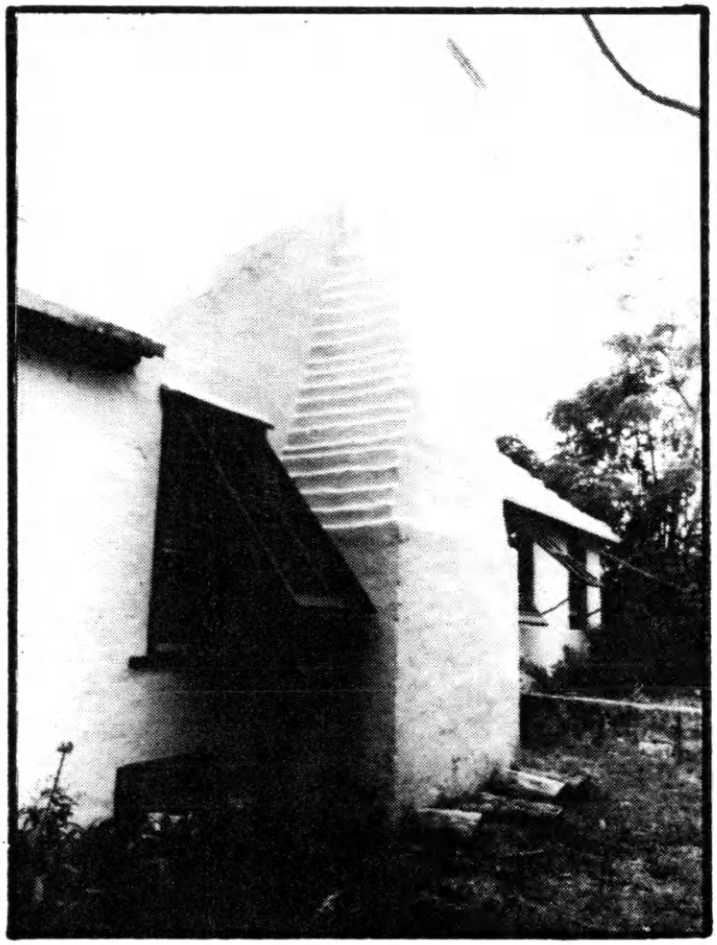

**Figure 3.** Typical Bermudian-style chimney. (Cluster Cottage)

slaves were housed in the basement, a chimney usually existed with two hearths, one on each floor. One large foundation stone was uncovered at Orange Valley resting along the southern wall. It is likely to have been the base for the slave dwelling chimney. It is as common today, as it was in the past, to place chimneys along the southern wall to serve as a reinforcing bulwark against hurricane force winds which frequent the island from that direction.

A bake oven can also be found in many houses, usually along side the fireplace. This small oven would have been heated by hot coals removed from the fireplace. Adventure Cottage in Somerset Parish provides an example of the placement of the fireplace and oven (Figure 4). The elevated position of the bake oven and fireplace relieved the household slave of repeated stooping while cooking. In this dwelling both the fireplace and bake oven were located approximately four feet above the ground (Figure 5).

Limestone material is not only utilized for wall and chimney construction in Bermuda, but also for roof construction. Here, the sawn stone tiles or "slates" as they are known, measure approximately 1 1/2" thick, 10" wide and are slightly longer in length. The slates are fastened to cedar strips laid transversely to the rafters in an

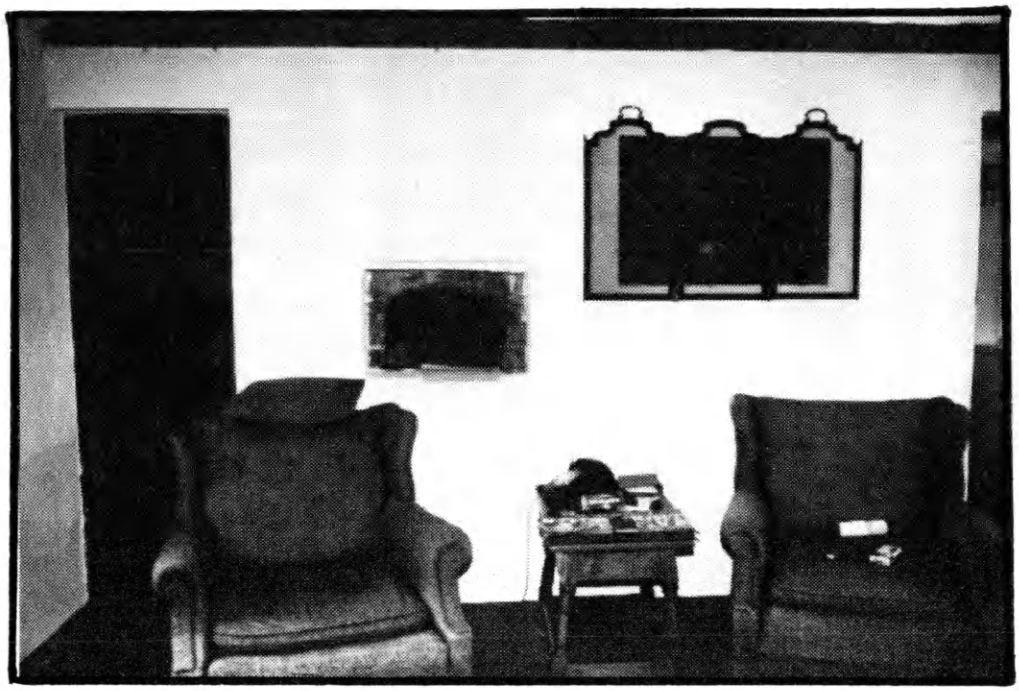

**Figure 4.** Bake oven on left. Fireplace on right originally extended to base of bake oven. (Adventure Cottage)

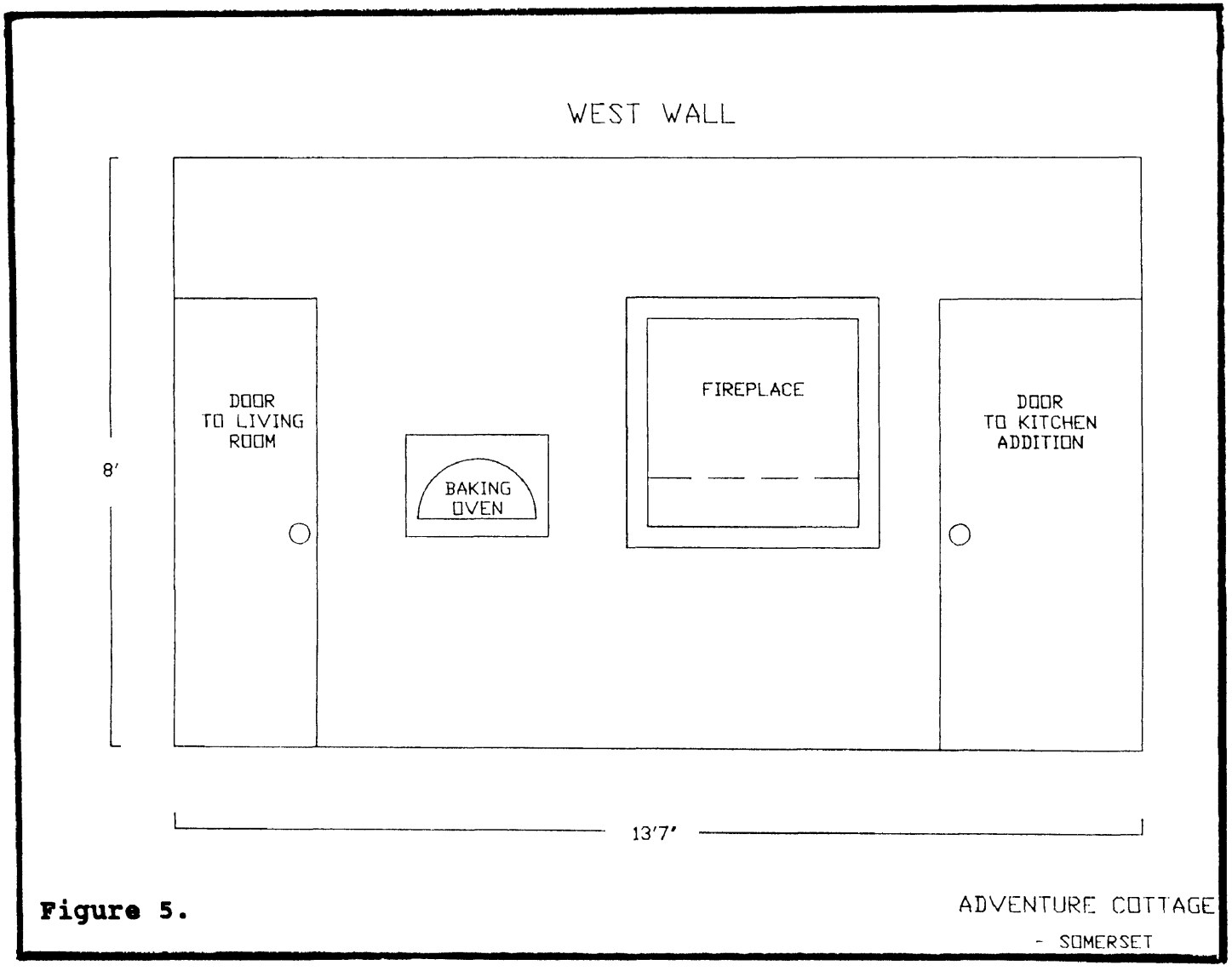


**Figure 5.**

ADVENTURE COTTAGE
- SOMERSET

overlapping manner or butting against one another. The roof is then coated with thick white liquid cement consisting of mortar by mixing burned lime, with sand and water (Humphreys, 1932:6). This method is still utilized today, creating a roof clean enough to collect rain water for the islander's everyday use. At Orange Valley, hundreds of roofing slates were uncovered within the dwelling foundation where the roof had once collapsed (Figure 6).

With large foundation stones placed upon bedrock, the dwelling is believed to have been constructed one story high, measuring 17'x 15' or 255 square feet. If all nine slaves resided here at once, each would have 29 square feet for living. This is approximately the same amount of living space available for slaves residing within the common one room cabin measuring 16'x 16' in Virginia (Wells, 1987). Again, it was a difficult task to perform an island-wide comparative study of living space due to the problem of tracing the actual number of slaves that once resided in the dwelling under examination. Comparisons between regions are also difficult since a wide variety of slave housing existed in both areas. One thing is certain however, slaves in both Bermuda and Virginia were provided with a minimal amount of space for living, often lacking privacy from both their masters and one another.

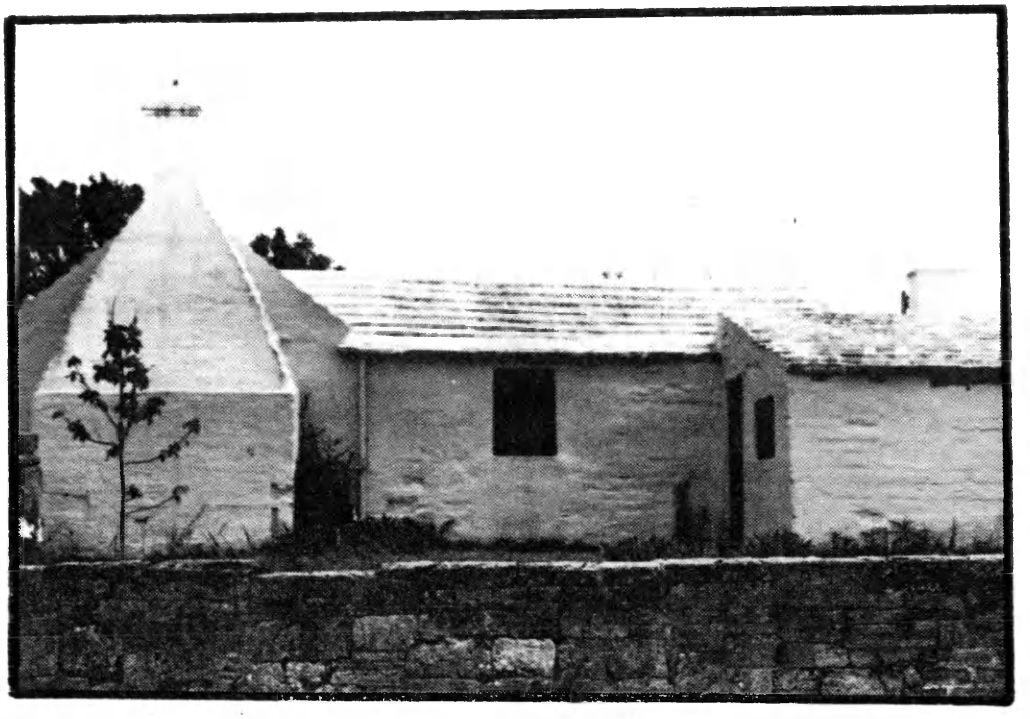

**Figure 6.** Rear view of the Gilbert Estate. (Springfield in Somerset Parish)

Although research in the area of slave archaeology has increased immensely in the Tidewater region over the last few decades, very little archaeology of slave sites has taken place on the island of Bermuda prior to this study. For this reason it is necessary to compare Orange Valley architecture to sites on the United States mainland. Future archaeology on the island, again, will hopefully aid this comparative process. Those who have researched a great number of slave dwellings in the Tidewater area have concluded on one thing time and again - slave housing in Virginia, and other southern plantations varies greatly in both quality and size (Upton 1985; Chappell 1982; Wells 1986). From a preliminary architectural survey performed on the island, Bermuda appears to be no exception to this diversity.

This architectural survey was most effective in gaining an understanding of how construction of dwellings was influenced by their location. For comparative purposes the houses have been grouped into three general categories. First, cellar or attic quarters of the Big house; second, quarters adjoining the Big house kitchen or separated but very close; and third, quarters totally separate and away from the Big house.

The first group, cellar or attic quarters, were usually

constructed a story and a half high often against a hillside on a rock foundation with the lower half story part cellar, part embankment. Between voyages it is likely many piloting slaves would have been housed in these dwellings located along the coast, competing for space with stored cargo. This type of living space most closely resembles attic or workshop quarters found in urban Tidewater regions such as Williamsburg (Figures 7 and 8).

The second group, separated from the Big House, yet near the kitchen, were primarily found inland. It was not surprising to learn owners located slave dwellings adjacent to the Big house kitchen most often, with the majority of slaves occupied as domestics. The location of these dwellings appear to most closely resemble domestic plantation slave quarters (Figures 9-13).

The least common house type on the island is the third grouping, separate and distant from the Big house. This type appears to most closely resemble plantation quarters in regards to location. Although field slaves in Virginia were often housed in "rows" of quarters much greater in size than in Bermuda, they were usually located a great distance from the master's house and closer to the field to be worked. Orange Valley belongs most appropriately in this category.

**Figure 7.** Cluster Cottage of Warwick Parish, built in 1640 - possibly the oldest existing house on the island.

**Figure 8.** Entrance for slaves to cellar quarters.

**Figure 9.** Possible sleeping area for slaves located opposite cellar hearth. (Cluster Cottage)

**Figure 10.** "The Cottage" of Warwick Parish is a two-story slave dwelling. Cooking was performed downstairs and sleeping took place up above. A hand-operated water pump and bake oven are located in the kitchen area.

The slave dwelling, believed to have been constructed in the mid to late 1700's, is located between the Big house and carriage house.

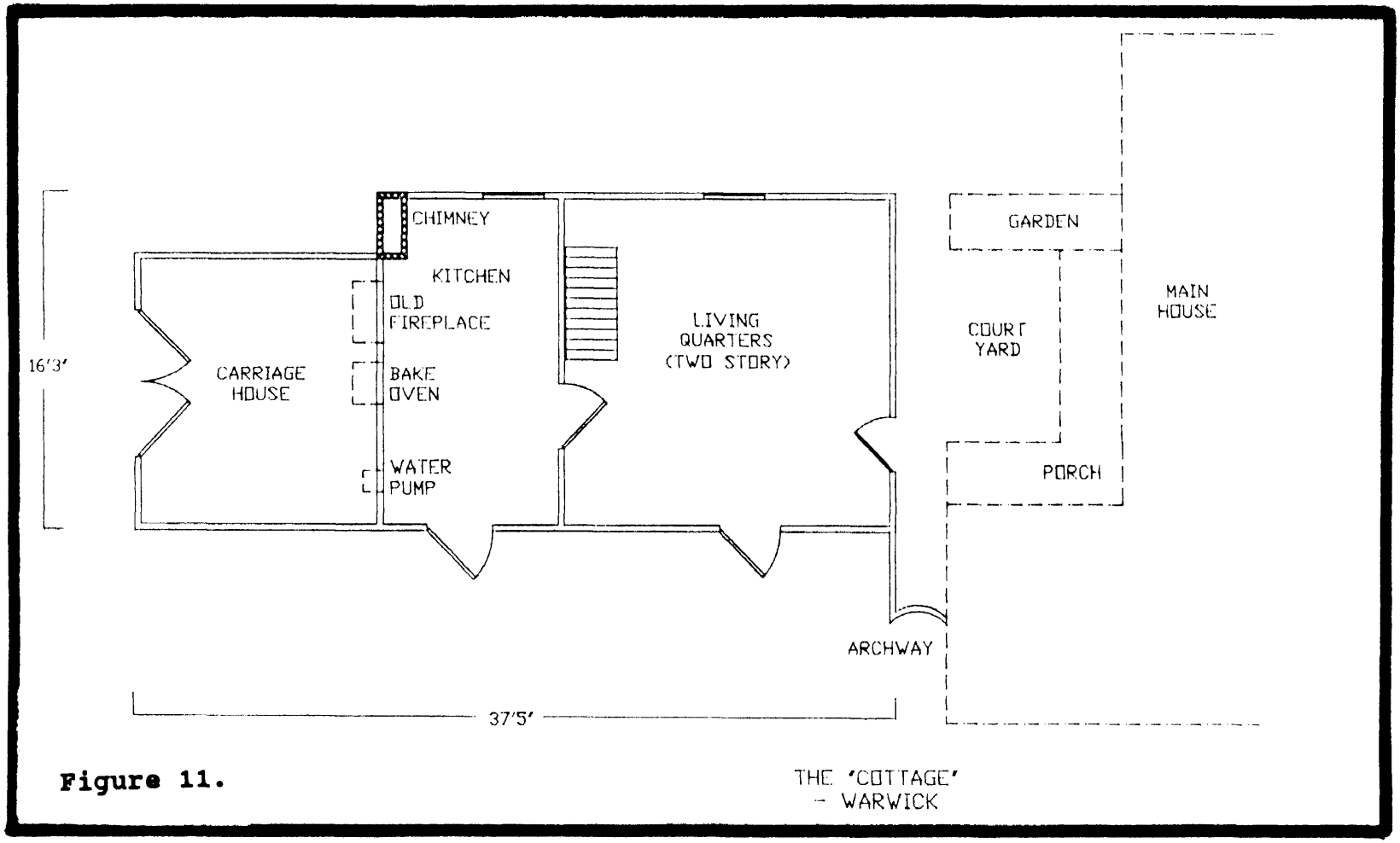


**Figure 11.** THE 'COTTAGE' - WARWICK

**Figure 12.** The "L"-shaped slave quarters lie adjacent to the Big house kitchen. A water tank separates the two dwellings.

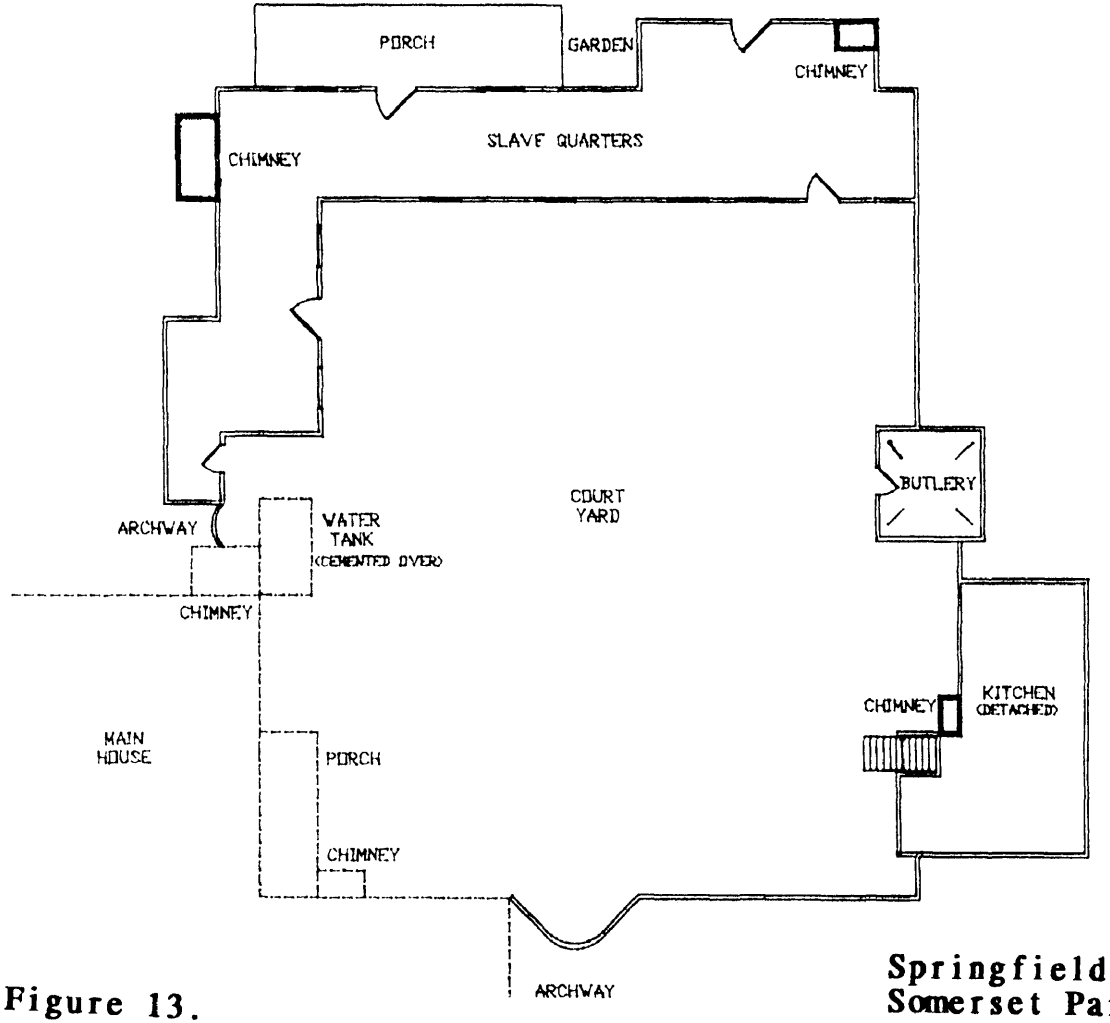


**Figure 13.**

**Springfield**
**Somerset Parish**

The slave quarters at Orange Valley were located approximately 100 meters behind the most southern corner of the Big house (Figure 14).

Slaves in both Bermuda and Virginia had little control over the locality, style or quality of their housing. According to Lloyd's journal, "in general the offices for the coloured domestics are wretched; this, perhaps is owing to the proprietors having about them a greater number of slaves than they can employ" (1835:163). Like Virginia, master's most often provided dwelling specifications and materials and the slaves built accordingly. Whites slaveholders in the Tidewater region seem to have been more concerned with seeking the most economically efficient means of construction for their slave housing. This was usually accomplished through the use of the most inexpensive materials. Bermuda slave housing, on the other hand, appears to have been influenced by a number of factors, including the climatic conditions of the island, the paternalistic nature of the slaveowner, and the availability of materials for construction. The results of the architectural survey revealed that the majority of extant slave houses on the island were constructed of the same materials used for the owner's house. The Orange Valley site provides a good example of similar construction materials utilized for building.

**Figure 14.** Southern view of the Orange Valley estate. The two-story Georgian style house was built in 1796.

The earliest slaves bound to the island would have lived in huts constructed of palmetto branches. Then, cedar cabins were built with palmetto thatched roofs and eventually replaced with cedar shingling. As early as 1712 limestone was used for both the structure and the roof (Packwood, 1975:88; Strode, 1932:224). Today, houses are still built of limestone and most are painted in pastel colors. The limestone cabin appears to be the end of the result of an evolutionary shift towards more durable structures. Perhaps a reflection of slaveownership becoming more paternalistic in nature over time.

In Virginia, housing generally falls into the following categories; single housing measuring as small as 12'x15' with an average of 16 square rod; or double units, which are two single units combined (Herman, 1984:262; Sobel, 1987:104). Extensive archaeological research in the Tidewater region indicates, the majority of slave houses were built as frame buildings during the late eighteenth century, however brick was used in rare instances. Slave dwellings were built as small, temporary, utilitarian units - built quickly to be expendable. Construction consisted of a wooden frame resting upon wooden corner posts as foundation and clapboards nailed to rafters for roofing. Early chimneys consisted of lath or

split sticks plastered with mud bonding (Herman, 1984:259). By the third quarter of the eighteenth century, logs became an accepted choice for building slave houses. A V-nothched, or dovetail hewn-log method was utilized. The logs would be set upon brick piers, elevated 1' from the ground. Clay or mud daubing was used for filler, shingles for roofing and planks, or more often dirt, for floors (Patrick, 1987).

Like many Virginia planters, landscaping appears to have been an important factor in location of slave quarters to the Bermudian slaveholder. Since fewer slaves were owned by white Bermudians than on plantations, "streets" or rows of quarters were not necessary. The architectural survey did however indicate the most appropriate location of the slave dwelling was near the Big house to accomidate the domestic slaves. The construction of the Bermuda slave dwelling does not, appear to be influenced by any means of "reformation" during this period as Larry McKee (1989) suggests was attempted on Virginia plantations. No evidence was found on Bermuda resembling the Virginia "guidelines" or specifications for "ideal" slave dwelling construction.

Plantation housing in Virginia evolved into more durable slave housing with the increased use of brick and pier supported structures in the early nineteenth century (Wells

1986:32). Yet these reformations were still only experienced by a minority of the slave population. Research by Chappell (1982) and Upton (1985) indicates most slaves remain housed in wooden units either single or double, constructed in a similar manner to those of poor whites. Sobel (1987:100) emphasizes how similarly whites and blacks once lived overall, until a great divergence between the two social groups became distinct, and whites sought "permanence" and blacks remained living in the "cabin".

**Part 2. Ceramics**

Analysis of the Orange Valley slave site ceramic assemblage, allows one to gain a better understanding of economic scaling and how it relates to the social status of a group of people. With this information in hand, it is also possible to focus more closely upon social status itself and draw inferences regarding the master-slave relationship.

Ceramic analysis may also bring forth answers to some primary, yet pertinent questions such as, what was the quality of the ceramics utilized by the slaves? Where were the ceramics coming from? Are these ceramics a reflection of the slave's well-being?; and how did the slaves themselves view ceramic possession? Caution must be exercised, however, when making analyses of nineteenth century ceramics and then manipulating the data for comparative research. To date, there has been no complete study of the wares which were available to the Bermuda economic market during the late eighteenth century, early nineteenth century. A more complete analysis could be produced by compiling valuable information such as this, and making correlations to lists which document prices of imported goods. Additional research regarding functional use of the ceramics, method of procurement and purchasing ways would also prove valuable to this study. As

an archaeologist classifying ceramics, one also must be aware of the classification system most commonly occurring in the nineteenth century. George Miller notes the ceramics during this period were being described most often by their decoration, rather than their ware types (1980:2).

One must also take into account biases which can arise when comparing two different economic regions. The appearance of the same material goods often occurs at two very different rates. According to Karen Microys (1989), this is particularly important in Bermuda's economic situation, when a shortage of food and supplies existed during the late eighteenth century as a result of a blockade during the War for Independence. Certain ware types may not have been imported to the island in the same quantities or have existed at the same time they were present in the Tidewater region. Only preliminary comparisons can be made based upon what is currently available until further research is performed in the future of archaeology.

Ceramic material comprised over one-half of the artifacts retrieved from the Orange Valley slave dwelling site. Other cultural materials were collected and sorted into groups labelled, Glass Containers, Architectural, Bodily Protection, Recreation, Personal Possessions, Cutlery, Metal Containers

and Miscellaneous (Figure 15). The material remains retrieved from the site were pieced together as best possible through a method known as crossmending. By accomplishing this, the number of vessels can be counted and one can gain a better understanding of the vessel's original context.

The largest portion of the Orange Valley assemblage was comprised of whiteware (Figure 16). This ware type developed out of pearlware and creamware in the early nineteenth century. Most of this group was decorated, most frequently by the transfer-print method. Transfer printing, first performed on top of the glaze finish, allowed for finely detailed designs that could be later produced in mass much more easily than hand-painted sets. Transfer-printed vessels over time thus, came to cost much less than those that were hand-painted. By the 1790's transfer printing under the glaze was most common in Staffordshire potteries (Miller, 1980:4). Several transfer-printed patterns including "Willoware", were recovered in various colors from Orange Valley (Figure 17).

Pearlware was the second most common ware type found at the site. Its decorative techniques were both hand-painted, under and over the glaze, transfer-printed, and shell-edged. The majority of the painted wares included simple flower and leaf designs on teawares and plates. Cobalt and polychromes

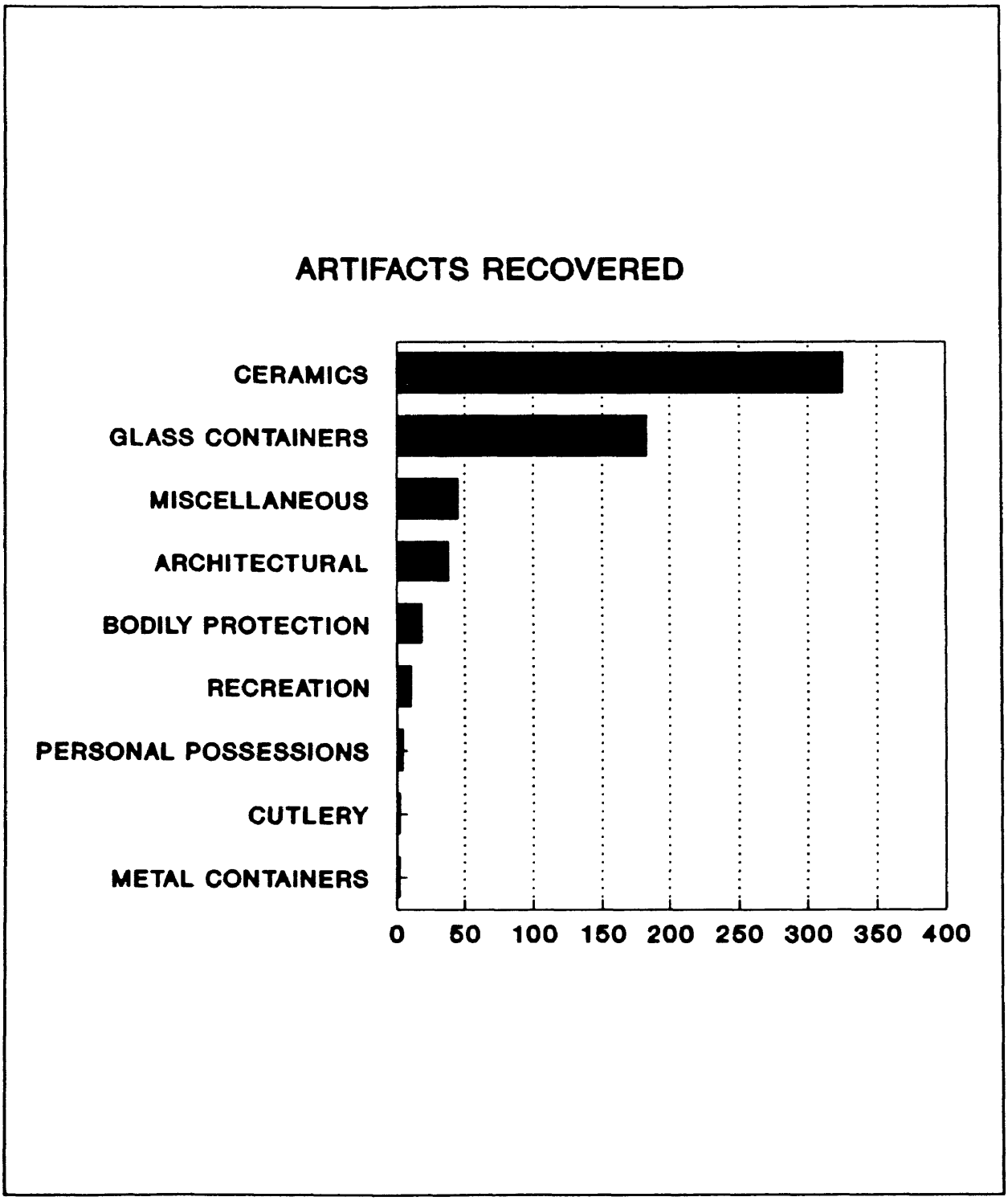
ARTIFACTS RECOVERED
CERAMICS
GLASS CONTAINERS
MISCELLANEOUS
ARCHITECTURAL
BODILY PROTECTION
RECREATION
PERSONAL POSSESSIONS
CUTLERY
METAL CONTAINERS
0
50
100
150
200
250
300
350
400

Figure 15.

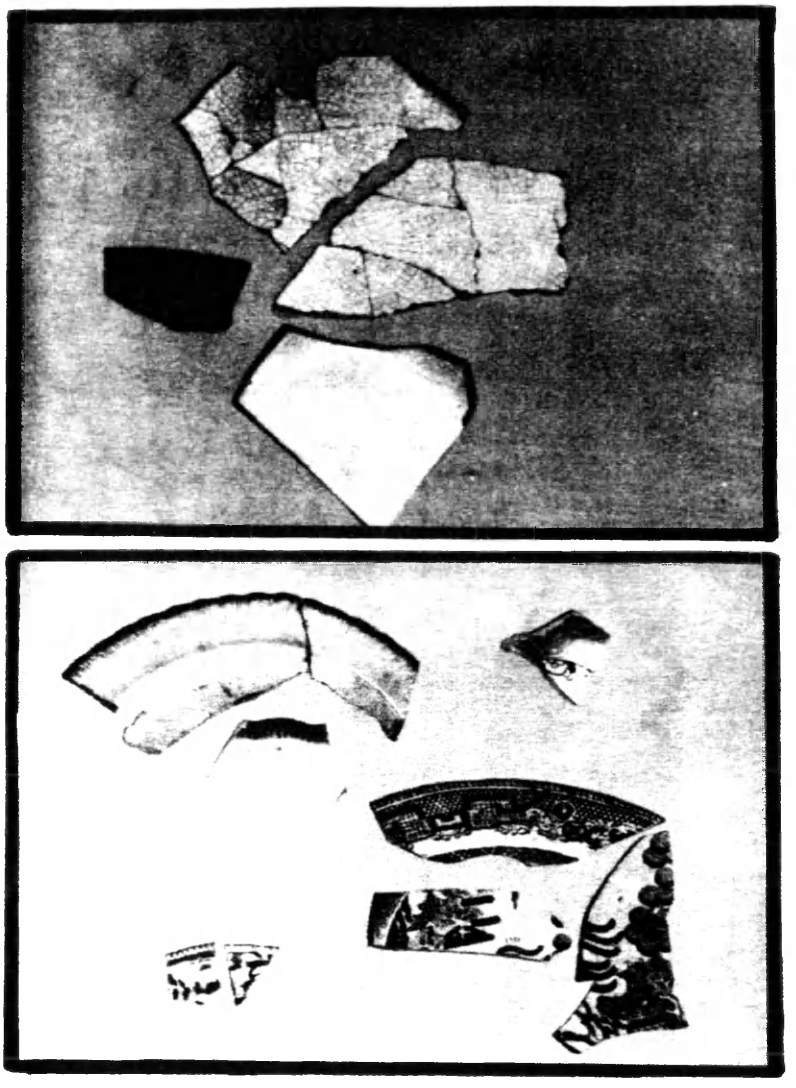

**Figure 16.** a. Redware - pie plate
b. Whiteware - large platter fragments.

**Figure 17.** a. Shell-edge, blue and green scallped plate rims.
b. Transfer printed plate fragments, including the "Willow" pattern.

were both popular as well. Most designs are kept simple by the craftsman so that the pattern can more easily be reproduced as sets. Undecorated pearlware vessels were also recovered. This is not surprising since this type was most common in the southern United States between 1780-1830 (Pitman, 1990:22).

The shell-edged design is also a simple technique which requires little skill by the artisan. Plates and saucers were found in both blue and green at Orange Valley. While blue shell-edged wares remain fashionable up to the 1860's, green edged wares are rarely found after the 1840's.

Yelloware was next most popular at the site, most often in the form of mugs and bowls. Decorations were generally annular and banded in design. This ware type post dates 1820 in Virginia (Figure 18).

The percentage of creamware recovered is slightly less than that of yelloware. This is surprising since creamware became the most common ceramic ware in the early 1760's. It also became the most inexpensive refined ware by the late 1790's. In most nineteenth century potter's merchant bills and price listings, it is referred to as "CC ware" (Miller 1980:3). Creamware is almost never decorated. It was found

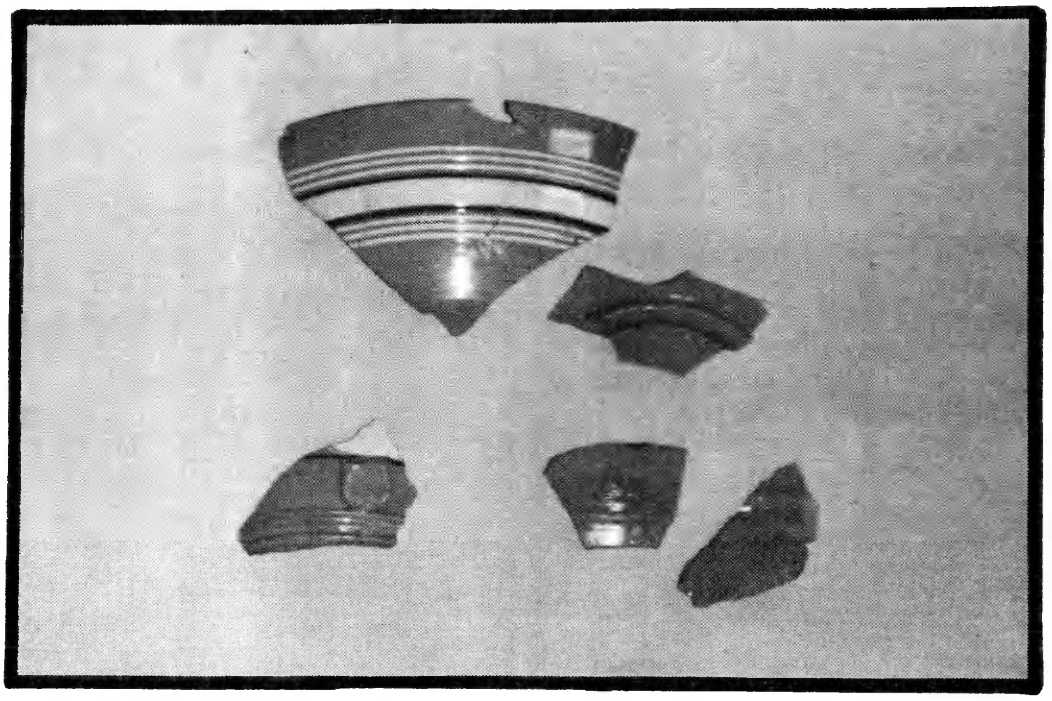

**Figure 18.** Yelloware - banded bowl and mug fragments.

in several vessel forms at Orange Valley including a punch bowl, chamber pot and large platter (Figure 19).

George Miller's method of economic classification of 19th century ceramics divides decorated types into four levels based on cost. The first level includes "CC" or "white earthenware" - undecorated and least expensive. It also includes white ironstone and white granite which became more popular in the 1850's. The second level incorporates the most inexpensive decorated ceramics. Shell-edge, banded, sponge and mocha are included in this level. The third level of painted wares were priced between levels two and four and includes simple painted designs produced relatively inexpensively. The fourth level includes transfer-printed techniques. In 1790 they were three to five times more costly than the "cc" vessels. Transfer-printed wares did however, decrease in price as consumption increased by the mid-nineteenth century (1980:4). Decorated ceramics representing each of these levels were retrieved from the Orange Valley site.

Several stoneware vessels were present at the slave dwelling site, yet generally in the form of mugs, tankards, and beverage and ink bottles. It was surprising to find very few storage vessels at Orange Valley. the low number of

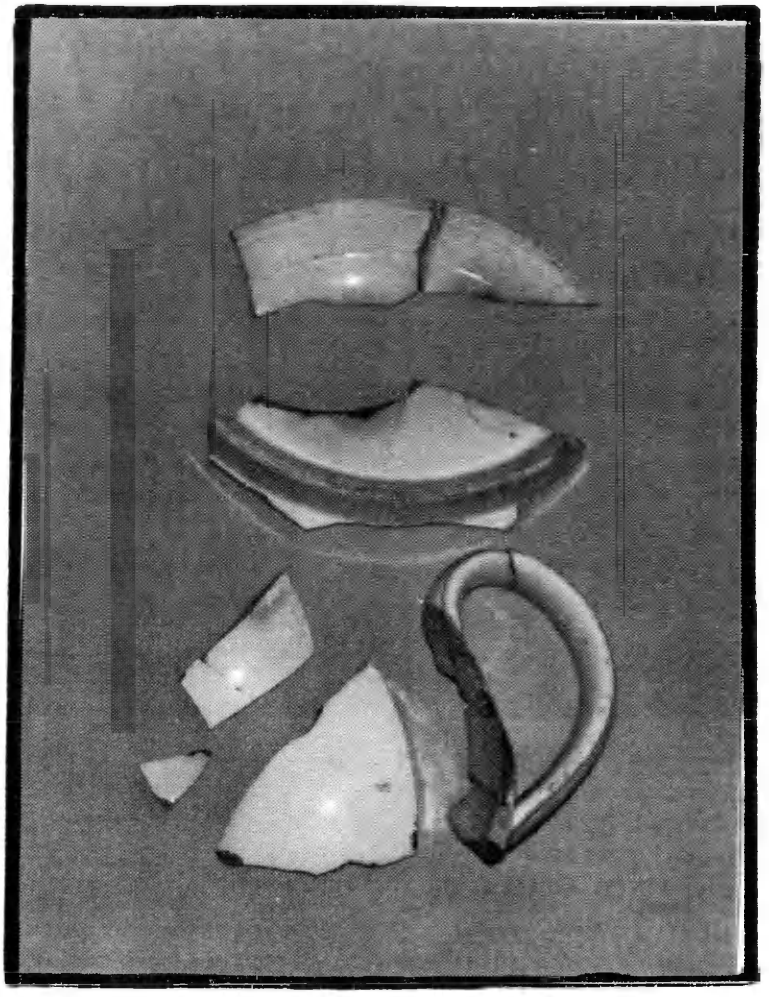

**Figure 19.** Creamware - plate and chamberpot fragments.

storage vessels may suggest food was stored in an area outside the dwelling (Figure 20).

Delft fragments from plates or saucers and bone china fragments from tea vessels, were recovered in small quantities yet their presence is significant.

Unit 4 which was excavated outside the structure, proved to be greatly disturbed by recent hurricane destruction. The large percentage of whiteware retrieved from this area post-dated the occupation period of the site. It is probable this area became a location for disposal by the Cox family and hired servants upon the abandonment of the dwelling in 1834. Excavation of units near the Big house in the future, would perhaps aid in testing this hypothesis.

The low percentage of creamware from the site is also puzzling. According to Otto (1984), this was a highly utilized ware by slaves along the southern coast of the United States. The production of affordable utilitarian vessels increased the popularity of creamware. Again, until further research is performed on the island pertaining to available ware types, we cannot be sure if this is as uncommon as it appears. The quantities of ware types present at Orange Valley does however provide some basic information upon which

to build. Perhaps a better understanding of the quality of life for the Cox slaves can be brought forth by comparing this data to slave sites in Tidewater Virginia. For this study both a rural and urban slave site have been selected.

An analysis of the ceramic assemblage from Shirley Plantation in Virginia, has been performed and reported by Genevieve Leavitt. Ceramic analysis of these two very different rural areas reveal several similarities regarding both ceramic quality and quantity. One shortcoming of Leavitt's research is the assemblage is only divided into ware types. Little comparative analysis was performed beyond identification and quantification.

At both Orange Valley and Shirley Plantation the largest percentage of the small samples was comprised of white refined earthenwares with the transfer-printed decorative technique. At both sites a wide range of designs were present. Leavitt discovered forty-three patterns representing approximately forty-nine items from the excavated areas (1984:173). At both Orange Valley and Shirley it is likely that individual pieces rather than sets were handed down from the slaveowner to the slaves. A larger percentage of teawares were recovered than was anticipated at both sites. Twenty-three percent of the ceramics at Orange Valley were grouped as teawares (Figure 21

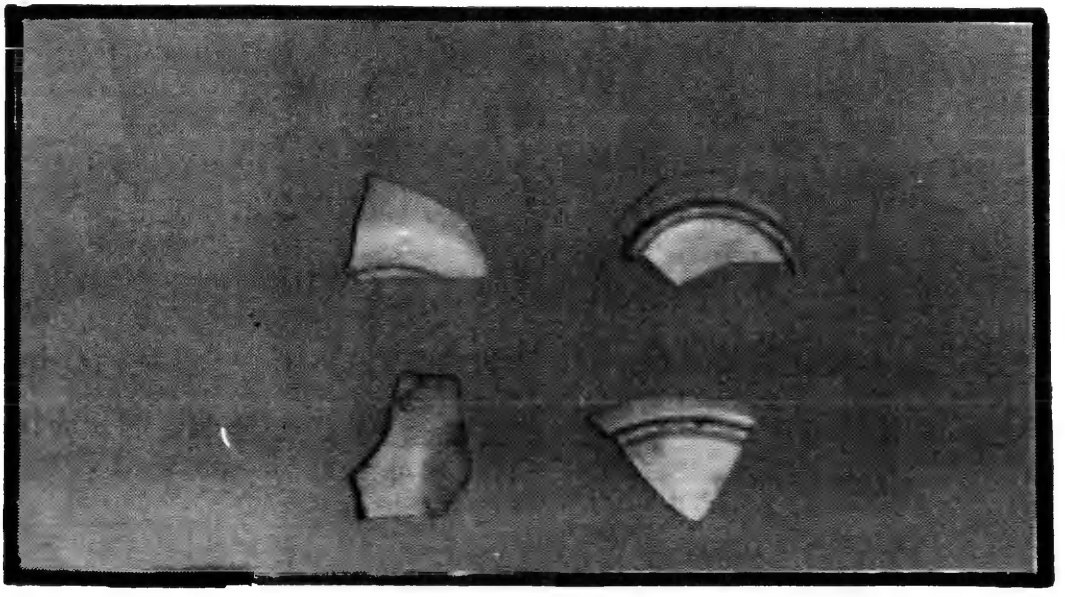

**Figure 20.** Salt-glazed stoneware ink and beverage bottles.

**Figure 21.** Pocelain - bone china teacup fragments.

and 22). Archaeologists have debated about this occurrence and its meaning for years. Otto (1977, 1984) and Kelso (1984) have suggested that such large quantities of teawares indicate that slaves were more acculturated to the ceremony than was previously believed. Although an interesting hypothesis, research of this topic is beyond the scope of this thesis.

Originally it was believed that kitchenwares, such as bowls, would likely be the most common retrieved from slave sites (Otto 1977:98; 1984:167). Adams and Bolings's study (1989) compares several Georgia slave sites and have found this is not necessarily the case. Plates were most frequent at the Harmony Hall and Kings Bay Plantation Slave Quarters. Perhaps archaeologists will soon discover teawares to be the most common vessel type on a slave site. With the archaeological record growing more rapidly in the area of slave archaeology, more complex comparisons are becoming reality.

At both Orange Valley and the Shirley Plantation porcelain was present, often in the form of teawares at Orange Valley and in a variety of vessel forms at Shirley. Documents indicate that the plantation owner, Carter Hill, was importing Canton Chinese porcelain in sets. The diversity of vessel

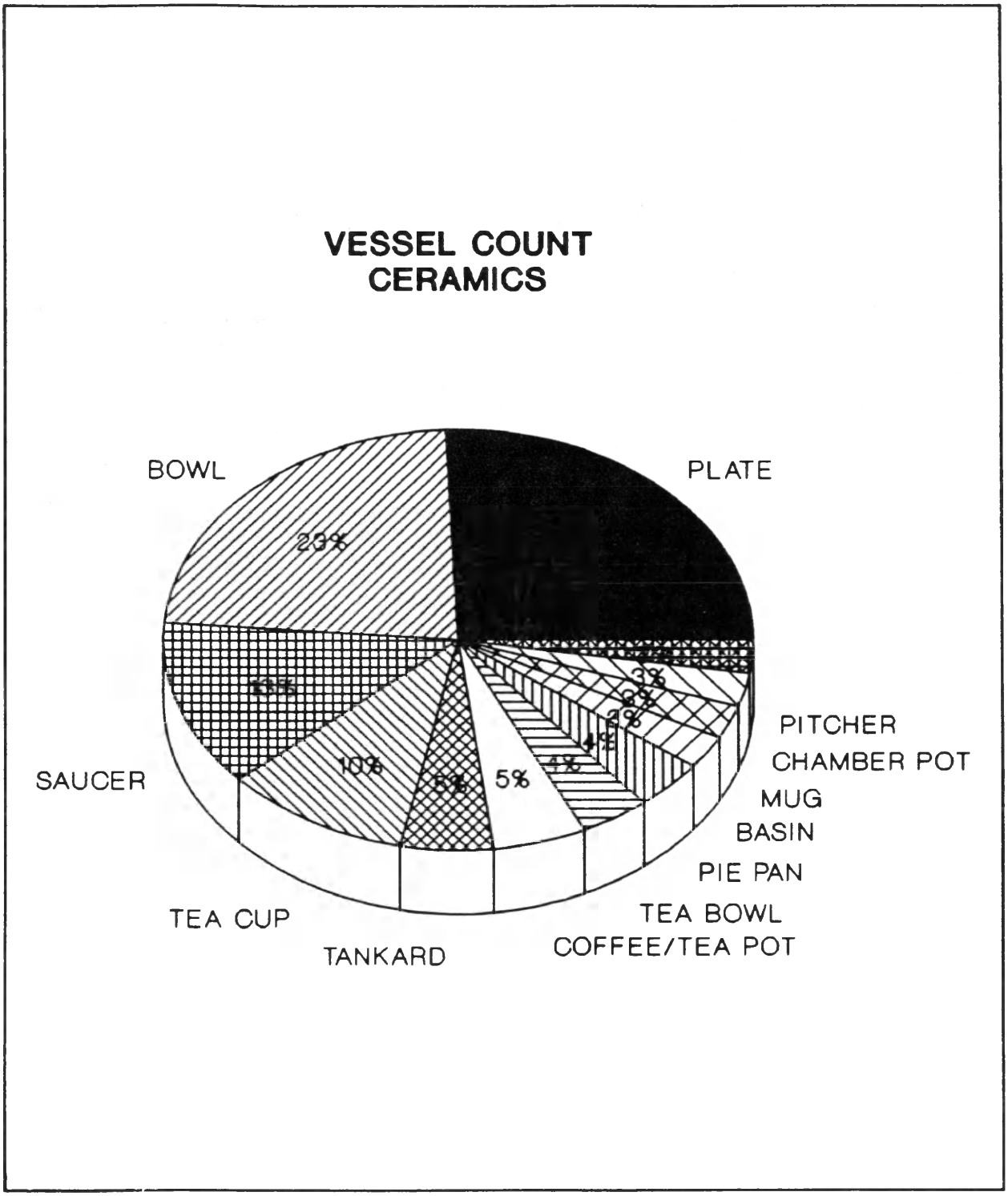
VESSEL COUNT
CERAMICS
BOWL
PLATE
23%
SAUCER
10%
5%
5%
TEA CUP
TANKARD
PITCHER
CHAMBER POT
MUG
BASIN
PIE PAN
TEA BOWL
COFFEE/TEA POT

**Figure 22.**

forms and low quantity of fragments per vessel, again suggest that these slaves were receiving their ceramics individually rather than sets as well (1984:173-174). It is possible the same was occurring at Orange Valley as a result of the Captain returning with sets of wares from his voyages. Adams and Boling discovered that the slave quarters at Kings Bay Plantation, Georgia produced more porcelain than the planters kitchen (1989:79). This was an unexpected finding at all three sites with the cost of porcelain much greater than earthenwares at this time (Miller 1980).

Whether or not the slaves at Orange Valley can be considered of a higher status than those at Shirley is difficult to determine utilizing a limited amount of information. Comparison of occupational status at both rural sites suggests those slaves residing at Orange Valley were considered in a more prestigious position (Orser, 1987:126-28; Kelso, 1984:26). Yet, to perform a more comprehensive comparison in regards to relative status, Adams and Boling have demonstrated other methods must go beyond studies such as Otto's Cannon's Point Plantation study. One such method has been developed by George Miller and can be applied through use of his article entitled, The Classification and Economic Scaling of 19th Century Ceramics (1980). Miller assembles a system upon which indexes can be compared and ceramics may be

assessed in terms of their cost.

Values are derived from Staffordshire potter's price fixing lists as well as from merchant's invoices. Vessels with a higher index are more costly than those with a lower index value in relation to creamware which has an index value of 1.0. Assuming the social status of an item is related to its economic value, this method has been applied to the Orange Valley assemblage to gain a better understanding of the relative status of the Cox slaves. The Polly Valentine slave site in Williamsburg, Virginia has been selected as a comparative urban site. This site, often referred to as the Mammy Polly site, was excavated and reported by Ywone Edwards through the College of William and Mary in 1989.

For comparative purposes, Edwards divides her assemblage into two groups. Group 1, contains wares up to 25 years prior to Polly Valentine's houselot occupation date. The date range of this group spans from 1815 to 1840. Group 2, dates to the occupation of the houselot by Polly Valentine, post 1840's - 1860's. Miller has compiled an appendix of the Staffordshire potter's price fixing lists that have survived over the centuries. The lists available include the years 1770, 1783, 1795, 1814, 1833 and 1846(1980:3). In order to most fully utilize the appendices compiled by Miller, a year was selected

which incorporates and best represents the occupation date of the two sites. The year 1814 was selected. The ceramics listed in (Table 2) were selected for the Orange Valley site. They were chosen on the basis of what they could contribute to the understanding of slave patterns of acquisition, use of ceramics, and their similarity to those selected for the Mammy Polly site (Table 3).

Upon completion of crossmending the ceramic material, a vessel count was conducted. These vessels were separated according to their ware types and decorative styles. Next, index values retrieved from Miller's Appendices for the year 1814 were applied. This value was multiplied times the number of vessels for a particular decorative type. After all the values were calculated, an average expenditure figure was obtained. This number revealed the average expenditure above the cost of plain creamware. The same procedure was repeated for each of the functional groups including teawares, kitchenwares and tablewares. (Tables 4, 5, and 6).

**TABLE 2.**

**Selected Ceramics for Analysis**
**Orange Valley**

| Vessel | Ware Type | Decor. Tech. | # of Vessel |
|---|---|---|---|
| Plate | Creamware | Undecorated | 1 |
| Plate | Pearlware | Shelledge, g. | 2 |
| Plate | Pearlware | Shelledge, b. | 2 |
| Plate | Pearlware | T. Printed, b. | 3 |
| Plate | Pearlware | Willow printed | 1 |
| Plate | Pearlware | Willow printed | 2 |
| Plate | Pearlware | T. Printed, g. | 1 |
| Plate | Pearlware | T. Printed, b. | 2 |
| Plate | Pearlware | T. Printed, b. | 2 |
| Plate | Pearlware | Willow printed | 5 |
| Platter | Whiteware | Molded | 1 |
| Saucer | Bone China | Undecorated | 1 |
| Saucer | Creamware | Lined | 1 |
| Saucer | Pearlware | Undecorated | 1 |
| Saucer | Pearlware | T. Printed, b. | 1 |
| Bowl | Pearlware | Painted, b. | 1 |
| Bowl | Pearlware | Painted, b. | 1 |
| Bowl | Pearlware | Undecorated | 6 |
| Bowl | Creamware | Undecorated | 1 |
| Bowl | Porcellaneous | Undecorated | 1 |
| Cup | Creamware | Undecorated | 1 |
| Cup | Bone China | H. Painted, polyc. | 1 |
| Cup | Bone China | Molded | 1 |
| Cup | Bone China | Undecorated | 1 |
| Chamber pot | Creamware | Undecorated | 2 |
| Chamber pot | Whiteware | T. Printed, b. | 3 |

Note: T. = Transfer-printed H= Hand Painted
b. = Blue g. = Green polyc.=Polychrome

**TABLE 3.**

**Selected Ceramics for Analysis**
**Polly Valentine**

| Vessel | Ware Type | Decor. Tech | # of Vessel |
|---|---|---|---|
| Plate | Pearlware | Willow, printed, b. | 3 |
| Plate | Creamware | Lined brown | 1 |
| Plate | Creamware | Undecorated | 2 |
| Plate | Pearlware | Enamel lined | 1 |
| Plate | Pearlware | Rococo shelledge, g. | 3 |
| Plate | Pearlware | Printed, blue | 2 |
| Plate | Pearlware | Scalloped shelledge, g. | 5 |
| Plate | Pearlware | Shelledge blue | 2 |
| Plate | Porcelain Ct. | Printed, blue | 1 |
| Plate | Pearlware | Scalloped shelledge, b. | 3 |
| Plate | Creamware | Undecorated | 1 |
| Plate | Pearlware | Lined, blue | 1 |
| Plate | Porcellaneous | Undecorated | 1 |
| Platter | Porcellaneous | Undecorated | 1 |
| Cup | Pearlware | Painted, blue | 1 |
| Cup | Bone China | Molded | 1 |
| Cup | Bone China | Undecorated | 1 |
| Saucer | Pearlware | Painted Polychrome | 1 |
| Saucer | Pearlware | Printed, blue | 2 |
| Saucer | Porcelain F. | Undecorated | 3 |
| Saucer | Bone China | Undecorated | 1 |
| Bowl | Creaware | Dipped, rouletted rim | 1 |
| Bowl | Pearlware | Undecorated | 1 |
| Bowl | Pearlware | Printed, blue | 1 |
| Bowl | Pearlware | Painted, blue | 2 |
| Bowl | Porcelain F. | Undecorated | 1 |
| Chamberpot | Creamware | Undecorated | 1 |
| Jug | Whiteware | Printed, blue | 1 |
| Chamber pot | Creamware | Undecorated | 1 |
| Chamber pot | Whiteware | Undecorated | 2 |
| Chamber pot | Whiteware | Molded | 1 |
| Chamber pot | White Granite | Molded | 1 |

Note: C = Chinese Ct. = Chinese, Canton
F= French
b= Blue g = Green

**TABLE 4.**

**Values of Teawares - ORANGE VALLEY**
**Index Value**

| Form | Decoration | 1814 | # of Vessel |
|---|---|---|---|
| Cup | Printed | 3.67 | 2 |
| Saucer | Printed | 3.00 | 11 |
| Saucer | Painted | 1.50 | 6 |
| Cup | Bone China | 1.50 | 4 |

Total count of vessels = 23
Average value for 1814 = 2.40

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**Value of Teawares - POLLY VALENTINE**
**Index Value**

| Form | Decoration | 1814 | # of Vessel |
|---|---|---|---|
| Cup | Bone China | 1.50 | 3 |
| Saucer | Painted | 1.50 | 2 |
| Saucer | Porcelain | 3.00 | 5 |

Total count of vessels = 10
Average value for 1814 = 2.16

**TABLE 5.**

**Values of Tablewares - ORANGE VALLEY**
**Index Value**

| Form | Decoration | 1814 | # of Vessel |
|---|---|---|---|
| Plate | cc | 1.00 | 1 |
| Plate | Edged | 1.29 | 2 |
| Plate | Edged | 1.33 | 2 |
| Plate | Printed | 3.43 | 1 |
| Plate | Printed | 3.33 | 3 |
| Plate | Printed | 3.00 | 6 |
| Plate | Printed | 2.67 | 4 |

Total count of vessels = 19
Average value for 1814 = 2.54

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**Values of Tablewares - POLLY VALENTINE**
**Index Value**

| Form | Decoration | 1814 | # of Vessel |
|---|---|---|---|
| Plate | cc | 1.00 | 3 |
| Plate | Edged | 1.28 | 12 |
| Plate | Lined | 1.71 | 2 |
| Plate | Enamelled | 2.35 | 1 |
| Plate | Printed | 3.00 | 4 |
| Plate | Printed | 3.42 | 2 |
| Plate | Porcelain | 6.00 | 1 |
| Plate | Porcellaneous | - | 1 |
| Platter | Porcellaneous | - | 1 |

Total count of vessels = 27
Average value for 1814 = 1.92

Note: Porcelain and Porcellaneous wares are calculated on the highest value of printed wares.

**TABLE 6.**

**Value of Kitchenwares - ORANGE VALLEY**
**Index Value**

| Form | Decoration | 1814 | # of Vessel |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bowl | cc | 1.00 | 1 |
| Bowl | Printed | 2.80 | 8 |
| Bowl | Painted | 1.60 | 7 |

Total count of vessels = 16
Average value for 1814 = 2.16

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**Value of Kitchenwares - POLLY VALENTINE**
**Index Value**

| Form | Decoration | 1814 | # of Vessel |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bowl | cc | 1.00 | 1 |
| Bowl | Dipped | 1.20 | 1 |
| Bowl | Painted | 1.60 | 2 |
| Bowl | Printed | 2.80 | 3 |

Total count of vessels = 7
Average value for 1814 = 2.86

Only Group 1, (1815-1840) was utilized for comparison to the Orange Valley assemblage. The date range for this group most closely represents the occupation date range for the Cox slave dwelling site.

It is interesting to learn that the overall expenditure on ceramics at both Orange Valley and the Valentine site was similar and relatively high. At Orange Valley more was spent on plates, and teawares and less on bowls. At Mammy Polly's site more was spent on teawares and bowls than plates. The average value for expenditure on teawares at Orange Valley equalled 2.16 compared to 2.40 at Mammy Polly's. The average value for tablewares equalled 2.54 compared to 1.92 - a much greater difference. The largest difference however, remain in the kitchenware grouping equalling 2.16 at Orange Valley and 2.86 at the Polly Valentine site.

The high quality of ware types at Orange Valley suggest the Cox slaves were materially better off than was anticipated, taking the depressed state of the island into consideration.

## Part 3. Faunal Analysis

As we know, diet plays an important role in the well-being of humans, having both a physical and emotional impact. In accordance with the law, slaveowners were responsible for providing their slaves with not only shelter and clothing, but food as well. Interpretation of both archaeological and documentary sources in this area provide a general understanding of how the Cox slaves may have been eating. Reconstruction of the food supply systems also provides insight into the master-slave relationship.

Food supplementation is another means by which the master has the potential to exercise control and power over slaves. This paper seeks to determine how great a role the Cox slaveowners played in the diet of their slaves. The researcher also investigates what was most important to the master. Was it the control of activities surrounding food supply? The actual makeup of the slave's diet? Or was their little interaction at all in this area?

Due to the limited scope of the excavation at Orange Valley, only a small faunal sample was retrieved and analyzed, limiting its interpretative value. The data does, however, provide a basis for cross-regional comparisons to a site in

the Tidewater region. Flowerdew Hundred of Prince George County, Virginia has been selected for this purpose. A thorough analysis of the faunal material upon a nineteenth century slave cabin site has been made available through a dissertation written by Larry McKee entitled "Plantation Food Supply in Nineteenth-Century Tidewater Virginia"(1988). The cabin under examination was one of 4-6 cabins upon the Willcox plantation. The cabin, measuring 16'x20', was probably built in 1804 and was located between the planter's mansion and the overseer's house.

Joanne Bowen performed the analysis of the small sample of faunal material retrieved from Orange Valley. Both Bowen and McKee followed standard analytical procedures in their research. First, the material was sorted into broad categories, such as mammal or fish. Next, comparisons were made to a sample collection of animal skeletons so that a more precise taxon could be assigned to the bone material in regards to genus and species. In some instances the bone was left grouped in general categories of class such as mammal, bird or fish because the material was undistinguishable. Upon compiling these groupings, the "MNI" or Minimum Number of Individuals could be calculated.

Caution should be exercised when analyzing all material

culture. The researcher must take care to sort out the culturally significant material first by taking "formation processes" into account. At both Flowerdew and Orange Valley the material analyzed represents a "primary archaeological deposit". According to Schiffer (1972), this is the material discarded at the site of use. Very little bone material was recovered from the "refuse" area, Unit 4. If indeed the Cox family utilized this area as a dumping site, then it would be considered a "secondary archaeological deposit". Again, it is difficult to determine this without excavating units near the Big house.

The aim of the research in this section, is to gain a general understanding of the nutritional system used for the Cox slaves and view how this compares to the slaves of the Willcox family in Virginia. While the quantitative statistics are made available here, the small sample size brings about many biases. Information regarding diversity in the diet, accessibility and availability therefore should be examined more closely.

The location of the Orange Valley site on an Atlantic island, and the location of Flowerdew Hundred along the James River provided slaves in both regions with equal access to fish and other seafood as a source of nutrition. It is

interesting to learn, however, nearly half of the Orange Valley sample was comprised of various fish types, while fish comprised only 11.5% of the Flowerdew sample. At Flowerdew the slaves are believed to have been eating several types of fish including catfish, sturgeon and bass. At Orange Valley grouper was most popular and pinfish the least. Similar fish types were recovered at another archaeological site - the Tucker House in Georgetown, Bermuda. Seven percent of the total fish population here however, was found to be imported (Brown, 1990). No imported fish were accounted for at Orange Valley.

The remaining portion of the Orange Valley sample was comprised of cattle, rat and caprine at 11% each, and pig and chicken at only 5% each. Virtually no wild game was found on the site. This may be the result of the minute sample size. It is also interesting to note that evidence for firearms was recovered from the site, suggesting the Cox slaves may have had an opportunity for hunting.

At Flowerdew, a greater variety of animal was retrieved including eighteen different kinds. There is substantial evidence for the Willcox slaves activity in the woods, river, fields and nearby creeks. Thirteen different species of wild animals were accounted for in the sample. With only a count

of four individuals for pig on site, McKee feels the consumption of pig is grossly underrepresented. He believes the pork in the diet came in "boneless as processed, cured meat". Chicken was more common at Flowerdew than cattle, whereas the opposite is true for Orange Valley. Few domestic animals existed on the Cox property.

Overall, McKee believes the bulk of the Willcox slave diet consisted of corn meal and pork and the wild animals comprised a portion of the diet which was supplementary to their standard rations. Supplementation to the provisions provided by Bermuda masters was next to mandatory for survival. This additional food source was largely comprised of fish. On occasion the slaves and poor whites of Bermuda ate "sea beef" as a special treat, according to Packwood. This is the term slaves used to describe the fleshy portions of the whale. Hunting for whales took place between March and June but the delicacy could be enjoyed year-round as the meat would be salt and dried (1975:89).

Rations provided by the Captain's 15 pounds a month were hardly enough for his family to get by on, let alone their slaves. Letters to his wife indicate he was sending or returning home from sea with gifts including ceramics, trees

and food. There was little consistency in arrival of goods since the Captain was gone for several months at a time. According to the Devonshire Parish Records for the year 1821, livestock comprised only 2% of the total estate value. According to John Cox (1981:30) there were a few cows to supply milk and butter, chickens for eggs and some fruit trees including peach, orange, guava, and coffee. There may have been a few herbal crops grown on the property but the soil was inadequate for any additional gardening. Other products such as sugar, flour meats, tea and vegetables had to be purchased from the market. During a period of economic hardship, prices for these products were at times out of reach. This was the result of importation from America and the effect of blockades. Lack of diversity in the Cox family and slave diet may also be attributed to the difficulty in access to food at the market.

Before and after working hours, it is probable the Cox slaves could be found along the coast fishing. According to Packwood, "during the early years of slavery, slaves washed their clothes in the ocean and often found themselves pulling in fish with the clothes" (1975:89). Whether or not this was still the case during the late eighteenth, early nineteenth centuries is uncertain. Even so, fish is believed to have been a wise food source for rationing to slaves due to its

accessibility, nutritional and monetary values. Most slaves probably bartered with their extra earnings, in turn for a greater variety in food sources or other fine goods since it was against the law to sell "Goods, Wares, or Merchandize by Negroes" (Bermuda Act of 1779:2) on the island.

Unfortunately, there is no knowledge of any records kept by the Cox family indicating food rationing for the slaves. Perhaps there was no standard system on the island. What little the family could afford with the Captain's income and was available at the time from their private livestock, may have comprised these rationings. This would account for the great dependency on supplementation to the diet.

Two other resources were investigated to better understand the Bermuda slave diet including runaway advertisements and court records stated in the Lefroy Memorials (1932). The runaway advertisements provided physical description of slaves who had absconded on the island. The frequent use of words such as "slim" or "slender" may be a reflection of the poor diet of the Bermudian slave, however it may also be attributed to the fact that the large number of slaves were of African decent and by nature of this build (Windley 1983).

A high rate of food theft was discovered by examining the court records (Lefroy, 1932). This suggests the slaves were not receiving enough food to satisfy a nutritional diet. McKee feels that food theft contributed to the supplementary portion of the slave diet at Flowerdew as well. While slaves were stealing food because they were hungry, they were also making a "social statement". They believed they were obtaining what was rightfully theirs while simultaneously testing the limits of their master's power and control.

Food theft from the Big House kitchen was a likely occurrence at Orange Valley with all but one of the slaves occupied as domestics. Fishing and food theft were probably as common on the island as supplementation through garden plots, foraging in the wild and the raising of livestock was on Tidewater plantations - at least throughout this economically desperate period.

At both Flowerdew and Orange Valley it is obvious the slaves were not simply passive consumers, but actively involved in their own diet. More time was available for extra activity after work hours for the Cox slaves working as domestics, than for the Willcox slaves working the plantation fields. In either case, the diets for all the slaves required supplementation for a their diet to be considered

"sufficient".

## CHAPTER IV.

## CONCLUSIONS

Many important questions remain unanswered regarding how slaves fared in both Virginia and Bermuda. However, by taking a comparative approach to this study of "slave archaeology" a good deal of information has been revealed which may serve as a foundation for further building in the future.

Several elements both internal and external have been examined throughout this thesis including, early history, demographic statistics, economic opportunities, social relations, government ruling, and the physical nature of the island itself. Each area was found to impact the development of the institution of slavery on Bermuda in either a direct or indirect manner.

By closely analyzing these factors a preliminary portrait of slave life on the island could be painted and then viewed in terms of slave living in regions where a wealth of information has already been made available, such as Virginia. The similarities and differences which have been unveiled indicate that Bermudian slaves are likely to have fared better

than their Virginia counterparts. It is important we call to mind that slave living in any part of the world is by no means benevolent, yet in many ways the Bermudian slave benefitted from the situations at hand on the island during the period of study, 1780-1834.

The shift on Bermuda from an agricultural producing land to an island highly dependant upon other economies resulted in a shift from field to domestic labor. The majority of slaves became occupied within master's household. Did this economic shift result in a change in the white Bermudians primary reason for slave ownership? This question remains unanswered. It is possible the ideology behind slave ownership was an outward display of affluence, since profiteering was no longer the first and foremost reason for slave ownership on the island.

One would anticipate an increase in slave sales during a depressed period of unemployment and overpopulation, particularly if the large number of slaves were burdensome to the master. Both the white Bermudian and the overpopulated state of the island would have benefitted from such sales. The demographic statistics, however, indicate Bermudian-born slave numbers were on the increase during this period and many slaveholders possessed their slaves until Emancipation in

1834.

It is possible the white Bermudian viewed their slaves as more than mere objects of possession. Original documents provided by the Cox family indicate their was much more than a simple hierarchal working relationship between members of the Cox family and their slaves. In many cases the slaves were included in family practices. An excerpt from the diary of Laura Ann Bluck, granddaughter of Captain William Cox, paints a descriptive portrait of how the Cox family interacted with their slaves at Orange Valley.

> On Saturday evenings, when the week's work was done and the supper cleared away, the slave family at "Orange Valley" would congregate in the old kitchen on the pine benches which were removed from the work table and placed against the walls. The men were dressed in their best coats and the women in their osnaburg and cotton dresses. Grandmother Cox would enter with the family Bible in order that she would instruct the slaves in their religious duties. Turning to a specific passage grandmother would read aloud for upwards of an hour. The slaves responded as required. After the instruction was completed, bows and curtsies were exchanged as the custom then was. The slave family retired to their house down in the garden, except for Patience who retired to grandmother's bedchamber where she would be near great-grandmother Cox who was infirm and required care. This was in 1821.
>
> On Sundays the family and slaves attended Divine Service together at the old Brackish Pond Church (Cox, 1989).

The diary also mentions that the Cox family allowed Patience to give birth to her daughter, Amanda, within the

comfort of the Big house on April 14, 1820.

After Emancipation, the Cox family hired both Patience and Amanda as estate servants. According to oral descriptions provided by John Cox, several hired servants not originally enslaved by the Cox family, proved to be much more problematic than any slave the family owned prior to 1834. Very few servants remained on staff for any length of time.

Bermudian slaves benefitted from several other situations that were unique to the island. First, there is no mention of an overseer in any descriptive material examined, regarding slavery in Bermuda. Wilkenson supports this by writing, "...the negroes were all personal servants working directly under their master and not under a hired overseer whose business was to get the maximum output from them in a short period" (1973:255). While the position of overseer was becoming less common during the mid-nineteenth century in Virginia, it was still not obsolete and the social gap between master and slave remain much wider.

Second, as many as one-fifth to one-third of the white male population of Bermuda wereworking at sea most months of the year producing a surplus of women responsible for tending to their children as well as supporting and discipling their

slaves. This would have been a difficult task, particularly during this period. The Cox family were among those struggling with this situation of absenteeism.

William Cox, the owner of Orange Valley, was also the Captain of "The Lord Nelson" during the early 1800's. He received only fifteen pounds a month in pay, hardly enough to feed and clothe his slaves, let alone his own family. The Captain's wife, Mary Ann Cox, was left responsible for the estate most months while he was at sea. Family letters indicate that a large portion of the male duties were tended to by an adult male slave named Philip (Cox, 1989:30). Philip was one of the nine slaves which resided as the estate at the time of Emancipation and proved to be a valuable asset.

During a period of "survivalism" for blacks and whites alike on the island, it appears there was little overseeing of slaves and not much time and effort spent by those left responsible for slave supervision or enforcement of severe punishment upon the slaves.

Third, the physical nature of the island, Bermuda, provided several advantages to the slave held in bondage. Climatic conditions here, which are generally mild year-round, allowed for better working conditions for those occupied as

outdoor laborers. The small size of the island was advantageous for slaves visiting friends and relatives who were separated through sales. The island's size, however, was disadvantageous for slave runaways. Recovery of those absconded was a relatively easy task with only twenty-one square miles for retrievers to search.

The land itself, a large limestone rock, proved to be insufficient for agriculture, thus channelling the majority of slaves into an occupation considered of greater prestige by whites and many slaves on the island. According to Suzette Harriette Lloyd, "to till the soil was considered the most demeaning work for any Bermudian slave"(1835). Those slaves laboring in occupations other than the master's household, were often trained in highly skilled positions including vessel piloting and ship building. According to the slave registrations, Philip was occupied as a "Mason" (Appendix A).

Interpretation of the archaeological material recovered from Orange Valley and examined in light of a preliminary architectural survey, suggests the Cox slaves were materially "well-off" in comparison to many rural and urban Tidewater Virginia slaves. It is important to bare in mind however, that the relative wealth of the Cox family was above the average for the island. Devonshire Parish also proved to be

a very elite section of the island. The total estate value in combination with the fact that the Cox family owned almost twice the average number of slaves on the island, is an indication of the family's relative wealth. Orange Valley does not however, prove to be a good representation of all slave sites within the Devonshire Parish, and especially island-wide. Further archaeology must take place on the island before a "model" site can be established.

The material culture of the Cox slaves suggests Bermudian slaves fared better than their Virginia counterparts in regards to slave housing, material goods possessed, their diet, and opportunity to acquire foodstuffs.

Stone construction, the primary material for house building on the island, provided several advantages for Bermuda slaves, not experienced by Tidewater slaves. First, the threat of fire was minimized with the shift from cedar to stone cabins. Although more chimneys in Virginia were built of brick during this period, the structure itself remained less fire resistant (Kelso, 1989). Second, the stone construction provided more durable homes for slaves. Even though limestone is relatively soft and can be sawn into blocks, it hardens over time providing very solid, sturdy structures. Third, the living space was kept cool in the hot

summer months and well insulated during the damp winter months. Internal fires helped to keep the dwelling warm and dry. Even the smallest units possessed a fireplace and bake oven often on two levels. These living conditions promoted better health for slaves and served as an indirect means of protecting one's property. Little evidence exists in the Tidewater region promoting such conditions. In the book, Up From Slavery, Booker T. Washington describes the cabin in which he was born.

> The cabin was without glass windows; it had only openings in the side which let in the light, and also the cold, chilly air of winter. There was a door to the cabin -that is, something that was called a door- but the uncertain hinges by which it was hung, and the large cracks in it, to say nothing of the fact that it was too small, made the room a very uncomfortable one...There was no wooden floor in our cabin, the naked earth being used as a floor.

There is little evidence to support an underlying, organized philosophy of strengthened control through new designs of slave housing in Bermuda. With the island facing economic depression and too many slaves existing with little work to do, there appears to be no increased emphasis in the area of slave supervision, or no new need to dominate slaves during daytime work hours and private time. In fact the opposite was occurring in Bermuda - greater freedom for slaves.

There existed a much more defined realm of privacy between the two social groups housed under the same roof in Virginia, than in Bermuda. Little communication within the Big house, and separate entrances to the attic or cellar areas suggest this. While a few of the cellar quarters in Bermuda are believed to have had private entrances for the slaves only, the majority did not. Earlier passages quoted from the Bluck diary provide insight, regarding the interaction between the master and the slaves within the Orange Valley house. Communication as well as education appear to be characteristic of the interrelations between the Cox slaves and their masters.

Careful analysis of the ceramic assemblage from Orange Valley suggest the Cox slaves spent more on higher quality vessels and less on utilitarian type vessels. This is perhaps a reflection of the slave's desire to satisfy their love of finery. Lloyd has written, "I am sorry to observe the extraordinary vanity of dress displayed by some of the black women. I am told they will make any sacrifice to gratify their love of finery"(1835:30). Perhaps high expenditure on teawares is also a reflection of the slave's opportunity to mimic their master's status.

The fact that Captain William Cox had greater access and

purchasing power as a master mariner than most Bermuda slaveholders, may account for the fact that expenditure was much higher than anticipated at Orange Valley and in comparison to the Valentine site. Several letters to his wife mention the fine wares he purchased for his family which may have served as rewards or gifts for his slaves.

Individual pieces of ceramics, or hand-me-downs, from the Orange Valley assemblage may be an explanation for the Cox slaves possessing high quality wares. It is also believed the slaves had some purchasing power of their own, which may have played an even greater role than the hand-me-downs. As slave owners on the island prided themselves with owning a number of slaves even during their poorest years, slaves prided themselves on owning materials finer than their fellow slaves. The Bermudian slave, not bound to a particular system of labor, frequently saved their earnings and either purchased or bartered for fine wares when sent to the market for their master's purposes. There was probably greater opportunity for such activities to take place on the island with a great lack of slave supervision during this stressful period.

Interpretations made from the faunal analysis indicate the plantation communities at Flowerdew Hundred were eating a more nutritious diet than the slaves at Orange Valley with a

wide variety of wild and domestic animals in close range. This is truly difficult to determine at this point in time utilizing such a small sample size where large portions of the slave diet may be underrepresented. Future research of both historic documents and additional archaeological sites in Bermuda will hopefully provide the valuable information needed regarding the types and quantities of food native to the island and imported from other areas. This is another entire area of study wide open to researchers today.

The faunal material does however, provide insight as to how important the role food plays within the master-slave relationship. At both Orange Valley and Flowerdew, the slaves were getting by on a "bare sufficiency" of food from their owners. On the plantation, it was the master's goal to keep the cost of slave support to a minimum so that profits could be maximized. At the same time, the owner's felt it was in their best interest to keep their chattel well-fed. Only a healthy slave could be an efficiently productive slave - a worthy return on an investment. In Bermuda, a healthy slave was a prized piece of property and ownership was likely to be a matter of pride and a reflection of the slaveowner's social status. Torn between their own desires and economic concerns, most slaveowners turned the other way and simply ignored the

slave's means of supplementing their diet.

Deprivation of adequate nutrition for slaves on the island was largely the result of the island's economic state. Many whites were struggling to afford food for themselves. It was probably not uncommon to find the slaveowner at times taking advantage of their slave's supplemented food resources. Purchasing food from one's own slave would again, narrow the social gap between the master and the slave in a struggle for survivalism.

Overall, control in the area of food supplies by the slaveowner, was minimal at both Orange Valley and Flowerdew Hundred. The responsibility of food for slaves weakened the tightly, constrained social setting owner's intended for their property. Both slave populations worked hard to take advantage of their master's weakness in this area, while simultaneously exercising their right for independence.

This study serves as a basis for what remains to be researched particularly in the area of cross-regional analysis. Application of this type of research strategy has made it possible to unveil many similarities and differences between two regions born of the same mother country. The

social behaviors which appear to be the direct result of human objectification, are generally internal elements linked to the existence of the institution of slavery. These variables are characterized by creative, subtle, devious acts which are performed by slaves asserting their power with hopes to obtain that which has been limited or denied to them, particularly those elements which are necessary for everyday living.

Many of the social behaviors of slaves can also be directly related to their struggle for freedom. Possessing humans as objects in bondage and stripping them of spirit, self and human dignity, is both inhumane and unjust in any region. It is not surprising to learn many social similarities exist wherever slavery has been institutionalized, regardless of the conditions for living or degree of suffering inflicted. Food theft, illegal sale or theft of material goods, and absconding at the risk of the master's punishment were similar traits of both slave populations.

Many of the social differences between the two regions appear to be directly linked to external factors such as demographics, economic opportunity and geographic conditions on the island. By bringing together interpretations made

regarding both the internal and external elements, a conclusion has been drawn. Slave conditions appear to have existed "milder" in Bermuda than those conditions of slave living in Virginia.

While future archaeology in this particular area of study may either support or refute the hypothesis that Bermudian slaves fared better than their Virginia counterparts, whatever the differences that are found will prove to be minuscule in comparison to the similarities. For both populations endured a social system that robbed them of freedom and human dignity which dwarf the importance of material possession.

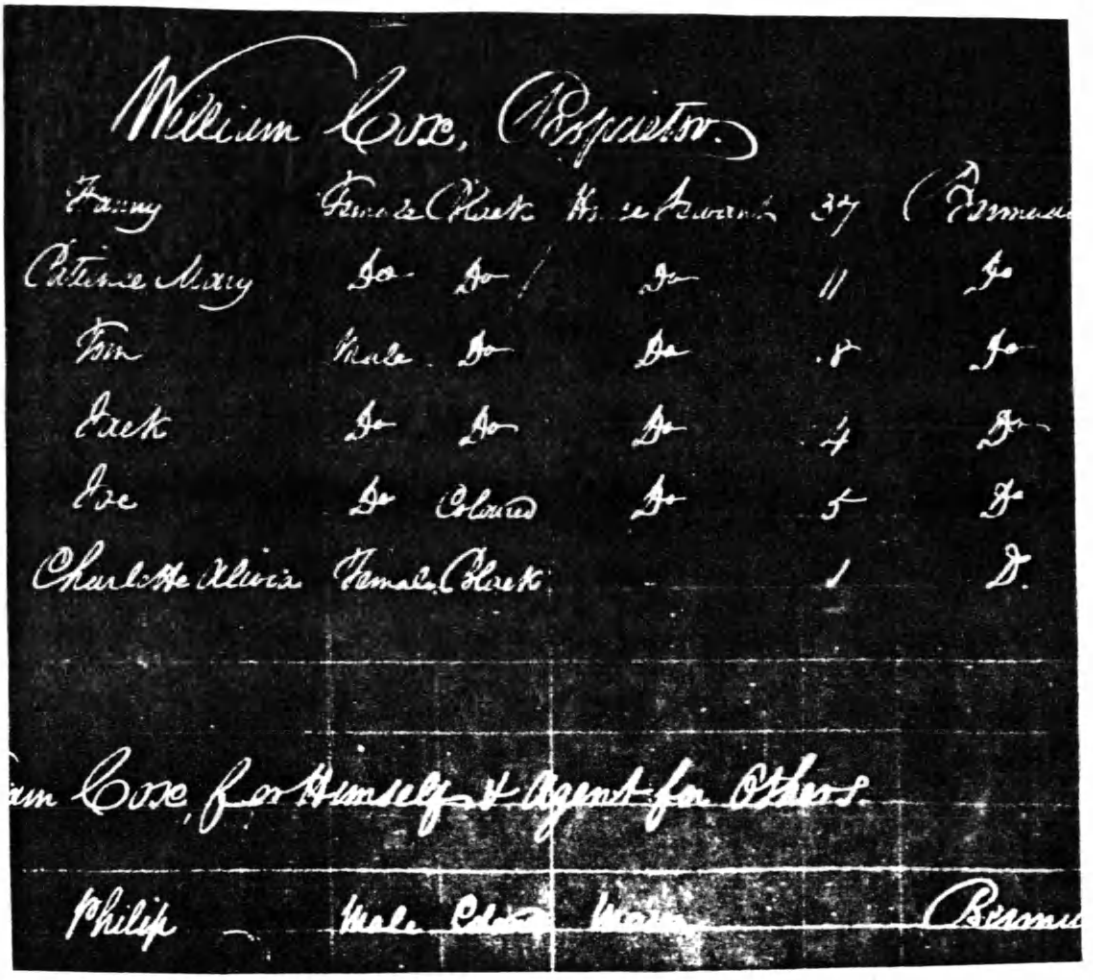
## APPENDIX A.

List of slaves known to be living at "Orange Valley", the estate of Captain William Cox in 1821. This list was taken from the diary of Laura A. Bluck and reproduced in The History of the Cox Family in Bermuda 1620-1980. by John William Cox.

A woman named Fanny, aged 35.
A woman named Sue, aged about 40, from the estate of Captain Milner Cox, deceased, father of Captain William Cox.
A man named Philip, aged about 40, from the estate of Captain Milner Cox, above.
A girl named Patience, born December 1808. Purchased in 1809.
A boy named Tom, son of Fanny, above, born August 1812.
A boy named Joe Smith, son of Sue, above, born May 1815.
A boy named Jack, son of Fanny, above, born May 1815.
An infant girl named Charlotte Amanda, daughter of Fanny, above, born April 1820.
Edward, son of Patience, born 21st October 1827.
Hannah, daughter of Patience, born 6th February 1831.
Thomas Louis, son of Charlotte Amanda born 3rd December 1838. He was born free.
Philip died of consumption in April 1821.

Sue was freed on the death of Mrs. Esther Cox, widow of Captain Milner Cox, in 1824.
Fanny was freed about 1830.
Patience, Tom, Joe, Charlotte Amanda, Edward and Hannah were emancipated by Act of Imperial Parliment 1st August 1834.

## Appendix A.



William Cox, Proprietor.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Fanny | Female | Black | House Servant | 37 | Virginia |
| Catherine Mary | Do | Do | Do | 11 | Do |
| Tom | Male | Do | Do | 8 | Do |
| Erick | Do | Do | Do | 4 | Do |
| Ike | Do | Colored | Do | 5 | Do |
| Charlotte Alicia | Female | Black | | 1 | Do |

Wm Cox, for Himself & Agent for Others.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Philip | Male | Colored | Waiter | Virginia |

# APPENDIX B

| MATERIAL | WARE TYPE | OBJECT | FRAG. TYPE | DECORATION | GLAZE | COLOR | QUANTITY |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ceramic | Porcellaneos | Jar | Base | Undecor | | | 1 |
| Ceramic | White Ware | | Body | | | | 8 |
| Ceramic | Annular Ware | Bowl | Rim-2 | | | | 3 |
| | | | Base-1 | | | | |
| C | Annular Ware | | Rim | | | | 1 |
| | White Ware | | Body | Hand-Paint | Under | | 1 |
| | Slip Ware | Mug? | Handle | | Pb | Yellow | |
| | Bone China | Tea Cup | Base | | | | 1 |
| | Bone China | Tea Cup | Base | Molded | | | 1 |
| | Porcellaneos | | Body | Curved | | | 1 |
| | Cream Ware | Punch Bowl | Base | | | | 1 |
| | White Ware | Basin | Rim | Incised | | | 5 |
| | White Ware | Plate | Base | | | | 3 |
| | White Ware | Saucer | Rim | Molded | | | 1 |
| | White Ware | Plate/Soup B | Rims | Scalloped | | | 2 |
| | White Ware | | Body | | | | 4 |
| | White Ware | Plate/Saucer | Base | | | | 1 |
| | Pearlware | Plate/Saucer | Base | | | | 1 |
| | White Ware | Tea Bowl | Body | Trans-Print | Under | Black | 1 |
| | Pearlware | Plate | Rims | Trans-Print | Under | Blue | 2 |
| | White ware | Plate | Rims | TP | Under | Blue | 3 |
| | White Ware | | Body | TP | Under | Blue | 8 |
| | White Ware | Tea Bowl | Rims | TP | Under | Blue | 3 |
| | Stoneware | Bottle | Body | Stamped | Salt | | 1 |
| | | | | Wheel Thrown | | | |
| Ceramic | White Ware | | Body | | | | |
| C | White Ware | | Body | Hand-Painted | Under | Blue | |
| | Stoneware | | Base (sm) | | | | |
| | Yellow Ware | | Body | Annular | | | |
| Ceramic | White Ware | | Body | | | | |
| Ceramic | Delft | | Body | Hand-Painted | Under | Blue | |
| C | Delft | | Base | Undecor | | | 1 |
| | Pearlware | Bowl | Base | Hand-Painted | Under | Blue | 1 |
| | White Ware | Cup | Handle | Molded Lines | | | 2 |
| Ceramic | Delft | | Body | Hand-Painted | Under | Blue | 1 |
| C | White Ware | | Body | Hand-Painted | Under | Blue | 1 |
| | Pearlware | Bowl | Base | Hand-Painted | | | 1 |
| | Cream Ware | Plate | Body | Undecor | | | 3 |
| Ceramic | Porcellaneos | Flower Pot | Base | Drain Hole | | | 5 |
| C | White Ware | Plate | Base | | | | 4 |
| | Cream Ware | Plate | Rim | | | | 1 |

| MATERIAL | WARE TYPE | OBJECT | FRAG. TYPE | DECORATION | GLAZE | COLOR | QUANTITY |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ceramic | Stoneware | Bottle | Body | Makers Mark | | | 8 |
| | Stoneware | Bottle | Body | | | | 1 |
| Ceramic | Pearlware | Plate | Rim | Shell-edge | | Green | 2 |
| | Yellow Ware | Jug | Body | | | | 3 |
| | B-G Redware | Bowl | Rim | | | | 1 |
| | White Ware? | | Body | Common Cable | | | 1 |
| | Fulham Brown | Bottle | Body | | | | 1 |
| | White Ware | Plate | Body | | | | 5 |
| | White Ware | Tea Cup/Bowl | | Trans-Print | Under | Green | 1 |
| | White Ware | Bowl | Rim | Hand-Painted Annular | Over Under | Polychrome | 1 |
| | White Ware | | Body | Hand-Painted | Under | Polychrome | 2 |
| | White Ware | Tea Cup | Rim | Banded | Under | Brown | 1 |
| | White Ware | | Body | Trans-Print | Under | Blue | 13 |
| | White Ware | Saucer | Rim | Trans-Print | Under | Blue | 1 |
| | Pearlware | Plate | Base | Trans-Print | Under | Blue | 1 |
| | White Ware | Tea Cup | Rim | Sprigging | | Blue | 1 |
| | Pearlware | Pitcher | Rim/Handle | Trans-Print | Under | Blue | 1 |
| | White Ware | Saucer | Base | Trans-Print | Under | Blue | 1 |
| | White Ware | Plate | Base | Undecor | | | 1 |
| | White Ware | | Body | Undecor | | | 1 |
| | Pearlware | Plate | Base | Undercut | | | 2 |
| | Pearlware | | Body | | | | 3 |
| | Pearlware | Tankard | Rim-Base | Banded | | | 1 |
| | White Ware | Tankard | Base | Mocha Type Banded | Under | Brown | 1 |
| | White ware | | Rim | Engine-Turn Hand-painted Undecor | | | 1 |
| | White Ware | Lid | | Hand-Painted | Under | Polychrome | 1 |
| | White Ware | Bowl | Rim-1 Body-1 | Trans-Print | Under | Blue | 2 |
| | White Ware | Tea Cup | Rims | Trans-Print | Under | Blue | 2 |
| | White Ware | Tea Cup | Rim-2 Body-1 | Trans-Print | Under | Blue | 3 |
| | White Ware | Plate | Body | Blue Willow | | | 2 |
| | White Ware | Plate/Saucer | Rim | Blue willow | | | 2 |
| Cermaic | Fulham | Bottle | Body/Should | | | | 1 |
| | B-G Redware | Plate-Pie | Rim-2 Body-1 | | | | 3 |
| | White Ware | Plate | Body | Trans-Print Makers mark | Under | Green | 2 |
| | Yellow Ware | Bowl | Body | Banded | | Blue | 1 |
| | Flow Blue | Tankard | Base | Engine-Turn | | | 1 |
| | Flow Blue | Bowl | Rim | Scalloped | | | 1 |
| | White Ware | Tea Cup | Rim | Trans-Print | Under | Blue | 1 |
| | White Ware | Bowl | Body | Trnas-Print | Under | Blue | 5 |
| | White Ware | Saucer | Body | Trans-Print | Under | Blue | 1 |

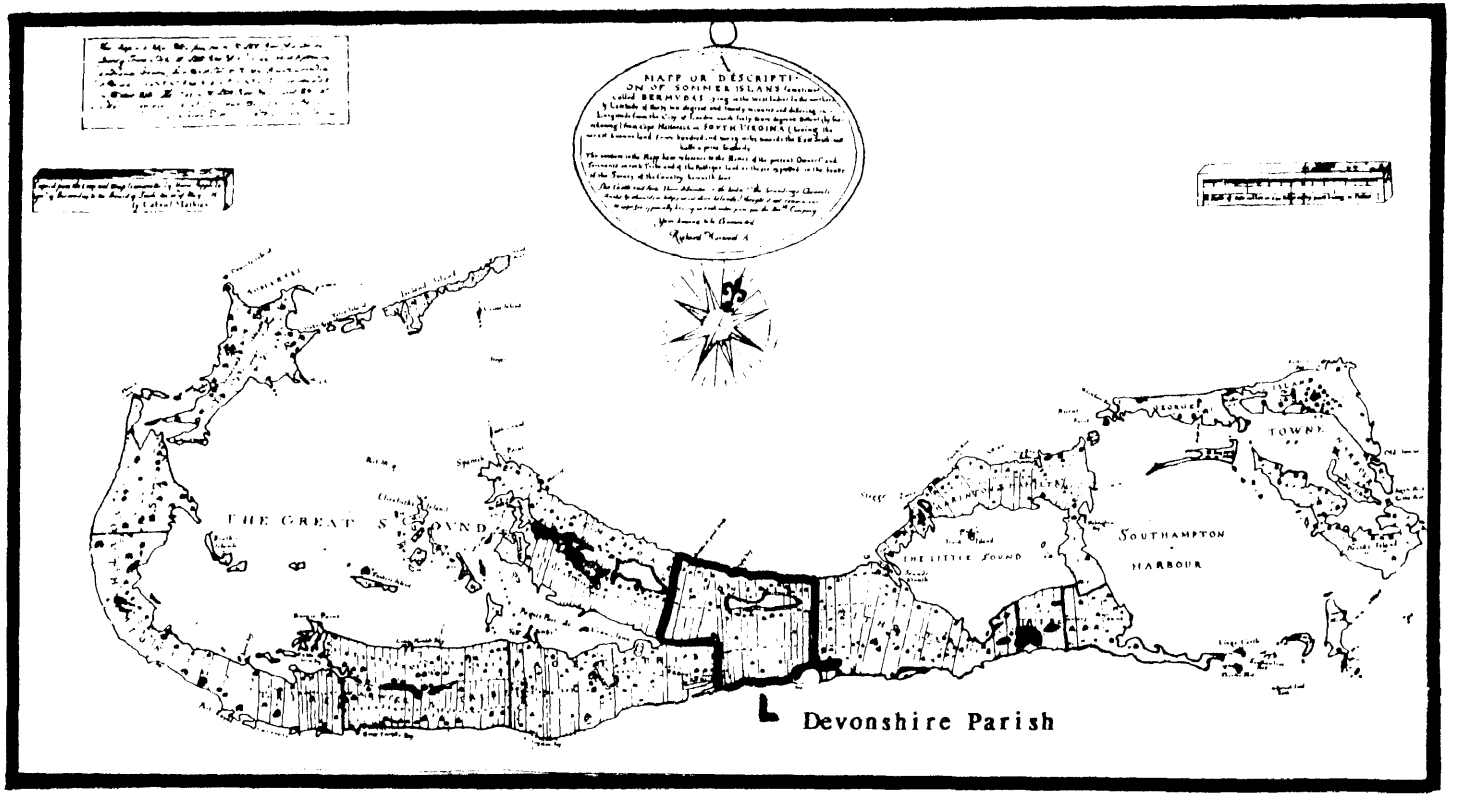
| MATERIAL | WARE TYPE | OBJECT | FRAG. TYPE | DECORATION | GLAZE | COLOR | QUANTITY |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ceramic | White Ware | Bowl | Body | Trans-Print | Under | Red | 1 |
| | White Ware | Tea Cup/Bowl | Rim | Trans-Print | Under | Green | 1 |
| | White Ware | Saucer | Rim | Hand-Painted | Under | Red | 1 |
| | White Ware | Pot/Bowl | Base (lg) | | | | 1 |
| | Pearlware | Saucer | Base | Undercut | | | 1 |
| | Pearlware | | Body | | | | 2 |
| | White Ware | | Body | | | | 5 |
| | White WAre | Cup | Body | Hand-Painted | Under | Blue | 3 |
| | White Ware | Chamber Pot | Handle | | | | 3 |
| | White Ware | Plate | Rim | Trans-Print | Under | Blue | 1 |
| | White Ware | | Handle | Trans-Print | Under | Blue | 1 |
| | White Ware | Bowl | Body | | | | 5 |
| | White Ware | Saucer | Base | Trans-Print | Under | Blue | 1 |
| | White Ware | Tea Cup | Base | Molded | | | |
| | | | | Incising | | | 1 |
| | White Ware | Tea Cup | Body | Trans-Print | Under | Blue | 1 |
| | White Ware | Tea Bowl | Base | Trans-Print | Under | Blue | 1 |
| | White Ware | Tea Bowl | Rim | Trans-Print | Under | Blue | 1 |
| | White Ware | | Body | Trans-Print | Under | Blue | 2 |
| | White Ware | Stainer | Rim | Incised-Hole | Under | | |
| | | | | Trans-Print | | Blue | 1 |
| | White Ware | Plate/Saucer | Base | Makers Mark | Under | | |
| | | | | Trans-Print | | Blue | 1 |
| | Bone China | Tea Cup | Rim | Hand-Painted | Over | Polychrome | 1 |
| | Yellow Ware | Bowl | Rim-6 | Banded | | | 10 |
| | | | Body-3 | | | | |
| | | | Base-1 | | | | |
| | Yellow Ware | Tankard? | Body/Handle | Ribbing | Under | Blue | |
| | | | | Mocha Type | | Brown | |
| | | | | Banded | | | |
| | Creamware | Plate/Muffin | Rim | Banded | Over | | 1 |
| | Pearlware | | Body | Undecor | | | 1 |
| | White Ware | | Body | | | | 10 |
| | Creamware | Chamber Pot | Handle | | | | 2 |
| | Flow Blue | Bowl | Base | | Int/Ext | | 1 |
| | White Ware | Plate | Rim | Trans-Print | Under | Blue | 4 |
| | | | | Scalloped | | | |
| | White Ware | Plate | Rim | Trans-Print | Under | Blue | 1 |
| | | | | Plain | | | |
| | White Ware | Saucer | Rim | Trans-Print | Under | Blue | 2 |
| | White Ware | Bowl | Rim | Trans-Print | Under | Blue | 1 |
| | Pearlware | Plate | Rims | Shell-edge | | Blue | 6 |
| | Pearlware | Plate | Rims | Blue Willow | | | 5 |
| | | | | Frazackly | | | |
| | Pearlware | Saucer | Base | Blue Willow | | | 1 |
| | | | | Undercut | | | |
| | White Salt-G | | Body | | | | |
| | Fulham Brown | Bottle | Body-2 | | | | |
| | | | Neck-1 | | Salt | | 3 |
| | Fulham Brown | Bottle | Body | Incising | Salt | | 1 |
| | Stoneware | Bottle | Body-3 | | Salt | | 4 |
| | | | Neck-1 | | | | |

| MATERIAL | WARE TYPE | OBJECT | FRAG. TYPE | DECORATION | GLAZE | COLOR | QUANTITY |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ceramic | Pearlware | Bowl | Base-Rim | | | | 6 |
| Ceramic | White Ware | Plate | Base | Maker's Mark | | | |
| | | | | Trans-Print | Under | Green | 5 |
| C | White Ware | Tea Bowl | Rim | Trans-Print | Under | Red | 1 |
| | Pearlware | Plate | Rim | Trans-Print | Under | Green | 1 |
| | Bone China | Saucer | Base | | | | 1 |
| | Cream Ware | Saucer | Rim | Banded | | | 1 |
| | Pearlware | Plate | Base | Undercut | | | 1 |
| | Pearlware | | Body | Undecor | | | 1 |
| | White Ware | Bakers Oval | Base | | | | 1 |
| | White Ware | | Body | | | | 1 |
| | White Ware | Plate | Rim | Scalloped | | | 1 |
| | White Ware | Plate | Rim | Blue Willow | | | 3 |
| | | | | Frazackly | | | |
| | White Ware | Plate | Base | Blue Willow | | | 2 |
| | White Ware | Saucer | Rim | Trans-Print | Under | Blue | 3 |
| | White Ware | Tea Cup/Bowl | Rim | Trans-Print | Under | Blue | 2 |
| | White Ware | Saucer | Base | Trans-Print | Under | Blue | 1 |
| | White Ware | Saucer | Base | Trans-Print | Under | Blue | 1 |
| | White Ware | | Body | Trans-Print | Under | Blue | 3 |
| | Pearlware | | Body | Trans-Print | Under | Blue | 2 |
| | Pearlware | Plate | Rim-1 | Blue Willow | Under | | 2 |
| | | | Base-1 | Frazackly | | | |
| | Pearlware | Lid | Rims | Trans-Print | Under | Blue | 2 |
| | Yellow Ware | Cup | Handle | | | | 1 |
| | White Ware | Cup | Body | London Form | | | 1 |
| | White Ware | | Body | Banded | Under | Gold | 1 |
| | White Ware | Cup | Rim | Banded | Over | Brown | 1 |
| Ceramic | White Ware | Bowl | Rims | Annular | Under | Polychrome | |
| | | | | Hand-Painted | | | 5 |
| | White Ware | Tea Pot | Body | Annular | Under | Polychrome | |
| | | | | Hand-Painted | | | 1 |
| | White Ware | Tea Pot | Base (lg) | Annular | Over | Polychrome | |
| | | | | Hand-Painted | Under | | 1 |
| | White Ware | Tea Pot | Body-1 | Annular | Under | Polychrome | |
| | | | Base-1 | Hand-Painted | | | 2 |
| | | | | Stamp-Star | | | |
| | White Ware | Bowl | Base | Annular | Over | Polychrome | |
| | | | | Hand-Painted | Under | | 1 |
| | White Ware | Lid | Rim | Hand-Painted | Under | | |
| | | | | Band-Annular | | | 1 |
| | White Ware | Can | Base | Hand-Painted | Under | | |
| | | | | Molded-Rim | | | |
| | | | | Annular | | | 1 |
| | Pearlware | Bowl | Base-Rim | Trans-Print | Under | Red | 1 |
| | White Ware | Plate | Body | Trans-Print | Under | Green | 1 |

| MATERIAL | WARE TYPE | OBJECT | FRAG. TYPE | DECORATION | GLAZE | COLOR | QUANTITY |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ceramic | White ware | Saucer | Rim | Trans-Print | Under | Blue | 3 |
| | Creamware | Cup | Rim | Undecor | | | 1 |
| | Pearlware | | Body | | | | 2 |
| | Pearlware | | Rim | Shell-edge | | Blue | 1 |
| | White Ware | | Body | | | | 8 |
| | White Ware | Plate | Rim | Trans-Print Frazackly | Under | Blue | 1 |

Appendix C

# MAP OF BERMUDA



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# VITA

## Margaret Mary Bellhorn

I was born in Detroit, Michigan on October 29, 1965. I attended Novi High School until graduation in 1983 and then continued my education at Michigan State University where I received a bachelors degree in Anthropology in 1987. While attending Michigan State, I studied abroad at London University and Cambridge University in a Forensic Anthropology foreign study program during the summer of 1987. I entered the Masters program in Anthropology (emphasizing Historic Archaeology) at the College of William and Mary in the fall of 1988.

Upon completion of the coarsework, I became employed by the Bermuda National Trust in archaeology and simultaneously conducted by thesis research for my Masters degree.

I was employed at the Henry Ford Museum and Greenfield Village in Dearborn, Michigan for three years as Archive Department Assistant and later as Registrar Assistant until June, 1991.

I am currently employed by the Program for Cultural Resource Assessment, University of Kentucky as Archaeology Laboratory Director.