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An Archaeological Survey of Bettie's Hope Estate

Catherine M. Christensen

College of William & Mary - Arts & Sciences

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AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF BETTIE'S HOPE ESTATE

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Anthropology

The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

by

Catherine M. Christensen

2003
APPROVAL SHEET

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

Master of Arts

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acknowledgments</th>
<th>iv</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>List of Figures</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 1. Sugar Plantations of the British West Indies</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 2. Colonial Life in Antigua</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 3. The Owners of Bettie's Hope Estate</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 4. The Plantation Model for British West Indian Plantations</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 5. Preliminary Survey at Bettie's Hope Estate</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 6. Bettie's Hope Estate Within the Plantation Model</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 7. Conclusion</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vita</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. The Caribbean</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Southeastern United States Plantation Maps</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Southeastern United States Plantation Maps</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Plantation Estate House</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4a. British West Indian Plantation Estate House</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Black Slave Group</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. The Southern British Caribbean</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. English Harbor, Antigua</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Codrington Family Tree</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Folly’s Estate</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Island of Barbuda</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. British West Indian Industrial Complex</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. British West Indian Sugar Plantation Map</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. British West Indian Sugar Plantation Map</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. British West Indian Sugar Plantation Map</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. British West Indian Sugar Factory Layout</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. British West Indian T-shaped Estate House</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. British West Indian Estate Village Near Factory</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. British West Indian Estate Village Near Great House</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Symmetry of British West Indian Plantation Plan</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Clements’ Survey Site of Bettie’s Hope Estate Slave Village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Preliminary Survey Map for Christensen (1999)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Water Cistern at Bettie’s Hope Estate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>Stone ruins of the Sugar Works</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>Interior View of the Still House of Bettie’s Hope Estate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>Interior View of the Still House of Bettie’s Hope Estate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>Exterior View of the Still House of Bettie’s Hope Estate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>Southern Mill with Overseer’s House of Bettie’s Hope Estate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>Manager’s House of Bettie’s Hope Estate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>Groom’s House of Bettie’s Hope Estate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>Porter’s Map of Bettie’s Hope Estate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>Cut Stone Floors Near the Cistern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td>Stone Foundation of an Early Sugar Mill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34.</td>
<td>Stone Foundation of an Early Sugar Works Building</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35.</td>
<td>Bettie’s Hope Estate Great House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36.</td>
<td>Goodwin’s Map of Bettie’s Hope Estate (1988)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37.</td>
<td>Sugar Mill from Early 20th Century</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td>Restored Mill at Bettie’s Hope Estate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39.</td>
<td>Location of the Third Cemetery near Bettie’s Hope Estate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40.</td>
<td>Architect’s Drawing of Sugar Works from 1780</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41.</td>
<td>Architect’s Drawing of Sugar Works from 1780</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42.</td>
<td>Architectural Detail of Still House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43.</td>
<td>Stone Window Frame from Still House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44.</td>
<td>Architectural Detail of Still House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45.</td>
<td>Clapham’s Map of Bettie’s Hope Estate (1755)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46.</td>
<td>Halloran’s Drawing of Bettie’s Hope Estate (1778)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47.</td>
<td>Great House of Bettie’s Hope Estate (1900)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48.</td>
<td>West Side of Great House Buff at Bettie’s Hope Estate (1900)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49.</td>
<td>Sugar Works at Bettie’s Hope Estate (1900)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ABSTRACT

Historical archaeology of the British West Indies is in its infancy. Most excavations in the past have been done by amateur archaeologists in an attempt to understand the history which surrounds them in the islands. The island of Antigua has a rich background of history and local interest in the material culture of that history. The first extensive investigations of a sugar plantation by an archaeological researcher have been done at Betty’s Hope Estate in the Parish of St. Peter. Betty’s Hope is unique for its association with the Codrington Papers which provide over 8000 documents related to this plantation during its long ownership by the Codrington family of England. This research has provided the data to allow for the creation of a preliminary database of sugar plantation sites for this British West Indian island.
AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF BETTIE’S HOPE ESTATE
Chapter 1

Sugar Plantations of the British West Indies

The British were late colonizers of the islands of the West Indies. Thomas Warner, disappointed with the colony in South America, is credited with successfully settling the first British island colony at St. Kitts in 1624 (Hamshere 1972:27). They soon branched out from this first island, especially after the establishment of sugar production. The British colonial islands were Jamaica, Bahamas, some of the Virgin Islands, Anguilla, St. Kitts, Nevis, Antigua and Barbuda, Montserrat, Dominica, St. Lucia, Barbados, St. Vincent, Trinidad and Tobago (see Figure 1). These small islands were the backbone of overseas income for England despite wide variations in geography and rainfall.

Eurasian, African and New World populations were brought together for the first time with the development of the plantation, a labor intensive form of agriculture for large scale sugar production, and this combination of people was a major factor in the development of a distinctive British West Indian culture largely influenced by Africans and their descendants. The large labor force necessary for sugar production was provided by the importation of African slaves and resulted in the largest migration of people prior to the Industrial Revolution (Curtin 1968:192). Historians have written numerous volumes on the subject of the British West Indies. Historical archaeology’s contribution
Figure 1. The Caribbean region (Island Resource Foundation 1981).
to this historiography has provided expanded, constructive evidence of a distinct culture of which only pieces are left of their belongings for us to study. It also provides a link for their descendants to claim a sense of pride in the accomplishments of the men and women who forged a new culture under forced circumstances. The most important contribution that historical archaeology can provide, however, is the important initial step of studying the physical layout, methods of processing and the application of technology on British West Indian plantations. The plantation is a type of local settlement that exists within a larger regional, national and global system. “The role played by individual settlements in a larger socioeconomic system is reflected in their physical structure. A basic element of structure is the overall arrangement, or patterning, of structures and activities at a habitation site and their differential use through time (Lewis 1985:35).” The typical North American plantation settlement was a nucleated village consisting of a cluster of service buildings and slave quarters grouped compactly on roads arranged in a square or rectangle around or near the main house (Prunty 1955:465-6). Waterman and Barrows (1969) defined the eighteenth century English plantation of the Southeastern United States as a settlement centered around the main house and its dependencies (see Figures 2 and 3). Orser (1984:1-2) further defined a North American plantation within the framework of a large landholding with distinct divisions between labor and management, while at the same time engendering a very special relationship between both parties. It specialized in agricultural production and had a large input of cultivating power in a region which had an existing plantation tradition. The distinctive settlement pattern of
the centralized control of the owner over the landscape.

Figure 2. a) Mount Vernon Plantation, often provided as a typical 18th century Southeastern United States plantation layout by researchers (from Lewis 1985:39); b) Middleton Place Plantation provides another example of 18th century plantation layout showing structures and landscape features (from Lewis 1985:43).
Figure 3. a) A plan of the main house and dependencies at Mount Vernon Plantation (from Lane 1987:75); b) Carter’s Grove Plantation main house and dependencies (from Lane 1987:51). These plans are provided to show the typical layout of the main house and dependencies of Southeastern United States plantations in the 18th century.
The central question to archaeological investigation into British West Indian plantations is: do all plantation sites in the New World have the same settlement pattern, and therefore do they function the same way not only for economic transactions but also for cultural and political interaction? The plantation complexes could be considered part of the modern world system, the local manifestations of which may vary considerably, and provide a new level of archaeological interpretation of colonial West Indian sites. The concept of the plantation within the British colonial landscape would add historical contingency, geographical connections and local variation to a plantation research model.

Little comprehensive investigation has been completed and published (however see: Agorsah 2000, Barka 1998; Clement 1997; Delle 1998, 1996, 1989; Pulsipher 1991; Armstrong 1990, 1985; Armstrong and Kelly 1990) on the Caribbean plantation to provide an adequate database for comparing plantations within the islands, let alone between West Indian plantations and their North American counterparts. A distinct culture emerged in the British West Indies during the colonial period. North American models provide a place to begin archaeological investigations but they should not be strictly applied to these sites. A separate Caribbean model should be developed that encompasses the multitude of factors which created an unique culture in the islands.

**British West Indian Culture and Social Structure**

What is used to determine ‘culture’ on a plantation site? Archaeologists use artifacts, architecture, documents, burials and ethnographic research to examine the peoples of the past. The data received from an examination of the evidence is then
constructed into a picture of the West Indian sugar plantation and the culture that arose within the confines of it. However, it must be remembered that archaeology contains its own biases that affect what information is recovered and how it is interpreted. For example, Handler and Lange (1978) literally stumbled across a graveyard at Newton's Plantation on Barbados. Handler and another team then attempted to find slave graveyards at several other plantations using a sampling technique they had designed based on their previous experience and ethnographic research (Handler, Conner and Jacobi 1989). They were unsuccessful. More information could have been extracted perhaps with the right questions, such as asking if there were any fields of lilies (used to mark graves when markers were not allowed by the owner) instead of asking if anyone had seen any bones in the area. Their interest in searching out the graves of the slaves reflects the current fascination (and funding) in archaeology for slave research (Clement 1997:103). The West Indian sugar plantation was a complex type of settlement that needs a complete investigation of the site—not just that of the slaves.

The factors which attributed to a distinct culture in the British West Indies were the plantation itself since social relations within the traditional British West Indian plantation community were determined by the economic organization that governed production, including the system of ownership, the presence of other whites, and black slaves. But the culture was more than the plantation. The islands had a strong military presence both on land and at sea. There was also a community of blacks which did not fit into the usual category for Africans and their descendants in a slaveholding society.
These were the black plantation owners, the free skilled tradesmen and businessmen, and the black slave soldiers.

The purpose of this paper is to compare two societies within which there were ethnic and physical differences carrying social significance and to consider what other factors might be responsible for the differences in social structure which emerged in North American and British West Indian plantations. The attempt would be disappointing, however, if it merely confirmed existing hypotheses. Is there really a lesson to be learned not only in what distinguished the British Caribbean from the rest of the world, but in what distinguished the islands from each other? The Caribbean, it is often said, is a natural laboratory. The ratio of different races, the history of conquest, the different cultures and religions of the colonial powers, economic factors, and terrain— all of these factors contributed to the differences which illuminate the topic of cultural development. It is the combination of these and other factors that gives each society its peculiar flavor; no one can take one factor, such as racial ratios, and draw a smooth curve, illustrating its effect on social relations, which hold good for both the Southern States and the Caribbean islands.

Studying other cultures means identifying that an unique culture exists. There emerged from the forced circumstances of the islands a distinct culture. The African slaves came into contact only with a debased backwater from the mainstream of European culture; the owners of the larger estates were usually absentees and their representatives, the agents and lesser planters, were in general socially, educationally, and morally below
the standards of people in the metropolitan society who held comparable positions. Thus the search for a cultural pedigree, the desire for roots in a past that is not derived from the former masters, is stronger in the Caribbean than anywhere else in the world.

The West Indian social order, however stressful, displays no rigid polarities but rather a continuum within which individuals occupy a variety of shifting positions. More explicitly, I aim to explain how the British West Indian island of Antigua and its people became what they are, to show what makes them unique or ordinary, and to describe how they get on with one another and with the world outside. Black West Indians perhaps have less need of racial expression; never a racial minority, they have not suffered the ghetto experience of black Americans. Because of prevalent absenteeism “it was, in brief, virtually impossible for the slaves—themselves depersonalized—to personalize hatreds, which thus remained hopelessly diffuse (Craton and Walvin 1970:150).” West Indian social relationships are hierarchical in structure and European in focus. White and nonwhite alike viewed the imperial connection not as a shackle but as a support; independence would threaten their view of the world and their place in it.

**Plantocracy**

There were keen territorial rivalries, to be sure, and there remains much local ignorance about Caribbean neighbors. But linkages of persons, things, and ideas have persisted throughout West Indian history and lend the whole realm a special unity. The connections are truly Caribbean in character: they link all these territories and extend beyond them only where West Indians have settled en masse. Another quality that West
Indian societies share is a sense of artificiality, of owing less to natural growth that to deliberate manufacture. This feeling stems from two historical circumstances: the early eradication of practically all the indigenous peoples and the absence of any deep attachment among newcomers. Since the Indians left little of their culture to be blended into colonial culture, the only remembered West Indian past is that of the newcomers. This sense of only a recent history highlights the essentially alien quality felt to characterize much of the life in the West Indies. The Caribbean developed no indigenous tradition not only for lack of Indians but also because most settlers came not to live but merely to make a living—or to enrich others. English settlers acquired the Spanish practice of viewing these locales not as dwelling places but only as sources of fortune. Few estate owners and their families forged lasting bonds with the land or the people of their plantations.

Figure 4. Bettie’s Hope Estate, Antigua. A drawing by Peter Halloran in 1778 when he visited the estate. The large structure in the middle is the Estate House which shows no elaborate architecture or adornment (from Carstensen 1993:cover).
Instead of gold the English produced sugar. Sugar and slaves became a smoothly functioning machine capable of almost indefinite continuation. The English planter was also a machine for making money. The wealthy West Indian was a common figure of the eighteenth century, but the money he made flowed back to London. He spent lavishly in Europe, not in the West Indies. With few exceptions, plantation Estate Houses were great only by contrast with the slave huts and barracks (see Figure 4); European visitors found them bleak barns, minimally adorned, sparsely furnished, and subject to swift decay (Dunn 1972:288-289).

Elsewhere in America from Brazil to Maryland plantation slavery also flourished, but its impact was nowhere so pervasive as in the Caribbean. West Indian physical landscapes, social structures, and ways of life are in large measure sugar plantation by-products. Sugar not only caused Caribbean territories to resemble each another; it substantially unified them. “The boom-and-bust style of sugar making helps to explain why Englishmen in the Caribbean tended to behave differently from Englishmen at home or in mainland America (Dunn 1972:189)” West Indian planters, Pan-European in origin, were equally at home in any territory. Moreover, they frequently moved about the Caribbean. Along with the continuous flux of people goes a general community of culture, ideas, and institutions.

Tobacco and other previous crops required intensive cultivation but only small outlays for processing and labor; a family could economically run a farm with a few indentured servants. By contrast, sugar could be grown extensively with little expertise
but was perishable and had to be processed immediately. The island sugar plantation was

Figure 4a. An example of a Great House in Jamaica which has been modified in the 20th century (H. Mack, personal collection).
an industrial complex as well as an agricultural one. A sugar factory required a heavy investment in buildings, machinery and skilled labor. Sugar was a rich man's crop: it took a lot of money to acquire the necessary land, equipment and labor (Sheridan 1960:129).

Many affluent estate owners never set foot in the Caribbean; those who succeeded there lost no time returning to England. Colonial planters sent their sons and daughters across the Atlantic for schooling and marriage. Fewer than two out of three ever came back (Long 1774:438 and 511) and many who did came to regret it. This foreign education made most of the West Indians alien to the land where they were born. This resulted in an unconcern for the well-being and prosperity of a country from which they expected only the means to live elsewhere.

Wealthy, upper class families found the Caribbean unfit to live in, so the territories failed to acquire a true elite. In the British West Indian society a man was considered a member of the elite once he had acquired enough wealth to allow him to return to England. For many expatriates the islands existed only to be exploited. Officials, lawyers, doctors, officers of the armed forces, and ministers appointed to West Indian posts regularly sold them or gave them to substitutes. Caribbean societies were dominated by remittance men to whom authority was the sole compensation for exile.

**Slaves in the British Islands**

From a slave's point of view the islands were much the same, "so nearly, indeed, that the history of an island or even a plantation...might serve for a history of the whole
Comparisons of slave systems are legion and generally
defective. Similarities exist between the slave plantation regimes of the Americas in
terms of modes of production, life style of masters and slaves, distinctions between house
and field slaves, institutionalized concubinage and miscegenation, etiquette and rules of
social distance, forms of violence, slave revolts, and many other characteristics. Yet
certain features distinguish the Caribbean as a whole from other American slave systems.
West Indian slavery was more than a way of life, it was the way of life, the only one that
mattered there. Virtually no whites, or for that matter non-slaves of any color, were not
intimately connected with slavery or utterly dependent on it.

Knowledge of privilege and hierarchies among plantation slaves has been
identified through archaeology using such artifacts as British ceramics. Artifact pattern
analysis reveals the movement of relatively expensive ceramics from the master’s house
to the slave quarters (South 1977). There are also imported inexpensive ceramics
purchased strictly for slave use. Physical anthropology also contributes to the
identification of these status divisions through the recognition of longer, healthier lives
with superior material goods for slaves of higher rank such as household workers or
skilled craftsmen than for those who worked in the fields (Berlin and Morgan 1993:17;
Handler, Conner and Jacobi 1989:2). Types of “work informed the culture slaves created,
providing the ideological and material basis for their most precious institutional beliefs
(Berlin and Morgan 1993:3).”

The available images of colonial plantation life and black slaves help to maintain
the stereotype of a defeated group of humans resigned to their fate (see Figure 5).

Figure 5. An example of surviving images of slavery where slaves are depicted as obedient, hardworking and defeated (from Davis and Davis 1973:53).

However, the rebellions and desperate escapes were testimony to the far from passive nature of human slave labor from Africa. The slave quarters held the prosperity of the plantation in their hands and had little hesitation in slowing the work output if they felt their negotiated privileges were being taken away or restricted by the owner or manager. It has also been suggested by Berlin and Morgan (1993:19) that slaves on plantations with absent owners, Antigua is provided as an example, had more opportunities for
occupations, such as medicine, that were outside that of domestic or plantation labor.

Conditions of work, nourishment, confinement and punishment of Caribbean slaves were the worst in the New World. “I was assured, however, that [Virginian slave life] was extremely mild in comparison to what they experience in the sugar colonies. You do not, indeed, generally hear, as in Santo Domingo and in Jamaica, the sound of whips and the cries of the unhappy wretches whose bodies are being lashed (Marquis de Chastellux 1782:439).” Fear of slave revolts resulted in the West Indian slave regimes generally becoming more severe as the ratio of blacks to whites increased.

Caribbean sugar plantations rapidly used up slaves and continuously imported fresh ones. Americans encouraged slaves to bear and raise children; West Indian planters generally considered slave-breeding unrealistic given the high mortality rate for young children and the slave women’s lack of fertility (Sheridan 1985). The exception was a rumored slave breeding operation run by the Codrington family on Barbuda for their plantations on Antigua and Barbuda. A comparison with American rates of survival underscores the harshness of West Indian conditions. When the slaves were emancipated, the Caribbean scarcely contained one-third the number imported; the United States had eleven times the number brought in. The effects of the difference are enduring. The United States imported less than 5 percent of the slaves brought to the Americas but in 1950 had 33 percent of the Afro-American population. At the other extreme, the Caribbean islands imported more than 40 percent but in 1950 had only 20 percent of the hemisphere’s Afro-Americans (Curtin 1968:88-9, 92 and 268).
The economy of the colonial period depended upon the movement of people and goods from one country to the next. Since the West Indies are composed of islands, transport by sea was essential. The overwhelming dedication of all arable land for sugar production meant that the populations of the islands depended on imported food stuffs for a large part of their diet (Berlin and Morgan 1993:25, Sheridan 1960:127). This left the slaves particularly vulnerable since food was expensive and the supply could easily be cut off during times of conflict or bad weather. The imposition of laws were needed, in some cases, to force plantation owners to grow food crops to support their slaves and help curb the human losses during famine (Dunn 1972:278; Craton and Walvin 1970:134).

The typical West Indian estate employed many more slaves than the average Southern plantation, and relatively fewer attachments developed between master and slave. In any case the West Indian master was often simply not there. Absenteeism promoted harsh treatment; managers and overseers who thought only of short-term returns were apt to be more demanding— and more stingy— than resident owners. Much slave mistreatment was a consequence of Caribbean circumstances— mercantilism, planter absenteeism, the predominance of sugar, and the high ratio of slaves to freemen.

People of mixed race “almost invariably filled domestic positions, and none worked in the fields or factory as labourers. The reasons for this were partly because the coloureds were the offspring of domestic liaisons, and partly because manual labour was regarded as fitted only for the darkest Negroes. Consequently, the notion that social mobility was related to fairness of skin was perpetuated (Craton and Walvin 1970:139).”
When distributions of material goods were given to the slaves, the elite group of slaves who were skilled or worked as drivers received the largest share. Thus a class system developed within the slave community that echoed the traditions of Africa and influenced the new culture emerging on the plantation. “But how much more we would like to know from Worthy Park of those lingering remnants of African cooking, religion, language, and folklore described, for example, by M.J. Herskovits in Trinidad and Haiti. Traces of obeah and African folklore remain even today, though Jamaican cooking and the ‘Creole’ language, while distinctive, are hardly African at all (Craton and Walvin 1970:148).”

Few Africans carried their children with them into slavery, and fewer still accompanied marital partners from West Africa into the plantations, let alone the members of the extended family and kinship groups which were of prime importance in West African society (Anthony 1976:9, Bohannan and Curtin 1995:64-65). The fracturing of kinship ties and the ethnic mixing which was standard plantation policy also meant that the legacies of Africa were transmitted in a haphazard or generalized way. Yet the imprint of Africa was indelible. African patterns were replicated where possible, and reconstituted as soon as possible where it was not possible, surviving slavery itself in modified forms.

On large plantations there were sometimes sub-cultural groups— such as ‘Ibo’ or ‘Congo’— and some forceful cultural traditions, particularly the Akan (or ‘Coromantee’), seem to have been ordinary occurrences. Yet the very variety of West African roots allowed for the creative choice of alternative customs— for example: the role of women,
and the acceptability of cousin-mating and premarital intercourse (Bohannan and Curtis 1995:65) — as the slaves made the necessary adjustments to the new environment, the dictates of the plantation system, and the shifting demographic conditions.

Some features of the plantation system, such as the expectation that women would work in the fields, that men would monopolize the skilled and privileged roles, and that the slave driver and other elite slaves such as head craftsmen would be likely to practice polygyny, actually facilitated the continuation of West African customs. Other continuities were of necessity covert, having to exist in the narrow scope of private life left to slaves by the master class: rites of passage, courtship and premarital negotiations, marriage ceremonies and celebrations, and the role of the elderly slaves as ‘councils of elders’ to determine custom and settle domestic disputes. While the slave trade lasted, direct links to Africa were never cut; native Africans were being brought into the slave population in groups to expand plantations or, more commonly arriving in ones and twos to make up the shortfall in slave fertility. As Edwards (1801:155) testified, these Africans were welcomed into family units, especially those of their own tribe and language.

From the simple pairings which were all that the planters provided for, the slaves built up extended family relationships beyond the masters’ knowledge or concern and, in the course of generations, whole new kinship networks based on the cohesive ‘village’ of a single plantation holding, but gradually extending beyond the plantation’s bounds into nearby groups (Kulikoff 1977:414). In the islands, covered with adjacent plantations, the
process of social diffusion had gone on for a long time; but even there, as in Africa, the primary allegiance remained the village, the birthplace, the home and burial-place of closest family, kin and ancestors (Craton 1991:246, Anthony 1976:9); that village was the plantation.

**Free Men in the Islands**

In one respect West Indian slavery was less onerous than in America: the ease of manumission and opportunities for economic advance. West Indian slaves could and did gain freedom more often and more rapidly than was possible for slaves in the Southern states (Berlin and Morgan 1993:24). West Indian whites tolerated free black persons, for whom American society found no place; the West Indies needed black men in occupational niches that whites pre-empted in the United States. There were even slave owners who were black in the British West Indies (Cox 1984:136; Handler 1974:121). The intermediate group of free blacks—manumitted slaves and their descendants—occupied an increasingly prominent position in the West Indies. In the late eighteenth century from five to twenty-five percent of West Indian populations were free black; by the time of emancipation they outnumbered whites (Lowenthal 1972:46).

The slaves of the British West Indies were often able to produce a surplus of food plants, animals, and crafts to sell for their own profit. These products were then sold in the Sunday Markets found on the islands. The extra income earned from these crops allowed many slaves to purchase their freedom. This meant that the black populations were responsible for the development of the internal marketing system of the islands.
(Gaspar 1985:146); this experience also provided them with the opportunity to gain experience with marketing their skills and wares which would be essential for survival once they had obtained freedom.

In the West Indies, interracial sexual liaisons were openly accepted, especially where white women were few. Whites customarily had black mistresses, and white fathers regularly placed their daughters of mixed race as concubines. Traditionally in the Caribbean, the view has been that white blood raises social status rather than black blood contaminates the white. This custom was perpetuated in a moral climate which discouraged white women from pursuing West Indian residence. Well-to-do West Indian whites not only recognized their mixed race offspring but often educated them in Europe and left them large properties. Some black families rivaled elite whites in wealth and style of life.

"The higher class of coloured persons, which embraces a large portion of the community, I have already slightly glanced at; but still my work would indeed be incomplete did I not more full endeavor to portray their worth and superiority. These are the men, who, if not educated in England, have received the best instruction the West Indies could afford, aided by their own strenuous endeavours for information. Hospitable in the highest degree, with a hand ever open to grasp in friendship that of strangers whom fate or the winds may lead to their pretty little island; living in an easy elegance of style— the possessors of warm and generous thoughts— the doers of high and noble actions— patriots in the full sense of the term, their services ever at the command of their country; of agreeable conversation and polished manners; these are the characteristics of many of our Antiguan coloured gentlemen. Their wives and daughters are, in several instances, as unexceptionable as themselves, and perform their social duties in the same pleasing manner (Lanaghan 1844:170)."

The development in the British West Indies of a middle class of skilled, successful black
men created a unique situation where it was possible for marriages to be performed between

slave women and free men. Mary Prince, a slave who married a free man, recounts how her

marriage was possible in Antigua:

"Some time after I began to attend the Moravian Church, I met with Daniel James, afterwards my dear husband. He was a carpenter and cooper to his trade; an honest, hard-working, decent black man, and a widower. He had purchased his freedom of his mistress, old Mrs. Baker, with money he had earned whilst a slave. When he asked me to marry him, I took time to consider the matter over with myself, and would not say yes till time he went to church with me and joined the Moravians. He was very industrious after he bought his freedom; and he hired a comfortable house, and had convenient things about him. We were joined in marriage, about Christmas 1826, in the Moravian Chapel at Spring Gardens, by the Rev. Mr. Olufsen. We could not be married in the English Church. English marriage is not allowed to slaves; and no free man can marry a slave woman (Prince 1831:74)."

Mary’s owners were not happy to find her married but tolerated the union once assured that Mary would not put her husband’s care ahead of her mistress’ demands.

Research “is correcting some of the inaccurate stereotypes of blacks in early America as simply a passive slave population without a culture of its own (Deagan 1991:109).” This is an important contribution to the history of the British West Indies because it establishes this geographic region as a distinct culture area separate from that of other West Indian islands, South America, Latin America, and North America worthy of consideration in academic circles.
Military Influence

The West Indies were of vital economic importance to the governments of Europe. This importance drove the need for the military presence in the islands in order to protect the investments of governments and nobility alike. In fact, the income from the West Indies was so significant, it has been credited with financing the navies and armies that defeated Napoleon at Trafalgar and Waterloo.

The presence of significant numbers of military personnel in the West Indies was not only for appearances in a European power struggle. They were there to protect the vastly outnumbered white population from slave revolt. The armed forces were responsible for actions which had a major and lasting impact on the people of the British Caribbean islands. The massive bureaucratic and physical infrastructure, the demands for staple goods as supplies, the importation of African men for service as soldiers, not to mention the huge reservoir of disease these large groups of people represented, are only a few of the factors which helped to shape the culture of the people of the British West Indies.

The idea of having armed black slaves, trained in military tactics, in the Southeastern United States would never have been accepted by the white planter class. Even during the Civil War the South did not utilize their large repository of black males to fight for their cause. Yet the British army continued to import African males to fight in mercenary campaigns during times of war with only a minimum of protest from white planters. These slave soldiers were dressed in uniforms, carried weapons, and received
the usual pay for their rank (Buckley 1979:65). Racial differences can also be identified in the uniform furnishings of black troops versus their white counterparts. Men from Africa, unaccustomed to wearing shoes or boots, were often issued black cloth slippers or were barefoot. This difference disappears however, as the Creole (or West Indian born) soldiers began to be sold into military service and the footwear of the uniform becomes the same as that of Europeans (Chartrand and Chappell 1996:25, 29). Material evidence of these black soldiers on plantations would prove their presence for the purpose of visiting slave women in competition with other slave men who did not have as high a status. The black soldier considered himself to be superior to other blacks and often asserted himself as if he were a free man, equal to the white soldier of the same rank (Buckley: 1979:x and 64). This competition and deportment would have had an impact on the culture that developed on the plantations.

White women were a common part of British and Continental armies in North America. The absence of white women from historical documents concerning the military “derives partially from the low status given to female activities. Additional biases result from the authorship of nearly all orderly books and diaries by white males, and even most of the historical archaeologists who work on military sites today...are males (Starbuck 1994:116).” No evidence has been found of these women in association with West Indian sites. Material culture of the lesser known members of the Armed Forces can therefore contribute a more accurate picture of plantation life during the colonial period. These material goods can only be retrieved by the active participation of archaeology in the research of historical sites.
Introduction to Historical Archaeology in Antigua

The colonial history of the New World has long been considered the realm of the historian. The tales of glory, warfare, disease, slavery, and plantation riches fill numerous books on the subject. However, the archaeologist can provide “a rich corpus of closely dated evidence that, if used correctly, can provide insights not obtainable from documentary sources (Deetz 1993:13)” to study European colonial culture systems. Historical archaeology is in the unique, even enviable, position of being able to study human behaviors of the past through a combination of material remains and some form of written record (Deagan 1982). New World colonial studies also have the advantage of being able to fix one end of the time period under study with the known contact and settlement dates of Europeans in this region of the world. For instance, in the Caribbean the historic period begins with the visits of Columbus in 1492 and 1493 (Burns 1965, Hamshere 1972).

The Caribbean, or West Indies, is a relatively new research area for archaeologists. Limited archaeological research has been done to date in the British Leeward colonies of the region, and the few reports available tend to focus on pre-Columbian cultures. Excavations in the past have been done by amateur archaeologists in an attempt to understand and preserve the history which surrounds them. This has lead to the creation of historical societies and museums which play an important part in the archaeological record and archaeological education in the British West Indies.

The island of Antigua has a rich background of history and local interest in the material culture of that history. The historical archaeological record in Antigua begins
with the settlement of British planters from St. Kitts in 1632 (Burns 1965, Hamshere 1972). However, it is possible that short-term visits by Europeans may have taken place within the protohistoric period of 1493 to 1632 which have not left any discovered traces of occupation. Excavations on Antigua in the summer of 1996 revealed the lack of formal academic knowledge and methodology for analyzing historical finds on the island. The acquisition of these necessary foundations in my Honours Thesis (Christensen 1997) provided a starting point from which to begin to fit the archaeology of one site into the history of this important, strategically placed colony and the world of which it has been a part in the past 368 years. I have tried to make the study comprehensive, though not exhaustive. It was harder to decide what to leave out than to determine which research must certainly be included.
Chapter 2

Colonial Life in Antigua

Antigua is located in the Lesser Antilles which forms the Southern Caribbean island group (see Figure 6). It consists of both common land form processes for the region, past volcanic activity and a limestone shelf which creates two distinctive physiographic zones. The highest point on the island is Boggy’s Peak at 1319 feet above sea level. It is located on the southern part of the island which has some rainforest environment and receives the most rainfall (Island Resources Foundation 1981). The landscape slopes gently from these low hills to a flat plain to the north. The northern side of the island is in the rain shadow and hosts a xerophytic environment. Water for human and animal habitation has been a chronic problem, but was somewhat resolved with the construction of cisterns in the historic period (Higham 1921).

The island is average in size at 108 square miles. It consists of several sandy beaches with accompanying coral reefs that provide abundant marine resources. Antigua was considered an asset to the British plantation owners and the Royal Navy, despite the water shortage, because it possesses many natural harbors (see Figure 7). Most notable is English Harbour on the southern side of the island which provided a natural shelter for the British fleet during hurricane season from August to October each year.

The Northeast Trade Wind and the Anti-Trades have played an important role in
Figure 6. The Lesser Antilles showing the location of Antigua and Barbuda in the Southern Caribbean (from Island Resources Foundation 1991).
the development of the Caribbean islands by Europeans. The steady force and known limits of these winds mark out the ocean routes available for ships moving into and out of the Caribbean region with trade goods ranging from imported ceramics and slaves to exported rum and sugar. The regularity of the seasons (an average annual temperature ranging from 24-29 degrees Celsius), however, is what controlled the economic development of the islands, in addition to the deployment of the naval fleets cruising the area. The Lesser Antilles have winds along the eastern coasts which are dangerous to ships under sail. The majority of harbours and roads, therefore, lie toward the western coasts where they are more easily accessed by the ships of the Colonial period (Higham 1921). Antigua is windward of the other islands which makes it a tricky approach by
it, to other islands, an easy task which was an asset in the Age of Sail.

Hurricane season, from August to October, is a period of unsettled weather in the West Indies (Island Resources Foundation 1981). The Trade Wind may shift from its normal limits, sometimes even to the point of making a voyage from Antigua to Barbados take up to one month instead of a few days (Higham 1921). Calms, or periods of still air, along with unusual winds and sudden shifts, make sailing difficult even without the threat of hurricanes. This season is also marked by heavy rains which meant the start of planting season for sugar cane on the islands (Higham 1921).

Antigua underwent a dramatic environmental change during colonization. The island was recorded as being abundant in wood and water for passing ships during the protohistoric period. However, soon after the arrival of British planters there was massive deforestation (95-99%) to allow for plantation system agriculture (Francis, Rivera, and Figureroa 1994). This lack of natural forest cover exacerbated the limited natural water sources and thin soils, as well as permanently altering the floral and faunal species which could be found on the island. This deforestation was maintained until the abandonment of sugar cane cultivation in the twentieth century (Island Resources Foundation 1981).

This island of the West Indies arc has other natural phenomena, besides hurricanes, that provide a challenge to residents. These include such things as tectonic activity in the form of earthquakes related to nearby volcanic islands, the deposition of dust from the Sahara, and “red tides” which can decimate marine animal populations.
News of the discovery of the New World in 1492 brought Europeans into the Circum-Caribbean area to exploit its legendary wealth for the next several centuries. The islands of the Caribbean were claimed by several European nations yet the general lifestyle and the focus on the economic production of this area was much the same regardless of the nation that eventually settled it. In the West Indies “these patterns were not only different from those of Europe; they were also different from those of European settlements in temperate North America, the Indian Ocean trading posts, and territorial empires in New Spain and Peru (Curtin 1968:190-1).” Thus settlement of Antigua’s island environment presented its own unique set of challenges to European colonization.

The island of Antigua was briefly visited by Christopher Columbus in 1493. He stopped only long enough to name the island and take on fresh water before pushing on to explore the other islands. There has been some speculation among local historians that the Spanish raided the island for Indian slaves during the protohistoric period until the natives moved on to islands more easily defended from European attack. The island has many beachheads that are accessible from sheltered bays which makes this possibility of short-term visits by Europeans a realistic scenario.

The island was selected for colonization by Thomas Warner, then governing the British island of St. Kitts. The first English settlers arrived in Antigua in 1632 and there is no record of a native population inhabiting the island. These English settlers were small landholders who, with the help of indentured servants and a few African slaves, grew the valuable crop of tobacco which was in high demand in England in this time
period. There were soon calls from these colonists for protection from enemy raiding parties and pirates. The Royal Navy, upon discovering the natural harbour that suited their needs on the south side of the island, were happy to oblige.

The people who migrated to Antigua, then, can be divided into five groups: military personnel, pressed recruits, planters, indentured servants, and African slaves. Since this new territory needed to be claimed, controlled, and defended the British government deployed soldiers and sailors, with their supportive military establishment, to the island shortly after colonization. Once the land was secured, it was divided and given away by the Crown in the form of land grants with the express purpose of turning the colony into a location of successful economic production (Burns 1965, Dunn 1972, Duffy 1987). The plantation system of agriculture was implemented in 1674 at Bettie’s Hope Estate to allow the cultivation of sugar cane, the new cash crop, and the smaller landowners were forced out. The advent of sugar cultivation on Antigua and the other sugar islands would come to contribute four-fifths of Britain’s overseas income (Dunn 1972, Jane 1982).

To accomplish this task the plantation system that was developed for the island’s agriculture required human labour. The first attempts to enlist settlers were advertisements for colonists to come to a new and prosperous land. The most common type of commitment came from poor Europeans who sold their services in advance. These indentured servants would serve from three to seven years with the hope of a better future for themselves and their families (Curtin 1968, Jane 1982). These attempts at
securing a somewhat voluntary labour force were largely unsuccessful, however, and the press gangs were put into service for both colonists and military personnel (Burns 1965, Brandon 1986). These gangs were paid a bounty, or fee, for each recruit that arrived on board the transport ships. This lead to abuses of the system and many involuntary “volunteers” were shipped overseas (Pope 1981, Duffy 1987).

Many of these migrants would never return to England to tell their tales because the rigors of the journey and colonial life took its toll in lives. The information that did make it back was not utilized by the Home government for the success of the colony. Politicians and administrators largely ignored the high death rates and letters of complaint that assailed them from both their colonial administrators and military officers. As long as Antigua continued to produce economic benefits the costs in human lives were ignored.

Despite the high death rates among Europeans the productivity of Antigua was so high that the plantation system became firmly entrenched. The problem this system presented to the planters was that European workers “experienced high mortality rates overseas (Curtin 1968:193-4).” The solution was to find a new labour source. The selection of this alternative was to create “the most massive intercontinental migration before the industrial era (Curtin 1968:192)” as Africans were brought across the Middle Passage in slave ships.

British colonists, in their assumptions of superiority, assumed that the customs, traditions, and lifestyle that had brought them to the pinnacle of mankind would transfer
intact from temperate England to the tropical environment of Antigua. This arrogance was to cost thousands of lives and hours of lost manpower. Initial colonial settlements “had been unplanned, uncoordinated, and short-lived (Davis 1973:306).” Subsequent communities, both military and civilian, continued to suffer from unenlightened planning and disease rates soared as more colonists arrived on the island.

It was unfortunate for those who would occupy them that colonists and military planners did not take the tropical environment into consideration when designing the settlements and buildings on the island. Proper ventilation of the buildings, an absolute necessity in heat and humidity, required construction in areas that would allow maximization of breezes, usually along hillsides (Duffy 1987). The settlements, however, tended to be located in low-lying areas near wetlands (Dunn 1972, Davis 1974) because these areas were near the harbours and coastal areas which required defense and were convenient for trade (Davis 1974, Buckley 1979, Duffy 1987).

Shelter from the merciless sun and its accompanying effects of heat, sunburn and dehydration was also needed in order to cope with the island climate. In this respect the builders were reasonably good. Larger buildings such as barracks, estate houses and official offices tended to built of stone which was durable, resistant to termites, and cool for the occupants. Unfortunately, the number of people lodged in one building was too high and they were usually housed on unsanitized wooden sleeping platforms (Buckley 1979, Duffy 1987) which became vectors for diseases, like typhus, that were similar to those found on the transport ships.
Plantation agriculture developed as the economic unit of choice for the colony of Antigua (Curtin 1968). This type of agriculture, as with many European methods, required that large tracts of land had to be cleared of natural vegetation. Colonists unknowingly added to their problems when they clear cut the tropical forests to allow for the cultivation of sugar cane. These newly cleared areas, lined with raised square plots for the sugar cane plants that allowed the accumulation of pools of standing water, became breeding grounds for mosquitos which carried deadly diseases (Dunn 1972). Plantations, with their concentrated human populations, then became places of the worst disease environments (Sheridan 1985).

Sanitation was unheard of for British populations until the mid-eighteenth century (Lloyd and Coulter 1963). In the heat and virulent disease environment of an island colony, this was a fatal mistake. Dunn (1972) reports that the bodies of yellow fever victims were thrown into a nearby swamp rather than buried. The swamp was also the community’s source of drinking water. Swamp gases were often blamed for the presence of fevers according to the miasmic theories of European medicine (Sheridan 1985, Duffy 1987); however, it was human ignorance that really fed this epidemic and many others.

During the time of migration of British people to the West Indies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the consumption of large amounts of alcohol was already an accepted and growing trend in Europe (Haggard 1929, Debus 1974, Webster 1979). This explains the allotment of rum in the daily rations of soldiers and sailors twice a day (Lloyd and Coulter 1963, Pope 1981). Historians explain the consumption of
spirits by the masses in this era as a way to make the common man “oblivious to the miserable conditions under which he lived (Lloyd and Coulter 1963:96).” This attitude was transplanted into the West Indies with disastrous results for the longevity of Europeans (Burns 1965, Curtin 1968, Dunn 1972, Pope 1981, Jane 1982, Sheridan 1985).

The sugar islands, of which Antigua was one, were prime producers of many products in demand in Europe. One of the prime products, still a major export for the islands, was rum. This potent alcoholic beverage was extremely popular with the men who inhabited the harbours and forts that ringed the island. It provided an effective antidote for the boredom of these secure islands, the fear of deadly disease, and the thirst created by the heat and salted meat diet. Their popular choice of drink was a lethal one. “New rum” was cheap, raw alcohol that was even more compromised by the processing of it in pipes and containers lined with lead (Jane 1982). Lead is a lethal poison which was easily picked up in dangerous quantities by the liquid when the pipes and containers were exposed to the heat and acidity of the alcohol. Sadly enough, the settlers of Antigua believed that the alcohol they were ingesting (the more the better) was a folk remedy that would protect them from fevers (Buckley 1979, Duffy 1987).

“What a pity such brave men should go to that West India grave!--to that hateful climate to be killed by the plague (Duffy 1987:326).” The military establishment comprised the largest single group of European inhabitants on Antigua. It is from the records of these regiments that the huge troop losses, in an era when the Army was already finding it difficult to muster sufficient men to maintain an effective military
presence in the area, can the effect of disease be seen. Henry Addington, a British Prime Minister at the end of the eighteenth century, “asserted that the West Indies had destroyed the British army (Duffy 1987:327).” Reports prepared for him on the losses from all causes for one nine year period indicates the loss of 1350 officers and 60,000 men within the forces in the Caribbean. Less officers are reported since few of the officers actually arrived in the West Indies to serve. It was possible to sell commissions, or in some cases just never arrive for duty, during the Colonial occupation of the British Army (Pope 1981). Antigua had the worst reputation, justly earned, for high death rates amongst military personnel stationed to the Caribbean. This did not make the island an attractive place for an overseas assignment or for European settlement.

For European women the West Indies were not seen as a destination of choice, especially as a residence, because “disease was often rife and childbearing and pregnancy apparently more perilous than in urban Europe (Morrissey 1989:146).” The few women and children who did migrate to the colonies did not fair too well with seasoning sickness after the long ocean voyage (Dunn 1972). The cemeteries throughout Antigua are filled with the graves where officers’ wives and children were buried. One gravestone, in the military graveyard at Shirley Heights, reveals that one twenty-eight year old lady died, along with her two young children, within weeks of arrival.

Africans and blacks born on the islands survived longer than Europeans and whites born on the islands. But their lives were still brief and brutal. “Whereas Europeans in the tropics were prone to overeat, overdrink, overdress, and neglect
exercise, slaves were often underfed, underclothed, overworked, and harshly punished (Sheridan 1985:28).” This could help to explain why the birth rate was very low among female slaves in the Caribbean when compared to their counterparts in the Southern United States (Dunn 1972, Sheridan 1985, Morrissey 1989). Planters, in their era of prosperity, found it less complicated to buy fresh adult male slaves from Africa, despite the higher price of these new arrivals, than create conditions conducive to human procreation (Dunn 1972, Sheridan 1985, Morrissey 1989, Gaspar 1993). Population increase by the number of births outnumbering the number of deaths would not happen among the black population until Emancipation in 1834 (Burns 1965, Sturge and Harvey 1968, Sheridan 1985).

The island of Antigua provided much the same life for the masters and slaves, soldiers and sailors. It was harsh, short, and dominated by young adult males with few children born to follow them. Death was a constant presence that one author says explains the “frenetic tempo and mirage-like quality of West Indian life--gorgeously opulent today, done tomorrow (Dunn 1972:334).” The island was never considered home by the people who populated it in the post-Columbian era. British soldiers and colonists hoped to survive long enough to make their fortune and retire back to England, African slaves longed to return to their homeland as spirits after they died.

Emancipation of the slave community in 1834 brought about important changes to Antigua, and the entire Caribbean. The sugar and tropical products market had softened just prior to this legislation and the planter aristocracy was finding it difficult to support
their large labour forces (Sheridan 1985, Duffy 1987, Armstrong 1989). The mandatory release of the slaves, therefore, made the planters' lives much easier since the old, very young and disabled blacks were no longer their financial responsibility. In addition, they managed to receive compensation from the British government for every slave in their possession at the time of legislation. Planters once again became wealthy with this new influx of cash. This assisted them in maintaining their upper social class position within West Indian society (Dunn 1972).

The freed slaves were integrated into the lower classes (Caspar 1993). Those who were healthy were in great demand on the plantations as field workers. It was ironic, however, that the planters had difficulty obtaining the needed labour without paying high wages and benefits such as garden space (Dunn 1972). This difficulty is related to the role of field worker maintaining its stigma of inferior work even after the declaration of freedom (Sheridan 1985, Gaspar 1993). Antigua had a peaceful transition to a freed black community with full Emancipation in 1834. The Antiguan planters did not implement the four years of apprenticeship found on other British islands but went straight to a wage labour system. This new system of working for wages created an element of stability for the island. There was no longer the threat of a slave revolt that was perceived as a constant menace during the slavery period.

Europeans discovered the New World and established a dream of new territory and riches for every class of their society. It was not to happen that way as the dream quickly faded into a nightmare of death and disease within the social biases and
hierarchies that followed the new people of the Colonies. This migration of human beings to a new environment brought with it a complex set of challenges and problems that needed to be overcome before the colonization of a culture in new lands could be considered successful.

The success of Antigua was not based on the longevity of its military personnel or its plantation inhabitants. Antigua was one of the sugar islands, and Britain needed sugar to finance its constant warfare somewhere in the world every year between 1789 and 1866 (Duffy 1987). The sugar needed the Royal Navy to protect it from political enemies and privateers, and the Royal Navy needed the Royal Army to protect its most strategic port. The American War of Independence added to the headaches of the Royal Navy which was given the duty of blockading the West Indies from trade with the Americas. Jane (1982) and Curtin (1998) credit the income from sugar, coffee, cotton and other tropical product exports with the financing of Napoleon’s defeat. Once the Battle of Trafalgar confirmed Britain’s superiority at sea, the income from these exports would then finance the growth of the Industrial Revolution (Jane 1982).

The Royal Navy employed a practical, year-round system of garrisoning the Caribbean. This system involved staying in the area throughout the year, even during the hurricane season. This system enabled them to repair their ships more quickly, reduced the time it took to respond to a perceived threat, and allowed their crews to become acclimatized, or “seasoned” to the West Indian environment. However, to accomplish these goals the Navy required permanent naval stations in the islands. English Harbour
was selected as one of two such stations in the British colonies. This natural harbor, an old volcano cone, required very little modification to provide full services to the fleet. It also provided a safe harbor during hurricanes that protected the expensive ships from damage during the storm season. Strategically, it was windward of most of the other islands which made it a well-placed base of attack. So successful was the Royal Navy in the area that by 1810 Britain controlled all but one of the French and Dutch colonies as well as her own (Burns 1965, Hamshere 1972, Jane 1982).

Antigua, then, was an important island for the British forces. The island is ringed by beaches which made it vulnerable to attack from the sea. Following the brief French occupation in 1666 the need for fortification was firmly established. The next one hundred years saw the construction of gun platforms and small forts around the entire island. This made Antigua one of the most heavily fortified places on the world for its size (Jane 1982, Nicholson 1994). The island was rarely attacked by enemy forces, however, since its windward location made it difficult for the sailing ships to reach (MacLeod 1987).

The island was initially defended by a militia made up from the population of colonists. By 1701 the British government, always reluctant to use expensive permanent garrisons, began to send Army regiments to the island to provide a stable fighting force. It was not until 1735, however, that a barracks was constructed for the troops in the St. John’s area. A slave rebellion in 1736 renewed the urgency for establishing a larger military presence on Antigua (Jane 1982, Gaspar 1985, Nicholson 1991). By 1738, the
Antiguan colonial government applied for a regiment of regular troops, and even agreed to provide wages and barracks for them.

Disease plagued the European troops, however, who did not survive long enough to provide the Army with the required number of men to maintain their regiments. The solution presented to the Home Office for this chronic problem was to use African male slaves to augment the European troops. After much protest from planters, who feared a fighting force of Africans who were armed and trained for warfare, the West Indian Regiments were formed in 1795 (Buckley 1979). The survival rate was so high for these slave troops that the British Army, with Parliamentary support, resisted the move for Emancipation for many years. The largest purchaser of imported slaves in the nineteenth-century was, in fact, the British Army until the West Indian Regiments were disbanded in 1815 (Buckley 1979).

The first few decades of the nineteenth-century saw Britain win several victories that were building the Empire. The defeat of Napoleon and the conquering of most of the French and Dutch West Indian colonies produced a secure region for British interests in the Caribbean. The sugar and tropical products market was also producing less of a profit so the colonies were not as valuable as they had been in the past (Armstrong 1989). Once Emancipation had occurred, the final threat of slave rebellion to the British holdings was removed. Britain was busy fighting wars in Europe and needed her Army in other places. The last troops stationed to Antigua left in 1854 during the Crimean War (Burns 1965, Hamshere 1972, Jane 1982).
Chapter 3

The Owners of Bettie’s Hope Estate

Antigua was one of the largest exporters of sugar for England prior to the acquisition and development of Jamaica. The Codrington estates which had a total of six sugar mills, comprised the largest sugar planting family on the island. Bettie’s Hope Estate was their first landholding on the island and it was given to Christopher Codrington in 1674 while he was Governor General of the Leeward Islands. Bettie’s Hope was the core of the family’s holdings. It was 725 acres and remained their property until 1944 when it was sold to the local sugar conglomerate.

The estate was originally founded by Governor Christopher Keynall in about 1650 and was named for his daughter. Upon his death in 1663, the estate belonged to his widow, Joan. There are no reports of sugar cane being grown on the island prior to 1674. The primary crops were tobacco, ginger and indigo. Mrs. Keynall left Antigua in 1666 when the French successfully invaded for six months. She returned to her estate in 1668 to find Bettie’s Hope had been used as a garrison and the support buildings near the house had been burned. Her land, like that of others who had left during the invasion, was considered forfeit under charges of treason. She petitioned the King several times to regain title to Bettie’s Hope but the estate was given to Governor Codrington in 1674.

Historians have repeatedly confused the members of the Codrington family in
accounts of the islands and Antigua (for example see Gaspar 1985, Simmons 1972). This is not a difficult thing to do when a long lineage tends to reuse the same names for its heirs. A family tree, obtained from the present-day Codrington heir (another Christopher), is included to clarify the pattern of inheritance (see Figure 8).

Figure 8. The Codrington Family Tree illustrating the pattern of inheritance for Bettie’s Hope Estate (from The Betty’s Hope Trust personal communications 1998).
The Codrington family is a member of the nobility which traces its ancestry back to
the Norman Conquest (Simmons 1972). In approximately 1640, Christopher Codrington
sailed for Barbados. He established a successful sugar plantation there. His son,
Christopher, was born on Barbados in 1640. This Christopher would become the first of
the Codringtons to be Governor General of the Leeward Islands. This was the man to
whom Bettie’s Hope Estate was granted in 1674. He remained in Antigua following this
date, even moving the seat of the Leeward Government to the Estate House at Bettie’s
Hope Estate until other buildings could be constructed in St. John’s, Antigua.

His son, Christopher, was born in Barbados in 1664. He was raised there until
sent to school at Oxford. He remained overseas living a distinguished life as a scholar,
soldier and popular member of the social life of London until his father’s death in 1694.
King William and Queen Mary rewarded Christopher for his loyal service to the Crown by
giving him the powers and title of his father, Governor General of the Leeward islands, at
the age of 30. Christopher returned to Barbados and lived there until his death in 1710.
He never married and did not leave any known children. His will left his estates in
Barbados to found a College that would educate missionaries in order to bring Christianity
to the slaves of the islands.

William Codrington (1st Baronet of Dodington), his nephew, inherited the
Antiguan estates. He is reported to have spent short amounts of time there at Bettie’s
Hope Estate. It was under William’s guidance that the family’s holdings on Antigua and
the island of Barbuda began to expand. This is the man who had estates requiring six 
windmills to process the amount of sugar cane produced in his fields. The Codrington 
Papers, an important collection of over 8000 documents, began around this point when 
William would communicate from Dodington House in Gloucestershire with his managers 
about his estates in Antigua. He mentions two mulatto sons by different women in his 
will, each of the boys received a cash settlement of 500 pounds from the estates where 
their mothers resided.

William Codrington left his estate to his son, also William (2nd Baronet of 
Dodington), upon his death in 1738. By 1752 the Codrington holdings on Antigua had 
expanded to include Bettie’s Hope, Potworks, Cotton New Work, Cotton Old Work and 
the Garden which totaled 1689 acres of land on the gently rolling hills of the limestone 
plain. These neighboring estates formed one continuous property, known as Folly’s, from 
Collins stream to the Narrows at Guiana Island (see Figure 9). The island of Barbuda 
remained in the family holdings. New sugar works were designed, planned and built for 
Bettie’s Hope Estate by William in 1780.

The 3rd Baronet of Dodington, William Codrington, inherited the estates upon the 
death of his father in 1782.

William Raymond inherited the estates in 1816. He did not marry and left no 
direct heirs. Upon his death in 1876, the estates passed to his cousin’s line to Gerald 
William Henry Codrington, 1st Baronet of Dodington Park. He passed the estates to his 
son, Christopher, upon his death in 1929. Christopher then sold the estates to the Antigua
Sugar Syndicate in 1944. The Codrington Papers were discovered in the attic of the family’s home in England and sold at auction in the 1980s by Simon Francis Bethell Codrington. The originals went to an anonymous private collection in Switzerland. The

Figure 9. A map of Antigua showing the stretch of prime cane land owned by the Codringtons which encompassed 1689 acres of the limestone plain (from The Olde Map Company 1995).
Papers were microfilmed and a copy given to the National Archives of Antigua and Barbuda as a condition of their sale. They are available for academic research purposes. The originals were given back to the people of Antigua and Barbuda in 1997 by the still anonymous private collector. They were held in England until the appropriate storage facilities were available on Antigua. The documents arrived back on the island in late December 1999.

**Barbuda**

The small island of Barbuda is located northeast of Antigua (see Figure 10). It was leased to the Codrington family from 1685 to 1870 for “one fat sheep if demanded” by the Crown. Barbuda has very unfavorable soils for sugar cane which prevented the development of sugar cane agriculture on this island. There are reports that troublesome slaves were sent to Barbuda from the Codrington plantations in Barbados as a form of exile.

The island was a lucrative piece of property for the Codringtons and was probably the key to their success as a dominant sugar family in Antigua. Barbuda was a source of provisions such as produce, livestock (cattle and sheep), wild game and fish that freed the land in Antigua to become strictly planted in sugar cane. The Codrington estates did not depend on imported foods for their supplies and could remain profitable even during times of war or shortages.

Barbuda also has another lucrative secret to funding the family’s coffers. It is surrounded by treacherous reefs and is notorious for the number of shipwrecks that
occurred on those reefs. The Codrington family was very involved in salvaging cargo

Figure 10. A map of the Southern Caribbean which demonstrates the relative positions of the islands of Antigua and Barbuda (Island Resources Foundation 1991).
from these ships which produced a healthy profit. It is interesting to note that the ships in the Codrington fleet were never lost in the waters around Barbuda, despite modern islanders recounting stories of their own difficulties with the reefs and navigation around the island. This lack of losses from Codrington ships leads to the speculation that another source of income for the family was from wrecking, or the deliberate sinking of ships on the reefs in order to obtain the valuable cargo. This activity would be well known to a prominent sea-faring family from the West Coast of England where wrecking was a regional livelihood during the colonial era.

Rumors abounded that the Codrington family was able to keep their steady supply of slaves because of a slave breeding operation on this island. No evidence has ever been found for this activity in the records (Lowenthal and Clarke 1997). Slaves were occasionally sent from Barbuda to provide extra labor at Bettie’s Hope Estate which could have added to the speculation. Local stories put the emphasis on the height and broad size of the people from Barbuda as their evidence of the Codringtons trying to breed tall slaves that would fetch a higher price. It seems unlikely, however, that Barbuda was a slave breeding colony.

The slaves who lived on Barbuda enjoyed a better diet than the slaves of the larger island plantations. They were also free from the grueling physical labor of sugar cane cultivation. The Codringtons were able to select their slaves directly from the traders in West Africa and then transport them on their own ships to the islands. Therefore, these slaves were able to maintain, or possibly develop, a physical appearance for both sexes
that was tall, broad and healthy. Of course, this strong labor force also enabled the family to continue their salvaging activities off the shores of Barbuda.
Chapter 4

Plantation Model for British West Indian Plantations

The plantation model for the British West Indian sugar plantation would have to incorporate a research strategy that accounts for the uniqueness of the culture. Historians tend to describe the plantation but rarely account for the actual settlement pattern and its meaning for the people who inhabited it. They record what was imported and how it was distributed based on their interpretations of the class structure. Archaeological research however incorporates the material cultural remains, the documentary record and ethnographic accounts into its model. The model must also include historical contingency, geographical connections and local variations.

The plantation style of commercial agriculture originated in the Caribbean islands (Deetz 1993:9). The plantations that are so thoroughly researched in the Southeastern United States are the adaptations of this tropical settlement pattern. Prunty (1955), Waterman and Barrows (1969), Otto 1977, Orser (1984) and Lewis (1985) would apply a general plantation model wherever these agricultural settlements are found. Orser (1989) later questioned the application of any pattern analysis in plantation archaeology. He sees South’s (1977, 1978) pattern concept as “flawed for two important reasons. First, the eclectically constructed concept does not provide an effective scale of analysis (after Marquardt and Crumley 1987:2) that is suited to the complexities of plantation
organization; and second, the concept provides no mechanism for investigating historical change (Orser 1989:28).“ South assumes that a British plantation would be the same everywhere in the colonies because they brought with them “a basic set of behavioral modes, attitudes, and associated artifacts that would not vary regardless of [where] their ship landed (South 1977:86-87).“ This idea of the wholesale importation of British culture does not account for any environmental adaptations, the effect of an absent upper class on social trends or for the effect of a white minority within a large immigrant population.

Archaeologists using the artifact pattern obtain results that see similarities and differences between plantation sites. They have often attributed this dichotomy to “the differences between the artifact patterns have something to do with how each plantation was used, but the similarities relate to the cultural tradition of the plantation’s inhabitants (Orser 1989:34).“ The intriguing questions that archaeologists could answer involve the social relationships of masters, managers, overseers, high status slaves, field slaves, and free men in the British West Indies, not whether the artifacts create a pattern that reflects whole, intact European or African cultures.

Sugar estates of the West Indies were industrial complexes as well as agricultural properties (Higman 1998:3, Dunn 1972:189, Sheridan 1960:136). This manufacturing activity makes these sites different, and worthy of their own model (see Figure 11). Clement (1997) recently presented a model for sugar plantations on Tobago. He began his study with the assumption “that sugar estate design and layout would be patterned and
that patterning would reflect both idealized notions of the way an estate ought to look and constraints imposed on that ideal by the natural environment (Clement 1997:94).”

Tobago makes an

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Figure 11. A plantation sugar factory at harvest time in Antigua. The buildings for processing sugar cane and manufacturing sugar byproducts were the most important features on a British West Indian plantation (from Davis and Davis 1973:53).

interesting test case because it was not permanently settled until the British arrived in 1763 with more than a hundred years of tropical agricultural experience.
Based on Clement's (1997) survey of Tobago, a new model emerged of the physical layout of a British West Indian sugar plantation (for examples see Figures 12, 13 and 14). British planters chose sites that had the essential attributes to maximize their

Figure 12. Worthy Park, Jamaica. An example of the British West Indian plantation layout pattern. It includes a mill, sugar works, estate house and slave quarters. Note the location of the group of the sugar factory buildings: next to an aqueduct for a water supply, a road for easy transport of the finished product to market, and next to the slave quarters for easy access of the labor force (from Craton and Walvin 1970:109).
Figure 13. An idealized plan for a French West Indian sugar plantation in 1796. It conforms to the plantation layout suggested by Clements (1997) in that the sugar factory is near a main road, the estate house is not the dominant feature, and the slave quarters are placed near the main house (from Watts 1987:390).

Figure 14. Newton Plantation and Staple Grove Plantation, Barbados. Here are two plantations which follow the British West Indian model. There is a ready water supply, a large sugar factory works near a road, and slave quarters close to the manufacturing site (from Handler and Lange 1978:47).
profit: a water supply nearby for rum production, sugar works (the most important part of
the operation) that could be located close to an easy transport route such as a protected
bay or road. A mill of some sort (although usually a wind mill) was a prominent part of
the plantation. The factory was not of a consistent design yet all the examples are laid out
to maximize the efficiency of moving the products of sugar cane processing (see Figure
15). Mechanical innovations tend to appear only after the mid-nineteenth century when
the factories were consolidated.

Figure 15. Idealized drawings of the various shapes of sugar factories on Tobago. These
layouts would be efficient for moving people and products the shortest
distances (based on Clement 1997).

The living spaces on these plantations usually have a “T”-shaped estate house (see
Figure 16) that is elevated by either locating it on a hill or building piers beneath it. They consistently have arched stairways and decorative brickwork. Most are located in a spot where the sugar works, and sometimes the village, were visible. The estate villages are in a variety of locations; some were adjacent to the factory (see Figure 17), some were adjacent to the estate house (see Figure 18), some are located between the house and the factory. The houses in the village were constructed of stone with slate roofs. Overall, there was a symmetry to the plantation plan (see Figure 19). Clement (1997) comments on the one or two “showplace” estates where the elite, ruling families of the island lived. The basic differences he identifies for these estates are size, the production of additional craft goods and a higher status for the owners.

The appearance of West Indian plantations is not uniform, as demonstrated from archaeological investigations such as those on St. Eustasis (Barka 1998) and Tobago (Clement 1997), despite their production of a single crop—sugar. The same type of
comprehensive investigation and analysis should be applied to other British West Indian

Figure 17. An artist's interpretation of what Galways Plantation, Montserrat would have looked like in the colonial period, based on an archaeological survey. The slave village is adjacent to the sugar works (from Pulsipher 1991:149).
Figure 18. The slave quarters at Springfield, Somerset Parish, Bermuda, based on archaeological survey. The slave quarters on this property were adjacent to the main house (from Bellhorn 1992:34).
Figure 19. Bettie’s Hope Estate, Antigua. This drawing is based on a 1710 plan of the estate and demonstrates the overall symmetry of British West Indian sugar plantations. In this case, a large cistern provides the water, there is easy access to roads from the large sugar works (there are two windmills at this plantation), and the slave quarters are near the main house and sugar factory (from Carstensen 1993:5).
islands to establish if this variability actually contributes to a unique Caribbean model. The degree of the plantation’s dominant influence in the culture of the islands is directly related to the political, administrative and economic control it exercised within the community. Study of the physical layout of the plantation and an interpretation of the “frenetic tempo and mirage-like quality of West Indian life— gorgeously opulent today, gone tomorrow (Dunn 1972:234)” that was present during the colonial period, followed by comparison with other British islands is the beginning of a comprehensive history of the British West Indies.

The purpose of historical archaeology is not to spend large amounts of money on things historians can already tell us. This is especially true when working in the developing countries that make up the Caribbean. Our research area must expand beyond the realm of history. “The historical period in the New World presents the researcher with an elaborate array of complex pre-industrial and industrial cultures whose transportation, communication, and exchange networks were global in scope (Beaudry 1988:1)” which demand different research strategies. In the British West Indies “these patterns were not only different from those of Europe; they were also different from those of European settlements in temperate North America, the Indian Ocean trading posts, and territorial empires in New Spain and Peru (Curtin 1968:190-1).” Only through archaeological investigations can this rich cultural diversity be revealed and brought to the attention of the academic and public arenas. The islands are indeed the laboratory in which to discover the emergence of the distinctive culture of the British West Indies.
Chapter 5

Preliminary Survey at Bettie’s Hope Estate

The physical appearance of Bettie’s Hope Estate, despite its designation as a leading tourist attraction for the island of Antigua, is one of neglect and poorly planned maintenance. The site was once cleared of all thorny bush and small trees in the approximately 100,000 square foot area containing the ruins of the habitation and industrial buildings. The clearing was done in the early 1990s through the use of burning and hand cutting since the stone buildings were difficult to clear with large machinery (H. Mack, personal communication 1999). The site was then allowed to become severely overgrown with the additional stress of free-roaming animals using the site as pasture and shelter. Hurricanes have been a constant threat to the site in the last five years however the last two hurricanes in 1999 did not damage any of the stone ruins. The primary damage to the site comes from a combination of factors including: stone theft, removal of top soil, vehicular traffic allowed into sensitive areas, and the growth of plants in the walls and floors of standing ruins.

The long-term neglect of the site has had the negative impact of further damaging remaining ruins and the ability of the site to generate funding and local interest. The positive impact has been a protective layer over the archaeological site which has managed to stay relatively intact and less disturbed than other locations of the island’s sugar plantation history. There was very minimal assistance provided for any research activities at Bettie’s Hope Estate and the governing body of the Betty’s Hope Trust is
very unsupportive of archaeological research at the site. Local volunteers and financial aid donors were reluctant to assist with the clearing of the site for the survey since the site had been allowed to become overgrown after their substantial efforts only a few years previous to these investigations. There were a handful of local men who were willing to clear the site by hand but budget constraints did not enable the project to pay wages to local laborers for the length of time necessary to clear the site. Therefore, the preliminary survey was completed with a small team of one archaeologist and one local volunteer.

There have been two previous brief archaeological investigations at the site. In 1982, Conrad Goodwin was hired to complete excavations within the northernmost standing mill prior to its restoration (Goodwin 1982). This was a salvage excavation since local volunteers had already begun to excavate the interior of the mill without using proper archaeological technique. He was limited in his investigations by the Betty’s Hope Trust to the interior of the mill while expressing interest in the correlation between the mill and the sugar works (Goodwin 1982). The second investigation was begun by Christopher Clements a few years later as part of his Masters degree research. There are very few documents in the files of the Betty’s Hope Trust of his research. It is, therefore, difficult to outline the extent of his investigations. It was apparently his intention to investigate the slave village area that was located to the side of the original entrance road (see Figures 20a and 20b). However, the Betty’s Hope Trust was very unsupportive of his research and he left the site without managing to complete any archaeological investigations.
Figure 20. a) The slave village investigated by Clements is shown in Porter’s (1710) map as the small circles at the top of the illustration (from Carstensen 1993:5); b) The original entrance road to the plantation. The slave village was located along this road as confirmed by excavations in January 2000.
Idealized guides or treatises on plantations in the 18th century emphasized the advantages of a mill in a central location and an overall symmetry to the estate. The authors also acknowledged that the ideal was not always possible given local variations in geography and climate and Bettie's Hope Estate was not an exception. The Bettie's Hope Estate site consists of above surface ruins, exposed foundations and floors, two restored buildings including a sugar mill and an outbuilding, and a restored water cistern within the 100,000 square foot research area (see Figure 21, 22 and 23). Two cemeteries are also located within the study area, with a possible third cemetery located immediately west of the study area.

The above surface stone ruins consist of the boiling house, still house, curing house, sugar mill, overseer's house, manager's house, slaughter house, pay office, and groom's house. The surviving sugar works (see Figure 24, 25, 26 and 27) were constructed as three distinct work areas within one two-story building. They are well-cut limestone with ornamental features of brick; fragments of roof tiles can also be found in the immediate area. This is consistent with the architectural drawings of 1780 that were commissioned by Sir William Codrington (Codrington Papers, P9 Microfilm). There is little evidence of modifications for the steam driven machinery of the late nineteenth century. The sugar mill ruin stands immediately south of the restored mill (see Figure 28). It was converted to a water cistern probably during the late nineteenth century. It would appear that different masons constructed this mill from those who worked on the northern mill in 1737. However, modern restoration of the northern mill could be
The overseer’s house was constructed at the beginning of the twentieth century. It was still in use until 1944 (H. Mack, personal communication 1999). It is a stone house immediately south of the two mills. This location would provide easy surveillance and access of the water resources and the sugar works. The manager’s house was constructed at the turn of the twentieth century to move the estate manager from the great house (see Figure 29). It has a raised stone foundation which would have provided the manager and his family with much needed ventilation as well as a clear view of the sugar works and the village located immediately to the north. Surrounding this house is a low stone wall that enclosed a front garden similar to the Great House enclosure but on a much smaller scale. This house was destroyed in the 1908s by a fire set by African-American protestors over the idea that preserving the plantation was equivalent to building a monument glorifying the enslavement of Africans.

The slaughter house was also constructed in the twentieth century in an attempt to diversify the plantation by raising cattle. Tall stone walls surround the area where cattle were herded for slaughter. It is located just west of the manager’s house. The pay office was built to pay the plantation workers following Emancipation in 1834. It is a small stone building large enough for one to two persons and located below the incline of the sugar works very near the site of the second slave village. It has undergone renovation since its initial construction. The groom’s house (see Figure 30) is located near the area of the stable. It is another twentieth century building and was occupied until
the late 1980s (H. Mack, personal communication 1999). This is a simple two room dwelling with multiple windows to allow cross ventilation. It is constructed of salvaged stone and concrete with a tin roof which is quite typical of 20th century Antiguan residential design.

Figure 21. Plan of the intended research area for the preliminary survey of Bettie’s Hope Estate as provided by the Betty’s Hope Trust in 1996.
Figure 22. Preliminary survey map (1999) showing the actual archaeological research area within Bettie’s Hope Estate for Christensen. The probable location of the Codrington family cemetery on Bettie’s Hope Estate in the area labeled “C.” The general area where 3 headstones were located into the late 20th century in the area labeled “B.” The areas labeled as “A,” “J,” “Q,” “V,” and “W” illustrate the areas where artifact clusters were identified during the preliminary survey of Bettie’s Hope Estate in 1999.
Figure 23. The former cattle pen that Codrington turned into a water cistern estimated to hold 24,000 gallons of rainwater.

Figure 24. The surviving stone ruins of the sugar works including the floors of the boiling house with the adjoining still house in the background.
Figure 25. An interior view of the still house. The building was two stories high. The brick arches, large keystones, Italian tile fragments, well cut limestone, and careful masonry work illustrate Codrington’s large investment in his manufacturing facilities.

Figure 26. An interior view of the still house. The building was two stories high. The brick arches, large keystones, Italian tile fragments, well cut limestone, and careful masonry work illustrate Codrington’s large investment in his manufacturing facilities.
Figure 27. The exterior of the stop story of the still house. There are remnants of the Georgian architecture and mixed building materials called for in the 1780 design. The five cisterns for rum production are also visible in the foreground.

The exposed foundations of stone buildings were found throughout the site (see Figure 22). Several large rectangular stone floors, located to the south and southeast of the water cistern, do not appear on any known maps of the site. The earliest known map of Bettie’s Hope Estate is drawn by Porter in 1710 (see Figure 31) when the water cistern was still in use as a cattle pen. It is possible therefore that these buildings date from the earliest period of the plantation. The stone is well dressed, shows the skilled work of
masons, and has clear margins so it is more likely that these are floors than the current belief that it is part of an old access road. The cut stone floors of these buildings were exposed by vehicular traffic and by torrential rainfall during Hurricane Lenny in 1999 (see Figure 32).

Figure 28. The southern mill with the ruins of the overseer’s house behind it. The mill was converted to a water cistern to power steam machinery in the late 19th century.
Other stone foundations were also easily visible. One of these foundations is located northwest of the restored mill (see Figure 33) which correlates to the site of the sugar mill present on the survey map of 1710. It is a circular perimeter of stone which has a diameter that measures almost exactly that of the standing mills. There is also what appears to be a ramp leading up to this foundation from the north side which correlates to the main access road of the plantation. An earlier curing house foundation can be seen between the northern end of the boiling house and the manager’s house (see Figure 34). It correlates well to Clapham’s 1755 map of the estate. The great house (see Figure 35) has only a few remnants of its stone foundation left on the rise where it stood until the 1960s. There is a large concrete basin still standing which was used a bathtub in the twentieth century (H. Mack, personal communication 1999) and gives some information about of one of the interior rooms. Some of the houses within the northern slave village are visible by exposed stone foundation ruins as well as house mounds in this area. Test excavations by a team from New York University in January 2000 established that the stone foundations and fragments of tile from the roofs were indeed indicative of the slave village during the colonial era.
Figure 29. The manager's house which was built and occupied in the early part of the 20th century. It appears to be made of salvaged stone.

Figure 30. The groom's house which was occupied until the 1980s. It is constructed of salvaged stone and concrete mortar typical of 20th century Antiguan masonry.
Figure 31. Surveyor’s map of Bettie’s Hope Estate drawn by Porter in 1710. It is the earliest known map of the estate. The Garden Estate is located near the bottom. The Pottery Works are labeled with a “W” near the Negroe Ground (from Carstensen 1993).

Figure 32. The cut stone floors exposed in the heavy rain of late 1999. These floors do not appear on any survey maps which may indicate outbuildings present prior to 1710. The two standing mills are in the background. The northernmost mill was part of a 1980s project to restore the estate for tourism purposes.
Initial enthusiasm for developing Bettie’s Hope Estate as a national historical site resulted in the restoration of a sugar mill, a storage building, and a water cistern (see Figure 36). These restorations were interesting for visitors but were the ill-advised work...
Figure 35. The Great House location shown from the main entrance of the colonial era into the walls from the west.

Figure 36. A map drawn by Goodwin in 1988 illustrating the restored buildings of Bettie’s Hope Estate (from Carstensen 1993).

of untrained volunteers and have been poorly maintained. This has resulted in damage to authentic buildings as well as a false image of plantation life in the colonial period. Large
Figure 37. One of the windmills from Bettie’s Hope in the early 20th century at harvest time. The sails are lightweight cloth over wood (Stanmar Agencies, date unknown).

Figure 38. The restored mill with the sails off. Note the large cracks appearing above the arch from ten years of minimal use. The cracking is due to the heavy weight of greenheart wooden supports and sails which are too heavy for the stone infrastructure.

Figure 39. Location of the third cemetery (outside of survey area) using the cadastral survey map of the area (from the Surveys Office, The Government of Antigua and Barbuda 1999).
cracks are appearing in the restored mill from the weight of heavy wooden sails constructed from greenheart that are used for the reproduction in place of a lighter weight wood and cloth sails similar to the colonial design (see Figures 32, 37 and 38). The work of the masons on the three restored areas does not reflect the skill or materials of the workmen of the plantation’s colonial period and therefore visitors receive an image of isolated plantation buildings which do not withstand the demands of the environment or industry around them.

One cemetery was identified by the apparent earlier presence of three headstones which had all been removed by vandals between 1996 and 1999 (Betty’s Hope Trust, personal communications 1999). It is possible that this is the location of the Codrington family’s cemetery (see Figure 22) referred to in the family’s Bible for the burial on the estate of John Codrington and two or three of his cousins in the early eighteenth century (C. Codrington, personal communication 1998). The other cemetery is located north of one of the slave villages (see Figure 22). It has been used into the early twentieth century according to former residents of the plantation (H. Mack, personal communication 1999). No grave markers could be found during the investigations despite the informant’s assurances that iron railings were used at one time to mark twentieth century graves in this location. This lack of above surface markings is not unusual in modern Antigua where many new graves remain unmarked. Graves within cemeteries also tend to be reused with little concern for the disruption of previous burials.

The third cemetery (see Figure 39) was identified following the removal of topsoil
by a local contractor which exposed oval circles of stones similar to those of modern graves which keep a plastic covering intact on the grave to protect flowers from goats and other roaming animals. It is interesting to note that these graves appeared to be oriented on the north-south axis which is believed to be the situation of graves for criminals in modern Antigua (W. Grigg, personal communication 1999). Handler, Conner and Jacobi (1989) also identified the orientation of slaves' graves to be on the north-south axis at Newton’s Plantation in Barbados. There have also not been any crops grown on that particular section of very arable land in modern memory (H. Mack, personal communication 1999). These factors would suggest a graveyard of persons not meeting the requirements for a “Christian” burial and was, therefore, to be avoided for fear of visitations by a bad spirit or “jumby.”

The surviving buildings at Bettie’s Hope Estate demonstrate the evolution of the plantation over three hundred years of occupation. There are at least three different masonry building techniques to be found which mark the varying styles of the masons who constructed them. The sugar works are the finest example of the mason’s skill with complicated arches and careful attention to detail with variations in stone and tile materials which make the buildings an excellent example of industrial Georgian architecture in the West Indies (see Figures 40, 41, 42, 43 and 44). The two standing sugar mills are not constructed by the same masons. There is a marked contrast between the two mills that can distinguish the work of different masons (see Figures 28 and 38). Certainly, the skills of the masons who built the northernmost mill in 1737 were inferior
to those of the masons who constructed the sugar works.

Figure 40. Architect's elevation drawing of the sugar works for Bettie's Hope Estate in 1780 (from the Codrington Papers).

Figure 41. Architect's plan for the sugar works at Bettie's Hope Estate in 1780 (from the Codrington Papers).

It is believed by locals that the manager's house (see Figure 28) was constructed several centuries ago but investigations into masonry skill show that assumption is not the
Figure 42. Brick arch with limestone keystone in the lower story of the still house. There is also a stone pillar in the background. These elements are original and have not been restored.

Figure 43. Stone window frame from the upper story of the still house.
true case. The building is constructed with concrete rather than the traditional lime mortar. The stonework is inferior to that of the mills and the sugar works. The construction technique also uses broken pieces of stone in differing colors rather than the carefully cut blocks of the same type of stone. These are all features seen in the

Figure 44. Stone work in the still house which shows the skill of the Georgian masons who originally constructed these sugar works.
the same type of stone. These are all features seen in the twentieth century stone
buildings in Antigua. There are openings in the lower level wall that appear to be slits for
aiming weapons, however the edges of these openings would not allow somebody
standing inside the building to aim a weapon in any direction but straight forward. The
slits are angled on the outside of the building which suggests ventilation or ornament
rather than defense. There is a tower constructed in the early twentieth century on the
island of Barbuda which is built in almost an identical manner which suggests the same
masons built the buildings within a close time frame.

There are surface scatters of artifacts in some areas of the site, however, it was not
possible to obtain a large enough sample to meet statistical validity. There are some
interesting clusters in the artifacts which would warrant further investigations (see Figure
22). On the south side of the great house buff there were no fragments of Afro-Antiguan
pottery found but many types of British and European ceramics from several time periods
could be identified, including porcelain, Westerwald and transfer print. The slave village
areas were a mixture of Afro-Antiguan pottery with British and European ceramics. In
the former work areas there is a marked reduction in household artifacts and a definite
increase in fragments of iron and architectural elements such as slate, tile and brick. It
should be noted that artifact distribution, especially surface distributions, are highly
questionable on a tourist site since there is a tendency for the fragments to be picked up
and moved by modern hands.

The Codrington family had their own pottery works on the adjoining plantation of
The Garden. It is directly south and adjoins the main estate of Bettie’s Hope (see Figure 31). These pottery works enabled the family to produce their own ceramic goods for use in the production of sugar as well as for household use. They were also able to produce surplus ceramics for sale to other planters. There are many fine paste, well-fired ceramic fragments on the surface at Bettie’s Hope Estate that appear to use the same clay as the cruder, pit-fired Afro-Antiguan ceramics so it would be of value to investigate if these fragments were ceramics produced by the Codrington pottery works (see also Petersen, Watters and Nicholson 2000).

The pottery works are now located under the Potswork Dam Reservoir and, consequently, were unavailable for further investigation. The reservoir is becoming badly silted with little government interest in preserving it as a water source for the island. It may be possible in the future to obtain access to the pottery works for archaeological investigations.

Archival research in Antigua can be challenging due to the inconsistencies of storage techniques, record keeping and staff cooperation. The National Archives represent the largest assemblage of documents on the island. These documents are reasonably stored and accessible for the determined researcher. There are also some documents at the Museum of Antigua and Barbuda which are poorly archived with major pest problems and little regard for the security of the documents from environmental damage.

There are two options on the island for investigating the Codrington family
archives. The first is a microfilm copy of the Codrington Papers which was made to enable researchers to see the documents after they were sold at auction in the 1980s. The second is the actual documents themselves which were returned to Antigua in December 1999 by the anonymous buyer. Understandably, the National Archives are reluctant to allow access to these fragile papers and archival research had to be done using the microfilm copy. No direct copying method (including tracing) of the records was permitted. This decision by the staff did not allow for copies of some of the important illustrations to be made and provided for this thesis. Some of the illustrations that are included have been obtained through photocopied documents of the Betty’s Hope Trust or from other sources such as manuscripts.

The records represent an outstanding source for the history of plantations over more than two centuries. While they are incomplete and of limited use before 1740, accounts, reports, general memoranda and correspondence after this date complement each other in increasing detail to give a clear picture of the workings of the Codrington family estates in Antigua and Barbuda. There are approximately 8000 documents in the collection known as the Codrington Papers. These are the records of one planter family’s interests on two of the British West Indian islands and therefore the papers include maps, plans and other documents relating to all of their many estates. The generalized categories for the papers include: General Estate Papers, Maps and Drawings, Accounts, Legal Papers, Business and Commercial Papers, Correspondence, and Miscellaneous Papers. A listing of some of the information to be found within the categories,
especially as they pertain to Bettie's Hope Estate, is included in Appendix 1.

For the most part, there are few records to be found dated prior to 1715 which is not surprising since the Codringtons of that time were in the islands and would not have sent as many documents to England. The small number of title deeds and legal papers prior to 1715 make property acquisition dates difficult but Bettie's Hope Estate was definitely a Codrington holding prior to 1696 (Codrington Papers, T2 Microfilm). There are few estate records and accounts earlier than 1740, however there is almost a complete series of these records from 1785-1850 and from 1902-1944. There are two letter books from Sir William Codrington to his attorneys in Antigua with instructions and inventories from 1715-1721. In addition, there are letter books from his successor, William, dating 1751-1763 and 1783-1791. There are letters from the three attorneys representing the Codrington family on the island from 1780-1864 and 1872-1936. The correspondence relating to Emancipation is full and detailed with opinions of the legislation and petitions for reimbursement. The correspondence of the mid-nineteenth century provides ideas of what was needed for a profitable plantation, including the introduction of steam technology. The early twentieth century correspondence justifies the process of amalgamation of the plantations under the Sugar Syndicate. The Merchant House, half was owned by a member of the family, has records which are unusually complete from 1757-1774.
There are three sets of architectural drawings in the Codrington Papers. George Heroit drew both the ground plan of the old sugar works as well as the ground plan and elevation of the new sugar works in 1780. A comparison of the ruins today with the appearance of the buildings in the drawings (see Figures 40 and 41) shows that his design was carried out in very close detail and has undergone very little alteration since its construction. It is a remarkable design in that the boiling house, still house and curing house are all joined together into one industrial complex. Successful implementation of this design would have required overcoming the very real problem of keeping humidity from the boiling house and still house from entering the curing house. The design, in a t-shape industrial layout, would have made sugar production much more efficient and therefore profitable. The third set of architectural drawings were done by Mirlees and Tait, Engineers of Glasgow in 1862. These drawings were done as a proposal for the placement of a steam powered engine for the boiling house and the northernmost sugar mill. There is very little evidence of these steam powered works left on the site, except for two of the iron water tanks which are located some distance from the sugar works.

In addition to the architectural drawings, there are three maps to be found on microfilm which show Bettie’s Hope Estate. The earliest of these maps is by Porter, a surveyor, who drew the map around 1710 (see Figure 31). It is the only map known to exist of the plantation since it was founded in 1654. It is very detailed and allows the researcher to clearly see the layout of the plantation well into the sugar era. The second map is drawn by Clapham, another surveyor, in 1755 (see Figure 45). This map is a high
quality drawing with details of the plantation layout, including dimensions for some of the buildings. There have clearly been changes to the plantation in the forty-five years between the surveys, including the addition of a second slave village and the relocation of the sugar works. The third map is a drawing of the plantation by Peter Halloran, also a surveyor, in 1778 (see Figure 33) just prior to the construction of the new sugar works that give the site the same layout that can still be seen today. Halloran’s picture is a
detailed drawing of Bettie's Hope Estate but it requires some interpretation of the buildings identified in the legend since it was drawn in only one dimension. He did, however, give the dimensions of the great house and included a drawing of a water mill
Figure 46. Halloran’s detailed drawing of Bettie’s Hope Estate’s buildings in 1778 just prior to extensive renovations. The watermill is the smaller mill shown on the left of the picture (from Carstensen 1993).
most likely located near a stream which ran through the plantation activity area at one
time (see Figure 46).

The preliminary archaeological survey was completed in 1999 and utilized these
maps and drawings to identify structures and activity areas located during the survey. In
addition, a cadastral survey done by the Government of Antigua and Barbuda in the 1980s
was used to locate survey markers and modern structures (see Figure 39). It is apparent
that the site has undergone changes to its layout during the course of its history while also
maintaining some of the same features that were put into place in the seventeenth century.

It is possible to identify the footprint of the original tobacco, ginger and indigo plantation
of Governor Keynall within the framework of the sugar plantation of the Codrington
family, especially in the map drawn by Porter around 1710. It is also worthwhile to note
some of the features, such as building foundations, were tentatively dated as belonging to
an earlier time period because they were not present on even the earliest map.

Clapham’s survey of 1755 allows the identification of an expanded sugar
production facility at Bettie’s Hope Estate. He records that the boiling house has fifteen
coppers, that there are at least five cisterns and a pond for water storage, as well as that
there are separate quarters for indentured servants and two slave villages to house the
expanded work force. The ornamental tamarind walk and formal garden of the earlier era
are now gone in place of the two new mills and increased sugar cane acreage. The great
house remains intact from the original design of Governor Keynall with its enclosing wall
and a turret at each corner. The turrets have become offices for the doctor, bookkeeper,
overseer, and tradesman. Bettie’s Hope Estate was now heavily invested into maximizing profit from sugar cane production with little concern for the aesthetic improvements of the living area of the resident owner or managing attorney. The estate was entering its own era of absentee ownership where the current Lord Codrington would spend minimal, if any, time in the islands, preferring instead to preside over the family fortunes from the relative comfort and safety of the family’s English estate called Dodington Park. The drawing by Halloran in 1778, just prior to the major renovation of the sugar works, supports the relatively few changes to the estate between 1755 and 1778 while Sir William Codrington was building his property holdings on Antigua. However, he was planning to modernize the estate into a more efficient production facility and instigated the new sugar works in 1780. His successors did little to change the plantation layout in the centuries that followed except for the expansion of the original slave village and the abandonment of the second one, as well as the addition of steam technology in the later half of the nineteenth century. Bettie’s Hope Estate remained occupied and intact until the amalgamation of the estates under the Sugar Syndicate in 1944 when the workers were moved into villages and the estate buildings became a source of stone for the construction of local officials’ houses up to the current day.

The appearance of some of the estate’s buildings has been preserved in copies of photographs taken at the turn of twentieth century during a visit by members of the Codrington family. The original photographs can be found in the Museum of Antigua and Barbuda. They are also in a small handbook published by the Betty’s Hope Trust.
The original photographs are badly damaged and are not being stored under archival conditions which will lead to the eventual loss of these important documents. The photographs are especially useful for studying the great house which was reduced to its foundation in the 1960s through stone theft. The great house was a two-story dwelling situated on a rise with an open verandah on the top story which faced south and west toward the sugar works (see Figure 47). It was a t-shaped stone building with all other support buildings located to the north. The surrounding wall remains intact with at least one ornamental gate on the west side (see Figure 48). The other single photograph shows the sugar works with the alterations made to accommodate steam technology but still relatively consistent with Heroit’s design of 1780 (see Figure 49).
Figure 47. The Great House at Bettie’s Hope Estate that was photographed in 1900 during a visit by the Codrington family. This photograph shows a t-shaped, two-story dwelling with a verandah facing south and west (from the Codrington Papers).
Figure 48. The ornamental gate on the west side of the Buff in 1900. The Great House is in the background. The original entrance to the estate was from the west rather than the modern entrance on the eastern side of the estate (from the Codrington Papers).
Figure 49. The sugar works at Bettie’s Hope Estate in 1900. The estate was utilizing steam technology at this time (from the Codrington Papers).
Chapter 6

Bettie’s Hope Estate Within the Plantation Model

Bettie’s Hope Estate is a site which has been a part of nearly all of Antigua’s historical period. It was founded by a land grant only twenty years after the English had landed at Willoughby Bay to colonize this small Leeward island. It began its life as the agricultural property of the island’s governor. It then changed the landscape of Antigua forever under the ownership of a powerful, wealthy and aristocratic family that introduced sugar and all of its accompanying environmental, industrial, political, economic and social transformations. It survived intact following the Emancipation of slaves to remain a major sugar producing estate until it was sold in the twentieth century during the amalgamation of sugar plantations. With the collapse of the sugar industry on Antigua, Bettie’s Hope then began its gradual decline into an abandoned site that remains only a shadow of its former status as a showplace of the Caribbean.

In some ways, Bettie’s Hope Estate is a prime example of the British West Indian colonial settlement. The site was built according to the British colonist’s ideal of what a plantation should be in appearance and efficiency for profit. The construction and operation of the site had a permanent impact on the island’s environment. It was the location of many historical events involving some well-known characters. Its fortunes rose and fell within the framework of the global colonial system. Finally, Bettie’s Hope
was a backdrop for the social system based on color which developed on the plantations of the islands.

The plantation model for the British West Indian sugar plantation designates that the model would have to incorporate a research strategy that accounts for the uniqueness of the culture in the British West Indies. This model was applied to archaeology in order to study not only the description of the plantation but also the actual settlement pattern and the meaning the plantation would have had for the people who inhabited it. The plantation model was applied to the preliminary survey information for Bettie’s Hope Estate in Antigua. The research completed in 1999 incorporates material cultural remains, the documentary record and ethnographic accounts into the test of this model for its feasibility in future research.

**Governor Keynall’s Plantation**

At first, the general plantation model for studying plantations appears to be suited to Bettie’s Hope Estate. The inherent assumption in this model is that a British plantation would be the same throughout the British colonies regardless of location. The appearance of the great house compound suggests a bawn, or fortified settlement, similar to those built by the English in colonial Ireland in the 16th century. Certainly, this settlement pattern could serve as an indication of the wholesale importation of British cultural values. However, the construction of this fortified settlement was completed during a period of strictly agricultural enterprises. Antigua in 1652 was a small island which produced crops such as tobacco, indigo and ginger for the European market. Most of the
plantations were small and easily managed by a family with some indentured servants. Christopher Keynall, Governor of Antigua, was granted a large plantation of 725 acres on the limestone plain of the island for the cultivation of these crops. He designed his estate to reflect this strictly agricultural enterprise. He also needed to protect his family, servants and livestock from attacks by Carib Indians and the French. The great house and outbuildings at Bettie's Hope were built on a rise within stone walls which had four towers, one at each corner. The use of the great house and its compound as a military garrison during the French occupation of Antigua in 1666 stands testament to the design as serving as a defensible base.

The appearance of a bawn inspired compound in the British West Indies suggests that there is a continuity in English colonization methods for settling new or unknown lands. It is dangerous, however, to assume that the construction of the Bettie's Hope great house compound translates into a wholesale importation of a colonization system. “Here more than one meaning cries out for recognition, and any attempt to assert a single, unified cultural intention gives way to a daunting realization: The awakening landscape of colonized America reveals multiple, often contested, levels of intention and meaning lying both abroad on the ambitious, broken earth of settlement and within the hewn confines of specific artifacts (St. George 1990:282).”
Governor Keynall may have decided to build this enclosed structure in such a manner for many purposes. For the defense of his property and family, for the grand appearance of stone walls, towers and a large stone house, or even as a practical way of running an agricultural enterprise with a small workforce. At the time Bettie’s Hope Estate was founded there was no need for specialized manufacturing facilities or for the accommodation of a large workforce so a compact living and working space would meet the needs of the estate’s inhabitants while leaving the surrounding land free for agricultural purposes. Thus, the stone floors located to the southeast of the great house complex could be the remains of outbuildings for the handling of crops like tobacco.

The assumption of what Bettie’s Hope Estate looked like as a new plantation is based on the earliest map drawn by Porter in 1710 (see Figure 31) along with no record in the Codrington Papers of extensive renovations to the great house compound following acquisition of the estate in 1674. Some caution is necessary, however, because of the abandonment of the plantation by its owner during the French invasion and its subsequent use as a garrison. There are also some reports of burning and damage to the outbuildings of the estate during the French occupation. It is unclear if the estate was actually re-occupied by Governor Keynall’s widow, Joan Hall, after the English regained Antigua in 1666. The estate was forfeited to the Crown because she had left her property during the invasion and this was considered an act of treason. It was therefore not known to be occupied when Governor Codrington received his grant for the estate in 1674. These factors may have resulted in changes to the physical layout of the plantation that would
not be revealed by the preliminary survey but may be revealed with more extensive
excavation.

Sugar Arrives with Codrington

It is with the advent of sugar production and the switch to a combined agricultural
and manufacturing enterprise that the changes to this structure and its surrounding
buildings must be studied within the context of the adaptations necessary in the tropical
climate, the effect of an absent upper class on social trends and the effect of a white
minority within a large immigrant population. The plantation is considered the birthplace
of Caribbean culture and it is therefore important that archaeologists be able to study the
social relationships of masters, managers, overseers, high status slaves, field slaves and
free men, all of whom were present on Bettie’s Hope Estate.

Bettie’s Hope, like the other sugar estates of the British West Indies, was an
industrial complex as well as an agricultural property. It compares favorably with
Clement’s (1997) model for sugar plantations in Tobago. Bettie’s Hope Estate confirms
his assumptions that sugar estates would be designed and constructed based on idealized
conceptions of how an estate should appear in combination with constraints forced upon
those conceptions by the natural environment (Clement 1997). Bettie’s Hope Estate also
had the further constraints of having already been occupied as a tobacco, indigo and
ginger plantation prior to its conversion to a sugar plantation, in addition it had been
producing sugar and its products for nearly one hundred years prior to the British
acquisition of Tobago in 1763.
According to Clement’s (1997) model of sugar plantations, based on his survey of Tobago, British planters chose sites that had the essential attributes to maximize their profit from their single crop of sugar. These attributes include: a water supply readily accessible for rum production, sugar works located close to transportation by sea, a mill for grinding the sugar cane, an efficiently designed factory for processing the extracted sugar cane juice, a t-shaped great house with arched stairways and decorative brick work, and slave villages usually located near the slaves’ place of work in the fields and manufacturing facilities. Governor Codrington was an experienced and wealthy sugar planter from Barbados when he arrived in Antigua. The estate granted to him, Bettie’s Hope Estate, fulfilled all of these essential attributes and may have been the reason for his acquisition of this particular plantation.

Christopher Codrington was the Governor of the Leeward Islands as well as a successful sugar planter in Barbados. This strong military leader was not known as a diplomat where the other planters were concerned and indeed was proving to be very unpopular on that island. In 1674 he was given the 725 acre land grant of Bettie’s Hope Estate and he subsequently moved the seat of government from Barbados to Antigua. Sugar was also becoming a major crop for fueling the economic growth of England so moving Codrington to Antigua allowed for the expansion of England’s sugar production capabilities.

Bettie’s Hope Estate was abandoned and most likely not in any operating condition for growing crops. Codrington, however, was an experienced and wealthy
planter who was able to bring full-scale sugar production and its supportive framework (including the first sugar mill) to Antigua within a short space of time. The transformation of Bettie’s Hope into a major agricultural and manufacturing enterprise that produced sugar products was aided by the addition of adjoining estates so that the combination of five estates into one meant that Codrington controlled a large strip of the best cane land on the island totaling 1105 acres.

The introduction of sugar as a crop also meant there was a need for an increased workforce and lead to the introduction of large scale slavery to Antigua. Codrington was able to keep a steady supply of slaves for his plantation because of his shipping interests which could bring in new slaves directly to his plantation from Africa rather than trying to acquire slaves from the established trading system. One of the consequences of this was the selection of only certain ethnic groups from Africa, chiefly Coromantee or Akan, which would have affected the culture that would have developed in the slave villages of Bettie’s Hope Estate. He was also able to expand his enterprise more quickly than his fellow planters who had to depend on the Royal Africa Company for slaves.

The third generation of Codringtons, under the leadership of William, expanded the family’s business enterprises by extensively renovating the estate, including the sugar works as well as the addition of a second slave village. It is interesting to speculate what the presence of these two slave villages for part of the plantation’s history would have had on the inhabitants of these villages (see Agorsah 2000). Armstrong and Kelly (1990) discovered two slave villages at Seville Estate in Jamaica that revealed two different
spatial arrangements that varied over time. The early 18th century village was linear along a road while the late 18th century village was centered on a common area. At Bettie’s Hope, the two villages could have resulted in divisions along tribal lines from Africa as well as preserved some African customs on this Caribbean island, especially since Codrington had a stated preference for one tribe over others. The slaves may have seen differences that the white upper class would not have seen. If there was a delineation between work activities of the older village and the newer village, it could have produced a class system based on skills within the slave community. Of course, these issues would become even more significant for the inhabitants when the second village was abandoned and the two villages were consolidated.

William Codrington also introduced multiple agricultural and manufactured products to the plantation’s commodities. The aim here was for self-sufficiency rather than a dependence on others for essential supplies such as foodstuffs, shipping, and household goods. A large factor in their continuing success as a prominent planter family can be associated with the acquisition of Barbuda which supplied not only food but profit from salvaging shipwrecks and an off-shore landing place for both legal and illegal imported goods. By 1829, the Codringtons felt secure enough in their success to publish a *Treatise on Agriculture*, a copy of which can be found in the Codrington Papers, advising other planters on how to profitably run their sugar plantations.

Antigua has been well known for its inherent problem of a shortage in water supply. However, the map drawn by Porter in 1710 (see Figure 31) clearly shows a
stream bed as well as a cistern and pond for water storage. Later modifications to the plantation saw the cattle pen converted to a large water cistern estimated to hold 24,000 gallons of water. In addition, the still house contained its own facility of five water cisterns to provide water for rum production (see Figure 22). The stream bed was no longer viable for a source of water by 1755.

The sugar works have not been in one location throughout the history of the plantation. Some of these buildings were moved one or even two times until the final construction of the combined factory in 1780. Regardless of location within the plantation, the sugar works have always been located close to roads constructed for transport of the cane and the finished products. The estate itself is located only one mile from the protected harbor of Barley Bay (see Figure 50). The sugar cane at Bettie’s Hope was ground in two windmills at least as early as 1710. By 1738, the two mills were relocated to the crest of the buff directly opposite the great house where they remained as a prominent part of the plantation.

The factory began with a design which entailed separate buildings for the boiling, curing and distilling of sugar cane juice. This was a common design since the humidity from the boiling house and still house could easily ruin the drying process in the curing house. However in 1780 Bettie’s Hope was able to overcome this problem with a design from George Heroit which allowed the buildings to be consolidated into one factory. The T-shaped factory was a very efficient plan which allowed the products of sugar cane processing to be moved a minimal distance throughout the manufacturing
process. The use of steam driven machinery to facilitate the processing was not introduced until 1889 under the guidance of Gerald William Henry Codrington.

The living spaces on Bettie’s Hope Estate consisted of the great house, with a servant’s quarters nearby for white servants, and the slave villages. The estate house was built of local cream limestone upon a rise approximately 100 feet above sea level. It was a two story structure with a T-shaped layout. The sugar works were the most visible aspect of the plantation from the full verandah located on the second story of the house. This verandah was placed to obtain the maximum breeze from the tropical trade winds. The slave villages would not have been easily visible from the great house since the location of most comfort (the verandah) was located with a view to the south, away from the main slave village to the northwest and the second slave village located to the east on the other side of the factory below a rise. The appearance of stone foundations within the main slave village along with slate fragments on the surface suggested that the slaves did indeed live in houses constructed of stone with slate roofs. Excavations carried out by New York University in January of 2000, based on this preliminary survey data, revealed that the house mounds located within the slave village did indeed reveal stone foundations of small houses with fragments of slate tiles indicative of roofing materials deposited in the archaeological record.

Clement (1997) makes some comments on the appearance of “showplace” estates on the islands of the British West Indies. These estates were the homes of elite, ruling families. The Codringtons certainly were one of these families and their main estate of
Bettie’s Hope was considered a showplace by the local community right into the middle of the twentieth century prior to the demolition of the great house for building stone.

Bettie’s Hope Estate certainly qualifies under Clement’s (1997) guidelines for naming it a showplace estate. It was a large plantation with a core of 725 acres and with adjoining plantations grew to be 1105 acres. The estate produced additional craft goods from the work of potters, coopers, blacksmiths, and masons. The owners of the estate, the Codrington family, enjoyed a higher status within the white community on the British island primarily due to having a baronet as the head of their family. They enjoyed a higher status among black workers even after Emancipation due to their ability to provide year-round employment, fair treatment and training for blacks in the trades (Smith 1982).

The physical appearance of this British West Indian plantation is not part of an uniform design that can be placed on all sugar plantations in Antigua. It fits very well within the overall model for British West Indian plantations but it requires a more intensive and comprehensive investigation to truly be placed as a cornerstone of the British West Indian plantation model. Bettie’s Hope Estate had a dominant influence on the culture that developed on Antigua. This dominant influence is directly related to the political, administrative and economic control this plantation introduced to this island community by establishing the dominant crop of sugar and its associated physical and social infrastructure. Governor Codrington came to Bettie’s Hope Estate and changed the face of the island forever.
Chapter 7

Conclusion

In summary, the argument presented in this thesis contends that the British West Indian plantation reflects a settlement pattern that adapted the natural environment using the technology of the colonial era to provide an economic organization that governed the production of sugar and its products. However, the plantation functioned not only for economic transactions but also as an arena for cultural and political interaction within colonial society. Specifically, this study examined the settlement pattern of the first sugar estate that was established on the island of Antigua, Bettie’s Hope Estate.

I have argued that a distinct culture emerged in the British West Indies during the colonial period that calls for a separate research model for archaeological investigations of plantation sites in these Caribbean islands. The research models presented for plantations in the American Southeast do not allow for the dominance of the sugar plantation’s influence in the culture of the islands. Sugar controlled the political, administrative, economic, and social aspects of the community. The plantations that have been so thoroughly researched in the Southeastern United States are adaptations of the tropical settlement pattern of the Caribbean region with only the agricultural production aspect of the plantation transplanted to the continent. In the British West Indies, the choice of sugar as the primary crop resulted in these plantations becoming manufacturing facilities as well as commercial agricultural enterprises.

There is also a need for archaeologists in the Caribbean to account for environmental adaptations within a restricted geographic area, the effect of a primarily
absent upper class on social trends, and the effect of a white minority within a large, enslaved immigrant population. The British West Indian plantation model designates that the researcher would have to incorporate these influences that helped to create the uniqueness of British West Indian culture. Archaeologists need to study not only the description of the physical layout of a sugar plantation over time and with changing technology, but also the settlement pattern and the meaning the plantation had for the people who inhabited it. Higman, in his investigations of Montpelier in Jamaica, reminds us that “[e]ach plantation dominated its own extensive territory, representing a kind of isolated state with the ingredients for the development of a creole perception of community and sense of place (1998:1).” Investigations of the social relationships within British West Indian plantations would be a beneficial aspect of future research involving these island plantations.

The lack of uniformity, even on the same island, in the physical layout of the plantations which produced the dominant products of sugar cane is one of the elements of a research model for the British West Indian plantation. The differences between plantations serve to make them local manifestations of a modern world system. These plantations may differ in layout however their development as manufacturing sites that produced final products for market sets them apart from the Southeastern United States plantations which produced crops such as cotton. The islands also tended to have absentee owners whose largely unadorned homes did not serve the purpose of imposing control over the landscape. The large monetary investment in ornate manufacturing buildings instead of investments into large homes for the owners reinforces that most
island plantations were places of profit while the continental plantations were places of residence with intimate ties between owner and slave. The plantations in the islands may look different from each other but they were all developed for only one reason: to produce the same end products of sugar, rum and molasses. To achieve this goal of end products for a world market they did not operate the same as plantations on the continent and therefore should be studied under a separate research model.

I have also argued that writing the history of the islands of the West Indies provides an unique opportunity to treat the history of the region like a ship that arrived on the shores from outside and the history of this place began. The islands of the Caribbean were inhabited when Columbus arrived, however, that culture was destroyed by the time the British colonists began to inhabit the Leeward Islands. A world history did not begin until the explorations and colonization of Europeans encompassed the world and because colonial populations were not formed in isolation their links with other populations of people and the larger trends of world history require attention. The arrival of Codrington at Bettie’s Hope Estate was the result of many factors beyond the island of Antigua and yet his arrival and subsequent imposition of the sugar plantation complex clearly marks the beginning of a significant change in the physical, economic, social, and political landscape of Antigua.

A plantation like Bettie’s Hope Estate has its own structure and history, and this must be as much a part of the analysis as its relations within the larger context of Antigua, the British West Indian islands, Great Britain and the global sphere of British colonialism. However, “one of the greatest future contributions of historical archaeology
will be, not to demonstrate when specific technologies emerged, documents are usually better sources, but how a specific system works at a specific time and in a specific place (Schuyler 1999:67)." Schuyler (1999) refers to this concept of placing a site within its historical context as an historical ethnography. This preliminary study of Bettie’s Hope Estate attempts to do just that, place this particular plantation within a limited time period on a specific island.

However, this research also attempts to assist in the development of a theoretical model for archaeological research of plantations in the British West Indies. This study indicates the importance of the industrial area to the overall spatial organization of the plantation unit. The archaeological and documentary evidence both indicate the importance of considering the industrial areas together with agricultural and domestic areas as the setting for the daily activities of a plantation’s residents. A preliminary study provides merely a foundation for future archaeological research that attempts to answer research questions about the plantations of the British West Indies.

Future Directions

Bettie’s Hope Estate is an invaluable site for archaeological research into the plantations of the British colonial period in the Caribbean. It is to be hoped that future research will happen there that will include archaeological excavation as well as historical documents from the Codrington Papers. Certainly, there is a need to convince Antiguans that the site is an historical resource worth preservation and investigation. The greater challenge, however, is in convincing them that researchers from outside Antigua do not wish to steal their history but rather provide them with a more realistic picture of
Archaeological research is a growing field in the Caribbean. As this expansion occurs, it becomes obvious that archaeologists who study sugar plantations in the region need to develop research models that address the differences between the plantations of the islands and the continent. In the case of the islands of the Eastern Caribbean, the most promising avenue of research is in the landscapes of colonialism into which identities of the past have been written. These landscapes include the planters’ houses, the slave villages, sugar works, land cleared and worked by free, indentured and slave labor, and artifacts and architecture brought together from the traditions of three continents in new circumstances. This landscape perspective, advocated by Hicks from the University of Sheffield for his current work in St. Kitts, has the potential to change the current emphasis on site-based and artifact-based archaeology of plantation sites.

There is a need to distinguish between these two geographic areas in the New World because the cultures that developed there are not the same despite a common history of plantation agriculture and an enslaved African workforce. The people of the West Indies do not identify themselves with people of the United States; therefore researchers should treat them as distinct groups while studying their past histories. Plantation research in the Caribbean clearly requires an approach that is both multidisciplinary and multicultural. One is left hoping that after large numbers of artifacts are uncovered in the Caribbean islands, and thousands of hours are spent in the archives, an ethnography of the colonial community could be written that would enhance our understanding of the colonization process. It is a territory that most historians would no
care to explore.
APPENDIX

a) Estimate of the Value Expenses & Produce of an Estate of 150 acres of Land in the Leeward Islands from the Codrington Papers

b) Letter from a slave asking to purchase himself from Codrington (circa 1829-1837)

c) List of General Estate Papers (1759-1885) found in the Codrington Papers and available for research purposes in Antigua

d) List of Accounts (1740-1857) found in the Codrington Papers and available for research purposes in Antigua

e) List of Legal Papers (1710-1829) found in the Codrington Papers and available for research purposes in Antigua

f) List of Business Records from Messrs. Codrington and Miller (1751-1762) found in the Codrington Papers and available for research purposes in Antigua

g) Correspondence (1700-1864) found in the Codrington Papers and available for research purposes in Antigua

h) Inventory List dated 1715

i) List of Maps found in the Codrington Papers and available for research purposes in Antigua
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Value (£)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>150 Acres of Land</td>
<td>2800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120 of fine land</td>
<td>3000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 at £ 10 a piece</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 at £ 50 a piece</td>
<td>1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 Acres in pasture at £ 15 a piece</td>
<td>750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value of all land</td>
<td>6550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 Slaves</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 Men &amp; Women (including lademen) at £ 50 each</td>
<td>3000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 Children at £ 30 ea</td>
<td>900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Old superannuated at £ 10 ea</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value of all slaves</td>
<td>1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buildings on the Estate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a Windmill worth</td>
<td>1500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a Breeding House, Milk House, &amp; store</td>
<td>2500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Dwelling House</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Houses for the Servants, &amp; House servants</td>
<td>5000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coppers, still &amp; spouter &amp; room worth</td>
<td>1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36 head of Oxen at £ 30 a head</td>
<td>1080</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Stables worth £ 10 ea</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Carts, Rum Kuts, Valis, Horses, Copper Kades, Chimneys, lamps &amp; 60 Nago Houses, Laundry, other articles wanted in a plantation, &amp;c</td>
<td>1900</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Estimate of the Value Expenses & Produce of an Estate of 150 acres of Land in the Leeward Islands (Codrington Papers, 3 pages)
Maintenance of 2,000 slaves in 1808 at £3 each at £3,600.

Rents, lands, and for buildings, and other premises.

£3,600.

Deduct 3% for building, 6% for rent, and 5% for other premises.

£2,806.

Other expenses, including

- For the maintenance of an Apprentice, including
  doctor's charges for his attendance on the sickens.
  £500.

- Parish rates, say.
  £20.

- Legal fees.
  £10.

- Bills, Nails, and other articles of consumption.
  £50.

- 2,000 lbs Oak Staves, for Sugar, at £200.
  £400.

- Shipyards, for new pinnaces, or, from English vessels.
  £70.

- Horses, Tampers, and other materials for repair of the ship.
  £10.

- Ropes, shrouds, and other materials for the repair of the ship.
  £20.

- Freight of the goods of the ship, from the port to the wharf.
  £10.

- Tenders for renewing Blacksmith's tools.
  £100.

- Coppermith's tools, for repairs.
  £10.

- Other expenses, totaling approximately £1,500.
  £1,500.

Total expenses: £3,806.
Produce

Sugar annually about 70 klbs., from which there is to be deducted the 4f. 6d. duty. If sold sustained till it arrives in Europe, the net remaining about 45 klbs. at which price it sells for £18. 6s. 8d. kld. in £1170, is to be brought into currency, £1870...

Rum about 45 klbs. which being disposed of in the Island, to pay part of the expenses in clearing about £15 18s. 6d.

£ 2545
My dear master,

I have taken the liberty of addressing you on a most particular matter, that is not appropriately to allow me the honor of purchasing myself and I hope this may not be too offensive to you if I should be extremely charg my dear master this address as with a sincere regard toward your welfare as well as myself. I shoue at the attempt of asking the favor you know that you have a family which must interested you after and I trust your kindness will you writing this letter should reach you and also the family in good health and prosper. Master and the other part of the family my dear master I do not ask this favor for any other purpose than for the benefit of myself nor should I think from the prospect that I am now and always it is more my intention of I was three times free to give up that I was of all to you I shall if you will be kind enough to grant me this favor I would be very thankful to you in the farthest letter I have not written to you nor written under any thing that I have done but it was impossible for me to write. I have this honor I wish to you from the a given that you have received from a few of your letters and the garden. In the letter of mine.

I remain your most humble.

Your most humble

Edmund George Codrington.
List of General Estate Papers (1759-1885)

1759-1783  Apprenticeship deeds and indentures for boys to work as covenant servants

1740-1793  Inventories of slaves and stock
   1740- tools and equipment
   1751 and 1793- health and occupation of slaves
   1783-1793- number of slaves imported

1806-1830  Annual lists of negroes (incomplete series)
   - names, ages, occupation, color

1885  Tests on mill from 1881-1885

1753-1829  Powers of attorney to attorneys and managers

1777-1844  Various notes and memoranda

1733-1740  Trade between American and West Indian colonies

1786, 1792  Lumber and grain imports 1771-1796
   Detailed American produce 1787-1792

1824-1835  Letters from CB Codrington to Colonial Secretary
   -Barbuda as a slave nursery
   -profitability of West Indian plantations (1833)
   -preventative means of stopping slave trade
   Compensation documents at Emancipation
   -number and class of slaves for each Codrington estate

(1810)-1833  1829 agricultural treatise
List of Accounts (1710-1857)

1740-1751  24 documents
1741-1751  1 volume
1756-1777  8 volumes of ledgers (1756-7, 1760, 1768-9, 1777, 1765 with journal)
1756-1777  5 volumes of journals (1756, 1758, 1765, 1775, 1777)
1779-1782  6 volumes of final accounts (1780 contains lists of slaves)
1785-1786  1 volume of annual accounts
1786-1787  1 volume of annual accounts
1787-1788  1 volume of annual accounts
1788-1789  1 volume of annual accounts
1789-1790  1 volume of annual accounts
1790-1791  1 volume of annual accounts
1791-1792  1 volume of annual accounts
1793     1 volume of annual accounts
1794     1 volume of annual accounts
1795     1 volume of annual accounts
1796     1 volume of annual accounts
1797     3 volumes of annual accounts
1798     1 volume of annual accounts
1797-1798 1 volume of annual accounts
1799     1 volume of annual accounts
1792-1796 1 volume of ledgers
1752-1815 29 loose account documents (including new sugar works of 1780)
1764     2 volumes of plantation accounts
1780, 1782 3 volumes of plantation accounts
1801     1 volume of plantation accounts (January 1-June 30)
1804     1 volume of plantation accounts (January 1-June 30)
1804     1 volume of plantation accounts (June 30-December 31)
1816     1 volume of plantation accounts (January 1-June 30)
1826-1827 1 volume of plantation accounts (July 1-June 30)
1827-1828 1 volume of plantation accounts (July 1-June 30)
1828-1829 3 volumes of plantation accounts (September 1-December 31)
1830     1 volume of plantation accounts (January 1-December 31)
1831     1 volume of plantation accounts (January 1-December 31)
1832     1 volume of plantation accounts (January 1-December 31)
1833     1 volume of plantation accounts (January 1-December 31)
1810-1821 40 documents annual/semi-annual summary accounts
1847     1 volume of plantation accounts (January 1-December 31)
1848     1 volume of plantation accounts (January 1-December 31)
1849     1 volume of plantation accounts (January 1-December 31)
1851     1 volume of plantation accounts (January 1-December 31)
1852 1 volume of plantation accounts (January 1-December 31)
1853 1 volume of plantation accounts (January 1-December 31)
1855 1 volume of plantation accounts (January 1-December 31)
1857 1 volume of plantation accounts (January 1-December 31)

Accounts held with merchants in England for sales of West Indian produce:
1719-1723 1 volume invoice book
1751-1765 Accounts of Sir William Codrington with Messrs. Codrington and Miller
1785-1795 65 documents of correspondence/accounts with Samuel Span of Bristol
1802-1813 2 volumes of accounts of C.B. Codrington with M. Trattle
1824-1828 1 file containing a sales book
(1707)-1838 29 documents of annual statements of the sugar crop (incomplete series)
Legal Papers (1710-1829)

1710-1746  15 documents containing case papers regarding the estate of Christopher Codrington
1726       1 document showing agreement for payment of debt
1741       1 document as a deposition alleging mismanagement and mistreatment of slaves on Barbuda
1771-1779  35 documents regarding a bond for a loan on Skerrett’s Estate
1779-1805  28 documents showing annuities paid out of Bolan’s and Jenning’s Estates
1804-1821  46 documents regarding legal proceedings to repossess Skerrett’s Estate
1810-1824  3 documents containing opinions regarding M. Trattle as sole consignee for sugar crop
1827-1829  243 documents of case papers for Codrington vs. Trattle
List of Business Records from Messrs. Codrington and Miller (1751-1762)

Accounts
1751-1760  4 volumes of invoice books
1753-1759  1 volume journal with monthly financial transactions
1753-1765  2 volumes of ledgers (B and C)
1758-1762  1 volume accounts current book showing balance of accounts

Correspondence
1758-1761  1 volume letter book
Correspondence (1700-1864)

1700 1 letter from England showing shipments to and from Antigua
1715-c1790 1 volume letter book of Sir William Codrington includes: invoices, inventories, instructions for attorneys, and Codrington family tree (1470-c1720)
1720-1721 1 volume letter book of documents from Sir William Codrington to plantation managers
1723 2 documents instructing the settled estate of Bettie’s Hope be separate from the rest of the Codrington holdings
1740-1744 4 letters with detailed reports from the managers
1751-1763 1 volume of letters to managers includes references about apprentices from England and slave trading
1753-1758 10 letters from brothers Christopher and Edward to Sir William Codrington
1758-1782 24 letters including valuation of slaves and buildings
1773 2 letters which include cultivation, negroes health and runaways
1779-1781 24 letters includes reference to new buildings at Bettie’s Hope
1779-1780 7 letters from town agent
1779-1783 11 letters with detailed reports on the estates
1780-(1783) 2 letters from H. de Ponthieu
1783-1791 2 volumes of letters to Antigua
1783-1792 8 letters containing rules of good management and plans for new buildings at Bettie’s Hope
1780-1805 19 letters from attorneys in Antigua
1781-1792 9 letters from Barbuda
1780-1795 13 letters from various West Indian residents
1781-1794 17 letters regarding plantations of Rooms, Bolans and Jennings
1789-1791 4 volumes of the letter books for C.B. Codrington with full descriptions of estates
1790, 1791 4 letters and memoranda of C.B. Codrington in Antigua
1791-1793 5 documents containing Mrs. Kerby’s description of Antigua
1805-1816 22 documents from Hodges in Antigua regarding the purchase of Guiana Island
1807-1828 43 documents from Barbuda and Clare Hall Estate
1810-1813 9 documents about possible purchasers of Jennings Estate
1814-1822 13 documents regarding Clare Hall
1808-1815, 1819 4 volumes of letters to attorneys
1812-1828 35 documents about Bolans, and Jennings Estates 1812-1815 and other estates 1816-1828
1828-1835 29 letters to and from Antigua
1831-1846 12 documents about Barbuda
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year Range</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1836-1839</td>
<td>21 documents with full description of island and conditions on it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1809-1830</td>
<td>17 documents on negroes and the treatment of them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1829-1837</td>
<td>3 documents from slaves asking for freedom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1792-1824</td>
<td>46 letters with M. Trattle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1828-1829</td>
<td>28 letters regarding the appointment of a new attorney, fraud of M. Trattle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>45 documents for shipments to/from Antigua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1832</td>
<td>40 documents from Liggins regarding Emancipation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1833</td>
<td>37 documents from Liggins regarding Emancipation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1834</td>
<td>34 documents with negotiations for compensation at Emancipation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1835</td>
<td>37 documents including one letter giving total compensation for 5 estates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1845-1864</td>
<td>32 documents including processing of aloe fiber and purchase/installation of steam boilers and machinery</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Inventory List (1715)

**Slaves**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Cattle** 88

**Stillhouse**

- 4 Great stills
- 4 Worms
- 4 worn tubs
- 1 little still worn out of order

**Boyleing House**

- 16 coppers
- lead skimmers
- 11 ladles

**Wagons** 4

**Cart** 1

**Yoaks** 25

**Chains** 12
List of Maps (c. 1710-1862)

c. 1710 Porter’s detailed map (4 documents)
   Scale 13.3 inches to 1 mile

1755-c. 1820 Clapham 1755 survey (10 documents)
   Scale 20 inches to 1 mile

1778 Peter Halloran’s drawing (1 document)

1780 George Heriot’s ground plan of old works (1 document)
   Scale 20 feet to 1 inch

1780 George Heriot’s ground plan and elevation of new works (1 document)
   Scale 10 feet to 1 inch

1862 Plans of sugar works (3 documents)
   Proposed arrangement of steam engine and sugar mill by Mirles and Tait, Engineers, Glasgow
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Year</th>
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<tbody>
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<td></td>
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<td>1993</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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1995 Sennen Cove, Penzance, Cornwall.

Orser, Charles E.

Otto, John S.

Petersen, James B., David R. Watters, and Desmond V. Nicholson

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Prince, Mary

Prunty, Merle, Jr.
Pulsipher, Lydia Mihelic

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Webster, C.
VITA

Catherine M. Christensen

Born in Biggar, Saskatchewan, Canada, July 20, 1964. Graduated from Lindsay Thurber Comprehensive High School in Red Deer, Alberta, Canada, June 1982. Registered Nurse Diploma, 1988, Red Deer College. B.A. (Honours), University of Calgary, 1997; the Honours thesis was a cataloguing system for historical artifacts for British West Indian sites with a test case performed on a British military site from Antigua. M.A. Candidate, The College of William and Mary, 1999-2003 with a specialty of Historical Archaeology in Anthropology. The course requirements for this degree have been completed, but not the thesis: An Archaeological Survey of Bettie’s Hope Estate.

Participated in several field seasons of excavations on the island of Antigua that explored both historic and prehistoric sites. Lived on Antigua for approximately two years while completing research for the Masters thesis. Presented ideas about island history to a wide variety of audiences, including local school children, television programs, historical societies, government officials, and archaeologists at international conferences. Maintains a strong interest in the British colonial system and its effects on a wide range of cultures and environments. Continues to write articles on British West Indian history with intentions of publication.