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Afro-Barbadian Foodways: Analysis of the use of Ceramics by Freed Afro-Barbadian Estate Workers

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Afro-Barbadian Foodways: Analysis of the Use of Ceramics by Freed Afro-Barbadian
Estate Workers

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A Thesis presented to the Graduate Faculty
of the College of William and Mary in Candidacy for the Degree of
Master of Arts

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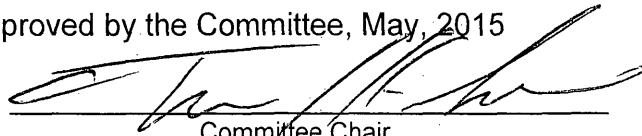
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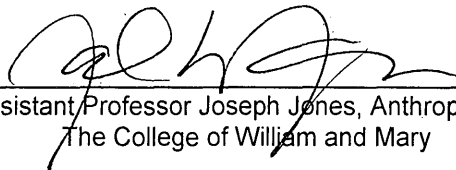


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ABSTRACT

In the 1830s, an act of emancipation freed the enslaved laborers of the British Caribbean colonies. What impact this historical event had on the enslaved populations is not well known. Historians, such as, Lawrence Brown and Tara Innis, explore how the act of emancipation in Barbados led to economic and political troubles, including a shortage of food and the preservation of family unit. Lacking from the historical documentation is a detailed understanding of the everyday lives of enslaved (and then freed slaves) during this time period. Archaeology, through the analysis and interpretation of archaeological material, provides data of the everyday lives of people relatively absent from the history books.

Archaeological excavations of a slave village at the sugar plantation, St. Nicholas Abbey, reveal material culture that reflects the lives of enslaved people during the period leading up to, and after emancipation. As a commonly found artifact, ceramics provide information about foodways and identity. I argue that the ceramics used by the enslaved people at St. Nicholas Abbey reveal evidence of the creolization of Barbadian foodways during the late period of slavery and emancipation. The ceramics reflect the techniques used by enslaved peoples to navigate the historical, economic, and social complexities that occurred with emancipation. Excavations in 2007 and 2014 produced a number of artifacts that were then catalogued into the Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (DAACS) database. A comparative ceramic analysis with two contemporary sites in the Atlantic World demonstrates how the simultaneous use of imported and locally-made ceramics, the various forms, and the difference in ware-types highlight issues of availability, cultural preferences, and nutritional needs and ideas. This study demonstrates how the critical analysis and interpretation of ceramics can be used as a lens to answer questions about the identity, the responses to historical and social factors, and the society in which the enslaved and freed peoples participated.

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1 Introduction

The first half of the nineteenth century marked the emancipation of enslaved peoples in the British Caribbean. Though officially emancipated in 1834 (and fully emancipated in 1838), former slaves faced new challenges. They had to adapt to a new labor system during the nineteenth century. This thesis explores how former slaves responded and reacted to the changing political, economic, and social environment that followed emancipation. These changes are evident in the ceramic assemblages of estate workers at St. Nicholas Abbey plantation in Barbados.

Archaeological investigation of a former slave village in Barbados presents an ideal opportunity to study the effect of emancipation on the foodways of former slaves. The material culture excavated from the site provides a wealth of knowledge that can be used to understand how former slaves engaged with the new labor system and created new lives as free peoples. Foodways ceramics dominate the artifact assemblage at St. Nicholas Abbey and offer a lens into how enslaved people survived and formed a new cultural identity. Drawing on comparative evidence from contemporary sites of enslaved peoples in North America, I argue that the ceramic use by former slaves at St. Nicholas Abbey reveals evidence of a distinct creolization of Barbadian foodways during the late period of slavery and emancipation.

Comparative foodway ceramics from nineteenth-century sites of enslaved peoples in North America highlight the culinary changes taking place in Barbados. Specific to this study is the archaeological sites of Middleburg Village in South Carolina and building 's' of Mulberry Row at Monticello in Virginia. The historical and ethnic similarities between enslaved peoples in the Caribbean and the United States makes a comparative study necessary. James Deetz, for example, noted that the colonoware found in South Carolina is similar to the wheel thrown and handmade forms of Barbadian pottery. The knowledge of wheel-thrown and handmade forms came with the slave potters the Barbadian settlers brought with them to South Carolina. The interactions with the slave potters with the other groups influenced the development of colonoware in America (Deetz 1996:239).

Concerned with the anthropological problem of how cultures develop, this thesis explores the formation of cultural groups by enslaved and freed people through social, political, and economic interactions. The differences in the political history and demographics of Barbados and North America highlights the distinctiveness of Afro-Barbadian traditions (Mintz 2007:30–31). How the enslaved population navigated the various political, economic, and social changes can be studied through the lens of creolization. The creolized nature of Barbados is evident in the ceramics used and discarded by enslaved and free workers at St. Nicholas Abbey. As the demographical, political, and economical factors change, so did the strategies used by enslaved and freed populations to not only survive, but continue developing unique cultural traditions.

The first section of my thesis reviews the theoretical and historiographical foundations of African Diaspora Anthropology and Archaeology. By reviewing the critical literature written by Theresa Singleton, Sidney Mintz, and Richard Price, I am developing a framework that explores the multiple and creative use of ceramics by enslaved and freed peoples. Theresa Singleton advocates for a multivalent approach that takes into consideration the worldviews of both the planters and the enslaved peoples (Singleton 1995:127). Singleton and Price agree on the importance of analyzing specific historical and social settings. Using these insightful critiques, I attempt to understand Afro-Barbadians perspectives on cuisine. This study synthesizes arguments about the manufacture and use of foodway ceramics and the transformation of cultural traits and activities. This synthesis provides a framework for understanding how former enslaved Afro-Barbadians reacted to changes caused by emancipation.

The second section describes the archaeological excavations, cataloguing, and findings from the 2007 and 2014 field seasons. Dr. Frederick Smith led both field sessions as part of his historical archaeology field school. The 2014 excavations were a continuation of the 2007 investigations that identified the slave village site. Though little archaeological testing had been done in 2007, Sean Devlin, in his Master's thesis, described it as a village for enslaved peoples. Devlin's thesis focused on the presence

of inkwells as evidence of education activities of Afro-Barbadians during the early to mid-nineteenth century. The artifacts mentioned in Delvin's thesis, along with the artifacts excavated in 2014 were cataloged into the online database of the Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (DAACS) as part of a summer case study for the DAACS Research Consortium (DRC). The thorough cataloguing and analysis of the artifacts provides a wealth of data used to answer questions about foodways. The extensive DAACS database allows for a detailed comparison between different sites associated with slavery in the Atlantic World (www.daacs.org).

The third section is a comparative analysis of ceramics found at St. Nicholas Abbey, Middleburg Village, and Building 's' of Mulberry row, Monticello. Differences and similarities in the origin of manufacture, vessel forms, and ware-types of the ceramics are used to understand how each of the three sites are unique to their respective locale. The last section discusses how the artifact assemblages relate to documentary evidence of diet, nutrition, cultural identity, and creolization. Factors, such as, availability, cultural ideas, and nutritional strategies had a significant impact on the nature of the foodway ceramics found at St. Nicholas Abbey. The innovation and creativity of the newly freed peoples to use what was available in old and new ways is reflected in the creolized nature of Afro-Barbadian culture. This study positions Barbados within the larger discussions of African Diasporic foodways in the larger Atlantic world.

2 A Brief Review of the History of Barbados

Barbados, the easternmost island in the Caribbean, was settled as an English colony in 1627. Barbados was originally inhabited by Amerindians visiting from nearby islands. Caribs continued to visit the island, assisting the Englishmen with growing crops and adapting to the environment (Smith 2001:428–429). When Richard Ligon visited Barbados in 1647, the island included mostly Englishmen, indentured servants (mostly of Irish descent), and enslaved Africans from various parts of the West and Central African coasts (1657:43–46). Barbadians first attempted to grow tobacco with the labor of Caribs, indentured servants, and enslaved Africans. However, the higher quality of tobacco produced in the Chesapeake made Barbadian tobacco economically insignificant. Barbadian planters unsuccessfully attempted to grow indigo and cotton (Beckles 1989a:13–15).

In the 1640s, Dutch merchants and planters fleeing the Portuguese recapture of Pernambuco, Brazil introduced sugarcane, capital, and sugarcane processing equipment to the economically struggling island of Barbados. Sugar production quickly became the focus of plantations (Dunn 2000:61). With great wealth from the sugar industry, the planter's class rose. By the 1680s, most of the land and slaves was owned by seven percent of the property holders. The Anglo-Saxon Anglican planters dominated the social, political, and economic institutions (Beckles 1989a:26) As Sidney Mintz notes, sugar was a labor-intensive crop and the demand for sugar also increased the demand for cheap labor, which led to the forced migration of millions of Africans to the New World (1986:31–32). With plantations also emerging in North America, the slave trade became key to the economic success of these colonies. In Barbados, small plantations were bought up by large planters and incorporated into big estates (Dunn 2000:66–67). Smaller planters were forced to migrate to other islands or colonies. Some Barbadian planters, merchants, artisans, small farmers, sailors, servants, and slaves migrated to the Carolinas to form the colony of South Carolina (Dunn 2000:113). Barbados was the “gem” of the British Empire until about 1720, when sugar production in Jamaica and the Leeward Islands surpassed that of Barbados

(Beckles 1989a:27). Regardless of the migrations and economic struggles, Barbados remained a heavily populated colony. By the 1800s, the density of Barbados was 600 inhabitants per square mile (Beckles 1989a:41).

On August 1, 1834, the Emancipation Act freed enslaved people under the age of six. Those over the age of six would be freed after serving an apprenticeship for 12 years. The apprenticeship period was to provide time for both enslaved peoples and planters to adjust to freedom (Beckles 2004:30). Not pleased with the forced emancipation of their large labor force, Barbadian planters implemented the tenantry system to secure a source of labor. The Barbados Act of 1838 and the Contract Law allowed Barbadian planters to dictate the terms of labor (Beckles 1989a:70–71). Afro-Barbadians could stay in their houses and surrounding land as long as they continued to work for the plantation. Rent was informally deducted from laborer wages, keeping the freed population poor and dependent on the plantation estates (Beckles 2004:49–51). Lawrence Brown and Tara Inniss argue that these methods employed by planters affected the Afro-Barbadian family unit. Planters restricted access of estate resources from the fully emancipated children of plantation laborers. Families, especially mothers, were encouraged to remain on plantations to provide for their children (Brown and Inniss 2006:260–261).

From the beginning of slavery, the enslaved Africans rebelled openly through riots (Beckles 1989a:35–40). The Barbados Act of 1661 was imposed to gain control over the “African” slaves. A revision to the Act in 1688 restricted the movement of enslaved Afro-Barbadians. Enslaved Afro-Barbadians could only attend Sunday market with permission from their masters (Dunn 2000:240). Simultaneously, the act and other legal conditions sought to restrict African cultural activities and prevent Afro-Barbadians from participating in European activities, such as church services (Dunn 2000:250; Beckles 1989b:34). Afro-Barbadians responded by taking cultural aspects of their spiritual and philosophical world views underground, while also openly adopting European elements of the creole culture. For example, Frederick Smith argued that the consumption of rum among enslaved Africans was a form of resistance and used

for communicating with the spiritual world (Smith 2008:95,157).

St. Nicholas Abbey, established in ca.1658, has been owned by various families. Founded by Benjamin Berringer, the estate passed to his wife and then to his son, John Berringer, in 1661 (Handler, Conner, and Jacobi 1989:42). The plantation by that time was two hundred and twenty-two acres with a main house, overseer house, outhouses, and two windmills. In 1694, Berringer's daughter, Susanna, and her husband, George Nicholas, inherited the estate. George Nicholas lost the plantation due to debts and it was purchased by John Gay Alleyene, a prominent lawyer, in 1730. The brothers Lawrence T. Cumberbatch and Edward C. Cumberbatch bought the estate in 1810-1811. When Lawrence Cumberbatch died, it passed to his daughter, Sarah, and her husband, Charles Cave, in 1822 (Handler, Conner, and Jacobi 1989:43). Larry Warren purchased the estate in 2006 to preserve and restore the plantation and distillery.

St. Nicholas Abbey offers insights into many areas of research, such as Jacobian architecture of the main house, the politically important owners, and the workers (enslaved, indentured, and free). Previous archaeological around the great house has provided information about the lives of the plantation owners who had once lived there. The estate's great house is still standing and now serves as a focal point for visitors to the estate. The houses of the enslaved, indentured, and free workers on the other hand have disappeared into the estate's landscape. Jerome Handler in 1987 conducted walkover surveys and ethnohistorical research of several plantations in Barbados, including St. Nicholas Abbey, in an unsuccessful attempt to locate the burial grounds of enslaved workers. At St. Nicholas Abbey, Handler, et al. (1989) noted the presence of stone piles along a cart road northwest of the main house, which he thought may have been the location of a slave village, though his team did not test the area archaeologically.

Throughout the history of the estate, the acreage size expanded and contracted but remained relatively the same in size. The size of the enslaved population rarely changed throughout the years. In 1686, there were 157 slaves. Between 1817 and 1832, the slave population was 183 (Handler, Conner, and Jacobi 1989:44). In 1834, a slave

list was created to record demographic information about the population residing at St. Nicholas Abbey. There were, at that time, 171 enslaved individuals. Table 1 summarizes the distribution of people by ethnicity, gender, and occupation.

Table 1: Enslaved Population of SNA, 1834

	Barbadian	African	Colored	Black	Domestic	Labourer
Men	74	2	8	68	6	70
Female	94	1	4	91	7	88
Total	168	3	12	159	13	158

Source: Barbados Slave Register 1834 Volume 11 pp.54-49 St. Nicholas Plantation March 1934

The enslaved population reflects the historical trend of ethnicity, race, and labor divisions found in Barbados at the time. Almost all of the population were Barbadian-born (98 percent), “Black,” (93 percent) and laborers (92 percent). Historically, this particular population was effected by the amelioration and emancipation acts.

The percentage of women and men at St. Nicholas Abbey reflected the overall gender distribution found in Barbados. Hilary Beckles notes that from the start of slavery in Barbados, women outnumbered men. Planters attempted to correct this ratio. However, by emancipation there were far more women than men (Beckles 1989b:7–22). At St. Nicholas Abbey, the majority of enslaved workers were unskilled field laborers. Barbadian planters did not see a difference in the tasks of men and women. In fact, they encouraged women as field laborers, based on the knowledge that in West Africa women were known to work in the fields (Beckles 1989b:24). Women were also important contributors to the economy of the local internal marketing system. Women marketers, known as “hucksters” dominated weekend markets, a trend that exists to this day (Beckles 1989b:72–73). Many of the artifacts found at St. Nicholas Abbey were, therefore, likely procured by women through marketing activities in the nearby port of Spieghtstown.

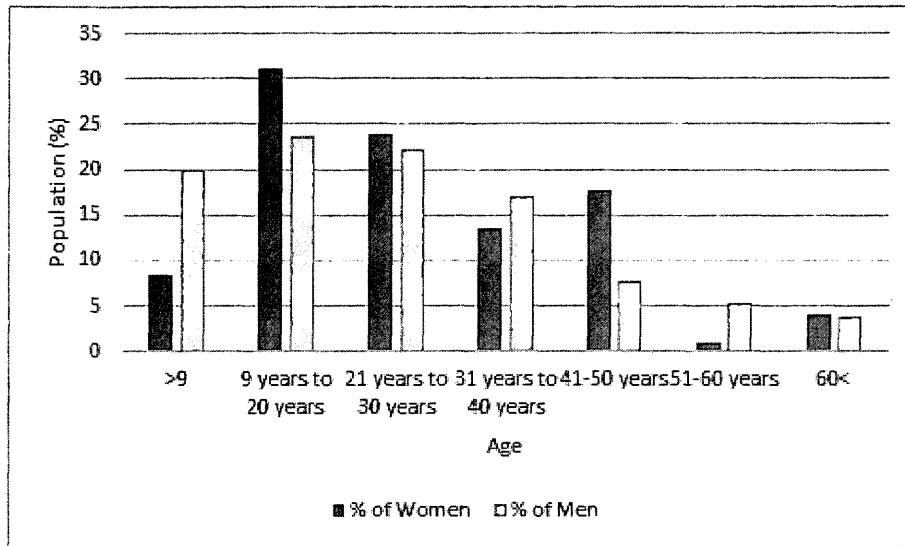
Men, though predominately field laborers, had other occupations as well. In Barbados, the local pottery was made predominately by men (Handler 1963:317). To this day, pottery is made by men and sold by women. At St. Nicholas Abbey, due to the

proximity to Chalky Mountain where pottery was made, it is likely that the men there participated in the local pottery industry to some extent. Men also occupied various supervisory roles (Beckles 1989b:32).

The limitations of the 1834 slave list make it difficult to discern family kinship ties among the population. Though children are listed, there is no indication of family units. The slave list may reflect the planters' lack of interest in family units. Emancipation and amelioration practices by both planters' and freed slaves would change the importance of family ties. The demographics hint at the matriarchal nature of Barbadian society. The "matriarchal" society among Afro-Barbadians developed in this time as a necessary survival strategy. During the amelioration period, Barbadian mothers would remain working as laborers on the plantations to avoid losing their homes and provisioning grounds. Men would then seek labor off the estate to try and improve the family's economic situation. This would lead to the appearance of a matriarchal society, where women seemed to be heads of the household (Brown and Inniss 2006:261).

Figure 1 shows the age by gender of the enslaved population in 1834. The greatest number of people by age group for both women and men are between the ages of 9 and 20, followed closely by the age group 21-30 years. Women tend to be young adults or middle-aged. Most of the men seem to die before the age of 30, as the numbers steadily decrease after that age bracket. Most of the children under the age of 9 are male. Based on the slave list, children under 9 also do not have an assigned occupation. Instead, they probably completed small tasks in the fields.

Figure 1: Age of Gender of Enslaved People, SNA, 1834



Barbados in the mid-1800s experienced dramatic changes to its social, economic, and political structures. Most affected by these changes were Afro-Barbadian field laborers. Instead of the promised freedom, Afro-Barbadians experienced a transition into a tenantry system that did nothing to improve their quality of life or their position in society. Faced with injustice, a change in social structure, and a struggling economy, Afro-Barbadians took control of and shaped their lives in post-emancipation Barbados. St. Nicholas Abbey, because of the demographics of its population, offers an opportunity to study the lives of post-emancipated Afro-Barbadians.

3 The Anthropology and Archaeology of the African Diaspora

African Diaspora

African-American scholars, such as Frederick Douglass (1962), Booker T. Washington (1971), and W.E.B. Du Bois (2007) examined the lives and plight of African-descended peoples in the Americas. Inspired partially by these pioneering scholars and by the civil rights movements of the 1960s, plantation archaeology was developed to investigate the daily lives of enslaved Africans. However, plantation archaeology is limited in scope and neglects the study of sites associated with freedmen and other Africans in the Americas. The multidisciplinary comparative approach of African Diaspora Archaeology encourages the nuanced understanding of all African-descended peoples throughout the Atlantic World (Posnansky 1984).

The archaeology of the African diaspora emerged from early debates in African Diaspora anthropology. Melville Herskovits in *The Myth of the Negro Past* (1941) argued that "Africanisms," African cultural survivals, were evident in the New World. Disagreeing with the idea that African slaves abandoned their cultural traditions crossing the Atlantic, Herskovits claimed that the cultural traditions were nurtured on the slave plantations. Herskovits uses the process of acculturation to explain how the African and Euro-American populations interacted. Acculturation occurs when the continuous interaction between different groups of people begin to influence culture change within one or all the groups involved (Herskovits 1941:10). The extent to which cultural groups "acculturated" can be measured on a spectrum. For example, the inhabitants of Suriname occupy the "African" end of the spectrum. The fully acculturated African-descended people from the Northeast United States occupied the other "Euro-American" end of the spectrum. The cultural groups of coastal Africa, Haiti and Santo Domingo, the British, Dutch, the Danish West Indies, Gullah islands, and the Southeastern United States fall in between the African and Euro-American extremes (Herskovits 1941:15–16). Herskovits' spectrum assumes that African peo-

ples who have extended contact with Europeans adopt more European traditions over African traditions. It remains a Eurocentric approach that disregards cultural and nuanced forms of cultural innovation and resistance.

The creolization model put forth by Richard Price and Sidney Mintz challenges the acculturation aspects of Herskovits' model. Price and Mintz argue that instead of two homogenous cultures encountering each other, the Africans in the Americas "became a community and began to share a culture only insofar as, and as fast as, they themselves created it" (Mintz and Price 1992:14). Cultures were being created and/or transformed from the interactions of various African and European ethnic groups in the New World. Price and Mintz were interested in the process of how elements of culture are transmitted, lost, and modified. (Mintz and Price 1992). For example, instead of cataloguing "Africanisms" in Haiti, Price and Mintz were interested in how Afro-Haitians in their environment developed Haitian Vodoun. (Mintz and Price 1992:17). Price and Mintz were interested in the modification of African culture and did not take in consideration the interactions of different Europeans and peoples in the New World. For example, in the Caribbean, the immigration of Asians changed the culture of the Caribbean in the late 1800s.

Historical Archaeology

Plantation archaeology first began interpreting findings from slave cabins using Herskovits' approach. Leading the pioneering study of Plantation Archaeology, Charles Fairbanks in 1968 excavated the slave quarters at Kingsley Plantation, Jacksonville, Florida. (Fairbanks 1974:87–88) Zephaniah Kingsley, the plantation owner was well known for allowing his enslaved population freedom in engaging in African cultural beliefs and habits. Hence, Fairbanks expected to find "Africanisms" at the slave cabin sites. He was disappointed that none were visibly present (1974:90).

In 2007, James Davidson revisited Kingsley plantation and excavated several of the standing slave cabins. Using ideas of creolization (as proposed by Mintz and Price), Davidson determined that several of the excavated artifacts revealed evidence of cre-

olized African influences. The burial of a fully articulated chicken in the corner of a slave cabin was interpreted as evidence of the enslaved inhabitants' engagement of rituals within their multiethnic African community (Davidson 2015). The discovery of structured deposits containing chicken bones, ceramics, and iron objects could be interpreted as evidence of diet, architecture, and other aspects of life. However, as Davidson demonstrates, those same artifacts could also be material manifestations of underlying cultural behaviors, such as rituals. Davidson's study, among other archaeological studies such as those by Leland Ferguson (1992), look for continued African influences in the creolized grammar of culture (Singleton 1995:133).

Approaches, such as Davidson's, are useful in sites where there is obvious evidence of "African" creolization. Singleton identifies these approaches as a limitation for sites that have no obvious "African" presence (1995:134). This issues encourages a different way of understanding cultural identity formation (1995:134). Singleton calls for a framework that considers the specific historical and social factors that shape African American life. The historical and social factors contribute to the creation of a culture that is neither "African" nor "European," but "Afro-American." Rather than looking for "Africa," archaeologists would interpret "how material expressions (ethnic boundaries) emerged. . . were maintained. . . eliminated. . . and transformed" (Singleton 1995:134). The framework of this thesis is to investigate how emancipation influences the cultural and material lives of the enslaved peoples and the transformation of an "Afro-Barbadian" culture. Singleton in 2010, writes that the African Diaspora should be used as an analytical tool to investigate issues concerning displacement, origins, and comparison between the various groups of the African Diaspora (Singleton 2010: 127-128). In this thesis, I attempt to use the African Diaspora as an analytical tool to explore the linkages between groups of African diaspora people in South Carolina, Virginia, and Barbados.

Foodways

“Foodways” is the study of the “whole interrelated system of food conceptualization, procurement, distribution, preservation, preparation, and consumption shared by all members of a particular group” (Anderson 1971:xl). Foodways studies are a focus for plantation and African diaspora archaeology because of the abundance of food-related artifacts and faunal material found at enslaved domestic sites. The interpretation of foodway evidence has evolved from studies of solely slave nutrition to themes of access, cultural identity, and social control (Singleton 1995). Comparing patterns in ceramics and faunal material can help shed light on the diet of workers at St. Nicholas Abbey.

Diet is important to archaeological interpretation on foodways as it reveals information about nutrition and cuisine. For example, Diana Crader (1990) analyzes faunal materials at an slave house (building ‘o’) at Monticello Plantation. Before Crader’s study, subsistence patterns suggested that enslaved diet had a high proportion of domestic pork, some amount of beef, some presence of wild life, and bone cuts indicating the consumption of stews (Crader 1990:691). In contrast to those studies, the slave diet at Monticello differed. Crader interprets that beef was more important than pork and that the butchered bones indicated the consumption of roasts rather than stews (1990:713–715). Crader explains these differences by looking at taphonomic and cultural processes. Common meats given to slaves, such as salt fish, salted pork, and salted beef would not have any bones to survive archaeologically (Crader 1990:713). Culturally, the inhabitants of building ‘o’ may have a different cuisine than other communities. The lack of faunal remains at St. Nicholas Abbey could be explained by Crader’s arguments that slave food may not necessarily have an archaeological signature. Differences in plantation management, status and culture in enslaved population, and taphonomic processes can reveal a different cuisine throughout the Americas.

John Solomon Otto (1975) examined foodway ceramics to understand diet and cuisine at Cannon’s Point plantation. Otto argued that differences in ethnic and social status produced qualitative and quantitative differences in artifacts (1975:158).

Concentrating on the ceramic and faunal assemblages found at the slave quarters, overseer's house, and the great house, Otto determined the nature of the foodways of each respective group. Otto hypothesized that the diversity of vessel shapes was indicative of status and food consumption patterns. The hypothesis was based on Stanley South's argument that function can be determined by vessel morphology (Otto 1975:197). The slave cabin, deemed lower status, had serving bowls, plates, and platters. At the Planter's kitchen, a wide variety of shapes and vessels used for various functions suggested higher status (Otto 1975:219). The lack of diversity of vessel forms, the predominance of hollow forms, and the stew cuts of bone found in the excavated slave cabins was evident of "pottage" meals. In contrast, the diversity of vessel forms, predominance of flat wares, and cuts of meat indicated the consumption of roasted meats at the great house. This was based on the assumption that roasted meat meant higher status (Otto 1975:304–305).

James Deetz expands on Otto's arguments about African American foodways in his analysis of colonoware at Virginia and South Carolina sites (Deetz 1996:239). Deetz argued that the colonoware was evident of creolization processes. The ceramics recovered from sites, such as Flowerdew, included European forms. Deetz claimed that the exposure of European foodways to enslaved peoples in Virginia influenced the forms and use of ceramics. Hence, the ceramics found at sites in Virginia reflected both European and African foodways. In South Carolina, the lack of European exposure encouraged the enslaved Africans to use ceramics in a creolized African tradition. Deetz looks at the similarities between "West African" foodways and the colonoware found in South Carolina. The limitation in forms found in South Carolina colonoware is similar to the limited variation in forms used in West Africa. For example, larger jars were used to cook starches, smaller jars to stew vegetables and meats, and a shallow bowl to serve and consume the meal. (Deetz 1996:242–243). Deetz's study indicates a difference in "creolization" between Virginia and South Carolina. I argue that these differences become more evident when Barbados is included in the comparison.

Barbados and Pottery Tradition

In the Caribbean, Jerome Handler, Thomas C. Loftfield, and other archaeologists have looked for African influences in local pottery. Handler's (1963) ethnohistorical research investigated the types of pottery traditionally made in Barbados. Handler conducted a study of the only pottery village in Barbados. It is located at Chalky Mount, which is the only site of clay deposits on the island (Handler 1963:314). The flower pot, the water jug (locally known as a "monkey"), and the conaree are the three types that presumably existed during enslaved times (Handler 1963:321–322). The unglazed monkey jar has the occasional incised line as a decoration feature, and a spout and handle. It was widely used as a water cooler (and occasionally as a water carrier). The conaree, glazed with lead on the interior, has two small handles and was used mostly for storing corn meal and meat (Handler 1963:322).

Pottery production is mostly done by the household, with a main male potter. Non-household members occasionally are employed to help with certain tasks (Handler 1963:324). Men generally are the potters, and hand their tradition down to their sons (Handler 1963:317). The main task for women is that of a peddler. Women would travel from Chalky Mount to "town," selling the potted wares along the way and in town (Handler 1963:332).

Thomas C. Loftfield attempted to identify elements of creolization in Barbadian pottery. Loftfield compared the local-ceramic traditions of the Northeast and Southeast United States, Jamaica, and Barbados. Loftfield claims that Afro-Barbadians tended to use more European forms in their creation of ceramics. In Herskovitian tradition, Loftfield concluded that Barbados and the Northeast United States, based on its small size and the dominance of the white population, were fell on to the "European" end of the spectrum. Jamaica and the Southeast United States, based on the African majority of the demographic composition ended up on the "African-inspired" end (Loftfield 2001:229).

At the time of his study, there were no other excavations of Barbadian enslaved village sites to confirm or deny his claim. The 2007 and 2014 excavations of the slave

village at St. Nicholas Abbey expands Loftfield's argument because of the prevalence of locally-made, glazed and unglazed domestic Barbadian redware found at the site. Excavations at St. Nicholas Abbey by Smith appear to challenge some of Loftfield's conclusions. The high percentage of domestic Barbadian red-ware found at St. Nicholas Abbey presents a different picture where locally-made ceramics play an important cultural role in the domestic lives of enslaved and freed Afro-Barbadians.

The Barbadian red-wares are wheel-thrown, in a similar manner to European and American ceramics. The redwares found in Barbados can be distinguished by the presence of an incised line under the rim. This is created with a tool that "incise[s] designs while the vessel is being rotated" (Handler 1963:320). Loftfield interprets the incised line as evidence of "Africanism," though he offers no explanation (Loftfield 2001:231). Rather than evidence of an "Africanism," it could simply have been a technique used by Barbadians to differentiate their wares from others.

Several of the rim sherds found at St. Nicholas Abbey did have an incised band under the rim on the body. The presence of the incised band along with the other characteristics of the ceramic construction could indicate that the sherds are Barbadian wares, probably produced in Chalky Mount, which is not far from St. Nicholas Abbey. Indeed, one can stand at a high point on the plantation and see Chalky Mount to the east. Afro-Barbadians are simultaneously using imported and locally-made ceramics of various forms and types in a uniquely Barbadian tradition.

This thesis brings together theory that considers both the broader picture of the African Diaspora in the Americas and the specific pictures of peoples within their particular site, such as rural Barbados, South Carolina, and Virginia. Using the lens of ceramics and foodways, I want to understand the nature and process as to the various factors shaping Afro-Barbadian, Afro-South Carolinian, and Afro-Virginian cultures. Instead of searching for "Africanisms," among the locally made pottery, I am interested in how the locally-made pottery reflects a unique creolized identity.

4 The Archaeology of St. Nicholas Abbey

The “ridgeline” was first identified by Jerome Handler (1978) in 1978. In 2007, Frederick Smith of the College of William and Mary began archaeological investigations at St. Nicholas Abbey. Smith was interested in comparing evidence from the rural plantation site of St. Nicholas Abbey with urban domestic site. Urban domestic sites in cities such as Bridgeton had largely been the focus of his earlier archaeological work in the island (Smith 2001; Smith 2004, Smith and Watson 2009). Smith had also studied the use of caves by enslaved peoples in Barbados and was told by workers at St. Nicholas Abbey that there were caves in the gullies around the estate (Smith 2008). Smith and his students decided to explore these caves. As they walked the cart road to the gullies they noticed stone piles in the midst of a sea of sour grass that Handler had observed decades earlier. They conducted a pedestrian survey and placed two excavation units (1x1 meter and 1x2 meter) within the area. The area, which Smith called the Ridgeline, due to its location surrounded on three sides by gullies, was littered with historic-period artifacts. The artifacts and mounds of stones clearly indicated that the site was once occupied. The date range for the ceramics and the location of the site suggested that it had likely been the village of the enslaved, and then freed, workers on the estate.

In 2014, Smith made the site the focus of the summer field school. Before excavating, the field school participants conducted a pedestrian survey. Due to time constraints, only the artifacts excavated from the units were cataloged and analyzed. Twelve 1x1 meter units were excavated in natural levels. The units spanned most of the entirety of the site, starting from the cart road and heading back towards the gullies. Due to the nature of the soil matrix, most of the units contained only one layer. The units dug closer to the main cart road were shallower than the ones dug towards the gully. Most units reached a depth of fifteen to twenty centimeters with one (the furthest from the cart road) reaching a depth of 35 cm. Most of the excavated soil composition was dark sandy clay loam with occasional marl, shell, brick/daub, and charcoal inclusions. Most of the artifacts were discovered in the first 5-10 centime-

ters of a unit. Other than the presence of modern beer glasses on the surface and a fire that went through the field earlier that year, the site seems to have been mostly undisturbed.

The Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (DAACS) is a web-based database developed for the purpose of comparative, intra-site archaeological research on Atlantic slavery. So far, DAACS concentrates its efforts on sites in the Chesapeake, the Carolinas, and the Caribbean. The goal is to encourage interdisciplinary studies on slavery by making archaeological data easily accessible to any scholar interested in African Diaspora slavery. The archive is built and maintained by the archaeologists at Monticello in Virginia. The standardization of cataloguing protocols at DAACS creates accurate and consistent data. All sites found in the database are catalogued in the same manner for accurate comparative analysis (DAACS 2004).

Last summer, Dr. Fredrick Smith and I (the author) participated in the DAACS Research Consortium (DRC) by cataloguing the artifacts from 2007 and 2014. The DRC is a collaborative project that brings together archaeologists, faculty, students, and scholars who study slavery in America and the Caribbean. Each partner catalogued their respective artifact assemblage according to DAACS protocols. The collected data was then upload to an online database application (DAACS 2013). Dr. Smith used the investigations of the freed (late slave) village period as his case study for the DRC. The artifacts and information about the site and St. Nicholas Abbey, is published via webpage as part of the DAACS system (DAACS 2015). This thesis contributes to the goal of DAACS by using the archaeological data collected in the case study and comparing it with established cataloged sites in the database. Since the major three areas of DAACS are the Chesapeake, the Carolinas, and the Caribbean, Monticello from Virginia and Middelburg Village from South Carolina were chosen as comparative sites.

The excavated artifacts were collected and brought back to the lab located at the University of the West Indies at Cavehill in Barbados. The field school participants washed, sorted, and processed artifacts. The artifacts were catalogued according to the DAACS cataloguing protocols (daacs.org). Students and volunteers over the two

field sessions unearthed over 6,000 artifacts. Table 2 below specifies the numbers for each of the artifact categories.

Table 2: Artifacts Excavated at SNA

Artifact Category	Number
Ceramic Sherds	1,701
Glass sherds	3,573
Tobacco Pipe	18
Bead	1
Button	5
Faunal	4
Buckles	2
General Artifacts	1,512

The artifacts found at the Ridgeline are evident of the cooking and housing activities that are typical of domestic sites. The general artifacts included much farming equipment, metal fragments, and nails. The farming equipment may have been reused by the inhabitants or disposed of by field laborers at the site. Many of the general artifacts found were iron fragments and pieces that may have been parts of metal cooking vessels. A door handle and a few hinges were also excavated. Though sparse in the assemblage, buttons, buckles, and beads are indicative of the clothing and personal adornments the site's occupants would have worn or owned. Heath argues that objects of personal adornment have meanings and encompass identities that are affected by cultural context. (Heath 1999a:50). Faunal included a few fragments of mammal bone. Tobacco pipes and glass shards are evident of drinking, smoking, and other social activities. Most of the glass sherds cataloged are modern, though there are a few shards of wine-style glass. This could be indicative of drinking habits of the site's occupants and further use of the site after its main occupation. Ceramics reveal information about consumer choices and foodways. The most common ceramic shard was whitewares with various transfer print designs in several colors. The numerous forms, ware-types, decoration, etc were analyzed and recorded. The comparison of ceramic attributes among the three assemblages will raise questions about the consumption of food. Altogether, the artifacts resembles what would be expected to be found at an

abandoned domestic site.

When the manufacturing years are known of a ceramic ware-type, ceramics can be used to date a site. By taking the weighted average of the ceramic manufacturing dates, the MCD can be used as an estimate for a site's occupation period (Stanley South 1977). The site has an MCD of 1861, dating it about twenty years after emancipation. It is suspected that many of the occupants living on the site would have been the former slaves of St. Nicholas Abbey. The people living there would have experienced the political and economic changes in the island.

5 A Comparative Analysis

The variability and diversity in plantation life in the 19th century can be seen in the comparison of ceramic materials from the archaeological sites at St. Nicholas Abbey, building 's' of Mulberry Row, and Middleburg Village. Building 's' is one of several buildings on Mulberry Row that housed the enslaved domestic and skilled labors of Monticello. It was occupied during the late 18th and early 19th centuries (Hill 2003). In 1983, William Kelso and Douglas Sanford excavated the building and adjacent areas. The excavated artifacts revealed the lifestyle of enslaved workers living near Thomas Jefferson's home. Anna Gruber (1985) in a report submitted to the National Endowment for the Humanities argues that Jefferson most likely provided much of the domestic objects to his enslaved workers living on Mulberry Row (Kelso, et al. 1985). Jefferson's paternalism is revealed rather than the inhabitants' preferences in acquiring material culture. (Hill 2003). The occupants of Building's' are exemplary of a population lacking control over material cultural acquisition. Questions can be asked as to how these people used the provided objects in different ways to express their identity.

In 1968-1999, Leland Ferguson and others excavated sites within Middleburg Village in South Carolina. Middleburg Village was occupied between 1750 and 1825. Similar to plantations in the Caribbean, Middleburg village had absentee owners. White overseers and plantation managers supervised and managed the African-descended population that resided and worked on that estate. About 87-89 slaves were recorded to have lived there during the late eighteenth century (Ferguson 2009). Archaeological research on the architecture and landscape of Middleburg Village has brought to light the tension between plantation owners and enslaved laborers. Kerri Saige Barile (1999) suggested that the constant fear of rebellion by enslaved laborers throughout the low-country encouraged planters to modify the landscape and exert some control over their workers (Ferguson 2009). It is expected that the ceramic assemblage would reveal more information about the conflict between enslaved laborers and white planters.

The origin of manufacture and ceramic forms will be compared to demonstrate the differences among the sites. The origin of manufacture is subdivided into categories; locally-made and imported. In the DAACS database, Barbadian-made ceramics are classified generally as “Caribbean coarse earthenware, wheel thrown” and specifically as “Barbadian redware.” In the United States, various types made up the category of “locally-made ceramics.” These included colonoware and American stoneware. Imported ceramics refers to ceramics manufactured outside of the Americas; mostly in Europe and Asia. Table 3 provides the percentages of the manufacturing origin within each assemblage:

Table 3: Ceramics by Origin of Manufacture

Origin of Manufacture	St. Nicholas Abbey	Building 's'	Middleburg
Locally-made	53.76%	3.75%	78.38%
Imported	46.24%	96.25%	21.56%

St. Nicholas Abbey and Middleburg Village both have higher percentages of locally-made pottery. However, at St. Nicholas Abbey there appears to be an almost equal percentage of imported and locally made wares. In contrast, Middleburg Village has more locally-made than imported ceramics. Building 's' has a skewed distribution leaning towards imported wares. These differences raise questions about the influence of availability and preference.

Ceramic vessel forms in terms of hollowware and flatware have been used to interpret food consumption habits and cultural preferences. Otto uses the distinction of hollowware to explain the prevalence of “pottage” meals among the enslaved “class.” This analysis has since inspired archaeologists to sort ceramics according to their vessel category; flat versus hollow. The DAACS catalogue continues this practice. Table 4 depicts the differences in numbers between flatware and hollowware.

Flat-/wares are more prominent than hollow-wares at Building 's,' but not by much. The differences between hollow and flat-wares are more noticeable in the assemblages at St. Nicholas Abbey and Middleburg Village. Both sites have a significantly larger

Table 4: Ceramics by Vessel Category

Plantation	Hollow	Flat	Unidentified
St. Nicholas Abbey	41.65%	16.59%	41.77%
Building 's'	38.05%	47.06%	14.89%
Middleburg Village	48.35%	4.23%	47.42%

percentage of hollow-ware. It is also important to note that these two sites also have a significant percentage of unidentified vessel categories. Many of the unidentified shards are most likely batched colonoware or locally-made ceramics. DAACS cataloguing protocols specifies batched locally-made ceramics of a certain size as “unidentified vessel categories.”

Otto believed that the differences between vessel forms categorized in hollow versus flat-wares, was significant enough to determine function. However, Mary Beaudry, et al. argue that the terms “hollow-ware” and “flat-ware” do not take into account specific functions, behaviors or cultural identification of objects. For example, cups and mugs are both hollowwares but have very different functions (Beaudry et al. 1983:22–21). People construct reality differently based on cultural cues. Hence a cup and mug are only distinguishable based on the observer's criteria for each object (Beaudry et al. 1983:19). Ceramic forms are important to identify. DAACS protocols are conservative in naming forms without definite parameters and hence most of the ceramic assemblages will fall in one of the following categories: unidentified tablewares, unidentified tea-wares, or unidentified utilitarian-wares.

Below, Figures 2, 3, and 4 list the various forms found at St. Nicholas Abbey, Middleburg Village, and Building 's.' Most of the assemblage is dominated by unidentified forms. Of the identified forms, unidentified: tablewares dominated at all three sites. At St. Nicholas Abbey, unidentified: teawares was not a significant number (1.82 percent), especially compared to unidentified utilitarian-wares (13.70 percent). However at both Middleburg Village and Building 's,' teawares (7.20 and 12.27 percent respectively) were of a more significant number than unidentified utilitarian-ware (1.38 percent and 5.58 percent respectively). The diversity of ceramic forms are more promi-

ment at Middleburg Village and Building 's.' Unlike the previous levels of analysis, St. Nicholas Abbey and Middleburg Village differs significantly Though the forms are being identified by specific parameters, it does not necessarily identify the behavioral function of the object. This analysis attempts to understand how the "Euro-American" forms may have been used by African-descended peoples to construct their unique foodways.

Figure 2: Ceramic Forms at St. Nicholas Abbey

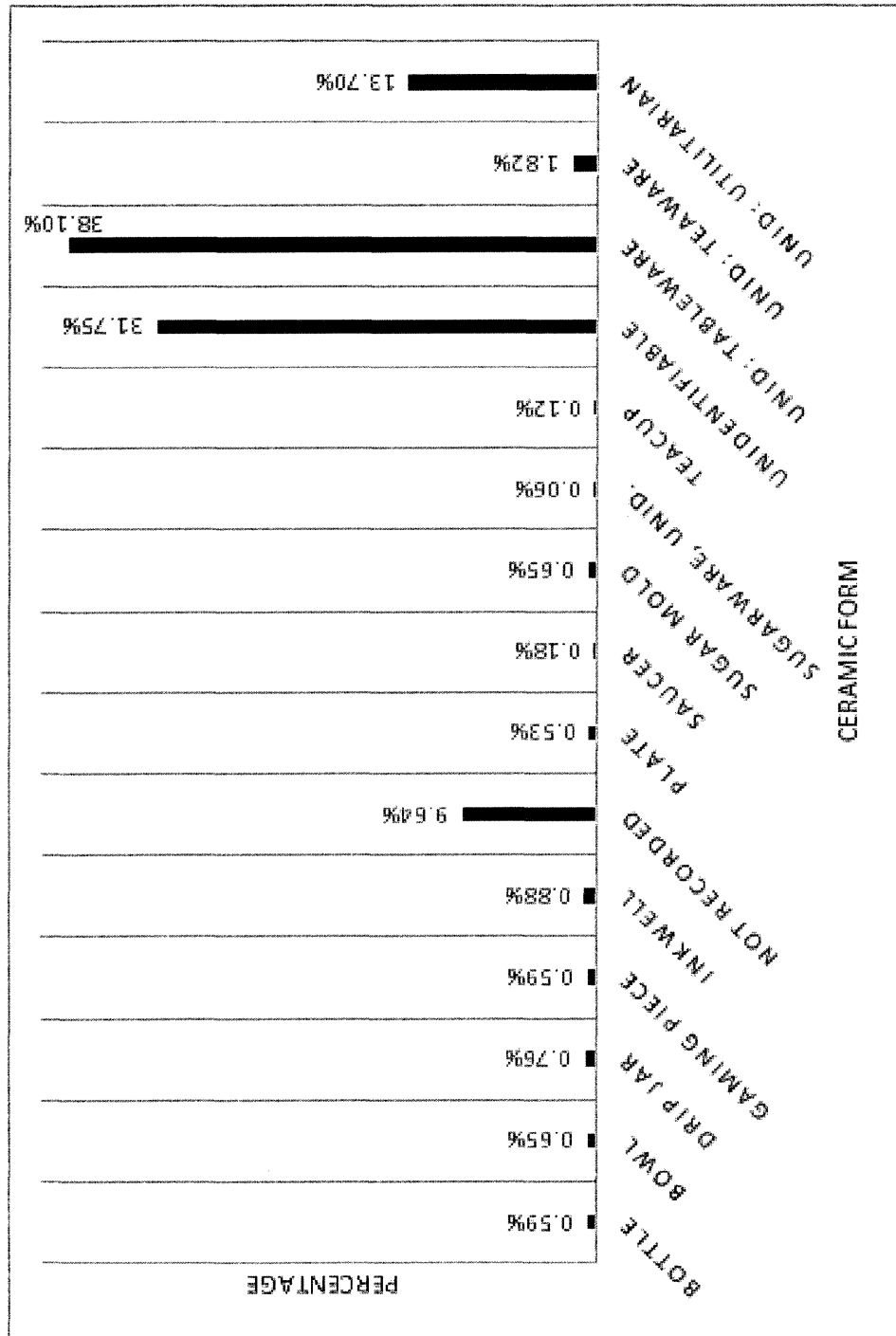


Figure 3: Ceramic Forms at Middleburg Village

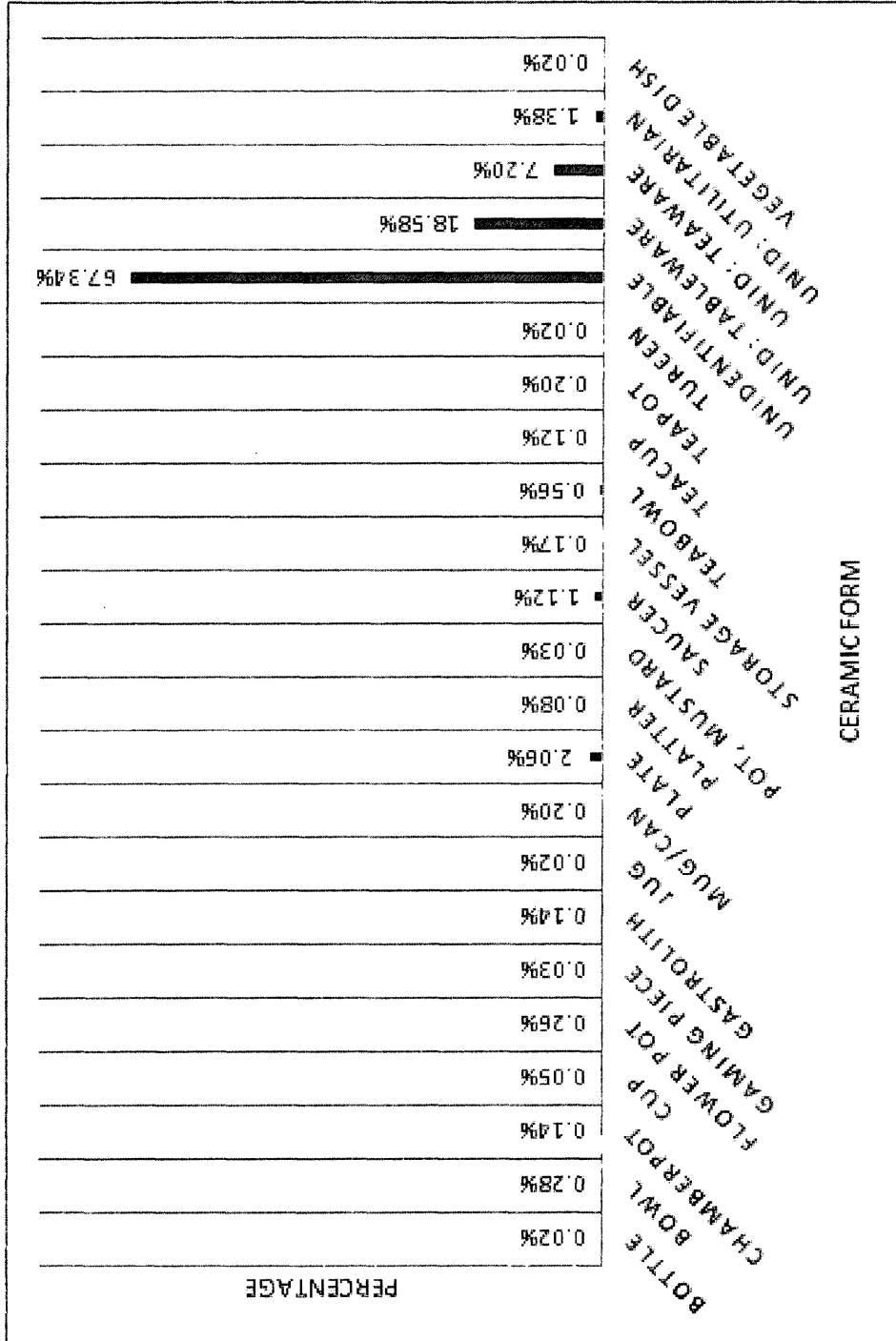
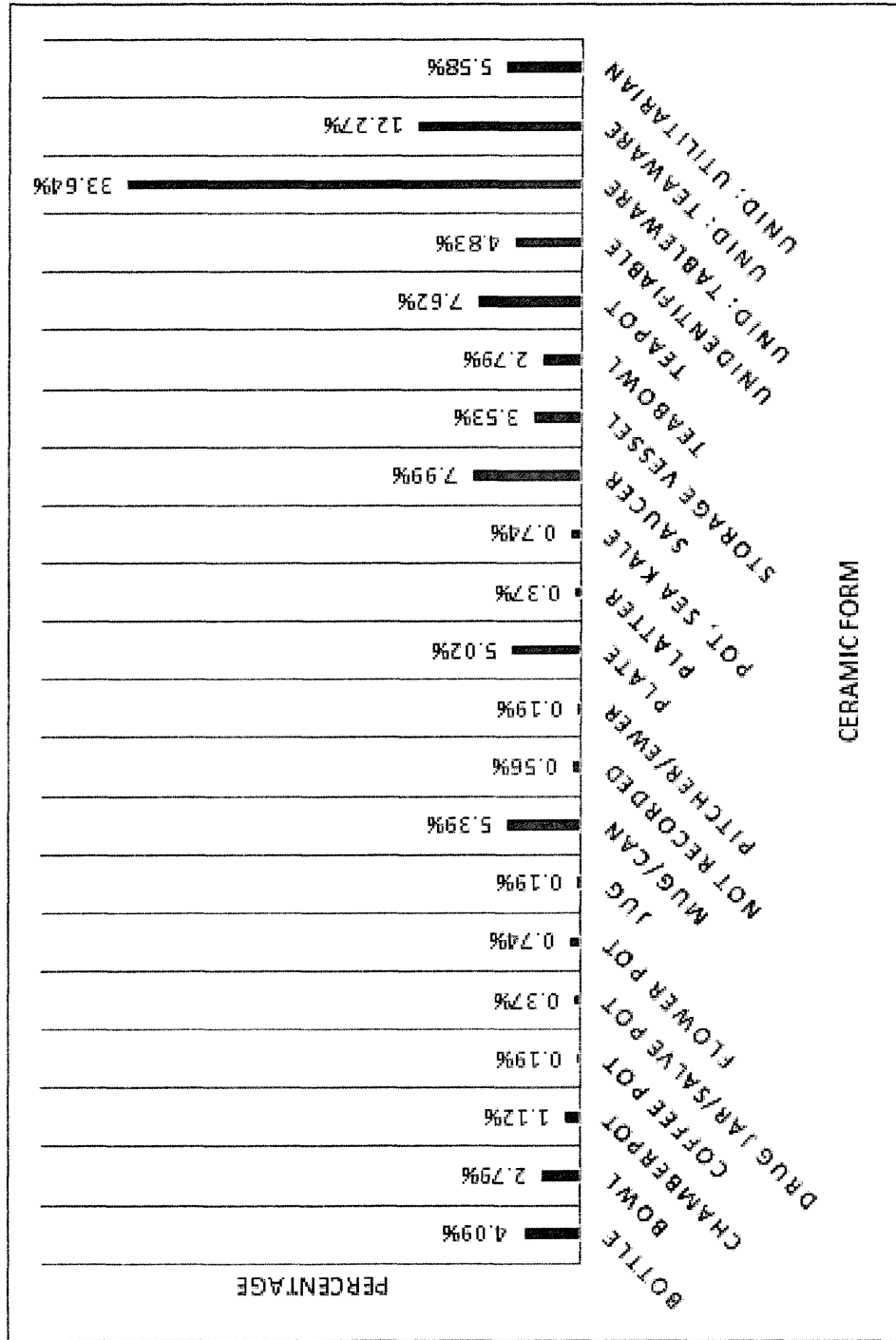


Figure 4: Ceramic Forms at Building 's' Monticello



Leland Ferguson compares the European and African methods of cooking and eating food. Ferguson discusses the use of non-ceramics in foodways, especially for African traditions. Food was usually served in a “calabash, ceramic bowl, or clean leaves” (Ferguson 1992:97). Most of these non-ceramic food-related materials would not have survived in the archaeological record. Ferguson mentions how the iron pot is present in African-American sites. It is used in non-European ways, such as cooking over a central hearth (Ferguson 1992:99–100). Ferguson describes how iron pots would have been preferred over ceramic in the boiling of meal. In Virginia, ethnographic evidence points to the use of cast-iron pots within house fireplaces to cook meals. *Whole iron pots would be difficult to uncover archaeologically, as they were probably curated, passed down, or melted down for other uses.*

The presence of iron pots can be found through documentary evidence. In the 1640s, Richard Ligon mentions iron pots as being sold and used for the Afro-Barbadians to “boil their meat”(Ligon 1657:185). Since iron pots would have been imported, it is difficult to determine if they were a common cooking object among enslaved and freed peoples. Today, the cast-iron pots are used and are referred to as “buckpots.” These buckpots are used for frying fish, chicken or pork over an open fire (Elias 1999:119).

The lack of non-ceramic vessels mentioned in documentary sources may reflect a bias of the illustrators and authors. These European men may have been interested in depicting the enslaved population in a particular light. Archaeology supplements the documentary evidence. Most of the general artifacts found at St. Nicholas Abbey were iron fragments. Though most of the iron fragments would have been farming equipment, it is possible that parts of coal pots and iron pots are present in the assemblage. In Barbados, the “coal pot” is made to hold a pot over coal used as a heating source. Similar to how farming hoes were used to make hoe cakes, the farming equipment may have been used to some degree in the same fashion. The variety of food-related artifacts indicates that food could be processed, cooked, and served in various ways. These processes are indicative of cultural activities that use European and perishable materials in an Afro-Barbadian fashion.

6 Issues of Availability, Cultural Preferences, and Nutrition

The archaeological evidence is interpreted in terms of availability, cultural preferences, and factors of nutrition. The enslaved and freed populations of St. Nicholas Abbey, Mulberry Row, and Middleburg Village utilized what was available to them to consume and form a cuisine that met their dietary needs and cultural ideas of food. The locale and degree of independence enslaved people had affected what ceramics and pottery was available. Through documentary and contemporary ethnographic sources, a description is formed of what food was consumed. A nutritional analysis of the food provides evidence of the diet and a cultural analysis provides evidence of the cuisine. Cuisine is used to describe the “culturally elaborated and transmitted body of food-related practices of any given culture” (Messer 1984:228). Diet, on the other hand, are the feeding habits a group of people have developed (Messer 1984:211). In each of these cases, diet is what is determined necessary for nutritional survival and cuisine details what is culturally chosen to be consumed. The interplay between these two practices is an arena where ideas of creolization and identity formation can be seen. Altogether, the temporal and spatial factors adds to the complex and diverse culture of the Afro-American world.

Availability:

How people acquire the goods creates a baseline as to what was available to people. This baseline can then be used to explore ideas of agency and identity. St. Nicholas Abbey is walking distance from the major port city of Speightstown and the potter's village at Chalky Mountain. Speightstown would have served as a source of imported European ceramics. Though the slave settlement would have been the center of social and cultural life, the market allowed the enslaved population to move off the plantations and interact with other slaves, freedmen, and whites in the area (Handler, Lange, and Riordan 1978:30–31). On market day, in Speightstown, people would be able to buy and/or exchange material goods and foodstuffs.

Middleburg Village, in South Carolina, and Monticello in Virginia are not ideally located to have convenient access to markets with large numbers of imported ceramics. In Middleburg Village, colonowares was most likely produced and exchanged among plantations through the interactions of enslaved peoples in social networks. Monticello in Virginia had an owner that frequently ordered ceramics from Europe. Though Thomas Jefferson probably ordered the ceramics for his own table, it is likely that some of those ceramics would have reached enslaved quarters as either provisions or gifts. Though colonoware is found in Virginia, colonoware was not found at building 's.' The lack of colonoware at Building 's' is indicative of either a lack to a local market, an inability to acquire goods independently, or a preference for other ceramics.

Historically, economic events can affect the availability of goods. The economic and political environment of Barbados during the first half of the 1800s meant that the newly emancipated population had to develop survival strategies to acquire food sources and materials (Brown and Inniss 2006:263). With planters not willing to supply their former slaves with provisions, Afro-Barbadians may started to acquire supplies locally. The high percentage of Barbadian redwares found at the domestic source is evident of that resourcefulness.

Cultural and Individual Preferences:

The social make up of communities may influence the types and forms of acquired ceramics. For example, Laurie Wilkie (1999) argues that the enslaved laborers at Clifton Plantation in the Bahamas were actively choosing ceramics based on cultural and aesthetic practices. The prevalence of hand-painted ceramics, certain colors such as brown, green, and blue, and design motifs was interpreted as evidence of consumer preference based on cultural ideas of design (Wilkie 1999:269–275).

On the other hand, cultural ideas of resistance is reflected in ceramic usage. Sidney Mintz (1996) relates the processing and consumption of food with ideas of freedom and slavery. Mintz argues that one form of oppression is convincing the enslaved (or formerly enslaved) population that they lack the ability to be independent of their

owners and the plantations. The cultural activity of eating was defined by the enslaved community. Once freed, food practices had to be reorganized and redefined by the community (Mintz 1996:47–48). Being able to acquire and use locally made ceramics frees the enslaved and former enslaved peoples from dependency. Colonoware and Barbadian redwares may have been favored because of its identification with Afro-American or Afro-Barbadian people. The defining of Afro-American and Afro-Barbadian identity, through pottery, becomes associated with ideas of resistance and freedom. When people are able to independently acquire material goods, it is likely that they favor vessels associated with cultural cooking practices, or cuisine. The lack of independence does not mean a lack of resistance on part of the enslaved population. The method of use by people is as important as the material vessel itself. For example, the enslaved inhabitants at building 's' would have used European items in a creolized African-American way. The creolized cuisine would have served as a form of resistance.

Investigating the origins of cooking practices is difficult as many cooking practices share similar forms throughout the world. There are many cooking practices among enslaved and freed peoples of African descent. Otto's study, however, has singled out and established the "stew" or any "potted" meal as "low status food." This has been used as the interpretation for "slave diet," though it can be applied to any "low status" cultural group (for example, European peasantry). In addition, African descended peoples all throughout the New World were consuming all forms of food available to them, such as seafood, fruits, and different vegetables and starches. In the Caribbean, yam and plantains are popular forms of starches not easily found in the United States. Instead, corn and potatoes, among other starches are popular in the United States. It cannot be denied though that the "stew" in any form has become part of African-American and Caribbean heritage. Deconstructing the "stew" will demonstrate the differences in diet and cuisine found in the African Diaspora.

The “stew” as an Africanism

The “stew” has become a form of “Africanism.” It is an uncontested interpretation for the presence of bowl forms and hollow-wares African Diaspora sites. At its most basic form, stews are a combination of meat, vegetables, and/or spices that are cooked together. In terms of diet, the “stew” may be evident of improving nutritional intake. In terms of cuisine, the stew has been interpreted as evidence of “African traditions.” The connections between the dietary and culinary implications of stews reveal that instead of an “African” tradition, the stew may have served the simple purpose of a survival dish that was then embedded with ideas of resistance, identity, and culture. By removing the “Africanism” from the stew, the diet and cuisine of African American and Caribbean peoples can be seen in terms of cultural formation, innovation, and creolization.

Plantation owners consulted writings by various doctors and others to determine provisioning supplies for their enslaved laborers. Dr. Collin’s, a physician, prescribes a useful diet for the enslaved Africans in the Caribbean. He provides a list of what slaves should eat and how it should be prepared and distributed. The “pot” meal, is what Dr. Collins suggest as the best way to feed the enslaved population. These pot meals consisted of “yams, somethings of Indian Corn, plantains, beans, peas, and the tops of tannies or eddoes thickened with the addition of a little farine...well seasoned with saltfish, or herrings, or beef, or pork” (Collins 1971:93–94). In reference to Barbados he notes that maize, or corn should be a primary food product (Collins 1971:95). Dr. Collins also addresses the usefulness of provisioning grounds. Dr. Collin consistently warns against the planters’ habits of not properly providing food. His warnings suggest that planters were not paying attention to the well-being of their enslaved laborers. The actual food consumed by the enslaved population may have been only some or none of the described food stuffs. George Pinckard, visiting Barbados in the late 18th century, observed that diets were improved occasionally with yams, rice, maize, eddoes, and sweet potatoes (1970:116).

Kenneth Kiple’s (1984) nutritional anthropological approach provides insights as to

how diet causes specific deficiencies that appear in the skeletal record. The analysis of dietary deficiencies reveals information about the true diet of the population. The core of some daily diets was half a pound of meat and a pint of cereal, which only provided some of the needed calories (Kiple 1984:78–79). Kiple's analysis of the prescribed diet reveals that the percentage of protein and other nutrients would have been too low to maintain good health (Kiple 1984:81). On British Caribbean islands, food was imported in order to use all available land for sugarcane production (Mintz 1996:40). Most of the enslaved diet's food was being imported (especially in Barbados) as salt-fish or salted meat. Though preserved, much of these supplies would have been rancid and hence even more deficient in vitamins (Kiple 1984:82–86). The long term heating of certain food (stews) actually diminishes the nutritional value of the meal. By the time the salt-fish and salted meat are cooked down in a stew or stew-like meal, it would most likely have no nutritional value. Vitamin B especially is unstable in the cooking process (Kiple 1984:82).

The lack of nutritional value of stews questions the importance of it in Afro-Barbadian cuisine. Perhaps, the stew was a convenient dish. It could stretch a meal to feed a group. Stews also need very little attention and can cook on low fire throughout the day. Such a simple meal would be desirable for laborers who worked in the fields from sunup to sundown. Regardless of the nutritional value, the stew represents the hard labor and the resistance of laborers to oppression.

The enslaved and freed populations were most likely consuming other foodstuffs along with the "stew". Kiple argues that enslaved laborers would have supplemented their diets when possible. Spices, vegetables, fruits, and wildlife would have been supplementary sources. In the Spanish colonies, onions and red peppers would have provided some more sources of vitamin C (though because of cooking, the value would have been reduced). Beans and sorghum (rarely given) would have provided more iron and protein to the diet. Other tropical fruits such as avocados, coconuts, papayas, and citrus are rich in vitamin A and C. They could also be consumed raw, preserving the nutrients (Kiple 1984:86–87).

The Creole Stew:

Given the dietary deficiencies of stews and the availability of other sources of food, why is the stew a defining aspect of slave food, or African diaspora cuisine? The “pepperpot,” as the quintessential stew of the Caribbean dates its heritage to slavery times (Armstrong and Reitz 1990:145) The pepperpot soup holds its own place within traditional Bajan cuisine. Historical accounts mentions the dish. William Paton’s 1896 narrative, set in Barbados, mentions the importance of the “connarhee” pot in making the stew (Heath 1999b:210–211). Loftfield, using Handler’s ethnographic study of pottery tradition in Barbados, argues that the forms of pottery served specific functions. For example, the monkey carried water and the conaree was used as a stew pot to make pepper pot soup (Loftfield 2001:232).

The documentary and archaeological evidence support the argument that “pottage” (stewed) meals were common in Barbados. Indeed, of the artifacts found at St. Nicholas Abbey there was evidence of a handle of a monkey and some sherds of a conaree. It is possible that pepperpot or at least stewed/soups were made by the freed laborers at St. Nicholas Abbey. The communities at St. Nicholas Abbey developed “stewed” or “pottage” meals as part of their diet due to the availability of ingredients and cultural concepts of cuisine. Pepperpot, is a dish that is made of various components; starches, meats, etc. that could be gathered together by the community. In Barbados, there are no “fireplaces” within the slave houses that would encourage family-based or more individual cooking. Likely, people were cooking outdoors or inside on fire pits. This would encourage sharing and the communal consumption of food. At St. Nicholas Abbey, emancipation and amelioration efforts encourages the freed people to adopt surviving techniques such as consuming more “stews.”

In contrast, fireplaces were present at Middleburg Village and Mulberry Row (Ferguson 2009; Hill 2003). Food consumption may have been focused on each housing unit rather than a larger community. At Middleburg Village, cuisine was based on Native American and West African ideas of cuisine. However, the components of the diet differed in South Carolina. The diet of most West African cultures would consist

of a starch and vegetables, with little consumption of meat. In South Carolina slave diet changed from rice, millet, and manioc to corn. Corn lacks the quantity of nutrients of rice and other starches. Meat consumption increased to balance the lack of nutrients in corn. (Ferguson 1992:94–95). Native American influences the practice of simmering and boiling rice or corn in iron pots. Though the iron pot is “European,” the consumption of rice and corn combined cultural elements from both West African and Native American cuisine (Ferguson 1992:97–99).

At Mulberry Row, each enslaved adult was given a weekly ration of cornmeal, pickled beef or pork, salt herring, and molasses. The rest was expected to be supplemented by crops grown in provisioning grounds (Kelso 1986:32). Judging by the poor quality of the meat cuts and bones, Kelso argued that the inhabitants of building ‘s’ were eating poorly (Kelso 1986:34). Unlike in South Carolina, colonoware was not used for cooking in Virginia. The absence of colonoware at building ‘s’ is not unexpected. The inhabitants of building ‘s’ must have been resourceful in using iron pots and other ceramics to cook their food. The predominance of flatwares at the site indicates that the enslaved workers were not concerned with storing food in ceramic vessels. At Monticello, freed and white artisans and laborers also occupied and worked at the plantation (Heath 1999c). Separate eating habits would have developed among the field laborers and enslaved/freed artisans living on Mulberry Row. Those living on Mulberry Row would most likely have eaten with their fellow house-occupants. The usage of European artifacts, especially at Monticello, reveal a creolized cuisine where both African and European ideas are exchanged. Similar to Middleburg Village, the inhabitants at building ‘s’ at Mulberry Row may have developed a basic dish that they identified with culturally.

The types of plantations found at St. Nicholas Abbey, Middleburg Village, and Monticello may affect foodways. As a sugarcane plantation, St. Nicholas Abbey needed large number of laborers, due to the labor-intensity of planting, harvesting, and processing sugarcane. The time of the field laborer would have been concentrated on working and not cooking. In contrast, Middleburg Village is a rice plantation and

not as labor-intensive. There may also be more time available for other pursuits, such as creating pottery, growing crops, and trading. Monticello was a tobacco plantation. The enslaved population would have to be reliant on their own gardens or dependent on provisions from the plantation owner for foodstuffs.

For each of these communities, the ideas and, hence the material culture differs. The “stew” changes and becomes something else that embodies the creolized identities. At St. Nicholas Abbey the freed population in Barbados might have viewed the use of Barbadian red-ware as resistance to their condition in life. Amelioration efforts in the early nineteenth century sought to “better” the conditions of the enslaved population. In this argument, freed individuals would have seen these efforts as a way to demonstrate their own identity through the continued and expanded use of Barbadian red-wares along with imported European ceramics. The similarities in the percentage of imported and locally-made ceramics indicates that the enslaved population were using whatever they could have to store, cook, and consume food. In South Carolina, the dominance of colonoware indicates a reliance on an accessible, multipurpose source. Valerie G. Marcil (1993) argues that using the colonoware vessels for preparing and serving food was a response to the stresses of slavery. In Virginia, the diversity of ceramic forms and ware-types reflects a subtle change in food preparation and consumption patterns. The differences in the ceramic assemblage and interpretations in diet seem to be affected largely by historical and social factors, issues of availability, and nutritional survival techniques.

7 Conclusion

This study is based on the preliminary identification of the site as a slave village. Further excavations will uncover artifacts that may or may not support these arguments. Much of the artifacts “excavated” were found on the surface level. Why artifacts found in slave villages in the Caribbean tend to be found on the surface or close to the surface is a question that can be further explored. The ceramic assemblages in this study are used to investigate foodways. However, ceramics are also used in different aspects of life, such as decoration and trinkets, spirituality and religion, and as toys for children. The further study of ceramics as evidence of other aspects of life, may continue to investigate the creolized nature of life within Barbados.

The locale of enslaved Africans affected the development of creolization within the population. Creolization processes are reflected within the foodways of enslaved peoples. The artifacts recovered at the site reveal evidence of the actions of the occupants of the site. In Barbados, the ceramic use by former slaves at St. Nicholas Abbey reveals evidence of a distinct creolization of foodways during the period of Emancipation. During the transitioning between slavery and emancipation, the freed occupants actively participated in the formation of their newly freed identity. The simultaneous use of imported and locally-made ceramics is evident of the community creolizing their foodways in an attempt to develop and maintain a cultural identity.

The difference in economic focus, demographics, and historical factors shape the specific cultural communities found at St. Nicholas Abbey, Middleburg Village, and Monticello. Emancipation and amelioration efforts at St. Nicholas Abbey caused turbulence among the newly freed Afro-Barbadians. In response, Afro-Barbadians developed and adopted techniques in their foodways, not only to survive, but to create an identity unique to them. These practices included the acquisition of locally-made pottery, the usage of “bowl” forms, and the consumption of stews. Many of these artifacts developed into the cultural heritage of Afro-Barbadians.

In the United States, emancipation does not occur for another 30 years. The demographics and location of Middleburg Village in South Carolina developed a creolized

identity consisting of European, African, and Native American cultures. The population at Monticello, especially those living on Mulberry Row, experienced a different community. It was a community, close to the Main House, and influenced heavily by European culture.

The nature of "creolization" changes depending on the population. In Barbados and Middleburg Village, creolization is a distinct attribute of the culture. At Mulberry Row, creolization is more subtle. The inhabitants of building's' have seemingly become "European" in their material culture. However, creolization is evident in the inventive use of the material culture. Ceramics, regardless of their origin, can be used in "traditional" or "innovative" manners to create a creolized identity.

Breaking down the nuances of the "stew," reveals ideas of identity and nutrition. The "stew" has become an "Africanism" that proves the "African" nature of a cultural group. Rather than seeing the "stew" as evidence of Africa, stews are evident of communal eating, survival techniques, and identity formation. The "stew" is a "placeholder" where its form changes depending on the cultural group. In Barbados, the pepperpot soup was important for the dietary survival and resistance by hardworking freed workers. It has developed into a cultural icon. In South Carolina, the "stew" is different. It consisted mostly of a cornmeal mush with meat. The "stew" in South Carolina reflected cultural ideas not just from West Africans, but also from Native Americans and Europeans. In Virginia, it is difficult to determine the nature of the basic stew dish. However, it would have been one that seemed "European" in form but was cooked and consumed in a predominately Afro-Virginian manner.

By meshing together a study of the historical, social, and economic factors affecting different communities, this thesis has explored how cultures are shaped, transformed, and transferred throughout time and space. Instead of searching for origins of pottery and ceramics, this thesis stresses the importance of knowing how ceramics and pottery were used. The behavior reveals more about the culture than just a study of the object. The terms "Afro-American" and "Afro-Caribbean," were used mostly out of convince to describe the culture, however it is my hope that one day the "Afro" will no longer

be necessary. As the terms "American" and "Caribbean" would better represent the cultures that were formed in their respective places and include all the influences of all the different people who have lived and broken bread together.

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