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“Better than we”: landscapes and materialities of race, class, and gender in pre-emancipation colonial Saba, Dutch Caribbean

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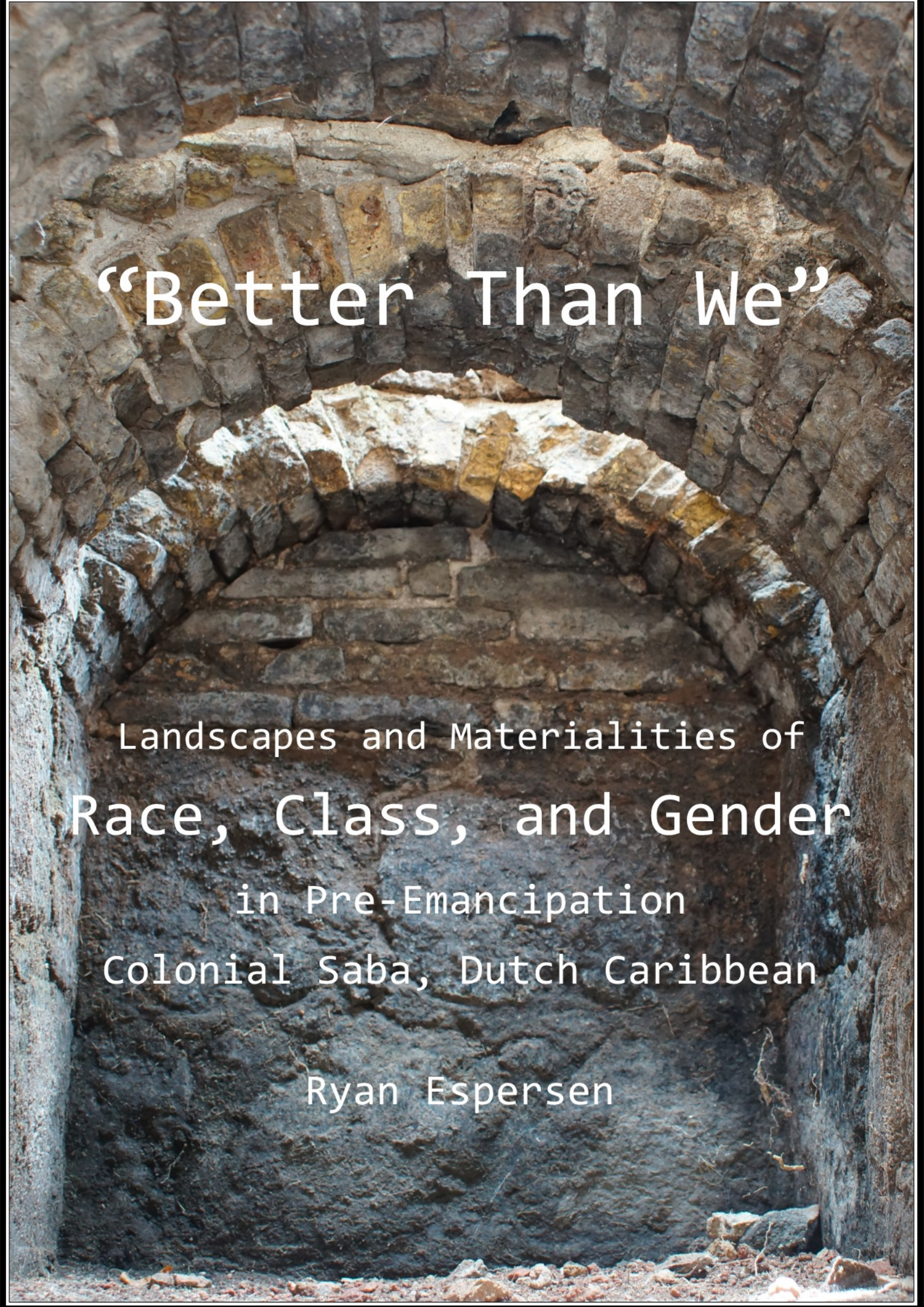


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“Better Than We”

Landscapes and Materialities of Race, Class, and Gender in Pre-Emancipation Colonial Saba, Dutch Caribbean

Ryan Espersen

“Better Than We”:

Landscapes and Materialities of Race, Class, and Gender in Pre-Emancipation Colonial Saba, Dutch Caribbean



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-Ryan Espersen, Crispeen, Saba, 2017

Chapter 1:
Friendly and Lovely, Though Small



Figure 1: Aerial view of Saba, looking north. Courtesy of Saba Tourist Bureau.

Background and approach

This research strives to reveal how ideologies of race, class, and gender manifested in the the social, physical, and material landscapes of pre-emancipation colonial Saba, Dutch Caribbean. Race, class, and gender serve as facets and vectors for ideology. By viewing them as processes, their capacity to express such through their social and material environments inextricably tied to their particular temporal and spatial contexts. Through comparisons of the social and material environments of multiple, contemporaneous social contexts within Saba, common social and material vectors among these ideological facets can become apparent. This work diverges from similar, previous research in that it undertakes a post-colonial approach to study the dialectics involved between locally-based, culturally-derived abstractions of class, race, and gender, and the materiality which resulted from these relationships. Dialectical studies emphasize an accountability to the totality of a given social environment. As a single researcher, tracing the processes of ideological abstractions such as class,

race, and gender while accounting for the whole can be a daunting task. It is facilitated, however, by studying social environments that are bounded through geographical limitations with small populations, but with sufficient cultural similarities to the region to permit insightful contextualization of similar and divergent processes within their respective ideologies. Saba is a Caribbean island just 13 square kilometers in area, with a population that never exceeded 1,877 residents by the time of emancipation. It saw very little immigration to the island after 1700, and remained a Dutch possession for most of its colonial era. Saba never developed into a full plantation economy characterized by a large majority of enslaved Africans relative to free European-descent residents; rather, the population of white residents compared to enslaved Africans and free Sabans of African descent fluctuated mildly around fifty per cent respectively. The island of Saba is therefore an ideal environment to demonstrate the utility of dialectical archaeology when employed at the ground level in a whole-society context. To date, a dialectical archaeology involving a whole-society approach has not been undertaken in North American or Caribbean historical archaeology, in part due to the sheer volume of research data that it necessitates. Fortunately, the social and geographic realities of Saba make such an approach feasible, and the social and material database derived from this research permits insights into a range of issues of concern to historical archaeologists. In particular, this concerns:

- How tensions between the "incomplete hegemony" of colonial authorities and plantation agriculture with Saban residents resulted in a dialectic between local landscapes, materiality, and ideologies of race, class, and gender.
- Differentiating between slavery, free poverty, and low class in the archaeological record.
- The dialectic between scale, locality, and perspective in defining and situating class and poverty.

The problems with connecting landscapes to materiality, and ideology to materiality

Landscape archaeology has provided a means of connecting ideology to geography through the partitioning, use/disuse, and organization of lands in the colonial Caribbean (Pulsipher 1977, 1994; Handler & Lange 1978; Armstrong 1990; Delle 1998, 2014; Hicks 2007; Armstrong, Hauser et. al 2009; Ryczewski & Cherry 2015; Singleton 2001, 2015). This approach is ideal in the colonial Caribbean within plantation archaeology for identifying locations of structures and activity areas by viewing plantation landscapes as organized places structured in part by power and economic-based relations. This has facilitated the identification of enslaved African housing areas on plantations (Armstrong & Kelly 2000), and within the whole-society landscape of plantation colonies on small islands, has been

used to locate maroon sites on St. Croix (Norton & Espenshade 2007). The problem, however, arises in attempts to correlate materiality to landscapes. This has been accomplished in some part with studies involving locally manufactured ceramics specific to certain islands, such as Jamaica (Hauser 2006), St. Eustatius (Heath 1988), St. Kitts (Ahlman, Schroedl, & McKeown 2009), Antigua (Handler 1964; Nicholson 1994), St. Croix (Gartley 1979), Montserrat (Petersen & Watters 1988), the Bahamas (Wilkie 1998), and the British Caribbean islands (Higman 2014), with respect to a broader scale of material culture. James Delle has argued that plantation landscapes represented "a class of material culture… used to manipulate human behaviors" (Delle 1998:37; Hauser & Hicks 2007:256). Delle's work has been criticized for a limited engagement with Jamaican coffee plantation material culture, as the bulk of his data was drawn primarily from map collections (DeCunzo & Ernstein 2006). Hauser & Hicks (2007) have suggested that "archaeologists of colonialism need to find ways to place the study of *materiality* – both the permeabilities between humans, objects and places, and also the contemporary sense of what 'matters' – at the heart of their studies, rather than using objects and landscape to illustrate historical accounts, elite ideas or political observations already developed elsewhere" (Hauser & Hicks 2007:267-268). This involves the additional step of tying materiality recovered from specific locations within powered landscapes to those recovered from other contexts within a given locale and region, and an understanding relative to how residents of these landscapes perceived and employed materiality in their own terms. This is not a straightforward task. The multiple sets of social relations which characterize an enslaved African plantation assemblage will not, for example, mirror those that produced a low class white household assemblage within a nearby village. This necessitates an understanding of the dialectic between landscapes, ideology, and materiality for the area and period concerned. Drawing relations between materiality and ideological landscapes requires identifying common ideological processes that were implicated in the production of materiality between the given contexts. Within the colonial Caribbean slave societies, three pervading elements of ideological social relations include race, class, and gender.

Archaeological and historical studies that concentrate on notions of class, race, and gender during the colonial period have been pursued in some Caribbean contexts, including gender roles in plantation societies (Howson 1995; Pulsipher 1997; Delle 2002; Reilly 2014a); class and race as implicated in poverty (Reilly 2014b), the roles and implications of race, class, and gender concerning the emergence of free African residents and creolization on the island of St. John's (Armstrong 2003a, 2003b). A transdisciplinary historiography of studies regarding race, class, and gender could well fill this volume alone. An excellent synopsis relative to North American historical archaeology has been articulated by Jaime C. Brandon (2009), though it does not delve into specifics as to how such approaches can be applied towards identifying these ideological abstracts in material things.

Identifying race, class, and gender in the material record is not a straightforward process, and has been subject to several approaches throughout the last forty years. Some of the first attempts to correlate materiality with race and legal status in plantation contexts were made by searching for vestiges of African-derived cultural practices that could be expressed materially, whether referred to as "Africanisms" (Fairbanks 1983) or "retentions" (Mintz and Price 1976). This has come under a common critique in that it searches for something pre-determined to exist by the archaeologist (Orser 1998; Orser & Funari 2001). Predetermination has extended to other avenues of research, including assuming a three-tiered capitalist class structure upon plantation-based enslaved Africans (Otto 1975, 1980), and projecting middle class ideologies of dignity and aspiration to interpret low class archaeological contexts and social relations (Yamin 1998; McGuire 2008; Symonds 2011; Wacquant 2002). Theresa Singleton (1985:1) compiled the first edited volume on the archaeology of slavery on colonial plantations, and followed with a large volume of work relative to the archaeology of African-descent people and African slavery in the Americas (1991, 1995, 2001a, 2001b 2001c). In particular, Singleton advanced analyses centered on the "historical and cultural processes that made the African experience unique in the Americas" (1999:17). Connecting cultural-historical processes to the material record at such a broad level, while assuming their relevancies at regional and local levels, however, is a problematic task. Shortcutting this approach by identifying slavery through singular artifacts common to the experience of all or large groups of enslaved Africans in the Americas, save arguably through shackles in ideal contexts, is very difficult to determine archaeologically. Jerome Handler and Frederick Lange (2006) have rightly emphasized that identifying the presence of African descent individuals within a given colonial context does automatically indicate that these individuals were enslaved. Indeed, "one problem in identifying the physical remains of slaves and artifacts indicative of slave culture is that slave status did not give people distinctive phenotypes or genotypes; nor did it give them material goods that were not found among other segments of the society" (Handler & Lange 2006:7-8). Others have gone one step further and claimed that slavery is "archaeologically unrecognizable" (Alexander 2001:56-57). The use of the documentary and oral history records have consequently proven invaluable towards identifying sites associated with slavery and enslaved Africans, especially as to how materiality is implicated in slavery at local scales through time. Archaeologically, attempts to tie materiality to ideology have extended into the organization of space, especially upon plantations, the archaeology of poverty, and archaeologies of class formation and racialization.

One of the first concerted attempts correlate class and race to materiality in colonial contexts was done by John Otto (1975, 1980). Otto postulated that "with documentary and chronological controls, differences in housing, artifacts, and food remains at plantation dwelling sites can be

explained by differences in known status during the same period in time. Since the inhabitants differed in racial and social status, the archaeological evidence can be used to test hypotheses about status differences and their reflection in the archaeological record" (Otto 1980:4-5). Otto identified some of the nuances associated with this approach: "…status positions and access to material rewards are not perfectly associated in complex societies… frequently, people occupy relatively high status positions which have only symbolic rewards or material rewards that are not commensurate with their standing. Conversely, other people occupy relatively low positions but accumulate material rewards that are not commensurate with their true status… it is even possible that the archaeological remains from many sites will not reflect any status patterning" (Otto 1980:4). Otto employed a caste-class dichotomy to differentiate the plantation residents: "racial/legal, social, and elite/subordinate", with each status further subdivided into three groups, comprising "upper-caste upper class planters, upper-caste middle class overseers, and lower-caste lower class slaves" (Orser 2004, Orser 2007:17). One fatal flaw in Otto's approach concerned his consideration of social status as a "thing", and by extension, he could not consider the general relevance or irrelevance of facets of social status relative to particular social environments. Status, therefore, cannot be regarded as a constant. "Since status and chronology were held as constants, the differences and similarities in the archaeological remains at all three sites could be explained by differences and similarities in known status" (Otto 1980:7). Rather, by studying an abstract such as status as a process rather than a constant, whose relevancy is intimately tied to particular social contexts rather than all social contexts groups and individuals will find themselves in throughout their lifetimes, nuances beyond rigid binary social categories among similar and dissimilar assemblages can become apparent.

Frederick Lange and Jerome Handler (1985) undertook a similar study to Otto on Barbadian plantations, and concluded that there are so many overlaps in archaeological assemblages between planters, overseers, and enslaved Africans, that it is easier to infer class than race in the archaeological record, especially regarding an imposed, racialized legal status such as African slavery. Further attempts to disentangle race from class occurred with the excavation Lucy Foster's household, a free, single African descent woman from the mid nineteenth century U.S.A. (Baker 1980). It was concluded that the assemblage present, without recourse to other regional contextualizing assemblages, was indicative of poverty rather than race. This conclusion is unsurprising given that the assemblage was considered a "first" for a readily-identifiable free African descent household.

Identifying the materiality of ideology advanced in the past 15 years by de-centering the emphasis upon material things alone, with further emphasis on the processes which contributed to produce the assemblages themselves (DeMarrais 2004). This can be seen in archaeologies of consumption and consumerism within the context of full-fledged capitalism of Western Europe and

North American during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Paul Mullins (1999a) studied the materiality of African Americans in the post emancipation period of the U.S.A. through the limitations imposed upon them as racialized consumers in the American economy by white America. By unveiling the processes through which African Americans were systematically excluded and discouraged from white consumption habits, it was inferred that this would constrict and pattern the range of goods present among African American material assemblages from this time. This study is important in that the material goods acquired by African Americans was due to the consumption processes they were uniquely subjected to relative to white Americans. It is here that an important distinction is made relative to the situation of material culture and the person: the focus is centered on the processes that result in the object rather than the object itself. Mullins (1999b) argues that material things were purchased in this racialized American economy by African Americans to "reflect" their race. This occurred while their resultant "African-American" materiality existed in a dialectic with racialized processes which facilitated, encouraged, coerced, or forced African Americans to obtain these material things over others. The "conspicuous consumption" which characterized the identity-building purchasing practices of consumers in fully capitalist North America and Western Europe (McGuire & Wurst 2002; Veblen 1899), however, does not readily lend itself to their contemporary Caribbean contexts, especially in earlier epochs that were not characterized by capitalism or yet fully-capitalist social relations.

Charles Orser (2004, 2007) has been perhaps the most recently explicit among historical archaeologists to outline an archaeology of race and racialization as a means to infer these social abstracts in the archaeological record. Orser (2007:66) calls for "a conscious recognition of the social inequalities constructed within the system of… production and distribution has the potential to allow archaeologists to see the relationships between racial categorization and artifact consumption". This approach requires an intimate understanding of the processes involved in racialization and racialized materiality in a given social context. While Orser (2007) outlines the processes involved in the racialization of the Chinese and the Irish in the U.S.A, his scope was a Pan-American racialization of these groups, which does not allow for regionalized and localized nuances to understand if and how this occurred at these levels. Jaime C. Brandon points out that attempts to disentangle race from class within social relations is problematic in that they are too intimately related, and as such "an explicitly holistic cultural analysis may be a fruitful alternative to analyzing competing categorical registers (i.e., class and race). If applied in a non-reifying manner, a cultural analysis may reveal the complex linkages between different, but often simultaneously manifested, identities" (Brandon 2009:12). Indeed, one must understand the locally-situated particularities of class, race, and gender as they were adopted and enacted in the social organization of a given area before these can be responsibly inferred in

material assemblages, which is the approach taken throughout this research. Failure to account for culturally-specific nuances can lead the researcher to unconsciously impose non-native ideologies upon interpretations of material culture histories, such as applying North Americanist diaspora experiences as assumed equivalents to those in the Caribbean (Armstrong 2008). Despite the utility of the theoretical frameworks presented by Orser and Brandon, their calls have not been applied and tested archaeologically in the field upon the "totality" of a given culture as dialectical archaeology encourages (Wurst 1999; 2006).

Poverty has been a topic that has only recently began to attract concerted attention by historical archaeologists. It has been suggested by some that the study of poverty in particular removes the comfortable temporal boundaries that separate subject from researcher, which is particularly relevant in studies of poverty and capitalism, whereby the researcher operates as a critic of an economic system from which they personally benefit, and which simultaneously creates and sustains poverty (Symonds 2011; Orser 2011). This has an effect of "politicizing" archaeology, which Randall McGuire argues is misleading, since all archaeology is inherently political, "which is ignored at our own peril" (2008:11). Spaces designated as poor have been excavated by archaeologists, such as poorhouses (Garman & Russo 1999), poor farm cemeteries (Bell 1993), and almshouses (Baugher & Spencer-Wood 2001), as a means of assessing the materiality of poverty. The intersections between race and poverty have been discussed in length by Charles Orser (2004; 2007), with particular reference to the processes of racialization and poverty's production among Irish and Chinese immigrants to the U.S.A. during the nineteenth century. Sarah Chicone (2011) argues that the degree of emphasis of process relative to the resultant materiality must not necessarily assume elements of intentional identity-construction among the owners. This runs counter to Mullins' assertion that African Americans actively constructed a racialized identity though consumerism. To Chicone, among the poor white coal miners striking at Ludlow in the early twentieth century, their materiality was co-constitutive of the production of their poverty, rather than reflective of their poverty; "…because working-class poverty is not a thing… changes in materiality alone did not fundamentally alter the reality of its lived experience" (Chicone 2011a:78). This occurred despite attempts by the company to "mask" the poverty of certain employees deemed as "deserving poor" through housing assistance and other benefits. Chicone's consideration of poverty as a process rather than a "thing" was echoed by Ann Stahl (2008) relative to slavery. This reorients the focus of slavery from a social dichotomy between owner and enslaved, to how "slaving transformed not only targeted groups but also slaving societies themselves" (Marshall 2015:7).

Several problems have been identified within the short historiography of studies centering on landscapes as powered social environments, and the materiality of ideology. Firstly, as noted by

Hauser & Hicks (2007), landscape studies in colonial Caribbean contexts have not accounted for how powered landscapes are implicated in the construction of their associated materiality. The author has proposed that the construction of materiality across diverse powered landscapes within a given, bounded society can be understood by first identifying contemporary sets of ideological social relations that were shared between them. In colonial Caribbean slave societies, three common ideological vectors include race, class and gender. Previous attempts to correlate race and class to materiality on plantations such as Otto have followed a "top-down" approach, whereby a set of expectancies from the researcher are sought and imposed upon the assemblages without regard for how local and regional ideological processes were implicated in their creation as well. The calls for understanding the materiality of ideology as a series of processes have been followed either with regional and national case studies of singular facets such as race, or at local levels with regard to poverty. To date, no research has been undertaken which explicitly links common ideological vectors in the colonial Caribbean to powered landscapes as a means of understanding how they are implicated in the construction of materiality across the whole of a given society. Not surprisingly this can be a daunting task, but facilitated when applied to the study of small islands that did not develop into full-scape plantation societies. The island of Saba, Dutch Caribbean, is therefore an excellent landscape for such an endeavour.

This research is situated in line with Orser's (2004) and Chicone's (2011) call to view the materiality of race and class in terms of processes, rather than a collection of "things" which innately reflect these ideologies upon their own accord, either through their location in space or according to the expectation of the archaeologists; and Hauser & Hicks' (2007:268) desire for a landscape archaeology that maps the "permeabilities between human and object movements, and the roles of landscapes… in imagining and bringing out a diversity of Atlantic worlds". The social, material, and spatial data derived from archaeological and documentary research on Saba are viewed as result of processes that are co-constitutive of locally-manifested ideologies of class, race, and gender on the island's pre-emancipation colonial period. Secondly, this research is ideally structured as a means to respond to Orser's observation that "it may very well be the case that the archaeological analysis of class may have greater analytical merit than the archaeological investigation of race. At present, historical archaeologists have yet to resolve this important issue" (Orser 2007:69). Resolving this begins with the premise that there is no social context where one is engaging in just one set of ideological relations (McGuire & Wurst 2002), which is especially pertinent when dealing with multiple landscapes.

This work begins with an overview of Saba's geography as an entry point to landscape analysis. Saba is a small and steep island whose topography imposes practical limits towards its utility for

domestic settlement and colonial-period economic development. Furthermore, the island was divided into foreign plantation and non-plantation landscapes. From the last half of the seventeenth century to 1778, all plantations on Saba appear to have been owned in absentia though government officials, planters, and merchants in St. Eustatius, while Sabans, upon non-plantation, locally-owned landscapes were engaged largely with subsistence agriculture, shoe and textile manufacturing, fishing, and seafaring. A variety of sites have been excavated throughout Saba's pre-emancipation colonial period, targeting contexts whereupon particular aspects of ideological social relations were more prominent over others, as a means to compile a comparative database of spatial and material data that were implicated in them. Domestic-oriented contexts were targeted in particular. As a result of these efforts, overall, it is expected that the certain facets of ideology will lend themselves towards archaeological analyses with more ease than others in these contexts. What will become apparent in the application of dialectics to archaeology as part of this research, however, is the problematic nature of pursuing research that is centered upon identifying singular ideological abstracts without accounting for others. This is especially notable given the deep divisions fostered by class and race in colonial slavery contexts. Another difficulty is encountered in differentiating between disparate groups through material things that employed more or less identical material culture. How can archaeologists distinguish the materiality of free poverty from slavery, or "white poverty" versus "free black poverty"? This difficulty is compounded when ideological identities, such as poverty, are imposed upon groups based on perspective or by legislation. How can poverty be archaeologically visible when poverty is a class bestowed upon certain households by governing officials; by extension, who is deserving and undeserving of this kind of poverty? On Saba, which was widely regarded as being inhabited by "poor people" by others in the region, to whom are differences in materiality on the island even ideologically relevant when an entire people and their belongings are homogenized in such a fashion?

Saba's geography and basic social landscape will be discussed Chapter 2, followed by a historiography of relevant archaeological research between Saba, St. Eustatius, and Dutch St. Maarten. A discussion as to how powered ideas foster inequality, commonly through common social abstractions designated as class, race, and gender is presented in Chapter 3. The primary source materials employed and historical methodologies are discussed in Chapter 4, followed by a discussion of the historical processes rooted in the continued conscious and unconscious application of these powered ideas in Saban social relations. The methodology and results of archaeological excavations which formed the spatial and material databases are discussed in Chapters 5 and 6. Chapter the 5 concerns the plantations that were excavated as part of this research, while Chapter 6 discusses the

relevant non-plantation sites on Saba. Chapter 7 synthesizes the data from the previous three chapters relative to the research questions articulated at the beginning of Chapter 1.

Chapter 2: The Setting

Saba is the northernmost volcanic island in the active arc of the Lesser Antilles group, situated at approximately 17.38 degrees North, and 63.14 degrees West, measuring around thirteen square kilometers in area, and about 890 meters in elevation. Saba is presently governed as a "Public Entity" of The Netherlands along with St. Eustatius and Bonaire, a status which began in 2010 after Netherlands Antilles was dissolved as a country. This status was re-evaluated in late 2015, with changes expected to come in 2016. Prior to this time, Saba was part of the Netherlands Antilles, a country founded within the Kingdom of the Netherlands in 1954 as part of a reorganization of The Netherlands' former American colonial territories following World War II. The Netherlands Antilles originally consisted of Curaçao, Aruba, Bonaire, St. Maarten, St. Eustatius, and Saba, and was reduced to five islands following Aruba's departure from the country to assume an independent status within the Kingdom of the Netherlands in 1985. The names "St. Maarten" and "Sint Maarten" are commonly employed presently to refer to the Dutch side of the island, versus "St. Martin" or "Saint Martin" which references the French side. However, this distinction was not commonly made in historical documents, and prior to the 1930's nearly all references to the Dutch side employ the name "St. Martin" or "St. Martin's". Saba currently hosts a population of about 1,500 residents as of 2014, not including medical students at the Saba University School of Medicine, residing across four main settlements; The Bottom, which is the administrative center of the island, St. John's, Windwardside, and Hell's Gate.

Saba is a young island, approximately 500,000 years old, consisting of a rhomb-shaped single volcano rising to a central dome-capped peak which rises from the seafloor approximately 1,500m below the surface (Roobol & Smith 2004:31). Saba is an active volcano, which is evidenced partly by hot springs located on near the surf at Great Point, Ladder Bay, and Well's Bay, together with reports of fluctuating temperatures within the former sulphur mines (Roobol & Smith 2007). The last volcanic event reportedly occurred in the early seventeenth century, prior to Dutch colonization in 1640 (Roobol & Smith 2007). While "The Mountain" is the most ubiquitous dome on the island, it is surrounded by another sixteen domes. Due to the small area of Saba, the corresponding geology has created a very steep topography, fostering a social premium upon level landscapes. Consequently, Amerindian and colonial period settlements have been predictably concentrated upon the few pockets of flat land, often creating two to three occupation periods. Indeed, The Bottom, St. John's, Windwardside, Flat Point, Spring Bay, Spring Bay Flat, Palmetto Point, and the Fort Gut Ridge site all feature Amerindian and colonial period occupations, and together compose most of the large swathes of relatively flat land on the island (Haviser 1983; Hofman 1993; Hoogland 1996; Espersen 2009). Saba

has no permanent or seasonal streams, and there are just three potable springs, located at the accordingly-named Spring Bay, Wells Bay, and Fort Bay. Three historic wells were erected at Middle Island, Cove Bay, and a second well at Wells Bay, to catch water from ground infiltration.

The peak of Saba is usually shrouded in clouds, as the steep slopes, and particularly the guts, funnel air current up the mountain where they condense and form cumulus clouds. This has drawn comparisons to a crown, earning Saba the nickname "The Unspoiled Queen". Saba is subject to a range of seasonal and elevation-based fluctuations in temperature. The average daily minimum and high at sea level for January is 23°C and 29°C respectively, while in July, it rises to a daily minimum of 25°C and a high of 31°C. Temperatures average about one-degree cooler in The Bottom (Price 1934), and are cooler still as one ascends to Windwardside and the upper portions of Hell's Gate. In one account from the early twentieth century, a visitor staying in Hell's Gate reported a nighttime temperature of 15°C, even noting condensation from breath (Kruythoff 1939). The months of January and February are referred to locally as "winter". Saba is subject to warmer months, characterized by higher precipitation, spanning between July to October, and a period of low precipitation from January to April. While these are typically referred to as the "rainy season" and "dry season" in northern hemisphere tropical environments, due to the small size and elevation of Saba, any month can be wet, and any month can be dry (Crane 1990). The Bottom received an average annual rainfall of 1,041mm between 1919 and 1932 (Price 1934), however the higher elevations and the windward faces of the island receive more precipitation than those lower and leeward. The differences in rainfall relative to elevation has fostered three distinct ecosystems, ranging from Xerophytic systems at the lower elevations to sea level, Mesophytic systems at mid elevations, and tropical montane ecosystem at the higher elevations of "The Mountain".

Anchorage around Saba is poor, due to deep waters which surround the island, rocky bottoms which snag anchors, strong and shifting currents, and exposure to the trade winds on the windward face of the island. Anchorage is limited to The Ladder, Fort Bay, and Well's Bay, while Spring Bay was also used as anchorage during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to service the Spring Bay and Flat Point plantations. No harbours existed on Saba prior to the twentieth century, and therefore goods and people were ferried between ship and shore by rowboats. The poor quality anchorage is evidenced through the abundance of anchors across the sea floor; "Big Mike" of the former Saba Deep dive company, who has been scuba diving around Saba for nearly thirty years, has noted the locations of at least 120 anchors around the island (Mike Austin, personal communication 2013), while on St. Eustatius, SECAR has noted 42 anchors, which is comparatively much less as the island offers excellent anchorage on the south face of the island, and maintained a period as a major international trade center during its "Golden Rock" era (Ruud Stelten, personal communication 2014).

Positioning Research Locally

There has been considerable pre-Columbian archaeological work completed on Saba in the past quarter-century, but comparatively less concerning the island's colonial period. In 1923, the Dutch archaeologist Josselin de Jong became the first to undertake excavations in Saba, searching for evidence of pre-Columbian occupation in The Bottom. However, it was not until 1947 that his results were published. Jay Haviser followed over sixty years later, by initiating a three-part survey of colonial and pre-colonial archaeological sites on Saba in 1983. Part one consisted of all sites below an elevation of 300m. Due to logistical and time constraints, parts two and three were not completed. His team mapped, surveyed, and amassed surface collections at thirty-two identified colonial and pre-colonial archaeological sites across the island. Haviser (2001) outlined the historical and cultural peculiarities of the Dutch Caribbean relative to their impact upon archaeological research on each respective island, and followed up with a study concerning the longevity of Saba's seventeenth century fort (2010).

In 2011, together with Grant and Joanna Gilmore, he conducted Malta compliant archaeological excavations in Windwardside, excavating and relocating five nineteenth century burials at a construction site. Corinne Hofman and Menno Hoogland (Hofman 1993; Hoogland 1996, 1999; Hofman & Hoogland 1987, 1991, 2003, 2011, 2016; Hoogland & Hofman 1991, 1993, 1999; Hofman et. al 2006) have conducted extensive pre-Columbian surveys and excavations across Saba, ranging from sites in The Bottom, Kelbey's Ridge, Spring Bay, Spring Bay Flat, and Plum Piece. Philippa Jorissen (2015) conducted faunal analysis between the assemblages from SB 026 and SB 027 as part of this research, along with SB 030, as a means of interring class through diet. The author undertook excavations at Palmetto Point (SB 027) in 2008 as part of his Research Masters thesis at Leiden University, which has been followed up by further excavations on sites across the island, including many that are central to this research. Several Masters thesis from Leiden University have resulted from research on Saba, including surveys of sugar plantations (Bruins 2000), comparative Amerindian site distribution (Pedrosa Negami do Nascimiento 2010), pre-Columbian burials (Bastiaanse 2010), and GIS predictive site modeling (Soffers 2013).

The topic and legacy of slavery on Saba is not observed to the same degree as in the nearby Dutch islands of St. Maarten and St. Eustatius. Emancipation Day, 1 July, is observed as a national holiday and celebrated on both the latter islands, but is not a holiday on Saba, nor is it celebrated there. While there has to date been no concerted efforts to instate it as an observed, island-wide holiday, this does not imply that the issues pertaining to race and slavery on Saba have been settled across Saban society. In fact, some white Sabans among older generations are not even aware, or even deny that the institution of slavery existed on their island. Among both white Sabans and African

descent Sabans, there is interest in the history of slavery on Saba, but it is not unanimous; some responses to the author varied from intense interest to concerns about “rocking the boat” and dredging up a painful past that for the benefit of nobody. The legacy of racial divides from slavery on Saba persist into the present, and is best expressed in the human landscape by the concentration of African-descent Sabans in The Bottom, and most white Sabans in Windwardside. At the village level, up until the 1980’s, there were certain tacitly acknowledged “no go” zones for African descent Sabans in Windwardside. The divide in the present day is not as pronounced as in former times, likely since the island became increasingly less insular due to the influx of immigrants from the U.S.A., the Netherlands, Columbia, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Canada, and the Philippines, the constant stream of foreign medical students since 1989 with the Saba School of Medicine, and the growth of dive tourism since the 1980’s. This research is well positioned to unveil the colonial origins of social organization on present-day Saba, and provides histories for those Sabans who were often neglected in the documentary record, such as the poor, enslaved Africans, and free Sabans of African descent.

Figure 2: Social and Physical Landscape of Saba, 2016

Legend

Saba - Social and Physical Landscape

1	Fort Bay (harbour)
2	The Bottom
2a	The Promised Land
3	St. John's
4	Windwardside
5	Booby Hill
6	Hell's Gate
6a	Behind-the-Ridge
7	Flat Point (airport)
8	Fort Bay (anchorage)
9	Bunker Hill
10	Paris Hill
11	Great Hill
12	Ladder Bay (anchorage)
13	Well's Bay (anchorage)
14	Torrens Point
15	Diamond Rock
16	Cave of Rum Bay
17	Great Point
18	The Mountain
19	The Bottom Mountain
20	Giles Quarter
21	The Level
22	Core Gut Bay
23	Old Booby Hill
24	Spring Bay (anchorage)
25	Cove Bay
26	Green Island

Settlement

Physical environment

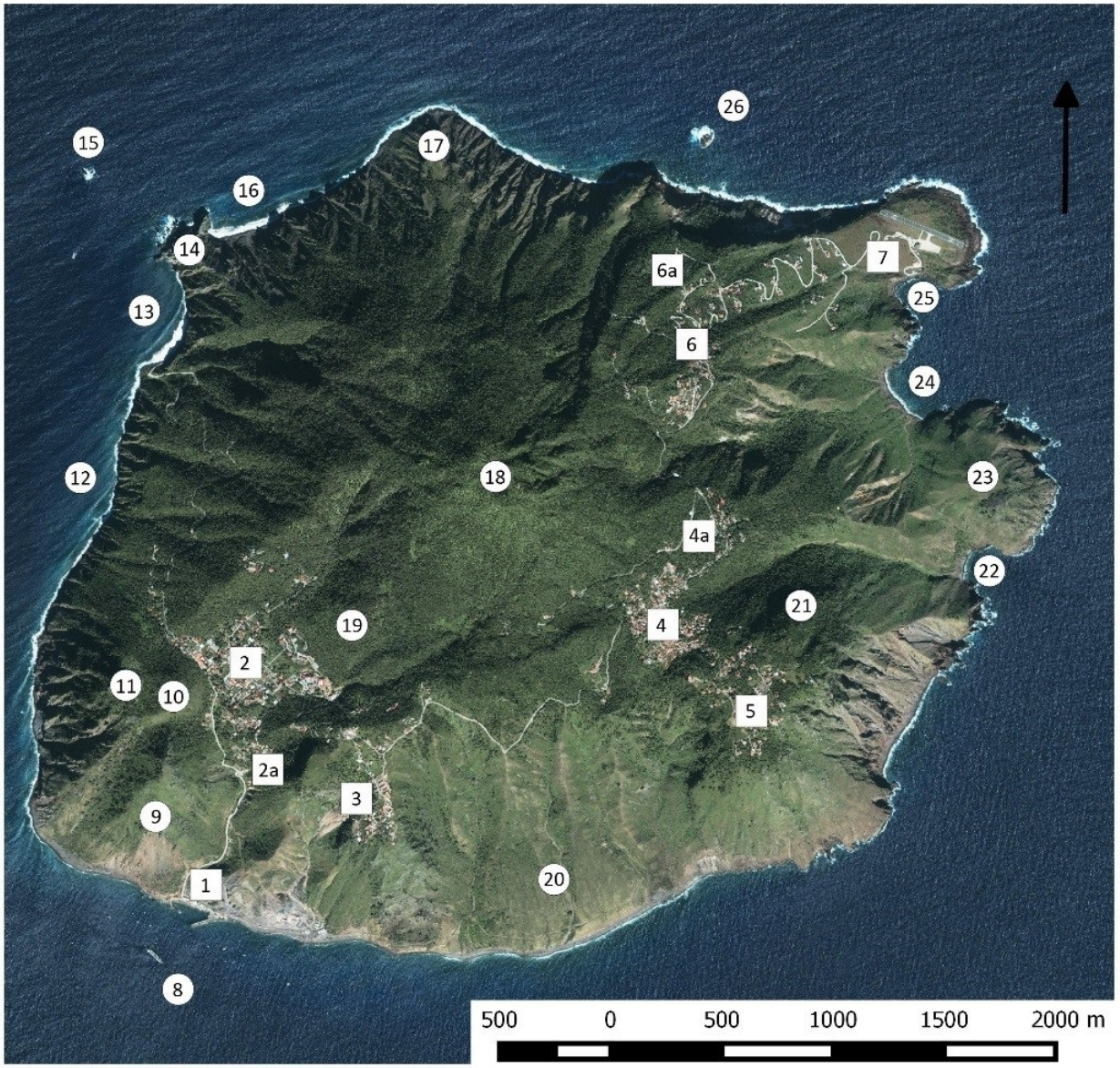
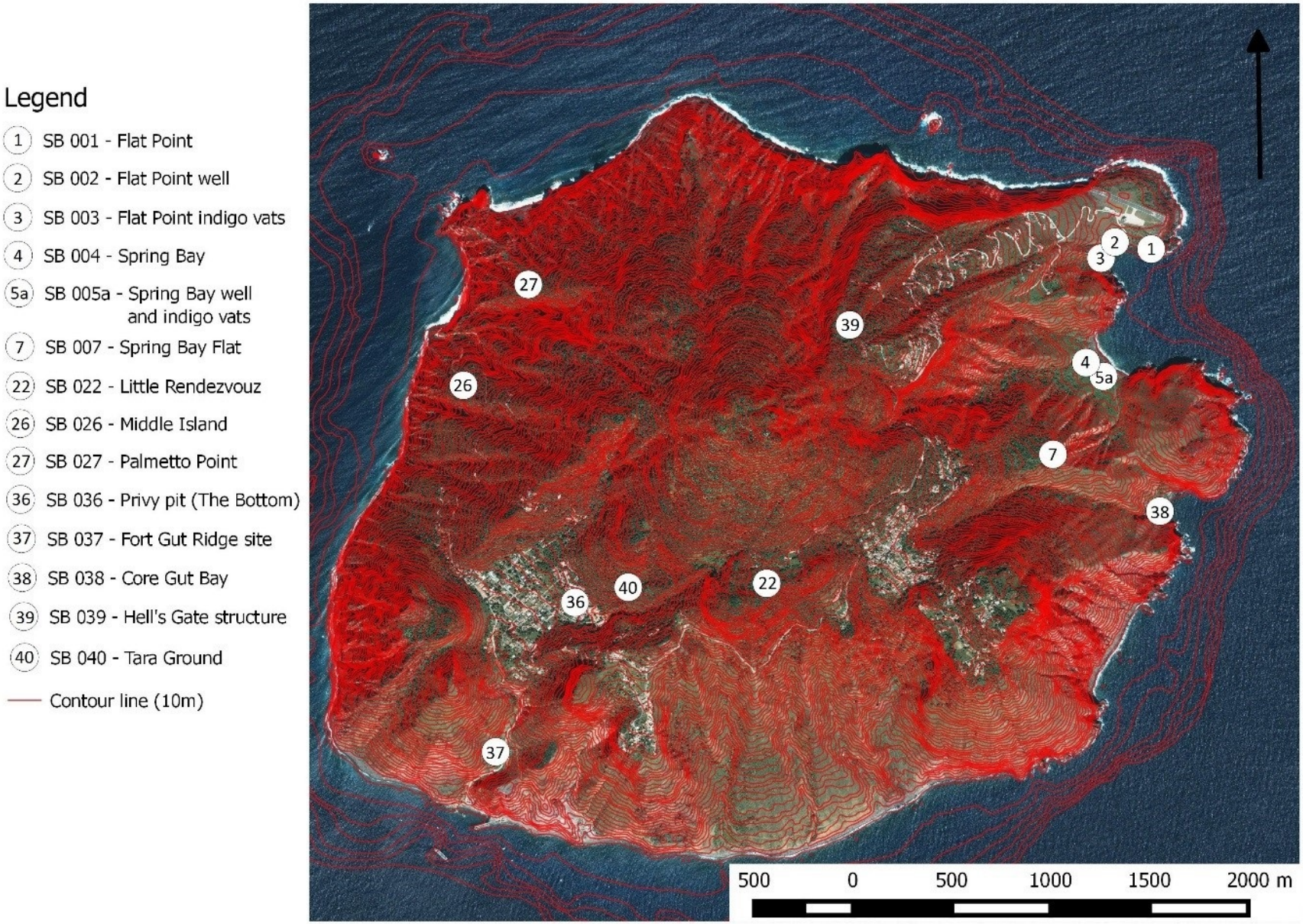


Figure 3: Relevant Archaeological Sites, Saba



Positioning research regionally

Plantation archaeology has been a common element of Caribbean historical archaeology due to the defining role they occupied in the social and economic environments of the colonial period. This is no exception relative to the region, including St. Maarten and St. Eustatius. On St. Maarten and St. Martin, several plantations were surveyed as part of an island-wide archaeological survey by Haviser (1988). Partial excavations of plantations on the Dutch side have included the Ebenezer Plantation (Barka 1991), the Welgelegen Plantation (Barka & Sanders 1993), the Belvedere Plantation (Haviser 1996), the Bethlehem Plantation (Hofman, Hoogland, & Gilmore 2003), the Vineyard Plantation (Haviser 2004), Emilio Wilson Estate (Haviser 2006), and the Rockland Plantation (Haviser 2012). In St. Eustatius, many plantations have been surveyed beginning in the late 1970's into the 1980's (Haviser 1982; Dethelfsen et al. 1979), and analyzed in terms of spatial analysis (Delle 1994). Norm Barka undertook excavations at several sites, including the Princess Estate (1987), and the country estate of Johannes de Graaf (1996). Other excavated plantations have included the Pleasures Plantation (Gilmore 2005), the Steward Plantation (Stelten 2012), the Golden Rock Plantation (Haviser & Stelten 2012, unpublished), the Schotsenhoek Plantation and slave village (Stelten 2013), the Fair Play plantation (Cook 2015, unpublished), and the estate of Johannes de Graaf (Barka 1996). Afro-Caribbean ware on St. Eustatius has been analyzed by Barbara Heath (1988, 1991, 1999), Grant Gilmore (2005), with comparisons drawn to Afro-Caribbean wares from St. Kitts (Ahlman, Schroedl, & McKeown 2009). Free African descent resident villages have been excavated in St. Maarten (Haviser 2008, unpublished), while on St. Eustatius one has been located and excavated by Grant Gilmore between 2008-2010, but to date no site report has been published (Ruud Stelten, personal communication 2015). Regional research involving colonial burial practices and grave marker surveys have included excavations of the Belvedere Plantation burial ground (Barka 1998), excavations of a Catholic priest's grave in St. Maarten (Haviser 2006), and the excavation of three nineteenth burials from a proposed construction site in Windwardside, Saba (Haviser 2013).

Concluding remarks

This research marks the first series of excavations within plantation contexts on Saba, and additionally the first concerted study of slavery and race during the island's pre-emancipation colonial period. The small size and limited areas of land of practical use across Saba have restricted settlement to the few areas sufficiently large and flat to permit economic exploitation and settlement. As a result, a comprehensive sampling can be obtained from sites across the island to provide key comparative material assemblages. The following chapter will introduce the theory and methodology employed by this research to interpret the pre-emancipation colonial material landscape of Saba.

Chapter 3: Theory and Methodology

This chapter outlines the theoretical and methodological structure that informed the collection and interpretation of the database used in this research. It begins with a discussion of ideology in structuring powered relations between people, following to the process of abstraction as a necessity to understand the social and physical environments which we inhabit. It then proceeds to class, race, and gender as entry points for dialectical inquiry into the creation and maintenance of ideology (Eagleton 1996; Wurst 2006; McGuire 2008), and continues with a discussion regarding how these abstracts can be manifested in the social and material record. It then follows with an outline of the methodologies employed in archaeological fieldwork, together with document histories and the span of documents consulted for this research.

Ideology

Studying enslaved Africans in the European colonial world necessitates an understanding of the powered relationships which were encompassed by the institution of slavery. This is well encapsulated by the concept of ideology. At a basic level, Heather Burke (2006:128) summarizes ideology as "an idea or ideas rooted in power." This is derived from Goran Therborn's concept of ideology, which is "central to the reproduction of social order, and does not function as an isolated body of thought, but as an ongoing social process that continually changes in response to its engagement with the world and patterning of relationships between social groups. (Therborn 1980:77-78; Burke 2006:132). Louis Althusser (1994) maintains that ideology operates at an unconscious level in a given society, rooted in both its material culture and social institutions, and integral to a person's everyday lived experience (Burke 2006:129). This is a departure from the traditional Marxist dichotomy of true and false consciousness in ideology, wielded by those in power to conceal inequality and social contradictions. Rather, ideology is seen as "common sense" (Burke 2006:137), and thus taken for granted as the "way things are".

This is similar to Pierre Bourdieu's (1977) concept of *habitus*, which is not easily and succinctly defined, but is well summarized by Charles Orser (1999:59): "… we may think of (habitus) as a feature of human society that incorporates the rules, perceptions, expectations, ideas, and attitudes that are learned during the process of socialization. Because it is internalized, the habitus sets the parameters of social action within the social hierarchy for each class fraction. It sets limits within the social structure but at the same time generates perceptions and practices and allows for the creation of aspirations. These attitudinal features determine what is considered reasonable and possible and, conversely, what is unreasonable and out of the realm of possibility." Understanding and dissecting

ideology is facilitated by locating common, pervasive vectors of ideology relative to a particular society. These elements are defined through the process of abstraction, the simple recognition that all thinking about reality begins by breaking it down into manageable parts (Ollman 1993:24; Wurst 1999:9). Terry Eagleton (1996) identified the abstracts of class, race, and gender as the "great triplet" for maintaining inequality. The interrelatedness of class and race was recognized during the Jim Crow-era U.S.A. by W. E. B. Du Bois (1903), who concluded that they could not be understood in isolation as a means to understand the colour-line during this time in the U.S.A. These ideological vectors are well suited to understanding powered relations in Europe's colonies during the period of the transatlantic slave trade.

Because the abstracts of race, class, and gender are studied as facets of ideology, they are intimately related, and thus cannot be responsibly understood in isolation. For example, the suffixed title "Esquire" was used throughout the late eighteenth to mid nineteenth century on Saba in the documentary record to clearly denote upper class. It is unknown how the title was assumed or conferred, but no examples are known among women or African descent Sabans, as it was the exclusive domain of white men. It is by studying the dialectic of the title to race and class that the title is understood entrench white males into positions of power through habitus.

The dialectic

Generally defined, "dialectics is a way of thinking and a set of related categories that captures, neither misses nor distorts, the real changes and interaction that go on in the world or any part of it" (Ollman & Smith 2008:4). Dialectics "study the relations between two or more elements, in the sense that it is the relationship between the elements that define them, and they cannot otherwise exist outside of this relationship." (Wurst 2006:195; Harvey 1996, 2000; McGuire 1992:94; Ollman 1993, 2003; Sayer 1987). A common explanation of the dialectic involves the teacher and the student. It is precisely the relationship between these two elements that defines their existence as such. The teacher requires a student to realize the position as a teacher, and similarly, being a student necessitates the presence of a teacher. They cannot exist in isolation, for if they did, they would cease to be teacher and student and become different entities altogether.

Since dialectics studies the relationships between elements that result in their creation, applying this approach towards inquiries into past societies necessitates an awareness of the whole of spatial, temporal, and social elements of both of the society of study, and the society which is doing the studying. This has been referred to in terms of a past-present dialectic in Marxist traditions, and the "dialogue between past and present" common to the discipline of history (Carr 1987:29-30; Tosh 2010:168, 206-207). Humans cannot exist outside of society, and throughout their life they acquire a

particular set of lived experiences derived from the process of socialization, which will influence, enable, or restrict their capacity to act as individual agents in any given context. Agency, therefore, cannot be wholly divorced from the social environment in which it was fostered and interacts. "The postprocessual agenda", argue McGuire and Wurst, "atomizes individuals and leads to the dangerous ground of identity politics. This path makes it virtually impossible to conceptualize any common ground or united struggle, either in the past or in the present" (McGuire & Wurst 2002:2). In a similar vein, Randall McGuire further states that "agency presupposes a web of social relationships and meanings, yet these social relations and meaning are themselves products of conscious human action," therefore, "even the act of being a hermit is social" (McGuire 2008:43). Emphasizing group activity "is not, therefore, a denial of human individuality but simply a recognition that what the individual does in common with others usually has far greater impact, historically, than anything else he or she does" (Tosh 2010:10). Therefore, despite the capacity for human agency, archaeological assemblages produced by small groups or even individuals will bear certain hallmarks of the cultural ideologies within which their lives were rooted. Indeed, "the most powerful interpretations of agency," states Paul Mullins, "are clearly contextualized in relationship to dominant practices, ideology, and power" (Mullins 2008:160).

A dialectical approach requires an awareness of the multiple social and material webs in which social agents participate. This is not to say that a complete understanding is necessary of all aspects of a given society, but rather the dialectic fosters an accountability to multiple lines of evidence for a given element. It is therefore impossible to study an element isolated from its relation to other social and material contexts. Ollman (2008:9) refers to this as the "Humpty Dumpty problem": "After the fall, it was not only extremely hard to put the pieces of poor Humpty together again, but even to see where they fit. This is what happens whenever the pieces of our everyday experience are taken as existing separate from their spatial and historical contexts, whenever the part is given an ontological status independent of the whole." The elements comprising dialectical study with a society, however, do not always 'fit' neatly together. The relationship between owner and enslaved, for example, is ambivalent at best, and violent, dehumanizing, and oppressive at as it approaches the worst. This relationship is also not static, as members of these respective elements will enter into a variety of different social contexts throughout their lifetime where these matter more, less, or are otherwise insignificant. In mid nineteenth century Saba, for example, a person can be a free mulatto woman from Middle Island, a mother of three, Catholic, and a small landowner living through subsistence agriculture who sells a small surplus in The Bottom on Sundays, but she is not simply the sum of these identities (McGuire & Wurst 2002). "At work, church, leisure or among friends, this individual will become reconstituted as a different social agent depending on the context, since there is no pure

context where we are dealing with only one set of relations" (McGuire & Wurst 2002:89). Secondly, the issue of accountability to the whole is compounded when applying this approach towards archaeology. "Even if all the material items in a culture are related to its non-material aspects, the archaeological remains may be so limited, altered, or destroyed that a complete description of the past cannot be reconstructed from them… because the complete past is simply not reflected in the material that remains" (Watson, LeBlanc, and Redman 1971:21, in Handler & Lange 2006). The limitations of the material record can be accounted for both by focusing research upon multiple related, contemporaneous sites, and by employing a multidisciplinary approach that goes beyond materiality alone as a means of understanding the past. Searching for social and material vectors for class, race, and gender rooted in local culture harkens to Jaime C. Brandon's (2009:12) call for a "holistic cultural analysis… to analyzing competing categorical registers (i.e., class and race). If applied in a non-reifying manner, a cultural analysis may reveal the complex linkages between different, but often simultaneously manifested, identities". This approach reinforces the importance of locally-situated ideologies that are implicated in material things, and particularly, does not seek to prop up one facet of ideology over another in terms of overall importance or utility. Indeed, since there is no social and material context in which people engage in a pure, singular set of relations, the relevance of particular facets of ideology shift according to the given cultural context. Therefore, the process of selecting and excavating archaeological sites relevant to this research proceeded by identifying individual sites that, when compared in context with other excavated contemporaneous sites on Saba, material differences relative to class, race, and gender can be discerned due to their predominance among the variety of social relations present among them.

Class

Multiple definitions of class have been employed by archaeologists as a means of understanding the archaeological record. Raymond Williams (1983:60-69; in Wurst 1999:7) outlined three commonly used definitions of class in archaeology:

1) Objective group: class as a discrete social or economic category
2) Rank: Class as relative social position by birth or mobility;
3) Formation: Class based upon perceived economic relationship; social, political, and cultural organization.

Class is best viewed in relational terms rather than a static social position. An essentialized understanding of class, such as traditional Marxist elements of working class and the bourgeoisie, are fixed and were defined relative to nineteenth and twentieth century Euro-American capitalist society, and thus will have little to no explanatory capacity when applied outside of this context. Class

structures are reproduced through time, which is an essential characteristic that distinguishes class from strata (McGuire 2008; Foster 2006) or status (Wurst 1999:7-8; Shepard 1987; Spencer-Wood and Heberling (1987:59). Though this characteristic of class is similar to "rank" as outlined by Williams, a relational concept of class views this as an aspect within a myriad of different elements which comprise class within a culture. Given the variety of social and material components that compose class during this period on Saba, it becomes clear that another term plucked from its capitalist context, "socio-economic status", is inapplicable and misleading as it reifies the notion that "social status and economic status are somehow equivalent" (Cook et al. 1996:51). Socioeconomic status "conflates wealth as an overarching component of "status" without accounting for the culturally and temporally specific components of what together compose class among the people being studied, while disregarding race and gender" (Wurst 2006:4; Chicone 2011a). A formational view of class sees it as a historical relationship rather than a thing, a point widely promoted by the sociologist Edward Thompson (1963). "Class," he states, "is a social and cultural formation (often finding institutional expression) which cannot be defined abstractly or in isolation, but only in terms of relationship with other classes; and ultimately the definition can only be made in the medium of time… class itself is not a thing, it is a happening" (Thompson 1965:357).

Thompson's definition of class is effectively dialectical as it requires the existence of other classes in a given moment of time to realize itself. Indeed, class as a "happening" describes class as an ongoing social process. The author agrees with Thompson in that a class requires another class to realize itself. By extension this necessitates the existence of class consciousness; but how this manifests will vary at an individual or group level depending on the social context. Therefore, Thompson's definition is somewhat homogenizing as it is not spatially reflexive. The medium of place, in addition to time as mentioned by Thompson, is required as it accounts for the differences in social contexts where one's class, or components of class, (whether class consciousness exists or not) will matter more or less than others. This research employs LouAnn Wurst's (2006:194) definition of class, wherein class is reproduced through time, and composes "the surface appearance of a complex web of underlying social relations… a label designating where an individual stands in relative social standing", which accounts for the reflexivity of both time and social context. However, unlike race and gender, class is an abstract of ideology which is not immutably imposed upon individuals from birth. It is the immutability of race and gender that separates them from the relative malleability of class. As a result, class can be changed over time, but always within the limitations imposed by a given individual's race and gender, and further enabled or constricted due to other class vectors of the individual and his or her community. Due to the reflexive nature of class, this research does not strive to create a "final list" of classes, but rather to identify certain vectors of class, including race and

gender, that will tend to predominate over others relative to given contexts in the archaeological and documentary records. In this way, the dialectic between particular vectors and materiality can be discerned.

Returning to the notion of class consciousness, nowhere in Saba's indigenous documentary record, or in the many conversations that the author has had with Sabans, few people, families, or groups have been referred outright in explicit terms of class. None were referred to as "low class" or "upper class", or a similar concoction. Outside of racialized or gendered references, a general notion of class composing multiple spatial and social components is "thinking someone or a family is better", usually in reference to the person or group making the statement. These "degrees of betterness" will be referenced through the terms "upper class" and "lower class" throughout this research.

The perspectives of class that are rooted in local and regional lived experiences are integral towards understanding social relations. Indeed, scale and locality (Hauser 2008; Wurst 1999) are defining elements of ideology. As Hauser (2008:5) states, "…locality is equally abstracted as a generalization where identities such as creole are at the same time ubiquitous categories of human classification but simultaneously particular to the historic context in which it is used… vantage point is also extremely useful in defining locality in that people experienced different scales of locality—different freedoms of movement, social relationships and economic ties depending on their position within colonial society." This is important to understanding how ideological abstractions such as class, race, and gender were mediated between groups on Saba, how Sabans were perceived regionally and saw themselves on this scale, and how scale and locality changed through time relative to particular ideological vectors. This has implications towards racialization on Saba, changes in Saban class structures, and the development of poverty. Saban poverty in particular was subject to competing perceptions dependent upon scale and locality.

Poverty

Poverty is an experience which arises from structural inequality and a lack of opportunity (Matthews 2011). Defining poverty can be done objectively, such as in absolute measurements of a "poverty line" based upon a household's annual income. "Poverty-lines" and other absolute measurements of poverty will bifurcate people in similar social and material circumstances between the "deserving poor" and the "undeserving poor" based upon criteria designated by powered groups such as governments, upper class individuals and groups, and charitable organizations. The "deserving poor" may qualify for organized altruism such as social or material assistance, whereas those "undeserving poor" do not qualify for assistance, often because their poverty is perceived to be the result of a personal failing (Chicone 2011a; Symonds 2011).

It is important to define *Saban* poverty relative to this research, including those who determined who is poor, and those groups who had vested ideological interests in maintaining the status quo which fostered poverty on Saba through structural inequality. The creation and reification of poverty is a common result of the dialectic between race and class (Orser 2011, 2007, 2004; Chicone 2011a, 2011b; Symonds 2011; Matthews 2011; Spencer-Wood and Matthews 2011). This is well articulated in a quote from heavyweight boxer Larry Holmes: "It's hard being black. You ever been black? I was black one – when I was poor" (Oates 1987:62, in Orser 2011; in Chicone 2011a). Poverty therefore is best understood relative to its intersectionality between major vectors of ideology such as class, race, and gender. Christopher Matthews (2011:44-45) points out that "the problem is the reification of 'the poor' as a culture, class, or similarly definable group that may be conceptualized, separated, and *contained"*. The "culture of poverty" thesis considers poverty the result of a certain behavioural patterns through which it was fostered and maintained. Indeed, considering poverty as a culture unto itself, as advocated by Oscar Lewis (1965), can easily reify poverty according to the class biases of the (most often middle class) observer, and can foster assumptions about social behaviours that promote and entrench individual responsibility for poverty despite systematic inequality that is inseparably entrenched within the society it operates (Green 2006; Matthews 2011). In post-emancipation Barbados, for example, the economic conditions of poverty were similar between "poor whites" (redlegs) and African descent Barbadians, but their lived experience of poverty was tempered by their race and landscape (Reilly 2016). Barbadians considered the poverty of the redlegs to be a result of idleness, while presumably being African-descent was a contributing factor to poverty among Afro-Barbadians. While this research must proceed though abstraction, and thus "poverty" must be referred to as a concept, it does not have to be reified as a "thing" if it is viewed as a social process that changes through time.

Suzanne Spencer-Wood and Matthews (2011:2) understand poverty in relational terms, wherein poverty is created structurally through "social classes, races, ethnic groups, genders, and other social groups, often through their interactions in institutions". Sarah Chicone (2011a) adds temporal dimension to this approach by considering poverty as a process and tracing its development through time. Understanding poverty as a process examines "how poverty has embodied a number of shifting positions across space and time, and how it takes on different manifestations depending on one's social and economic position" (Chicone 2001b:122). Poverty, Chicone (2011a:57) states, "not reducible to a single variable; instead, its production is located in part with the social relations that constitute it… the revealing inquiry rests in the way competing interest groups used materiality together with disparate ideological constructions of poverty in conflicting ways". Poverty, in other words, cannot simply be reduced to a self-reflective pile of objects; when poverty is viewed as a

process, “changes in materiality alone did not fundamentally alter the reality of its lived experience” (Chicone 2011a:78).

This has implications towards the applicability of approaches that depend on artifact patterns or behavioural predictions rooted in poverty. Inferring poverty through cuts of meat present at a site (Landon 1996) may be relevant in a Saban plantation context, but may bear little inferential use outside of these spaces on Saba as recipes such as pig tail soup, “sause”, and pig knuckles are enjoyed across the island in the present with little regard for race and class. Re-using or re-purposing artifacts has been linked to material deprivation (Busch 1987) with some taking a further step to associate it with poverty (Reilly 2016). This is a behaviour towards the potential multiple utilities of material objects which can understandably arise due to material deprivation. However, artifact re-use or multi-use cannot be directly attributed to poverty or other ideological constructs present within Saba’s colonial history without first understanding the social and material contexts present on the island throughout its pre-emancipation colonial period. The presence of valuable wares such as Chinese porcelain within an otherwise “poor” assemblage, for example, does not negate the lived experience of poverty (Chicone 2011b). Similarly, it is not necessarily an attempt by the household to demonstrate respectability despite one’s impoverishment, since the actual reason for acquiring the item will remain unknown to the archaeologist unless a bill of sale or similar evidence can be found. As Chicone (2011a) points out, these object-centered approaches can obfuscate real social and material hardships experienced by people, especially when experiences of poverty become seen as cross-culturally homogenous rather than situated in particular cultural, regional, and temporal contexts. Scale is integral to this approach, as since the eighteenth century, Saba was often considered in the region to be an island populated by “poor people”, thereby homogenizing the island as poor despite the existence of local class structures. This demonstrates a common dialectic which exists between poverty and space, seen elsewhere through the designation of certain urban areas as slums (Mayne & Murray 2001; Yamin 2001), and particular rural areas as poor (Horning 1999; Barnes 2011). The existence of poor spaces on Saba during this time compounds the importance of scale and locality towards positioning poverty within Saban and regional social relations.

Considering poverty as a process on the part of this research proceeds with the acknowledgement that poverty within Saban society was itself not viewed as process by the general populace and colonial officials, but as a definable subset of people within society with definable traits that characterized their deserving or undeserving poverty. This involves a dimension of power, wherein those among the low class and those considered poor lost control of the social narrative surrounding the designation and reification of poverty (Matthews 2011). The ability to maintain control of poverty’s narrative, in this case relative to Saba, shifts relative to given spatial and social

contexts, as this research will demonstrate. Perspective, both of those classes who designated certain areas as poor, together with those of the archaeologist, is critical when interpreting poverty and its associated materiality. The danger arises when archaeologists, who largely hail from middle-class backgrounds, unconsciously project their own middle-class ideologies upon the poor and the processes which produce and maintain poverty (McGuire 2008; Symonds 2011; Wacquant 2002). Loïc Wacquant (2002:1521, original emphasis) identified this process among sociologists who produced three works upon the urban poor of the late twentieth century U.S.A:

> The failure to construct a properly sociological problematic independent of the common sense of agents… of mainstream poverty scholarship… or of journalists and policy makers… leaves an embarrassing residue that cannot but resuscitate the original stereotypes- for there are plenty of homeless men who do not engage in "honest" street peddling, ghetto residents committed to the "street code," and youths who seek subsistence and success in the illicit economy rather than submit to the ignominy of substandard wage labor. This residue mandates the crafting of *bifurcated ethnographies of sameness,* in which the poor are first cleaved into two subgroups, the good and the bad, before the good ones are revealed to be just like you and me: homeless sidewalk vendors, regular folks, and low-wage workers in the ghetto have the same moral thirst for "self-worth," the same attachment to "decency," and the same "work ethic" as the middle-class reader; only their "opportunities differ".

In this sense, "it is worth stating that for some people, things can never get better" (Symonds 2011:564). The idea that individuals can "pull themselves up by their bootstraps" shifts responsibility for poverty upon the poor themselves, and ignores the processes which continually produce and maintain poverty. These processes should be seen as a result of locally-situated race, class, gendered, and spatial relations within a dialectic with larger cultural, political, economic, and spatial contexts.

Race

Unlike class, race and gender are ideological abstracts that are externally imposed upon individuals and cannot be transcended without a radical change within a culture's ideology itself. Charles Orser (2003, 2007) has provided an excellent theoretical framework for investigating the archaeology of race, which has been adopted for this research. Race is herein defined as "a discrete group of people who share actual or imputed physical differences" (Cox 1970:320, in Orser 2007). Assigning people to particular races "creates social grouping where they may not have otherwise existed and seeks to naturalize distinction as an objective feature of human existence" (Orser 2007:5). The term "race" is intentionally employed rather than "ethnicity", since race is imposed, immutable, and inextricably grounded in powered ideological relations, whereas the latter is considered more socially fluid and self-conceptualizing; consequently, the utility of ethnicity flounders as a functional abstract when confronted with the powered relations inherent within racism (Orser 2003, 2007; Brandon 2009). Indeed, Sabans can maintain conversations among each other regarding nationality,

village of residence, and skin colour, which could be considered components of ethnicity, but once these are referred to in terms of race, a strong dimension of power is introduced, which tangibly alters the tone and content of the discussion. The process of racialization begins by constructing categories for individuals based upon these real or perceived qualities, based largely around "elite society's perception of biology and its categorization of some individuals as biologically inferior" (Orser 2004:43). Important distinctions exist, however, between perceptions of the "colour line" of North America versus that of other cultural-geographic areas, such as the Caribbean (Armstrong 2008). It is therefore critical that studies of the African diaspora and diachronic racialization processes are grounded in local realities rather than a singular, Pan-American notion of racism (Armstrong 2008; Brandon 2008).

Because of the hierarchical nature of race and the powered social relations that result, this consequently results in an unequal distribution of wealth should manifest itself in the archaeological record (Orser 2007; Mullins 1999a). Therefore, Orser (2007) states, by structuring the process of racialization, the material dimensions of racialization can become visible in the archaeological record. Orser's structured approach towards the study of race in the archaeological record involves studying the process of racialization through time, understanding the social organization of a given society, applying the socio-spatial dialectic to reveal and understand the dynamics of race and class upon the landscape, the effect of habitus on entrenching race and racialization, field, and capital (Orser 2007:51-52).

Race, however, exists in a dialectic with class which problematizes direct ascriptions of race to the archaeological record. For example, slavery, as a legal and thereby class-oriented institution in the Caribbean, cannot be understood without acknowledging Europeans' racialized preference for Africans to fulfil this role. Orser remarks that "where racialization exists alongside capitalist economics – and I would argue that this has been the case throughout the entire modern era- archaeologists may find it extremely difficult to separate the material assemblages of the various 'races'… and it may very well be the case that the archaeological analysis of class may have greater analytical merit than the archaeological investigation of race. At present, historical archaeologists have yet to resolve this important issue" (Orser 2007:69). Saba's pre-emancipation colonial social environment, being a small island with few inhabitants and little immigration throughout this time, inherently minimizes the social variables that compound the difficulties in disentangling race from class in the archaeological record that are otherwise present in larger islands or mainland archaeology, thereby creating an ideal setting to confront this challenge.

Gender

Differential access to power in a given culture can also manifest according to one's gender. The biology of female and male is referred to as sex, while gender encapsulates "the cultural construction of men's and women's roles and identities" (Voss 2006:107). Margaret Conkey and Janet Spector (1984) and Louise Sørensen (1988) pioneered the application of feminist critique to archaeology, helping to expose the androcentrism of the discipline, and the uncritical application of westernized notions of gender to past societies, such as the division of labour. The application of feminist theory and gender studies to Americanist historical archaeology grew in the 1990's with studies focusing on how the archaeological and documentary records could be employed together to garner insights into gender in material objects (Beaudry et al. 1991; Little 1994; Spencer-Wood 1991, Yench 1991).

The connection of gender to power, race, and class (Nelson 2004; Shaw 2001; Dirks, Eley, & Ortner 1994; Wylie 1992; Scott 1994; Voss 2006) is better understood in a dialectic to account for the reflexivity of multiple social contexts which differentially inform gendered relations. This is well encapsulated by the experiences of anthropologist Carolyn Martin Shaw: "From outside my community, my body was racialized in pernicious ways. Inside the black community, it was again the body that defined me – this time in terms of gender and sexuality." (Shaw 2001:103). The approach to this work does not automatically assume that common vectors of powered gendered relations such as task differentiation, the public/private dichotomy, and other gendered roles existed throughout the entirety of Saba's colonial history (Conkey and Spector 1984; Poovy 1988; Voss 2006). Such a "top-down" approach obscures the potential gendered differences that may have existed between class and race. This approach extends to interpreting material culture such as "artifact patterning" (South 1977) with regards to gender, such as the "Augustine Pattern" from St. Augustine, Florida (Deagan 2003). This can result in form of ideological colonialism relative to the *Saban* archaeological record, as the social relations that resulted in this patterning did not necessarily exist on the island. This approach was cautioned by Wurst (2006:196) relative to class, whereby one defines an ideological abstraction, in this case certain vectors of powered gendered relations, "without examining the social relations present, and thereby reifies those categories". Sayer (1987; in Wurst 2006:196) regards this as "the violence of abstraction". Rather, analyses into these roles and the powered gender relations between Sabans that result will begin with those evinced in Saba's documentary and archaeological record, along with oral history accounts and ethnographic research conducted by the author. These will be subsequently informed by gender norms of the region.

This research will also proceed by understand gender, along with race, as immutable elements of ideology that are imposed upon the individual by others from birth. It is this key element that

separates class from race and gender. While one's class can change over time or according to the given social context, race and gender can never be transcended by the individual except through a radical shift in the society's ideology.

Capitalism as a heuristic device for colonial Saba

The organization and division of labour within seventeenth and eighteenth century colonial plantations, especially sugar plantations, have been considered as prototypes for those that developed in nineteenth and twentieth century capitalism (Williams 1994; Leone & Potter 1999, 2015). In pre-emancipation colonial Saba these labour structures were limited to plantations, and again applied mainly to enslaved Africans as they constituted the majority in these contexts. Outside of the plantations, which occupied significant proportions of the best arable land on the island, Sabans were largely subsistence agriculturalists, with a minority that were engaged as sailors aboard ships in the regional trade, while an even smaller minority served as ship captains or owned shares in regional trade vessels. These plantations were owned mostly by merchants and government officials from St. Eustatius, which by the second half of the eighteenth century was enjoying is "Golden Rock" era of free trade and became one of the largest trading centers in the world by that time. Indeed, even Adam Smith (1981:571) noted the Statia's economic successes due to unrestricted trade, and it has been argued that the trade practices, and in particular the capital derived from trade in St. Eustatius was an important contributor to the Industrial Revolution in Europe (Gilmore 2012).

Capitalism is not easily succinctly defined. Mark Leone & Parker Potter (1999:4) define capitalism as such:

> Capitalism is a set of social relations, including those that exist among people in a workforce who own neither land nor any other form of wealth by which to sustain themselves. People in a workforce sell their labor to earn a living. Resources, such as land, money, raw materials, and property of all kinds, are owned privately. Public lands and public wealth on which anyone can depend is limited; little is owned in common. Capitalist society is characterized by owners, governments, and their agents continuously introducing technical changes that alter the structure of labor, and pushing these changes into areas, cultures, and classes where they did not exist before, of where they become intensified. Owners and their agents expand markets in a deliberate search for customers, as well as for other peoples' resources, including labor, so as to bring them into the production process. In this system, production produces money, which is distributed according to a hierarchy of control. Wages are what workers receive for their labor – the rest is profit. Profit exists when the wealth produced through selling the worker's effort is controlled by the owner of the product, the capitalist.

The social relations which characterize capitalism were not active on Saba outside of plantations prior to emancipation, as the island was self-sufficient through fishing and subsistence agriculture, and residents either owned or had access to land through which they could sustain themselves. This continued into the early decades of the twentieth century, wherein there was so

much cropland that "you couldn't find a place to tie a goat" (Keur & Keur 1960:76). If land was not owned, cultivation by others was possible through arrangements with the owner; commonly this involved one third of the crop due to the owner, with the other two thirds to the agriculturalist (Johnson 2014). By the 1950's, about 40% of farmers continued to be engaged in this system (Keur & Keur 1960:75). In addition, still up to this time, a system of reciprocal help was employed during the planting and harvesting seasons was practiced, known as "change work" (Keur & Keur 1960:75). By understanding the process and spread of pre-capitalism in the northern Lesser Antilles, especially with respect to Statia in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, regional context is provided for Saba's role in this area and early capitalism's influence upon the social and material vectors of race, class, and gender on Saba during this time.

The operation and socio-spatial organization sugar plantations operating on Saba, especially those owned in absentia by merchants and government officials in St. Eustatius, bear much more in common with capitalist organization than the social relations which existed on Saba outside of these contexts. This early capitalism was inscribed onto Saba's landscape through the strategic placement of plantation structures which existed in a dialectic pertaining to their function and location on the landscape, as a means to maximize profit and control of labour (Delle 1998, 1999, 2014; Armstrong & Kelly 2000).

The socio-spatial dialectic

Tying ideology, materiality to landscapes begins by understanding the cultural and powered elements that contributed to the organization of structures and social divisions within. Upon sugar plantations in the colonial Caribbean, the socio-spatial dialectic provides a means of predicting powered social relations that result from the planned use of space (Orser 2007). This provides a means of predicting the locations of structures such as enslaved African housing. On Saba this is facilitated due to the physical and practical limitations imposed by the geology and topography of plantation sites such as Spring Bay Flat and Flat Point. The distance between plantation structures, such as the Big House and enslaved African housing, can be a surrogate measure for the social relations enacted in that place. Sugar plantations can be understood as powered landscapes, wherein common plantation features such as the owner or manager's house, the boiling house, mill, cane fields, and enslaved African housing are intentionally positioned as a means to control enslaved labour and maximize profits (Higman 1987; Orser 1988, 2007; Armstrong 1990; Delle 1998, 2014; Armstrong & Kelly 2000). Shifts in the use of space, or the redistribution of activity areas on plantations has been linked to changes in the social and economic environments (Orser and Nekola 1985; Ryczewski & Cherry 2015). Douglas Armstrong and Kenneth Kelly's spatial analysis of eighteenth and early

nineteenth century sugar plantation across northern Jamaica found that "African villages were located in hilly, rocky, or other areas on the margins of fields unsuitable for cane cultivation, in close proximity both to cane fields and processing works. Planter or managerial housing was positioned between the key economic variables: labor, fields, and works" (Armstrong & Kelly 2000:375). The powered use of space across these colonial-period plantations is prominently rooted in a dialectic with race and class. Analyses of powered landscapes in historical archaeology are not, however, unique to plantations, and similar approaches have been applied towards the study of real and imagined class and racial characterizations of urban slums (Orser 2011; Giles & Jones 2011; Chicone 2011a; Murray and Mayne 2001; Yamin 1998) and rural communities (Horning 1999).

Interpretation, sources, and postcolonialism

This research has been conducted to a great extent with the intent to understand elements of Saba's pre-emancipation colonial ideology in terms of a dialectic between Sabans and both local and regional power structures. Perhaps the most important element of de-colonizing this research stems from the author's time living on Saba during the research, working as a teacher at the Saba Comprehensive School, and engaging the community through public archaeology via the Saba Archaeological Center. Up until the present the author has lived on Saba between 2011 to 2016, with some time spent in The Netherlands in 2013 and 2014. The author is in good rapport with governing officials and many residents across the island, and is by now known as the "island archaeologist".

Archaeological sites were selected for research according to their capacities to express particular vectors of race, class, and gender relative to the dominant sets of social relations that these places would have fostered among people. A significant proportion of this research stems from the documentary record. Henri Foucault (2010:57-58) argues that all discourses are rooted in power and knowledge, which by consequence fosters different ways for groups and individuals to understand the world around them. By applying this approach coupled with critical theory to reading the documentary record, negotiations between ideology and powered interests can become apparent. Documents originating from Saban pens were sought as much as possible in order to glean power structures as they were represented locally, either explicitly or implicitly. In this way, colonial assumptions relative to expected results could be mitigated. Court records from nineteenth century Saba are particularly valuable in his regard, as they describe cases between individuals across the whole spectrum of Saban society, and other elements of Saban daily life that otherwise were not commonly recorded. Colonial sources, such as documents from governing officials in St. Maarten, St. Eustatius, and Curaçao, provided insight into external perceptions of Saba. This provided a means to understand the tensions which existed between Sabans, Saba's landscape, and colonial interests, and

laid the foundations for understanding the "incomplete hegemony" of governing officials and plantations on Saba throughout the period concerned.

A Theoretical Structure for Discerning the Social and Material Vectors of Class, Race, and Gender on Saba

Studying social organization proceeds through the process of abstraction, where aspects of society are divided into manageable parts of a social and temporal framework, which are then analyzed together to see how they relate to and inform the whole. A dialectical approach studies these components in terms of their relationships to each other, whereby it is the relationship between given components that defines them, and they cannot otherwise exist outside this relationship without becoming a new or different social abstraction. The discreet "structuring structures" which comprise the *habitus* of a given culture foster the potential for powered relations among its members. Those facets of *habitus*, the "ideas rooted in power" which encapsulate ideology, can manifest among multiple, overlapping social abstracts such as class, race, and gender.

As Orser (2004) describes in practice theory relative to race, the process of uncovering the social and material vectors of class, race, and gender on Saba through time begins by understanding the creation and maintenance of social institutions and the socio-spatial dialectic of a given region of study, together with the shared experiences among people considered as members of particular classes, races, and genders. Since documentary or archaeological expressions of ideology is the result of many factors, documents and sites were chosen that were able to best express and isolate particular ideological vectors within its material, social, spatial, and temporal context, that become apparent when compared to others where these vectors are identical, similar, irrelevant, or absent. For example, excavations within house foundations and trash pits at Palmetto Point, a poor white hamlet of several dozen residents between the late eighteenth century to 1934, provides an excellent comparative assemblage to identical spatial contexts in Middle Island, a contemporary hamlet of the same relative size populated by mostly free Sabans of African descent by the last half of the nineteenth century. However, the lived experience of Saban residents, despite their race, class, or gender, may not be directly reflected in material assemblages attributed to them by artifacts suggestive of wealth, as would what Chicone identifies as an object-centered approach, or other material anomalies that may suggest a deviation from socio-material norms, as would be in what she terms a representational approach (Chicone 2011a). Rather, the materiality of class, race, and gender of Saban residents is co-constitutive of their lived experience. Therefore, for ideological facets such as class, race, and gender to be visible in objects, materiality must be understood in terms of how it is implicated in ideological relations between groups on Saba. *Habitus* relative to social inequality, for example, may not be

readily apparent in the materiality between Palmetto Point and Middle Island, but becomes apparent in the court records throughout the nineteenth century from Saba's Delegated Bench of Justice through differential regards for gender titles dependent on race, together with sentencing according to race among free Sabans. The 1863 emancipation compensation documents for slave owners required their signatures, thereby revealing literacy rates among them as some signed their names, while others marked an "X" as they could not sign their own name due to illiteracy; these individuals can subsequently be researched in Saban sales records that extend from 1780 to 1874 to potentially correlate literacy to levels of wealth and material culture among them. In a last example, Governor Thomas Dinzey was considered the richest and most powerful man on Saba during the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century, but to officials in St. Eustatius, he lived on "an island inhabited by poor people", whose estate was valued at just some 10% to that of his contemporary, St. Eustatius Governor Johannes de Graaf (DNAr 1.05.01.02 #629:2/2/1773).

Searching for social and material vectors for class, race, and gender rooted in local realities harkens to Brandon's (2009:12) call for a "holistic cultural analysis… to analyzing competing categorical registers (i.e., class and race). This approach bridges into post-colonial theory, whereby it can help mitigate against unconscious colonial influences within archaeological practice, such as the uncritical application of predictive models to Saban archaeological assemblages, or assumptions relative to race relations. If applied in a non-reifying manner, a cultural analysis may reveal the complex linkages between different, but often simultaneously manifested, identities". By understanding changes in the social organization of Saba throughout its colonial period, the dialectic between ideology and materiality changes as well. Therefore, it will be possible to identify the materiality of race, class, and gender in certain individual artifacts and assemblages on Saba relative to particular periods.

Clearly, there are many avenues for applying dialectical analyses of class, race, and gender throughout the island's pre-emancipation colonial period. Louann Wurst correctly stated that "archaeologists cannot, as mere mortals, study the totality of any social context, but we must recognize that we proceed with abstractions of the internal relations that form a totality" (Wurst 2006:201). Saba, being a small island with scant immigration throughout its colonial period, serves as an excellent example for demonstrating the efficacy and potential of dialectical approaches that stress accountability to totality in historical archaeology.

Closing remarks

The theoretical structure of this research demanded a broad selection of sites differentiated by space and time. The databases and methodologies required to engage this topic were diverse, and

the fieldwork logistics necessitated the participation of many workers, made possible by many archaeologists, including in particular archaeological field school students from Leiden University. The next chapter provides the historical context for the theoretical approach. It introduces the colonial history of Saba, with particular detail to people and events pertinent to the development of local ideology and the maintenance of inequality.

Chapter 4: Saba in the Documentary Record

This chapter outlines the processes involved in documentary research, and outlines the colonial history of Saba, from first sightings by Europeans to the early twentieth century, with the abandonment of Middle Island and Palmetto Point. A significant proportion of the history recounted herein is derived from original archival and historical newspaper research by the author, which is indicated by references to archive locations and their indexes that do not include an adjoining secondary source reference. In particular, it focuses on the oral and documentary history concerning free and enslaved Sabans of African descent. This includes the first arrival of enslaved Africans to the island, the rise and fall of the plantation economy, the emergence of free Sabans of African descent, laws pertaining to the institution of slavery, emancipation as it occurred on Saba in 1863, and its aftermath.

The sources and their history

A wide variety of sources were employed throughout this research in several collections worldwide. The most important sources for seventeenth and eighteenth colonial documents have been the Calendar of State Papers through the British National Archives (herein abbreviated to the BNAr), and the Dutch National Archives in The Hague (herein abbreviated to DNAr). The National Archives of Curaçao (herein abbreviated to the NArC) holds two important collections of correspondence between Lt. Governor Edward Beaks, Jr. and the colonial governors in Curaçao during the mid-nineteenth century. The Bancroft Collection at Berkeley University, U.S.A. holds a collection of documents concerning Saba and surrounding islands from around the early nineteenth century, notably the late Napoleonic period. However, they are in a poor state of preservation and were not accessible to the author, as archivists are at the time of writing are currently engaged in their conservation.

Unfortunately, there are few primary sources from the seventeenth century up to 1781 that directly pertain to Saba. These are largely due to two single events. Upon the dissolution of the first Dutch West Indies Company in 1674, most of the correspondence and bookkeeping by company officials were either lost or destroyed, given that scant and incomplete documentation survives from the Company relative to the Second Dutch West Indies Company. Secondly, the government archives of St. Eustatius were largely lost during the hurricane of 1772 (DNAr 1.05.01.02 #629:15/12/1772),

and just nine years later, many others were presumed to be either burnt or lost during the island's capture by Rodney in 1781. This would have included many documents pertaining to Saba, since it was governed under St. Eustatius during the time. Regular bookkeeping by the Island Government relative to a yearly census, birth and death records, sales records, and imports and exports from the island did not occur until after 1816; prior to this time it was not a common practice to do so by government officials (DNAr 1.05.06.69 #185).

There are several collections on Saba that were of some use. Documents originating from Saba are primarily derived from several types of sources: government correspondence between Saba and other islands, usually St. Eustatius and Curaçao; government sales records, which only recorded large transactions such as real estate, debts owed, and sales of enslaved Africans; government court records of trials involving Sabans; probate inventories; manumission records; emancipation claims in 1863; and the marriage and birth registers of the Catholic Church. Saban documents were penned by very few individuals up to emancipation; these were usually the Gezaghebber, island council members, and the Island Secretary, as only a handful of Sabans were literate by the mid nineteenth century (Hartog 1975:87). There are no documents that have survived from the Anglican Church, since most of these were accidently destroyed sometime in the mid twentieth century due to overzealous cleaning. The Saba Planning Bureau holds several important collections of documents. This includes the second part of the Saba Vendue Book (SVB), which dates from 1816-1876; an untitled collection of notarized documents such as sales as last wills dating 1865-1866; a collection entitled the "Saba Transfer Deeds 1840-1852" (STD); and collection entitled the "Book of Recorded Mortgages" which dates from 1865-1875 (SBRM). The first collection of documents is probably originally associated with the "Book of Recorded Mortgages". An untitled book of transfer deeds and last wills and testaments that ranges from 1853-1865 is referred to as the Saba Notary Book (SNB). The Island Government of Saba has a conspicuous lack of surviving documentation prior to the mid nineteenth century. During Johannes Hartog's research on Saba for his "History of Saba" book, he collected many original documents that left the island along with him (Will Johnson, personal communication 2013). Many have since gone missing, while part of the collection apparently rests with the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in Aruba. Hartog never referenced his sources or compiled a bibliography, thus it is impossible to verify the veracity of some of his claims where it is not otherwise documented elsewhere. British Newspapers Archive (www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk), Delpher Kranten (http://www.kranten.delpher.nl, last accessed 25 May 2014) and Ancestry.com (http://www.ancestry.com, last accessed 24 June 2014) provided news reports of important events concerning local and regional events pertaining to Saba, especially regarding illicit trade during the early nineteenth century, slavery, and the transatlantic slave trade.

Oral history forms an important body of data for this research. Will Johnson is a decorated former politician of Saba and the former Netherlands Antilles, has been actively researching Saba's history for over forty years, and continues to be an important source of Saba's oral history. Julia G. Crane's "Saba Silhouettes" is an ethnographic collection of oral history accounts recorded verbatim in the 1970's and 1980's from Sabans throughout the island. Countless conversations with Sabans by the author during nearly three years of living on the island have also been of invaluable use.

The earliest history of Saba written in the Rankean tradition was "Naar de Antillen en Venezuela" (1904), penned by Henri Hubert Kol. This was followed up by "Windward Children" (1960) by John and Dorothy Keur and "Educated to Emigrate" (1967) by Julia G. Crane, both written as a history and an ethnography; "History of Saba" by Johannes Hartog in 1975; and five editions of "Saban Lore: Tales from my Grandmother's Pipe" (1979, 1983, 1989, 1994, 2014) by local historian Will Johnson.

Several large documents contributed a significant body of data towards this section. Insights into the class, race, and gender on Saba can be garnered by studying documents relating to its internal economy, and those of nearby St. Maarten and St. Eustatius. The first is the "Vendue Book" (DNAr 1.05.13.01 #542) which represents the earliest known regular record of sales and probate inventories on Saba between the years 1780-1787, resuming again with regularity from 1815-1822, with some overlap in a second volume of sales records, manumissions, and bequeathals which extends from 1814-1876. This is herein referred to as the Saba Vendue Book 1780-1825, or SVB 1780-1825 as shorthand. Tax records for Saba, St. Maarten, and St. Eustatius from the early to mid-nineteenth century list commonly imported goods to the respective islands, which give insight to the relative self-sufficiency of Saban agriculture, and the breadth of the latest material culture on the island at given points in time. The Saba court records, which range from 1812 to the 1860's, provided unique insights into the daily activities and social relations of individual Sabans (DNA 1.05.13.901 #540.1). The Saba government log book 1816-1835 (DNA 1.05.13.01 #319) contains correspondences from Saban officials to others in St. Eustatius and abroad, and other miscellaneous information such as import tariffs, a list of household heads, and the island's military organization.

During the last British possession of St. Eustatius, a probate inventory of former Governor Johannes de Graff's estate was taken on 5 January, 1814 by British officials (DNAr 1.05.08.01 #732). While the inventory is extensive and descriptive, the items tend to be valued separate from their descriptions into large groups unlike the Saba Vendue Books. The inventory proceeded room by room, though the currency was tallied last regardless of its location. While these two inventories are contemporary, it must be kept in mind that the values ascribed to goods in the de Graaf inventory were completed by upper ranking British military personnel, and thus their sense of worth of particular

goods such as ceramics, houses, and tools will not be a direct reflection of these items' valuations on Saba. Items in the Vendue Books, conversely, were appraised by a variety of "good men" native to the island, and thus the valuations listed therein are relative to those trusted by the Island Council. In addition, since Saba was an island in the long midst of a currency shortage, the values given to similar items in the Vendue Books may be less as a result. Despite these shortcomings for cross-island comparison, the de Graaf inventory clearly demonstrates the material culture, land holdings, and levels of enslaved African ownership associated with the uppermost echelons of class in the northern Lesser Antilles during this time, which provides a necessary related external context to Saban databases.

Saba during the early colonial period

Saba would have undoubtedly been sighted by Christopher Columbus during his second voyage to the Americas, as he passed by and named the islands of St. Kitts and Nevis. Hartog claims that Sir Francis Drake described using Saba as a navigational waypoint en route to Puerto Rico, although as he did not provide references, this is not verifiable, and was not present Maynarde's (1849) publication of Drake's journal of this voyage. Hartog also cites an anonymous pilot's log of Saba from 1604:

> Markes to know the Isle of Saba.
> Saba is a little island, and around about it you shall see the bottome; but feare not, for there is no danger but that which you shall see; and round about it, it maketh as it were certaine heapes of white sand; and by the side there sheweth like a ship under saile: but follow that direction that I have given, and you shall see La Virgin Gorda." (Hartog 1975:16)

Although there is no documentation of sixteenth century landings on Saba by Europeans, it is very likely that the Spaniards set foot on the island at some point during that period, given the volume of traffic between northern South America and the Greater Antilles, and the island's utility as a fresh water source. There is no evidence for a permanent Amerindian presence on Saba during the early seventeenth century; however, the island, particularly Spring Bay, was likely frequented by Amerindians in the colonial period at least in order to obtain water. This is mentioned in a Saban folk tale called "The Tale of Johnny Frau", which describes a European colonist that fought with a large Amerindian man at Spring Bay over water, with both dying as a result of their fight. Two Amerindians were noted in a 1665 census of Saba, but this followed the island's capture by English buccaneers in 1665 (Hartog 1975). Amerindians were known to have been employed on buccaneer ships for their knowledge of survival on land and at sea, and early seventeenth century European colonies in the Caribbean were known to have used enslaved Amerindians, including St. Eustatius (Esquemeling 2007:199; Goslinga 1971:336).

Saba during the seventeenth century

"Concerning the history of the island, very little or nothing is known about that. This alone appears to me to be the most likely, that most of them are descended from three or four families from St. Kitts and elsewhere who abandoned there in order to avoid leprosy and elephantiasis, and in this supposition I am strengthened, in the first place while nearly all of them carry the last surname, and on the other hand while the mentioned illnesses is so generally spread among them, they say to have inherited these from their ancestors" (Nomina Geographica Neerlandica 1885:217; https://thesabaislander.com/2016/06/, last accessed 11 July 2016). Father G. C. Gast's observations on Sabans' own historical awareness in 1857 differs considerably from the present day, wherein a certain pride has taken hold in being "descended from pirates" who raided the island 1665. Nonetheless, there is a distinct possibility that Saba harboured small numbers of Europeans prior to Dutch settlement later in the century.

An attack on St. Christopher by the Spanish in 1629 forced the former French and English settlers, along with the latter's Scottish and Irish indentured servants, to seek refuge on neighboring islands. Known islands include Antigua, Montserrat, St. Bartholomew, and St. Eustatius (Goslinga 1990:206). Saba is next closest island to St. Christopher after Nevis and St. Eustatius, and its steep topography and lack of quality anchorage make the island a natural fortress, where a small group of people could stay hidden if they so desired. The possibility of this early settlement attempt is described in detail by Espersen (2009). According to Hartog (1975:17), Saba was colonized in an official capacity sometime around 1640, by Dutch colonists from the Zeelandia area of St. Eustatius, due to the island's proximity to the Saba Bank as fishing grounds. This is an oft repeated narrative regarding the history of Saba, but Hartog never cited his sources. Adam Anderson et al. (1778:388) specifically mention that Saba was settled in the year 1646 by Dutch residents from St. Eustatius, and that according to some unnamed sources, the Danes once disposed the Dutch from it at some point.

An English Navy dispatch dated 1680 (BNAr, Col. Papers, Vol. XLV., No. 69) states that St. Eustatius and Saba were originally settled by the English, captured by the Dutch during the First Anglo-Dutch War between 1652 to 1654, and retaken from the Dutch during the Second Anglo-Dutch War in 1665. This would also account for primacy of the English language on Saba by 1659, though while the island was Dutch, the residents requested an English speaking clergyman from St. Eustatius, as hardly anyone on the island could speak Dutch (Hartog 1975:19). Hartog claims that the first settlement was centered around Tent Bay, and a fort was constructed which was destroyed by a landslide in 1651. Interestingly, though, a fort kept reappearing on maps of Saba right up to 1816, but it was confirmed the Island Secretary of St. Eustatius in 1773 and later by Governor Edward Beaks Sr. in 1817 that no fort existed on the island by these times (DNAr 1.05.01.02 #629:2/2/1773; BNAr, CO

700/WestIndies33; DNAr 1.05.13.01 #319). However, other sources claim that the first settlement was at Spring Bay (Crespo Solana & Emmer 2011:455-456). The earliest known census of Saba dates to 1659, and consisted of 57 Dutch and 54 English, Irish, and Scottish residents, with no mention of enslaved Africans (Hartog 1975). During this year as well, a letter was sent to St. Eustatius requesting a clergyman who spoke English, as hardly any settlers spoke Dutch (Hartog 1975). Sporadic archaeological surface collections of ceramics amassed by the author in The Bottom and around the bluffs above the Ladder Bay area indicate that these regions were settled during the mid to late seventeenth century, which is a logical progression from an initial settlement at Tent Bay. A house and cistern were excavated by SABARC in 2014 upon a flat ridge overtop the Fort Bay Gut, halfway between The Bottom and Fort Bay, which dated from the seventeenth century to 1772 (Espersen & Haviser 2014). Menno Hoogland (personal communication 2015) has pointed out that the word "tent" is an older Dutch word to describe a small house made of canvas or wood (http://gtb.inl.nl, last accessed 19/01/2016). Indeed, the first colonization attempt in this area during the mid seventeenth century would probably have included domestic structures such as these, and provides an excellent correlation to the name "Tent Bay".

The General Archives of the Indies in Seville has recently produced a collection of documents pertaining to the escape of 14 enslaved Africans as early as 1656 from Saba to Puerto Rico, under research by Josué Caamaño-Dones (2015). The following elements are derived from his research. Saba at the time was governed by Pedro de Bris, with a Dutch captain Floris Simón serving as secretary. These names appear to have been written as they would sound in Spanish, therefore Pedro de Bris may rather be "Pieter de Vries", and the captain Floris Simonz as the surname appears in census documents later in the century. By 1656 the island's population was estimated at about 500 residents, consisting of approximately 300 enslaved Africans, and 200 Dutch, French, and English residents, with the latter as the majority. The enslaved Africans, nine men and five women, had been living on Saba for several years between several owners and executed their escape on the night of 1 April 1656. They gathered on an unspecified beach on Saba and managed to capture a Dutch vessel anchored just offshore, which they navigated to Guayama, in southwest Puerto Rico. After being captured and brought to court, they all pled their cases for liberty on the premise that they were formerly free Catholic people that were taken prisoner by the English and Dutch, eventually winding up on Saba. Their case rested on the accord that they were never enslaved prior to their capture by the English and Dutch, and under Spanish law, free Catholics could not be enslaved. The testimonies provided by the enslaved Africans reveal a variety of Portuguese-related origins, with a common element of birth in Brazil, the island of Santiago in the Cape Verde Islands, or from parts of West Africa where the Portuguese had slave trading forts. The enslaved Africans included Manuel, between 24 and 30 years

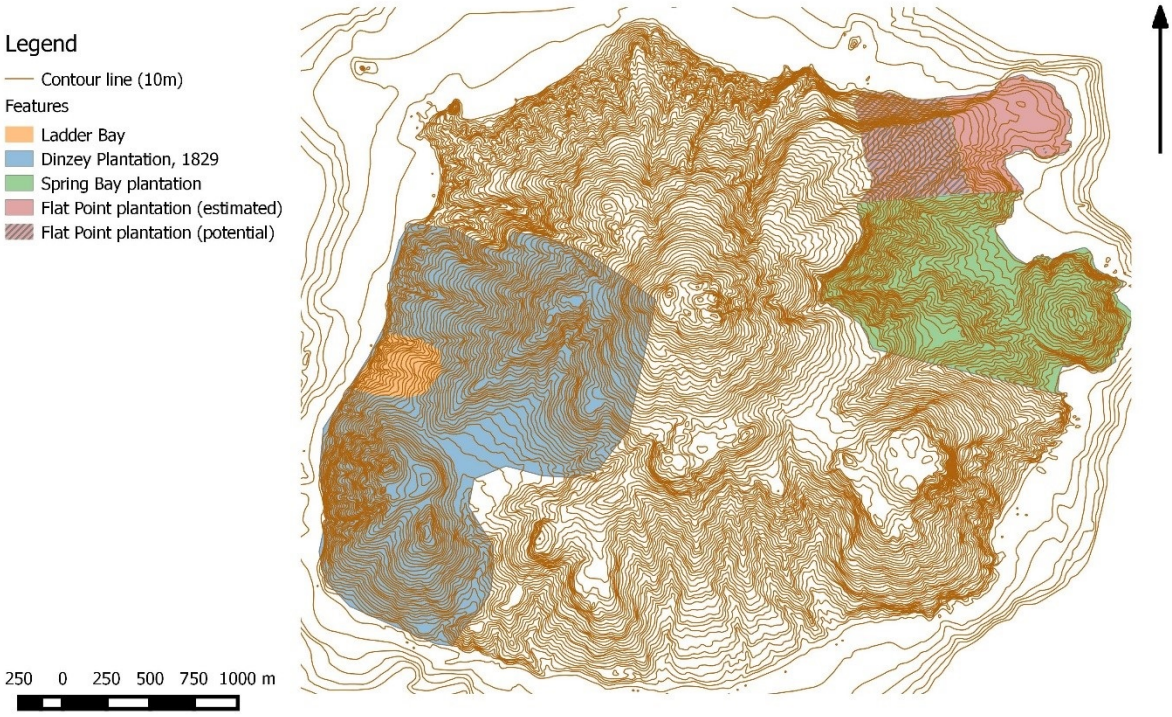
old and a native of Yagaboa in the Gambia River but raised in the Cacheu River and raised on the island of Santiago in Cape Verde; Jacome, age 24 to 25, fisherman and native of Brazil and born in the town of Puerto de Cabo; Manuel, also known as Mandú, age 28 to 30, born in the Kingdom of Angola and raised in Pernambuco, a city in the region captured and held by the Dutch between 1629 to 1645; Sunday, aged 22 to 23 and born around the Cacheu River in Guinea-Bissau and raised in Santiago Island in Cape Verde; Francisco, aged 30 to 32, a seaman born in Cacheu River in Guinea-Bissau and raised in Santiago Island in Cape Verde; Antonio, aged 20 to 35, a fisherman born in the Kingdom of Angola but raised in Rio de Janeiro in Brazil; Pedro, also known as Percio, aged 20 to 22 and native of Santiago Island in Cape Verde; Sebastian, aged between 20 to 38 and born in Guanda in Congo but raised in Brazil; Pedro, aged 13 to 14 and a native of the island of Barbados; Isabel, aged 24 to 25, married to Manuel and from Rio de Janeiro in Brazil; Ana, aged 20 to 24, married to Manuel (also known as Mandú) and from St. Paul of the Ascension of Luanda in the Kingdom of Angola; Francisca, aged 30, from around the river Jácome de Janeiro in Brazil; Isabel, married to Domingo, born around the Cacheu River in Guinea-Bissau; and Lucrecia, aged 20, married and born in the Congo (Caamaño-Dones 2015:8-9). The case concerning their ownership continued until 1673, but the end result is so far unknown.

These reports provide the most insight into the origins of enslaved Africans on Saba found yet to date in the documentary record. In addition, the asymmetrical population of 200 Europeans and 300 enslaved Africans points to early efforts at establishing Saba as a plantation-based colony. The prevalence of Brazilian-born enslaved Africans among those listed, notably Mandú from Pernambuco, indicates that Saba was among the destination islands for the Dutch colonists that were expelled from Dutch Brazil following its recapture by the Portuguese in 1654. In particular, these immigrants to Saba brought with them knowledge of sugar production as they did to other islands such as Barbados.

The sugar plantations at Spring Bay and Flat Point would have been established during this time, and almost certainly The Bottom plantation as well. This marked the beginning of the planter class' influence upon Saba's economy and landscape, and bifuricated the island between plantation and non-plantation landscapes. Figure 4 below shows the maximum extents of these plantations. It appears that a fourth plantation existed around Well's Bay, centered on indigo production, on a tract of land known as the "Goat Cleft". However, this is not shown on the map as its bounds are quite uncertain due to extensive divisions of the land during and after the late eighteenth century. The extents shown for The Bottom plantation are those as they were in 1831, following the death of owner Thomas Dinzey (SBRM:4/1/1831). The Ladder Bay tract of land, shown in yellow, was acquired during his ownership (SBRM:4/1/1831). There were multiple instances of small properties owned by others within the Dinzey plantation lands, especially in The Bottom and Middle Island by nineteenth century.

For the sake of legibility, these were not included. The bounds for Spring Bay were outlined in 1869, with no recorded changes throughout the century (SVB:125, 15/9/1869). To date no boundaries have been found for the Flat Point plantation in the documentary record, therefore the bounds for the plantation are estimated. The Flat Point plantation may have spread further up the slopes towards Hell's Gate than indicated on the estimate as this area was not settled during the early twentieth century, perhaps as a result of it being part of former plantation lands.

Figure 4: Saba's Major Plantation Bounds, Approximate Maximum Extents



During the last half of the seventeenth century, the Dutch, English, and French saw Saba as a strategic island in the region in terms of its location relative to St. Kitts, which was of considerable vested interest to the English, coupled with Saba's natural defensibility. In 1665, a group of approximately 650 buccaneers in nine vessels totalling 71 guns, led by Edward Morgan, the uncle of the more famed Henry Morgan, intended to capture Dutch possessions in the Caribbean in retaliation for Michiel de Ruyter's recent attack on Barbados (BNAr Col. Papers, Vol. XIX., Nos. 130, 130 I). This initial group lost two ships, and after another left for Virginia, the remainder under Morgan with about 500 men captured St. Eustatius. Morgan died during the invasion, and following its conclusion, Major Richard Stevens and Captain Jason Walker took to Saba with 68 men to effect the same, capturing Saba on 5 August that year. The booty taken off of Saba by the English privateers during the capture that year included "85 negroes and Indians and a small quantity of cattle, stock goods, and arms, whilst

64 English, Irish, Scots, and French took the oath of allegiance to his Majesty, and 87 Dutch and Indians were sent to St. Martin's (BNAr, Col. Papers, Vol. XIX., No. 126). In another account, between St. Eustatius and Saba, the capture amounted to "four colours, 20 guns, six barrels of powder, 192 small arms and ammunition, 942 Indians and negroes, besides horses, cattle, sheep, goats, and cotton" (BNA: Col. Papers, Vol. XIX., Nos. 130, 130 I). However, other sources state that these unfortunate Dutch residents on Saba were instead shipped to Barbados and sold into slavery (BNAr, Col. Papers, Vol. XIX., No. 124). The plantations on Saba and St. Eustatius were destroyed, and the copper kettles and other implements of sugar production were carried off along with the enslaved Africans to be sold in Jamaica (BNAr, Col. Papers, Vol. XIX., No. 124). It was recommended that the plantations on both islands be sold to Englishmen, with rent and tenure managed from there as well (BNAr, Col. Papers, Vol. XIX., No. 124). Notably, Amerindians were grouped with "negroes" in the first tally of spoils, which indicates that they were probably already enslaved and working on cotton, indigo, and sugar plantations prior to the invasion. No enslaved Amerindians are known to have worked in St. Eustatius and Saba after this time. The capture of less than 85 enslaved Africans on Saba in 1665, compared to an estimate of 300 living on the island prior to 1656 indicates either that this was a large overestimation for the year 1656, or that a significant depopulation event of enslaved Africans occurred between this time, perhaps due to the failure of several plantations.

Saba was retaken later that year in October by an expedition organized by John Sympson, then Governor of Dutch St. Maarten (BNAr, Col. Papers, Vol. XLIV., No. 59; BNAr, Col. Entry Bk., Vol. XLVI., pp. 426–429, annexes), but the island was recaptured by the English on 4 July 1672 and held until just prior to 6 April, 1679, when it was returned to the Dutch under the Treaty of Breda (BNAr, Col. Papers, Vol. XLVIII., No. 55, and Col. Entry Bk., Vol. XLVII., pp. 38–40). The earliest known sugar plantations on the island are found at Spring Bay and Flat Point; the first dates to the mid seventeenth century, while the latter dates to this period or slightly later. At the very least, the Spring Bay sugar plantation was destroyed by the English during the raid in 1665. However, the indigo plantations appear to have survived or have been soon reconstructed; by 1667, cotton and indigo production were listed as the two industries of St. Eustatius and Saba, though it was not specified whether they were limited to just one or the other (BNAr, Col. Papers, Vol. XXI., No. 175).

Saba in particular was an island of regional interest to the English. "These islands (Saba and St. Eustatius)," remarked Thomas Stapleton, then Governor-General of the English Leeward Islands, "are very considerable to St. Kitts, especially Saba, which is of great strength and easily defensible by a few against vast numbers…" (BNAr, Col. Entry Bk., No. V., pp. 115-121). This was also recognized by the French, who captured Saba from the English by 1668 and installed a Dutch governor on the island as a means of avoiding the restitution of the island to the English during any future peace negotiations

(BNAr, Col. Entry Bk., No. V., pp. 115-121). By 1671, the French had 50 musketeers installed at Saba, which, according to the English, "would be a thorn in the side of the Sandy Point French quarter, and it is near enough to Nevis for a bigger number to be set down on fit occasion" (BNAr, Col. Papers, Vol. XXVII., No. 52). The island captured again by the English in 1672, who installed a file of 40 riflemen, and Saba was held until 1679, when it was passed again to the Dutch (BNAr, Col. Entry Bks., Vol. CIV., pp. 61, 62, and Vol. XLVI., pp. 52, 53). During this seven-year period, Saba experienced little to no development under the English. Of all their possessions in the northern Lesser Antilles, only Anguilla, St. Eustatius, Saba, and Tortola were listed as having no island councillors or representatives (BNAr, Col. Papers, Vol. XLII., Nos. 98 I–XVII.; also Col. Entry Bks., Vol. XLVI., pp. 314–320, and Vol. CV., pp. 266, 267). The island was reported captured by the French by 25 April, 1689 without much resistance, but this was reported as false by 10 June the same year, as Saba was still held by 50 Dutchmen (BNAr, America and West Indies. 550. No. 6; America and West Indies. 550. No. 10, and Col. Entry Bk., Vol. XLVII., pp. 418–422). In fact, this attempted invasion by the French was repelled single handedly by Saban residents. By 1689 an effective breastwork was constructed along the Fort Bay Gut, which leads up to The Bottom, which was so steep and narrow that it could only be ascended in single file (Thompson 1814; Wood 1830). Sabans constructed rock deadfall traps along this path, which not only prevented eroding rock from the cliff sides from cluttering or burying the path, but that could be triggered when required. This deadfall trap was released while a French squadron under a certain Pinel was ascending the Fort Bay Gut, killing many of the men, and caused Pinel to flee (Labat 1724:341, 344). These breastworks were still in use by the late eighteenth century, described as the following:

> This (Saba) is a steep rock, which is accessible only on one side, and one must climb almost to the top through a very crabbed artificial path to find any earth. In several places of this narrow way, the inhabitants, for greater security, have heaped up great stones on a kind of stages, so disposed, that, by pulling a cord, the stage will fall down, and pour such a shower of rocks and stones as would crush a whole army (Anonymous 1778:91).

Sabans engaged in regional trade with little regard for other nations' trade restrictions, such as the English Navigation Laws. Sir Robert Southwell, writing from St. Christopher in a letter to Colonel Thomas Stapleton dated 1676, remarked that "in Statia and Saba, four files of men (are stationed), these islands of no advantage, but rather of disadvantage to his Majesty, being refuges for any who design fraud, and were better under water than above" (BNAr, Col. Papers, Vol. XXXVIII., No. 65). In the early eighteenth century, for example, up to 50,000 to 60,000 bales of ginned cotton wool from Anguilla was traded to St. Thomas, St. Eustatius, and Saba for "necessaries for themselves and negroes" (BNAr, C.O. 152, 9. Nos. 103, 103 i.; and 153, 11. pp. 438–444).

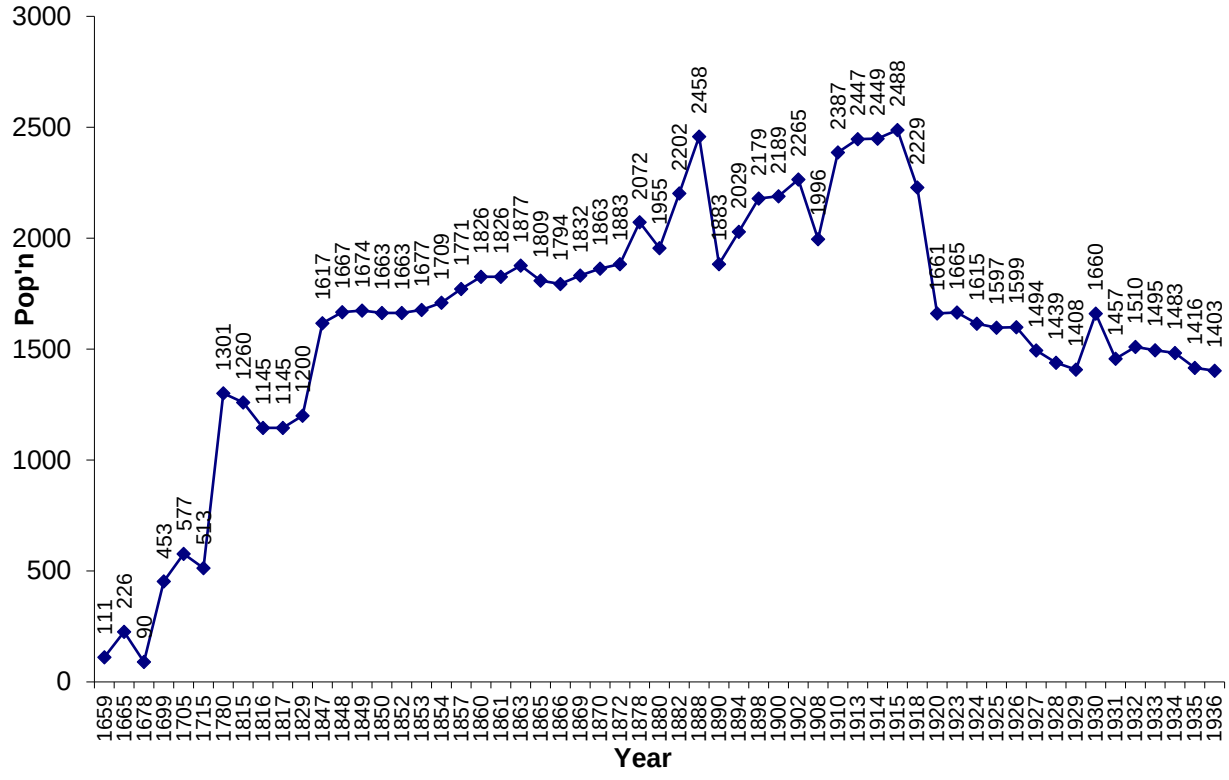
These first enslaved Africans on Saba were most likely obtained through the GWC, so they would have been brought to the island via Curaçao, which at this point was the most common destination for GWC slave ships after crossing the Middle Passage. The first arrival of enslaved Africans for resale by the GWC occurred in 1658, and this grew quickly between 1663 and 1667, as the GWC obtained a successive series of larger asientos, which were contracts to supply Spanish American colonies with predetermined amounts of enslaved Africans (Postma 2008:34, 35, 168-169). The GWC maintained the asiento with Spain until 1702, when it was managed exclusively by the French.

In the early years of the GWC's transatlantic slave trade, enslaved Africans were obtained West Africa, then known as Guinea, and the coasts of central and southwest Africa, which was termed Angola, or Loango for the northern part. Guinea was subdivided into regions by European traders based upon their most valuable export commodity at the time. The Slave Coast was area comprising the approximate coastlines of modern day Togo, Benin, and western Nigeria, the Gold Coast is a coastal area roughly contiguous with modern day Ghana; the Ivory Coast was composed of the area between modern day The Gambia to Ghana, and the area north of The Gambia to northern Senegal was known as Senegambia. Loango stretched from the border with the Slave Coast, running south approximately to the modern day border of Angola.

Between 1658 and 1674, 40.8% of the enslaved Africans obtained by the GWC originated from the Slave Coast, followed by 18.3% from the Gold Coast, 8.7% from the Bight of Biafra, 5.1% from Senegambia, 2.1% from the Ivory Coast, and 25% from Loango/Angola (Postma 2008:112). Determining the origins of enslaved Africans through their port embarkation alone is often misleading. Enslaved Africans brought to the European trading forts, such as Elmina, did not necessarily originate from nearby coastal settlements; rather, they came from throughout the region, including deep into the interior. In this example, a portion of the enslaved Africans noted as originating from the Bight of Biafra, the gulf west of the Slave Coast which separates West Africa from Central Africa, may have been actually been sold at the Dutch fort of Elmina on a consignment (Postma 2008). Determining general origin is possible by studying the names of enslaved Africans, if such data is available. This approach was demonstrated to be quite effective at the EUROTAST conference on Gorée Island, Senegal, in 2014, whereby delegates originating from Senegal, Guinea, and Ghana were presented with ships' manifests of enslaved Africans obtained from specific slave trading forts, and were asked to determine their linguistic and tribal affiliation based upon their names. In several instances, it was determined that the "name" recorded by European scribes were not given names, but instead repeated phrases in regional languages such as "do not take me, do not take me!" Unfortunately, after 1650's, the earliest known mention of enslaved Africans by name on Saba only occurs by 1780, in sales records and probate inventories of residents (DNAr 1.05.13.01 #542).

The seventeenth century Saban economy was initially a potpourri of small scale subsistence surpluses such as fishing and agriculture, and progressed to the cultivation of cash crops such as indigo, tobacco, and sugar by the 1660's (Espersen 2009:40; Anderson et al. 1778:388; Smart & al., 1815 [vol II]:415; Anonymous 1778:91; Thompson 1814:359; Adams 1795:147; Wentworth 1834:301; Col. Papers, Vol. XXXVIII., No. 65). Saba was noted for its value as a provisioning island as early as 1665 by English authorities in St. Kitts following its first capture (Calendar Papers, Item 1045, Vol. 5, p. 320). Many authors have commented on the high quality of vegetables grown on Saba, especially with respect to Saba's famed giant cabbages (Adams 1795:147; Anonymous 1778:388; Thompson 1814:359; Wentworth 1834:301). The island, though, was apparently dependent on enslaved labour and perhaps shipping in the regional slave trade for their economies to function; it was remarked by Governor Lamont of St. Eustatius in the early eighteenth that if it were not for the slave trade, St. Eustatius and Saba would not be worth a hundred guilders (Knappert 1932:84).

FIgure 5: Population of Saba, 1659-1937



The divisions of people on census documents is not consistent throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As seen in Saba's first census in 1659, followed by the one taken in 1665, residents are differentiated in terms of nationality, in the sense of being Dutch, English, Irish, French, or Scottish; or by being "negro" which in this context was synonymous with bearing the legal status of

a slave. A brief census taken of English islands in the northern Lesser Antilles in July 1678 emphasizes these divisions in detail:

"List of the names of all able men bearing arms, together with the number of women and children, as well whites as black, specifying whether English, Irish, or French taken 28th January 1678. In St. Christopher's… white men 695, women 539, children 663, negroes 1,436 men, women, and children, the Irish being 187, French 369, Dutch 11. In Nevis Island… Total number of whites, men, women, and children, 3,521, of which 800 are Irish and 51 Scotch, and 3,849 negroes. In Montserrat… Total number of whites, men, women, and children, 2,682, of which 1,869 are Irish and 52 Scotch, and 992 negroes. In Antigua.—List of men, women, and children, whites and blacks… Total number of whites, men, women, and children, 2,308, including 610 Irish and 98 Scotch, and 2,172 negroes. In Statia there are about 69 whites and 100 negroes. In Saba 90 whites. In Tortola 15, and in Anguilla 550 whites" (BNAr, Calendar of State Papers Vol. XLII., Nos. 98 I–XVII.; also Col. Entry Bks., Vol. XLVI: 314–320, and Vol. CV: 266-267).

Saba and St. Eustatius were evidently insignificant to the authorities as no division between gender or nationality was noted in this account from 1678. The absence of enslaved Africans on Saba, however, is striking. This suggests that either the enslaved Africans captured and sent to Jamaica in 1665 were either not replaced, or they were captured again and re-sold short-sightedly in 1672 by the English. It implies that the plantations that were destroyed by the first capture in 1665 had not been rebuilt. However, the figures may not be completely reliable as it would have been in owners' interest to under-report the numbers of enslaved Africans they owned as a means of avoiding taxation (BNAr, Calendar of State Papers Nov. 22 #1152). The use of the terms "white" and "negro" to differentiate between those deemed wholly of European descent and those of African descent is the earliest with regard to Saba, but this document was created by a high-ranking member of the English navy, based in St. Kitts, and therefore is not a locally-based differentiation. Later censuses of Saba in the early eighteenth century, created by island residents, do not employ the term "white". It is also significant in that it ties the legal status of an individual as a slave with the term "negro", a racial construction. To date the earliest use of the term "negro" to refer to enslaved Africans on St. Eustatius dates to a shipping document from 1744 penned on the island (DNAr 1.05.01.02 #1187).

The absence of enslaved labour on Saba indicates that plantation-level sugar production had ceased on Saba at least until the arrival of more enslaved Africans sometime between 1678 and 1686. A report from St. Eustatius dated 1688 describes five "sugar mills" in operation between it and Saba, with very high quality sugarcane cultivated in the latter (DNAr 1.05.01.02 #1180:17/4/1688). A document outlining the amount of sugar due to the Dutch West Indies Company (GWC) by residents of St. Eustatius and Saba, dated 1686, shows the quantities sold to the company by 69 individual planters between St. Eustatius and Saba (DNAr 1.05.01.02 #1180:6/7/1686; Johnson 2014). The document suggests that St. Eustatius and Saba were, at least implicitly, considered one in terms of administration, since the Saba planters were differentiated only by the word "Saba" next to their

name, but were still intermixed with those from Statia. The number of totals over or approaching 1,000lbs may be evidence that a sugar boiling house may have initially been constructed as a shared enterprise between residents, whereby they crushed their own cane in their own hand operated mills, and collectively processed the cane juice into sugar at a boiling house, with the produce presumably divided according to their proportion of their cane juice contribution. Hand mills persisted on Saba well into the twentieth century, and it was noted in 1828 that of an estimated 150 houses on The Bottom, excluding the few made of wattle, all of them had a hand-driven sugar mill (Teenstra 1977:367). The small scale, mixed agriculture of mid to late seventeenth St. Eustatius and Saba follows the pattern experienced on Barbados following the expansion of the sugar industry on the island, whereby small plots of land which formerly grew subsistence crops, and a small surplus of tobacco, indigo, cotton and later sugar, were purchased by enterprising individuals to be joined in single, larger lots for cultivating sugar cane (Dunn 2000:67). The table below lists the Saban planters mentioned in the 1686 document, and also provides an indication as the minimum dimensions of a planter's cultivated sugarcane. These are listed below for Saban sugar planters on Table 1, with the entirety including St. Eustatius planters listed in the Appendix, Tables 8 and 9.

Table 1: List of Saban Planters, 1686

Surname	**First Name**	**Sugar (Dutch lbs)**	**Plot (ha)**
Leverick	Willem	385	0,06
Simons	Jan	837	0,14
Haly	Dirck	75	0,01
Winsvelt	Matthij	2396	0,39
de Mulder	Philip	1900	0,31
Vallan	Jannes	453	0,07
Gravals	Anthonij	556	0,09
Maeghden(burgh)	Christ(offel)	1356	0,22
Turnaerts	Anna	1508	0,24
Simonsen	Floris	1392	0,23
Gernaer	Julij	1781	0,29
Vanderpoele	Willem	1556	0,25
Runnels	Pieter	416	0,07
Segers	Jan	5335	0,87
Total		19946	

The quantities of sugar originating from Saba are significantly less variable than for St. Eustatius. These range from as little as 10lbs due by Jannes Jaweert of St. Eustatius, to three who clearly owned plantations: Samuel George at 29,545lbs; Adriaen Sotgeloos at 24,045lbs, and Thomas Hijl at 18,000lbs. Jan Zeegers is notable in that he was Governor of Saba by at least 1690, and was the fourth largest sugar producer between the two islands (DNAr 1.05.01.02 #1180:4/2/1690). St. Eustatius Governor Simon Doncker, interestingly, did not own a sugar plantation or grow cane as his

name is absent from the list. The plot size was calculated based upon an average yield of 1 English ton of muscvado sugar per English acre during the late seventeenth to eighteenth centuries (Dunn 2000:192). The amounts of sugar sold the GWC in 1686 reveal that sugar was a small scale crop for most planters. Dirck Haly of Saba, who later moved to St. Eustatius, cultivated an area of just 10m x 10m for his crop, while Jan Segers' plot was approximately 93m x 93m. During the time of Teenstra's visit in 1828, the Dinzey sugar plantation in The Bottom was approximately 10 hectares in size, and produced about 25,000 pounds of sugar per year (Teenstra 1977:367). Since the total planted area in 1686 was just 3.24 hectares, this could have easily been planted entirely within the area of The Bottom. By extension, this strongly suggests that the sugar plantations at Flat Point (SB 001) and Spring Bay (SB 004) were not operating during this time, since each site had access to flat, readily cultivated grounds over 5 hectares each, and both featured four-pot boilers, which would indicate larger scale operations than what is evident for 1686.

The earliest firsthand account of Saba describes a small but somewhat prosperous island consisting of a multitude of small economies. The Dominican monk Jean Baptiste Labat visited Saba in 1701, where he met the Governor and many inhabitants, including some French "refugees". The Governor at the time was probably Jacob Leverock, who was in office by the end of the seventeenth century (Price 1934:6). Labat described the plantations as "small but well cultivated, and the whitewashed houses are pretty and well furnished" (Labat 1724:342). Labat also observed that shoe and boot-making was a thriving industry on Saba, and even the governor himself plied in the trade. "…with shoemaking and a little indigo and cotton, these people are well off and have slaves, good furniture, and plenty of money" (Labat 1724:342-343). Livestock was butchered and shared communally, and turtle meat and eggs were also supplemented in the diet when available. This sense of "oneness" among Saban residents was also noted in a report to the GWC in 1688 (DNAr 1.05.02.01#1180:17/4/1688). This relationship extended into farming well into the twentieth century, whereby tracts could be brought under cultivation by residents that did not own it, so long as the owner received one third of the harvest (Crane 1971:308). Later authors noted that cotton was cultivated on Saba and then spun and into stockings, and sold to other islands with considerable profit (Anonymous 1778:91; Thompson 1814:359; Adams 1795:147).

It is notable that Labat mentioned indigo production on the island but did not explicitly comment on sugar. He took an interest in the sugar industry and garnered considerable fame while in Martinique for developing new processes for its production. Exports of sugar from Saba are noted in GWC credit and debt documents for certain residents in 1691, in small amounts together with other goods such as cotton, coffee, and tobacco, which indicates that they were derived from small landholders. Production may have continued at Flat Point during this time, given its isolation from the

rest of the island. The plantation's produce would have shipped directly out of the bay itself, rather than carried far overland to Fort Bay or Ladder Bay, and therefore Labat may not have been aware of its existence.

Saba during the eighteenth century

The eighteenth century was characterized by a belated small-scale re-expansion of the sugar industry, continued exports of provisions to neighboring islands, population growth, and periodic instability, intimately tied with the fortunes and misfortunes of nearby St. Eustatius. Unfortunately, there is scant documentation concerning Saba, either directly or indirectly, between 1705 and 1780. The only known censuses taken on the island date to 1705, 1715, 1780, and 1790, and throughout the entirely to the Second Dutch West Indies Company collections of the Zeeland and Maas Kamers (Chambers), there are only two surviving correspondences between St. Eustatius and Saba; one concerning matters of governance between St. Eustatius, Saba, and St. Maarten, and the second which prohibits sheltering or aiding the fugitive Jan de Windt, a former planter of St. Eustatius, under penalty of confiscation of one's properties to the GWC. Many documents pertaining to Saba would have been lost during the hurricanes of 1772 and 1780, and the subsequent capture of St. Eustatius by the English in 1781. An account of the 1772 hurricane relative to St. Eustatius specifically mentions that the house of the island secretary was destroyed, the government house was badly damaged, and many documents were scattered to the winds (DNAr 1.05.01.02 #629:337-340). The first Sales records and shipping logs from both St. Eustatius and St. Maarten are the most substantial sources, as the purchasers' names are recorded along with their home island. During the eighteenth century, St. Maarten and Saba were governed through St. Eustatius, with each of the two former islands represented by a Lieutenant Governor. Despite the relegated role for St. Maarten, the Lieutenant Governor did send and receive missives from the GWC. The dearth of documentation relative to that of St. Eustatius and St. Maarten indicates both the island's irrelevance towards colonial authorities in the United Provinces, and the ambivalence of Sabans towards the GWC. While Saba was strategically important at the time due to its natural defensibility, its economic irrelevance, by extension, demonstrates a limited means for residents to project class both internally and regionally through wealth, plantation ownership, and by possessing a large number of enslaved Africans.

Between 1705 and 1790, Saba's population rose from 577 to 1301. The 1705 census (DNAr 1.05.01.02 #1180; Johnson 2014) is detailed, and is organized according to 88 heads of households, which includes the presence or absence of the household head's wife (so long as the head is not a widow), along with their offspring. The household's enslaved Africans are also included, similarly divided by age and gender. The census is listed in the Appendix, Table 11. The enslaved African

population was only one third that of the "white" residents of Saba, and there is a clear preference for adult male enslaved Africans, as there are 68 compared to just 38 women, 29 boys, and 35 girls. The households are evenly split between those that own enslaved Africans, and those that do not. Since no enslaved Africans were noted on the Saba in 1678, still thirteen years after Morgan's forces sacked the island and carried away the whole of the first generation, this represents a nascent class divide expressed through ownership of enslaved Africans. This is closely tied to wealth or the ability to procure credit, and in many cases associated with small scale plantations. The predominance of the enslaved male population over that of women and children indicates that the white residents obtained enslaved Africans through purchases, rather than acquired through natural increases in their enslaved population through reproduction. Those residents with more than six enslaved Africans, particularly those with 3 or more men, probably cultivated smalls scale surpluses of cotton, indigo, sugar, or tobacco. Governor Jan Zeegers himself owned 3 enslaved men, one woman, and three boys, and was the largest producer of sugar on the island in 1686.

Goslinga postulated that economic development between St. Maarten, Saba, and St. Eusatius was inhibited due to constant infighting between local residents and the GWC throughout the seventeeth and early eighteenth centuries until the Company began appointing creole settlers of prominent families to positions of power, such as Commander and Vice-Commander (Goslinga 1985:127). During the early to mid-eighteenth century, one can see the ancestral roots of Saba's nineteenth century upper class residents through marriages and baptisms (Knappert 1932:158), especially in early census documents such as the 1705 census for Saba (DNAr 1.05.01.02 #1180), and the St. Eustatius census of 1709 (DNAr 1.05.01.02 #1180). Governor Jan Zeagers was replaced by Engel v. Beverhoudt on 15 October 1687, who in turn was succeeded by Adriaan Runnels Jr. in 1697, and Jacob Leverock shortly after. The Beverhoudts were a small family; Geloude van Beverhoudt, head of the only such family on Saba, owned 14 enslaved Africans in 1705, including 6 men, indicative of a plantation. By 1709, Lucas Beverhoudt of St. Eustatius, once again the sole such head, owned 30 enslaved Africans, 21 of which were men, indicating that he likely owned a plantation. The Beverhoudt surname, though, does not appear to have survived on Saba into the mid eighteenth century. James Hassel had a brief tenure as governor of Saba in 1699, and after St. Eustatius governor Lucas Schorer's brief exile to Saba as governor (1699-1701), the title passed to Jacob Leverock. Governor Charles Simmons succeeded Leverock on 20 February 1720, and was married to Helena Hassell. Together they had at least three sons; Thomas, 28 March, 1723 on Saba, Abraham on 11 September 1724, and Peter, whose birthday is unknown. Charles Simmons also owned at least 9 enslaved Africans by the 1720's (DNAr 1.05.01.02 #1182; #1183:4, 33). Charles died on 22 June, 1743, and was succeeded as governor by his son Peter Simmons, who in turn was succeeded by Thomas Dinzey in 1778. A prominent Saban,

Jacobus Simmons, married Elizabeth Leverock of St. Eustatius, and their daughter Johanna was born on Saba 19 May 1723. A Joanna Leverock in turn married Governor Thomas Dinzey, probably the daughter of the former Johanna, and together they owned a 4-hectare sugar plantation in The Bottom by the late eighteenth century. Class differences in early seventeenth century on Saba can then be characterized through ownership of enslaved Africans, family relationships among the upper classes, whole ownership rather than shareholding of a sugar boiling house or indigo vats, and wealth.

The potpourri of plantation industries that characterized the seventeenth century began to fade into the following century, becoming predominated by exports of coffee and sugar, and probably indigo. Archaeological excavations as part of this research determined that the Flat Point sugar plantation was constructed or reconstructed during the mid to late seventeenth century, and the Spring Bay Flat plantation was constructed and in operation by the early to mid eighteenth century (see Chapter 5). However, during the 1730's and 1740's sugar was occasionally imported to Saba in small quantities from St. Eustatius and St. Maarten (DNAr 1.05.01.02 #1184:62, 93; #1185:147; #1186:179; #1187:8). This indicates that the sugar produced on Saba was not sufficient to meet local demand, a situation that may have risen due to the potential for faster and higher profits for planters by selling to international markets via St. Eustatius rather than on the island itself. A similar situation arose for cotton and tobacco, which were both imported into Saba according to the same shipping lists, mainly from St. Maarten. The importation of cotton does not necessarily imply the collapse of the crop on Saba, however; at least by the late eighteenth century, Saba was known for cultivating "…cotton, and manufacture it into stockings, which are sold at 15 or 16 florins a pair; they likewise make a great many shoes, which they dispose of to advantage in the other islands" (Anonymous 1778:91).

St. Eustatius governor Johannes Lindesay owned land on Saba together with five enslaved Africans (one man, two women, and two children), one cassava pan, and one small iron kettle. These were noted in 1729 after in a probate inventory of his estates and possessions made by GWC officials on the island after he fled (DNAr 1.05.01.02 #1183:122). A separate document from the GWC Middleburg Kamer (DNA 1.05.01.02 #1186:46) lists half of his Saba plantation sold for 76.2.0 pieces of eight, and separately a "kogt (kokt) huis", literally translated as a "cook house", was sold for 303 pieces of eight. This was undoubtedly a sugar boiling house. The number of enslaved Africans in his possession, though, appears quite small for the full operation of a sugar plantation, but sales of other enslaved Africans may have been arranged previously or separately. In additionally, he may have also owned a small coffee plantation, given that the cassava pan and iron pot would have been well suited for roasting beans. During the early eighteenth century and perhaps earlier, a small coffee industry was established on Saba, both for domestic consumption and smalls scale export (DNAr 1.05.06

#1154). Exports of coffee from St. Maarten and Saba are noted on shipping lists in 1743, 1744, between 1759-1763 and continued up to at least the hurricane of 1772 as previously mentioned (DNAr 1.05.01.02 #1186:179; #1187:8, 53, #1190, #1191).

The prosperity described by Labat had dwindled by 1720, as Saba was in the grip of a prolonged drought which resulted in widespread poverty along with many other islands in the northern Lesser Antilles. These misfortunes of Saba and nearby islands were exacerbated by a strong hurricane on 29 August, 1707, which passed over these islands. It stripped most of the leaves and fruit from trees in St. Kitts, along with damaging or destroying ever house and sugar plantation, killed several prominent residents including the President of Nevis, and devastated St. Thomas, Saba, and St. Eustatius (BNAr, C.O. 152, 7. No. 36; and 153, 10. pp. 120–123). St. Eustatius was sacked by the French in 1709, who destroyed all buildings on the island, and this was followed by another French attack in 1713 (Postma 2008:198). Soils were exhausted on Anguilla, Tortola, and Crab Island; poverty on St. Eustatius was so high that most residents could not afford taxes and walked around barefoot (Knappert 1932:51-52). In 1717 both St. Eustatius and Saba petitioned the GWC for permission to colonize the island of St. Croix, as in the opinion of the residents, the islands were becoming overpopulated (Knappert 1932; DNAr 1.05.01.02 #1181:35-37). Another drought hit the islands in 1721, especially St. Eustatius, and the document's author prayed for the survival of the sugar cane which was apparently faring better on Saba (DNAr 1.05.01.02 #1187:15/1/1721).

St. Eustatius began to recover economically during the 1720's, and it appears that Saba did as well, based the purchase of at least 47 enslaved Africans from the former island throughout the decade. It was suggested in 1701 by Isaac Lamont, then commander of the island, that St. Eustatius would make an excellent depot for the transatlantic slave trade, but it was not seriously considered until 1713; and the first shipment of enslaved Africans did not arrive until 1721 (Postma 2008:197-198). Promoting a trade-based economy for St. Eustatius in 1721 rather than an export economy based on produce was probably no coincidence given the series of droughts that the island was subjected to so far in the century. The desire to turn St. Eustatius as regional supplier of enslaved Africans also coincided with the decline of Curaçao in the same (Goslinga 1990:184-185).

The transatlantic slave trade was fueled by a consistent demand for more enslaved Africans as the labour regime on sugar plantations was so harsh that natural reproduction was uncommon, and did not keep pace with the mortality rate. Therefore, the sale of enslaved Africans in the Caribbean became a lucrative trade, inextricable from sugar production. St. Eustatius' reputation as an entrepôt for enslaved Africans blossomed, but did not survive the decade. Between 1721-1727, at least 9,972 enslaved Africans were shipped to St. Eustatius to be resold at auction, and estimated 1,000 brought to the island illegally between 1719-1720 alone, making St. Eustatius the largest

destination for enslaved Africans in the Dutch colonies during this decade (Postma 2008:199). Planters from across the Caribbean and abroad flocked to St. Eustatius to purchase enslaved Africans, most notably the French from Guadeloupe and Martinique, but also from Anguilla, St. Kitts, St. Maarten, and Saba. By 1725 this even included merchants from New York (DNAr 1.05.01.02 #1182:56; 1.05.01.02 #1183:4, 33, 88; 1.05.01.02#326). The trade was halted in 1728, though, due to the irresolvable problem of corruption among governing officials on the island. The GWC also experimented with a regional trade through enslaved African auctions on St. Maarten at the same time, with modest sales recorded for the year 1723 (DNA 1.05.01.02 #620). During the trade on St. Eustatius, Governor Johannes Lindesay the island often extended credit to French purchasers, while pocketing as much as 60,000 pieces of eight in sales for himself, and most, if not all of this debt from Guadeloupe and Martinique planters was never recovered (Goslinga 1990). The French would also often pay for enslaved Africans in sugar rather than specie, and in several cases upon its arrival to the United Provinces, the barrels contained numerous stones hidden inside the barrels, though whether this was deceit on part of the French or officials on St. Eustatius is uncertain. Governor Lindesay was sacked by the GWC, and fled to St. Christopher disguised as a woman, while the Company replaced him with Everard Raecx (Goslinga 1990).

Based upon sales records of enslaved Africans sold on Saba from GWC ships under the Maas and Zeeland Kamers, a steady stream of Sabans purchased enslaved Africans between 1722 and 1727. These are outlined in Table 12 in the Appendix. Many of these vessels originated directly from Elmina (DNAr 1.05.01.02 #1183:54). Sabans evidently had a preference for male enslaved Africans, as they accounted for 40 of the 50 documented purchases. Saban governor Charles Simmons purchased no less than 10 enslaved Africans, consisting of 4 men, 4 boys, and 2 girls. There were only eleven enslaved Africans purchased singly by different individuals; most of the purchasers bought at least two during the course of six years. Unfortunately, as sales figures of enslaved Africans at St. Eustatius during this period are not available from the Amsterdam Kamer, only partial inferences can be drawn from the data. It is also unclear whether Sabans purchased with cash or were given credit. The purchases of Saban governor Charles Simmons, however, indicate that he may have owned a small plantation, probably situated in The Bottom.

In 1730, the Dutch transatlantic slave trade was opened to private vessels and companies to trade in the Caribbean, and most parts of West Africa, while the company maintained its monopoly on Surinam, Guyana, and the Gold Coast (Postma 2008). St. Eustatius ceased being a major destination for enslaved Africans after 1730, but it increased again following an economic surge after the WIC eliminated import and export duties for the two islands in 1754 (Postma 2008). St. Eustatius in particular benefited from this move to become the busiest trading port in the world from this period

until the close of the century, earning the nickname "The Golden Rock". It was remarked in 1763 by Anthony Stokes that "in the former French war, before the English broke up the trade between St. Eustatius and the French Islands, he had seen upwards of two hundred and seventy sail of vessels in the road of St Eustatius at one time. I have lately been informed, by an acquaintance from the West Indies, that before Lord Rodney took St. Eustatius (in 1781), there had been six hundred sail of vessels in the Road of St. Eustatius together" (Stokes 1783:xiv).

While Saba, St. Eustatius, and St. Maarten experienced moderate successes as plantation colonies during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the *klein vaart*, or Dutch regional trade, began to blossom. Recall that even while Saba was still in English hands, the Governor of the English Leeward Islands remarked that Thomas Stapleton dated 1676, remarked that Statia and Saba were "but rather of disadvantage to his Majesty, being refuges for any who design fraud, and were better under water than above". While Sabans were not profiting from the plantations established on their own island, lucrative opportunities abounded in the region with the regional trade due to the mercantile systems enforced by England and France upon their nearby colonies. Such a policy restricted the availability of goods to these islands relative to the frequency that the motherland's ships called into their islands, and the monopoly enjoyed by the respective country to trade with their colony resulted in unfavourable prices. While the GWC focused the economy of Curaçao around trade with the Spanish mainland, in direct contravention of Spanish mercantilism, the northern Dutch islands were considered plantation colonies by the Company (Goslinga 1985:126-134). The *klein vaart* commented upon by Stapleton was rather an enterprise undertaken by residents of St. Eustatius and Saba as a means profit abroad rather than upon their own islands, as their plantation-based economies were ruined as a result of the regional instability throughout the last two decades. In 1730, the *Heren X*, who were the directors of the GWC and known as "Their High Mightinesses" in documentatation, decided to begin openly supporting the *klein vaart* by partially dismantling the monopolies of the GWC. This extended to the slave trade, and a marked increase in trade activity out of St. Eustatius throughout the coming years and decades can be subsequently observed in GWC documentation of incoming and outgoing ships.

The development of St. Eustatius as an entrepôt for enslaved Africans, especially during the Golden Rock era, provided a ready market for salt fish and ground provisions, which Saba occasionally provided. After enslaved Africans arrived at port from the Middle Passage, it was common practice to delay their sale while they were fed sufficiently in order to restore their health, at least as appearances were concerned, prior to their sale. Saba would have also had an economic advantage over nearby islands for supplying provisions, as it was less than one day's sail from Saba, thus lowering the transportation cost of goods. During the 1740's, St. Eustatius and to a lesser extent St. Maarten

were the chief destinations for Saban exports, though after 1760 to 1795 it was almost exclusively St. Eustatius. Detailed shipping records of incoming and outgoing vessels for St. Eustatius are available for every year between 1744 and 1795, with the exception of 1781. These records list a vessel's origin, its captain, ships' names, and cargo. The volume of traffic between Saba, St. Eustatius and St. Maarten, for certain years, are shown below on Table 2:

Table 2: Incoming and Outgoing Ships, Saba, St. Eustatius, and St. Maarten

St. Eustatius			St. Maarten		
Year	**In from Saba**	**Out to Saba**	**Year**	**In from Saba**	**Out to Saba**
1722		1	1735	4	6
1733	0		1736	0	0
1734	0		1738	1	0
1743	19	32	1739	0	2
1744	56	70	1740	0	3
1759	20	25	1744	1	0
1760	57	71	1748	2	2
1761	68	107	1750	0	2
1762	40	63	1752	4	0
1764	80	103	1753	4	0
1765	52	79	1757	0	1
1770	26	99	1759	0	0
1776	70	56			
1785	106	92			

Source: DNAr 1.05.01.02 #1185 to 1194. Blank space is intentional and means data is unknown. The 1776 and 1785 data was derived from Goslinga 1971:205.

The large majority of ships bound to and originating from Saba relative to St. Eustatius and St. Maarten were listed as empty. Notably, in several instances in the St. Eustatius records concerning Saban ships, the entries were entered posthumously, which indicates that the actual traffic may have been higher. As a comparison to Saban traffic for later dates, the number of ships for the year 1770 from St. Maarten entering St. Eustatius was 102, while those departing to St. Maarten numbered 261 (DNAr 1.05.01.02 #1194). Unfortunately, there was no distinction in the records between the French and Dutch sides of the island. Shipping between Statia and Saba rises gradually with irregularities between the 1743 and 1785, while that between St. Maarten and Saba remained insignificant, demonstrating the social and economic importance of St. Eustatius to Saba.

During the first half of the eighteenth century, Saba's primary exports to St. Eustatius and St. Maarten were coffee and turtles, and between 1730-1745, this also included enslaved Africans for sale (DNAr 1.05.01.02 #1187:8). The turtles were likely obtained from other islands, such Aves Island, which was frequented by Saban from the eighteenth century to the 1850's (NArC 103RT:11/2/1859).

Other export goods from Saba included sugar, lime, cattle, firewood, yams, cassava bread, "small wares" and occasionally enslaved Africans. Between 1740 to the 1770's, Saba's best recorded year for exports was 1760. The island exported 639 sacks of coffee, nine oxhoofden (the Dutch parallel of English hogsheads) of sugar, 100 tons of lime, seven turtles, and a ship of provisions to St. Maarten; and 6 "horned beasts" (cattle), 55 oxhoofden of sugar, and 228 sacks of coffee to St. Eustatius. The exports to St. Maarten may have been for local consumption or transshipment, as even though the island maintained duties on imports and exports, unlike St. Eustatius after 1756, the island was still frequented by ships from abroad, especially North America.

Curiously, no exports of indigo were noted in Saba's exports to St. Eustatius or St. Maarten between 1743 and 1770. Since at least four indigo vats are known across the island, this may indicate that the indigo produced may have been used locally in the production of textiles. Exports of enslaved Africans from Saba is significant in that this indicates that childbirth was feasible in the Saban labour environment, and in such numbers so as to satisfy demand in the local plantation and non-plantation economy. By extension, this demonstrates that the majority of them were enslaved to Saban households rather than plantations. Other common goods that Saba would also have exported such as ground provisions and locally-produced textiles are rarely mentioned, but surely present on many vessels nonetheless; the sole documented instance for this century was for the year 1722, wherein 4,000 Dutch pounds of yams were exported from Saba to St. Eustatius (DNAr 1.05.01.02 #1182:14). These were probably included on shipments that on some occasions were recorded as diverse goods or "kleine ver", presumably meaning "small wares".

Goods imported to Saba included lumber and, interestingly, beef, pork, and unspecified provisions. These were undoubtedly mostly destined for enslaved Africans on Saba's plantations, but this need for imported food demonstrates the inability of Saban produce to satisfy the plantations. This also illustrates a curious disconnect between provision suppliers on Saba and the plantation owners on the island. Yams were a staple food for enslaved Africans, especially those based upon plantations. Rations of yams, together with salt fish and cornmeal, are even the only foods directly specified in later Dutch laws regulating the treatment enslaved Africans by their owners towards the end of the century (DNAr 2.10.01 #3843). Notwithstanding poor communication between suppliers and plantation owners, which is likely given the absentee ownership at least two Saban sugar and indigo plantations, or high prices demanded of Saban produce thereof, it would otherwise make sense for Saba-based plantation owners to purchase locally produced staples for their enslaved Africans rather than import the same products from St. Eustatius.

Most striking about the traffic going to and from Saba via St. Maarten and St. Eustatius are the empty vessels. This was not unique to Saba; empty vessels entering and leaving St. Eustatius to

and from Guadeloupe, St. Bartholomew, Antigua, and Martinique were common, but this would have also been means of concealing the nature of actual goods present as it was illegal for the French and English to sell their sugar to foreign nations. Empty vessels were especially noted for St. Kitts. At the height of Statia's "Golden Rock" era, the island was exporting far more sugar allegedly grown and processed on the island that it could possibly produced, as this provided a means for French and English planters to launder their sugar (Gilmore 2005:49). The opportunity existed for goods to be laundered through Saba, however, since the incoming/outgoing vessel records for St. Eustatius only recorded the last port of call, and thus in certain instances, shipments from Saba included goods clearly not originating or produced from the island, such pipes of Madeira wine. In many cases, however, given the proximity between St. Eustatius, St. Maarten, and Saba, the empty vessels to and from Saba probably resulted from other necessities of ship life and logistics, such as crew changes, provisioning, obtaining water and firewood, and visiting family and friends.

The majority of the vessels with these routes were captained by Sabans, and the same vessels appear repeatedly in the records. A sample of these vessels are outlined in Table 28 in the Appendix. While the owners of the vessels are not known in all instances, several names of vessels appear to have been used across successive vessels from the 1740's all the way to the early nineteenth century. The boat *Tryale/Tryall* plied the waters between St. Eustatius, Saba, and St. Maarten in 1743 (DNAr 1.05.01.02 #1186), and a boat of the same name, though under a Swedish flag, was noted in 1830 (NArC, Archief St. Eustatius #259). This is also noted on the table for the vessels *Vriendschap* (Friendship), *Industry*. The *Industry* was noted in Statia's shipping records for the year 1757, captained by John Simmons. A vessel named the *Industry* was wrecked upon Saba in 1780 and its contents, hulk, and rigging auctioned off on the island (DNAr 1.05.13.01 #542:14/10/1780), and the name appears upon St. Eustatius' incoming/outgoing vessels list for 1830, under a Swedish flag. The use of the Swedish flag in the last instance demonstrates that the owners were formerly based in St. Eustatius and moved to the free port of Gustavia, St. Bartholomew, after Statia declined. The continuation of names also occurs for the *Zeebloem* (Sea flower), *Elizabeth, Twee Vrienden* (Two friends), and likely several others. A pattern was also noted among Saban-captained vessels regarding names that involve interpersonal relationships, such as the *Two Brothers, Cousins, Friendship, Two Friends, Three Friends,* and *Four Friends.* These names may reflect the relations between the ships' shareholders.

Sabans actively partook in the economic opportunities on St. Eustatius that were available to seafarers during the eighteenth century. During the early eighteenth century, Saba Governor Charles Simmons owned the regional trade vessel *Swallow.* His son Peter Simmons succeeded him as governor by the 1750's, and owned the bark *Rebecca.* John Simmons from Saba owned the bark *Charming Polly,* with one of his enslaved Africans serving on board as a sailor. In 1755 his vessel,

captained by fellow Saban Isaac Simmons, was apprehended along with seven others by the French out of Martinique for illegally trading with Neutral Islands (DNA 1.05.01.02 #1188:176, 177). Sabans served as captains across regional trade vessels based from St. Eustatius under the Dutch flag during most of the eighteenth century, and by late century and into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were sailing under the colours of other nations such as Britain, Sweden, and the U.S.A. A pool of captains served aboard a variety of schooners, barks, and brigs based out of St. Eustatius during the eighteenth century. These vessels were owned mostly by St. Eustatius-based merchants and government officials, with cargoes commissioned by the owners or other merchants. The crews were cosmopolitan and often included enslaved Africans (DNA 1.05.01.02 #1191:13). Between 1743 and 1770 at least 20 Saban captains served in the regional trade aboard St. Eustatius-based ships, including Abraham Simmons, Henry Johnson, Hercules Hassell, Jacob (Jacobus) Hassell, James Simmons, John (Jan) Simmons, Isaac Simmons, William Johnson, Charles Hassell, Jacob Beak, James Hassell, Daniel Every, Hendrick Johnson, John Horton, Peter Hassell, John (Jan) Zeegers, William Winfield, and William Collins, with other identifiable Saban surnames such as Kelly and Vlaugn (DNA 1.05.01.02 #1186, 1187, 1188, 1190, #1191).

Shipping between St. Eustatius, St. Maarten, and Saba suffered increasing losses by English warships and privateers, and even occasionally pirates, throughout the period beginning with the War of Jenkins' Ear to the end of the Seven Years War, even though the Dutch remained neutral throughout both conflicts. The War of Jenkins' Ear was fought between Britain and Spain, but this resulted in an influx of Spanish British privateers throughout the Caribbean. St. Eustatius and Saba soon found themselves increasingly involved in hostilities. In one recorded instance in 1735, an English vessel, Captained by Thomas Gordon, was pursued by Spanish privateers to Saba. His ship ran aground on the island, and Sabans protected him from the privateers with small arms fire, for which they received a broadside of cannon in return (BNA, Calendar of State Papers 41:508i; DNA 1.05.01.02 #1184:64). A similar incident one month later involving a Spanish privateer was also averted by Sabans defending an English vessel with heavy small arms fire towards Spanish vessels (BNA, Calendar of State Papers 41:508v).

International trade increased on St. Eustatius during the 1740's, growing considerably even before the free trade policy was decreed in 1756. In 1744, origins and destinations of vessels included Turks Island, Newfoundland, the Canary Islands, and Salem (DNA 1.05.01.02 #1187). Sugar cultivation was experiencing moderate successes on St. Maarten, with 80 sugar plantations counted in 1747 (DNA 1.05.01.02 #1187:112). During this period, privateering became increasingly problematic into the 1740's as English privateers and warships began preying upon Dutch shipping, under the pretense that British residents of St. Eustatius were using Burghers as cover for trading with the enemies of Britain,

who at the time would have included the French and Spanish. The Dutch trade with the Neutral Islands, which at the time consisted of St. Lucia, Dominica, St. Vincent, and Grenada, was very profitable and lucrative, but vessels involved in this trade were subject to capture by both British and French ships. These islands were officially not recognized as colonies of any nation, although they each had their own European and European-creole residents along with their own internal economies and trade networks (Hauser & Armstrong 2012).

St. Eustatius at the time was attracting merchants and entrepreneurs from a potpourri of nations, including Sabans and natural-born British citizens, through the increasing economic opportunities available on the island. Many of these merchant-immigrants became naturalized burghers of St. Eustatius, and therefore citizens of the United Provinces. The legitimacy of the British immigrants' status as Dutch burghers was not recognized by British colonial authorities, however, and this was used as a justification for capturing Dutch vessels suspected to be shipping goods by these residents to French and Spanish destinations, as they were considered British citizens that were trading with the enemy. Anger at the repeated captures of Dutch vessels and cargoes by the British grew to a pitch by 1744. These were directed in particular towards Antigua, wherein it was reported by credible sources that "the Judge of Admirality of Antigua has lately burnt in Effigy at St. Eustatia" (DNA 1.05.01.02 #1187:70). The fates of the cargoes and vessels varied. In some instances, the ship and cargo were ransomed, sometimes separately. In other instances, the cargoes were captured and resold at public auction, while in some cases, the entire vessel and cargo were seized and auctioned. Some vessels were repeatedly captured between 1740 and 1763, only to be bought or ransomed back by the owners, who continued trading as before. Benjamin King Esq., who became vice to John Codrington of Antigua, wrote such to Governor Abraham Heyliger of St. Eustatius: "If your honours will please to consider, you must allow (at least I apprehend it to be to) that such Burgherships or freedoms of the society of St. Eustatia only establish a local allegiance to the Government of that place, but can never defray the natural allegiance due to their own prince and the laws of their own society…" (DNA 1.05.01.02 #1187:70). This sentiment was echoed by the Court of Admirality in Antigua. British-born merchants who became Dutch burghers in St. Eustatius penned a lengthy letter to the GWC, stating:

> We have been received here as subjects, and as such have chearfully done our duty, and we hope satisfactorily and believ'd our selves |by the Law of Nations|, intitled to the privileges of subjects of their High Mightinesses, but to our great loss and detriment, find ourselves greatly frustrated in our expectations, by the inquitous proceedings of above mentioned Judge; iniquitous we may venture to call them, he having contrary to every other Court of Admirality's

> Judgement, and against the opinions of the best adcovates in this part of the world, condemned every vessel belonging to us, or that we had the least concern in, trading to the French Dominions in ever so regular a manner, as prescribed by treaties; publickly declaring that he would always condemn our vessels, effects, & every thing belonging to us, and that being born subjects to his Britanick Majesty, we were a pack of traitors, for being concerned in any such trade; vile, & injurious abuse! especially from such a bare faced, notorious perverter of the Laws of Society, in that important part, unhappily commited to his Administration; and from one so palpably ignorant of the Limits of Allegiance, & the Duties of a Subject.

The successes of St. Eustatius as the "Golden Rock" reflects the antagonisms between European colonial interests and the lived experiences and realities of creoles in the Caribbean colonies. While Britain continued to maintain a policy of mercantilism, which often worked against creole interests and was openly and continually thwarted by British citizens both on British and non-British islands, Dutch colonial policy on St. Eustatius, conversely, was content to work with creole interests. Through this approach, the GWC took advantage of human mobility afforded by open trade and easy naturalization processes for foreigners, to the benefit of the United Provinces. Indeed, St. Eustatius Commander Isaac Lamont once commented that "without trade, St. Eustatius would not be worth 100 guilders" (Goslinga 1985:211).

The onset of the Seven Years War (1756-1763) between Britain vs. France and later Spain resulted in a new British colonial shipping policy called the Rule of 1756, which held that if a belligerent nation's trade had been closed to another nation during peacetime, then it could not be reopened during war, and further, neutral ships that violated this law were subject to seizure by the British for trading with the enemy. This was both a boon and thorn towards the Dutch, who stayed neutral in the conflict; France was a mercantilist nation as Britain, and therefore could not trade with the Dutch under this law. Therefore, Statia's new status as a free port in 1756, in principle, created a loophole to circumvent the Rule of 1756. The French islands turned to neutral shipping for supplies, and trade at St. Eustatius grew considerably as a result, but this also greatly increased the number of captures of Dutch vessels by British warships and privateers. In 1761, a list of cargo losses from Statia-based shipping agents by British warships and privateers was compiled, which includes losses by several Sabans (DNA 1.05.01.02 #1191:13). A total of 227 vessels were captured and recaptured, with a total losses claimed at a staggering 1,212,824 pieces of eight. This list is displayed in its entirety in Table 28 in the Appendix. Most of the captured ships and cargoes were condemned at the Court of Admirality in Antigua, and subsequently taken to other English islands such as St. Christopher, Montserrat, or

Jamaica. The list partially testifies to the extent of the trade with the French and Neutral Islands during the Seven Years War, as most vessels captured were either en route to or from Guadeloupe, Dominica, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Martinique, Grenada, Santo Domingo, and to a lesser extent Monte Christi. In several instances, captures by British warships and privateers verged on piracy, whereupon they preyed upon Dutch ships in open waters without regard for the destination, and others that were trading between Dutch colonies, such as St. Eustatius and Demerary. The captures were even indiscriminate to regional authority, whereby Saba Governor Peter Simmons' bark *Rebecca* was captured by the British, condemned at the Court of Admirality at Antigua, and the ship and its cargo held for public auction at McCabee's tavern in Basseterre (The St. Christopher's Gazette No. 472 (7/2/1761, in DNA 1.05.01.02 #1191). The fact that these combined losses did not stop merchants from continuing to trade with the French and the Neutral Islands, but rather expanded in St. Eustatius, testifies to the huge profits available in these ventures.

The commercial success and rapid growth of St. Eustatius during the mid to late eighteenth centuries were not experienced on Saba. While these created opportunities for Saban seafarers and ship owners, and ready international market access for Saban sugar and coffee, the majority of Saba's residents subsisted through fishing and agriculture. By the mid eighteenth century, many Sabans began observing the social and economic disparities between Saba and other islands in the region, and emigration from Saba increased observably in the shipping records between Saba, St. Maarten, and St. Eustatius. Despite around one hundred years of sugar and indigo cultivation on the island, the wealth derived from these operations benefitted mostly their absentee owners on St. Eustatius. Governor Jan de Windt of St. Eustatius described Saba in 1773 as an island inhabited by poor people, who subsist on fish and turtles as a means to support their families (DNAr 1.05.01.02 #629:2/2/1773). This is reflected in the accounting books for the Dutch West Indies Company for St. Eustatius. In 1770, the GWC collected 10,211 pieces of eight (p/8) in income from Statia and Saba, of which only 52 p/8 were derived from Saba. This is nearly equal to the 53 p/8 in pasturage fees the GWC collected on St. Eustatius (DNAr 1.05.01.02 #629:folio 174). The following year, Saba brought in just 24 p/8, while income from pasture fees increased to 215 p/8 (DNAr 1.05.01.02 #629:folio 175). This level of income probably changed little from previous decades on Saba, indicative of the island's economy. In response, many Sabans began to find better fortune abroad. In 1744 alone no less than 178 passengers from Saba were recorded on incoming vessels to St. Eustatius, while only 43 are registered travelling between St. Eustatius to Saba (DNAr 1.05.01.02 #1187:8). In particular, two ships sailing three months apart in 1744 carried 40 and 46 passengers, respectively, from Saba to St. Eustatius. Given the lack of passengers returning to Saba, this indicates that residents were migrating either to St. Eustatius or elsewhere. In a letter dated 14 November 1765, fifteen heads of Saban families, sent

a petition to English colonial authorities in Grenada requesting to colonize the island of Bequia. It was noted that some of the petitioners owned between six to eight enslaved Africans, and that they would be allotted land grants up to 30 acres "according to their different means of cultivation" (BNAr T 1/442/91-94). While it is unknown if this original request was granted, emigration occurred after the 1772 hurricane, as Saban families are known to have emigrated to Bequia in the eighteenth century, and several Saban surnames can still be found there among present day residents (Will Johnson, personal communication 2013; DNAr 1.05.01.02 #629:2/2/1773). Unfortunately, shipping documents for St. Eustatius after 1759 cease to record incoming and departing passengers under cargo descriptions for vessels.

During the last third of the eighteenth century, the village of Palmetto Point was founded, resulting from a lack of arable land available to support a growing population in the southern half of Saba, and as a means to take advantage of the uncultivated northern and northwestern slopes of the island (Espersen 2009). The scale of horticulture around the village is evidenced by over six hectares of terraced slopes above the settlement, and along the western half of the North Coast Trail which have been noted by the author.

The second period of relative prosperity for Saban plantations during the eighteenth century was brought to a close after the hurricane of 31 August, 1772, followed eight years later by the "Great Hurricane" of 1780, which resulted in over 30,000 deaths across the eastern Caribbean. Locally, the 1772 hurricane among Sabans is known as the "Great Hurricane" rather than that of 1780. This would mark the beginning of a prolonged economic depression on the island, contributing to the prevalence of an economy increasingly reliant on remittances received from men working wage labour abroad, an increase in manumissions, and an improvement in race relations on the island. The hurricane of 1772 struck St. Eustatius hard, but was especially brutal on Saba. On Statia it damaged the government house, Fort Oranje, and many plantations, destroyed the Dutch Reformed Church and the houses of many wealthy residents, scattering their furniture, silverware, gold, and other values, and in particular, it levelled the house of the island secretary, taking along with it extensive government documentation (DNAr 1.05.01.02 #629:337-340). Saba was reduced to such destitution that the residents petitioned the GWC directly for aid, describing the plight of their island in detail, followed with the signatures of every household head on the island, but ultimately receiving nothing (DNAr 1.05.06.13 #1151; Johnson 2014).

> …The humble petition of the Governor, the council, church and state and the burghers of this island, sheweth that whereas your petitioners have been sufferers above the inhabitants of all their neighboring islands in the West Indies, most of us have lost our little all, our houses, our clothes, our furniture, our crops, and even our coffee trees by the late dreadfull hurricane of the 31st of August; and being reduced to the utmost distress, not only by the want of money, but of all the necessarys of life, and means of procuring them, having

> 140 of our dwelling houses, out of about 180 which were upon the Island, dashed to peices insomuch that numbers of our families, even at this distance of time, are obliged to shelter themselves from the inclemencies of the weather under rocks and caves of the earth, half naked and famishing with hunger; unable to help themselves, and others by reason of the universal nature of the calamity being unable to render them any effectual relief.
>
> And (which affects us most of all) whereas, God hath been pleased, no doubt as a just punishment of our aims, to smite his own house among us and lay it in ruins, a great labour and expence which the poor inhabitants could hardly bear; so that we are at present without any place of worship, & have no prospect of being able to build one for many years yet to come, unless assisted in a charitable way by our Christian Friends, whose charity may prompt them and whose prosperous and affluent circumstances may enable them, to aid us, in what we hope they will judge so laudable an undertaking. And whereas we cannot with any propriety apply for such aid to any of their islands, who are all our fellow sufferers, and many in need of charity themselves, tho' none in the measure that we do; we have thought proper, urged by the most pressing necessity, to apply in their manner to you our European friends, who by your situation are happily exempted from these desolating judgements. Humbly beseeching you to take our distressed ruined, circumstances into mature consideration, and to do, with all convenient speed, what humanity and Christianity will dictate to you for our relief, on so melancholy an occasion; not only in helping us to build a house for God's public worship, but for the relief of numbers of families among us, which are reduced to beggary, & the most heart affecting wretchedness.

Will Johnson (personal communication 2013) claims that a relative of his, Jacob Vlaughn, was one of the unfortunate residents who lost everything in the hurricane, and lived in a cave in Hell's Gate which is known today as "Vlaughn's Cave". The Flat Point sugar plantation in particular sustained extensive damage during this hurricane and was not rebuilt (see Chapter 5). Misery was also rife on St. Eustatius; many houses were lost, especially those higher up upon The Quill. No flour or provisions were available on the island, and no shipments were expected until December (Caledonian Mercury, 18 November 1772). Nothing is known of the 1780 hurricane's impact on Saba, but given the absence of documentation concerning the matter, it was probably somewhat less severe than the former. The extent of damage sustained to Saba during both hurricanes, especially regarding the destruction of houses, would have had a massive economic impact upon residents across all classes across the island. In particular, it would have a pronounced effect upon the capacity of families and individuals to express class through one's house, wealth, and material possessions relative to those residents who were able to afford to rebuild versus those who could not, versus those whose houses were damaged or otherwise unaffected. Class consciousness would also have been challenged especially for those who were forced to live in caves, or wattle huts, who prior to 1772 would never have imagined they would find themselves in such circumstances. This situation would have almost certainly challenged ideology among residents relative to class, gender, and race, with many white residents reduced to economic and domestic circumstances more similar to that of enslaved Africans prior to the hurricane. It is therefore no coincidence that the first documented appearance of free Sabans of African descent occurred by 1780, given the increasing inability among owners of enslaved Africans to provide for their

wellbeing on an island shattered both structurally and economically (Saba Census 1780, Will Johnson Collection).

The hurricanes of 1772 and 1780 so thoroughly destroyed plantation-based agriculture on Saba that it prompted a sell-off of foreign-owned lands and former plantations on the island to Sabans. The SVB 1780-1825 that in 1782 Simon Donker sold lands "in flat point" for pcs. 13.4.0, three plots "in the goat cleft" for pcs. 16.5.0, and one "in the mountain" for 30.4.0 to three different Sabans, which are remarkably discounted prices (DNAr 1.05.13.01 #54). Another "1/4 part of the Goat Cleft" was sold in the same year by Joanna Robertson, a native of St. Eustatius (DNAr 1.05.13.01 #54). The high elevations of land "in the mountain" would have been excellent for coffee cultivation, while the lands "in flat point" would have been associated with the Flat Point sugar and indigo plantation. The sugar plantation in The Bottom, similar to those at Flat Point and Spring Bay Flat, appears to have been owned in absentia via St. Eustatius prior to its purchase by Dinzey (SVB 1816-1876:11/1/1831). The Saba sales records relates in a note concerning the heirs of his estate that he purchased lands from a variety of individuals, including Abraham Donker and Madam deGraaf. Both were from St. Eustatius, and the latter in this case would refer to the widow of Johannes deGraaf, the former governor of St. Eustatius who passed away with considerable wealth, seven plantations, and other large landholdings across that island upon his death in 1810. This purchase would have been completed prior to 1780, since there is no record of it in the SVB 1780-1825.

The 1780 census is organized according to the heads of households, and reveals several interesting aspects of race relations in eighteenth century Saba. It is listed as Table 13 in the Appendix. Immediately notable is the low number of enslaved Africans designated as "coloured" (28) relative to the population of free (6) and enslaved (534) "blacks". This indicates that there were very few intimate relationships between white Sabans and enslaved Africans that produced offspring throughout the eighteenth century, which by extension suggests a strong social divide between the two which became less prevalent into the nineteenth century. Two of the free people of African descent have no last name, while the other two both share the last name "Markoe", though they are listed as separate households, perhaps indicating that they are siblings. The surname Markoe among these enslaved Africans is probably derived from several planter families of the same name present on St. Eustatius censuses during the 1720's to the 1740's (DNAr 1.05.01.02 #1182, 1183, 1184). The appearance of free African descent Sabans is rather late compared to neighboring St. Eustatius, where the first free resident, "the free negro Frenke (vrij neger Frenke)", was mentioned as early as 1724 (DNAr 1.05.01.02 #326:4). A defining but overlooked characteristic that separates enslaved Africans from the free, predominantly white populations is the possession of a last name; the absence of last names among

free people of African descent is somewhat indicative of their will to assimilate into the dominant "white" culture of the island.

Saba was captured soon after by the British by Lt. James Cockburn in February, 1781 under orders from Admiral George Brydges Rodney, who had just captured St. Eustatius. The latter island was captured as retribution for the volume of trade to the American rebels that occurred through St. Eustatius, while Saba's capture was usually recorded as little more than a side note. This was to mark the beginning of a prolonged period of political instability between Saba, St. Eustatius, and St. Maarten that was to last until 1815. On St. Eustatius, Rodney confiscated all the wares of merchants on the island and sold them off at auction, even from British subjects, and continued to fly the Dutch flag after the island's surrender as a means of luring more merchant ships into harbour to be captured as prizes of war. Saba and St. Maarten were spared this treatment. The islands were captured by the French ten months later, and were returned to the Dutch in 1784. Between this time to 1795, St. Eustatius re-emerged as a major trading center and destination for enslaved Africans until its capture by the French in 1795, followed soon after by St. Maarten and Saba. Import and export duties imposed upon vessels of all nations save the French and the new Batavian Republic, and a series of expensive military levies extracted from all the islands caused many residents to emigrate, especially from St. Eustatius (Goslinga 1990:147-148). Many merchants from Statia resettled in nearby Swedish St. Bartholomew, which was declared a free port in 1784 along the model of St. Eustatius (Wilson 2013).

Nineteenth century Saba

The GWC was dissolved in 1792, and the administration of Dutch American colonies were shifted directly to the government of the United Provinces. Saba was of little expense or profit to the company, thus it consequentially received little attention from colonial authorities. While other Dutch islands were reporting budget deficits, Saba had no deficiency; in some years Saba even had a budget surplus of 50 guilders (Hartog 1975:35). A Dutch government official who visited the island in 1853 noted that although the residents apparently paid no taxes, administering the island was no expense to the Netherlands (Crane 1971:237).

In 1801 Saba was captured by the English, in 1802 it became French under the Batavian Republic and was administered through St. Maarten rather than St. Eustatius. Saba was recaptured by the English in 1810 by the English under Brigadier-General Harcourt, and was returned to the Dutch in 1816. Interestingly, though, Saba was sent an official missive from the Governor of St. Maarten demanding Saba's capitulation to the Dutch, with a veiled threat of military force, rather than a letter which simply informed Saba's government of its return to The Netherlands from control of the British (Bancroft Collection, non-indexed).

Up until 1795, and for most of the nineteenth century, Saba was governed under St. Eustatius, and most government affairs were conducted through the island. Saba was not completely subordinate to St. Eustatius during the nineteenth century, though. This question was posed to the Governor of Curaçao in 1857, and he replied that Saba was its own entity under Curaçao, but for practical reasons St. Eustatius should always assist and advise Saba when necessary (NArC AN NAC 4 Gouverneur 4968:25/9/1857). The highest government office on Saba was that of the Lieutenant Governor, also known as the Gezaghebber, a position which is maintained up to the present day. Prior to 1870, when the position became salaried, the Governor of Curaçao considered the Gezaghebber of Saba to be an "honorary position" rather than an actual office such as the Gezaghebber of St. Eustatius, and thus the office holder was not entitled to compensation (NArC AN NAC4 4968:26/3/1861). The Gezaghebber was advised by a group of island council members, usually numbering between four to six men from prominent families on the island, often with the title "Esquire". These members required the Governor of Curaçao's permission to step down from these positions if they so desired (NArC AN NAC4 4968:3/12/1858). One of the Island Council Members, the Island Secretary, was responsible for summarizing the results of council meetings, court cases, and sometimes for transcribing government correspondence for the Gezaghebber. A Marshall was also appointed, though his responsibilities and job function are unclear. When in 1860 the Governor of Curaçao requested genealogies of all government employees in Curaçao and its dependencies, Gezaghebber Edward Beaks Jr. asked the Governor if this was also required for Hercules Hassell, the Island Secretary, and Richard Johnson, the Marshall (NArC AN NAC4 4968:10/7/1861).

During the islands' brief period within the Batavian Republic, Saba was moved from the governorship of St. Eustatius, and instead placed under St. Maarten until 1824, when it was switched back to St. Eustatius. The first third of the nineteenth century was marked by political instability in the Caribbean, from the Napoleonic wars which ended in 1815, to the commencement of the South American Wars of Independence between 1810 and 1825. Although the transatlantic slave trade had been abolished by Denmark 1803, followed by Britain in 1807 and The Netherlands in 1814, there was still considerable demand for enslaved Africans in European colonies, especially in the burgeoning sugar industries in Santo Domingo, Cuba, and Puerto Rico, which was provided by the French and private transatlantic slave trading vessels willing to avoid capture and confiscation by the British. In 1818 a rebel vessel under the command of Pedro Luis Brion had captured a Spanish vessel laden with enslaved Africans off the coast of St. Bartholomew on its way to Cuba, and brought it to Saba, where they were sold (Morning Post:4/9/1818). This also marks the last known instance of enslaved Africans imported on to the island.

Beginning in 1819 until 1828, the Gezaghebber of Saba was engaged in an underground network of trade through St. Eustatius under its governor, William Augustus van Spengler. This involved covert trade with South American rebel privateers, pirates (privateers with expired letters of marque), and vessels engaged in the transatlantic slave trade, which were often outfitted at St. Eustatius and supplied with Dutch papers which were easily obtained by the governor (Emmer 2006:120-122; Espersen 2013). Captured ships were brought to St. Eustatius, had their goods unloaded at night, and if the ship was not intentionally sunk afterwards, it was sometimes brought to Saba and left at anchor, abandoned and empty. These ships were repaired by carpenters on Saba, and after its presence was announced on St. Eustatius, a merchant connected to the enterprise would claim the vessel as his own; in two recorded cases with was a Nathaniel Mussenden and a Charles Mussenden of St. Eustatius; the first both a merchant and the chief of police, and the second a merchant (British Foreign & State Papers 1825:249; DNAr 1.05.08.01 #727). The Gezaghebber of Saba received 500 pieces of eight as a cut each time Saba was used as either a transit point for illicit goods, or in the case of "abandoned vessels" repaired for claim via merchants in St. Eustatius (British Foreign & State Papers 1825:249; DNAr 1.05.08.01 #727). The volume of this trade dwindled significantly after the *Caraboo* incident of 1828, which involved a captured English ship brought to Saba in the manner described above (Wood 1830). This story became globally infamous, and Saba and St. Eustatius were featured in the press around the world. This trade continued on Saba until about 1835.

In 1816, Dutch colonial authorities requested a report from the Governors of St. Eustatius and St. Maarten detailing natural, social, and economical environments of the islands under their command (DNAr 1.05.06 #213). Before this report, the island did not keep a yearly record of births, deaths, and incoming or outgoing people (DNAr 1.05.06 #213). The political and economic instability between 1795 and 1815 was responsible for a drop in the island's population from 1,296 in 1780 to 1,145 in 1817. Concluding the report, the Governor of St. Maarten recommended that efforts put into Saba to increase sugar production, and even suggested that Saba could support a cochineal production industry, which never came to fruition.

The population for 1816 included 656 "white", 27 free people of African descent, and 462 enslaved Africans. The island was divided into six quarters, which included Palmetto Point, The Valley, Crispeen, St. John's, Hell's Gate, and The Peak. Tradespeople on the island, in this case all men, included four officials and one lieutenant governor, a school teacher, a cattle herder, fourteen carpenters, and one sail maker. Notably, of the twenty-seven free African descent Sabans, only four were men. Since field labourers were the most common profession of enslaved Africans regardless of gender, this demonstrates the continued preference on among owners for males in this endeavour, as they together account for less than 15% of the free population. Among the aforementioned free

men, two took to farming, one was a fisherman and seaman, while the other was a carpenter. Shoemaking probably continued during this time, although on a much smaller scale than one hundred years previous as observed by Labat. In 1847, a court case was brought against the estate of the deceased John and Mary Hassell, wherein the plaintiff, Henry Johnson, claimed that John Hassell, who was formerly enslaved to Henry, was to furnish him and his family with shoes so long as he is in existence (DNAr 1.05.13.901 #540.1:2/12/1847). In other instances, free people of African descent were also hired by white families as musicians during holidays or parties (DNAr 1.05.13.901 #540.1:4/1/1849). There is was no mention of professions among Saba's women in the document, whether free or enslaved, though Teenstra noted that women took to spinning and weaving during his visit in the 1820's (Teenstra 1977:368). Most residents, known as "small landowners" subsisted from fishing and lived off the land, producing little more than some cotton, maize (locally known as "indian corn", "small corn" or "guinea corn"), and unspecified fruits and vegetables. Any surpluses were generally sold to the Dinzey Plantation in The Bottom. Women cultivated and spun cotton, which was then used to fashion gloves, socks, and stockings for regional export (Teenstra 1977:367). Enslaved Africans owned by Sabans outside of plantation contexts were usually given to field labour, with smaller numbers working as domestic servants (DNAr 2.02.09.08 #246). Domestic labour was sometimes specific, including cooks, washers, "pasture boys", and house servants (DNAr 2.02.09.08 #246). In a few instances, enslaved Africans worked as sailors, "sellers", and even serving as agents in St. Thomas for residents living on Saba (DNAr 2.02.09.08 #246). Some owners took to hiring out their enslaved Africans to both white residents and free Sabans of African descent (DNAr 1.05.13.901 #540.1:14/12/1848). The ships' muster rolls for vessels calling into St. Eustatius reveal that sailing was not an uncommon profession for enslaved Africans, whether they were ships from Saba or elsewhere. The muster rolls for 1816 show at least 10 vessels with enslaved African sailors; 4 ships for 1817, and 21 for 1818 (DNAr 1.05.13.01 #151, 152, 153).

While porting was not specified as a profession in the 1816 review, it would have been a common task for enslaved Africans, and later a source of income for African descent Sabans following emancipation. While free porters did not earn a great income from this profession, their resilience and endurance are often highlighted in oral history. "Big Jim" was known for his strength and endurance (Johnson 1994:129). Another porter during the late nineteenth century, while carrying a 100-pound load on her head, stopped to give birth while ascending The Ladder and continued onward towards The Bottom with her cargo and newborn (Vito Charles, personal communication 2014).

The position of Lieutenant Governor was not a universal guarantee of an improvement in class vectors, and in fact could be detrimental to them, as evidenced through Edward Beaks Jr. As previously discussed, he held office on Saba during the 1820's and again from 1835 to 1863, was

counted among Saba's upper class, and owned many enslaved Africans along with a house in The Bottom sufficiently large for it to accommodate court sessions. However, he was deprived of two sources of substantial income throughout his tenue; first after his 500 p/8 cuts from laundering pirate goods through Saba ceased during the 1830's, and again after the fees for manumission were abolished. In addition, the position of Lt. Governor was not accompanied by a salary until late century. Consequently, his house, the prime vector for class on Saba, fell in to such a state of repair that he was very embarrassed; he began selling his enslaved Africans during the 1850's, and had to appeal directly to the Governor of Curaçao to effect repairs. His reputation on the island was dramatically sullied during the trial of Captain Peter Simmons Dinzey in 1862, so much that he offered his resignation to the Governor of Curaçao. Beaks died soon after, and residents of The Bottom were apparently so relieved with the change in governance that in 1865, the village was renamed "Leverocktown" after the new Lt. Governor, Moses Leverock. Beaks was Lt. Governor of a regionally-recognized poor island whose class within Saba was in continuous decline during his second tenure. On Saba, despite a decline in his class vectors such as his house, number of enslaved Africans, his wealth, and his reputation, through his position he still represented the uppermost of the upper class on Saba. Outside of Saba, his class would have only been compromised among those people privy to this saga, and again only among those who cared. His position as Lieutenant Governor, therefore, increasingly became a crutch for maintaining his class on Saba.

During the early nineteenth century, and afterwards, exports from Saba dwindled considerably; from 1817 to the 1830's, the only export from the island was live cattle (DNAr 1.05.13.01 #319). Agriculture was clearly central to the island's internal economy, however. In 1829, the famous Dutch traveller Maarten Douwes Teenstra visited Saba and made a detailed account of the island's state. He counted approximately 3 horses, 5 mules, 150 cattle, 300 sheep, 800 goats, 600 pigs, and an undisclosed number of chickens. Each house apart from some made of straw had a garden planted with sugar, cotton, and bananas, and were equipped with their own hand-powered sugar cane press, usually powered by two enslaved Africans (Teenstra 1977:367). Commonly cultivated food crops included potatoes, cassava, and cabbage, along with fruit bearing trees (Teenstra 1977:367). Although Teenstra does not specify the types of fruit, this likely included a bitter variety of orange, lemons, passion fruit, guavas, and breadfruit. Coffee trees were cultivated in The Gap in The Bottom, and also in lands in the upper slopes of Mount Scenery, along with Guinea corn. All sugar plantations on Saba except for the Dinzey Plantation in The Bottom had ceased production by 1815. The Dinzey plantation was producing between 20,000 to 25,000 pounds of sugar annually, with 150 barrels produced in 1828, but none of this was exported as its sale was apparently sufficient to satisfy local demand (DNAr 1.05.06.13 #215:6; Teenstra 1977:367). However, given the aforementioned irregularities on

eighteenth century official shipping registers from St. Eustatius especially with regards to vessels from St. Christopher and Saba, a portion of this sugar may have been exported and sold illicitly. Enslaved Africans on Saba, Teenstra noted, were treated well compared to neighboring islands and "hardly felt their bondage" (Teenstra 1977:371).

A strong hurricane struck the northern Lesser Antilles between August to September in 1819, which badly damaged St. Maarten. It impacted Saba between 12:00 to 19:00, and resulted in the complete destruction of 20 non-thatched houses and all of the thatch houses save for a few, the loss of "large and stately trees which were blown out by the roots", damage to ground provisions, and with many injured residents. It also badly damaged the church in The Bottom, which was not rebuilt until around 1824 (DNAr 1.05.13.01#319:30/9/1819).

By the 1820's, cattle raising on Saba expanded from a single herder in 1816. A report from the following year suggested that the island would benefit from the cattle raising, and during the 1820's, cattle became the sole source of export duties for Saba (DNAr 1.05.13.01#319). In 1820, 147 Spanish dollars were collected from the export of 40 head of cattle, at the cost of 4-8 pieces of eight for a bull, and 0.2 to 2 p/8 for a calf (DNAr 1.05.13.01 #319). A report on the state of the island outlines the situation quite succinctly:

> 31 December 1820
> Church to be repaired
> No court house
> No prison
> No fort
> No fortification
> 35 muskets
> 20 pounds of powder
> 25 pounds of musket balls
> (DNAr 1.05.13.01 #319).

By 1823, funds were obtained "from our friends abroad", including a Saba residing in St. Bartholomew, to begin repairs on the church damaged in the 1819 hurricane (DNAr 1.05.13.01#319:30/9/1819:133, 149). A prison was also constructed, and a court room was established in the house of the lieutenant governor of Saba (DNAr 1.05.13.01#319:30/9/1819:191).

St. Eustatius, meanwhile, never recovered its status as the "Golden Rock". The period after 1815 was marked by a prolonged descent into irony, as by mid century it effectively became the "poor Saba" described by Johan de Windt 1774. Laws were passed by the English to prevent the theft and reuse or resale of bricks, and following the island's restitution to the Dutch, bricks were exported off island, probably to St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew, who were both experiencing the fruits of free trade inherited from St. Eustatius (Gilmore 2005). A report of St. Eustatius for 1847 shows that Statia's population had fallen from a height of 5,571 residents in the year 1790 to 1,908 (772 white and free

residents, and 1,136 enslaved Africans), close to that of Saba which in the same year had 1,667 (1,033 white and free residents, and 634 enslaved Africans) (DNA 1.05.01.02 #257; NArC St. Eustatius archief #84). Its plantation landscape had changed markedly, with the Schotsenhoek sugar plantation as the sole remaining producer. Some lands formerly cultivated with sugar were replaced by seven cattle plantations, and other lands were employed to farm provisions for local consumption and small scale export, such as yams and sweet potatoes. Most remarkable is that just three shipping merchants remained on the island in 1847, dropping to just one the following year; at Statia's height as the "Golden Rock", an estimated 200 warehouses were located in Lower Town that were engaged in regional and international trade (Gilmore 2005). For 1847 Saba's exports were described in a single sentence as maize (a variety known locally as "Indian corn") sweet potatoes, and miscellaneous fruits and vegetables. However, in 1852, boat builders on Saba constructed a 38-ton ship. The 1852 report for Saba apparently deemed the island's export trade so irrelevant that it was not even described, though the description of St. Eustatius was, in general, much more detailed than the previous year.

The descriptions by Father J. C. Gast during his time on Saba further illustrate Saba's social environment and the scale of the island's economy by the next decade. In 1857, Gast noted that lime continued to be produced on Saba during the nineteenth century, mostly at Hell's Gate, but curiously, the coral cobbles were collected from shore taken all the way up to Hell's Gate to be burned (Nomina Geographica Neerlandica 1885:213). He relates that most timber was fetched from around the peak of the mountain, which would by consequence describe a landscape around the settled areas and their peripheries as denuded of trees (Nomina Geographica Neerlandica 1885:213). He observed that thefts and public quarreling were common; items were hidden away at night as a precaution, and many guarded their crops in fields with guns (Nomina Geographica Neerlandica 1885:213). This appears to have been a problem throughout the early and mid nineteenth century, as incident in the Saba court records twenty years previous involved Wenter, an enslaved African, getting shot and killed in Hell's Gate for stealing crops (DNAr 1.05.13.901 #540.1:24/12/1835, DNAr 1.05.13.01 #319:331).

Gast's accounts describe Saba life at mid century in quite poignant detail: "The most important product here consists of the sweet potato which immediately after maturity is subject to spoilage… however as far as the cassava and maize is concerned, an ordinary harvest supplies sufficient food for the inhabitants, who generally are not accustomed to anything else. The American potatoes and the cabbage are generally exported. A small amount of corned fish which often arrives here from St. Thomas half or completely spoiled in general provides for breakfast, evening, and midday meals. Few are accustomed to bread and fewer still who are accustomed to meat; their goats, pigs, chickens, and eggs are transported to St. Thomas. For these articles and often by the same captain, flour, items of clothing, salt fish and such matters are brought back. Other imports, in general,

I am not aware of… In former times their trade was with the inhabitants of St. Bartholomew, nowadays, principally with those of St. Thomas. From St. Eustatius the much looked for rum is ordered" (Nomina Geographica Neerlandica 1885:212; https://thesabaislander.com/2016/06/, last accessed 11 July 2016). Gast observed no markets in Saba during this time, and rather produce and fish were probably sold instead through certain designated households (Nomina Geographica Neerlandica 1885:215). This has echoes into the twentieth century, as observed by John & Dorothy Keur (1960) in the 1950's, and the author in the present day, in that locally run bars, grocery stores, and hardware stores are known informally by the name of their owner rather than store's official name; E&H Hardware is known as "Harry's", "Unique Supermarket" is known as Addie's, "The Swinging Doors" bar is known as "Eddie's", and so forth. The continued use of merchants' names to refer to their respective shops would be reminiscent of household vendors in the nineteenth century.

From this description it is clear that poverty-like conditions were prevalent across Saba, and that subsistence agricultural characterized daily life for most residents. Despite the bleak description of this lifestyle by Gast, Saban farmers took pride in working the land and producing a good crop (Keur & Keur 1960), and this continues in the present among the few that still farm. This stands in contrast to St. Eustatius, where from the late nineteenth to throughout the twentieth century, farming was largely shunned as it was considered reminiscent of slavery (Keur & Keur 1960:87). This, together with the island's tendency to experience drought, has resulted in a series of failures in government sponsored agricultural projects (Keur & Keur 1960). Capitalism slowly began reaching Saba outside of plantation contexts through the island's gradually increasing reliance upon remittances sent in abroad from men engaged in wage labour, which intensified during the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries. This began following the hurricanes of 1772 and 1780, and extended into the twentieth century. Sabans began to emigrate to other islands, and the free men of Saba sought wage labour on other islands as far away as Bermuda, while others took to the seas as deckhands, pilots, and captains as a means of income (Teenstra 1977:372-373). This occurred to such an extent that by the late eighteenth century, Saba was dubbed an "island of women" (Raynal 1782/V:147). Julia Crane's (1971) dissertation, "Educated to Emigrate: The Social Organization of Saba" focused on this social phenomenon from the nineteenth to twentieth centuries.

The social mobility afforded by wage labour was first apparent among those engaged in seafaring, either as sailors or captains. Despite the poverty-like conditions be observed during his stay, he remarked that "in general it cannot be said that prosperity is declining. It was so that during my stay that several new houses and ships were built. However, the opportunities to get rich do not exist here. The most homes are built from the income of wages, which they receive from working on vessels" (Nomina Geographica Neerlandica 1885:213; https://thesabaislander.com/2016/06/, last

accessed 11 July 2016). By 1857 there were no regular wage labourers residing and working on Saba. While some people could earn 0.5 to 0.6 guilders per day for manual labour, but Gast noted few that were paid wages for field labour. Rather the common practice was sharecropping, wherein one could regularly work land belonging to another in return for a third to one half of the crop, or over extended periods for full ownership (Harry Simmons, personal communication 2013; Will Johnson, personal communication 2013; Franklin Wilson, personal communication 2016). Despite Gast's observation, the wages earned by Saban seafarers and the subsequent purchasing opportunities this produced were not unique to the nineteenth century. Saban sailors and captains would have earned wages during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the monies accrued from few expenses over long periods on the open seas would have provided funds to finance house repairs house repairs, house construction, and limited purchases of goods normally associated with upper class upon their arrival back to Saba. Gast noted that Sabans only spent their saved money upon furniture and especially clothing, though this would also have included house repairs. "The craving for luxury in furniture, but especially in clothing, is great. It is therefore only for this that their money seems to be disposable" (Nomina Geographica Neerlandica 1885:213; https://thesabaislander.com/2016/06/, last accessed 11 July 2016).

By the mid nineteenth century, Saban women continued to produce textiles on a small scale, in addition to straw hats (Nomina Geographica Neerlandica 1885). Drawn thread work, stitched by hand, introduced to Saba in during the 1870's, became an important industry among women in Saba from this time into the twentieth century. The method and style is generally known as Saba Lace, but locally known as "Spanish Work". By 1907 exports of Saba Lace totalled 712 guilders, and by 1928 it reached a peak of 22,690 guilders, mostly shipped to customers in the U.S.A. (Hartog, 1975:65). Profits derived from the exports of Saba Lace would have been an important source of income for families, especially for those where the husband or father worked abroad. Sales of lace soon became a secondary source and even primary source of income for many households. In particular, selling lace work abroad by mail work provided steady income for households whose men and husbands were working abroad to send intermittent remittances, often for years at a time before returning periodically to the island. These sources of income benefitted Saba beyond the household level; cash received through remittances from wage labour abroad and from mail-order payments for lace introduced new supplies of currency to Saba, where it was in chronic short supply during the nineteenth century.

Accounts in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and the first half of the nineteenth century in St. Eustatius, St. Maarten, and Saba were kept in pieces of eight (p/8). One piece of eight was equal to eight bitts, and one bitt was equal to six stivers. Spanish dollars were sometimes employed in

documented trade during the nineteenth century, and were exchanged at one piece of eight for two thirds of one dollar by 1826 (SNB:20/10/1826). By 1841, government accounts and public auctions were accounted in Dutch guilders. In 1854, all of the Dutch coinage on the island was collected by the Gezaghebber and counted in order to be exchanged for a newly minted series; this amounted to just *f*500 in copper coin, and *f*1500 in silver coin (NArC AN NAC 4 Gouverneur 103 RT:18/7/1854). This was exchanged for *f*360 in 2.5 cent coins, *f*19.60 in 5 cent, *f*11.50 in 10 cent, *f*194 in 25 cent, and just *f*5 in 1 florin coins, for a total of *f*590.50. Sale prices of goods held in the former guilder were deflated to adjust to the new "standard" currency.

The paltry amount of new guilders provided to the island attests not only to the general lack of currency in circulation, but also to the significance of internal exchange networks on the island as a means to settle accounts. Exchange through barter rather than currency was a common medium in Saba's internal economy, extending well into the twentieth century (Crane 1971:33-34). In the early nineteenth century, some vessels sent from Saba to St. Thomas bartered Saban produce directly for goods, and later, Saba lace was sometimes bartered via mail to companies in Canada and the United States of America (Crane 1971:33-34). Large bills could even be paid through a promise of lifelong service. The deal involving the aforementioned John Hassell, a cobbler who owed Henry Johnson and his family shoes for life in return for his manumission, originated from a bill of sale from Henry ten years previous to John's death for $141.55 Spanish dollars, which John was evidently unable to pay with cash. Interestingly, following John's death around 1843, Henry brought his estate to court, claiming that he had not been adequately compensated for the bill of sale due to John's passing (DNAr 1.05.13.901 #540.1:2/12/1847).

A male enslaved African, after 1854, could sell for between *f*80 to *f*120 in the new currency, which amounts to approximately one fifth to one sixth of all guilders in circulation on the island at the time. This by consequence necessitated other currencies, and the existence of debtors and creditors. By this time, up to six different currencies were circulating around the island. This included Portuguese dollars, also known as "joes" (DNAr 1.05.13.901 #540.1:18/1/1826), Spanish dollars, Dutch pieces of eight, American dollars, French Guiana livres, St. Thomas dollars, and later, the Netherlands guilder. During the author's excavations on the island, a GWC coin was recovered from the surface at Spring Bay Flat dated 1716, while two late eighteenth century 2 sous coins from the Cayenne Colony (French Guiana) have been found at Palmetto Point and an enslaved African hut at Spring Bay Flat, respectively. Nineteenth century coins from the Netherlands, Danish St. Thomas, and the United States of America were also found in Trash Pit 1 at Palmetto Point. In the case of debts, many debtors would die before their debts were paid, which resulted in probate inventories of their house, lands,

and possessions to be auctioned off as a means to repay them. Any outstanding debts then became the responsibility of the estate's heirs.

The Vendue Books, the Book of Recorded Mortgages, the Saba Transfer Deeds book, and the Saba Court Records 1813-1865 (DNAr 1.05.13.901 #540.1) each contain lists of debtors and creditors on Saba. Debts were collected in the Vendue Book while estates were settled, recorded as a form of notarizing for large purchases in the Sales Records, and documented in the later from debts that necessitated the courts to collect. The Vendue Books' debts are most revealing of the internal economy in Saba as all variety of transactions were recorded, from debts amounting to a few stivers, to mortgages on estates. The majority of the debts are not listed as to their reason, be it a mortgage or cash lent. However, these debts span a wide range from just a few stivers to over 2500 Spanish dollars. The most money lent to island residents did not originate from a small pool of creditors; rather, creditors and debtors both comprised a large variety of residents. Notably, some large debts listed were not charged interest. Small loans appear to have been kept between individuals, without the necessary purview of the courts. Loans via interest-bearing mortgages, usually at eight per cent, were given to individuals for collateral which included land, houses, and enslaved Africans. However, the preponderance of other forms of lending such as notes of hand, cash lent, and goods and services provided on credit indicates that mortgages or collateral were not common, at least for credit provided under 100 pieces of eight.

Out of all the documented creditors, the most prolific was Thomas Dinzey Winfield (most commonly referred to as Thomas Dinzey), the owner of the sugar plantation in The Bottom and the island Governor under a variety of titles. He was officially the Vice-Commander of Saba between 1778 and 1801, the Commander from 1801-1803, and Vice-Governor from 1803-1809 under the Batavian Republic. Dinzey's lending practices demonstrate that his wealth was recognized on both local and regional scales. In 1785 he lent 875 p/8, equal to 70 half joes, to a certain Herman Brouiver on St. Thomas (NArC, Archief St. Eustatius #345). On Saba, between 1784 and 1785, he collected over 680 pieces of eight in debt from six individuals. Of this total, Peter Simmons alone held nine debts totalling 517 pieces of eight. Dinzey's estate was still owed money by various individuals in the late 1820's following the death of himself and his wife in 1825 (SBRM:28/12/1826). Lending among (wealthy) Sabans was not limited to the island; one Dr. Ariel Blyden of St. Bartholomew owed 1,416 pieces of eight to no less than twelve residents by 1816, which were collected upon his death from the sale of his estate. The largest creditors to his estate were Joseph D. Horton (200), the aforementioned Thomas Dinzey (280), Marie Beaks (274), William Simmons (281), John Dinzey (97) and Moses Leverock (192). Some of children of all of these stated lenders with the possible exception of William Simmons married into each other's family. These relationships stretch back into the eighteenth

century, as the mother of Thomas Dinzey carried the surname Beaks (SBRM:27/1/1827). There is a repetition of many surnames among the largest lenders present in these documents with class as expressed through titles, profession, family relationships, and government connections, listed in Table 16, in the Appendix. Most of these small families also produced island governors. This included Thomas Dinzey, followed by the Beaks family who held two governorships between 1816-1865 with Edward Beaks Sr. and Jr., Charles Winfield, governor from 1828-1835, and Moses Leverock (Jr.) after 1865. Other names of small, prominent families of nineteenth century Saba noted on this list include Horton, Mardenburgh, and Monsanto, which will be discussed later in the chapter. It is readily apparent that surname and family connections are intimately related to wealth on Saba and St. Eustatius, as it was in other islands across the Antilles such as the Codrington family in Antigua and Barbuda.

Regarding the debtors, it is apparent that it was common practice to hold debts with others in Saba, even among some the wealthier residents. Moses Leverock, mentioned as one of the larger creditors, died in 1836 holding 248 pieces of eight in debt to six individuals. By 1845, Capt. Engle Heyliger was indebted to his aunt, Miss Anna Dinzey, daughter of Thomas Dinzey, to the sum of at least $2500 Spanish dollars at eight percent annual interest. Capt. Heyliger sold an enslaved African to St. Eustatius soon after for *f*450, and two years later he sold 15 enslaved Africans to Anna Dinzey for *f*3,375, and one week later sold his house and land to her for *f*2,875, almost certainly in order to finance the repayment of his debt to her. The estate of Thomas Dinzey, however, was recorded as owing no debts upon its appraisal in 1831 (SBRM:4/1/1831). Debt holding was so pervasive that many accounts were only settled after their death, wherein it passed to the estate's heirs. This usually resulted in a full or partial auction of the estate to raise funds for repayment. There were only two recorded instances in the Vendue Books, however, wherein the sale of an estate was insufficient to cover the debts. These were met with a measure of compassion on the part of the creditors. Following Peter Simmons' death in 1785, for example, his debts amounted to 730 pieces of eight between 27 creditors. He owed Thomas Dinzey alone 517 pieces of eight, which included two unspecified debts, two notes of hand, two half barrels of beef, two instances of a cash loan, and eight goats. Peter Simmons is also the only recorded white Saban to have been indebted to enslaved Africans. He owed Dinah pcs. 1.0.3 for meat, and held two unspecified debts to Phoenix and Yankey for pcs. 1.7.0 and 0.7.3, respectively. The value of his estate, which included a house with affixed land and cistern for pcs. 250.0.0 along with two separate plots of land for pcs. 65, was insufficient to cover his debt. While in practice the house lot could have been purchased by anyone, Thomas Dinzey purchased the estate and held the house mortgaged at 10% interest so that the widow and children would not be left homeless. Importantly, Peter Simmons' debts also demonstrate that enslaved Africans on Saba not

only participated in the local economy regardless of race and legal status, but were able to amass personal wealth. The ability for white residents to engage in trade with enslaved Africans on Saba and St. Eustatius contrasts sharply with the contemporary social and legal environment of Curaçao. For white residents of Curaçao, this was punishable by a fine of *f*200 for the first offence, and *f*400 and a flogging for the second; enslaved Africans risked branding, flogging, or exile to Bonaire or Suriname (Goslinga 1985:554).

Due to the lack of currency circulating around the island, smaller debts would have been repaid with reciprocal goods and services. Barter was employed off island as well, whereby Sabans bartered island produce directly in St. Thomas for good such as salt fish and eggs. Reciprocity through service was demonstrated in the case of the aforementioned John Hassell, who repaid his manumission from his former owner by providing his household with shoes for life. In other cases, small debts were still only payable upon the death of the debtor, and repaid through the sale of his or her estate. Class, therefore, was expressed through the mediums and magnitude of exchange. Barter occurred due to a lack of currency from one or both parties, and there are no records of wealthy, upper class Sabans participating in barter among each other.

Among the most revealing qualifiers of race, class, and gender are titles, prefixes, and racial designations that pervade colonial written discourse. Throughout the historical record of Saba, St. Maarten and St. Eustatius, first introductions of individuals by name in a given document are often characterized by race when if they are not considered white. This practice appears to have occurred with every instance of people of African descent in the seventeenth century, but the consistency appears to drop somewhat by the early nineteenth century in Saba, which is commensurate with a rise in free people of African descent on the island. In an similar vein to many Caribbean slave societies, the term “negro” in Saba’s documentary record is synonymous with slavery, and in the cases brought to court in the nineteenth century, it was never used to refer to free people unless hurled as an insult (DNAr 1.05.01.901 #540.1:7/20/1827; 8/4/1829; 9/6/1830; 29/12/1831; 9/2/1831; 6/4/1831). In the second case, the defendant, Miss Rebecca Horton, is purported to have called the plaintiff Mrs. Eliza Simmons “a thief, a whore, and told her she was no better than her negro woman Susanna “. The second two cases involve an ongoing dispute between John W. Dowlin and Jacob Every which was brought to court no less than four times between 1830 to 1831. It originated from an accusation that Jacob Every attempted to steal land from Elinor Beaks, wherein John called him a liar in court. Jacob Every brought the case back to court for a second time, accusing John W. Dowlin of saying that he was “a villain, and… that he was no better than a negroe”. The case was dismissed, and brought back again two months later for an identical insult, which was also dismissed. The case was brought back a third time on 6 April 1831, for the same insult, and the court eventually found John

guilty, having to pay the court costs of *f*6 "for the expression made use by saying he the plaintiff was not as good as a negroe". Referring to "blackness" or "Africanness" in a derogatory way also occurred among Sabans of African descent themselves. A court case dated 5 Feb 1827, which was dismissed for lack of evidence, was recorded as follows (DNAr 1.05.01.901 #540.1:5/2/1827).

> Celia Wood, a black woman, summoneth Miss Pleasant Hassell, free colour'd woman, to appear before an ordinary court held at the house of the vice commandant on Wednesday morning 9 o'clock the 7th instant, ten and there to answer for and make good what she had said by calling her a damn black thief for which she seeketh satisfaction.

When used to refer to individuals, race is almost always immediately followed or preceded by the gendered terms "man" or "woman". With regards to African descent Sabans not in bondage, the term "free" always preceded the individuals' race; for example, "the free black woman Flora Wood" or "Mary Elizabeth Hassell, free coloured woman" (DNAr 1.05.13.901 #540.1:16/9/1817). These terms were never employed when referring to white residents, but appear with high frequency even when referring to free people of African descent. Adult white residents' names were prefixed with either Ms., Mrs., or Mr., dependent on gender and marital status. In a few circumstances in the mid nineteenth century these prefixes were also accorded to free African descent Sabans, such as the aforementioned cobbler Mr. John & Mary Hassell in 1848. After emancipation, the prefixes Mr., Ms., and Mrs. were given to all adults regardless of race in Saba's documentary record. Race was referred to on Saba according to levels of known or perceived "Africanness". To be "Black" meant to have or appear to have pure African ancestry, "Sambo" meant 75% African ancestry and 25% European ancestry, "Mulatto" was half of each, and "Mustee" meant having just 25% African ancestry or less. The latter term was also used on St. Maarten (DNAr 1.05.06 #213). In many other cases, the term "coloured" referred to any of the last three terms.

In light of the terminology employed on Saba and regionally when referring to people of African descent, the Wood vs. Hassell case reveals several important facets of race relations as they manifested in language. To be considered "black" by residents based upon one's real or perceived degrees of African ancestry to distinguish another from being sambo, for example, creates an inherently inescapable and dehumanizing social position for them. The term "black", used to distinguish their ancestry, is synonymous with a derogatory insult. If non-"black" people of African descent employed the term as an insult towards others, then this reveals a hidden dialectic between race and class among African descent residents themselves. The majority of those that were considered mulatto or mustee, for example, probably considered themselves superior in terms of class and race to those that were considered black. This kind of social stratification was not unique to Saba, and occurred throughout many slave societies of the New World, most notably French St. Domingue (Klein & Vinson 2007; Schwartz 1998).

Two titles were employed during Saba's colonial history, and were the exclusive domain of white men. These were the prefix "Captain" for those men who were captain of barks and schooners in the regional trade, and "Esquire", sometimes shortened as "Qz" or "Hz", but its origins and how it was accorded are uncertain. The title Esquire was used in St. Kitts (DNAr 1.05.06.13 #155:342), and probably across the English-speaking Caribbean. It has also been used in numerous instances on St. Eustatius, Saba, St. Maarten, St. Bartholomew, and Jamaica (DNAr 1.05.06.13 #155:153; Armstrong & Kelley 1999). The earliest appearance in Saba's historical record is from 1780, in reference to "the Honourable Thomas Dinzey Esquire governor of this island", while the latest dates to 1863, used by Governor Edward Beaks Jr., Abraham Davis, Abraham Simmons, and James Horton. In other instances, governors were simply referred to as, for example, "Thomas Dinzey Esquire". The title Esquire was not limited to governors, but appears in association with plantation owners and individuals that are or had served in certain positions of government or on a Delegated Bench of Justice, though not everyone in these positions earned the title, either, and in many instances the same individual that is noted with the title in the same series of documents can later appear without it. The title "The Honourable" is associated most with governors, but was also used when referring to Carl Seelig after his death, without the addition of Esquire, in a document regarding how to deal with the Spring Bay Flat plantation (DNAr 1.05.13.901 #540:1/10/1817). From the Saba Vendue Book 1780-1825, there is a correlation between the title and wealth, as in the case of Peter Mardenborough Esq., but, of course, correlation does not equal causation. In any case, the title "Esquire" is associated with Saba's upper class.

The civilian title "Captain", most often written as "Capt." appears as a prefix to men in the Vendue Books, the Saba Notary Book, the Book of Recorded Mortgages, the Saba Transfer Deeds 1840-1852, the court records, the government log book, and the correspondences of Edward Beaks Jr. In the documentary records of St. Maarten and St. Eustatius, this title is not seen in any other circumstance other than to denote military rank, therefore this appears to be a unique honour accorded by Sabans to Saban sea captains. The island has a celebrated history of famous and successful naval captains (Simmons 2014; Johnson 2012), which is exemplified by this title and the class Sabans were willing to bestow upon them. No individual was found in Saba's documentary record that possessed both the titles Esquire and Captain, however.

By 1823, Saba residents had organized a militia, complete with military titles (DNAr 1.05.13.01 #319:196). The list of ranking members available for that year, but outside of this, no other reference to these positions are found in the documentary record except for a few in the mid nineteenth century concerning men jailed for dereliction of guard duty on the Fort Bay (DNAr 1.05.13.901 #540.1:4/1/1854). The list is located as Table 15 in the Appendix. Governor Edward Beaks Sr. Esquire

served as the Captain, below him were three lieutenants, (one of them being Daniel Every Esquire), followed by a Sargeant-Major and four Sargeants. One Sargeant was drawn each from The Bottom, Windwardside, St. John's, and Hell's Gate. Nine corporals followed, and below these were four "District Masters", each for Hell's Gate, Windwardside, St. John's, and Palmetto Point. Below these were unlisted militia members, presumably ranked as guards or soldiers. It is unknown whether this was a formal militia organized at the request of the former GWC or the Netherlands, or a local initiative. It is also unknown whether they received a salary, but dereliction of assigned guard duties was punished on several occasions with a few days in prison (DNAr 1.05.13.901 #540.1:4/1/1854). Outside of these specific references, no other use of military titles was included together with respective individuals in Saba's documentary record. The use of Captain as a title for sea captains is an important differentiation, which demonstrates that in outside of direct militia-related contexts, militia rank and membership were socially nominal on Saba.

Personal and household reputation was also important on Saba as a means of projecting and maintaining class. In the nineteenth century court cases, at an individual level, this reputation was referred to as "character", mirroring the British legal system. At least 29 cases between 1817-1878 involved defamation of character, and many of these were settled with the defendant retracting the comments, usually stating that they knew nothing "injurious against the character" of the plaintiff. In some instances, the plaintiffs' cases against the defendants stemmed from defamation of character by equating their character to somebody else who evidently carried a poor public reputation. One case was detailed as follows:

> …summoneth Mr. Peter Simmons to appear before the court held at Government House on Friday morning precisely, at 9 o'clock, the 12th instant then and there to answer for, and make appear that which he said on the night of the 3rd instant at the Marshals House, that he thought no more of him than he did of a three legged dog and furthermore that he thought no more of him than he did of the negro man Phenise, and many other expressions which will be made appear by the Evidence that was present (DNAr 1.05.13.901 #540.1:11/9/1817).

Most punishments for slander involved an apology and retraction of the statement, or a small fine such as *f*7.5. Some of the cases involving slander or defamation of character were associated with very high fines; one case by plaintiff Edward Beaks Jr. vs. Captain Robert Stovels Dinzey amounted to a fine of *f*200, later reduced to *f*80 and *f*50 for court expenses, "after deliberation and request by Edward Beaks who is related to the captain" (DNAr 1.05.13.901 #540.1:3/4/1854). A second case involved a story retold by the same Captain R.S.D. Simmons concerning the details behind the death of Isaac Simmons ten years previous, wherein he suggested that Isaac Simmons' wife Eliza Simmons or John Simmons had actually arranged his murder at the hands of two enslaved Africans, Scipio and Cliff. R.S.D. Simmons did not expect to be brought to court by John Simmons for his accusations, and

could not back them up in court. He was found guilty of defamation of character against Eliza Simmons, and was fined *f*200, to be paid to Eliza (DNAr 1.05.13.901 #540.1:18/10/1858).

Fidelity among women carried a high social significance, and formed the grounds for the divorce request by the husband in the earliest documented case (NArC AN NAC 4 Gouverneur 103 RT:1/11/1862). The importance of fidelity is also characterized by the variety of insults in the nineteenth century that were directed at women that are described in testimonies in the Saba court minutes from between 1812-1865 (DNAr 1.05.13.901 #540.1). The term "whore" was employed in no less than eight occasions, used in such varieties as a simply "whore", to the "blood of a whore", a "Martineller's whore", a "son of a whore", and "good for nothing whore". Reputation relative to fidelity also extended to the household level. One colourful rant by Mrs. Mary Winfield is outlined in full below, which unfortunately was prematurely cut off by the court secretary (DNAr 1.05.13.901 #540.1:3/3/1813, square parentheses inserted by the author for clarification):

> Saba 3rd March 1813
>
> Mr. Thomas Hassell summoneth Mrs. Mary Winfield to appear before the court ordinary held at Government House on Wednesday, the third Instant precisely at nine o'clock in the morning, then and there to make appear that the whores under his roof gave Peter Barns the drum to beat also that his house is a damn'd filthy house and all badness is carried on in it, and rouguishness [having a rogue-like character], and Peter Barns is one of the Rouges [rogues]…

One's reputation for honesty also carried legal significance. In court, this could manifest in two ways. Individuals who were brought to court and lost cases centered on dishonesty or lies could either be forced to acknowledge themselves as a liar, or also be "recorded as a liar" by the court as part of their punishment (DNAr 1.05.13.901 #540.1:16/9/1817; 4/2/1824; 11/12/1851; 4/6/1857). Class was also tried to the sale of alcohol, which was only permissible through a license that had to be applied for to the government, and if approved, subsequently purchased for 8 pcs of eight (Saba sales records 1825-1875:20/5/1838). The island government's incomes for 1823 lists the following lawful rum vendors: Moses Leverock, B.R.W. Horton, Henry Hassell, Abram Hassell, P. G. Hassell, Thomas Every, Henry Hassell Jr., and Peter Mardenborough Jr. By cross referencing between the Vendue Books, the Book of Recorded Mortgages, the Saba Transfer Deeds, the Saba Notary Book, the court records, the government log book (which includes the 1823 burgher list), and the 1780 census, some insight can be gleamed into these men. This Moses Leverock (one three on Saba at the time, the other two identified as Moses Leverock Jr. and Sr.) and B. R. W. Horton were noted as Captain elsewhere in the contemporary documentary record. Both lived in The Bottom. B. R. W. Horton died in 1854 was buried one row ahead of Thomas Dinzey in the Thomas Dinzey cemetery in The Bottom, and the large, engraved marble slab which covers his cut-stone grave marker prominently features the Mason symbol; this is only one of two known to exist on the island. Henry Hassell was Captain of the Guard,

noted with the title Esquire, and sat upon the Delegated Bench of Justice by 1835, and lived in Windwardside. Peter George Hassell was the District Master for Hell's Gate, and was evidently a prominent resident of Hell's Gate as a special court session was held at his house in 1835 concerning the murder trial of the enslaved African boy Wenter (DNAr 1.05.13.901 #540.1:24/12/1835, DNAr 1.05.13.01 #319:331). Henry Hassell Jr. lived in Booby Hill and was the Saba Government Secretary in 1835. Peter Mardenborough Jr. was the son of Peter Mardenborough Esq., who himself was the son of the wealthy Peter Mardenborough (d. 1785) whose sizeable estate was auctioned off in the Vendue Book 1780-1825, discussed later in this chapter. Little is known of the other two men, Abram Hassell and Thomas Every, though the latter hailed from Windwardside. A common thread of upper class characteristics runs through most of the men on the list, from titles of Captains and Esquires, to those with government positions, and presumably good reputations, with all villages on the island represented with a registered vendor except for Palmetto Point. The lack of an alcohol vendor at Palmetto Point probably encouraged illicit importations of alcohol into Wells Bay, as this was known to have occurred at least by the early twentieth century according to a former resident of the village (Carl Zagers, personal communication 2008). It is evident that the Island Government selectively sold the licenses only to men which they considered to have "good reputations" or "good character", as a means of controlling the distribution of alcohol and perhaps to mitigate alcohol abuse. In addition, the cost involved in obtaining a license to sell liquor also would have made it difficult for Sabans with little to no access to money to acquire, thereby further reifying the association of liquor license possession with class. While the documentary record only describes liquor license holders for the 1820's, acquisition of a license was probably discouraged for women and barred to Sabans of African descent.

Literacy also bears a close association with class and titles. All instances of men with the title "Esquire" or those listed as "Captain" were literate, and literacy rates between men and women listed were approximately even. There does not appear to be a strong correlation between literacy and ownership of enslaved Africans except in cases of large scale ownership, being at least twelve or more, in which cases all owners were literate. The most insight into literacy rates across the island stems from the 1863 emancipation documentation. Otherwise, Nieuwindt remarked in 1834 that "except for a few, the 1,800 residents of Saba were illiterate" (Hartog 1975:87). Literacy rates on the emancipation document can be gleamed through the presence of owners' signatures on the emancipation documents, or, in the case of illiteracy, their "X" mark. In many occasions in the Saba Transfer Deeds 1840-1852 and the Book of Recorded Mortgages, a caveat was written below individuals that signed with an "X", usually written as "her X as she cannot write". Literacy rates among owners in 1863 are outlined below on Table 3.

Table 3: Literacy Among Enslaved African Owners

Village	Owners	Literate	% Literate Owners
The Bottom	29	20	68.97
St. John's	17	6	35.29
Windwardside	46	32	69.57
Booby Hill	5	1	20.00
Hell's Gate	10	5	50.00
Palmetto Point	4	0	0.00
Middle Island	1	0	0.00
Total	112	64	

An earlier document concerning a plot of land called the "Compagnie's Land" in 1850 features the signatures of 115 men willing to provide testimony as to its history as former GWC land. The signatories are divided between those that were able to sign for themselves, and a second group of signatures beneath the heading: "the following persons who cannot write has fixed their crosses as their signatures" (NArC AN NAC 4 Gouverneur 103 RT:2/1/1850). A total of 54 men were literate, including all of the Island Government council members, while the last 61 were illiterate. The latter names probably include several free Sabans of African descent. Daniel Woods is readily identifiable, the only individual with such a name during this time, who was a free African descent Saban formerly enslaved at the Dinzey plantation in the 1820's. This document demonstrates that literacy on Saba was significantly more pervasive than travel accounts had previously described, at least by the mid nineteenth century. While literacy in itself may not have been indicative of class, race, or gender in itself during this period, it would have facilitated entry into upper class positions, such as sea captains and government office, all of whom were literate in the nineteenth century.

Surnames are also associated with class to certain degrees during Saba's pre-emancipation history, however their relevance is dependent upon the nuclear family and its immediate extended family. The preponderance of particular surnames within Saba's nineteenth century documentary record provides some clear association of surnames with class. While there are certain surnames which appear in these contexts more often than others, in most cases a direct correlation cannot be made with surname without some other indicators. The Dinzey families in Saba's history up to emancipation were small compared to others, and provide some good examples of such. Thomas Dinzey was not only governor of the island but also the wealthiest resident and owner of the largest sugar plantation. His daughters, Anna and Elizabeth Dinzey, inherited large portions of the estate (SVB 1816-1876:16/7/1846; 16/12/1846; 23/6/1848; 8/3/1854). Anna herself owned no less than six cooks and seven washers by emancipation (DNAr 2.02.09.08). Joanna Dinzey Horton also inherited a large number of enslaved Africans from the former plantation, and by 1863 she also owned 30, among them three sailors and five house servants. A branch of the Dinzeys became so prominent in nineteenth

century St. Bartholomew that they have several prominent, large grave markers clustered together in the cemetery in St. Jean. A plaque known as the "Richard Dinzey memorial" at the St. Bartholomew Anglican Episcopal Church reads "Sacred to the Memory of Sir Richard Dinzey, Knight, a native of the island of Saba, and for half a century a citizen of St. Bartholomew. He was made Knight of the Royal Order of Wasa, by King Oscar I for fidelity to his Sovereign and devotion to the interested of his adopted Country. A faithful friend of the Protestant Episcopacy, to him the professors of that faith in this Island are indebted for the religious privileges they now enjoy, of which this Church erected by his exertions and liberal gift, is a standing proof. He expired on the 15th of August, 1860." While it is clear that these examples of Dinzeys are upper-class citizens on Saba and St. Bartholomew, respectfully, there were other Dinzeys on Saba who do not fit this paradigm. Other Dinzeys, such as Permelia and John Dinzey, appear only in a few petty court cases during the nineteenth century, but are nowhere near as ubiquitous in the documentary record compared to the presence of the aforementioned Saba Dinzeys (DNAr 1.05.13.901 #540.1:20/10/1859; 6/11/1816; 9/5/1840; 7/3/1858). Prior to 1863, newly-manumitted Sabans of African descent sometimes adopted the surname of their former owners, although this was not permitted during emancipation. Mary Dinzey, for example, was a free African descent woman in 1862 and was discovered as a stowaway on board an English schooner departing Saba (DNAr 1.05.13.901 #540.1:9/2/1862). As there were relatively few households during Saba's history with the surname Dinzey, it can suggest upper-class, but this is clearly indefinite, and requires further context. This approach is even less reliable for common surnames such as Hassell and Simmons. However, for surnames prior to 1863, certain uncommon surnames do repeatedly appear in context with upper class individuals, such as Horton, Dinzey, Leverock, and Winfield. Therefore, since a surname alone is not direct proof of any particular class, a person's repeated association with other individuals and households of a known class is more reliable means of inferring such.

A collection of names was amassed from the 1705 census, Vendue Book 1780-1825, the 1780 census, the 1823 burgher list, the court records 1812-1868, and the 1863 emancipation list. Not all the 1705 census names were not used as the scribe appears to have been Dutch, and may have wrote English names as their equivalent in that language, which makes their original form uncertain. These names were not included in the collection. The length of time between the creation of these documents together with the individuals' origin allows duplicates to be eliminated. In cases where a common name such as "Peter Hassell" was mentioned in the court records without any other contextual information, the name was not recorded in the list. Name instances were recorded both for the total of each occurrence, so the names "Ann" and "Ann Elizabeth" count for two instances of "Ann", and one for "Elizabeth". The sample size of free African descent names was unfortunately too

small to derive any meaningful comparative data. Only two enslaved Africans, Mamboa and Tongerlu, bore West African names in the documentary record (Richard Ohene-Larbi, personal communication 2014). They are included among the sales in the Vendue Book 1780-1825 (DNAr 1.05.13.01 #542). The results are outlined in Tables 36, 37, 38, 39 below. For white males, the data is based upon 644 individuals with 57 unique name instances; for enslaved males it is 413 individuals with 104 unique names; for white females 122 individuals with 26 unique names, and enslaved females consisted of 487 individuals with 203 unique names.

Figure 6: Instances of Names, White Males

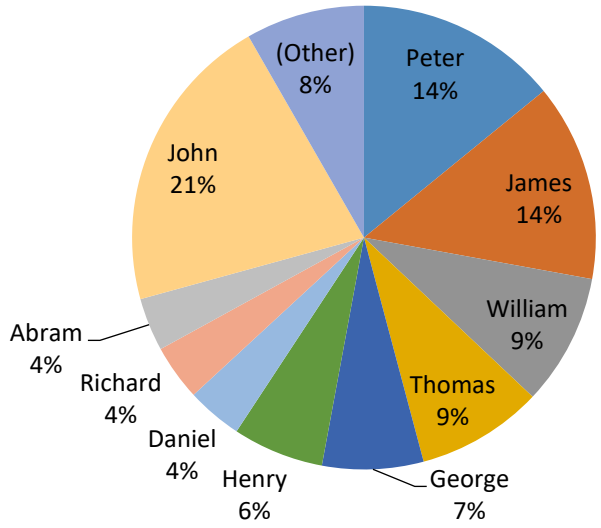


Figure 7: Instances of Names, Enslaved Males

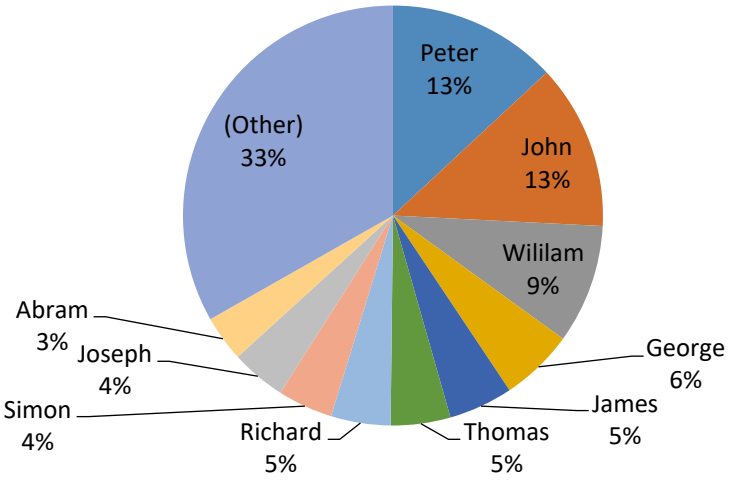


Figure 8: Instances of Names, White Females

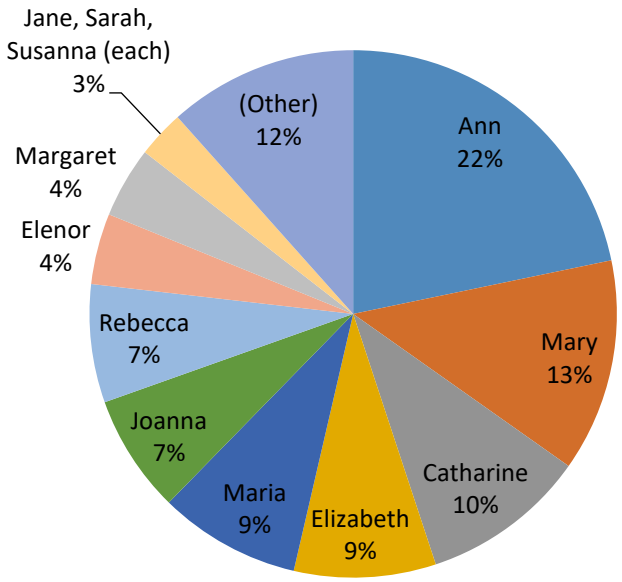
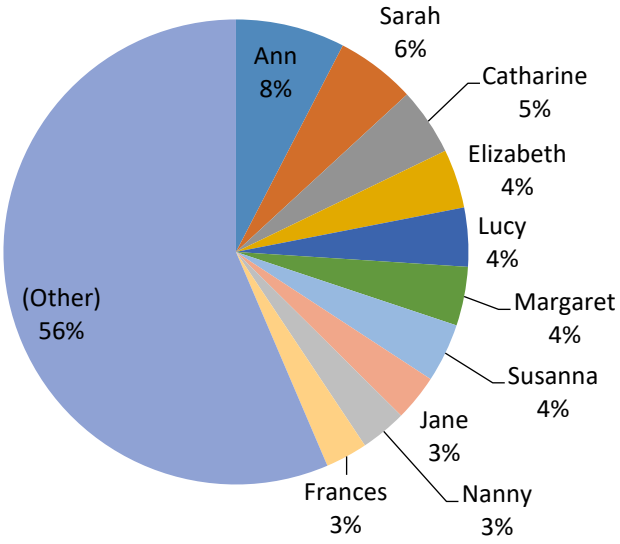


Figure 9: Instances of Names, Enslaved Females



The tables clearly demonstrate a strong white Saban tradition of naming children, probably drawn from family ancestry. Indeed, among white Saban men, only eight percent of names fell outside the common names such as John, Peter, and Thomas; and this trend was mirrored among white Saban women, wherein names other than the common pool constituted just twelve percent. White Sabans typically carried a first name and a middle name, and were commonly addressed by their middle name. This small pool extended to women, but mens' names could also be employed as a woman's first name, most commonly with the name "Peter", such as "Peter Ann".

The naming conventions among white Sabans were significantly less pronounced for enslaved Africans, though the ten most common names among the former are also among the most popular for the latter. There is a larger discrepancy between males and females in this regard, especially concerning the variety of names given to female enslaved Africans. Several names given to enslaved African suggest that it was the owners that maintained control over naming. This is evidenced through names such as "Black Betty" (DNAr 1.05.13.901 #540.1) and "Black Jinny" (DNAr 1.05.13.901 #540.1), and a lack of African-derived names except in the cases of Mamboa and Tongerlu, though this is probably due to a lack of enslaved Africans brought to Saba throughout the mid eighteenth century. In other cases, names of prominent figures, identities, and places, both present and historical, were bestowed among enslaved Africans. These male names included Yankey, William Wallace, Augustus, Titus, Don Carlo, London, Scotland, Washington, and Wellington, while a Cleopatra was noted among enslaved women.

Free island residents lived as members of a household throughout the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, usually headed by a man or a widow in the case of the death of her husband. Unmarried women were considered the head of a household if she owned a house, but this title was forfeited upon marriage. Enslaved Africans were forbidden from marriage in the Dutch colonies (Goslinga 1990:270). Divorce was possible, at least by the mid nineteenth century, but one had to personally request it from the Governor of Curaçao. Children were considered adults around the age of 16, and could continue living as members of the household until they acquired a house of their own, either through inheritance, purchase, marriage, or construction. Due to the large number of small houses across the island in pre-emancipation Saba, together with the increasingly cramped conditions with large families inhabiting them throughout the nineteenth to mid twentieth centuries, it is difficult to engender domestic space with reliability, and by extension their material assemblages.

Marriage on Saba was normally for life, but in at least one case a petition for divorce was filed (NArC AN NAC 4 Gouverneur 103 RT:1/11/1862). The institution of marriage, though, was limited mostly to white Sabans prior to emancipation. The colour-line was also strongly observed on Saba during this time; as Gast observed, "the amount of mixed race people is very small in comparison to

the so-called whites. It is extremely seldom that a white man will take a black woman as a concubine" (Nomina Geographica Neerlandica 1885; https://thesabaislander.com/2016/06/, last accessed 11 July 2016). He also noted a large number of marriages between first cousins among the white population. The topic of incest or those relations that could be construed as incest are a sensitive topic among European-descent Sabans in the present, and many Sabans have claimed that travellers' observations on this topic are exaggerated. Many marriages on Saba were conducted by civil authorities as the island often lacked a resident minister.

The earliest known for the eighteenth century was the Presbyterian minister Hugh Knox. Following the departure of Knox from Saba, who served on the island up to around 1780, he was replaced by the Rev. John Elsworth, who does not appear to have remained long on the island (McClure 1792). During his time on Saba he lived inside the residence of Governor Thomas Dinzey. They evidently maintained a close friendship even following his departure, as Elsworth spoke of "a grateful sense of those respectful attentions shewn to him, and kindness received… particularly from his Honor Governor Dinzey, and his family" (McClure 1792:vi). Saba would not have a permanent minister again until the mid nineteenth century. During this time the Lt. Governor performed marriages on behalf of the Dutch Reformed Church, even for Saba's elite such as Thomas Dinzey (Jr.), son of the former governor (Saba Book of Recorded Mortgages:8/10/1823). The Wesleyan Methodist minister Rev. Thomas Coke visited Saba on 14 Jan 1790, after he was ordered to cease preaching and organizing assemblies on St. Eustatius by its governor during his second visit. Coke's mission had drawn the ire of Statia's Governor, in part due to his successes in drawing at least 238 converts to Methodism, but in particular that he targeted enslaved Africans (Anomymous 1815:201). Methodism was perceived as such a threat to the social fabric of the island that free converts caught praying by the authorities were sentenced to fines for the first two offences, and banishment from the island on the third offence; enslaved Africans were to be whipped for every offence (Anonymous 1815:200). Upon arrival to Saba he was warmly welcomed by Lieutenant Governor Dinzey and many other inhabitants of the island, and during his stay on the island preached three times in the church in The Bottom, "which is no contemptible building" (Anonymous 1815:259). "I informed them of our economy, and particularly of our grand and indispensable custom of changing our ministers. They were willing to comply with everything, to grant to our minister the parsonage-house and to allow him a sufficient maintenance" (Anonymous 1815:259-260). However, a minister could not be immediately spared to remain on the island, and soon after the Governor of St. Eustatius was alerted to Coke's presence on Saba, and was ordered to leave the island. Coke departed and left a certain Mr. Hammet in charge of the new congregation, but soon after the Governor of St. Eustatius discovered

the mission's presence on Saba, and he ordered him dismissed from the island as well. Methodism failed to take root on Saba after Hammet's departure.

Coke first visited Statia in January 1787, and his group was welcomed on the island by "the captain of the (free) blacks" named Captain de Lion, who Coke had contact via mail while in St. Kitts, and soon found support among enslaved Africans through an individual named Harry, who was previously enslaved in North America and considered himself Methodist. Harry began evangelizing the next day among enslaved Africans, inducing them into a state that mirrors that of modern Christian evangelical churchgoers in thrall. "The Governor came to hear him (Harry), and approved of what he said; but in a little time the poor slaves were so affected under the word, that many of them fell down as if they were dead, and some of them would remain in a state of stupor for some hours. One night sixteen of them fell down in this manner" (Anonymous 1815:222). Harry was forbidden by the Governor to preach any further, and he would have been ordered whipped had the judge not ruled that Harry had done nothing to deserve corporal punishment. Later that year, Harry was, not coincidently, resold to an owner in North America. Coke departed Statia, and returned on 12 December 1789, and noted that the governor, "who was a rough, rude man… would not suffer them (enslaved Africans) to preach: and the poor slaves, from one end of the island to the other, who met together to sing and pray, and talk on religious subjects, were cart-whipped, and many of them imprisoned" (Anonymous 1815:313).

The accounts of Coke's travels and missions to St. Eustatius and Saba are important in that they demonstrate colonial officials on St. Eustatius were opposed to the spread of Methodism among enslaved Africans, as it apparently fostered resistance to the instutition of slavery. Such an attitude towards Christianizing enslaved Africans was also seen in Suriname, whereby Moravians were favoured over other demoninations, since they stressed an acceptance to the world order, especially the institution of slavery (Oostindie 1996:157). In Saba, it appears that enslaved Africans were not Christianized, or denied recognition as converts. The St. Maarten Governor's report of Saba from 1816 states that the population consisted of 672 protestants, all Presbyterian, and 470 "not Christian", which consisted of the entire population of enslaved Africans on the island and some free Sabans of African descent. In Saba, the island had been without a minister for seventeen years, and although the Wesleyan mission account suggests that residents did not concern themselves with the denomination of Christianity, this was apparently more nuanced. Unfortunately, the documentary record does not specify whether Sabans of African descent or enslaved Africans participated on Saba during Coke's brief mission. However, the Wesleyan faith continued at least among some residents of Saba, as by 1834 the family of Moses Leverock requested a Wesleyan minister from abroad, a certain Mr. Jeffrey, to perform his funeral rites, even though the protestant minister John Toland was

since resident on the island (DNAr 1.05.13.01 #319:18/12/1834). Jeffrey, however, was ultimately not permitted to preach or perform the service in the church in The Bottom, and so it was performed instead at the house of the deceased. The Gezaghebber at the time, Thomas D. Winfield, expressed his reservations against Jeffrey's wish to return to Saba during the Holy Days to preach, as "very few in the island wishes the introduction of a W. Missionary, and those few does it more out of opposition" (DNAr 1.05.13.01 #319:18/12/1834).

Unlike the Catholic priests that he later competed for converts with, Toland does not appear to have been widely respected on Saba. Gast described his existence as meager, subsisting entirely on voluntary and agreed contributions from his parish's collection plate (Nomina Geographica Neerlandica 1885; https://thesabaislander.com/2016/06/, last accessed 11 July 2016). He was married, and owned at least one female enslaved African, named Pricilla, and continued to find himself in front of the Delegated Bench of Justice in several occasions as a defendant, and twice as a plaintiff, thus earning the dubious honour of being the only minister in Saba's history brought to court as either (DNAr 1.05.13.01 #319:18/1/1826; 14/1/1829, 5/7/1831, 9/1/1833, 23/6/1842, 11/5/1843, 8/6/1848). He defended himself in court after he had his provisions "passed through" (theft), and again after his enslaved African was beaten by another enslaved African named Scipio. Toland was physically assaulted by John G. Every "on the public road", and the following year in 1843 he received "several blows with a stick in the presence of said Jacob Every without the least provocation". Later he was accused by Henry Hassell Esquire of having called him a liar. Being the wife of pastor Toland was not enough to be spared from defamation, as she as the "blood of a whore" by Elizabeth Hassell, a free woman of African descent. Toland was still present on Saba in 1862 as an Episcopal Minister, and died on Saba the following year (NArC AN NAC 4 Gouverneur 103 RT:30/6/1862).

In 1836, Bishop Nieuwindt of the Diocese in Curaçao visited Saba, who was followed in 1843 by Bishop Joannes Kistemaker (Will Johnson, personal communication 2013). During Nieuwindt's visit he baptized six residents; five from The Bottom, and one from St. John's. One of the converts was a free African Saban by the name of Julia, daughter of Marina (Saba Catholic Baptismal Records, Church of St. Paul's Conversion, Windwardside, Saba). The baptismal records include the name of the person receiving baptism, the date it occurred, the lawful mother, the birthday of the baptized, the sponsors, and the name of the priest performing the baptism. Individuals in the records are listed with their surnames, thus in their absence prior to emancipation, those people can be safely assumed to be either enslaved Africans or free Sabans of African descent. Baptisms slowly increased, but this had only included a minimum of seven Sabans of African descent out of a total of 167 baptisms by 1856. Their sponsors, though, were white in all cases save for one. Catholicism on Saba, by this time, was predominantly white and spread primarily in St. John's, and Windwardside, with a notable increase in

converts from Hell's Gate between 1855 and 1857. The last wills and testaments of Sabans throughout the Saba Transfer Deeds 1840-1852 and the Book of Recorded Mortgages demonstrates that conversion to Catholicism was slow in The Bottom relative other villages. In every last will and testament within these collections, the testator or testatrix donated a small amount to a church for their funeral costs, ranging from eight bitts (SBRM:15/1/1827) to twenty guilders (STD:9/4/1850). The denomination of church was usually specified, and among those from The Bottom, the Catholic Church was rarely the subject of this donation during the 1850's and 1860's. Notably, none of the children of Thomas Dinzey or their spouses were Catholic. From 1857 to 1863, most baptisms were among residents of Windwardside and Hell's Gate, with a minority from St. Johns and The Bottom. The first baptism for Palmetto Point occurred on 12 Nov 1861 for the child of William & Joanna Zeagors, which was followed by the first pair for Booby Hill on 22 April 1862, and up to 1863, no baptisms were noted for Middle Island or Cow Pasture. Also by 1857, a surge in baptisms among enslaved Africans occurred. By cross referencing the baptismal records with the Vendue Books and the Emancipation List (DNAr 2.02.09.08 #246), several baptised individuals can be confirmed as enslaved Africans. Sally, for example, had her child Lettice baptized on 15 March 1857, sponsored by Susan Hassell, and both were owned by Thomas Johnson of Windwardside at latest by 1863. Patience had her child Maria baptized on 22 March 1857, and both were emancipated in 1860 by their owner James Horton Esquire. A zealous convert to Catholicism in Windwardside, Sarah Christopher Mardenborough, served as the sponsor for no less than 60 enslaved Africans, the majority from Windwardside, for the year 1857 alone. The sponsors for all baptisms up to 1857 are nearly all women, save for father G.C. Gast who is noted alongside S.C. Mardenborough during the formative years, and a Henry Prendengart in several instances in 1858.

By emancipation in 1863, the "new" Catholic religion on Saba spread quickly across the island in every village except, notably, The Bottom. The religion was adopted by considerably more women than men, whether free or enslaved. A total of 486 converts lived on the island by 1 July that year, but only 171 were male. The 486 Catholics also consisted of 183 were enslaved Africans, of which just 71 were male. Sarah Mardenborough was winning many converts in Windwardside, while by 1863, about ¾ of Hell's Gate had converted, including both free residents and enslaved Africans. Even Middle Island's sole enslaved African was baptized. Meanwhile, The Bottom could only count 25 converts, all white Sabans except for at least one free Saban of African descent, and nine enslaved Africans. The Catholic enslaved Africans, however, were all the property of Capt. James Hassell and William Mitchell, who owned another 20 who were Protestants. Since The Bottom had traditionally been the village of residence for protestant Christian ministers residing on the island, this may have turned the village into a sort of "stronghold" against the spread of Catholicism. The success of

Catholicism in other villages, especially Windwardside, provided a means for residents to differentiate themselves from The Bottom. While no direct correlations between regarding class can be confidently made regarding religion, its spread and adoption was clearly strongest among white women, and very few enslaved Africans and free Sabans of African descent had converted prior to 1857. This may have been a strategic move by Kistemaker and Gast. By focusing on converting white residents during the Church's formative years, they could avoid repeating the errors of the Wesleyan missionaries in evangelizing among free people of African descent and enslaved Africans, which was perceived as a threat to social stability by officials in St. Eustatius. However, since its spread among enslaved Africans between 1857 and 1863 can be credited almost entirely to Sarah Mardenborough, rather than a multitude of evangelists, this strongly suggests that enslaved Africans were in many cases systematically excluded from the religion due to race rather than a mission strategy.

Exclusionary and exceptional policies towards African descent people on nineteenth-century Saba extended into the legal system as well. While enslaved Africans were subject to different sets of laws than free citizens, in practice, free African descent Sabans were judged differently than white Sabans, and at times were allotted sentences exclusive to their perceived race. After 1815, crime and punishment on nineteenth century Saba was the responsibility of the Delegated Bench of Justice, presided over by the Governor, an Island Secretary who records the cases, and at least two other members, often with the title Esquire. Prior to this time, very little is known about the organization of government and the execution of justice. Each island was free to pass their own legislation regulating the institution of slavery, but Saba fell into a unique situation since in practice, all laws passed on St. Eustatius were also to be enacted on Saba, since the island was governed through Statia. Nonetheless, this appears to not have complicated the execution of justice on Saba, since it proceeded with "as it always has been", at least up to the 1830's when the sentences of several cases were brought to the attention of colonial authorities in Curaçao (DNAr 1.05.13.01 #319:314). Enslaved Africans could provide witness and testimony in court but not on oath (DNAr 1.05.13.901 #540.1: 2/2/1860). Punishments usually resulted in fines and payment for court expenses, or apologies to the plaintiff for more trivial cases. More severe punishments for free Sabans included imprisonment, but this was in most cases no longer than ten days. Exile was the most severe form of punishment known to have existed on the island, which was meted out in response to murder, death threats, assault, and repeated counts of livestock theft. However, all documented cases of exile on Saba involved exclusively African-descent Sabans, whether free or enslaved. This punishment was enacted several times by Saban governors outside the authority of colonial officials in Curaçao. White Sabans guilty of similar crimes that resulted in exile for African-descent residents were either fined, or sent to St. Eustatius for trial and sentencing.

In one example, an enslaved African named William belonging to former governor Edward Beaks Jr. threatened the life of Captain B. R. W. Horton, adding that he would "have his satisfaction with him, whether now or one hundred years hence", and it was noted that while in confinement, "he knew that the whites did not like his colour and he wished his colour was of his mind" (DNAr 1.05.13.907 #540.1:5/7/1831). William is implying that his sentence would have been more lenient if not for his African ancestry, as he was sentenced to exile from Saba, never to return, under penalty of death. In the span of three months in 1834 another two enslaved Africans were exiled from Saba. The first concerned a mulatto enslaved Saban of African descent named Jimmy, whose father, notably, was Richard Johnson Esquire of Saba. While he was being given lashes by Thomas Johnson as punishment, he returned each lash by striking Thomas, and he declared that he would return blow for blow. He was brought to court and sentenced to thirty-nine lashes and to be "sent off the island in 3 weeks if possible, or as soon after as it can be done" (DNAr 1.05.13.901 #540.1:5/2/1834). The second case, involving threats of murder by an enslaved Saban of African descent named Cato towards another enslaved individual, resulted in an identical sentence (DNAr 1.05.13.901 #540.1:?/4/1834). Later that year three enslaved Sabans of African descent, named Sam, Scipio and Davey, owned by Richard, Thomas, Elizabeth, and Anna Dinzey, were sentenced to fifty lashes and exile after returning musket fire to Moses Leverock Sr. and B. R. W. Horton while they were attempting to steal sheep (DNAr 1.05.13.901 #540.1:13/10/1834). After some deliberation, the case was referred to the Governor of St. Eustatius. The Dinzeys used their influence protested this sentence, claiming it would deprive them of labour, and punish the owners more than the enslaved Africans themselves as a result.

Another free Saban of African descent, Richard Andrew, was also exiled 1843, ordered to "depart from this island per first opportunity and never hereafter to return" for waylaying John James Simmons (DNAr 1.05.13.901 #540.1:?/10/1843). Meting out exile as punishment in this case is curious, as a notorious white Saba, Isaac Simmons, did the same twice to Louis B. Granger and Richard Dinzey. The first case resulted in Simmons paying a fine of 25 pcs eight, and after the second case he was fined 45 pcs eight (DNAr 1.05.13.901 #540.1:7/5/1824; 23/1/1827). The first case is outlined below from the following two accounts, and a third is included which is indicative of his "character".

> Saba 4th May 1824
>
> Sir!
>
> On Monday evening the 3rd instant Mr. Lewis B. Granger was at the house of Mrs. Rebecca Simmons and at an early hour of his departure from that place was accosted in the most scurrilous manner by Mr. Isaac Simmons son of the said Mrs. Rebecca Simmons. Mr. Granger being at all times a very peaceable young man thought proper to return him no answer. Which proceeded from no provocation whatsoever on the part of Mr. Granger.

I sent for Mr. Isaac Simmons this morning on order to effect is possible a reconciliation and to give him advice in what manner he should conduct himself in future.
I then asked Mr. Isaac Simmons if he called Mr. Louis Granger a son of a whore, he peremptorily answered me yes and that he would mash him up wherever he met him. I demanded of him to make an apology to Mr. Granger and he obstinately told me that he would not. I told him that he should be prosecuted for his infamous behaviour.
Mr. Granger going to his vocation having advanced about forty yards from my house the said Mr. Isaac Simmons was waiting premeditatively for Mr. Granger and was struck twice by him. Before I could get to his assistance his being more powerful than Mr. Granger I expected he would have effected his threats in consequence of which I took hold of him and had him confined, having no person to assist me but one man. Several being present I ordered that they should assist me in the name of the King, and they refused… Your Most Humble and Obedient Servant, Edward Beaks Jr (DNAr 1.05.13.01 #319:221).

7th May 1824
The Honourable Edward Beaks Vice Commandant of this Island summoneth Mr. Isaac Simmons to appear before the court held at Government House on Friday the 7th May, then and there to answer for and make appear that Mr. Louis B. Granger is a son of a bitch, as he peremptory acknowledges in his presence that he had called him a son of a bitch, and furthermore in the most daring manner defying his authority by threatening in his presence in Government house that he would beat and mash him up, which he attempted to do in a few hours after (DNAr 1.05.13.901 #540.1:7/5/1824).

1 June 1825
The Honourable Edward Beaks Vice Commandant of this Island summoneth Mr. Isaac Simmons to appear before the court held at the Government House on Wednesday the 1st June, then and there to answer for beating Mr. Thomas Simmons alias Tommy Nelly… and for laughing at some observations made to him on the subject by the vice commandant, defying his authority (DNAr 1.05.13.901 #540.1:1/6/1825).

Saba's only confirmed case of murder in the nineteenth century resulted in the accused and two accomplices sent to St. Eustatius for trial, to an undetermined result. In this case, John Every of Hell's Gate, accompanied by his brothers Robert and Peter, shot the enslaved African boy Wenter in response to Wenter's theft of their potatoes, and his subsequent threats their lives if they went and did the same to him (DNAr 1.05.13.901 #540.1:24/12/1835, DNAr 1.05.13.01 #319:331). These cases illustrate a further relationship between race and justice in pre-emancipation nineteenth century Saba. White Sabans were never exiled from the island for similar crimes committed by African descent Sabans during this time, even by repeat offenders. This may reflect the of *habitus* among white Sabans relative to their dominant position in the racial hierarchy faced with the proliferation of Sabans of African descent on the island starting in the nineteenth century, from just four in 1780. Prior to 1780, the island was divided between enslaved Africans and free white Sabans, but by the beginning of the nineteenth century, the emergence of free Sabans of African descent as a growing minority on the

island challenged class and race-based ideologies rooted from the earlier period. Race-based sentences therefore served as a means of maintaining existing power structures through Saba's legal system as a cloak of legitimacy.

Poverty was legally recognized on the island at least by 1823 through institutionalized charity on the part of the justice system. Infractions for laws that were crafted in Curaçao and St. Eustatius and implemented on Saba often carried fines, a portion of which were obliged to be redistributed by the Delegated Bench of Justice among the island's "poor" (SNB:1/6/1823, 15/1/1827; DNAr 1.05.13.901 #540:1/12/1825). This legal requirement would have forced Saban officials to compile a range of qualitative and perhaps quantitative measures to objectify certain previously low class residents as "poor", rooted in the officials' own class-specific designations of those deserving and undeserving of "poverty", effectively institutionalizing or reifying a class of Sabans by the island's governing class, following an external legal mandate. However, attempts by Saban government officials to alleviate poverty were not extended through any known class vector other than wealth via cash donations; nor was it masked through donations or other benefits that would obscure the lived realities of poverty through material vectors or others.

The laws concerning slavery on Saba that were passed between 1820 and 1840 created legal limitations regarding the lives of enslaved Africans. The building requirements for enslaved African houses passed in 1823 is archaeologically significant as it imposed restrictions on domestic architecture; no floors or house partitions were allowed unless it was originally acquired from a white person with proof. This style of housing was best expressed at Middle Island with House 3. However, although it conformed to the legal outlines, it may have been inhabited by free persons. Institutionalized donations during the nineteenth century to "the poor" through the legal system bifuricated a segment of Saba's lower class into the deserving and undeserving poor. This probably occurred through arbitrary judgements by relevant officials relating to a person's or household's wealth, reputation, domestic architecture and state of their house repair, landholdings, lack or absence of enslaved African ownership, race, and marital status, especially in the case of widows.

In order to understand the enslaved African experience in Saba, and by extension the dialectic of race and class with the island's social environment through time, it is important to discuss laws pertaining to the institution of slavery on the island and between the Dutch Antilles. The enslaved African experience on Saba was atypical of other contemporary Caribbean islands, in that Saba never fully developed into a plantation or trade-based economy. Enslaved Africans, and to a lesser extent free Sabans of African descent, consistently composed approximately fifty percent of Saba's population from the late seventeenth century up to emancipation. Two distinct lived experiences developed among enslaved Africans in Saba; those who lived and laboured in sugar and indigo

plantations, often owned by absentees based in St. Eustatius; and those owned by Sabans in non-plantation contexts. This division would have substantial impacts upon class relations, relative social "liberties", diet, and material environment of enslaved Africans throughout Saba.

Dutch Antillean and South American colonies were free to pass their own laws governing slavery, which would in turn backed by the mother country (Goslinga 1985:530). Saba created a special circumstance as it was governed through either St. Maarten or St. Eustatius throughout its colonial history, and thus in principle all laws passed on the governing island would also apply to Saba, though the legislation would not be direct consequence of the social dynamics of the latter island. The ability of colonies to draft island-specific resolutions resulted in differences generally characteristic of the mercantile organization of the Dutch Caribbean versus that of the plantation—based economies of Surinam. While this is not intended to be an exhaustive study of the colonial legal literature, a short review of those laws in common between the islands relative to the treatment of enslaved Africans as expressed through their creation, evolution, and execution is paramount towards understanding enslaved African experiences in Saba. This will be followed by an analysis of all known laws passed on Saba, along with relevant laws from St. Eustatius, regulating slavery and enslaved Africans, to provide contextualized insights into race and class relations on Saba both relative to those facets of everyday life that required regulation by colonial officials, and those that did not.

Enslaved Africans in the Dutch institution of slavery were considered commodities which could be bought, sold, mortgaged, bequeathed, and even held in shares (SVB 1780-1825; SVB 1816-1876).

Figure 10: Sales of Enslaved Africans per Year, 1723-1862, Saba

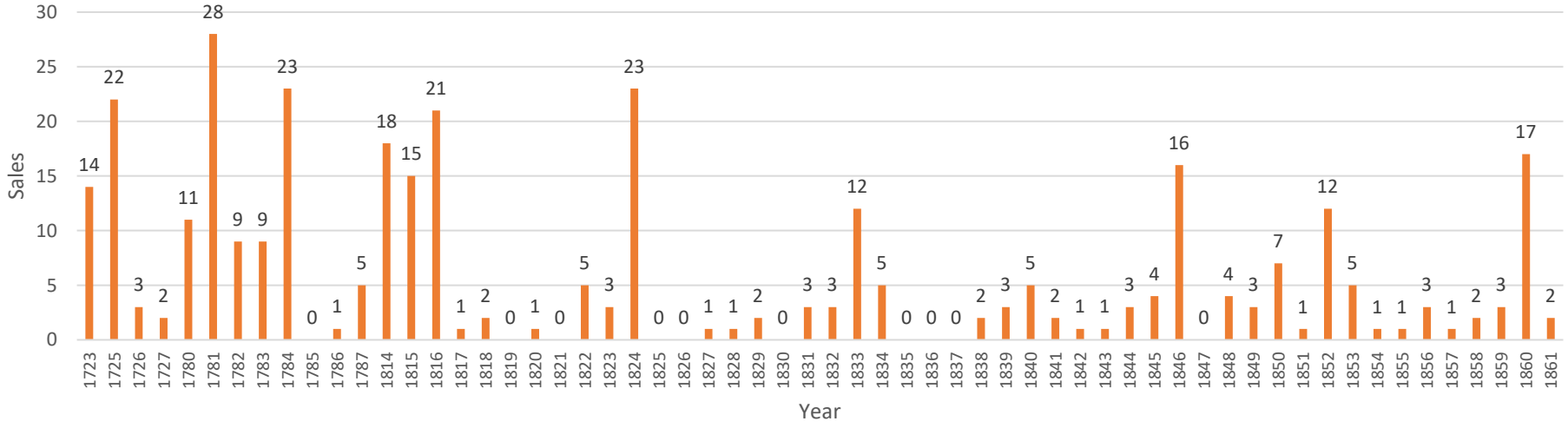
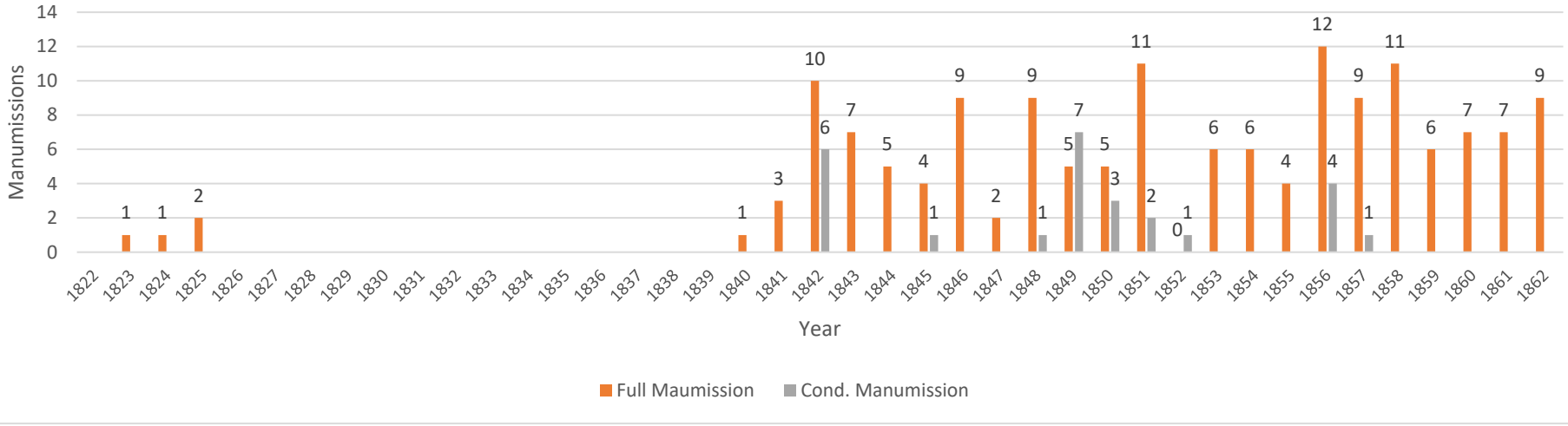


Figure 11: Recorded Manumissions, 1822-1862, Saba



However, they were different from other property, such as cotton or cattle, in that laws were required in order to regulate their conduct and reinforce their inferiority in Dutch colonial society, especially relative to their owners (Goslinga 1985:530). The distinguishing feature of European chattel slavery, whereupon mothers passed their bondage onto their offspring, was present in the Dutch system. Owners of enslaved Africans were responsible for providing them with food, shelter, and clothing, though they were not required to have them Christianized. All owners in the Dutch GWC colonies were required to pay a poll tax for each enslaved African in their possession, which began at 4 bitts per enslaved African in the ABC islands (Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao), and raised to one piece of eight by 1700 (Goslinga 1985:533, 535). It is unknown when the tax was instituted in St. Maarten, St. Eustatius, and Saba, but it was probably sometime in the mid eighteenth century (Goslinga 1985:536). In the ABC islands this levy was extended to all non-enslaved residents over the age of 12 after 1707, with many remarking that they felt humiliated as a consequence, since it put them on the same level of slaves (Goslinga 1985:535). The poll tax resulted in regular bookkeeping by colonial officials in the form of birth and death registers, as well as census records, but also encouraged owners to under-report their numbers of enslaved Africans. All the colonies created laws to restrict the movement of enslaved Africans without written permission of their owners, all of them forbade public assembly, bearing arms was strictly prohibited, and blowing horns or drums were illegal as they may have been used to convey messages between groups (Goslinga 1985:531; Schiltkamp & de Smidt 1979:96-97). Enslaved Africans, even at times free people of African descent, were commonly forbidden from being on public streets after 21:00 (Goslinga 1985:556). In 1810 on St. Eustatius, enslaved Africans on public streets after "the gun" was fired at 21:00 required a written permit from their owner along with a lighted candle. Those caught after hours without these necessities were to be publicly flogged, the owner fined one piece of eight for each individual caught, and the person who turned them in was awarded 4 bitts (DNAr 2.10.01 #3843:4). In St. Maarten, a similar ordinance was passed in 1783, except in addition, all enslaved Africans engaged in porting were required to wear a square piece of board or parchment around their neck, inscribed with their owner's name (Schiltkamp & Smidt 1979:96-97). Free people of African descent, at least on Curaçao, were forbidden from associating with enslaved Africans during their festivals, upon penalty of re-enslavement (Schiltkamp & Smidt 1979). The laws restricting movement were seen as necessary to prevent theft, to minimize opportunities for organizing in groups as it could lead to planned rebellion, and to stymie efforts by enslaved Africans to escape.

A typeset document probably originating from colonial officials in The Netherlands from in the Dutch National Archives (2.10.01 #3843), found amongst other contemporary documents from early nineteenth century St. Eustatius, outlines specific regulations regarding the care and treatment

of enslaved Africans.. This appears to have been based from an earlier decree in Curaçao, in response to the 1795 slave uprising (Goslinga 1985:548). The former document states that for all enslaved Africans working on any type of plantation, work began at sunrise until 09:30 in the morning, wherein they were allowed breakfast for a half hour. They then worked from 10:00 until 12:00, after which they received a two-hour break for lunch, then proceeded to work until sunset. During cane harvesting season, the work day could be extended to one hour after sunset, and their food ration was subsequently increased. Enslaved Africans working in the boiling house during harvest season were excluded from this ordinance; they could work until 22:00 at night, and up to midnight on Saturdays. If they were worked as such, they were entitled to double rations. Sundays were a designated day of rest, free from forced labour. Prior this legislation, from the seventeenth to the eighteenth centuries, there were no government regulations regarding working hours for enslaved Africans, regardless of their duties; it was entirely the prerogative of their owners (Goslinga 1985:546).

According to the aforementioned document, by the early nineteenth century, the normal weekly rations for every enslaved African was set at either twenty pounds of yams or one gallon of cornmeal… or an equal proportion of salt fish; if no fish were available, then twenty-five pounds of yams or one and one quarter gallon of cornmeal would suffice. Children six years of age or younger were due half of the aforementioned ration. Rations for enslaved Africans were due regardless of the amount of produce cultivated on "Negro grounds", which were plots of land allocated for enslaved Africans for subsistence agriculture. This particular law was evidently put in place as prior to its implementation, owners of enslaved Africans would reduce or even withhold rations if the "negro grounds" were productive enough to keep them alive, and enslaved Africans were often the first victims of starvation during periods where the food supply was limited.

By the early nineteenth century, under law, each plantation was required to have a designated building to care for sick or injured enslaved Africans, and owners were obliged to arrange their transportation to a better equipped facility if further attention was necessary. Every male enslaved African was to be provided with two pairs of long pants and a linen shirt, or two skirts and a jacket or shirt for women. In the month of November and for the "winter" months following, every enslaved African would receive a wool cap, each man and boy would receive a wool shirt, and a wool jacket for women and girls. If wool was not available, another suitable warm cloth type would suffice.

In a regulation that could be considered somewhat compassionate, no enslaved African below the age of six years could be sold without also purchasing his or her mother, unless she agrees to the release. This appears to have been practiced, at least in spirit, during the 1720's on St. Eustatius during the island's first brief tenure as a slave trading depot, where there were multiple instances of women sold along with their children or suckling infants (DNAr 1.05.01.02 #326, 1181, 1182, 1183).

Up to the eighteenth century, punishments for infractions were meted by the owner, with little to no oversight by colonial authorities. By the early nineteenth century, however, the capacity for owners to enact punishment upon their enslaved Africans was far more regulated. Enslaved Africans over fourteen years old could be given a maximum of twenty-five lashings with a whip or rod. Those exactly fourteen years old were due no more than eighteen strokes, and only permitted on the back. Those between the ages of ten to thirteen were due up to twelve lashes, but whips were prohibited. Children under ten years could only receive six lashes. No physical punishments were allowed in the planted fields except for small infractions, such as disobeying orders or dereliction of duty, in which case a maximum of six lashes with a whip could be given. An enslaved African could not be punished by the overseer more than twice per day for the same offence without approval of his or her owner, and once punished twice for the same infraction in a day, twenty-four hours must elapse until the individual could be physically punished again. All enslaved Africans engaged in domestic servitude were subject to the same regulations regarding those working manual labour.

There are several surviving ordinances relative to slavery and enslaved Africans on Saba between 1820 and 1840. The first three were found within the Vendue Book 1816-1876, and reprinted below:

> Act.
>
> By order of the Honourable Edward Beaks Jr. Vice Commandant ad Interim of this Island Saba, and the Honourable Members of the Court of aforesaid Island.
>
> 1. That all slave sellers shall be to their respective homes, or owners, before half pass six o'clock in the evening, or whatever they have shall be taken away, whether bought or carried out to sell, half for the apprehender, and the other half for the poor.
> 2. All fowls shall be taken away from any slave that cannot produce a ticket, and the slave brought to the Vice Commandant and receive 39 stripes or lashes. If they are bought from a white person, and he or her, who they are bought from does not furnish them with a ticket, he or she that sells them shall pay a fine of 5 pieces of eight. And the slave receive no correction. All owners of slaves whose slave has fowls to sell, shall give them a ticket for the same.
> 3. All persons who have taken license to retail spirituous liquors shall sell the same at their own houses or habitation, or send it out by their slaves, but the liquor shall not be given or left with any other person to sell under the penalty of 25 pieces of eight to be paid by the owner of said liquor, as well as by the seller and if a slave shall receive 39 lashes.
> 4. All retailers of spirituous liquors without licenses shall pay a fine of 25 pieces of eight, and the person who will give information of the same shall receive 5 pieces of eight from the Vice Commandant.
> 5. No slaves whatsoever shall be allowed to keep retailing a shop, either on a small or large scale, unless their owners inform the Vice Commandant of the same, and become responsible for the conduct of the slave, in acting contrary to this publication the person who gives the articles shall forfeit the same with a fine of 10 pieces of eight. And the Negro receive 39 lashes.
> 6. It is established by the Court that the fine for Captains landing or taking articles onboard on a Sabbath is 5 pieces of eight unless in cases of necessity when permission will be granted them.

7. All persons are forbid laying ratsbane in their provisions in a neighbourhood, under the penalty of 10 pieces of eight, but they may lay it in their outlands.

8. All persons are forbid setting fearing pegs in their provision in a neighourhood, under a fine of 10 pieces of eight. They may set them in their outlands at night, but if found in said land in the morning or any other time of the day they shall pay also a fine of 10 pieces of eight. If a slave he or her shall be brought for Justice and receive 39 lashes.

Done and passed in Court June 1st 1823.

Charles Simmons, Secretary.

By order of aforesaid authority The Honourable E. Beaks Sr., and the Honourable members of the Court, the 4th June 1823.

That if any white person or persons should have any provocation from any slave or slaves, and their provisions, stock, etc. should be injured by the slave whomsoever the white person or persons, has been provoked by, shall be brought to Justice and receive 50 stripes or lashes, and all and every slaves' provisions shall be pulled up by the sufferer, also no slave shall be allowed to have a boarded partition or boarded floor, unless they can produce the white person, from whom they bought them, and that person must make oath to the same. All owners of slaves must particularly make known this publication to their slaves.

Done and passed in Court this 4th June 1823.

Charles Simmons, Secretary.

At a meeting of the Court the 13th January 1836, the following acts have been thought proper to be passed viz.,

Art. 1st. That at the Hour of 9 o'clock at night the Bell will be rung, and any slave found on the street after that unless producing some note or token from their owners going on a message or otherwise, shall be taken up, or reported against the following day, and publicly whipped.

2nd. That any slave found after the ringing of the bell, with any article or provisions, they shall immediately be taken up and brought to the Commander and if he or they cannot give a correct account of the same, the person so detected shall be whipped for breaking the clause of 1st article, and the person claiming the provisions to receive it; nevertheless if such person or persons claiming the right thereunto be found accomplice or speaking falsely, shall be liable to such compliment of stripes as the person detected in stealing the article.

3rd. That any person detected or fully proved to have pulled up and destroyed any provisions belonging to any person whether it be from whites, free coloured, or slaves, they shall be severely dealt with, and should the possess any ground provisions of their own the person losing the same shall reap as much amounting to his, or their loss.

4th. That any slave found quarreling in the streets shall be both, or if more taken up, and flogged according to the tenor of the complaints, and any slave detected in making use of any ill expressions, swearing etc., shall be complained by any person and severely chastised at the post, to receive from 39 to 100 stripes.

5th. That any slave found making use of any ill expressions, swearing etc., or quarreling in their owners yard shall if not immediately chastised by their owner, be sent for, and publicly whipped, nevertheless if the owner chastises them, and they persist in doing so, such chastisement will not in such case exempt them from a public whipping.

6th. That any slave detected in having any white or free coloured persons name in any song whatsoever, shall be taken up by any inhabitant and shall receive from 24 to 100 stripes according to his or her age, this is not to be confined to the common roads alone, but also the yards or other lands of their owners or others.

7th. That it is highly necessary that the island be furnished with a gaol for the purpose of securing all persons violating the law, which may tend (if enacted) to promote better regulations, and in order to facilitate the same, a list of inhabitants to be sent in by the 1st February and a certain tax be laid to defray the expenses.
8th. That in order no excuse of ignorance be pleaded by any slave, all owners are directed to make it publicly known to them.
By resolve of the Court,
H. Hassell, provisional secretary.
Drummed off in the Island Saba and stuck up at the usual place.

A last relevant law is found in the Saba court records (DNA 1.05.13.901 #540:7/2/1827), and is specific to the Dinzey plantation. The "bay" referred to in the law is probably either Fort Bay or Ladder Bay.

7 Feb 1827
Whereas a petition having been presented the court of this island under date of the 7th instant by Mr. Engle Heyliger individually as well as in his quality of attorney to the heirs of Mr. and Mrs. Dinzey deceased remonstrating against the frequent trespasses committed on their cultivated lands by persons making by paths through the same and pulling of grass and also cutting timber or firewood on their lands indiscriminately whether cultivated or not, purchasing of thatch from slaves belonging to said heirs employing said slaves carrying boats or other heavy burthens to and from the Bay and whereas such trespasses may be productive of serious injury, we the governor's council having taken the aforesaid remonstrances in consideration, have affixed to such trespasses the following punishment:
1) Commencing with the trespassing of making of by paths and ending with cutting firewood on lands whether cultivated or not, any person or persons found guilty will subject themselves to a fine of 5 pieces of eight, if a slave shall receive 25 lashes.
2) Commencing with purchasing of thatch and ending with carrying of heavy burthens to and from the bay, any person or persons found guilty will subject themselves to a fine of 15 pieces of eight, if a slave shall receive 39 lashes.

Theft is a recurring theme in all of these ordinances, and the majority of articles passed in each are tailored to reduce the frequencies of theft by enslaved Africans, especially at night. The authorities were particularly concerned with thefts of ground provisions and chickens, and the article forbidding the possession of floorboards in enslaved African domestic structures not only demonstrates that these were used as hiding places for compromised goods, but also provides a telltale architectural feature specific to enslaved Africans is visible both directly and indirectly in the archaeological record. Notably, however, enslaved Africans are also granted some legal protections against others, specifically including white residents, in article 3 of the third ordinance. Enslaved Africans were also permitted, provided their owner assumes their responsibility, to sell goods at a retail store, demonstrating that they were able to openly participate in the local economy.

While in principle laws on Saba in the early nineteenth century were drafted and enforced for the benefit of "society", it is clear that in some instances personal influence among those in power could be wielded to pass legislation specific to individuals or class interests. In 1827 a particularly specific law was passed by the Island Council on account of Engle Heyliger, an upper class man of The Bottom and also attorney to the heirs of Thomas & Joanna Dinzey's estate. It was declared illegal for any person or persons to purchase thatch from enslaved Africans tied to the Dinzey plantation, or to trespass on to the property for the purpose of "making paths" and ending with cutting firewood (DNAr 1.05.13.901 #540.1:7/2/1827). This was made in response to apparent frequent trespasses upon the lands of the former sugar plantation. Thatch huts, except perhaps for a short period following the aftermath of the 1772 hurricane, were not architecturally characteristic of upper class Sabans, but rather a necessary domestic construction material for enslaved Africans and low class free residents. This is discussed further in Chapter 7. The bill to outlaw the collection and sale of thatch on the Dinzey plantation estate, therefore, is an example of the upper class legislating in terms of their own class interests.

Ownership of enslaved Africans crossed the colour line. While the first free Sabans of African descent were not noted until at least 1780, during the first half of the nineteenth century, at least two Sabans of African descent, Mary Ann Johnson and Pleasant Hassell, owned enslaved Africans (SVB 10/4/1842; STD 11/2/1851; DNAr 1.05.13.901 #540.1:7/16/1829) for labour, rather than as a process of manumission for an enslaved friend or relative. The valuation of enslaved Africans on Saba between 1780 and 1861 varied widely. As in other slavery-based societies of the New World, age and health were the primary determinant of price, followed by gender and physical fitness. Most were sold individually; in five instances, a mother and her child were sold together, and there is only a single instance of unrelated enslaved Africans sold together as a group (three men and one woman). Based upon the amount of enslaved Africans sold compared to all other goods, especially considering that their average price rivalled that of the average house, their labour is clearly central to the internal economy of Saba. Later in the nineteenth century, Daniel Every purchased eight between 1815 and 1817 at a cost of pcs. 1,287; otherwise, most purchasers acquired no more than two or three in the records. Every was ranked as a 2nd Lieutenant on the island, the 4th highest ranking officer, and was a member of the Island Council by 1834, (DNAr 1.05.13.01 #319:196, 328) in which case he likely earned the title "Esquire". He evidently he had access to a considerable sum of money to make these series of purchases, and was among the upper classes of the island according to his rank and probable title.

Unlike the variety of purchasers listed in the Vendue Book 1780-1825, 60% of the enslaved Africans sold had formerly belonged to a few Sabans. These included Ann Leverock (9); Anthony & Elenor Every (12); Peter & Rebecca Hassell (17); Peter Mardenburgh (17), whose son of the same name

appears in the Vendue Books with the title “Esquire”; and Josiah Peterson (11). However, the number of enslaved Africans owned by a household does not always directly correspond to class. The estate of Peter & Rebecca Hassell, for example, lists seventeen enslaved Africans. They composed of one man, four women, and twelve children; two of the women listed were sold together with their child. This indicates that their enslaved Africans were probably mostly acquired through reproduction among their own enslaved Africans rather than purchases. In addition, the only other items auctioned from their estate were land and house together for 308 pieces of eight, a chair, a bed and stand, a hoe, and a china plate. In terms of material and economic standards for the time on Saba, they were neither poor, nor wealthy.

By emancipation in 1863, there were 112 recorded residents that owned enslaved Africans. Table 20, in the Appendix, breaks down owners per village, along with the total number of enslaved Africans living in each. The numbers of enslaved Africans clearly resided in The Bottom and Windwardside, but the latter village had a lower proportion of owners to the enslaved. In The Bottom, large numbers of enslaved Africans were held by few individuals, mostly the heirs and relatives of Thomas and Joanna Dinzey’s estate, and governor Edward Beaks. Between six Dinzeys alone, they owned 74 enslaved Africans; when extended to Moses & Susanna Leverock, and Edward Beaks, they account for another 71. If the individual owners on the emancipation list are also generally representative of individual households, this total can then be compared to the 1861 census to provide an approximate proportion of households that owned enslaved Africans versus those that did not. The 1861 census (see Table 18, Appendix) was taken on a village basis, further dividing residents between free and enslaved men, women, boys, and girls born on Saba, those born in the West Indies, and those born outside the West Indies. If the number of free men between the villages, 324, represents an approximate number of households (the figure is probably higher since one has to account for widows and single women with their own households), then between one third to one quarter of Saban households owned enslaved Africans.

While no explicit ties are known in Saba’s documentary or oral history records between the act of owning enslaved Africans and class, ownership enabled individuals or households to increase their subsistence or industrial productivity through their labour. Owners could use enslaved Africans as a means to foster and increase interpersonal relations on the island through debt, either through “lending” or selling their labour to others, mortgaging them for cash or credit, or allowing them to serve as merchants. The capacity to engage in this was of course facilitated correspondingly by the number of enslaved Africans a particular person or household owned. However, households with little disposable income and limited access to arable land could be forced further into poverty if their enslaved Africans reproduced increasingly beyond the owners’ ability to meet the legal obligations to

provide food, shelter, and clothing to them. In one example, Gezaghebber Edward Beaks wrote to the Governor of Curaçao on behalf of a group of Sabans who owed court expenses they could not afford to the Delegated Bench of Justice in St. Eustatius concerning some enslaved Africans condemned in court that they owned:

> Herewith I have the honor to forward a petition addressable to Your Excellency from Miss Ann Louisa Hassell, Mr. Jacob E. Hassell, Thomas Johnson, Peter Hassell, Henry Hassell, and Henry Hassell, relative to the amount they are indebted for certain expenses for their slaves, condemned by the Court of St. Eustatius. Declaring their inability to meet said demand without a complete sacrifice of a part of their property (at present) and praying that Your Excellency will be graciously pleased to grant them the indulgence, until the same can be realized from said slaves or others that they own, when emancipation shall take place, a such time, that Your Excellency may be pleased to grant them (NArC AN NAC 4 Gouverneur 103 RT:20/8/1860).

The potential enslaved African ownership to exacerbate a free household's poverty would have increased if owners unable to find local buyers for their enslaved Africans, and if they lacked the means or social networks to engage in the underground slave trade following abolition in 1818. Their misfortunes would be further compounded if their enslaved Africans were unable to procure the necessary funds to pay for their manumission, especially prior to 1850 when manumission was also taxed. In particular, the costs associated with manumission may partly explain the penchant for owners manumitting their enslaved Africans as part of their wills following their deaths, when their estate was divided, and partially or wholly sold.

The experience of enslaved Africans and free people of African descent was notably different on Saba than it was for neighboring islands. A foundational aspect of this relationship rests in that Saba never fully developed a plantation economy. All three sugar plantations in operation during the most of eighteenth century were owned in absentia through St. Eustatius, and even then, these were small and modest plantations compared to those in St. Maarten, St. Eustatius, or St. Kitts, together accounting for probably no more than 140 enslaved Africans between them. The majority of enslaved Africans lived and laboured among Saban households in a significantly different social context from plantation slavery. Oral history on Saba commonly recounts that owners worked side by side with their enslaved Africans, whether on land or at sea. The hurricane of 1772 caused a near complete upheaval of Saba's social organization for several years as previously discussed, and by the nineteenth century, relations between white Sabans and Sabans of African descent improved considerably from the century previous. This was remarked upon by several visitors during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Teenstra remarked that "the slaves hardly feel their bondage" on Saba when he visited in 1829 (Teenstra 1977:371). Charles Kingsley, a traveller-naturalist who sailed across the

Caribbean islands in the mid nineteenth century, described Saba as a sort of sheltered, unspoiled social utopia for enslaved Africans:

> But in Saba, it is said, the whites were really the slaves, and the Negroes the masters. For they went off whither and when they liked; earned money about the islands, and brought it home; expected their masters to keep them when out of work: and not in vain. The island was, happily for it, too poor for sugar-growing and the 'Grande Culture'; the Dutch were never tempted to increase the number of their slaves; looked upon the few they had as friends and children; and when emancipation came, no change whatsoever ensued, it is said, in the semi-feudal relation between the black men and the white (Kingsley 1871:42).

Kingsley's observations do reflect some of the more economic relationships between owners and enslaved Africans. As will be discussed later, by emancipation up to seven enslaved Africans registered on Saba and owned by Sabans were living in St. Thomas as agents for them. There are no records of enslaved Africans imported into the island after 1814, since after this period the Netherlands had abolished the slave trade, but also this was unnecessary since any purchases could be made between owners on Saba itself. Relations between free and enslaved, in practice, were more nuanced than the travellers' accounts, or commonly assumed universal frictions between the two. Despite the somewhat more congenial relations between enslaved Africans and their owners described in these accounts, a more detailed and pessimistic account was given to the Governor of St. Eustatius in 1823 by Joseph Dinzey, son of Thomas Dinzey:

> ... I crave also your Excellency's attention to the good of this poor little country oppressed as I before stated in the insolence of negroes whose tongues I assure you imprecated the most odious and abusive language, in presence of the Honorable Governor females or any other person, to the prejudice of the small children growing up all for the want of a good police.
> Negroes quarrel -fight- and if any white person interfere to disperse the mob he gets abused by them and if he defends himself by giving them what they deserve he is complained and required to come to Court to answer the complaint - a young man who is now summoned to come for flogging a negro girl of Mrs. Dinzeys, is well known to be one of the most Civil in the Islands - my father has a most insolent fellow, who some weeks ago was taken in the canes by one equally bad, of Mrs. Dinzey who very brutish chopp'd him so much as I believe he will never use his right hand well.
> I believe negroes is not allowed in St. Eustatius to carry guns, cutlasses, or any other weapon, I therefore hope your Excellency will see to this here also, and as the insolence of negroes and every part of their improper conduct towards all classes of people, required to be advertised to be put a stop to forever; while your Excellency's stay is here, I hope you will have this done, as after your departure I am certain no more respect will be shown to the order if not put up in your presence then has hitherto been.
> Generally in the quarrels of negroes; they bring their owners or some other white persons name in question, and when a white person interferes to make peace they threaten what their owners will do; another insolence, I think nearly equal to their abusive tongues, that of continuing to smoke and also not to move their hats when crossing a white person-
> I feel persuaded your Excellency will do every good for the prosperity of this little country...
> (DNAr 1.05.13.01 #319:194-195)

There are several significant elements of this testimony. Dinzey remarked on the normalized practice of enslaved Africans carrying guns on Saba, while this was not permitted on St. Eustatius. Enslaved Africans at Spring Bay Flat carried muskets, and even kept them in their homes as evidenced by the musket components found at Structures C and D, and several European gunflints. This almost certainly extended to enslaved Africans on Saba outside of plantation contexts. The ability of enslaved Africans to carry firearms is also a direct reflection of amicable relations between them and their owners. The owners felt sufficiently secure in their relationships with their own and others' enslaved Africans to permit this practice. Joseph Dinzey's remarks on enslaved Africans' use of abusive language bears certain elements of truth, as this is detailed in the 1836 laws passed on Saba as discussed, wherein three separate laws concern public quarreling amongst enslaved Africans, abusive language, and mocking others in song (SVB 1816-1876:13/1/1836). The account also reveals that despite any grievances between two enslaved individuals, in some cases, the shared experience of slavery between them allows them to overcome these differences in the context of resistance to slavery and challenging powered relations with white residents: "negroes quarrel –fight- and if any white person interfere to disperse the mob he gets abused by them…". The existence of Saban classes and class consciousness is also explicitly mentioned by Dinzey, which forms the root of his concerns to the Governor. Class structures were being challenged by enslaved Africans through their "insolence" and abusive language, and compounded by not observing certain class-specific customs rooted in powered relations. In this account, this included enslaved Africans having to tip their hat and refrain from smoking while a white person passes them outside in public.

However, despite the class antagonisms inherently fostered by the institution of slavery, not all relations between them can be characterized as such. There are certainly relations similar to the accounts of Kingsley and Teenstra that existed in nineteenth century Saba. In twenty-five instances enslaved Africans were manumitted upon their owners' deaths, and in seven other instances between 1815 and 1863, this extended to being included in wills as beneficiaries of their owner's estate, often granted land and a house. In one such instance, Elizabeth Peterson declared in her last will that her enslaved Africans (Rose, Genette, and John Henry) would be manumitted upon her death, and bequeathed to them her house and cistern, with the caveat that it would "not be sold to pay any debts which they might contract, only to disposed of to bury them when they die to the last of the three" (SNB:24/12/1856). This altruism also extended to white Sabans on behalf of free African descent Sabans. One record of such illustrates altruism and compassion on the part of the owner, whereby Ann Elizabeth Hassell, widow of Peter Hassell, gave "unto her faithful servant woman… her settlement within walls, to be possessed by her during her life time, and after her decease she then gives… the same unto her Black Boy Abram, son o the said Mary Ann, to enjoy, hold, and possess the same as

their own true and lawful property…" (SBRM:10/9/1834). Conversely, in other instances enslaved Africans were passed on as part of the estate to their owners' heirs. Some sales records also provide secondary information relative to sexual relations between white Sabans and enslaved Africans; for example, "John George Beaks sets free his grandson, a mustee lad aged eight years" (SVB 1816-1876:10/9/1834, 4/7/1843). The element of enslaved Africans being treated or considered as "family" by some Saban households, would have been especially nurtured in those situations where the owners possessed small plots insufficient in size to afford separate space for enslaved African housing. The oral-historical account of enslaved Africans being treated as "family", though, must be understood both relative to the nuances and reality of life under legal bondage, and modern attempts to downplay the presence of slavery in Saba's history. While there were clearly some relations between Saban owners and their enslaved Africans that could be characterized as "familial", "friendly", or "civil", in other cases their treatment was poor enough to encourage their escape from Saba, and eventual outright armed threats against Governor Edward Beaks.

Social relations between enslaved Africans and free Sabans of African descent were similarly nuanced. In terms of ownership, some free Sabans of African descent possessed enslaved Africans just as white Sabans. In several instances in the Vendue Book 1816-1876, free Sabans of African descent purchased enslaved Africans from other owners, only to subsequently manumit them shortly thereafter. Shared experiences of slavery among the enslaved and those that were manumitted, however, did not necessarily mitigate enmity between families or individuals. One case brought before the Delegated Bench of Justice involved "P. G. Hassell against a negroe woman named Nanny, belonging to P. G. Hassell, for having entered in the house of the plaintiff, and striking his negroe woman Leah in the mouth with a bottle" (DNAr 1.05.13.901 #540.1:23/4/1828). A second and more colourful case involved Pleasant Hassell, accused of arson against the enslaved African Felixia's house:

> … Richard Johnson Esq. he was unable to attend, but that he had convened the present court in order to ascertain whether the free coloured woman Pleasant Hassell was the person that put fire to a certain place the last evening, by which means three negro houses were totally destroyed. The said Pleasant Hassell was then sent for by the president, and when called in court, was asked by him if she did put fire to the negro houses last evening. When the said Pleasant Hassell peremptorily said that she did put fire to the negro woman Felicia's house, but not to any of the rest, and that she had previous to her doing it made her intentions known to the rest of the negro slaves, whose houses was near to Felixia's she was going to set fire to said house (DNAr 1.05.13.901 #540.1:16/7/1829).

Pleasant was subsequently sent to St. Eustatius for trial, and there spent at least three years in prison, returning to Saba after her sentence had expired. Other relationships were much more cordial. Daniel Woods, considered black, was formerly enslaved on the Dinzey plantation by 1831 and manumitted by the 1840's, although no record of his manumission document could be found. By 1848 he

maintained a love interest in Miah (later known as Maria Heyliger after manumission), who herself was still enslaved (DNAr 1.05.13.901 #540.1:14/12/1848). By 1855 she was considered Daniel's consort, and he included her as a beneficiary to his estate (SNB 20/6/1855; Notary Book 1865-1866:13/9/1865).

Some free Sabans of African descent used their freedom as a means of assisting those that were still enslaved. In one particular case:

> The honorable Edward Beaks Junr. Vice Commandant addresses the court stating that two complaints had been made to him, one from Henry Hassell Esq. member of the council & Mr. Daniel Hassell, against a negro man slave of Mr. J. J. Hassell (Hells Gate) named Wenter, the former was for stealing a goat and the latter for stealing cassava, the court first proceeded to the examination of the negro man slave Wenter, who immediately confessed that he was guilty of the charges brought against him, and that he conveyed the goat and cassava to the house of a free man named George, who was immediately called and examined, when he acknowledged that the man in question did bring to his house the articles above stated, the cassava first, which was by his associate a woman belonging to Mrs. E. Beaks prepared at his house and a few nights afterwards the goat, but he was not at the moment home when the latter was brought, but came in soon after, and during the night Mr. J. J. Hassell accompanied with a few other gentlemen came to his house in search of Wenter but he made his escape, and after which he the said George directed Wenter to take the goat from his house. The court then requested the parties to withdraw and after mature deliberation do condemn the negro man, slave Wenter to receive 50 rods, the negro woman Rose 25, and the free man George in the sum of fifteen pieces of eight or suffer imprisonment for 3-24 hours if not paid, and severe threats made him that if detected in the like crime to be sent to the island of St. Eustatius (DNAr 1.05.13.901 #540.1:15/6/1826).

The social hierarchy on Saba, well established at this time, began to take a turn by mid-century. On 24 September 1862, Edward Beaks Jr. received the 8 August missive from the Governor of Curaçao announcing emancipation across all the Dutch colonies effective 1 July 1863 (NArC, AN NAC 4 Gouverneur 103 RT:24/9/1862). Already by 1 November 1862, all children born to enslaved women were free. The issue of emancipation, however, was being discussed as early as 1847, marking the beginning of the period where both officials in The Netherlands and colonial officials in the Caribbean and Surinam agreed that emancipation across the Dutch colonies was eventually inevitable (Goslinga 1990:258-259). Difficulties in justifying and maintaining the institution of slavery were compounded following emancipation across the French colonies in 1848, especially between French St. Martin and Dutch St. Maarten. Emancipation without compensation for owners on St. Maarten was contemplated by Dutch officials, but never enacted, and the system continued as before Goslinga 1990:284). As a result, one month after emancipation was declared across the French colonies, 26 enslaved Africans from the Dutch side fled north to French St. Martin, and other enslaved Africans went on strike (Goslinga 1990:285). Enslaved Africans on the Dutch side continued their toils thereafter, but were generally only willing to work half as much as they did prior to 1848 (Goslinga

1990:286). It was soon inevitable that enslaved Africans on Saba became aware of the situation in St. Maarten, and they grew increasingly hostile and confrontational towards Saban authorities during the twilight years of slavery on Saba.

As the nineteenth century progressed, the irrelevance of Saba towards Dutch colonial authorities became more apparent. A record of ships calling into Saba in 1860 provides insight into the sources for goods entering Saba: "5 vessels under the Netherlands flag visited here 48 times during this period; 7 boats under the Netherlands flag visited 23 times during this period; 21 vessels under the British flag visited here 122 times during the above period; 1 boat from idem 1 idem idem; 4 boats under the Swedish flag have visited here 6 times during the above period. 3 vessels under the American flag have visited here 3 times during said period" (NArC AN NAC 4 Gouverneur 103 RT, 4 June 1861). It is apparent that trade with British Caribbean colonies was of more importance to Saba than between Dutch Caribbean colonies in the nineteenth century. There are several instances of Saban-born men serving as captains of ships in British vessels engaged in trade with Saba in the nineteenth century (NArC AN NAC 4 Gouverneur 103 RT, 4 June 1861). The distinction between boats and vessels provides evidence of regional trade. The Dutch boats would have originated from Curaçao, St. Eustatius or St. Maarten, the Swedish boat would have been from St. Bartholomew, while the British boat probably originated either from St. Christopher, Nevis, or Anguilla. The absence of Danish vessels calling into Saba indicates that trade with St. Thomas was mostly done by Sabans through British or Dutch flagged vessels; by 1863 there were six known cases of enslaved Africans of Saban origin, and registered to owners on Saba, who worked as agents in St. Thomas for them, in some instances continually since 1846 (DNAr 2.02.09.08 #246). The American vessels were from the Confederate states, and had arrived to purchase enslaved Africans directly from Saban owners (NArC AN NAC 4 Gouverneur 103 RT:12/5/1860).

This was not the first visit for Confederate vessels either. Although owners of enslaved Africans were aware that compensation packages would be offered in the build up to emancipation, the Confederate merchants were offering very lucrative prices for their enslaved Africans. Selling enslaved Africans which would result in departure from their island, however, was illegal under the Dutch abolition agreement with Britain in 1814. In 1860, nine enslaved Africans due to be sold to the Confederate ships took the opportunity to abscond from Saba in order to avoid this fate (NArC AN NAC 4 Gouverneur 103 RT:12/5/1860). The Governor of St. Croix sent a letter to the Gezaghebber of Saba, who recounts, that "…an boat containing six men, two women, and one child landed in the bay of this island… to carry their plan into effect, (they) seized upon a boat belonging to Captain Simmons, with the intention of sailing to the British Island St. Christophers, but mistaking their course, they arrived on this Island" (NArC AN NAC 4 Gouverneur 103 RT:12/5/1860). In addition to these

individuals, another 21 enslaved Africans had absconded from Saba between 7 October, 1859 and May 24, 1860. Two had escaped aboard English vessels calling into Saba, twelve escaped to St. Kitts in an undescribed manner, and the rest attempted escape to St. Eustatius. Another two enslaved Africans from Saba, and a free woman named Mary Dinzey were "discovered" in 1862 aboard the English vessel *Corsair*, and though the case was brought to the Delegated Bench of Justice, "no further cognisance could be taken of said case" (DNAr 1.05.13.901 #540.1:9/2/1862). While escape to Statia may appear superficially futile, landing on the north coast of Saba, such as in Jenkins Bay, allowed them to avoid being sighted by the island guard from Lower Town or from the east coast. They could then proceed overland, under cover, either to the crater of The Quill, or to the south face of the mountain, in order to proceed to St. Kitts. Boats are known to have been cached in the Quill's crater in order be launched from the south face of the mountain to escape to St. Kitts (DNAr 1.05.13.02 #30:5/6/1834).

Escapes by enslaved Africans and others within Saba itself was uncommon, but occurred nonetheless. In one instance, an enslaved African named Betty Richardson of St. Maarten escaped while being transported in a canoe between Saba and St. Maarten and as of 19 April 1819, "has been hiding for some months, every attempt to find her has proven ineffectual" (DNAr 1.05.13.01 #319:19/4/1819). In most other cases of enslaved Africans absconding on Saba in the known documentary record, they involved obtaining an open boat in order to reach another island. This was similar for St. Eustatius; a law was passed in 1810 declaring "that all boats and canoes should be hauled up at the scale house every evening, (as) some persons continue to haul up, and suffer their boats and canoes to lay in the different Bays and other landing places as well aback as in front of the island" in response to flights from the island at night by enslaved Africans (DNAr 2.10.01 #3843:27/7/1810). Some thirty-three years later, Saba issued a reprise of this law in response to an escape by six enslaved Africans. In a like manner, the Island Council threatened a fine of *ƒ*100 to the owner or owners of any boat "should they allow their oars or sails to remain on the bay or bays or their vicinities" (DNAr 1.05.13.901 #540.1:4/9/1843). Escaping Saba under the cover of darkness in an open boat probably occurred in several occasions at the anchorage areas in Fort Bay, Ladder Bay, and Well's Bay, where these would have been kept on shore. However, escaping from more northerly locations on Saba are much better choices if a boat could be brought down, since they are out of sight from most or all settled vantage points. The far central-north coast of Saba is not favourable for an escape; though it is the most remote area of the island, the steep cliffs make the shorelines so inaccessible that they can only be accessed by the sea itself, making their location to stage an escape rather moot. Spring Bay is a good choice given that it served as anchorage in the seventeenth century, and the nearby well provided a ready supply of water before the escape attempt. However, though it is not immediately

accessible from Hell's Gate or English Quarter, they provide excellent views of Spring Bay. The best choice in terms of proximity to villages, inaccessibility, and cover is Core Gut Bay. This bay is only partially visible from certain vantage points on The Level; otherwise, Old Booby Hill and the saddle connecting it to Spring Bay Flat shelters it from view from all other settled locations. The north half of Core Gut Bay is at present thickly overgrown with a pure stand of Manchineel (*Hippomane mancinella),* growing so thick as to provide a network of "tunnels" under the short canopy which would have provided excellent cover to cache a boat or raft, and served as a natural ward due to the trees' toxicity, so long as this stand existed prior to 1863.

Manumission provided a means for enslaved Africans to "content" themselves with their present circumstances, as provided a legal means to shed bondage without resorting to high-risk alternatives such as absconding. On Saba, manumission fees were usually paid for by the owner, but in some cases, such as in last wills, enslaved Africans were manumitted on the condition that they paid the fee themselves. Outright purchase of one's manumission by enslaved Africans themselves has not been documented on Saba, but was common during Statia's "Golden Rock" era (Gilmore 2005). Nonetheless, there were usually other requirements to be met for manumission to legally proceed. In Curaçao and Surinam, the owners allowing the manumission of one of their enslaved Africans had to prove to colonial authorities that the individual could be self-sufficient; for this reason, it was forbidden to manumit elderly enslaved Africans (Goslinga 1985:555). Those manumitted could be returned to a state of slavery if they were to ever physically injure their former owners, and if the individual died with no heirs to their estate, then the former owner received a 25% share (Goslinga 1985:556). In St. Eustatius, manumission occurred by at least 1721, possibly earlier, as the census for that year lists five male "free inhabitants" separately at the end of the document, immediately following a separate tally for six Jewish residents. All the other residents listed previous to these two were denoted as Christian residents. Interestingly, all the free inhabitants bore the surname Lordijk. Most were married with children, and two of them owned one enslaved African each (DNAr 1.05.01.02 #1181:124). In the 1723 census, all of the free Lordijks were included among the Christian residents, am important development which demonstrates the acceptance of free African-descent people into Christianity within Statia's social environment. On Saba, manumission was rare in the eighteenth century, with the first few aforementioned free people of African descent appearing in the documentary record only by 1780. The earliest accounts specifying manumission date to 1827, and gradually increased up to 1862. Manumission totals are outlined in Figure 11.

In some cases, enslaved Africans on Saba were offered conditional manumissions, whereupon they were legally obliged to offer their labour or skills to a designated individual until the death of either party, or until the end of slavery as a legal institution. This placed newly "manumitted" enslaved

Africans into a legal limbo, whereupon they were eternally indebted and legally obliged to provide regular labour as free citizens rather than enslaved Africans. This asymmetrical arrangement provided labour to the owner or designated party without the legal requirements of owners to house, shelter, and provide food for their enslaved Africans. Two of these involved John George Hassell in his last will. In the third amendment to his will, he declared that all his enslaved Africans would be manumitted on his death, but "…the males shall serve said Jacob E Hassell a day out of each week and the females to serve the said Judith E. Hassell a day out of a week as long as they live, or as long as slavery exists on this island" (Saba Transfer Deeds 1850-1852:4/5/1849). In a previously mentioned case, John Hassell was to furnish his previous owner's household with shoes for the rest of his life as a condition of his manumission (DNAr 1.05.13.901 #540.1:2/12/1847). Conditional manumissions may have been exploited by former owners in states of poverty as a means to divest themselves of the costs involved in supporting enslaved Africans, while still benefitting from their labour in a state of freedom. It also implicitly served to ensure a continuous state of social and legal inequality between the former owner and the manumitted African descent Saban.

Up to 1850, the Gezaghebber of Saba received a tax of *f*20 on every enslaved African manumitted on the island, which was an important supplementary income following the decline and eventual termination of Saba's involvement in trade with South American privateers and pirates by the 1830's (NArC AN NAC 4 Gouverneur 103 RT:12/6/1858). By 1835, in order to receive the manumission letter, this was paid in addition to a security deposit of *f*200 on part of the manumitter as a guarantee that the freed individual would not leave the island (Goslinga 1990:283). This law was intended to curb emigration from the islands, but also encouraged owners to seek other means to divest themselves of their enslaved Africans, such as through illegal sales to Spanish colonies or the U.S.A. As a result, this tax was reduced to *f*100 in 1843, and eliminated altogether by 1850. Scrapping this tax likely resulted in the subsequent spike in manumissions for 1851, followed by a gradual rise in manumission rates relative to sales up until emancipation in 1863. All known sale instances of enslaved Africans, whether purchases from abroad or locally, are charted in Figure 10. The spike of sales in 1861 is somewhat artificial as it accounts for the purchase of Mrs. Mary Ann Leverock's (née Winfield) inheritance of her parents' estate, accounting for only 1/6 of all lands and 31 enslaved Africans. Mrs. Leverock, notably, was the wife of Moses Leverock, the man who succeeded Edward Beaks Jr. as Lieutenant Governor following his death in 1863.

By 1860, Gezaghebber Edward Beaks Jr. grew increasingly concerned with the social stability on the island. "I regret much to have to inform Your Excellency, that the slaves in general, appear to be very discontented, owing in a great measure, to they having for some time past, expected to have been Emancipated, and I apprehend, that more will abscond, if their expectations are not soon

realized, especially, as the local situation of the Island, being such, as to afford much facility for absconding (NArC AN NAC 4 Gouverneur 103 RT:24/5/1860). The increase in escapes from Saba by enslaved Africans by the mid nineteenth century, therefore, was related more so to expectations of emancipation in the Dutch colonies, exacerbated by previous declarations by other nations with neighboring island colonies, rather than general malaise concerning mistreatment by their owners.

Relations between enslaved Africans and white residents continued to deteriorate by 1861. The following year, Beaks requested "for a police force, of three, or four men, who can speak English, and to assure your Excellency, that they are very much required, to aid me in maintaining the Laws + Regulations, and the respect due to Government, which are violated with much impunity; and I further make known to Your Excellency, that unless you are pleased to furnish me with said force, that I fear much, the evil consequences, that will in all probability follow, for want of the required aid…" (NArC AN NAC 4 Gouverneur 103 RT:13/5/1861), underlined emphasis in original and punctuation). Exactly one year later, Beaks implored the Governor once again: "In consequence of the frequent representations, made to me, by the principal proprietors of slaves, that, their slaves, appear no longer, to consider themselves under their control, by their frequent disobedience, to their orders, added to which, their very riotous conduct frequently, and other unlawful acts – and also, the disrespect, that the Government + the Laws and regulations, continue to be treated with, by many of the inhabitants, urges me, to submit to your Excellency, serious consideration, the very deplorable situation which matters have now arrived to, owing principally for the want of a police force, that I seriously apprehend, from the disorder, that exist, that acts of serious consequences, are very likely to occur. I therefore beseech, Your Excellency, to aid me with four police men… I most respectfully ask, that Your Excellency, will please excuse my being so urgent on this subject…" (NArC AN NAC 4 Gouverneur 103 RT:13/5/1861:13/5/1862, original underlined emphasis and punctuation).

Beaks was not exaggerating the friction between enslaved Africans and free people on Saba. Just over two weeks later, he wrote another urgent letter describing the deteriorating situation: "On the 31st Ulto: when in the exercise of my duty, against two slaves, a man + a woman, for overbearing language to me, the former took up a stone, and the latter, raised a hoe against me. I succeeded to place them in prison, but with much difficulty, being obliged, to act as a police man, to effect it. The said slaves were on the 3rd Instant brought before the Delegated Bench of Justice, and sentenced to receive 40 lashes each, they being satisfied, with the sentence, it was put in force, without delay. When said slaves, were to receive their punishment, upwards of thirty slaves, congregated near the place, and after the sentence, being executed, they cheer'd, and several of them made use of, very impertinent, + threatening language. From the foregoing occurrences, I flatter myself, that Your Excellency will see, that our lives are in danger, and how necessary it is, to aid me, with a police force,

as early as practicable, to quell, the rebellious conduct of the slaves, as I cannot place, much confidence, in the white population… (NArC AN NAC 4 Gouverneur 103 RT:13/5/1861:12/6/1862, original underlined emphasis and punctuation). The Governor of Curaçao granted Beaks' request by 1 November the same year, supplying the island with two police men and *f*200 to repair the prison, but this was delayed as Beaks had to request him to order the Governor of St. Eustatius to forward the funds to Saba, the latter evidently intended to keep it for himself (NArC AN NAC 4 Gouverneur 103 RT:13/5/1861:1/11/1862). The arrival of the police men was also delayed due to a smallpox epidemic raging on Curaçao (NArC AN NAC 4 Gouverneur 103 RT:13/5/1861).

There is little in the surviving documentary record that provides insight into levels of anti-slavery sentiments among Saba residents through time. The only indication is outlined in large and well documented account concerning five enslaved Africans, belonging to the widow Joanna Dinzey Horton, the widow Catharine Hassell, and Thomas Johnson, whereupon 22 July 1862 they apparently escaped Saba aboard the English schooner *Gustina*, captained by Peter Simmons Dinzey, who lived on Barbados but had relatives on Saba (NArC AN NAC 4 Gouverneur 103 RT:14/1/1863). Presiding over the case were Moses Leverock, who eventually replaced Beaks as Governor, Peter Simmons, and Josiah Peterson Sr. The following account is derived from the testimony signed by Peter Hassell, a second signed by Thomas Hassell, owner of one of the absconded enslaved Africans, a third signed by Thomas Johnson and Catharine Hassell, and another signed by Peter Hassell, Thomas Johnson, Ann Leverock, George Hassell, and John Leverock. English vessels calling into to Saba had a reputation on the island for helping enslaved Africans abscond. Peter Simmons Dinzey had apparently carried some to St. Thomas previously, while others were brought to Barbados, and he was warned by the Delegated Bench of Justice, under suspicion of such during the second occasion, that if he stepped foot upon Saba again he would be placed under arrest. This incident which resulted in the trial was the third known occurrence of such involving this captain and vessel on Saba. The owners of the absconded enslaved Africans were, in particular, at pains to understand why no effort was made to search the vessel for enslaved Africans from the island since the vessel and captain had a reputation for assisting them. In Barbados, Thomas Johnson accused, an enslaved African previously belonging to Mrs. Catharine Hassell was now employed by Dinzey's wife. Johnson furthermore said that the *Justice* was known on Saba as "The Emancipation Vessel", and that before its last departure from Saba, Dinzey paid an enslaved African to shout across Saba that "the Emancipation vessel going down", and that the crier was subsequently chastised by Lieutenant Governor Beaks with his cane.

Beaks responded to the Governor of Curaçao that "Your Excellency is well aware, that in this Island, that there is no fort, or other means, of commanding shipping in the anchorage, and it would have led to serious consequences, had I acted in compliance with the wishes of the parties

complaining. The Captain of the *Justina,* has in this Island, many relatives, and no doubt, a large party, would have sided him, in opposition to the parties who had lost their slaves, and their adherents. To have attempted to take possession of the schooner *Justina*, to send her to St. Eustatius, under those circumstances, may have led, to very unpleasant results. I therefore decided, to bring the case before the Court…that there was considerable excitement, is… therefore proved, the absolute want of a police force, to aid me, in keeping order…".

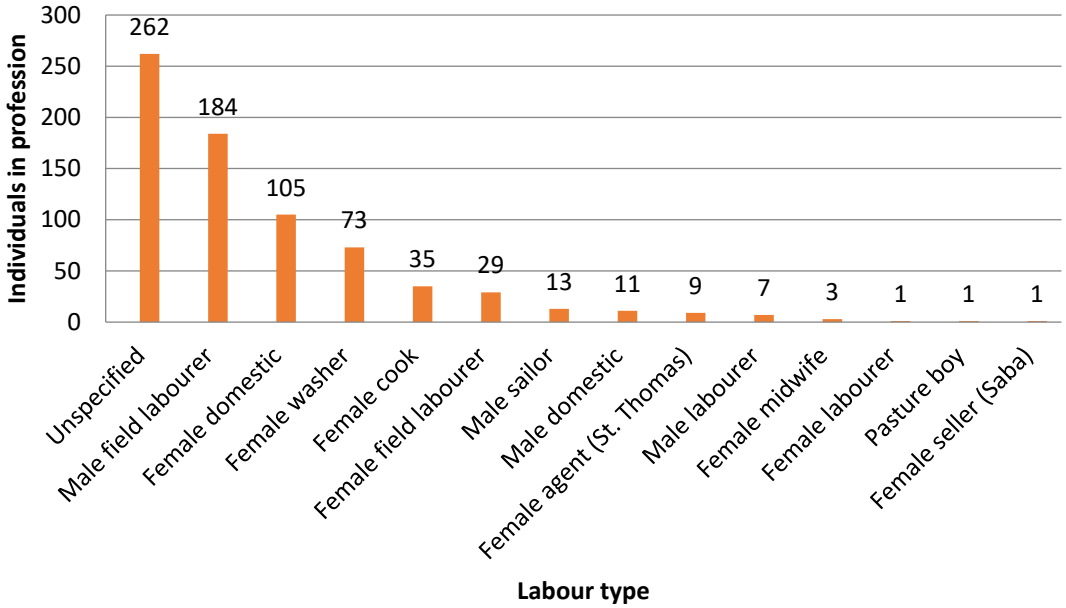
Peter Simmons Dinzey was apparently acquitted on his single testimony alone, without the opportunity for the owners of the enslaved Africans to present their evidence in court. The plaintiffs complained in letters to the Governor of Curaçao that they denied their right to present their case in court by Beaks, which Beaks subsequently denied to the Governor. While Beaks denied that the case was judged based solely on the testimonies of the defendants that were allowed as conclusive evidence, which was a "gross violation of custom and law" according to Peter Hassell, a member of the Delegated Bench of Justice. Beaks did not allow to sit on the Bench during the case, however, since he as the father in law of one of the plaintiffs. Hassell also alleges that "high words were used between both parties and that a threat of personal violence was made by the defendant". The judgment was controversial enough that Peter Hassell requested to the Governor of Curaçao to be discharged from the Delegated Bench of Justice. During the trial, which was held at Beaks' house in his hall (living room), enslaved Africans and other "coloured persons" congregated around the house, who voiced their support through "whoops and cheers", while others of the like congregated into the hall itself where they intimidated the plaintiffs from presenting their case. Another room of the house, which was normally served as the court room, as occupied by enslaved Africans and free people of African descent as a "drinking saloon to which every one had access, the Marshall and others was invited to imbibe". This statement by Thomas Johnson, Ann Leverock, George Hassell, and John Leverock is followed by a crossed out sentence this continued, "The Governor himself visited it several times during the day and invited others in". Beaks, however, completely denies that his house was surrounded with slaves and other coloured persons, and that one of my rooms was set apart as a drinking saloon, and that slaves hooped and cheered". Instead, "my sons gave a few gentlemen a little refreshment". At one point, according to Peter Hassell, "a rush was made by persons (that had no business before the court) that had been in and around the place all day. They at once surrounded the plaintiff and at the same time assured the defendant of their sympathy with him by asserting that he "need not fear they were there," I called upon the Governor to show his authority, but none was used by him, or so far as I observed made any effort to expel the intruders, fearing a scene of violence and personal assault upon the plaintiff. I then interfered so far as to get the plaintiff from among those that then surrounded him and we both withdrew from the court room at the same time

informing the Governor and Court that I did not intend to hold my appointment longer, and then we both proceeded home. Often before has the courtroom been a scene of confusion, but never like this. The whole course of the Governor was such as to clear the defendant from the charge against him which was admitted to be true by the defendant before the Court." Hassell also stated that since the court had no power to try the case that it could have been referred to St. Eustatius, which was the common practice for more serious cases, but Beaks countered to the Governor of Curaçao that he did not deem it necessary. Following the closure of the court, the Captain and his crew were allowed to immediately depart, despite the point that the captain apparently did not have his passport. Following the departure, some assaults occurred by those assembled around Beaks' residents, one upon one of the sitting members of the Bench of Justice, who "received some severe blows". Beaks, apparently, sat quiet and did nothing to prevent the chaos, and it was suggested that two or three police men, if they were on the island as the Governor of Curaçao had promised, could have prevented the outbreak of violence and aided Beaks in administering proper justice. In the aftermath of the affair, "a great mass of the inhabitants have become disgusted with the Governor (Beaks, and) they will not aid him where he personally is concerned, and it is the… wish and prayer of all except a few of the Governor's clique that a new Governor be appointed and that he be selected from some other place as one from here would soon from family connections and interest become bassel (basal) and continue the same course the present has so sadly begun. Believing your honor has the welfare of the colonies over which you preside at heart we pray you to take such measures that a new order of things may be instituted here by remodeling the Government by appointing one in the place of the present, that the laws may be respected and our rights protected." Beaks replied to the Governor that if this is the sentiment of the mass of residents on Saba, then another governor should then be appointed. Beaks was replaced later that year by Moses Leverock, who was much better received by Sabans. A petition circulated later in the decade to rename The Bottom to "Leverocktown" (Hartog 1975). Since emancipation, there have not been any social unrest comparable to these events on Saba.

On 1 July 1863, 734 enslaved Africans on Saba were manumitted, which was announced by advertised posts in The Bottom and during church services (NArC AN NAC 4 Gouverneur 103 RT:3/11/1862). Originally, by 1857, the indemnification included eleven age categories, but with different compensation levels depending on the island. On all islands except Saba and St. Maarten it was pegged at *f*50 for childhood, peaking between the age of 25 to 35 at *f*500, and declining to 55 years and upwards to *f* 50. For Saba, the compensations were considerably lower; for adults between 25-35 years *f*405 would be due, declining to *f*60, which, curiously, was *f*10 more than was set for the aforementioned islands. In this original draft, St. Maarten owners were to receive no compensation at all, due to the "relative freedom" enjoyed by enslaved Africans on St. Maarten relative to the

emancipation on the French side in 1848 (Hampshire Advertizer, Southampton 28/11/1857; Goslinga 1990:286-287). By 1863 it was settled that all owners across the Dutch Caribbean islands were to receive *f*200 for each enslaved African, regardless of age or gender, except for St. Maarten, where owners were only accorded *f*100 per enslaved African, which for them was not actually paid until 1878 (Goslinga 1990:286-287). Three medical doctors were dispatched to Saba in order to assess the health of enslaved Africans in order to deem the owners suitable or not for compensation. A standardized set of forms were completed by owners of enslaved Africans under supervision by the doctors, which included the name of each enslaved African owned, their gender, village or place of residence, age, religion, and trade. Two individuals assessed had elephantiasis, and their owners were not compensated. Another two were off the island working as sailors aboard Saban ships; unfortunately for their owners, they would not receive compensation for those absent during the assessment. Nine other enslaved Africans were absent and residing on St. Thomas working as agents for their owners, thus also depriving them of compensation. Figure 12 below shows the numbers of enslaved Africans engaged in the professions listed in the emancipation document, differentiated by gender. In most cases, children under the 12 years were not listed with a trade, however, in some cases children as young as nine months are listed as field labourers, and a one-year old child designated as a house servant. All of the males listed as "domestic servant" were under 15 years old. Interestingly, all of the enslaved Africans sent to St. Thomas as agents were female, which may be tied to a larger sense of trust among owners in female enslaved Africans than males with regards to absconding.

Figure 12: Enslaved African Labour by Type, Saba, 1863



Labour types were clearly a gendered enterprise among enslaved Africans. The large majority of males were engaged as field labourers, while women's jobs were more dispersed; most were domestic labourers, but a significant proportion were also washers, cooks, midwives, and sales agents. Male labour, conversely, was limited either to the field or the sea. Field labour continued for males through life, with the oldest individual emancipated at 73 as a field labourer. The oldest female field labourer, however, was only 50 years of age; those above 50 to age 78 were listed as washers, midwives, house servants, and cooks. It is apparent that female enslaved Africans were granted more flexibility to change their professions with regards to their designated profession than men within their lifetimes. Notably absent from this list are any skilled trades such as carpentry or fishing; these are listed as trades by the Governor of St. Maarten in his report on Saba from 1816, and since these professions were surely present on Saba by 1863, they were occupied by free Sabans instead. The partial probate inventory of Thomas Dinzey's estate also included the professions of enslaved Africans attached to his plantation. These ranged from sailors, domestic servants, field hands, and boiling house operators (Partial probate inventory of Thomas Dinzey estate, Will Johnson collection).

The history of Saba as conveyed herein is characterized by persistent poverty by the early eighteenth century. Poverty is an ideological process, and therefore identifying poverty, being the "physical appearance of social inequality, exclusion, and the unequal distribution of wealth" (Orser 2011:538), necessitates an understanding of its roots and development in colonial Saba, along with its dialectic relative to class, race, and gender. Poverty was enabled early in Saba's colonial period, whereby the best lands upon an island with very limited tracts of flat land and sea access were occupied by cotton, coffee, sugar, and indigo plantations. These were owned almost entirely in absentia by merchants, planters, and government officials in St. Eustatius. This process started with Spring Bay and Flat Point as sugar and indigo plantations. This probably expanded soon after to The Bottom, whereby small plots of land were consolidated into the most enduring sugar plantation on the island. Labat described Saba as mildly prosperous and utopic during his visit at the dawn of the eighteenth century. However, widespread poverty occurred on Saba as early as the second decade of the eighteenth century, precipitated by apparent overpopulation and a prolonged drought. During this time, Sabans and St. Eustatius residents requested to emigrate from their islands to form new colonies on nearby, unoccupied islands such as St. Croix, as they considered both to be overpopulated. The lack of quality, arable land not occupied by plantations limited the options of Sabans to earn income through agricultural surplus, and thus many remained subsistence-level agriculturalists. Other Sabans took to the sea which provided opportunities for fishing and seafaring, and the potential incomes available from serving as sea captains and vessel owning or shareholding provided one of the

few profession-based vectors through which Sabans could achieve upper class upon their own island, and potentially abroad. Cobbling and shoe exports became the most important element of the economy by the first decade of the eighteenth century, but its profitability appears to have waned by mid-century. Although certain Sabans acquired sufficient wealth to purchase a combined total of 50 enslaved Africans from St. Eustatius during the 1720's, two decades Sabans continued to emigrate from the island during the 1740's to 1760's.

The 1772 hurricane served as a great ideological equalizer upon an island apparently already inhabited by poor people, according to an official from St. Eustatius. The destruction of almost every material vector for projecting class and race on Saba following the 1772 hurricane would have placed many newly-homeless Saban households within similar or identical material conditions as enslaved Africans, which would have certainly exposed the Saban habitus relative to race and class to all residents and fostered its re-evaluation later into the century and up to emancipation. Not coincidently, the first Sabans of African descent appeared in the documentary record by 1780. However, the re-evaluation of Saban habitus appears to have been tempered by a certain gendered, labour-based pragmatism; by 1816, just four out of twenty-seven free Sabans of African descent were male. Two more strong hurricanes hit the island in 1780 and 1819, and the political instability of the islands between 1795-1815 exacerbated Saban poverty by restricting the regional trade relative to the nation which claimed the island.

By the time that the last sugar plantation ceased operations in the 1820's, Saba's population was continuing to expand once again, and nearly doubled fifty years later. By this time, the only recorded annual exports from Saba were several head of live cattle. Notably, this did not include sugar, even though the Dinzey plantation in The Bottom was operating during this time. As previously discussed, this was deemed a problem in the 1816 government report on the social and economic state of Saba, wherein economic diversification was recommended, such as increased sugar production and even cochineal cultivation. Among many subsistence agriculturalists, owning enslaved Africans became a redundant legal responsibility if their labour did not produce a surplus. For some, it may have developed into an increasingly unbearable expense as the nineteenth century progressed, especially after the agreement between the Netherlands and Britain in 1818, whereby the British increasingly pressured the Dutch to also abolish the regional slave trade between islands. As a consequence, it became difficult for Sabans to sell their enslaved Africans to other islands, evidenced by the relatively low costs of selling enslaved Africans between Sabans as compared the higher prices that could be fetched from a sale from Saba to St. Eustatius. Many Sabans would have been unable to afford the costs associated with manumission. In some cases, poor owners wishing to manumit their enslaved Africans had to wait until their own deaths, so that the proceeds derived from the sale

of their estate could cover the associated manumission costs. For those that were otherwise unable to sell their enslaved Africans, this locked the least-wealthy owners into a cycle of poverty due to their inability to divest themselves of the financial responsibilities which resulted from slave ownership, while simultaneously serving to maintain and even increase the enslaved population on Saba.

For enslaved Africans, manumission could well have transferred them from poverty-like conditions under slavery to a life of free poverty. Those who little to no wealth and personal possessions and unable to solicit aid from free or enslaved friends and relatives may have found themselves in worse material conditions than under slavery as their former owners now bore no legal responsibility to provide them with shelter, clothing, and food. This was explicitly recognized as a problem by some former owners; as previously mentioned, there were at least 25 cases of manumission upon owners' deaths that also included bequeathals such as land, housing, and cisterns to their former enslaved Africans. This would have provided them some foundation for self-sufficiency as free Sabans. The potential for this situation was also grounded in the Dutch emancipation law which stated that newly emancipated free African-descent residents could work four days per week for their former owners to keep their former lodgings under slavery. These issues surrounding poverty and manumission were probably evidenced in part during Gast's 1857 visit to Saba, where he remarked upon the general presence of begging, but did not observe vagabonage (Nomina Geographica Neerlandica 1885:213).

Saba's population had also been continuously growing throughout the nineteenth century. In 1816 there were 1,145 residents, climbing to 1,617 in 1847, 1,877 in 1861, and 2,072 by 1878. This would have nearly halved the availability of lands for housing and agriculture from the previous century, and many households did not make structural adjustments to their houses to accommodate the burgeoning population. Rather, a dozen family members or more often slept in the same house, sometimes just two rooms in size. This persisted into the mid twentieth century, even following the population nadir during the 1950's.

In Saba, prior to the twentieth century and especially before emancipation, residents of The Bottom considered themselves the "elite" of the island (Price 1934:13; Hiss 1943:20). Based upon names given in the Vendue Books, the Saba Notary Book, the Book of Recorded Mortgages, the Saba Transfer Deeds, and the government log book, most residents with the title "Esquire" lived in The Bottom. A researcher visiting the island in the 1930's commented that "they married only in their village or with a few newcomers, such as the children of clergy or doctors. A resident of more than eighty years told us that he remembered only two weddings between the people of Bottom and Windwardside" (Price 1934:13).

Crane states that village-centered endogamy was not unique to The Bottom, but was a characteristic common to all in Saba (Crane 1971:231). However, the Catholic marriage registers provide a more nuanced view. There were significant ties between Palmetto Point and Hell's Gate through marriage and sponsors for baptism, and there are many instances in the nineteenth century of children born out of wedlock across the island between parents of different villages (Espersen 2009:88-89). Therefore, the proliferation these "natural" births, as they are recorded in the Catholic baptismal records, served to mitigate the negative effects of village- based endogamy. One village in particular, Palmetto Point, was repeatedly singled out in traveller's accounts of Saba as being socially "backwards". A. Grenfell Price, who conducted a study on Saba with clear racist and social Darwinist intent, exemplifies this in his narratives of Palmetto Point. In addition to titling his section on Palmetto Point as "Marypoint: A Degenerate Community", his derision for the community pervades the article: "...and the present doctor has found no trace yet of hookworm, although one suspects its presence at Marypoint, where no sanitation exists... Yet, except in the tiny village of Marypoint, inbreeding does not seem to have destroyed fertility, stamina, or ability... The worst effects of isolation and inbreeding are to be seen in Marypoint. Here a community of some thirty to forty persons is composed almost entirely of seven families of Sagors, all closely intermarried and interrelated. The land seems fair, the settlement was once quite flourishing and progressive, and a few of the people still possess good physique. The diet is miserable, consisting mainly of bananas and sweet potatoes, cassava, and fish. Little effort is made to provide the children with greens or milk on an island where vegetables grow in profusion and goats are numerous. The people have even lost their former knowledge of baking and carry bread, biscuit, and condensed milk from Bottom by "head". (Price 1934:55, 56). Present day residents of "The Promised Land", a section of The Bottom which was reserved for evacuees from Palmetto Point by the Island Government 1934, are still often considered as socially "inferior".

A dialectic between village and race, in terms of free Sabans of African descent, did not quite manifest on Saba until after emancipation. This resulted in an influx of newly emancipated Sabans to Middle Island, and other districts such as English Quarter in Windwardside. It was not until the early twentieth century, however, that clear divisions were visible between villages according to race (Price 1934:52): "Bottom (800 feet) has become almost entirely black. Windwardside and St. John (1200 to I400 feet) are partly white and partly colored. Hellsgate (1600 feet) is almost entirely white. Marypoint (about 1000 feet) is white but decadent".

Saba after emancipation into the twentieth century

Emancipation was to come along with certain responsibilities for the newly freed. In Surinam, previously enslaved Africans were required to undertake an "apprenticeship" period of 10 years, many

under their former owners; in principal this was to provide them with a trade or skill set to support themselves, but in practice they continued to perform their same duties as before (Emmer 2006:128; Goslinga 1990:310-311). This was not the case in the Dutch Antilles. However, Article 22 of the Emancipation Law received by Beaks stated that previously enslaved Africans were required to work to earn their lodgings four days per week (NArC AN NAC 4 Gouverneur 103 RT:3/11/1862). In the next few months following emancipation, Saba, along with other islands, were adjusting to new types of social organization. On Saba the issue of vagrancy and "idleness" among newly freed Sabans of African descent was addressed to the Governor of Curaçao, who replied that only those found guilty of those crimes by the Bench of Justice, or those condemned to hard labour, could be put to work to clear the step-roads of stones (NArC AN NAC 4 4969:1/11/1863).

All enslaved Africans freed during emancipation were required to register a surname, however, it was not permissible for them to adopt the surname of their former owners. While many on Saba took surnames that had no parallel on the island, other surnames were similar to the original surnames of their former owners, except for some minor changes. Due to the prohibition on adopting the surnames of former owners, in several cases the newly adopted surnames are very similar to that of their own or others' former owners except for slight differences. Emancipation on Saba resulted in the adoption of 105 surnames between 125 households; among them, only one, Carter, has ever appeared as a resident in Saba's documentary record prior to 1863 (Saba Census 1780). An early list of these surnames was in the possession of Arthur Anslijn of Saba, and recorded by Will Johnson (1994, 2012). These are listed in Table 14, in the Appendix. Two "Whitfield" names were registered, similar to the surname "Winfield"; and "Heyligo" was similar to "Heyliger"; "Sorton" is one letter short of "Horton", and "Levenston" (in some cases spelled as "Levenstone") uses stone as a synonym for rock relative to the surname "Leverock". In other instances, surnames were adopted on Saba that belonged to regionally prominent families from other islands, exemplified by a Blyden, Mussenden, Selig, and Lake household on Saba. As discussed in Chapter 4, Nathanial Mussenden was a wealthy merchant on St. Eustatius who participated in the network of trade between St. Eustatius and Saba with South American rebel privateers and pirates during the 1820's and 1830's, and Charles Mussenden was then Chief of Police for Statia. Several Blydens were wealthy plantation owners on St. Eustatius, Carel Selig was the last owner of the Spring Bay Flat plantation during the early nineteenth century as an absentee owner from St. Eustatius; and Nereston Lake was a foreign attorney of unknown origin that defended African descent Sabans in court in the mid nineteenth century (DNAr 1.05.13.901 #540.1:2/12/1847). These are direct examples of surnames as a vector to project class by association, in an identical vein to what was previously discussed with first names. Their proliferation after 1863 makes them very conspicuous indicators of African descent for the late nineteenth and

twentieth centuries on Saba.The social and economic fortunes of Saban continued to dwindle into the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The regional sea trade had collapsed, and Saban seafarers began seeking work further abroad. In particular, many found employment sailing out of New York (Johnson 2014:118-119). Poverty was widespread across the island. Henri Hubert Kol, who toured the Dutch Caribbean to recommend government policies towards the islands on behalf of the Dutch Tweede Kamer (Second Chamber), seriously suggested moving all of Saba's residents to St. Eustatius (Kol 1904:203). This, he mused, would ease the poverty and workload of Sabans, as the lands across the island were exhausted. They would bring their work ethic to farm St. Eustatius, where he noted this ethic was significantly lacking. This recommendation did not come to pass.

While Saba lace continued to be an important export up to the 1930's, the island grew increasingly dependent upon remittances sent in from men working abroad. In particular, there was a large exodus of Sabans that left to work the Lago oil refineries in Aruba and Curaçao. The degree was such that Saba had an all-time high of 2,488 residents in 1915, followed from 1916 to 1960 by a precipitous drop to just 981 (Johnson 1994). Between 1915 and 1920 alone, Saba lost 33% of its population largely to these refineries. However, the economic fortunes at these refineries were only open towards white Sabans, as Sabans of African descent were unwanted as employees by Shell. The depopulation of Saba by white Sabans resulted in increasing vacancies in space and housing, especially in The Bottom, as entire families moved abroad with no guarantee of return. Many of the vacant lands and houses in The Bottom were purchased by Sabans of African descent, to the point that by 1934, an American visitor noted that there were almost no white Sabans living there (Price 1934:52). "Bottom (800 feet) has become almost entirely black. Windwardside and St. John (1,200 to 1,400 feet) are partly white and partly colored. Hellsgate (1,600 feet) is almost entirely white. Marypoint (about 1,000 feet) is white but decadent".

The demographics relative to the surviving Saban villages mentioned have not changed substantially since this time. The Saban economy changed significantly by the 1980's, with a shift to education and tourism. The Saba School of Medicine opened in 1988, and hosts approximately 500 medical students per year (Lockie Johnson, personal communication 2015), and during this decade, scuba diving and eco-tourism established the second pillar of the island's current economy.

Saba's governance changed considerably in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. In 1954, Saba became part of the Netherlands Antilles, which was created as a constituent country within the Kingdom of the Netherlands. The Netherlands Antilles was composed of Curaçao, Bonaire, Aruba, St. Maarten, St. Eustatius, and Saba. Aruba, however, left the country in 1985 and obtained its own status as a constituent country. The rest of the Netherlands Antilles survived until 2010, when it was dissolved following the results of a national referendum on the status of each island. Saba and Bonaire

voted for closer integration into the Netherlands, while St. Eustatius voted to retain the status quo with the Netherlands Antilles. However, St. Maarten and Curaçao both voted for more independence, leaving Statia's vote moot. St. Eustatius was, somewhat controversially, drawn into closer integration with the Netherlands as a result, and now together with Bonaire and Saba composes what is commonly known as the BES islands, which are governed uniquely as "Public Entities" of the Netherlands.

Closing remarks

From the dawn of Saba's colonial era to the present, the island's history features a range of ideological constants, and others that have either changed or disappeared relative to shifts in governance, the island's economy, the institution of slavery, and emancipation. Some zeal was apparent in the decade following the island's colonization by the Dutch, witnessing the expansion of sugar plantations and the importation of several hundred enslaved Africans. However, Saba lost the interest of colonial authorities in succeeding centuries, being neither profitable nor an expense to govern, and characterized regionally as an island of poor people dependent upon fishing and agriculture. Indeed, poverty on Saba relative to the region can characterize a significant proportion of its population throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, exacerbated especially after hurricanes in 1772 and 1780. For a small minority of plantations owners, though, Saba was an island of profit. These plantations, however, were owned mostly in absentia from St. Eustatius, echoing the similar relationship of both islands relative to subsidiary governance. Saba, though, never became a full-fledged plantation colony, which served bifurcate the experience of slavery between plantation and non-plantation contexts. In the following chapter, the material and socio-spatial components of Saba's sugar and indigo plantations will be discussed from the results of archaeological excavations between 2012 and 2015.

Chapter 5: Excavated Plantation Contexts

This chapter will describe the methodologies employed as part of archaeological excavations, followed by the results of excavations across relevant plantation sites on Saba that form the core database for this research. The process of excavation will be described along with details of artifact compositions. The colonial components of the three sites discussed herein, being Flat Point (SB 001), Spring Bay (SB 004), and Spring Bay Flat (SB 007), were first surveyed by Jay Haviser (1985) in 1983. The sites are discussed according to their first appearance on Saba. The plantations excavated provided important datasets for this research. They provide a window into the first two centuries of Saba's colonial period, and in the case of Spring Bay Flat and Flat Point, produced assemblages that can be directly associated with the plantations' enslaved Africans. In turn this provides important comparative data for contemporary, non-plantation sites across Saba, and insight into the experience of slavery on Saba on foreign-owned plantations versus the realms of slavery under Sabans themselves. Early capitalist organizational structures are visible on the landscape of Saban sugar and indigo plantations through the intentional placement of structures relative to location and function as a means to maximize profits and control labour. As such, activity areas and structures can be identified within the plantations through the socio-spatial dialectic. Decisions regarding the designation of activity areas and choices of structure locations were also tempered through the realities imposed by Saba's physical geography. Together these factors have combined to limit the size of sugar plantations to small scale operations, though this was compensated to some degree by the high quality of sugar the island was known to produce.

Fieldwork procedures

An overview of the field procedures employed during the project will describe the methods employed during the survey and excavation of sites, and subsequently how artifacts and features were recorded, processed, and catalogued. The excavation and cataloging procedures were those employed by the St. Eustatius Center for Archaeological Research (SECAR). Just prior to August 2011, the entire cache of Leiden University's archaeological fieldwork equipment had been moved to St. Eustatius for storage. It had been in storage at the Saba Fire Department branch in English Quarter, but the Island's Fire Chief has requested the cache be removed by July 2011. As a result, the author had to slowly begin building up a new supply of archaeological field equipment. Given the gradual accumulation of field equipment, fieldwork procedures evolved accordingly between 2011 and 2013. At each site on Saba, the fieldwork procedures included an initial surface collection, identifying activity areas and surface artifact concentrations, and excavating an initial series of test units that would

provide the best data for determining the site occupation period. Together this provided foundational, site-specific data which would help determine the locations of the next series of excavation units.

Excavation

Most units were excavated by trowel. Those units that were excavated by shovel, such as the 1.5m x 2.8m unit from the privy excavation at SB 036, were done due to time constraints; in this case, due to impending construction. Structure B at Spring Bay Flat and most of the Spring Bay boiling house was also excavated by shovel, since the soil deposits was less than 10cm deep, and the site saw no reuse following the termination of operations at the respective plantations. All soil screening was done with plastic, 0.5cm wide mesh. Where microfaunal remains were seen or expected, secondary screening was done with 0.2cm wide mesh. When fragile, in situ faunal remains were excavated, wooden clay-sculpting tools were employed.

Finds, features, and soils

Most individual units were measured to one meter by one meter (1x1 m), unless a feature or deposit would be more visible if excavated along the extents. Vertical layers, with some exceptions, were excavated in 10cm intervals, dubbed as "contexts" on the artifact bags and catalogues, but from herein will be referred to as "layers". In the two cases of the trash pits at Middle Island, which showed no stratigraphy or seriation in artifact deposits, they were excavated as one context to the end of the feature. Prior to the excavation of any new context within a unit, it was photographed from the vantage point of the four cardinal directions using a Sony A57 DSLR camera with a Minolta AF 28-85 lens, with each photo showing the surface of the new context and adjoining soil profiles. *In situ* finds that were designated as significant were photographed from the four cardinal directions as well, and in certain cases, were filmed with a Sony J58DV video camera in 1024p HD resolution. Soils from each context in a given unit were described on a feature form. Excavated material was sieved through five-millimeter plastic mesh. All ceramics, glass, metal, and faunal remains were collected by hand and placed in a ziplock bag relative to its unit and context. Artifacts too large to fit into bags were tagged with its contextual data, and removed from the site into dry storage. Artifacts too large or impractical to be removed from the site, such as bricks and cobbled stones, were measured and photographed *in situ*. All material excavated from the sites were stored in large Rubbermaid containers outside my house on Saba, given the lack of indoor storage space available anywhere on the island. At the end of the field season, the Island Government of Saba provided artifact storage space for the SABARC in the old library in Windwardside, which by then had totaled twenty-two 18 gallon containers.

Off-site processing of artifacts

The majority of the artifact assemblage consisted of glass, ceramics, and to a lesser extent, faunal remains. All faunal and non-faunal finds were taken back to the lab in Windwardside, separated by site, unit and layer/feature, for separation, identification, and cleaning. All non-faunal and non-ferrous artifacts were washed in cistern water and scrubbed with soft-bristle toothbrushes to remove soil and loose concretions. Ferrous artifacts were brushed dry with the aforementioned toothbrushes. Faunal remains and shell were cleaned wet, soft-bristle toothbrushes, and bamboo sate sticks, depending on their structural integrity. After air drying, the artifacts were separated into typologies, and stored in sealed, clear plastic bags relative to their index in the catalogue. All artifacts were separated according to function, fabric, and style as specifically as possible. These typological groupings were then counted, weighed (in grams), and assigned a minimum number of individuals (MNI). The analysis of faunal remains from Palmetto Point, Middle Island, were undertaken by Philippa Jorissen at the Florida Museum of Natural History as the basis for her BA thesis at the Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University. As part of her own research, she also included faunal materials from a trash pit between large rocks at a district of Hell's Gate known as "Behind-the-Ridge".

Site mapping

Archaeological sites relevant to this research were mapped using a Trimble GeoXH centimeter edition differential GPS with a Zephyr 2 antenna, both mounted on a range pole. Real Time Kinematic (RTK) corrections were available during all surveys, with accuracies ranging from +/- 3cm at SB 001 and SB 037, to +/-40cm at SB 026, due to extensive canopy cover. The data was post processed using Trimble GPS Pathfinder Office, and subsequently exported to QGIS Chugiak 2.4 to create site maps from the results.

SB 004: Spring Bay Sugar and Indigo Plantation

Overview and site location

Spring Bay, not to be confused with Spring Bay Flat, is located in the northeast of Saba, between Kelbey's Ridge to the North, and the foot of Old Booby Hill to the South, with a flat coastline that stretches for about 300m. Over the course of approximately 150m west, the ground rises from sea level to 50m, with a slope averaging between 5-10 degrees. Between 150m-250m the slope gradually steepens from a grade of 30 to 40 degrees, until the faces of the cliffs lining Spring Bay to the west are reached. The slopes surrounding Spring Bay are drained by four main guts, the largest of which is located about 50m south of the boiling house ruins. The lower slopes of Spring Bay are mostly

treeless, and consist of swathes of *Plumbago scandens, Croton flavens L.*, and some *Melocactus intortus*. At the terminus of the second gut lies the remains of a well and indigo processing site, described in the following section. Fresh water collects in the well as groundwater runoff from the aforementioned gut.

Haviser's (1985) survey of Spring Bay recovered seventeenth and eighteenth century ceramics, and noted a considerable Amerindian component to the site as well, which was later investigated by Hofman (1993) and Hoogland (1996). The exposed parts of the boiling house were mapped by Bruins (2000).



Figure 13: View of Spring Bay from Kelbey's Ridge, before the storm of 23 December 2013. The ruins of the boiling house are visible in the lower middle of the photo.

Geology

The first 50m of elevation at Spring Bay between Kelbey's Ridge and Old Booby Hill, encompassing the area of concern for this review, consists mainly of unlithified andesite block and ash flow deposits (Roobol & Smith 2004:Plate 2), along with sporadic deposits of sand and gravel eroded down the guts from the slopes leading up to English Quarter and Hell's Gate prior to 2013. A more thorough analysis of the site's geology is available from Hoogland's dissertation (1996). Coastal erosion is evident, and is exacerbated by Spring Bay's exposure to the Northeastern trade winds. The rain storm of 23 December 2013, which the author personally experienced on the island, severely eroded the third gut, which exponentially increased its size, and deposited massive volumes of sediment from the upper slopes extending above the Hell's Gate dump. Accumulated precipitation on Saba from the day ranged from 180mm in St. John's, to 250mm in Hell's Gate. The massive water runoff from Hell's Gate resulted in extensive erosion from the upper slopes, and by consequence deposited such large volumes of sediment that a sand beach was created along most of the coast of Spring Bay, deep enough to cover all traces of underlying rock except for a small area in the middle shoreline. This erosion event also carried down material from the Hell's Gate dry dump, which were

deposited along the water's course within the sediment. This consisted mainly of twentieth and twenty-first century scrap metal and ceramic tiles. This event has significantly impacted the geography of Spring Bay, and similar erosion events from large storms during the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries may have accounted for the eventual abandonment of sugar processing there in favor of the better-drained Spring Bay Flat site.

Use of landscape and the socio-spatial dialectic

The only three visible colonial structures at Spring Bay include a sugar boiling house, a well with an attached indigo production site, and a dry stone structure built into the face of a boulder, dubbed Structure A, which is similar to those found at Spring Bay Flat, Upper Hell's Gate, Tannia Ground, and the Rendezvous. Spring Bay's location was a logical choice for an early sugar plantation. It offered one of the largest areas of relatively flat land on Saba, provided ready access to fresh water, and was directly accessible from a bay that provided anchorage. This allowed sugar and indigo produced at Spring Bay to be loaded onto rowboats for shipping direct from the plantation. However, this also left it prone to raids and invasions, such as Morgan's raid in 1665, as this was not a defensible location. The boiling house is situated approximately 100m southwest of the sea, well away from shoreline erosion which begins about 50m inland. Storm surges have eroded the sand, ash, and boulder soil matrix that composes the entirety of Spring Bay. While the shoreline rises slowly from sea level, Spring Bay begins from the eroded edge of a plateau about five meters high over the shore. Its location also places it downwind of the trade winds from the shoreline, thus the Big House would have been situated between the two to avoid the fumes associated with sugar production. Interestingly, no ruins of a Big House could be located. According to Armstrong & Kelley's (2000) model, it would have been located upwind of the boiling house, and therefore placing it close to the shore. Unfortunately, it appears that the Big House was consumed by erosion. In a similar vein, the enslaved African domestic area may have suffered the same fate as it would have been located sufficiently close to the Big House to permit direct supervision. The cattle mill is a round plateau reinforced on the sides by a short dry stone terrace. It is located above and nearly adjacent to the southwest corner of the boiling house, and the direction of the cane juice trough in the boiling house points to the general location of the rollers formerly located in the center of the cattle mill. The remains of one or possibly two large structures directly northeast of the boiling house are visible at Spring Bay through satellite imagery, shown in Figure 14. The first structure appears to have been built flush or nearly flush to the southern edge of the two-story curing and drying house. On the satellite imagery, it measures approximately 22m northeast to southwest, and 15 meters northwest to southeast. However, from the ground this area appears non-descript, being nothing more than a

large surface scatter of unmodified andesite cobbles averaging 30cm to 40cm in diameter, and none appear to hold any remains of bonded mortar. This may have been the cattle pen, as both cattle pens at Flat Point and Spring Bay Flat were constructed of dry stone.



Figure 14: Google Earth satellite image of Spring Bay, showing the boiling house and the possible structures parallel and immediately west of the yellow line. The deep wash channel from the 23 December 2013 storm is clearly visible in the center.

There appears to be a row of boundary markers set in a line running north from the eastern edge of the boiling house. These markers consist of stationary boulders with one or two smaller rocks placed on top. These are pictured in Figure 15. The gut situated to the southeast of the boiling house also featured a small bridge that spanned across it, pointed out to the author by Menno Hoogland. The foundations of each side are still visible, and appear to have been reinforced with cement at some point during the twentieth century. The large gut that was carved out during the 23 December 2013 storm fortunately did not consume the bridge foundations.



Figure 15: Facing northeast, boundary markers made of stacked stone extending to the boiling house, located in the background flush to the right of the tree in the center of the photo.

Surface collection

Relatively few colonial artifacts were recovered from surface collections across SB 001 that provide an indication relative to the use period of sugar production at Spring Bay. This included 17 ceramic sherds, mostly tin enamel wares and Buckley wares. Some later eighteenth century sherds were also recovered, consisting of three creamware sherds, and a diaper-rim pattern white salt glaze stoneware plate. These later sherds are would post-date the sugar production period. Numerous Amerindian sherds were also noted across the surface, and unclustered scatters of shell were found throughout the entirely of the site, but generally more concentrated towards the shoreline.

A chance find included a small, oblong Amerindian diorite bead. Given the prolonged Amerindian occupation at Spring Bay (Hoogland 1996; Hofman 1995; Hofman & Hoogland 2003) together with colonial period uses, the surface scatters of shell were disregarded for collection due to a lack of reliable context.

Most interestingly, an eight-faceted, purple glass bead measuring 8mm in diameter was found on the surface on the edge of a plateau dropping off to the shoreline, between the second and third guts at Spring Bay. This type of bead was manufactured in Nantes in the eighteenth century as a barter item specifically to purchase enslaved Africans from slave traders off the west coast of Africa. A bracelet of these beads, strung together with a silver chain, are on display at the slavery museum at the Castle of the Dukes of Brittany. Photos of the Spring Bay bead were sent to curators at this museum, who are of the opinion that it was indeed manufactured in Nantes for the French transatlantic slave trade (Anne Reydellet and Fabienne Bounab, personal communication 2014). This bracelet displayed in Figure 17. This bead is one of the few artifacts from the fieldwork that can be directly associated with the transatlantic slave trade.

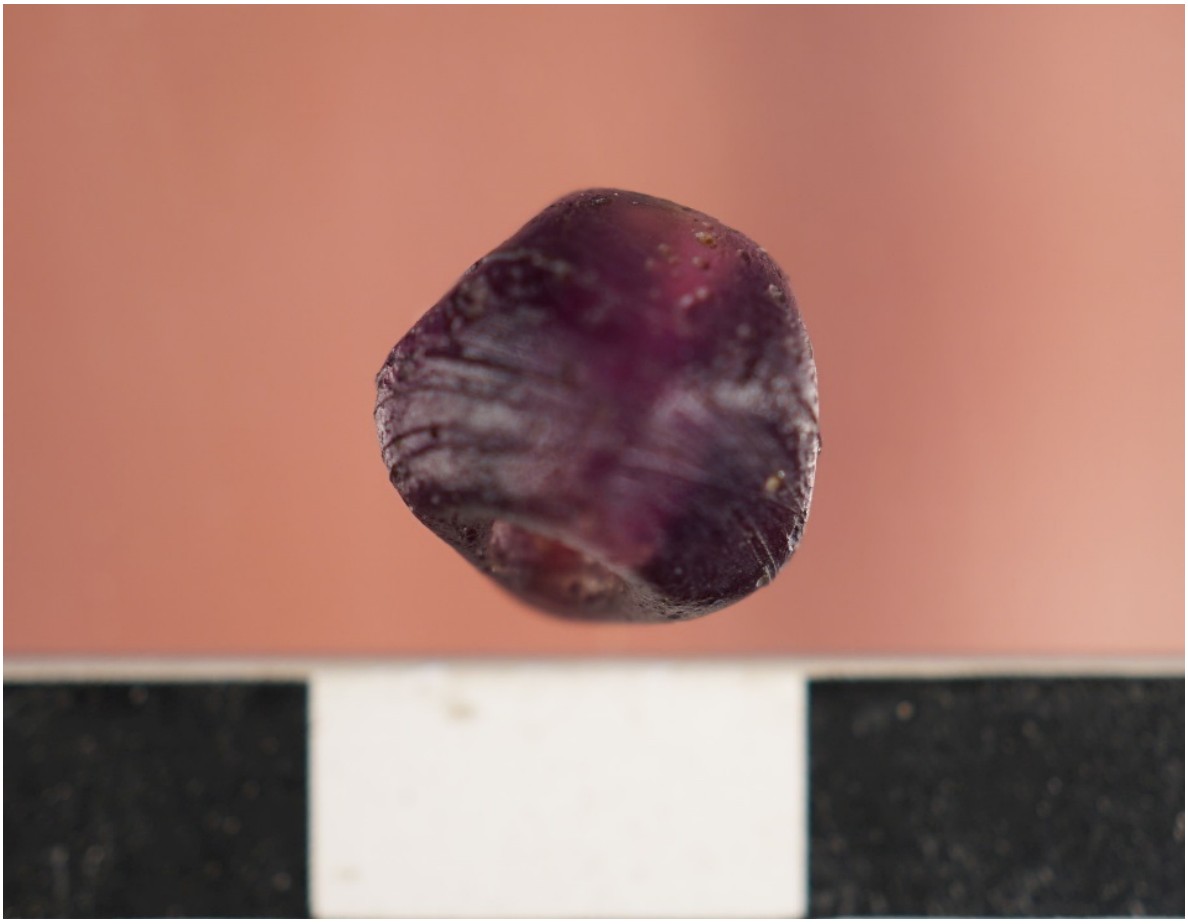


Figure 16: Eight-faceted purple bead from Spring Bay. Scale at 1cm intervals.



Figure 17: A bracelet of French slave trade beads manufactured in Nantes. Photo by staff of Castle of the Dukes of Brittany, used with permission.

One cowrie shell was found, 68mm in length, with a heart-shaped perforation centered over the outer lip, with the pointed end aligned towards it. Such a shape would result due to its suspension from that point by a string. The surface area between the perforation and the outer lip is also notably smoother than the same area opposite the other lip. Together these criteria indicate that this shell was used as adornment. Cowrie shells were employed in West Africa as a form of currency and prestige, although they are not native to the coast of West Africa, and were often obtained rather through trade from East Africa. They appear on sites associated with slavery across the New World,

evidently brought over by enslaved Africans during the transatlantic slave trade (Hyman & Rice 2011; Samford 1996).



Figure 18: Cowrie shell from SB 004, obverse.



Figure 19: Cowrie shell from SB 004, reverse.

SB 005: Spring Bay well and indigo processing vats

The well at SB 004 is incorporated into an indigo processing site at the foot of the second gut at Spring Bay. It was originally surveyed by Haviser (1985). This water source at Spring Bay appears in the oral history of Saba through the "Tale of Johnny Frau", described by Will Johnson:

> The early settlers, in their search for fresh water, discovered a spring on a rocky beach on the east end of the island. Because of this spring the beach became known as Spring Bay. In order to have drinking water, the settlers would have to bring it on their heads in wooden tubs and kegs, uphill to their village, located about two miles away and fourteen hundred feet above sea level. Near the Spring Bay there also lived Carib Indians in makeshift huts and caves. The white settlers often had to go without water, because of fear of fierce Indians, especially one, known as the Great Injun because of his huge size. One of the settlers, named Johnny Frau, decided that they had taken enough from this Indian, and also being a giant in size, he went alone, carrying his water keg, in order to entice the Indian to fight with him. Sure enough the Indian saw him coming down the hill, and thinking this was a fine chance to kill the white man, he hid himself on a ridge, which later became known as Fair Play Ridge, and attacked Johnny Frau with a club. A fearful struggle ensued. They fought and battered each other until eventually they reached the sea at Spring Bay. Entering the sea they continued fighting until, overcome with exhaustion and loss of blood, both of them drowned. The body of the Indian was never found, but Johnny Frau's body was cast in a pond near the airport, and this spot is known today as Johnny Frau's pond to this day (Johnson 2014:102-103).

The well is circular, and lined with cobbled, locally sourced andesite rock, and laid with modern Portland cement. It was reconstructed in the 1970's after being filled in with sediment from a storm surge. The well measures 980cm deep, 110cm in diameter, and 740cm to the water level as of 23 January 2014, thus holding 2,281.7 liters of water. An irregularly shaped, Portland cement-lined platform surrounds the surface opening of the well, measuring approximately 350cm x 350cm. On 27 December 2013, just four days after the aforementioned storm, from a visual estimate, the water level was approximately 2m from the top of the well, so it appears that the well is not capable of retaining water for extended periods in its current state.



Figure 20: SB 005; well and indigo processing vats at Spring Bay.

Two basins are attached immediately east and below the well foundations, each lower than the next. Both basins are filled with sediment, but have not been rebuilt in the twentieth century, unlike the well. The first basin measures 447cm north to south (14.5 Imperial feet), 488cm east to west (16 Imperial feet), and set 65cm higher than the second basin below. The latter measures 368cm (12 Imperial feet) east to west, 322cm (10.5 Imperial feet) north to south, and 83cm tall. There may be a third basin buried below the second, but there were no remains visible on the surface. The evident use of whole and half measurements in English feet rather than Dutch feet to construct the basins suggests that it may have originally built or designed by a person of English, Irish, or Scottish

descent. No drains were visible leading from the well or between the basins. However, the positioning of these basins successively below and adjacent to the well, together with their shape, is identical to typical indigo production sites across the Caribbean. In a similar vein to Spring Bay Flat, Spring Bay was a dual sugar and indigo production site.

SB 004: Structure A

Structure A follows the architectural style of the enslaved African huts at Spring Bay Flat, whereby two dry stone walls project out from the face of a large boulder. Structure A, along with the structure at SB 047, represent the best examples of this style on Saba. In this instance, three dry stone walls are present, with the third located perpendicular to the ends of the first two to form an enclosed square with the boulder. This area measures 245cm east to west, and 220cm north to south. The walls have two layers of stacked stone remaining. It is located just 8m east of the old bridge foundation, which has since been destroyed by the 23 December 2013 storm. Structure A was nearly claimed by the storm as well; the southern bank of gut 3 is now almost flush to the north-facing dry stone wall. Another significant precipitation event which triggers bank erosion will eventually destroy the site.



Figure 21: Spring Bay, Structure A, facing south.

The eastern half of Structure A was excavated by trowel in 10cm levels, to a final depth of 70cm. Surprisingly few artifacts were recovered from this unit. In each Level, an Amerindian ceramic

sherd was found, with two from Level 1. The two sherds from Level 1 were the red, unburnished edge of a cassava griddle. In successive layers the ceramics were the same type; a brown body and burnished with sand temper. In Level 1, 65 rusted iron fragments were recovered, which appear to comprise the remains of a bucket, but this is not certain. Beginning at a depth of 16cm in Layer 2, and saturating Level 3 by 25cm, was a layer of marl and some charcoal. This feature ended at the beginning of Level 4. In Level 4, a layer of packed clay loam was encountered, which transitioned to clay by around 38cm depth. The top 4cm of Layer 5 consisted mostly of deposits of agglomerate rock averaging 10cm in diameter, embedded in clay, but this transitioned, somewhat curiously, into a layer of sand that was relatively free of rock from just above. This may be a sand deposit from a massive erosion event similar to the 23 December 2013 storm, which would account for the lack of rocks within this layer. Two burnishing stones were recovered from the clay layer of Level 5, measuring 90mm x 120mm x 20mm, and 150mm x 100mm x 45mm respectively. Also in Level 5, a sherd of buff-bodied tin enamel ware was recovered, likely dating from the seventeenth century. Levels 6 and 7 consisted again mostly of deposits of agglomerate rock, embedded within a clay matrix, with no artifacts present.

The layer of marl within the structure indicates that this may have been the floor of a domestic structure, as these floors have been found by Douglas Armstrong (1990) within enslaved African huts in Jamaica. However, the supporting base of dry stone surrounding the structure are only two stones thick, and while some outward collapse of these walls is evident, they would not have been thick enough to support the types of dry stone walls as seen at SB 001 or the structure at SB 039. There were also no postholes noted in the southeast and northeast corners of the structure, therefore its identification at present is uncertain.

Spring Bay in context

The Spring Bay boiling house represents the oldest and largest standing ruined building on Saba. It is also the oldest sugar production site on Saba along with Flat Point, as the boiling house and associated structures in The Bottom from the Dinzey plantation were dismantled. The state of the standing ruins testifies to its location in the social and geographical periphery of Saba, as ruins were normally scavenged for bricks and face stones by Sabans for use in construction elsewhere; this was the case for the Spring Bay Flat plantation, where the bricks and face stones from the boiling works and Big House were salvaged to construct the Catholic church in Windwardside during the 1850's (Will Johnson, personal communication 2013). The plantation's location within Spring Bay, along with the Flat Point plantation in the adjacent Cove Bay, testifies to the early use of Spring Bay as a means to ship plantation produce directly to ships at anchor via rowboat. The sugar plantation would have been

destroyed during Edward Morgan's 1665 raid, but appears to have been reconstructed at some point thereafter, and ceased sugar production during the early eighteenth century. Indigo production or cotton cultivation probably continued thereafter. The layout of the Spring Bay Flat boiling house is very similar to that of Spring Bay, and as they are on the same estate, the former may have been modeled after the latter. Few artifacts were recovered from within the boiling house, and the remains of the Big House and enslaved African domestic areas could not be located, as they were probably destroyed due to shoreline erosion. Despite this, two artifacts were found that bear associations with slavery: the French slave trade bead, and the large, perforated cowrie shell.

SB 001: Flat Point Plantation

Overview, site location, and details from the historical record

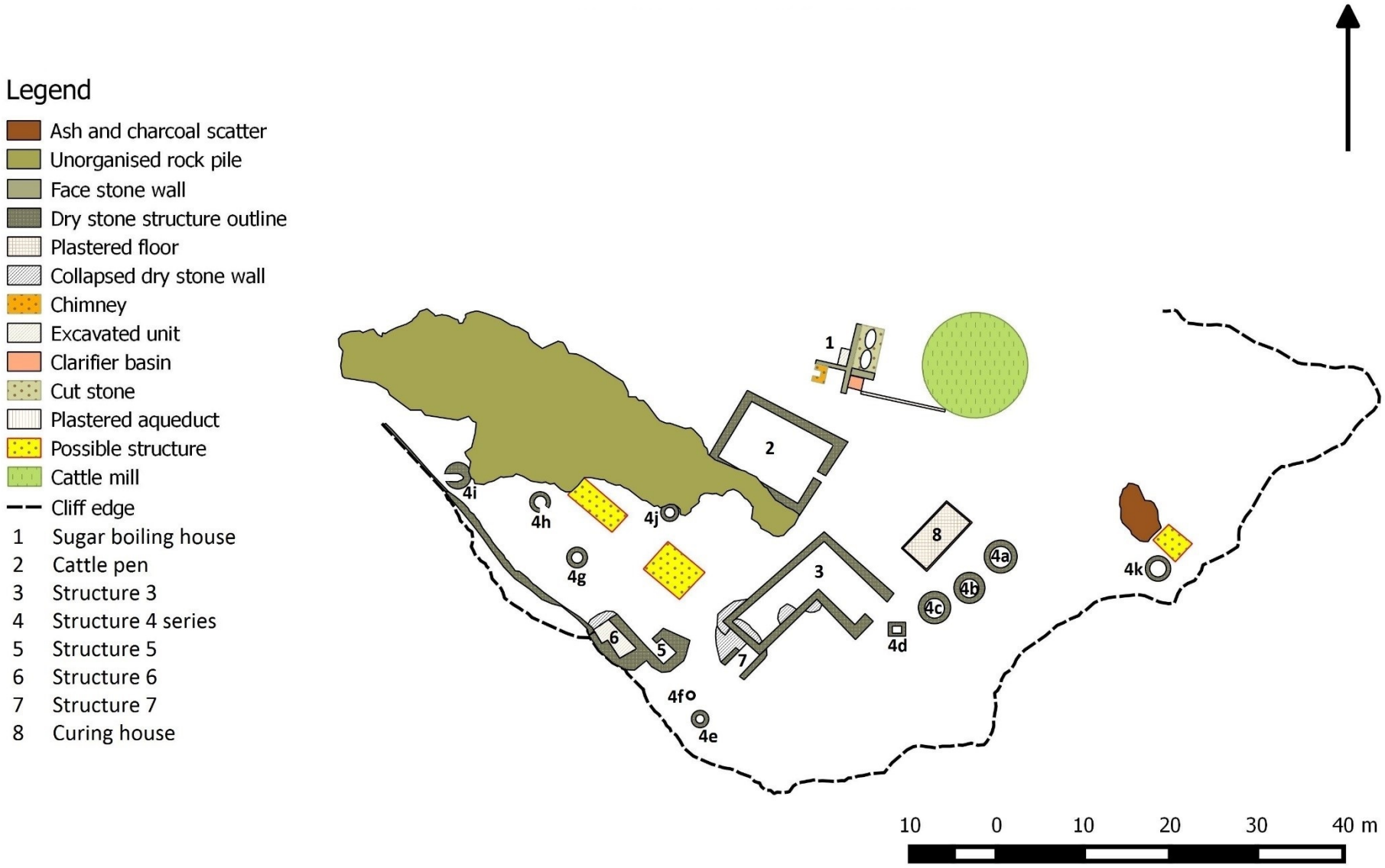
The Flat Point plantation is one of the best preserved set of colonial ruins on Saba, and is easily accessible by trail immediately adjacent to the Saba Comprehensive School technical skills building. The sugar works, featuring a four-pot Jamaica train, are located on the southern tip of Flat Point, at an elevation of averaging 20m, and encompasses an area of approximately 0.5 hectares. The plantation also included a well at Cove Bay which is now overlaid with a children's playground, and indigo vats at the opposite end of Cove Bay from the boiling works. The area is quite dry, and the vegetation consists mainly of grasses, *Crotons flavens L., Kalanchoe pinnata, Pilosocereus lanuginosis,* and some *Coccoloba uvifera*, which includes a large specimen rooted into the center of the sugar boiling house. The site features a sugar boiling house, a curing and drying house, two large dry stone structures, at least two small, rectangular dry stone enslaved African domestic structures, and eight small, rounded dry stone structures whose purpose is yet unknown. No remains of a Big House have been located in this area. The planted area for sugar would have been located at the present site of the airport, just 60m north across a gut. This spans an area of approximately seven hectares, and would have required no terracing to cultivate. This is comparable in area to the Spring Bay sugar plantation, and thus a similar number of enslaved Africans would have worked and resided at the Flat Point plantation. By the 1950's, the lands around Flat Point were not cultivated had reverted to grasslands and bush, as they were considered inaccessible, requiring a two to three-hour round trip by donkey (Keur & Keur 1960:75).

Haviser's (1985) survey noted an eighteenth to nineteenth century use period for the site, including an Amerindian component. There are two other nearby sites within Cove Bay which would have formed part of the Flat Point plantation. This includes a round well, SB 002, which is presently located under a children's playground at Cove Bay, and SB 003, which is an indigo processing site along

with a buried well, situated at the west end. SB 003 is tellingly situated a fair distance away from both the sugar boiling house and the planted area as a means to mitigate the noxious fumes which result from indigo production. A flat tract of land just above Cove Bay, immediately north of the present-day Saba Comprehensive School Technical building, is almost entirely clear of rocks, in stark contrast to the surrounding upper slopes which is strewn with loose deposits of igneous rock. This area, including the space which the Technical building occupies, may have been the location for either the Big House or another enslaved African settlement area. A probable rectangular dry stone pile grave, oriented towards the east-northeast, was found about 50m northwest of the modern technical school building.

Throughout the entirety of the author's documentary research regarding Saba, the only historical reference to the Flat Point plantation is found among a series of property sales across the island after the disastrous 1772 and 1780 hurricanes, wherein Simon Donker, a wealthy resident of St. Eustatius, sold lands "in flat point" for pcs. 13.4.0 (DNAr 1.05.13.01 #54). Archaeological evidence points to an operation period during the mid seventeenth century. Together with Spring Bay, the plantation would have suffered destruction by the English in 1665. The site probably had a hiatus period in sugar production at least between 1665 and 1679, as no enslaved Africans were noted by 1679. However, this hiatus may have extended into the first decade of the eighteenth century as Labat did not remark upon any sugar production on Saba.

Figure 22: Flat Point Boiling Works and Enslaved African Domestic Area



Geology

SB 001 is located on the southern tip of a balsitic andesite lava flow, which extends from above Upper Hells Gate, and downslope into the ocean, terminating at what is now known as Flat Point (Roobol & Smith 2004:36). The soils at Flat Point are thin, due to its continuous exposure to northeast trade winds and general lack of vegetation to mitigate the effects of wind erosion. The topsoil consists of a sandy loam across the top 5cm, transitioning into infertile, very poorly sorted sand by between 14cm - 20cm.

Site layout

The archaeological features at SB 001 consist of industrial structures related to sugar production, and at least two enslaved African domestic structures. The use of dry stone walls as the basis for a variety of different structures served two practical purposes. It cleared the land of naturally deposited stones from across the surface, and these stones in turn were used to construct the structures necessary for the operation of the plantation. The surface deposits of stone are spaced apart on average approximately 30 to 50cm. Even if the plantation owner desired structures built from materials other than local rock, stones would have to be removed from the surface as they would needlessly complicate construction and make safe walking difficult; those concealed by tall and matted grass verge on hazardous. Fortunately, due to the requirement of having to clear an area of stones for practical use at SB 001 and its surroundings, those regions clear of stones indicate an human-modified environment. These areas include the interiors of structures, (disregarding collapsed stone walls,) the immediate surroundings of structures, the cattle mill, and the area directly west of the present-day technical school. All other areas of SB 001 feature the natural, dense surface deposits of andesite and basalt. The site's proximity adjacent to Cove Bay provided a means to ship plantation produce to a vessel laying at anchor in Spring Bay via a rowboat from the shore, as was done at Fort Bay up until the construction of the harbor in the late twentieth century.



Figure 23: The terrain south of Structure 3, leading to the cliffs.

Note the high concentration of undisturbed surface rock.



Figure 24: Flat Point dry stone structures, facing west. Structure 2 is visible on the left, and Structure 1 along with a 2m scale rod can be seen on the right. The twinned lines of rocks in the lower right quadrant is a modern trail outline.

Spatial organization

The locations of Structures 3, 5, 6, and 7 at SB 001 correspond to probable enslaved African domestic structures based upon the Armstrong & Kelly model. They are located to the southern periphery of the site, and in the case of Structures 5 and 6 in particular, are constructed right up to the edge of the cliff and incorporated into the cliff wall which fringes its southwest section. They are also close to the boiling house, between 40m and 50m away, and they are situated upon terrain strewn with irregularly shaped magmatic stones which would have required clearing in order to create areas for practical use and safe walking. The eastern half of the site features many large, immovable misshapen balsitic andesite boulders; while these were incorporated into dry stone buildings in the western half, the eastern half bears no evidence of structures or terrain modification. The plateau that is now entirely encompassed by the airport was entirely cleared of stones and planted with sugar and indigo, since the only other possible area, which is the incline to the west leading up to Hell's Gate, bears no evidence of terracing and is strewn with so many magmatic stones that walking is treacherous. However, an area of about 1,700 square meters situated on and to the west of the current Saba Technical School in Cove Bay is very conspicuously entirely cleared of natural surface

deposits of rock that otherwise surround the upper surrounding slopes. In addition, about 30m northwest of the Technical School, a rectangular dry stone pile grave was located. This area is located between the planted field, the upwind of the indigo vat, and near the boiling house, making it an ideal location for both the Big House and an enslaved African domestic area. Therefore, the constraints of the immediate surrounding geography limits the possibilities for other enslaved African housing areas largely to this area, and the southwestern section of the boiling house plateau at SB 001.

Surface collections

Considering the size of SB 001, relatively few artifacts were recovered from active surface collections. They were scattered across the entirety of the site, with the only concentration of artifacts visible at Structure 6, which is treated separately. The surface collection consisted of mid seventeenth to mid eighteenth century ceramics, including Buckley ware; early varieties of tin enamel ware including lead-backed ware, polychrome dash-chargers, and Bristol blue-red-green; white salt glaze stoneware; Rhenish "tiger" stoneware, Nottingham stoneware; and early creamware. Four sherds comprising half of a grey, burnished, everted-rim pot were also found between two boulders, dating from the pre-Columbian period. Remaining artifacts included five wrought nails, a nearly-complete eighteenth century case bottle, and a concave orange roof tile fragment.

Many of the artifacts recovered from the surface collection were found underneath or between the nooks of non-structural boulders. Two joined chain links were found underneath a boulder approximately 50cm in diameter which rested on two smaller rocks to create a hidden nook. Large glass bottle fragments were also found in nooks similar to this across the site. These repeated finds suggest that enslaved Africans took efforts to cache contraband and other items that may have been implicated in their repression, such as chains.

Surface collections in the area immediately north and east of the technical school building were much more varied than upon the boiling house plateau. Twentieth and twenty-first century debris is scattered across the entirety of the area, including many asphalt shingles, beer bottles, liquor bottles, and remains from fireworks. The site appears to have been host for alcohol consumption throughout the nineteenth century as well, based upon the glass assemblage sporadically scattered across the area. An eastward-oriented dry stone outline grave was located approximately 50m northwest of the Technical building. It is larger than other grave markers of this type as found in Windwardside and Middle Island, and is the only known grave within the surrounding area of SB 001.

Structures 2 and 8

Structure 2 is in all probability a cattle pen. It consists of just four large dry stone walls, ranging between 1m to 2.5m in height. The south "wall" however, is better termed as a flat-faced, disorganized heap; this mound of collected rocks extends across a large swathe of the site, eventually sloping down to ground level on all sides. A sherd of a large, orange coarse earthenware storage jar was recovered from within. The nature of Structure 8 is difficult to ascertain. It is a rectangular structure linked with outward-aligned face stones, and the western half of the floor consists of small, unworked stones set into the ground, overlain with a white, sand-paste plaster. The plastered floor is somewhat indicative of a curing house, as these floors were often found within them as a means to recover molasses that would otherwise have been wasted during the curing process, and may have been tapered as a means to collect any molasses runoff. No artifacts were noted within the structure. However, curing houses were often located close or even adjacent to boiling houses as this made use of radiant heat from the furnace to speed up the separation process of sugar from molasses. It is also quite small in size for a curing house considering the volume of sugar that a four-pot Jamaica train could have produced. It may rather have served as a shelter for indigo drying. No visible surface evidence of other structures was found around the boiling house which could have potentially served as the curing house.

Structure 3

Structure 3 is an "L" shaped structure constructed entirely of dry stone walls averaging 2m in height. Its function is not immediately discernible, since there are no known parallels to any similar structure in the Caribbean except for the Steward Plantation in St. Eustatius (Stelten 2012), which also dates to the eighteenth century. Stelten determined that the L-shaped building at the Steward plantation is probably part of the enslaved African village as the interior was filled with intertidal shellfish and ceramics. This assemblage is very similar to Structure 6 at Flat Point. The exterior bend of Structure 6 measures 15.90m by 11.00m, and average width of the interior measures approximately four meters. The interior appears to be divided into three rooms, as portions of the interior around the bend from the entrance are partially filled with stones that were previously part of a dry stone wall, but not from the main walls which comprise the structure itself. While this structure is certainly worthy of further inquiry, it was not excavated due to logistical limitations.

Structure 5

This dry stone structure shares its western wall with Structure 6, although there is no entrance which allows movement directly between them. Nonetheless, they should be considered a single

structure, but for the purposes of comparison, the division will persist. The interior of the structure measures approximately 200cm x 200cm, with the dry stone walls stacked 100cm high and about 100cm wide. The structure opens to the northwest, with an entrance about 105cm wide. Compared to the interior of the adjoining Structure 6, the only artifacts noted within the interior surface were two links of *Chiton sp.* Four one meter by one meter units were excavated inside Structure 6 at 10cm arbitrary intervals, and brought down to a level of 30cm. Unit 1 was located in the southwest, Unit 2 in the southeast, Unit 3 in the northwest, and Unit 4 in the northeast. A hard, packed fine silty surface was encountered ranging across the units from a depth of five to seven centimeters, which extended down to a depth between 14cm to 18cm. The top of a large, immovable boulder surfaced across most of Unit 3 and into Unit 1, which would have been present during the structure's use. Otherwise the floor was relatively free of stones larger than 7cm in diameter. Nearly all the artifacts recovered from the units were found within this range, which would have constituted the structure's floor. Below the floor level the sand became very loose with many more stone inclusions, with only one *Cittarium pica* shell fragment noted for the whole of Level 2 across the units.



Figure 25a: Facing north towards the Flat Point dry stone structures, photo taken from Kelbey's Ridge. Structure 3 is in the center of the photo. Structures 5 and 6 are visible in the lower foreground. The Structure 4 series are visible to the right of Structure 3. From left to right in the lower third are Structure 6 (with scale rod), Structure 5, Structure 7, and Structure 3. The stone outline on the path in the top left quadrant was made in the late twentieth century.

Structure 6

Structure 6 is situated flush to the cliff edge of SB 001 overlooking the east end of Cove Bay. It consists of a rectangular dry stone rock wall averaging 1m high, running approximately 700cm north to south along the cliff, and 400cm east to west. The interior is much smaller, measuring just 500cm north to south, 200cm east to west in the northern half, and narrowing to a width of about 120cm in the southern half. The structure is enclosed on three sides, with a collapsed entrance located in the north end which opens up towards Structure 4G. The significance of Structure 6 became immediately apparent due to the concentration of *Chiton sp.* links and *Fissurella nodosa* scattered within its interior, together with smaller proportions of ceramics. This domestic character of this assemblage, combined with this structure's location on marginal land at the extreme periphery of SB 001, strongly suggest that this structure had a non-industrial function associated with enslaved Africans.

Structure 6 was divided into six units for the purpose of excavation, slightly larger than 1m x 1m, in order to extend to the edges of the inner walls. Unit 6 was slightly larger than the rest,

measuring approximately 1.5 m x 1.5m. Each unit was excavated down to the colonial floor; however, the depth of fill overlaying this feature varied considerably between units. The fill consisted mostly of dried twigs and other plant matter fragments, with some dry, sandy loam. It was deepest along the eastern end of the structure, up to 30cm, while being less than 10cm in the western end of Units 1 and 3, which bordered the cliff. Some small pieces of charcoal were found within the fill, but not in sufficient quantities to suggest that this was a structure associated solely with food preparation.

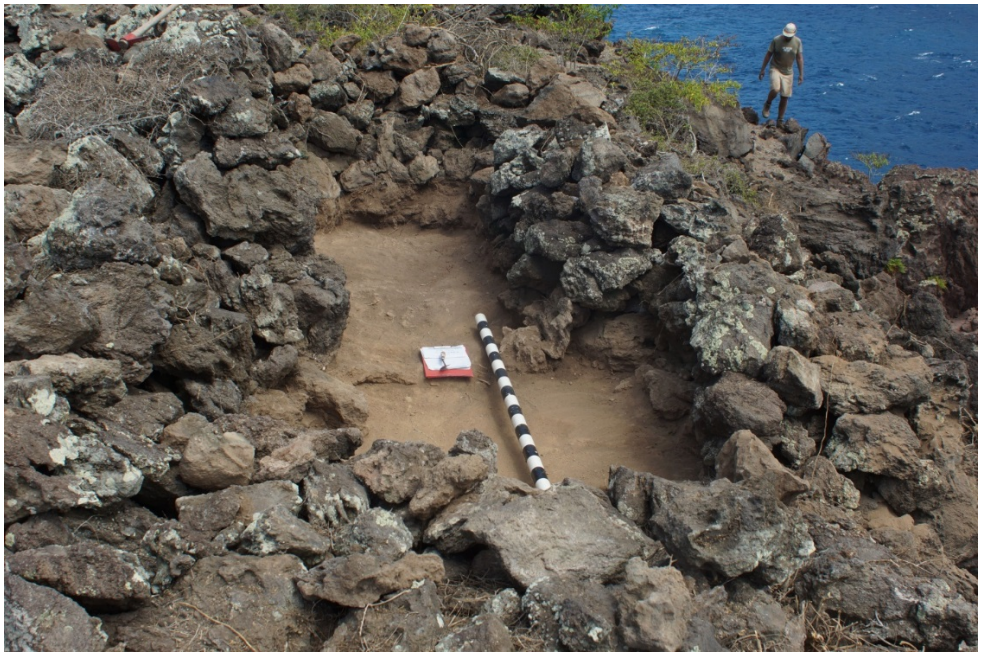


Figure 25b: Structure 6 following the end of excavations, facing south.

By far, the largest proportion of artifacts consisted of *Chiton sp.,* followed by *Fissurella nodosa*; similarly, these were also most concentrated in Layer 1 (the fill over the floor), and again most numerous in Unit 6. The shell assemblage comprised 1,107 *Fissurella nodosa* shells (MNI 1,063), 8,876 *Chiton sp*. links, 260 fragments of *Cittarium pica* (MNI 32), 104 *Littorina sp.* shells (MNI 98), and 49 pieces of *Purpura patula* (MNI 40). Interestingly, the rest of the faunal assemblage was comparatively small, especially with regard to fish. Only 64 *Craniata sp.* remains were found within Structure 6, mostly consisting of scales with some small vertebrae and pectoral fins. Other faunal remains included one lower left mandible of *Iguana iguana* and *Rattus rattus* respectively, an unidentified canine tooth, and the beak of an unidentified sea bird. Intertidal shellfish could have easily been collected at Cove Bay; collecting fish is more difficult without access to nets, hook and line, or fish spears. Beyond the bay, the magmatic formations lining the southern cliffs of SB 001 (presently known as the "Tide Pools") are often rough due to their exposure to prevailing currents, and drop off quickly to depths over 30m, making any fishing method beyond hook and line difficult. However, Sabans and the author can attest to the good fishing available at Cove Bay and the Tide Pools. The assemblage then suggests occupants with limited means of obtaining fish. The apparent use of Structure 6 as a small shell midden suggests

that it was a recently abandoned structure near the time that the site itself ceased operations or was destroyed, as the number of shells found within would not be representative of a long term, continual use as a deposition area for intertidal shellfish throughout the span of plantation operations.

The 81-count sherd ceramic assemblage is strongly representative of a late seventeenth to mid eighteenth century occupation. The latest variety of sherds recovered were early creamware, of which only 6 were found: one bead-and-reel rim piece, and 5 body sherds, all of the early yellowed, creamy-body variety. The complete absence of pearlware in particular points to a date prior to 1775, which together lends credence to the probability that the Flat Point sugar and indigo plantation was destroyed during the 1772 hurricane, and never rebuilt. Several varieties of tin enamel ware, totaling 46 sherds, compose the majority of the assemblage. This includes geometric design motifs (Black 2001:20), Bristol blue-green-red (Britton 1982:209), dash charger, mimosa (Archer 1997:174), and Chinese floral Archer 1997:180-187), which span from the mid seventeenth century to the mid eighteenth century. Other ceramics recovered include two sherds of brown bodied, apple-green lead glazed coarse earthenware, three sherds of Westerwald stoneware, seven sherds of Buckley ware, five sherds of unidentifiable stoneware, and 10 sherds of European coarse earthenware.

The glass recovered, 52 sherds in total, is indicative of a pre-nineteenth century assemblage. No evidence of manufacture beyond free blowing and dip-mold is evident, with the latter exemplified by a mostly-intact case bottle with an untooled, everted-rim finish. Three sherds of a lantern globe and one undecorated, lead crystal stem and body fragment of a wine glass were also found. Other artifacts found include one French gunflint, red brick fragments, 17 clay pipe fragments, with tong-smoothed and rounded pipe stems, and a 12mm diameter, clear lead-paste jewel button with a single eyelet. Two smooth grinding stones were found in Unit 5, one flat and oval-shaped (755g) and a second roughly triangular (646g), which together indicate a domestic function for Structure 6.

A small assortment of Amerindian artifacts was also found across Layer 1 of Structure 6. These include two primary and two secondary cortex Antiguan chert flakes, a St. Martin greenstone awl with a notably sharp point, one black burnished hollowware sherd, and an unburnished, brown hollowware sherd. The greenstone awl, considering its sharpness and presence within Structure 6, may have seen reuse during the colonial period by the occupants.

The floor consisted of approximately 5cm of compacted silt that was difficult to trowel through. No postholes were noted within the floor, or any evidence of a fire pit. However, the floor continued into the eastern wall as a nook in Units 1 and 5. While in Unit 1 it was no more than a gap large enough to fit two hands into at arm's length, a hollow approximately 50cm wide, 30cm high, and 60cm deep, seamlessly extending from the floor. Notably, two large sherds of a Buckley ware jar, three hollowware stoneware sherds, one Westerwald jar sherd, and half of a Bristol blue-green-red

tin enamel ware bowl were recovered from the hollow. This hollow was evidently employed as a storage area, perhaps doubling as a hidey-hole.

Units 1, 2, 3, and 4 were excavated 10cm below the floor level, which turned up much smaller proportions of similar artifacts recovered from Layer 1. Twelve ceramic sherds were recovered, including Chinese floral tin enamel ware and other varieties, creamware, Westerwald stoneware, European undecorated coarse earthenware, and one unburnished, brown Amerindian hollowware sherd. A wrought nail, three pipe stems, and significantly smaller amounts of the aforementioned shell varieties were also recovered from similar proportions to the upper layer. Due to time constraints, the remainder of the Structure could not be excavated further.

Units 7, 8, and 9 were placed flush to the outer northeastern edge of Structure 6, bordering the dry stone wall which follows the cliff edge. These units were excavated to 20cm, which represented the end of the floor which extended from the interior of Structure 6, which began just 6cm below the surface. Notably, this floor layer was harder than the layer within Structure 6. Few artifacts were recovered from these units, save for a small assemblage of tin enamel ware, some creamware sherds, eleven *Fissurella nodosa*, and twenty-one *Chiton sp.* links, mostly recovered from the top 10cm. The hardness of the floor layer, together with the small assemblage derived from these units in front of the entrance to Structure 6, compared to the very large faunal assemblage recovered within it, along with its hardness, indicates that this area was repeatedly subjected to house-yard sweeping.

Based upon the location of Structure 6, its associated artifact assemblage, and the lack of artifacts outside the entrance, it can be safely concluded that it was a domestic structure associated with enslaved Africans tied to the plantation. The entire surface south of Structure 3 to the cliff edge is strewn with natural rock deposits, making the former presence of wattle huts very unlikely in the rest of this area. The whole interior of Structure 6 was filled with intertidal shellfish, mostly *Fissurella nodosa* and *Chiton sp.*, and especially in Unit 4, located at the southern rear. Late seventeenth century to mid eighteenth century ceramics were found within, as well as one grinding stone against the eastern wall of Unit 2, and another against the western wall in Unit 3. A large nook was present in the eastern wall of Unit 3, which produced several large ceramic sherds. Importantly, the three units placed just outside of the entrance to Structure 6 unearthed a very compacted earthen floor, and very few artifacts in contrast to the large assemblage found within. This is strong evidence for house-yard sweeping, a domestic practice by many cultures past and present in West Africa.

SB 002: Flat Point well

A well is located just above Cove Bay at the foot of a small gut. It was visually inspected by the author in 2013, and it has since been buried or destroyed as it is now located under a thick layer of imported white sand from St. Maarten to form the base for a children's playground. The well is round, and constructed of cobbled face stones with lime mortar. During Haviser's survey and the 2013 inspection, it did not hold water. Haviser's survey noted the well dimensions at 215cm in diameter, a wall thickness of 40cm, an exterior wall height of 30cm, and a depth of 640cm. The visual inspection in 2013 showed that the top of the well wall was flush to the ground, evincing significant surrounding erosion since 1983 to bury the well. It is centrally situated 175m west of the boiling works, 40m south of the presumed location of the Big House, and 100m northeast the indigo vats at the west end of Cove Bay.

SB 003: Flat Point indigo vats

A small series of indigo vats are located immediately behind a large boulder on the west end of Cove Bay, entirely hidden from view from the north end of Cove Bay and the plateau where the boiling house is located. It is, however, visible from sea. The site is experiencing considerable erosion from the upper slopes, and the vats are visibly becoming buried from their original state. The processing site consists of two vats built of locally sourced andesite with little modification, bonded with lime mortar. The interiors of the vats are lined with a fine grained lime mortar identical to that used to line the cane juice trough that leads to the clarifier basin at Flat Point. This water-resistant mortar was made without the use of red trass such as seen at Spring Bay and Spring Bay Flat. The second vat empties into a small, round, mortared basin set into the ground. A second similar basin is found beside it, but not connected by a drainage pipe. A well would be expected to be part of this processing area; however, hillside erosion is extensive immediately above the first vat, and if a well is present, it is buried and not visible. The interior of the vats both measure approximately 165cm north to south, 175cm east to west, and 110cm deep. The first mortared basin set into the ground below the second vat measures about 61cm in diameter, and 50cm deep, while the second one, adjacent and south, is more oval, measuring 75cm x 65cm, and about 60cm deep. Starting at about 70cm depth in the second basin, a rich black loam was encountered, followed soon by a layer of burnt coral. Evidently, following its disuse for indigo processing, this vat became used as a furnace for burning coral to obtain quicklime. No artifacts were found in this layer, or in the fill within the vat. Similarly, no artifacts were noted around the area, except for twentieth and twenty-first century flotsam around the shoreline.



Figure 26: The Cove Bay indigo vats, facing west. The upper vat remained unexcavated at the time of the photo. The inner edge of the second vat running north to south measures 165cm for scale.

Flat Point in context

The Flat Point sugar plantation was split between the area designated with the site number, and also included SB 002 (a freshwater well), SB 003 (the Cove bay indigo processing site), the planted area which now hosts the airport, and the area surrounding the present day technical school. The site was constructed during the mid seventeenth century, and was very likely destroyed by the hurricane of 1772, evidenced especially by its absence in the documentary record, and the early varieties of creamware coupled with complete lack of pearlware or any other more recent ceramics. Similar to the boiling house at Spring Bay, sugar production resumed at SB 001 following the English raid of 1665, though at least not before 1679, and probably not until the early eighteenth century. Sugar, molasses, and indigo would have been shipped directly from the plantation to ships anchored in Spring Bay, ferried by rowboats from Cove Bay. Like Spring Bay, its isolation would have hindered social interaction with the majority of Saba, which by the eighteenth century was mostly centered on The Bottom, and to lesser extents St. Johns and Windwardside. The village of Hell's Gate would have been the most common focal point for social interaction outside the plantation for both enslaved Africans and the plantation manager, but this may have also included the Spring Bay plantation provided they were both in operation during the same period. However, Spring Bay is not readily accessible from

Flat Point by land, and is only accessible by traversing up and over Kelbey's Ridge, which is approximately forty-five minutes to one hour by foot.

The assemblages from Flat Point provide several important insights relative to enslaved Africans on the plantation. Hiding contraband from authority figures was evidently a feature of life among enslaved Africans Flat Point. Chain links and case bottles were found around the plantation in natural and artificial rock hollows, a hoe was recovered from the southeast corner of Structure 5, and hiding places were intentionally constructed into Structure 6 and between Structures 3 and 7. The civil relations which were known to exist between Sabans and their enslaved Africans by the nineteenth century evidently were not present upon this plantation, which was rather based on distrust, requiring enslaved Africans to be supervised and their behaviours more regulated. The faunal assemblage from Structure 6 points to a diet based in part upon resources obtained from the plantation lands itself, consisting mostly of intertidal shellfish with a minority of small reef fish. The Flat Point also features an Amerindian component, and Amerindian artifacts appear to have been opportunistically re-used by enslaved Africans, evidenced by the St. Martin greenstone awl recovered within the large assemblage from Structure 6, which was still notably sharp.

The "L" shape of Structures 3 and 5/6 are unlike any others found upon Saba, and no known parallels are found in the Caribbean. According to Kodzo Gavua (personal communication 2015) and William Gblerkpor (personal communication 2015), both Ghanaian archaeologists, these structures, especially Structure 3, may be constructed according to Dangme domestic architectural practices. Especially revealing to them are the round Structures 4a, 4b, and 4c located near the entrance which faces south, and Structure 4g which faces the entrance to Structures 5 and 6, which are similar in style and orientation to the entrances as to Dangme shrines in south-southeastern Ghana. In addition, the wall which runs from north to south along the western cliff, combined with the pile of disorganized stones stretching across the center of the site and the northern wall of Structure 3 creates a small "courtyard"; notably, the entrance to Structure 5/6 opens facing the "courtyard". Further, larger-scale excavations are required in order to investigate this possibility; however, it is beyond the scope of this research.

SB 007: Spring Bay Flat

Overview and site location

Spring Bay Flat is located on the eastern side of the island, comprising a relatively flat area of a saddle that runs down from English Quarter, at approximately 17°37'50N and 63°13'21W, with an average elevation of 220m (Hoogland 1996:37). It is accessible only by foot, either by the Spring Bay

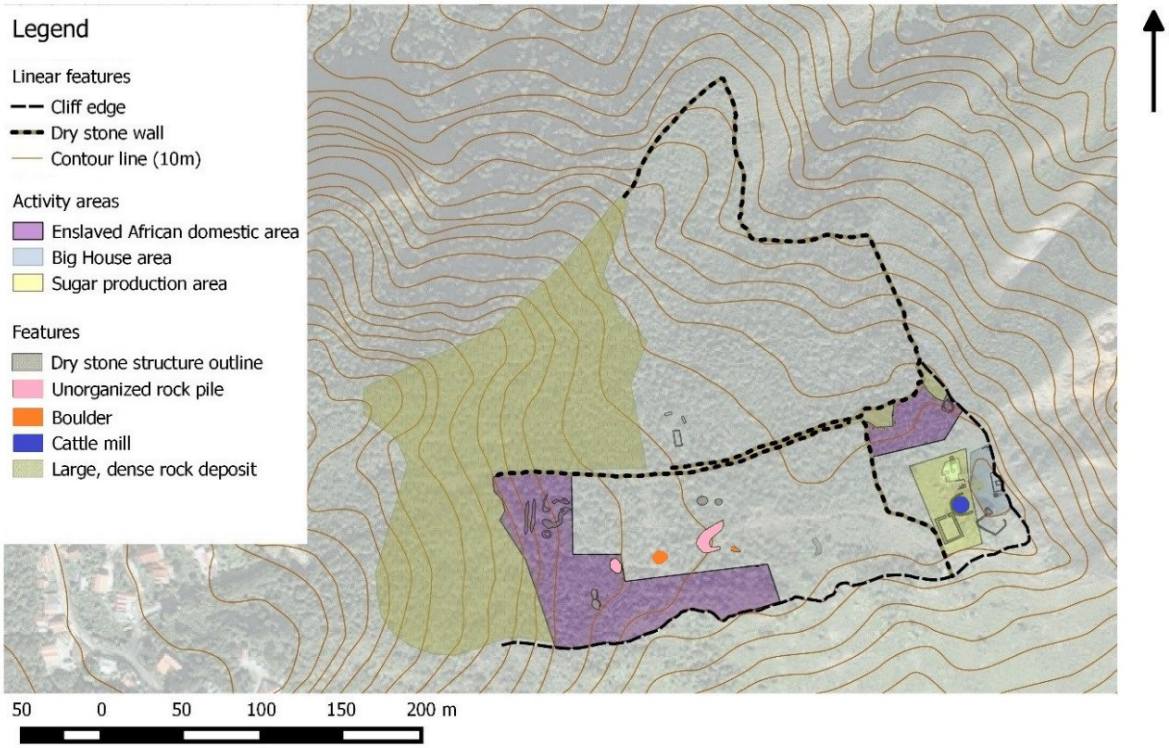
Heritage Trail head beginning in English Quarter, taking approximately 15 minutes downhill and 20 minutes up for those in moderate physical fitness, or by a longer route starting from Kelbey's Ridge via Spring Bay. Rainfall quantities are unknown, but are somewhat higher than what is received at Flat Point due to elevation. The soils mainly consist of a silty loam to silty clay loam, with many poorly sorted inclusions of andesitic rock. The site is densely vegetated across 90% of the site with *Annona muricata* (soursop), *Annona squamosa,* locally called "sugar apples", *Pimenta racemosa*, locally called the "cinnamon tree", and immature *Swietenia mahogani,* with open patches of land consisting mainly of *Plumbago scandens, Croton flavens L.*, locally called the "maraun bush", with some *Melocactus intortus.* In rockier terrain, *Kalanchoe pinnata* and *Pilosocereus lanuginosus* predominate. The site features the remains of an eighteenth century sugar and indigo plantation, complete with a two-pot Jamaica train boiling house, a Big House, a cattle mill, at least four enslaved African huts, terraces, an indigo production site, and an unrelated small house foundation with two cisterns located approximately 100m northeast of the boiling house. Excavations of the boiling house are outlined in the Appendix, page 389.

Geology

Spring Bay Flat encompasses three distinct geological regions, derived from both the pre- and post-horseshoe crater/sector collapse of Saba (Roobol & Smith 2004). The youngest geological area of Spring Bay Flat consists of the broad, flat region bordered by Structures C and D in the north, the modern cisterns to the east, the cliffs to the south, and the first terraces on the slope leading to English Quarter in the west. This is defined as "post-horseshoe, unconsolidated to weakly consolidated, unlithified to weakly lithified andesite block and ash flow deposits, including some pumiceous deposits and fluviatile reworked material (Roobol & Smith 2004:Plate 2). This andesitic layer across Spring Bay Flat has helped to mitigate the effects of erosion across the site (Hoogland 1996:37). Not coincidently, the limits of this area also define the extents of the plantation's prime agricultural land for sugar and indigo. A half-ring of pre-horseshoe structure, consolidated lava flow is centered on the Big House, extending around 250m north to south along the eastern cliffs and about 100m wide, and from there in two narrow bands, less than 50m wide, running west adjacent to the northern and southern limits of the aforementioned block and ash deposit, to the foot of the slopes running up to English Quarter (Roobol & Smith 2004:Plate 2). Entirely engulfing these two regions are pre-horseshoe structure lithified block and ash flow deposits, including minor pumiceous and basaltic andesite deposits, along with fluviatile reworked material (Roobol & Smith 2004:Plate 2). This is visually characterized by expansive fields of large basalt boulders scattered along the slopes and surfaces of the defined area. These regions of Saba, in particular at Spring Bay Flat, are so strewn with boulders as to make

settlement impractical, and agriculture very difficult without extensive terracing and terrain modification. At Spring Bay Flat, human activity in this area is limited to discontinuous terracing, and perhaps dry stone enslaved African huts.

Figure 38: Spring Bay Flat Sugar and Indigo Plantation



Previous research at Spring Bay Flat

Archaeological surveys and surface collections Haviser (1985) identified an Amerindian occupation and an eighteenth to nineteenth century sugar plantation at the site. Further surveys and excavations by Menno Hoogland (1996), as part of his dissertation research, determined that the area of Spring Bay Flat which comprises the region encompassed by the boiling house and Structures C, D, and E, was occupied by approximately 50 individuals during the Late Saladoid to Ostionoid period, up to about AD 900. His surface collections were amassed by following a series of transects running north to south. The highest Amerindian artifact concentrations were located in an area just west of the modern cisterns. Three 1x1 meter test units were excavated, but he noted that excessive disturbance of the soils during the colonial period, from construction and tilling, made it unsuitable for large scale excavations targeting the pre-Columbian occupation. SB 007 was later surveyed by Tonke Bruins (2000) as part of a wider study on sugar plantations between St. Eustatius, Saba, and St. Maarten.

Bruins created a map of the visible structures at the time, though the Big House was absent. The identifications assigned by Bruins to structures are questionable, and differ considerably from archaeological evidence collected from fieldwork in 2013.

Spring Bay Flat in the documentary record

There is little mention of the Spring Bay Flat sugar plantation in Saba's documentary record. Similarly, not much is known locally about the site save for that the standing structures were dismantled in the 1850's in order to provide materials to construct the Roman Catholic Church in Windwardside. The earliest known owner of the plantation, from 1780, was Abraham Heyliger, who resided on St. Eustatius (1780 Saba Census, Will Johnson collection). The enslaved Africans listed with the plantation include two males over 60 years of age, 16 males between ages 12-59, 12 females between ages 12-59, two boys, and one girl, for a total of 33 (1780 Saba Census, Will Johnson collection). The last known owner of the plantation during its active period was Johan George Carel Seelig, who resided on St. Eustatius at least until 1805 as a merchant (National Archives of Curaçao NA 441), and owner of the Schotsenhoek plantation (Will Johnson, personal communication 2013). On 10 January 1817, an extra court session was called on Saba on behalf of Mrs. Margareth Warner Seelig in order to appoint Thomas Dinzey Esq. Senior, owner of the plantation in The Bottom, and Mr. Henry Hassell Jr. to appraise the property, with the slaves and buildings affixed (Dutch National Archives 1.05.13.01 #319). As enslaved Africans were attached to the plantation, this indicates it may still have been in operation by 1817. The property is also referred to collectively as "Spring Bay" in this instance, with no distinction being made to Spring Bay Flat (ibid). The appraisal mentioned in this reference to date has not been found. Henry Hassell Esq. purchased the property for 4,000 p/8 on 26 November 1887 from Margaret Warner Seelig (E-repertorium Vak 6, C2-25, Department of Public Works, Saba). Importantly, the entry in the Public Works sale record is recorded in pen as "the estate situated in the eastern part of the Island called Spring Bay, with all the lands and buildings thereon (met twee negers)". The entry in parentheses was written in pencil below the property description, and translates to "with two negroes", which almost certainly refers to the inhabitants of the homestead located just north of the dividing wall.

This entry in the land registries appears to be posthumous, since Margeret Warner Seelig would be at least around age 100 by the time of purchase, and also by 1869 the property had been divided among the eleven heirs of Henry Hassell Esq. (Saba Sales Register, 1825-1875). The extents of the property were described in the aforementioned inheritance as: "bounded: East end of Core Gut, and extending thence North – Westerly along the sea line to a point intersection of the "kings road", thence along the kings road to a certain boundary stone at English Quarter, thence by a direct course

to and intersecting Core Guts and thence along the Core Gut to the place of beginning. (With the exception of certain small spots of land within said limits belonging to parties not named in the lease.) Approximately 2000 acres". The property description counts Spring Bay and Spring Bay Flat as a single property, which is reflected in the present day due to the total absence of development within this area. As of 2013, there are an estimated 144 heirs to the property scattered around the globe, many of which are probably unaware of their inheritance (Will Johnson, personal communication 2013).

Site layout

Although the bounded area of the Spring Bay property consists of an estimated 2,000 acres (809.37 hectares), this is misleading as the majority of the land is unsuitable for practical use. Much of it is very steep and subject to continual erosion, and the land which is flat enough to support agriculture or residence is often strewn with stones and boulders, in many places so thick and large that it limits the accumulation of soil to gaps between them. At Spring Bay Flat, sugarcane and/or indigo would have been cultivated west of the boiling house. This is a small area, approximately 2 hectares, where the incline averages no more than 10 degrees in slope. Clearing the field of stones would have precluded agricultural efforts at Spring Bay Flat, as the planted area would have originally been strewn with stones, evidenced by the large deposits all across the slope leading from English Quarter down to Spring Bay Flat. Numerous piles of stone are scattered across the flat area. Four of them are stacked in a circular tower fashion, the tallest two rising over three meters. In all cases, the builders took advantage of pre-existing large boulders to serve as a base around which the structures were built. There was pretense to their construction, as unorganized stone piles would have sufficed if the goal was simply to clear the field. They were likely used as supervision points for overseers on the plantation, as they would have provided a view of the field over mature stalks of sugar cane. There are also two large boulders in this area that may have been used for the same, given their distance from the stone towers within the planted area. The presence of a complete sugar works at a plantation with only two hectares of adjacent, arable land for sugar cane strongly suggests that the plantation purchased or otherwise acquired sugarcane from nearby arable regions such as Spring Bay, or household planters at a close location such as English Quarter; the operational costs of constructing and maintaining a plantation with 33 enslaved Africans could not economically justify a reliance on two hectares of arable land alone. This is similar to plantations that economized on infrastructure by sharing a single boiling works, which has been noted on other Caribbean islands (Hicks 2007; Hauser 2015).

Halfway up the slope leading to English Quarter there is a long, starkly visible area of naturally deposited rock, largely devoid of vegetation save for some outcrops of *Pilosocereus lanuginosus*. At

the lower terminus of this area, the rock becomes organized into twin walls averaging about two meters apart. At 120m downslope from the origin of the twin walls, the southern twin terminates, while the northern twin becomes a terrace and continues running 30m east until the cliff edge, where it turns north and runs 300m along the cliff edge all the way to the gut which separates Spring Bay Flat from Hell's Gate. From there it turns west-southwest back upslope about 100m, at which point the dry stone wall merges into an area of naturally deposited rock. In total, this wall, including the twinned section, runs approximately 670m.

The function of the twinned walls was not readily apparent, but following the aforementioned storm of 23 December 2013, they served as a channel to funnel large volumes of water from the slopes leading up to English Quarter. The areas north and south of the twin walls showed minimal evidence of erosion from flowing water after it passed, but the gap between the twin walls displayed signs of major erosion in this regard, and contained deposits of twentieth to twenty-first century litter such as potato chip bags, glass bottles, and plastics washed down from above. The area above the twin walls naturally drain into the area encompassed by them, so it appears that they served as a channel to funnel water resulting from intense precipitation as a means to minimize flooding and soil erosion in the flat, planted area south of the channel at Spring Bay Flat. It also may have doubled as a direct trail up to English Quarter, which would have reduced the transportation time of cut stalks of sugar cane from English Quarter down to the boiling house at Spring Bay Flat (Haviser 1985), although the trail becomes quite steep in places, which would make navigating the trail with a heavy load difficult.

An estimate of the volume of cash crops produced and number of inhabitants is possible, given the approximate size of prime arable land for sugar and indigo at Spring Bay Flat. Hartog (1975:56) mentioned that by 1790, Saba is "said to have yielded 100,000 pounds of sugar, the yield of two plantations, which was traded via St. Eustatius". Importantly, this statement confirms that the plantations at Flat Point and Spring Bay were no longer in operation by this time. However, as previously discussed, Hartog never provided a reference list for his documents, and he took many documents shown to him on Saba into his own possession, which to date have not been located (Will Johnson, personal communication 2013). Consequently, these have since been lost, and this statement in particular cannot be verified as the author has not seen any other statements of Saba's annular sugar production for the eighteenth century. Around 1815, as previously discussed in Chapter 4, the Dinzey sugar plantation in The Bottom produced 25,000 lbs of sugar, though this was only sufficient to satisfy local demand.

Surface collection

Surface collections were amassed across the near entirety of the bounded lands described in the documentary record, including Spring Bay, which was catalogued separately. Those areas that were not subject to a collection were physically inaccessible, such as some of the cliff edges between Spring Bay and Spring Bay Flat, and the northern, upper reaches of Spring Bay Flat extending to English Quarter. Prior to the first excavations in January 2013, surface collections were made in an area from the boiling house and cisterns extending west approximately 30 meters, and separately within the animal pen located just west of the cattle mill. Transects were laid out north to south, two meters apart. As both these areas are blanketed with *Croton flavens*, progress was slow, and bushes had to be parted every step of the surveyor's surrounding to properly survey the surface. Surface collections were also initiated around excavated areas, and opportunistically during periods of site survey.

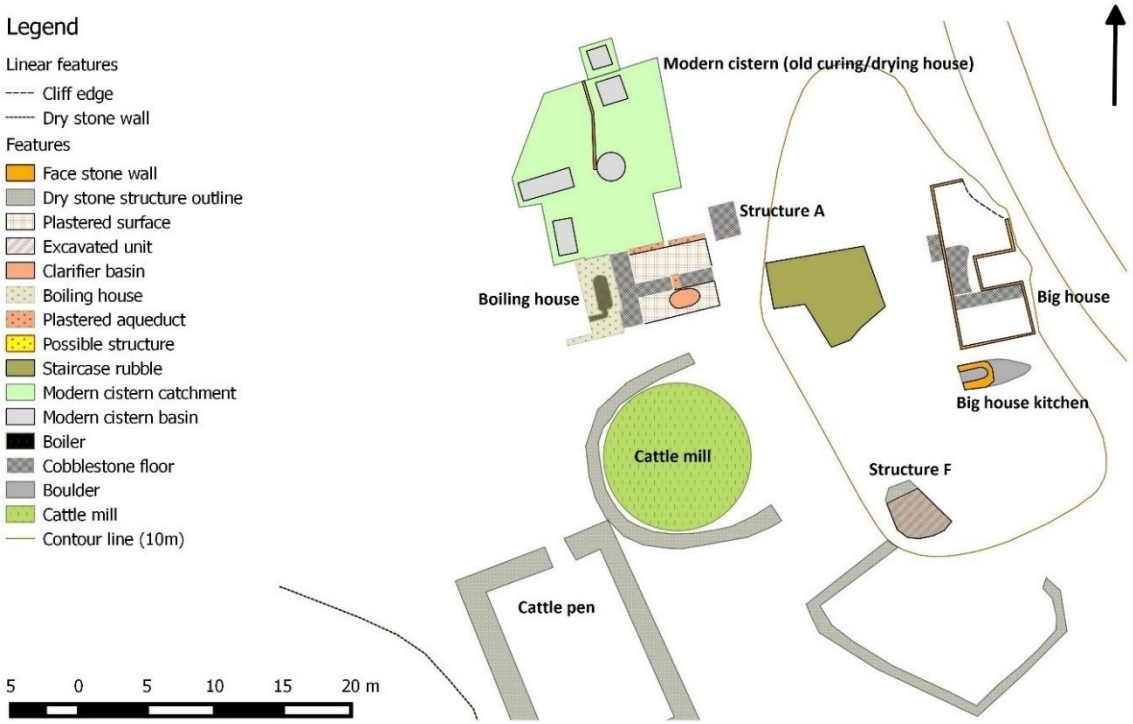
Within the aforementioned bounds of the boiling house area, 305 artifacts were recovered. From this total, 171 consisted of ceramics: 76 were non-European coarse earthenware, and 95 were colonial. The colonial ceramics consisted primarily of tin enamel wares, creamwares, early varieties of pearlware, and stoneware. Early identifiable outliers in the assemblage included two sherds of Buckley ware, and three sherds of tan bodied, cream glazed coarse earthenware, probably Dutch, dating from the seventeenth to early eighteenth century. This suggests a colonial site occupation range from the early eighteenth to the early nineteenth century. The glass assemblage consisted of 64 bottle sherds and one clear glass tumbler sherd, together with an MNI of 16, and spans from prior to the nineteenth to the twentieth centuries. Over the course of fieldwork, 52 sherds of chert were recovered from this area, which attests to the Ostionoid occupation between AD 600 and 900 (Hoogland 1996:215).

On the southern limits of the hill which hosts the Big House, a steep, intermittently terraced slope, averaging 70 degrees, extends down about 10 meters to the hiking trail. It was noted that artifacts were consistently found upon the trail, throughout 2012-2013, having eroded from the slope above. It was also here that a GWC coin dated 1716, with a lion bearing a sword and standing in front of a fence, was found on the trail having been eroded from above. Faunal remains, specifically shell, were relatively more common on the surface of this area than any other surface region in Spring Bay Flat. These included *Fissurella nosoda*, *Cittarium pica*, and links of *Acanthopleura granulata.* These are very likely dietary remains from the residents of the Big House, situated just 15m north of the slope upon the highest point of Spring Bay Flat. Given its proximity to the cliff bordering the east, and the aforementioned slope, either of these locations would have been ideally suited for disposing household refuse.

Structure A

Nearly adjacent to the northeast corner of the shallow, plastered basin lies Structure A. This is a small area of large, square cobblestones which formed the floor of a small building. No artifacts could be definitively associated with this structure, and no units were excavated within it. It probably served as a storage building which required that the contents avoid contact with ground soil, but appears too small to have served as a shelter for bagasse fuel.

Figure 39: Spring Bay Flat, Sugar Boiling Works



Big house

The Big House was scenically and strategically constructed atop a bluff upwind approximately 17m east of the boiling house. This bluff is the highest point at Spring Bay Flat, and while it shelters the eastern edge of the site from the trade winds, the house was fully exposed to them, which would have provided relief from the days' heat, and ensured that stenches of the sugar and indigo works would not assail the inhabitants. Importantly, any operations at Spring Bay Flat and indigo production at Spring Bay could be overseen from this location. Most of the visible remains from the Big House are flush to the surface, representing all that is left from the period in the 1850's when structures at Spring Bay Flat were dismantled for their face stones and bricks to provide construction material for the Catholic Church in Windwardside. The Big House measures 584cm east to west, and 520cm north

south, or 30.37m2. However, the entire northeast corner of the house, comprising an area of about 1000cm2, has eroded down the cliff side. One can safely assume that the house was originally constructed with a general awareness and forethought towards the susceptibility of the cliffs in this region to erosion, so it follows that the cliff's edge projected further out during the colonial period than it does in the present. Therefore, it is possible that other structures may have been present east of the house which no longer exist.

The Big House appears to have been divided into at least two rooms, and curiously, was built around a large rock; this resulted in a gap of 276cm east to west, and 290cm north to south leading into the house. Approximately one third of the surface area of the house is inlaid with a cobble stone floor, what remains is mostly limited to a short hallway or walkway which stretches the width of the house east to west, flush to the southern side of the protrusion. There are remnants of white mortar upon the cobblestones of this hallway and, the sides of some of the cobblestones facing the protrusion, which may suggest that this was actually located outside rather than inside the house. The remains of the kitchen are located outside the house, facing west, and was constructed on top of a concave depression in the large boulder that lies flush to the southernmost wall of the Big House. The remnants are in poor condition, and its function as a kitchen are not immediately apparent except for two rectangular, cobbled stones spaced 71cm apart, whose corners are beveled inward to produce a rounded hollow to serve as a pot rest, and spaced apart so as to produce a chimney flue between them.

Upon the slope descending from the Big House to the Spring Bay Flat boiling house is a large pile rocks which, upon close inspection, are the remains of a staircase that fanned out beginning from a cobblestone entranceway to the Big House. This would have provided an appearance akin to the stepped face of an Egyptian pyramid; the observer's eye is guided from the broad foot of the staircase up to the terminus, at which the house is situated upon the highest point of Spring Bay Flat. This location was evidently selected and constructed as a means to project power to enslaved Africans living and working at the Spring Bay Flat plantation, despite the size of the house.

A total of 37 artifacts were recovered from the Big House from surface collections. Although no more than 5cm of topsoil was removed to expose the floor and foundations of the Big House, only one sherd of pearlware and one of creamware were recovered from the fill. Non-ceramic artifacts include a pipe stem fragment, three wrought nails less than 8cm in length, two pieces of burnt coral, one sherd of green case bottle glass, and a fragment of black chert, approximately 19cm in diameter, with no obvious signs of usewear. Ceramics include three sherds of lead glazed coarse earthenware, two sherds of Staffordshire slipware, six sherds of creamware, one sherd of black transfer print creamware, one sherd of early hand painted blue pearlware with a Chinoiserie scene, one sherd of

black-banded Annular pearlware, one sherd of Nottingham stoneware, two sherds of German stoneware, one sherd of English stoneware, and one sherd of a nineteenth to twentieth century Dutch gin bottle. Together these ceramics suggest a date between the mid eighteenth to the early nineteenth century.

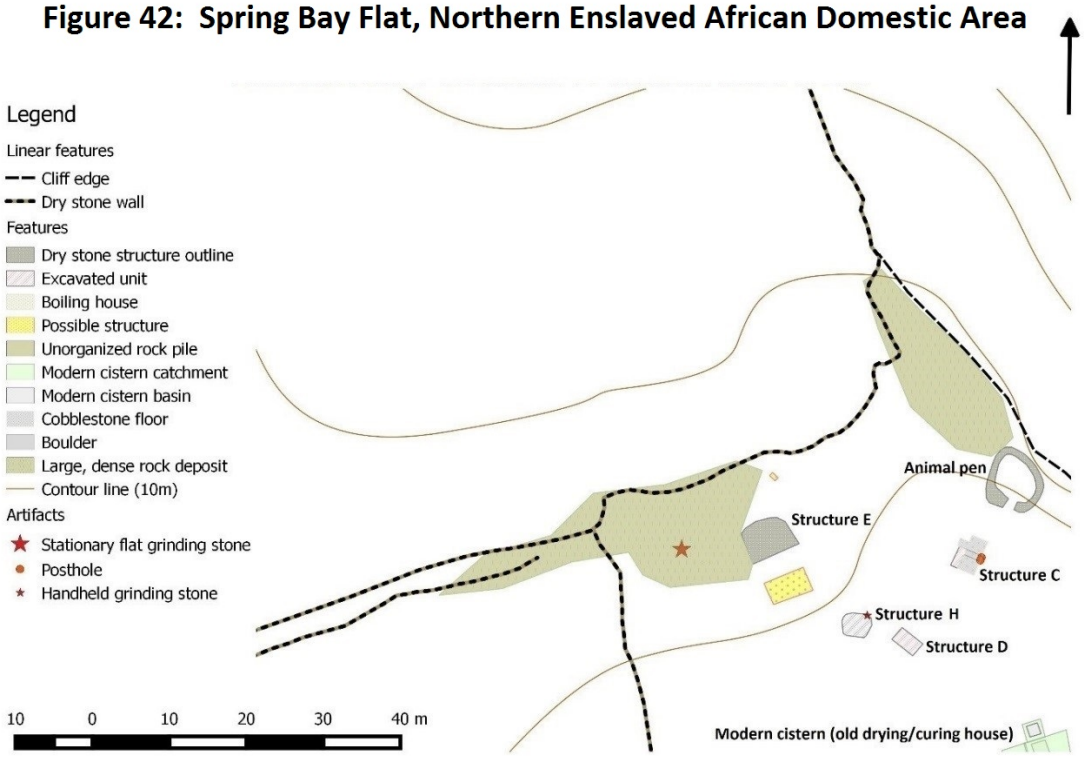


Figure 40: View east towards Spring Bay Flat and the sugar works. The Big House is located on the small knoll just above the structures visible in the center-right of the photo. Old Booby Hill (background), Spring Bay (lower center-left), and Flat Point (center-left) are all clearly visible from the vantage point of the Big House.



Figure 41: View looking east towards the boiling works. Note the modern cisterns and mass catchment that was constructed during the 1970's on the left side. The red oval indivates the Big House location.

Figure 42: Spring Bay Flat, Northern Enslaved African Domestic Area



Structures C, D, E, F, and H

Structures C, D, E, and F are likely enslaved African huts based upon their location on the plantation relative to the Big House, boiling house, cane field, shared architectural elements, the presence of identical structures at Spring Bay and Hell's Gate, evidence of food processing areas nearby, and the preponderance of domestic-oriented artifacts from archaeological excavations. Structure D is located approximately 18m north of the northwest corner of the modern cisterns, upon a terraced slope. Structure C is situated 11.5m east of Structure C, upon the same terrace. East again from Structure C, about 10m, is an animal pen which straddles the cliff edge. Structure E is found 21m northeast and downslope of Structure D, and Structure H is found just a few meters northwest of Structure D. Structure F is set apart from the rest, and is instead situated between the cattle mill and the Big House, just 8m southwest and downslope of the Big House kitchen. Structures C, D, and E are logical locations for enslaved African huts for a plantation relative to the geography of Spring Bay Flat. First, they are situated close to the industrial area, with Structures C and D just 18m and 24m north of the modern cistern, respectively, and by consequence, they would have been visible from the Big House. Second, they are constructed upon a slope of averaging about 20 degrees, which required terracing to mitigate the effects of erosion and form areas flat enough to support habitation. This location would have been ideal from the plantation owner's perspective, as it was not occupying flat, productive agricultural land, especially in a region where this was already at a premium.

Beyond this area, the land is not ideal for habitation. Around the area immediately to the southwest, west and northwest of Structure E, the land is choked with boulders greater than 4m in diameter, which makes for a very impractical settlement area. Approximately 20m north of Structure E, the aforementioned long wall extending from the hill leading to English Quarter becomes a 1m tall terrace, and extends a great length east to west across the plantation, terminating at the eastern cliff over Spring Bay, wherein it then runs north alternating between a wall and a terrace. There are no further comparable terraces north Structure E. This long-spanning terrace/wall appears to represent a border to separate the industrial, residential, and plantation area of Spring Bay Flat from the steeper, rockier northern half of the property. This area north of the dividing terrace/wall composes approximately 4 hectares, averages between 20-30 degrees in slope, and the land does not appear to have been cleared of rocks to the degree of the area south of the aforementioned major terrace running east to west. Pockets of this land, where some small terraces are present, could have been employed for opportunistic subsistence agriculture by enslaved Africans living on the plantation, as it would have been unsuitable for much beyond this. In other locations in this area, stone has been piled onto unmovable boulders to make the form of a point or a partial wall, but the purpose of this is not clear; the terrain created atop these piles is not level, rocky, and unsuitable for either agriculture or

settlement. They may represent the incomplete remains of terraces that were once under construction. There was no surface evidence of house foundations or other structures in this area.

Twenty-four 1x1m units were excavated between Structures C, D, E, and F; five in Structure C, six in Structure D, seven in Structure E, and six in Structure F. Structures D, E, and F are curious in that they were constructed in a manner that took advantage of a boulder as a backing brace to support two dry stone walls projecting perpendicular from its face. The roof would presumably have been covered by thatch. There are three excellent examples of this type of structure on Saba, discussed earlier: one at Spring Bay, one at Rendezvous, and the last, which is still in use, in the upper reaches of Hell's Gate.

Seen together, the locations of Structures C, D, and E are ideal as enslaved African habitation areas for enslaved Africans as they were close enough to the industrial area and the Big House to allow supervision of the inhabitants by those in authority, situated on land that would not have been ideal for planting cash crops, and adjacent to the north half of the plantation property that was could have been tended by enslaved Africans for subsistence agriculture, being unsuitable for much else with regards to the plantation owner. Structure F was located between the cattle mill and the Big House. This also would have permitted direct supervision from the Big House, but it did not have the immediate proximity to planting grounds as C, D, and E.

Structure C

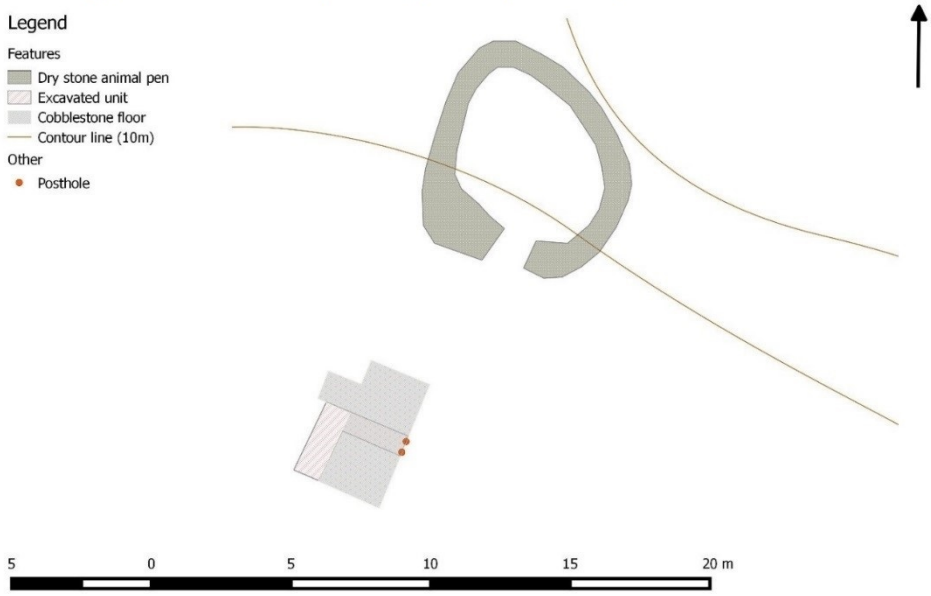
The outline of Structure C was visible as a floor consisting of a rectangular arrangement of rounded, unmodified rocks averaging 10-15cm in diameter set into the ground to form a floor. This structure measures 490cm east to west by 210cm north to south, including a small, cobbled entrance-way projecting from the north face of the structure beginning at 180cm west from the northeastern corner. This entrance way measures 140cm north to south, and 110cm east to west. Three units were excavated along the northwestern edge of the cobbled floor of Structure C, terminating flush to the cobbled entrance way. At this juncture, two additional units were excavated south across the house floor, extending to the southern limit of the cobblestones. All five of these units were excavated to a depth of 50cm, divided into 10cm levels. The first two levels consisted of a poorly sorted silt clay loam, transitioning to a poorly sorted matrix of silt and rock. The three units along the western exterior of the house produced comparatively few artifacts, and these were mostly from the top 10 centimeters, with very few below 20cm. The two interior units, excavated beneath the cobblestone floor, produced more artifacts, and these were mostly from Levels 2 and 3, which together spanned from 10cm to 30cm. The dearth of colonial artifacts at deeper levels in the exterior units compared to the interior units which may be suggestive of house-yard sweeping. The bottom profile of level 5 comprised a

dense layer of undisturbed pyroclastic rock deposits. The soil profiles did not show evidence of being disturbed; however, along the southern profile of unit 5, which was also the southern edge of the cobblestone floor, two postholes were visible at a depth of 25cm, extending to the bottom of level 5. They measured approximately 16cm in width on the profile, and separated by 47cm. The spacing between the postholes, coupled with their location flush to the limits of the cobbled floor, indicates that these are from a colonial era, rectangular wattle hut.



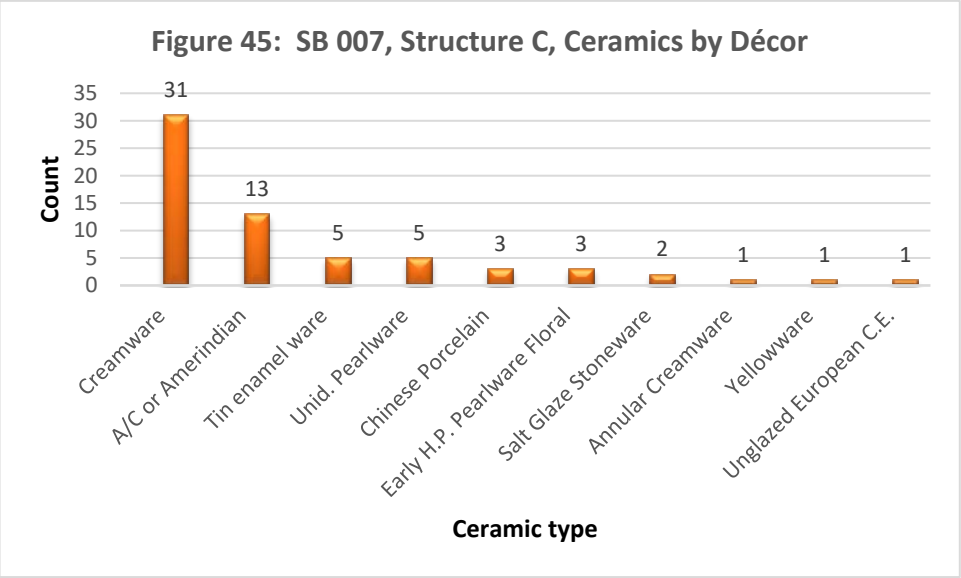
Figure 43: Edge of Structure C, facing south, showing two postholes indicated by nails.

Figure 44: Spring Bay Flat, Structure C



Some stratification is evident at the site, with the presence of ceramics dating from the third quarter of the eighteenth century to the first quarter of the nineteenth century in the first levels of the units, to mostly eighteenth century ceramics at the lower levels. However, since Structure C is

located at the base of a slope stemming from the main activity area of the boiling house, some erosion over time of surface materials from this region to Structure C is likely. The most readily datable artifacts recovered from this unit were European ceramics. There were comparatively fewer artifacts recovered from Structure C than Structure D; this could be due to the inherent difficulty of artifacts remaining in situ on a cobblestone floor as they were discarded. The first levels featured one sherd of early hand-painted polychrome pearlware, two sherds of buff-body tin enamel ware, five sherds of creamware, with three being of the early, creamier variety; some unidentifiable pearlware, one sherd of Chinese blue hand-painted porcelain, one sherd of yellowware, and one sherd of a grey stoneware bottle. The sherd of yellowware is significant in that it probably represents the earliest variety, which was made in England during the 1820's and predates the more popular American variety which appeared in the 1840's, therefore indicative of the last occupation period of this structure (Hunter & Miller 1994). The second levels had one sherd of Chinese porcelain, six sherds of creamware, two of which were the early variety, and one orange-banded annular hollowware; and one sherd of buff-body tin enamel ware. The third levels contained one sherd of Chinese porcelain, two sherds of pearlware, nine sherds of early creamware, one of which had a feather rim, and one of which was a teacup; and one sherd of brown, Germanic stoneware. One link of *Chiton sp.* was also recovered from this level. The fourth levels contained only one sherd of creamware, and one sherd of early hand-painted polychrome pearlware. The fifth level had one sherd of orange bodied European coarse earthenware, and two sherds of early creamware. The entire unit yielded an MNI of 5 for plates, MNI 4 for hollowware, MNI 1 for a teacup, and 3 sherds whose vessel type was unidentifiable. Early creamware found at within the fifth level of Unit 5 suggests an occupation of this particular location after 1762. The total absence of whitewares in any variety, and of the late variety of polychrome, floral hand painted pearlware, which are otherwise common across nineteenth century sites on Saba, strongly indicates an occupation that did not extend past the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Sixteen sherds of non-European coarse earthenware were recovered from the five units, with all but one found in the first three levels. It is possible that these may have been deposited though erosion from the boiling house area, or from pedestrian disturbance during the colonial period. The distribution of ceramic decoration types are listed below.



While the ceramic assemblage itself is small, it is clear that creamware (MNI 10) dominates the assemblage, followed by the non-European coarse earthenware. The counts of other ceramic types are negligible.

There are other artifacts recovered from Structure C that merit some attention. An MNI of seven wrought nails were recovered in total between all levels, with a marked absence of cut nails, which suggests an assemblage that dates before the early 19th century (Wells 1998). Only three small sherds of round green glass and one sherd of green case bottle glass were recovered, which indicates that the interior of the house and its immediate surroundings were kept clear of broken glass for safety concerns, with glass disposed of in a designated place, perhaps over the eastern cliffs of Spring Bay Flat, within the hollows of stacked rocks comprising terraces, or at the very least away from the immediate area of houses. A Bess-type gunlock, dating to the mid eighteenth century (Hume 1969:214-216), was found Unit 3, Level 3, which is quite significant. As previously described in historical accounts of Saba, it was observed that enslaved Africans were permitted to carry firearms on Saba, which was considered abnormal and dangerous to those who were familiar with the conditions and social norms of slavery on neighboring islands, and to reiterate, in between the 1840's to emancipation in 1863, several enslaved Sabans of African descent were working as agents in St. Thomas for their owners, who resided on Saba. In every instance, they lived permanently in St. Thomas, and had not returned to Saba in over fifteen years. For an enslaved African to be able to bear arms on Saba, in this case Spring Bay Flat, there must have existed a sufficient level of trust and civil relations between the owner and the enslaved individual or individuals, though this may not have applied to the owner towards all enslaved people on the plantation.

In unit 4, level 4, a 10cm diameter pewter coat button was recovered with "13" or "J3" as a relief, though it is more likely a "13" with regards to a 13th regiment in an army. The reverse bore a single eyelet. How this wound up in the possession of the enslaved inhabitants of Structure C is speculation, but it is not an item that would have been commonly sold in an open market. When placed in context with the occupation date range reflected by the ceramic assemblage, the button probably dates between the capture of Saba by Rodney's lieutenant in 1781, to the end of the Napoleonic War era. During the English and French occupations during this period, soldiers arrived on Saba and some were likely stationed for certain periods, creating ample opportunities for military material culture such as this to enter the internal exchange networks of Saba.

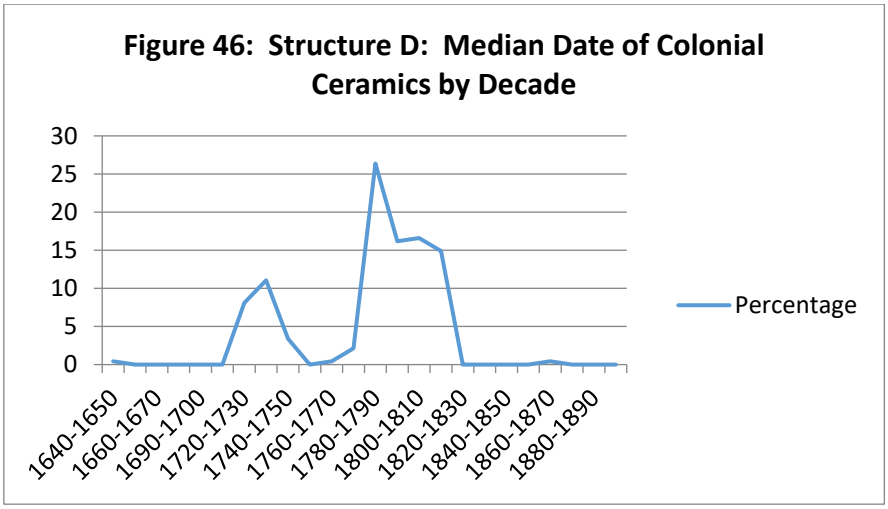
There were was no visible surface evidence of a kitchen or cooking area. To the east of Structure C, approximately 10m, lies a dry stone animal pen incorporating a large boulder along the western wall. It measures about 540cm long north to south, 300cm east to west, and averages about 150cm in height. The entrance to the pen appears to be located adjacent to the southern face of the boulder, midway on the western wall of the pen. The eastern wall of the animal pen borders the cliff over Spring Bay.

Structure D

Structure D is located approximately 11.5m west of Structure C. Upon the initial survey of the area, four stones were visible on the surface in a line projecting north from the flat face of a boulder about 3m in diameter, which indicated that this may have been a second settlement site, given its proximity to Structure C. Six one meter by one meter units were excavated by trowel, with most of the artifacts recovered found in layers 2 and 3. Units terminated at a depth of averaging around 50cm, where tightly packed layer of andesitic rock was encountered; the same layer seen in Structure C. Structure D produced the most artifacts of the enslaved African huts: 879 artifacts were collected in total, with an MNI of 504. As seen with Structure C, the ceramics point to an occupation between the mid eighteenth century to the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

Ceramics predominated the assemblage from Structure D, with a total of 392 sherds. Of this total, 248 were of European origin, and 150 non-European in origin. Early varieties of creamware predominate the ceramic assemblage of Structure D, totaling 93. This is followed by 32 sherds of late creamware, and 25 sherds of early varieties of pearlware, such as curved and straight-lined shell edge ware, early hand painted floral motifs, and early varieties of annular ware, such as cat's eye, cabled, and marbled motifs (Rickard 2006). The earliest examples of European ceramics recovered include two sherds of Staffordshire slip-combed ware, six sherds of white salt glaze stoneware, two sherds of Elers-type stoneware, and one sherd of Whieldon ware, all strongly representative of mid eighteenth

century assemblages. Of some interest was one sherd of white salt glaze stoneware, a hollowware vessel, which was hand painted in orange in a style similar to the Imari variety on Chinese porcelain. In a similar fashion to Structure C, there is a total absence of whiteware, and later common varieties of pearlware such as late hand painted polychrome floral motifs. The only transfer print ceramic in the assemblage was upon tin enamel ware, rather than a refined earthenware. So far, this has been the only sherd of this type found on Saba. It is notable that given the lack of transfer print vessels present at Structure D, it only appears on tin enamel ware, rather than a refined earthenware such as creamware or pearlware, as this may indicate a cheaper or second-rate ceramic. Eleven sherds of Chinese porcelain were found, two of which were teacups and one bowl. The mean ceramic date for the European ceramics and Chinese porcelain is 1783. Figure 46 shows the median date of ceramics recovered from Structure D by percentage. The spikes for the year 1782, 1792 and 1810 are due to the preponderance of undecorated and molded early creamware; indeterminate varieties of creamware; and pearlware, respectively.



At the juncture of the four corners of units 3, 4, 5, and 6, at level 3, the contents of a lockbox were recovered. A ferrous, hinged latch with a loop to accept a lock was found laid over top of a small, compacted assemblage consisting of five wrought nails less than 8 inches in length, two wrought nails over 8 inches in length, a *Cittarium pica* shell with a diameter of 45mm, a tong-smoothed clay pipe stem, unidentified faunal remains, and five human teeth; two premolars, one molar with a large abscess, and two wisdom teeth, one of which with another large abscess. The position of the latch over the assemblage indicates that this is probably the remnant of a wooden lockbox that contained these remains. Bioarchaeological analysis by Jason Laffoon in 2015 determined that the teeth are from the same individual based upon size, morphology, and matching interproximal wear facets. Carbon, oxygen, and strontium isotope analysis by Jason Laffoon (Laffoon & Espersen 2015) also found

that the isotope ratios of these elements in the teeth show a birth in West Africa, and forced migration to the Caribbean by late childhood or early adolescence. The migration history unveiled through this approach is consistent with a first-generation enslaved African brought to the Caribbean, although she or he did not necessarily live and die on Saba for the teeth to be found in this context. The other bag contents, notably the iron nails, the whole *Cittarium pica* shell, and the use of a lock-sealed box to contain the items, all bear afterlife associations in several West African cultures. Iron is associated with transformation, including from the physical to spiritual realms (Rice, Katz-Hyman et al. 2001). Nails have been known to be employed by enslaved Africans in the Americas in spiritual practices as iron objects. Among the enslaved BaKongo of the Levi Jordan plantation in Texas, it granted spiritual power to practitioners, either alone or in combination with other objects, to impart healing or strength (Schwartz 2011:351). Whole shells are commonly placed atop graves across the Caribbean, a practice which continues into the present on Saba. A lock was placed upon a colonial period coffin of an enslaved African in Jamaica as a means to "keep the duppy (spirit) down" (Armstrong & Fleischmann 2003:47). Therefore, the use of a lock to "encapsulate" the material and immaterial contents of the box may have been used in the same manner. The buried house-yard context in which the box was found is also suggestive of a "fetish bag" or "conjure bag", whereby collections of empowered objects are placed around dwellings for luck, protection, or other purposes (DeCorse 2001). This assemblage was located in close proximity to a post hole, therefore it would have been situated close to either the interior or exterior edge of a structure.



Figure 47: Structure D lockbox contents, with latch removed from top.

The shell has a diameter of 45mm for scale.

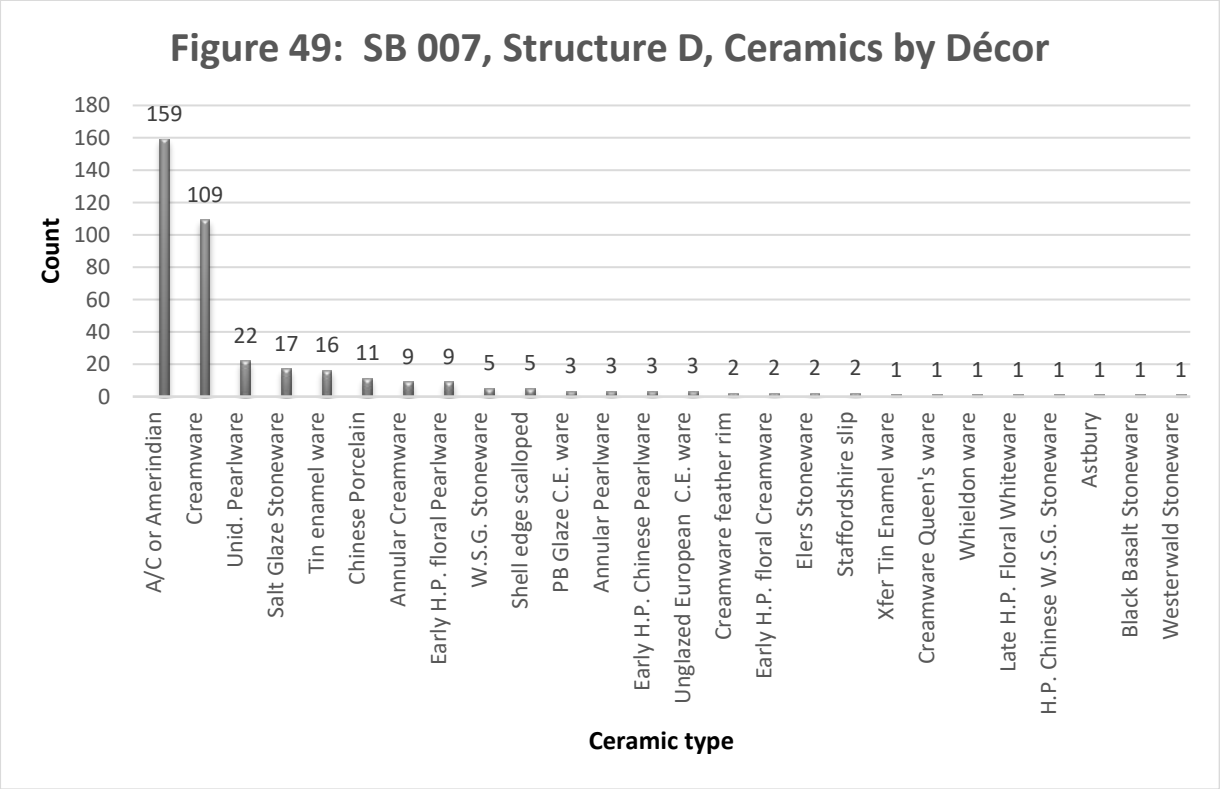


Figure 48: Selected components of the lockbox assemblage including wrought nails, Cittarium pica shell, and the lock hinge.

One posthole, approximately 12 in diameter at the surface of layer 3 and base, was found in the southeastern part of unit 4, visible from levels 3 to 5. It terminated at a depth of 46cm. On the grid of Structure D, the center was located at x = 134cm, y = 65cm. Artifacts within the fill consisted of one sherd of round green glass, likely nineteenth century, one 8cm diameter fragment of unburnt coral, three wrought iron nails less than 8" in length, one heel of a pipe stem, one complete *Cittarium pica* shell 85mm in diameter, with the tip shorn off, and two *Cittarium pica* fragments. The artifacts clearly demonstrate that this is a colonial era feature. There is a noted absence of other intrusions into the natural soil profile within the six excavation units. Therefore, this whole series of units probably extend across the interior and exterior of a wattle structure, constituting a house-yard.

The bulk of non-European coarse earthenware at Spring Bay Flat is attributable to prolonged Amerindian settlement (Hoogland 1996) in the surrounding area of the boiling house. However, every ceramic sherd recovered to date from the site, from Hoogland's research to the present, have been nondescript, bearing no decoration. The only variables appear to be between temper, presence or absence of burnishing, and color due to clays and the use of oxidized and reduced environments during the firing process. As a result, it is difficult to visually differentiate between Afro-Caribbean and Amerindian undecorated coarse earthenware within colonial contexts of Structures C, D, E, and F, as Afro-Caribbean potters often used the same clays, temper, and manufacturing techniques as Amerindians (Heath 1989). Complicating the matter, Hoogland's (1996:63) Amerindian artifact

density map of Spring Bay Flat featured the densest concentrations in the immediate area of Structure D. This is corroborated by the presence of 10 pieces of non-European chert found throughout the excavation units; one from Level 1, three from Level 2, three Level 3, one from Level 4, and two from Level 5. A chopping axe head with a triangular shaft slot was found in Unit 4, Level 3. This was a field tool, but its presence in a domestic context just 18m away from the industrial area demonstrates that enslaved Africans may have been able to make free use of field tools for domestic purposes.



The glass assemblage consisted of 108 sherds, with an MNI of 5. Manufacture types consisted of free blown and dip mold bottles, and the one finish that was recovered was crafted by hand, without the use of a tool. Together these at least point to a date prior to 1820-1830, the decade which saw the development and growing use of crimping tools to manufacture bottle finishes (Jones 1989). A lead ramrod holder was found in Unit 5, Level 3, which makes this the second enslaved African domestic structure at SB 007 to feature a musket component.

The nail assemblage recovered is significant. A MNI of 46 wrought nails were recovered, all of which except one measured less than eight inches in length. One cut nail with a handmade head, TPQ 1792, was also found. Within the context of the site, this is significant. The general surface collection at Spring Bay Flat, which excludes the excavated areas, produced no nails. Conversely, removing the shallow fill over Structure B, which turned out to be the sugar boiling complex, produced

107 wrought nails. This entire structure would have been sheltered underneath a trussed roof supported by beams at least 4 inches square, evidenced by the two square postholes along the cobbled walkway in front of the furnace. Evidently, the shelter was constructed with nails rather than mortise and tenon. The postholes at Structure C and lack of nails strongly indicates a wattle structure placed over top of the cobbled floor, as nails would have not required for its construction. The assemblage of 46 wrought nails at Structure D suggests a building whose structural integrity may have been dependent to some degree upon them.

Structure E

Structure E consists of an artificial platform projecting north from the foot of a large boulder. The platform was created first by the construction of a dry stone wall approximately 220cm tall extending out in a rough semicircular fashion from the boulder, which opportunistically incorporates other smaller boulders within its span. The resulting hollow between the wall and the large boulder was then backfilled with smaller rocks to create a flat platform suitable for a small domestic structure. Seven units were excavated from Structure E; Unit 1 composed the area below the rock overhang, Units 2, 3, 4, 5, and 7 were upon the platform, while 6 was located on the ground below the platform. The rock fill is most visible throughout Unit 5, to a depth of 50cm, merging into soil south into adjacent Unit 7, and east into Unit 3. No artifacts were found in Unit 5 beyond Level 3 (20-30cm). The boulder features a natural overhang where the platform begins, creating a nook which extends approximately two meters long by three meters wide underneath it, which was advantageously incorporated into the design of the platform. One 1x1 meter unit, Unit 6, was placed below the plateau, flush to the northern edge. Structure E follows the pattern of having a domestic structure located directly in front of a large boulder.



Figure 50: Spring Bay Flat, Structure E, facing south.

The platform, disregarding the area underneath the nook of the main boulder, measures 320cm from the boulder to the edge of the terrace (north to south), and 290cm across (east to west). At the extents of the eastern and western edge of the platform, a semicircular mound of rocks averaging 30cm high extends a meter inward. This appears to be the remains of two collapsed rock walls. The hut located on this platform would have, to some degree, sheltered the rock overhang from sight, making it an ideal place to hide items of value for the inhabitants. Several generations of goats took advantage of this overhang as shelter during inclement weather, and as an archaeologically inconvenient place to expire, leaving behind a plethora of goat feces and skeletal remains scattered across the surface. Unit 1 was designated as a unit bounded from the northern extent of the soil sheltered by the overhang, extending south to where the sloping top of the nook merges with the soil. Goat remains and feces were no longer present in the units after Level 1. The soil in these two units were mostly silt with an organic component in the first level due to the goats. Unit 1 was excavated to 40cm, until an impenetrable layer of naturally deposited rock averaging over 50cm in diameter were encountered.

Units 2 and 7 were aligned west to east, placed flush to the limit of the rock overhang. These two units featured silty loam for the first 8cm of Level 1, merging into the stone backfill by Level 2 and below. The surface layers of Units 2, 7, 4, and 5 featured a scatter of rocks averaging 30cm in diameter, which may be rubble from the two aforementioned dry stone walls which projected north from the

rock overhang. This would also account for the large number of similar sized rocks removed from these units during excavation.



Figure 51: Spring Bay Flat, Structure E, looking down and facing north.

One shallow, amorphous, organic soil feature was found during excavations at Structure E. The first was found in Unit 2, Level 2, measuring approximately 35cm east to west, and 25cm north to south. The feature extended just 11cm, down into the top layer of Level 3. This is probably the result of decaying organic matter, such as a goat. The lack of discernible soil features is due in part to the heavy inclusions of rock across most of the units atop the platform, especially in Unit 5, which consisted of approximately 90% rock backfill and almost no soil. If there was a wattle hut constructed on top of the platform, post holes would have been expected in units 2 and 7, as they were located just in front of the rock overhang, and had sufficient deposits of soil for a series of these features to be visible. However, given that the construction of this platform required significant quantities of rock to backfill the terrace to create a level surface, in addition to the presence of naturally deposited rock of all sizes, it would have been exceedingly difficult to uniformly place and secure posts for a wattle structure into the platform unless this was done first. Twin dry stone walls projecting north from the face of the boulder would have provided a basic shell from which to construct a dwelling, which may have included nothing more than a flat, thatch roof, in a fashion like Ulric Hassell's cattle shelter at SB 022. There is a notable scatter of stone between 20cm – 30cm diameter flanking Structure E to the east and west, and on the west side, the remains of a section of dry stone wall is visible. It appears that the two dry stone walls collapsed outward from the structure, resulting in the rock scatter to the east and west.

In total, 584 artifacts were recovered from six excavation units upon the plateau. Interestingly, no artifacts were found in Unit 6, located immediately north and below the platform, flush to the exterior dry stone wall. This is strong evidence for yard sweeping. Twenty wrought nails were recovered from excavations, somewhat midway between the nail counts from Structures C and E. Glass formed a higher proportion of the assemblage than was seen with the other structures, with 98 round sherds collected, with an MNI of four from round bottle bases. Three of these bases were fragments of dip mold bases, of which had a sand pontil scar. Cases bottles comprised 35 sherds of this total, with an MNI of two. The case bottle bases had pointed corners, and one had a clearly visible blowpipe pontil scar. Free blown and dip mold were the only manufacturing types clearly visible in the assemblage.

There were several notable individual artifacts recovered from Structure E. A 2-sous coin from Cayenne Colony (French Guiana) dated 1787 was found in Unit 3, Level 3. This was the only other coin recovered from Spring Bay Flat, the other being a coin from the Dutch West India Company dated 1716. What appears to be a 22mm diameter copper alloy, concave disk with a slightly off-centered 5mm square hole was recovered from Unit 2, Level 2. It has a smooth surface with no relief under a 4x microscope. The square hole appears to have been struck through with a nail from the concave face, as the opposite face is curled outwards away from the edge of the opening. If it is a coin, it is extremely worn, and may not have been viable as currency given the extent of surface wear. This may indicate that it was punctured to be strung through and worn for decorative purposes. It may also have functioned as a washer. One unmodified fragment of black chert was found, significantly less than what was recovered from Structure D.

The ceramic assemblage is comprised of 179 sherds, of which 32 are non-European coarse earthenware. The date range of the European ceramics suggests an occupation ranging from the second quarter of the eighteenth century to the early nineteenth century. However, the long use periods of common ceramics in the assemblage, such as ambiguous sherds of tin enamel ware and many types of stoneware, are not ideal for using MCD. Regarding this assemblage, their MCD indicates an occupation beginning in the early eighteenth century. While this is possible, predominance of ceramic varieties whose initial production dates to and past the last third of the eighteenth century makes this the more pronounced occupation period. The MCD of ceramics by decade is depicted on the following figure.

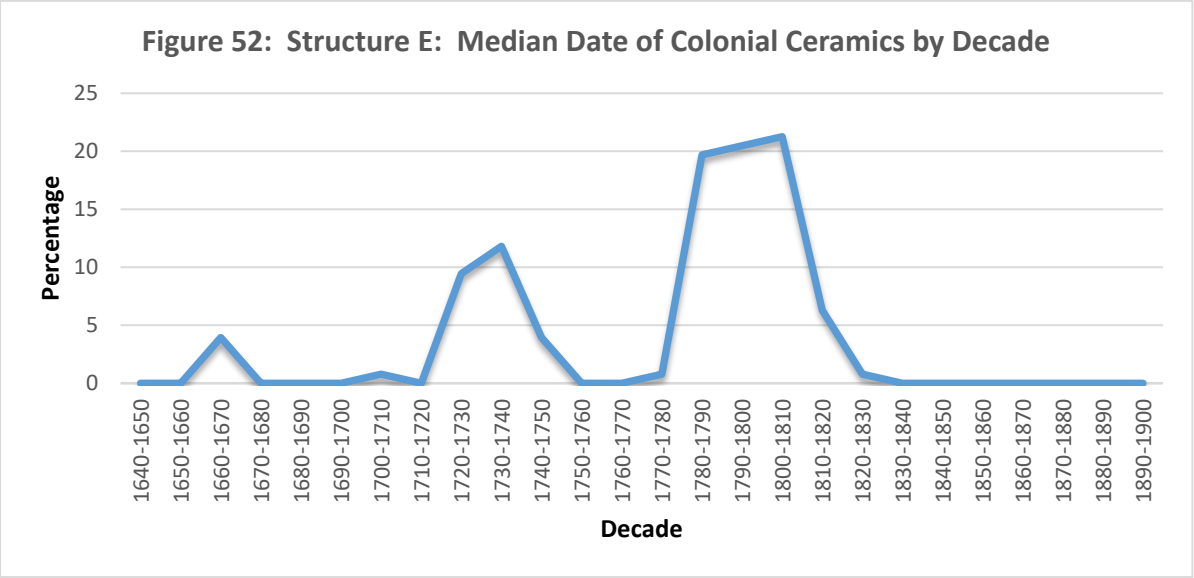
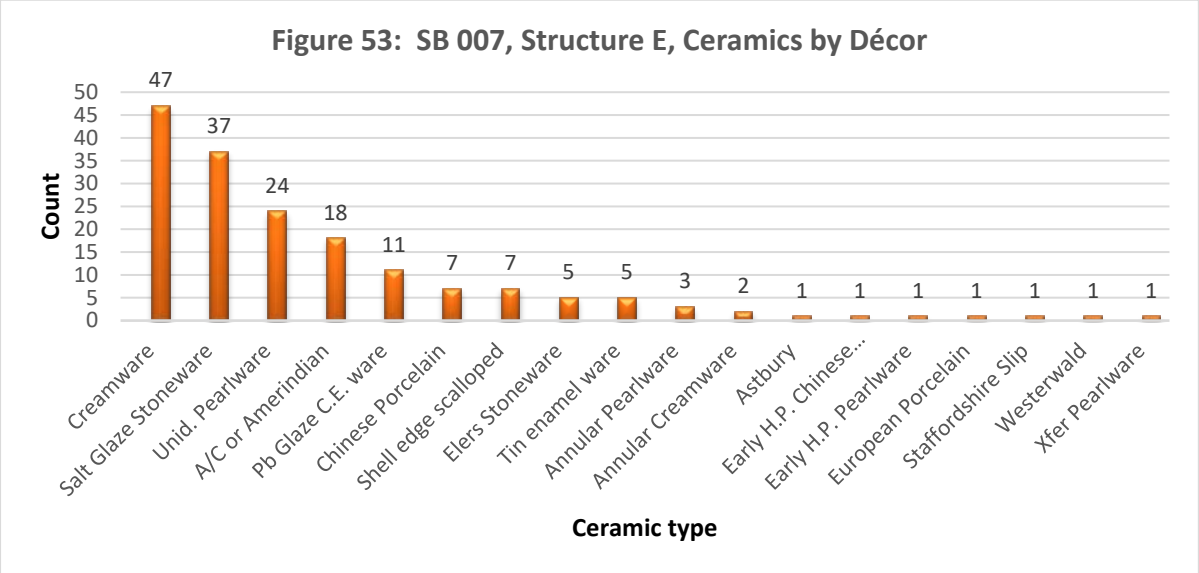


Figure 53 lists the sherd counts of ceramics by decoration. The seven sherds of Chinese porcelain, the European porcelain sherd, and the five sherds of Elers stoneware are noteworthy in their value. These are expensive ceramics relative to the assemblage, and it is doubtful their owner would have purchased these wares for them with more inexpensive selections. This instead indicates an acquisition through other means, such as being passed down from the owner after their novelty had expired, purchase, by enslaved Africans, theft, or perhaps deposited by erosion from upper levels of the site. However, the Elers sherds and four sherds of Chinese porcelain were found in Units 1 and 2, which were placed underneath the rock overhang, extending past the 1x1m dimensions in the south by following the extents of the boulder to the bottom of the units. This is an unlikely natural deposition area for artifacts eroding from above the site, thus the presence of the sherds is indicative mostly of human, rather than erosional deposition.



Once again, as seen in Structures C and D, creamware and related decorative varieties are most common in Structure E. As this structure lies outside the high-concentration area bounds delineated by Hoogland (1996) for Amerindian artifacts at SB 007, the significantly lower count of Amerindian or questionably Afro-Caribbean sherds is not surprising. The near absence of transfer print wares, represented by only one sherd of pearlware, is notable, as it was also absent from Structures C and D. This contrasts significantly with the relatively even count of creamware to transfer print wares in the SB 007 surface collection, and even more when compared to Layer 3 of SB 036.

Structure F

Structure F had the dubious honour of having the best example of a terraced platform constructed into the face of a boulder, but with little surface evidence of a dry stone domestic structure, while the excavations upon the platform turned up the smallest artifact assemblage at Spring Bay Flat. Again in this instance, the individuals constructing the platform took advantage of the boulders already present, and implemented them into the design. On the southern half of the platform, one very large boulder breaks the surface and descends north below the surface across the platform to a depth of at least 60cm. A dry stone retaining wall was constructed at the northern face of the platform of rocks averaging 30cm in diameter; this was backfilled with smaller rocks averaging 15cm in diameter to create a level platform. The only significant deposit of soil was wedge-shaped, following the profile of the large, aforementioned sloping boulder, extending north approximately 200cm to the border with the rock fill. It was a silty loam which extended to a depth of approximately 40cm; below this layer it transitioned to silt. Unlike Structure E, there were no telltale mounds of rock projecting out in a line from the face of the boulder, as evidence of walls. Between four units and a surface collection, 157 artifacts were recovered. Unit 2, however, did not contain any artifacts. The near entirety of Unit 2 consisted of the surface of the boulder which sloped down south to north, and thus its excavation did not extend past Level 1. Curiously, all artifacts were recovered from Level 1 (0-10cm) in Units 1, 3, and 4, except for a sherd of late creamware and a non-tong smoothed pipe stem from Unit 4, Level 3. The top 5cm of each unit consisted of loam. Below this deposit, Unit 1 was comprised entirely of silty loam, and terminated at a depth of 30- 40cm, following the following the face of the sloping boulder, and Units 3 and 4 ended at 40-60cm upon the same surface. The depth of the silty loam layer which extended between units 1, 3, and 4, is significantly deeper than was seen across all other excavation units at Spring Bay Flat. On average, this only extended to a depth of 15cm before transitioning into silt. Given this deposit's proximity to the terrace and rock fill, this soil represents a historic backfill layer. This would then account for the dearth of artifacts in all other

layers, and the assemblages from Layer 1 across the units represent the use period of Structure F after the backfill. This can be dated to the period between the very late eighteenth century to the early nineteenth century, based upon the sherd of late creamware at Layer 3 in Unit 4. No other soil features, such as postholes were noted during excavations.



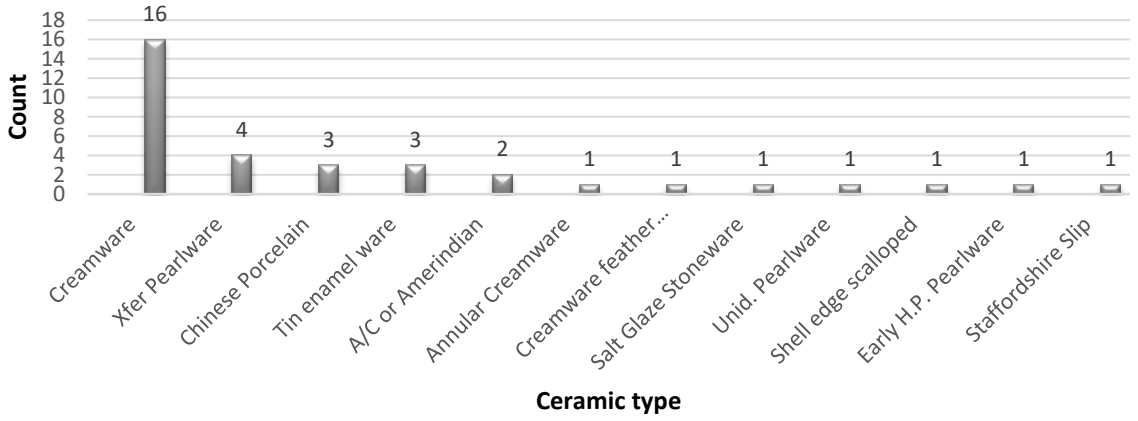


Figure 54 (above): Spring Bay Flat, Structure F, facing southeast.

Figure 55 (below): Spring Bay Flat, Structure F, facing northwest.

The ceramic assemblage from Structure F is small, consisting of only 29 sherds. The assemblage consisted mostly of creamware and pearlware. The varieties of pearlware, such as one sherd of rococo blue, scalloped, curved shell edge ware; one blue hand painted sherd with a dot and circle pattern, and three sherds of dark blue transfer print ware represent the latest examples. This assemblage is too small for the MCD formula to be employed with any reliability; however, a qualitative assessment places the date between from the last quarter of the eighteenth century to the early nineteenth century.

Figure 56: SB 007, Structure F, Ceramics by Décor



The glass assemblage from this structure is proportionately larger to all other areas excavated at Spring Bay Flat, numbering 54 sherds, with an MNI of 13. All of the glassware dates prior to the nineteenth century, except for one sherd of aqua coloured glass, which dates from the mid nineteenth century onwards, and thus represents an incidental deposit from a later period.

The physical characteristics of Structure F mirror those of Structure E. The distinguishing difference between them, though, is the lack of two mounds of rock on Structure F to suggest the ruin of twin walls projecting from the face of the boulder onto the platform. The artifact assemblage is small, limited mostly to the top layer, and the date range of the ceramics recovered also coincides to the terminal period of the plantation. The platform may have been constructed late in the span of operations at Spring Bay Flat; consequently, this would have resulted in the small assemblage that was recovered from Structure F. While the artifact assemblage supports the notion of human activity upon the platform, there is little in terms of archaeological evidence for a domestic structure, whether dry stone or a thatch hut. No postholes were found, and no rubble from collapsed walls was noted. However, as with Structure F, any posts that may have been embedded into the stone backfill of the retaining wall would leave little evidence in the archaeological record.

Structure G

Approximately 10m north of the Big House and 2m from the cliff edge lies the corner of a structure evidenced by the tops of nine face stones protruding from the surface. One sherd of creamware and a copper alloy wrought nail were noted in the area. This structure was not excavated.

Structure H

This structure was only discovered in May 2014 during a geophysical survey. It is located just 4m west of Structure D. It appears to be the remains of two walls that projected out from the face of a boulder, in an identical fashion to what was proposed for Structure E. In this case, they collapsed inward and downslope. A visible line of two layers of stacked stone can be seen in the southwestern corner of the pile. The rubble is visibly concave, and highest at the west and east extremities where the walls would have been situated. Within the rubble, a hand-held oval grinding stone, three fragments of red brick and one fragment of Ijssel brick were found, and a small assemblage of artifacts were collected close to the base boulder consisting of an round bottle with an untooled finish and attached free blown neck, a free blown green glass bottle base with a glass pontil scar, a free blown green glass bottle base with a sand pontil scar, one unidentifiable green glass bottle body sherd, a sherd of early hand painted polychrome pearlware, a sherd of wild rose transfer print ware, and one sherd of creamware.



Figure 57: Spring Bay Flat, Structure H, facing south.



Figure 58: Spring Bay Flat, Structure H, facing northwest.

Structure I

This structure is located south of Structure F, on a flat area situated immediately behind and above the large boulder that composes the latter. A line of rocks composing the east, north, and west faces are visible. A scatter of rock is present in what would be the south face, but there is no visible alignment. A smooth, oval grinding stone was found adjacent to the east wall of the structure.

Structures J and K

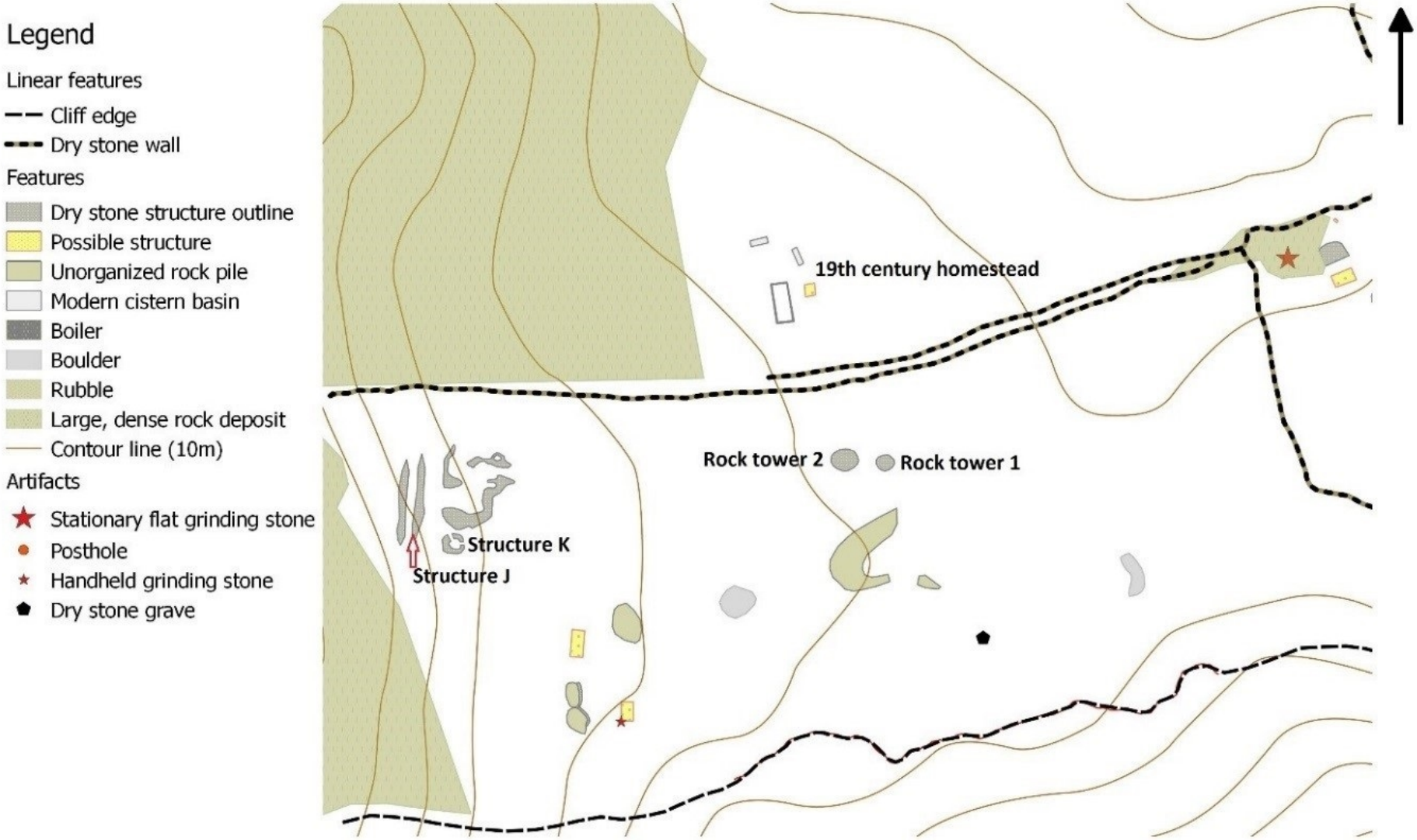
The southwestern flank of Spring Bay Flat, where the slope rises uphill to English Quarter, features three broken lines of dry stone terraces which are aligned to efficiently incorporate large, immovable boulders, which doubled as structural support. There are several small, flat, irregular shaped areas that were created through this terracing that could have served for subsistence agriculture. Interestingly, though, there are at least three areas, clustered closely, where dry stones project perpendicular and downslope of the terrace to form a nearly enclosed ring with an opening, presumably an entrance. Two of these, Structures J and K, were excavated with 2x1m units in areas where minimal tree roots were expected. The presence of trees in both structures was unfortunate, and as a result the entirety of the inner structure could not be excavated. The hollow area of each measures approximately 2m x 2m from the surface.



Figure 59: Spring Bay Flat, Structure J, facing north.

Excavations in both Structures J and K extended to only 30cm in depth, and revealed what appeared to be a rough floor consisting of the flat top faces of large boulders underneath, and smaller flat faced stones aligned somewhat flush to the ground, with disturbance by tree roots. The height of each structure from the ground level to the top of the dry stone walls averaged about 140cm. Rock fall from the dry stones surrounding the hollow was evident. The only artifacts found around Structure J consisted of one cobbled face stone, and one modified stone, triangular in shape, 10cm long, which would have served as a hammer stone. Whether it is Amerindian or Afro-Caribbean in origin is undetermined, but no Amerindian artifacts were otherwise noted on the surface of the southwestern section of Spring Bay Flat throughout the entirety of fieldwork. No artifacts were recovered from the excavation unit in Structure J itself. In Structure K, a small variety of material was found, including 2 face stones, 3 fragments of Ijssel brick, 2 fragments of red brick, one sherd of Staffordshire slipware, one sherd of blue transfer print pearlware, 17 fragments of unburnt coral, 2 chiton sections, one small, unidentifiable bone fragment, and one sherd of green case bottle glass. Given the absence of artifacts in Structure K relative to J, Structure K was probably occupied. A simple roof of thatch placed over top of the dry stone walls, similar to the photo from the Rendezvouz, would complete the dwelling.

Figure 60: Spring Bay Flat, Southwest Section



Other structures and features at Spring Bay flat

The flat, namesake region of Spring Bay Flat, which extends west of the boiling house to the beginning of the slopes to English Quarter, would have been planted with sugar cane and probably indigo. This area is small, approximately 1.5 hectares. Within this region lie four scattered, disorganized rock piles, three large, tall boulders, and four circular stacks of dry piled stone. The disorganized rock piles are centralized remains of stones that had previously been naturally deposited across the flat. These would have had to be removed from the surface area of the flat to permit large scale, intensive agriculture. However, the circular, dry stones were constructed with intent. Two of them are each approximately 2.5m tall, which is sufficient to permit a view over the treetops across the site, which themselves average 3m in height. Together with the three incidentally tall boulders within the flat, they are strategically scattered across the planted area in a manner to have served as ideal lookout points for plantation overseers, as mature sugar cane also stood between 3-4m tall.



Figure 61: Spring Bay Flat, Rock Tower 1.

Approximately 20m north of the dividing wall are the remains of a dry stone house foundation and two small cisterns. Few residents are aware of its existence, and those that do know nothing further regarding the former inhabitants and its abandonment. This is probably a homestead which was alluded to in the property description from 1817, which noted that there were several small spots of land belonging to others within the Spring Bay estate. The house foundation is piled dry stone, measuring approximately 420cm east to west, and 700cm north to south. An area approximately

400m2 in area surrounding the house site is lightly terraced along a slope averaging 15 degrees, which could have provided land suitable for small scale subsistence agriculture in the immediate vicinity.

The southernmost cistern at the site, located 11.5m east-northeast of the foundation, measures 176cm east to west, 415cm north to south, and at least 110cm deep to the top layer of the leaf litter and fill from the dome's collapse. The northern cistern measures 400cm east to west, 132cm north to south, and 100cm deep to the top layer of fill. A large boulder, approximately 500cm in diameter, sits flush to the southern face of this cistern. The mortar lining the two cisterns is dissimilar to that used across the rest of Spring Bay and Spring Bay Flat. The base coat of tabby is light grey on color, and composed of a coarse sand temper with quartz inclusions visible to the naked eye. A finer, more water-resistant layer of tabby was laid over the base, composed of a fine sand temper. There were few artifacts found on the surface near the cisterns and the house. A plate rim sherd of buff-bodied tin enamel ware was found inside a nook within the boulder adjacent to the northern cistern, and a sherd of late hand painted floral whiteware inside the house foundations.

There are no other rectangular, dry stone house foundations found at Spring Bay Flat or Spring Bay. This type and size of house foundation, rather, is associated more with low class Sabans. It is especially prevalent at Palmetto Point, with twelve of thirteen houses constructed of dry stone foundations. This will be discussed in further detail later. The tabby employed on the cisterns at this site is also different from the white tabby used as cement to construct the Big House, and the orange trass-based tabby which was used to construct the aqueducts, and line the basins of the boiling house. It thus appears that this house site was not associated with the industrial operations at Spring Bay Flat, and was one of the small, separate properties mentioned within the Spring Bay estate.

SB 038 - Core Gut Bay

This site is located upon the shoreline of Core Gut Bay, and consists of a stone and mortar well together with a series of two exposed indigo vats. The seaside-facing remnants of the structure have been destroyed, with only the opposite walls still mostly intact. There is no evidence of other structures present, and as such it is probably associated with the operations at either Spring Bay Flat or Spring Bay. The vegetation at Core Gut Bay consists predominantly of *Hippomane mancinella*, commonly known as Manchineel. The north half of Core Gut Bay is covered with a thick, pure stand of manchineel, as shown in the figure below, making survey in that area difficult and dangerous.



Figure 62: Core Gut Bay, facing north.

Core Gut Bay is defined by three distinct geological regions. The shoreline of Core Gut Bay runs approximately 100m north to south; to the north it is bounded by the sheer, barren cliffs of Old Booby Hill, and to the south a steep, rocky hillside averaging 50 degrees which forms the lower, northeastern slopes of The Level. This bounded shoreline area, stretching up to the saddle between Spring Bay Flat and Old Booby Hill, is part of a continuous region of lithified block and ash flow deposits, including minor pumiceous and basaltic andesite deposits, that surrounds the majority of Spring Bay and Spring Bay Flat (Roobol & Smith:Plate 2). The face of Old Booby Hill that forms the northern, sheer boundary of Core Gut Bay comprises the remains of an old andesite dome. The southern boundary consists of a hillside about 100m tall, which forms the northeastern extents of a coulée lava flow extending from The Level, which is a young andesite dome (Roobol & Smith:Plate 2). Interestingly, there is a triangular region on the opposite (southern) side of this ridge, comprising an area about 40,000m2, which is geologically identical to the commercially planted area of Spring Bay Flat and Spring Bay.

The location of an indigo processing site at Core Gut Bay is advantageous in that the finished product can be packed and shipped by boat directly from the site to Fort Bay or Ladder Bay, rather than resorting to a long and inefficient overland hike to the same destinations. However, its location is somewhat perplexing if considered in terms of being incorporated within the bounds of the Spring Bay estate. Core Gut Bay is only accessible from the trail which leads between Spring Bay Flat and

Spring Bay. There is no established trail to Core Gut Bay, so one must go off path at a certain point and head southeast. From this junction point, Core Gut Bay is situated approximately 300m downslope in a straight line, the Spring Bay Flat boiling house is 300m back up the trail, and Spring Bay is 400m down the trail. It is not possible to access Core Gut Bay from the gut between Spring Bay Flat and The Level, as the gut ends with a sheer drop, about 15m, down to the bay. While it is possible to descend from The Level to Core Gut Bay, this is long, quite treacherous, and as a result, very impractical. It is not entirely clear which cultivated areas of land that this indigo processing site would have been servicing. The aforementioned triangular, arable section of land atop the opposite face of the southern hillside bordering Core Gut is a mildly sloped gut averaging a 20 to 30-degree incline, which is at present experiencing continual erosion. In 1996, a large area of this section of The Level gave way in a massive erosion event, and the wide channel is still visibly eroding, with small rocks rolling downslope over the exposed sediment at random intervals every minute. It may have been possible to cultivate indigo in this area during the colonial period with the aid of terracing, which would then rationalize the location of a processing area at Core Gut Bay, rather than having to resort to long, steep hikes back and forth to either Spring Bay or Spring Bay Flat. Otherwise, the only other somewhat arable land within reasonable distance to Core Gut Bay is located around the unmarked juncture previously mentioned, and in less inclined areas of the western slopes of Old Booby Hill. However, despite the somewhat longer distance to Spring Bay from this point, the trail is gently sloping and much more conducive for safely hauling a load than it would be to Core Gut Bay.



Figure 63: Indigo processing site at Core Gut Bay, including the circular well in the foreground, supporting the scale rod. Note the plastic washed into the basin by ocean swells.



Figure 64: Atop the ridge south of Core Gut Bay, showing the eroded channel, facing south.

No artifacts were found during a surface survey, but twentieth and twenty-first century garbage deposited by the sea litters the shore, extending upslope of the site itself. This indicates that SB 038 is subject to damage and erosion from sea swells, and it is only a matter of time before the site is destroyed outright. The well is situated approximately 30m from the shore, and constructed of unmodified locally sourced andesite, bonded with a white tabby consisting of coarse gravel, crushed shell, and lime. It measures 132cm in diameter, with a depth of 133cm to a sediment deposit. The first basin measures 280cm north to south, an unknown distance wide as it is destroyed, and at least 69cm deep, from what remains of the western wall. The second basin is smaller, measuring 184cm north to south, 170cm east to west, and over 100cm deep. This basin is filled with sediment, and the bottom was not visible. The third basin measures 110cm east to west, an unknown distance north to south, and over 65cm deep. This basin is also filled with sediment. A square drain at the surface level measuring 14cm x 14cm connects the second with the third basin. Unfortunately, due to the lack of artifacts, this site cannot be dated at the moment, though it can be said with certainty to date prior to the nineteenth century as indigo production between St. Maarten, St. Eustatius, and Saba had ceased by 1816.

Spring Bay Flat in context

The excavations at Spring Bay Flat are central to this research. Based upon archaeological evidence, the site was in operation from the early eighteenth century to no later than 1816. The site

provided a small and largely complete sugar plantation and boiling house, along with a Big House and enslaved African huts. In particular, the structures identified as enslaved African huts have a generic architectural style of piled dry stone walls set into a boulder, which is also seen at other sites across Saba for livestock shelter. Since Saba was only a partially plantation-based economy from its colonial inception to the early nineteenth century, this site also provides an important comparative context relative to contemporary enslaved Africans laboring under non-industrialized settings on the island. A population of 33 enslaved Africans working and living at Spring Bay Flat in 1780. However, only three domestic structures have been confidently identified at the site, with the addition of Structures F, H, I, and K as likely candidates; considering the relative small size of these structures and the population of enslaved Africans present by 1780, there are more enslaved African habitation sites at Spring Bay Flat that have yet to be discovered. The Big House, a contextual misnomer, is smaller than the average nineteenth century house size determined by Brugman (1995), in spite of the profits that would have been derived from the plantation. The absentee owners lived on St. Eustatius at least since 1780, and thus the Big House was inhabited by a manager, probably a white Saban, instead. The surface assemblage in the boiling house area and from the eroding slope south of the Big House both feature a predominant proportion of creamware and a near absence of transfer print ware, which makes for an interesting comparison with Layer 2 and 3 at SB 036. The assemblages collected from Structures C, D, and E, and the analyses of their architecture will together form a basis for interpreting the materiality of race and class as expressed through slavery.

The Bottom Sugar Plantation

The sugar plantation in The Bottom ceased operations by 1826 upon the deaths of owners Thomas and Joanna Dinzey. Unfortunately, there has been no description of this plantation prior to the nineteenth century, though it was certainly in operation during the eighteenth century, and probably as far back as the seventeenth century due to its ideal location near the common anchorages. In 1827 the lands were split between the heirs, which included their children Thomas, Richard, Joseph, Anna, and Elizabeth Dinzey, and also including William Haddocks, Moses Leverock, and Engle Heyliger. Following deaths of Elizabeth and Anna Dinzey by mid century, much of the remaining plantation lands were parcelled off and became homesteads, eventually obliterating any trace of the former plantation by the twentieth century. As a result, this plantation was unable to be excavated or investigated archaeologically, but descriptions from the documentary record are nonetheless important for this research.

The bounds of the plantation, described in the Book of Recorded Mortgages included much of the The Bottom, and constituted properties formerly belonging to A. Donker, and others by the

late Johannes deGraaf, both of St. Eustatius. It also included The Bottom Mountain, The Tent, and another property purchased from John Simmons. However, much of this land would have been unsuitable for sugar cultivation. An area of about 15 hectares located in the flat portions of the plantation in The Bottom would have been conducive to this end, but little else. Thomas and Joanna Dinzey also owned large land holdings surrounding the plantations lands. These included The Temple (Great Hill), The Ladder, Cow Pasture, Middle Island, The Flat (present day area of Great Point), The Bush (between The Flat and Troy Hill), The Saddle (at least the area between Bunker Hill and Paris Hill, and probably including both hills), a portion of Well's Bay extending northeast to the well, and a spot of land by the Fort Gut; together these lands, including the plantation, occuped an area of about 280 hectares (if including Bunker Hill and Paris Hill), making them the wealthiest Sabans and the largest owners of prime land by this time. The Ladder and Cow Pasture appear to have been acquired in the eighteenth century, being "purchased from sundry persons from sundry times" (SBRM:4/1/1831). The plantation components included a cattle mill, boiling house, a still, provisioning grounds, many undefined buildings, the plantation dwelling house, six mules, and 53 enslaved Africans (including 18 young children). The Big House and lot were located in the center of The Bottom and valued at 840 p/8 in an assessment five years after the deaths of Thomas and Joanna Dinzey, and notably, the boiling house, mill, and still were considered part of this lot, which conforms to Armstrong & Kelly's (2000) model of plantation space use. Together the plantation and adjoining lands were valued at $9,112 Spanish dollars.

A fourth indigo production site has been identified upon the Dinzey Plantation lands around Well's Bay, though due to its extensive partitioning after 1782, he probably did not use it for indigo production after he acquired a part of it in 1785 (SVB 1780-1825:8/5/1785). The site was described (but not identified) in Haviser's survey and field notes (Haviser 1985:27): "The site at Well bay consists of a stone/mortar circular well and double catchment, both are severely eroded. The site is located at Wells bay point where the double catchment stone/mortar construction is situated, and abnout 50 meters north of the point, on the shoreline, is the circular well". The field notes depict sketches of two basins, flush together and set one below the other upon an incline, with the upper basin measuring approximately 200cm by 230cm. The design of this structure mirrors that of indigo vats, and therefore Well's Bay can be considered Saba's fourth indigo production site. Joanna Robertson and Simon Donker's sales of parts of the Goat Cleft in 1782 are probably associated with the indigo vat at Well's Bay. The Goat Cleft is the name for a tract of land between Palmetto Point and the shoreline in the vicinity of Well's Bay, and its ownership by St. Eustatius residents readily suggests its intent as plantation grounds. The sales in 1782 are also auspicious as it soon follows the 1780 hurricane. Its cheap sale price suggests that it was no longer profitable, probably due to

massive erosion from the storm. An apparently large section of the Goat Cleft was sold by James Hassell to Thomas Hassell in 1784 for 124.3.0, testifying to the formerly extensive area it once occupied (SVB 1780-1825:16/6/1784). This region in the present is continually experiencing rapid erosion.

Saban plantations and the acquisition of slave labour

Sabans purchased enslaved Africans from abroad during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, mostly through St. Eustatius, but the documentary record for the last two thirds of the eighteenth century is unfortunately sparse. This certainly occurred in the seventeenth century prior to the island's capture by the English in 1665, with new imports at least by the last decade of the century. As discussed in the previous chapter, there were 50 enslaved Africans purchased by Sabans from Maas and Zeeland Kamer GWC vessels, not including those from the Amsterdam Kamer, between Statia's brief role as a slave trading depot from 1720-1727. Importations of enslaved Africans to Saba for the absentee-owned plantations such as Spring Bay Flat, Flat Point, The Bottom plantation (up to 1778), and an indeterminate number of coffee plantations were not recorded in the Saban documentary record, and were sparse in that of St. Eustatius. The Vendue Books only lists purchases within the internal economy of the island, and did not record imports to the island. The only list of imports is available in the Government Log Book 1816-1836 from 1820 to 1823, but these did not list enslaved Africans (DNAr 1.05.13.01 #319). In addition, a list of duties on commonly imported goods to be paid to the public treasury on Saba for 1823 did not contain any tax for enslaved Africans. (DNAr 1.05.13.01 #319:192-193). However, it appears that this would occurred more commonly on Saba for plantation slavery, since the large majority of enslaved Africans sold in the Vendue Books were purchased in small quantities by many different individuals. There were three enslaved Africans likely purchased for plantation labour, bought by Thomas Dinzey, the Island Governor and owner of the sugar plantation in The Bottom after 1778. No purchases of enslaved African were recorded for the Spring Bay Flat plantation by Abraham Heyliger, former governor of St. Eustatius and then owner of the Spring Bay Flat sugar plantation. Although he is recorded on the Saba census of 1780, Heyliger spent most or all of his time on St. Eustatius, where he owned a 24-hectare sugar plantation along with five separate plots of land in the southern half of the island at 3.1, 3.4, 5.0, and 50.4 hectares respectfully (Martin 1781).

Spatial analysis of sugar plantations as a means for identifying enslaved African housing

The socio-spatial dialectic provides an effective means of predicting the locations of enslaved African housing areas at Spring Bay Flat and Flat Point. The limitations of land use at Spring Bay Flat are fostered by steep topography which forms sharp borders on the east and south, and by the presence of broad and sometimes dense natural deposits of stone across the flat and sloped surfaces of the plantation. This terrain is so constricting that it is directly reflected in the diminutive two-pot Jamaica train, which was constructed commensurate to the available land upon which the sugar cane destined for this plantation was cultivated. The lack of usable land would also have promoted a more efficient use of terrain than would otherwise be seen on broad, flat plantations where this was not a mitigating factor for spatial organization. Due to these constraints, the only areas that could be designated as enslaved African domestic areas within the Armstrong and Kelly model are located just north of the boiling house, up the slopes directly west of the cane field up to English Quarter, and in the southwestern corner of the plantation. As outlined on the map, the plantation is divided neatly into three areas, each with different plantation functions, by two long spans of dry stone walls. These divisions correspond structurally and archaeologically to the cane field in the southwest division, a section encompassing the industrial works, Big House, and an enslaved African domestic area in the southeast division, and a third division north of this wall which consisted of steeper, rocky lands showing little signs of modification. However, since 33 enslaved Africans were living and working on the plantation by 1780, a second area would at least be required to provide sufficient practical space for housing. The western extent of the planted area is bordered on the slope reaching up to English Quarter, which features a series of dry stone terraces where the cane field ends; these are the terraces that harbour Structures J and K. The steep hillside which forms the southern border of Spring Bay Flat bears no evidence of terracing, which would be a pre-requisite for habitation. The eastern cliffs are almost sheer, and show no signs of modification or structures. The area north of the wall is mostly strewn with natural rock deposits, and several regions have no soil at all. The area features only a few sporadic, narrow terraces that are better suited as enslaved African subsistence agriculture plots than for habitation. The southwestern area holds two areas at the beginning of the slope leading up to English Quarter that are made broad and flat through terracing, and one of the areas delineated on the map as a “potential structure” also features a handheld grinding stone nearby. The rest of this area highlighted on the map harbours more large stones strewn across its surface than the planted field, making sugar cane or indigo cultivation difficult, but still not impossible. However, the presence of what is probably a grave marker in its eastern extent indicates that this area was probably not cultivated, and instead designated as an enslaved African domestic area.

As previously discussed at Spring Bay Flat, the Big House was constructed atop a small hill which borders the eastern cliff which runs north to south. This position provided constant exposure to the northeastern trade winds, cooling the house, and keeping the fumes at bay from the boiling house and any indigo processing that may have occurred just 20m downslope and to the west. This elevated position also provided an excellent vantage point to oversee everyday labour across the plantation, especially at the boiling house and cattle mill. It also provided oversight of the enslaved African domestic area just to the north. This location also would serve to compensate for the relative small size of the house in terms of power projection, since if the owners were explicitly or implicitly projecting wealth and power through residential architecture, their money and efforts would have been better directed towards their plantations on St. Eustatius, as an international trade hub, rather than an otherwise unsettled and isolated region of Saba. The average house size on Saba of those dating from the nineteenth century, together representing the earliest examples on the island, is 487cm x 914cm, or 43.20m2 (Brugman 1995:30). This is about 40% larger than the area of the Big House. In fact, this area is closer to the dimensions of the smallest house on Saba from that group, measuring 360cm x 720cm, or 25.92m2. It is quite apparent that the house itself was constructed more out of an immediate concern for practicality than for projecting power through domestic architecture. Instead, its location upon the highest point of the plantation, coupled with the half-pyramid staircase leading up to the house from the boiling house, combine an advantageous use of the landscape with affordable, "monumental" architecture through the staircase as a means to project class and power in the plantation setting. The enslaved African domestic structures C, D, E, G, and I are located at least 20m north of the indigo processing vats, and as they receive minimal exposure to the trade winds due to their location, they would have been exposed to the fumes as the indigo fermented, in addition to occasional smoke from the boiling house. This created both an unpleasant and unhealthy location for habitation. The land which begins west of the dry stone wall next to the boiling house, north to the twinned dry stone walls, and south to the gut which divides Spring Bay Flat from The Level is evidently the planted area; it is the largest and flattest swathe of land at Spring Bay Flat, and has been cleared of stones across its surface. SB 001, 004, and 007 are all similar in that the surface was strewn with natural deposited stones, thus clearing the sites' surfaces was a necessary first step to prepare designated areas for agricultural, pedestrian, or structural use, and also provided readily-usable construction materials for plantation buildings. Therefore, across these sites, areas that are visibly less strewn with stones, or are altogether clear, are probable indicators of human activity. Across the planted area of SB 007, these naturally deposited stones were collected and either heaped into unorganized piles, or used for dry stone construction across the plantation. The planted area itself features two round, dry stone "towers" that would have served well as elevated supervision points.

Outside of Structures C, D, E, and H themselves, this area bears other characteristics of domestic use. An irregularly rounded, dry stone animal pen approximately five meters in diameter is located ten meters east of Structure C, with the entrance facing towards it. The dry stone construction opportunistically incorporates naturally deposited large boulders into its walls. This pen is much smaller than the pen for the draught oxen, which itself measures approximately 10m x 15m, constructed with a dry stone wall averaging 80cm thick and 100cm tall, and located adjacent to the cattle mill. The pen associated with Structure C is very similar to those found in other domestic contexts on Saba, such as two at Middle Island and one at Palmetto Point.

A natural square-shaped gap between boulders located just 5m downslope of Structure E featured a scatter of creamware and tin-enamel ware. Its shape is similar to the kitchen attached to the Big House. Approximately 10m west of the "kitchen" feature associated with Structure E lies a large rock that was evidently used as a stationary grinding platform. It has a very worn surface, and is so eroded from repeated use that it is concave. An oval, handheld grinding stone was also found just south of the large boulder which comprises Structure E. House-yard sweeping is also evident at Structure E. Unit 7, which was placed flush to the eastern face of the retaining wall below the platform, produced no artifacts at all while 584 artifacts were recovered from the six units atop the platform of Structure E.

Dry stone houses at Spring Bay, Spring Bay Flat and Flat Point are also structurally practical given the geography of both locations. In the present, SB 001 is nearly treeless, and was almost certainly devoid of them during its operation in the colonial period. It is exposed to winds in all directions as it is effectively a small peninsula, which was probably the main cause of its demise after the 1772 hurricane. SB 004 was vulnerable from the east in Spring Bay, while SB 007 was exposed to the northeast, east, and southeast, with only the slight promontory where the Big House was located to serve as a partial windbreak. In a fashion not unlike the tale of the "Three Little Pigs", since the task of clearing stones would have been assigned to enslaved Africans, a logical second step for them would be to direct some of the surplus towards hurricane-resistant house construction. Structures E, F, and G at SB 007 and Structure A at SB 004 would have been especially resistant since their middle "face", which supports the two parallel walls projecting from it, was an immovable boulder. The entrance way for each also faces in a direction away from the site's unsheltered exposures. At SB 007, Structures E and G open facing north, and Structure F opens facing west, while Structure A at SB 004 faces north. At SB 001, the entire industrial complex of the sugar operations save for the boiling house itself was constructed with dry stone. Following its abandonment, the walls of SB 001's structures are still mostly intact, and they appear to have received more damage from reckless goats rather than hurricanes.

The domestic space of enslaved African plantation housing areas includes both the house and the associated yard, without the sharp divisions as seen in European conceptions of domestic landscapes. This has been termed the "yardscape"; defined as "an area of land, bounded and… enclosed, which immediately surrounds a domestic structure and is considered an extension of that dwelling" (Heath and Bennet 2000:38; cited in Ogundrian and Falola 2007:27). In many cultures across southern West African, this space is often formalized into a courtyard. Within the courtyard, a variety of domestic-oriented activities took place, such food processing, cooking, socializing, rituals, or sleeping (DeCorse 2001). It is useful, therefore, to conceive of an African dwelling as a series of decent sized rooms adjacent to a large open living space, rather than as a cluster of isolated houses (DeCorse 2001:151).

Enslaved African dry stone houses in Caribbean contexts

Two distinct types of dry stone enslaved African housing are present on Saba. To ease discussion, these will be termed Type 1 and Type 2 housing. Type 1 structures feature a single room formed by two parallel dry stone walls which are supported in the rear either by being built downslope into the face of a boulder, or built perpendicular into a larger dry stone wall or structure. The roof would have consisted of flat thatch, probably supported by branches laid across the walls. Type 2 structures are built entirely of dry stone walls, unsupported by other structures or natural features. The corners of these structures are not supported with quoins. These walls are often actually two separate walls with a gap in between that is filled in with small rocks. This fill may play a role in stabilizing the two walls together since they are not joined or interlocked. Type 1 housing is best characterized by the structure at SB 039. It can also be characterized by Structure 7 at SB 001; though a domestic orientation for this structure is likely, it has not been archaeologically excavated. Type 2 are less homogenous and consist of L-shaped dry stone structures found exclusively at SB 001. The Structure 5/6 complex is spatially and archaeologically consistent with a structure used for domestic purposes. Structure 3 is significantly larger than Structure 5/6 and appears to have been divided into at least three rooms. Structure 7 is incorporated into the western wall of Structure 3, even features a small, intentionally built passage approximately 35 x 20cm at ground level which would permit items to be passed between both structures.

The Type 1 and Type 2 structures present on Saba are difficult to find architectural parallels within the Caribbean. A building similar to Structure 3 may exist in an enslaved African domestic context at the eighteenth century Steward Plantation in St. Eustatius, in a site report by Ruud Stelten (2012), however it is in very poor condition compared to those at Flat Point. Although the structure at the Steward Plantation was not excavated, he noted that "many artifacts can be found on the surface,

including red and yellow bricks, chunks of mortar, numerous fragments of shell and coral, and various types of ceramics and glass", in a similar vein to the contents within Structure 6 at Flat Point. Between 2013 to the time of writing, Mark Hauser has been researching dry stone structures on Dominica which appear to be associated with enslaved Africans, but as yet this research has not been published. While an exhaustive review of European colonial enslaved African housing is not intended here, first hand descriptions from the seventeenth and eighteenth century Caribbean can still provide some comparative context to the dry stone domestic structures found on Saba.

The importance of the domestic element of courtyards or "yardscapes" among West Africans and enslaved Africans in the New World relegates the role of the house as just one aspect of living space, rather than the house itself as a self-contained, centralized living space in European culture. Therefore, the small size of the dry stone enslaved African housing at Spring Bay Flat, Flat Point, and Spring Bay are not unprecedented within colonial slave societies of the New World, and are the result of powered negotiations between owners and the enslaved. An early account from an enslaved prisoner of war from present-day Germany sent to Barbados in the 1650's describes enslaved African housing as small cabins or huts "no more than six foot square… built of inferior wood, almost like dog huts, and covered with leaves from trees which they call plantain" (cited in Brindenbaugh 1972:119). A short description of enslaved African housing by Reuben L. Macy, a Quaker in nineteenth century South Carolina, related that "the houses for the field slaves were about 14 feet square (1.30m2), built in the coarsest manner, with one room, without any chimney or flooring, with a hole in the roof to let the smoke out" (cited in Ferguson 1992:81). Sarah Grimke, in South Carolina during the same period, describes them as built with logs with some built of posts and covered with coarse boards, with dirt floors and single openings "that served for both doors and windows" (cited in Ferguson 1992:80). Both of these accounts, though separated by two hundred years, describe enslaved African housing so small as to effectively reduce them to sleeping quarters. The enslaved African houses in the first account has an area of just 0.55 square meters, which is inhumanely small and does not appear to have survived the century on Caribbean plantations. The dimensions described in the second account are approximately one third of the common area of the smaller dry stone enslaved African houses excavated as part of this research, which average about four square meters. In the account of "Big Jim", an African descent Saban who lived during the early twentieth century, Will Johnson relates that "Jim's hut was so small that he couldn't even stretch out a full length. He slept on two logs dragged up from the sea and tipped at an angle" (Johnson 1994:50). Therefore, despite the small size of the interior of these structures at Spring Bay, Flat Point, and Spring Bay Flat, they were certainly capable of housing enslaved Africans.

Indigo production on Saba

Indigo production on Saba did not survive into the nineteenth century, as it was notably absent among the named economic activities listed in the 1816 report on the state of the island (DNAr 1.05.06.69 #185). It is curious that there is no mention of indigo production the island's documentary record, given that at least four known sites have been identified across all of Saba's large plantation lands, which consist of the former vat at Well's Bay, Flat Point plantation, the Spring Bay plantations, and The Bottom plantation. The acquisition of labour and infrastructure for indigo production required significantly less overhead than for sugar production, and therefore it would have been ideally suited as a first enterprise for aspiring planters on Saba, especially during the early colonial period. Indeed, "bastard indigo" (*Amorpha fruticosa*), which was most commonly cultivated in the Caribbean, was capable in growing in all soil types, was resistant to pests, could produce crops throughout the year, and was only damaged by severe rains (Monnereau 1769:9). What is significant, however, is that given the advantages of relatively low overhead costs for indigo production, and the availablility of lands across the island for its cultivation, all four known indigo vats were located upon plantation lands and owned via St. Eustatius; while others may have fallen to ruin and been destroyed, it appears that this was an industry largely limited to absentee plantation owners on Saba, and was not an enterprise undertaken by Sabans themselves.

Closing remarks

Saban sugar and indigo plantations were small, and consequently their size limited their profitability and the capacity for their owners to rise in class if these were lone ventures. It appears though that none of these plantations constituted the sole source of income for their owners. Nonetheless, the quality of Saban sugar had been noted as far back as the late seventeenth century, and the plantations at Flat Point and Spring Bay Flat must have remained profitable during the eighteenth century, as their remote locations made it difficult to project class through the plantation itself. Up to 1778 all known Saban plantations were owned in absentia through government officials and merchants in St. Eustatius. Simon Donker, Abraham Heyliger and Carel Seelig served as merchants and plantation owners on St. Eustatius, while Johannes de Graaf appears to have had a hand in certain plantation operations in The Bottom where he owned land in the late eighteenth century. Thomas Dinzey later acquired the plantation in The Bottom, but also served as Governor of Saba. All four of Saba's sugar plantations occupied most of the prime, flat agricultural lands across the island, leaving Sabans to settle in the remaining areas of the island. These were often located lands requiring extensive landscaping and modification to be made suitable for habitation and agriculture, and the difficulties in accessing, farming, and maintaining these lands significantly contributed to the class of

residents between particular villages, and relations between free Sabans and their enslaved Africans. The following chapter will now proceed to an outline and discussion of excavations undertaken across non-plantation colonial sites on Saba.

Chapter 6: Excavated non-Plantation Contexts

This chapter will describe the sites across Saba that will be referenced throughout this work. The process of excavation will be described along with details of artifact compositions. Unless otherwise specified, all sites discussed below which range between SB 001 to SB 032 were originally surveyed by Jay Haviser (1985). Particular attention was paid to the ceramic assemblages regarding typologies and surface decoration, and to a lesser extent the glass assemblage, in the cases where this abounded relative to ceramics.

SB 037: The Fort Bay ridge site

Overview and Site Location

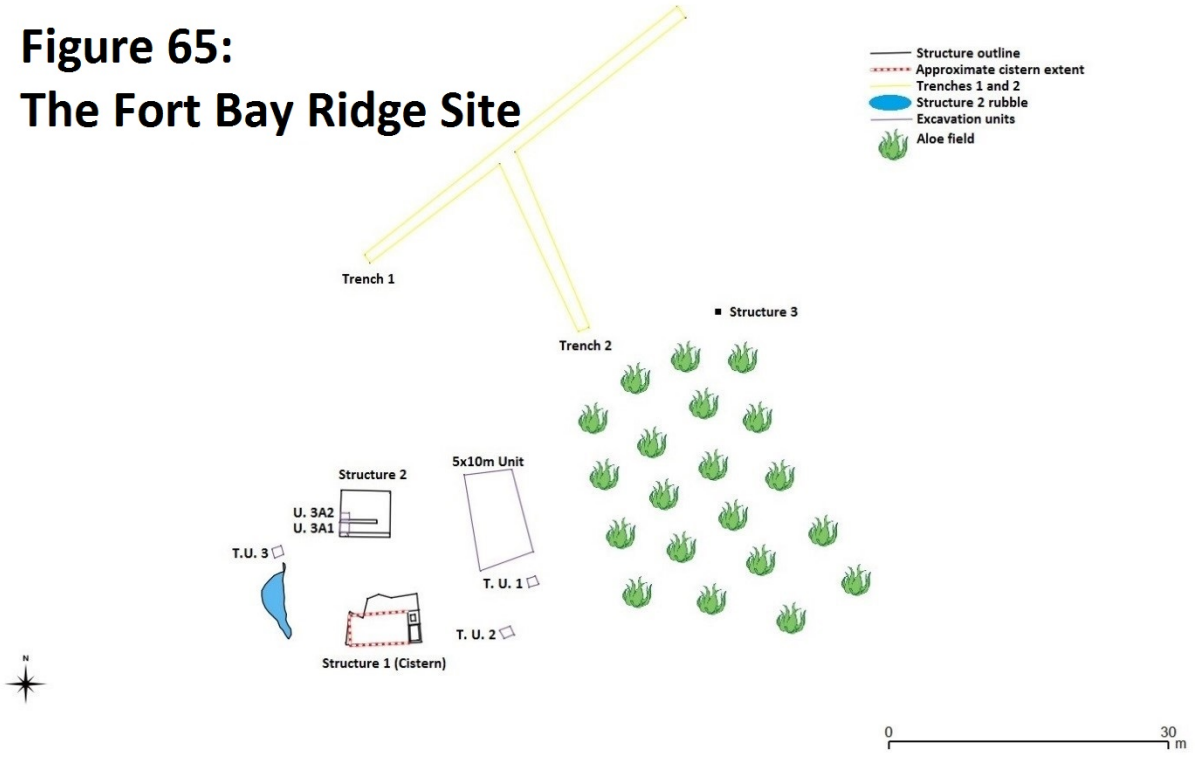
The site SB 037 is located at the foot of Bunker Hill in the southwest of the island at approximately 17°37'07N and 63°15'04W, half way up the road between the Fort Bay Harbour and The Bottom. Its proximity to Parish Hill and Great Hill, two young volcanic domes, may have impacted its pre-Columbian occupation history through volcanic events. The vegetation at SB 037 consists mainly of grasses, the invasive *Euphorbia tithymaloides*, and "Maraun bush" (*Croton flavens L.).* The SB 037 site was a strategic settlement location throughout the Amerindian and colonial periods. Fort Bay, Ladder Bay, and Wells Bay are the only reliable anchorage points on Saba, aided in part by the sheltered position of the western waters around Saba from the northeast trade winds. A small freshwater spring is present at Fort Bay, which has been used since the early colonial period of Saba, and almost certainly during the Amerindian period. The only easy access to The Bottom is through the Fort Bay Gut. Given the elevated position of SB 037 over the Fort Bay Gut, the site would not only have been highly defensible, but it allowed occupants to control access to The Bottom. This was known to the early colonists of Saba; before 1689 and into the early eighteenth century, the Fort Bay Gut was described as a "zigzag route, scratched into the rock, into a completely impregnable natural fortress, the narrow way still lined by planks filled with rocks" (Crane 1971:12; Labat 1724:341). This defense system was used to repulse an invasion by French buccaneers led by a certain Pinel in 1689 (Crane 1971:12; Labat 1724:344). Given the proximity to the shoreline at Fort Bay, the Fort Bay freshwater spring, and the defensiveness of its location, it is no small wonder that the site saw occupation throughout the pre-Columbian and colonial eras. While excavations at the site unearthed a substantial Amerindian component, for the purpose of this research, only the work relevant to the colonial era will be outlined.

SABARC undertook mitigation excavations at the site between late May to early July 2015, ahead of the construction of a new diesel electricity generator plant for the island.

Geology

The area of SB 037 consists mainly of unlithified andesite block and ash flow deposits (Roobol & Smith 2004:Plate 2). On average across the site, at 80cm depth, a 40cm thick deposit of loam and sandy loam is present, overlain with a 50cm to 60cm thick inorganic deposit sand with many poorly sorted andesite boulder inclusions. Below the loam lens is a deposit of coarse sand and gravel, with the same proportion of andesite inclusions. The 40m machine excavator trench revealed a deep deposit of fine sand beginning at a depth of approximately 120cm, and extending down past 200cm, with noticeably small presence of andesite.

Figure 65:
The Fort Bay Ridge Site



Structure 1 (Cistern)

The cistern is located at the extreme southwest corner of SB 037, in an area that has been designated as a zone that will not be impacted by the construction of the generator. It has an architecture that has not been seen elsewhere on Saba. The cistern is domed by Ijssel brick construction, with an off centered square top hatch and an adjacent watering basin for livestock. Most striking is the use of large, flat slabs of basalt collected from the cliff side of Fort Hill on the opposite side of the modern road to serve as a rain water catchment surface for the cistern. This style of

construction is unique to this homestead on Saba. These were set over top of the expanse of the cistern, and extending north of it an average of 150cm, into a bowl shape, with the drain located in the center-south of the cistern. The area north of the cobbled catchment consists of rounded stones averaging 8cm in diameter that were set into the ground with a fine plaster laid overtop to extend the catchment area. This area ends just 2-3 meters south of Structure 2. Notably, the plaster used as catchment for this cistern differs significantly from that used at Spring Bay Flat (SB 007) and Spring Bay (004), both which would have been contemporary with SB 037 throughout its occupation. The plaster at the former two sites included locally sourced trass as a means of making the plaster more water resistant and giving a better bond. This also resulted giving this plaster an orange hue. Trass was not incorporated into the plastered catchment north of the cobblestones, which is also evidenced by the lack of any continuous plastered surface over the small, bedded rocks. The cobbled catchment area of the cistern measures 30.32 m2, while the mortared catchment measures 30.50 m2, for a total catchment area of about 60.82 m2. The cistern basin measures 7.37m east to west, and approximately 3.00m north to south. The basin's depth could not be determined as it was filled with sediment, nearly to the top.



Figure 66: Cistern watering trough and hatch, facing northeast.

Structure 2

Structure 2 is defined primarily by two parallel walls of face stones, flat sides aligned northwards, joined by unmodified, flat stones on their east and west flanks. Only three unmodified stones on the east flank extend northward to suggest the presence of a former house foundation. A section measuring 3.12m x 5.24m was delineated adjacent to the northern two of the face stone walls as the approximate limits of the structure. Within this area, and between the face stone walls, the top 10cm of fill was removed to reveal the remains of a structure such as a foundations or a tile floor. Within these bounds, 1,656g of mortar was removed, scattered evenly across the area. Several chunks

were bonded to orange floor tile fragments. A total of eight orange tile fragments were recovered, measuring 23mm thick, and one brick, 30mm thick. Few ceramics were recovered; these included two sherds of Creamware, one sherd of Chinese porcelain, and one sherd of Staffordshire combed slipware. Three sand temper brown hollowware Amerindian sherds were also recovered, one of which was burnished in the interior. Other artifacts included a sherd of green glass, one sherd of a lantern globe, three *Citarium pica* shell fragments, and eleven pieces of coral.

Approximately 11.5m southwest of Structure 2 lies an area of scattered rubble, comprised of large conglomerates of brick and mortar. The brick is a mix of Ijssel and orange brick identical to that found within the Structure 2 fill, but most of the bricks are broken. These are probably the remains of the hearth and chimney associated with the house. The lack of foundations, the preponderance of mortar, and the rubble concentration suggests that Structure 2 was either destroyed, scavenged for bricks, floor tiles and other salvageable materials, or both. This was a common practice on Saba, to the point where the only standing ruins with salvageable material left on Saba are those of the sugar boiling house at Spring Bay (SB 004), and to a lesser extent the remains of the same at Spring Bay Flat, which are both situated in locations which would otherwise make for arduous salvage efforts. In the 1850's, the Catholic Church in Windwardside was constructed by salvaging bricks and face stones from the Big House and sugar boiling house at Spring Bay Flat (Will Johnson, personal communication 2013). Wood structure houses were rarely left abandoned; if the residents moved to another location on the island, they were often dismantled and transported piecemeal to the new location, which occurred most notably at Palmetto Point.



Figure 67: Structure 2, showing twinned face stone walls and Units 3A1 and 3A2, facing east.

In order to determine functional and structural differences within Structure 2, one 1m x 1m unit was excavated between the face stone walls, and a second was placed adjacent and north of this unit. These were named Unit 3A1 and 3A2, respectively. Both were excavated to a depth of 50cm in

10cm intervals, until large, immovable, and impassible rocks were encountered which terminated both units. The artifact assemblage from Unit 3A1 consisted mainly of mortar fragments, totalling 125 with a weight of 2,491g. This also included an orange brick fragment, one orange tile fragment, a grey tile fragment 27mm thick, and five wrought nails. Ceramics included five sherds of Creamware, one sherd of Westerwald stoneware, one sherd of hand painted floral tin enamel ware, and three Amerindian sherds; two sand tempered, brown burnished sherds, and one identical but unburnished.

Unit 3A2 contained somewhat less mortar, with a total of 125 fragments weighing in at 1,830g. Somewhat curiously, though, most of the ceramics recovered from this unit were Amerindian rather than colonial. Eight Amerindian sherds were found, with an MNI of 5. The two colonial consisted of just Staffordshire slipware and Chinese porcelain.

Structure 3

Structure 3 consists of a boulder with a natural depression which collects rain water, surrounded to the west and south by aloe. Water retention was improved by an early colonist by setting two face stones into the lowest lip of the depression with mortar in order to increase the hollow's volume. This provided short-term source of potable water for residents, or may have instead been used as a watering hole for livestock.



Figure 68: Structure 3, facing southwest.

Shovel test pits

The six shovel test pits excavated by 10cm arbitrary levels on the second level of SB 037 turned up no artifacts. Shovel Test Pits (STP) 1, 2, 3, 5, and 6 were excavated across the extent of Level 2 of

the site to a depth of 60cm, at which point immovable rocks were encountered. STP 4 was excavated to 90cm, and a layer of sandy loam was encountered at a depth of 85cm, which demonstrated the extent of this layer which was originally encountered at Level 1.

1m x 1m test units

Four 1m x 1m test units were instrumental in determining activity areas of the site, and for gaging the relative longevity of human occupation periods. Test units 2 and 3, unfortunately, did not extend past 60cm due to large and immovable boulders in this layer. It appears that during the colonial era, the area which featured these test units was subject to significant erosion from upper levels of the site, since eighteenth century artifacts such as creamware were found to a depth of 60cm to 70cm, while Amerindian ceramics extended from the surface to the same level. Importantly, though, this erosional zone did not extend past this depth, as the black layer, which begins at approximately 80cm across the site, never contained colonial artifacts or Amerindian ceramics. The colonial ceramics from these units consisted primarily of tin enamel ware, with smaller proportions of white salt glaze stoneware and creamware. The tin enamel ware from Test Unit 2 was notably composed of some identifiable seventeenth century varieties, such as a lead-glaze back purple dash-charger, and fruit-and-berries scene plate. Mortar fragments and some red and Ijssel brick were recovered as well in all the test units, which supports the notion that Structure 2 was scavenged for brick and other salvageable materials after its abandonment. Six wrought nails were found between the units as well. Relatively few faunal remains were recovered in the layers above 80cm. These consisted mostly of fragments of long bones, presumably from dietary remains from the colonial homestead's inhabitants. No fish remains were recovered above 80cm, but this could be due to their fragility within an erosional zone. Shell remains were few, and consisted of 10 unidentifiable fragments, and one *Potamopyrgus coronatus*, obtained from the rocky shorelines of the island. The Amerindian assemblage collected from above the 80cm level was small, and consisted of just 11 ceramics and one transluscent, tan coloured chert uniface flake. These can be divided into two basic types: unburnished, brown hollowwares with sand temper (seven sherds), and burnished, bright red ceramics with reduced cores and sand temper (two sherds).

At 70cm, the soil begins transitioning from an infertile sandy clay to a more fertile sandy loam, becoming black sandy loam at 80cm with significant proportions of black ash, but remarkable absence of charcoal. A whole *Strombus gigas*, and one modified shell were found in this layer at the bottom of Test Unit 2. In Test Unit 4, at 80cm, a thermally altered black chert flake was found, along with half of a large stone grinding platform, and the top of a large brain coral cobble. Deeper excavations in Test Unit 1 to 80cm subsequently demonstrated the extent of this layer. This featured three black chert

flakes and two large stones used as grinding platforms, evidenced by their very smooth, flat surface textures, and usewear hollows on this face from repeated striking. Based on these results, test Unit 4 was selected as an anchor point for creating a 5m x 10m machine excavator pit to reveal the top of the archaic layer. As such it was renamed Unit 4A as part of the matrix of units within this area.

5m x 10m excavation unit

Having noted the potential for a deep Archaic-age layer based on results from Test Units 1 and 4, in the interest of time, a 5m x 10m area was excavated 60cm deep by a machine excavator with a shallow, non-toothed bucket to enable a large swathe of the Archaic layer to be carefully exposed by trowel and shovel. The spoil pile from the excavator was combed through by rake and shovel over the following two weeks, and any artifacts recovered were given the context "Above Black General". A string grid of 1m x 1m units was established, spanning numerically 1-10 from north to south along the 10m extent, and alphabetically from A-E from east to west along the 5m expanse. Unit 1A was situated in the extreme northwest, while its counterpart Unit 10E was located in the southeast. Due to time constraints, the southern wall was not able to be expanded to correct the angle approached by the machine excavator; as such, Units 10C, 10D were only partially excavated by hand, and Unit 10E was not excavated. Excavations by shovel and trowel progressed on a unit-by-unit basis, removing soil until the dark, sandy loam layer which characterizes the Archaic layer was exposed. The soil removed from this procedure was all sifted and bagged per unit as the "Above Black" context, or by the acronym "AB". This layer also contained the colonial era artifacts relevant to this discussion. A colonial period intrusion into the "black" layer was noted in Unit 1C, expanding around into adjacent units. Within this unit, the remains of a large, articulated ungulate were found; unfortunately, approximately half of the remains were destroyed by overzealous digging by the machine excavator operator. Some ceramics were recovered from the excavator spoil pile, including a footed, orange-body lead glaze coarse earthenware hollowware vessel, nine sherds of early creamware, two sherds of tin enamel ware, including one with a lead glaze exterior, one sherd of Whieldon ware, and one sherd of blue transfer print pearlware. Details of the excavation and results relative to the Amerindian layers can be found in the site report (SABARC site report #1, 2014).

Test Unit 2 grave

In December 2015, the author along with a small team from Leiden University expanded Test Unit 2 into a 2m x 2m unit in order further investigate the Archaic component of the site. This was selected for further research as it was one of the few undisturbed areas left at the site following the construction of the new electricity plant. However, the level at which the "black" layer was expected

was not encountered, and instead eighteenth century ceramics were noted in the same levels as presumed Archaic-period artifacts such as *Strombus gigas* shells stripped of their lips for tool use. It had become clear that the soil had been disturbed. At a depth of approximately 120cm human remains were encountered, lying prone and facing east. The remains of a well-developed fetus were also noted within the pelvis. As the last colonial occupation layer appeared to end at about 60cm, this represents a very shallow burial. The burial shaft was not lined with rocks to form a vault, and was instead a simple pit. No coffin nails were noted, nor were there any goods interred with the individual, and no clothing artifacts such as buttons or fasteners were noted. Some copper stains were present on the skull, however, to suggest a veil that was pinned to her hair. A sherd of early creamware was found flush to the skull alongside a very worn *Strumbus gigas* shell with a shorn lip. The creamware allows the burial to be dated with precision. The TPQ for creamware is 1762, while the colonial homestead's occupation probably ended after the 1772 hurricane, and at most by the later hurricane in 1780.

Strontium, carbon, and oxygen analyses on the woman's teeth were conducted by Jason Laffoon in 2016. While the carbon and oxygen isotope ratios were unclear as to origin, showing both potential African and Caribbean signatures with a C3 diet, the strontium ratios have a definite West African signature, specifically south of the Sahel through an elevated C4 staple diet of either rice or root crops. This thereby indicates that this individual was a first generation enslaved African. She was almost certainly enslaved by the time of her death due to the style and context of her burial upon an upper class property away from the household, and the fact that there were only four free African descent Sabans listed on the 1780 census. Her status as an enslaved African also sheds some light on Saba's slave trade. To date the only known documents from the eighteenth century that show enslaved African purchases from Sabans date from the 1721-1727 period on St. Eustatius during its first period as an international slave trade hub. As the woman died between 1762 and 1772/1780 while bearing a child, she was very likely purchased and brought to Saba after the closure of Statia's first foray into the into this trade.

SB 037 colonial component discussion

The colonial period occupation of SB 037 consisted of a homestead which included a house, a large cistern, aloe fields, livestock, and a boulder modified into a watering hole. It was in use from the mid seventeenth century to the third quarter of the eighteenth century; it was probably one of the 140 houses of the island's total of 180 destroyed by the hurricane of 31 August, 1772, or later by the "Great Hurricane" which ravaged the eastern Caribbean in 1780. This is strongly supported by absence of any colonial ceramic dating later than creamware, save for one tiny piece of transfer print pearlware, which is probably incidental. As the house was not rebuilt, the former owners were probably counted

among the Sabans that emigrated from the island following the hurricane, or were killed as a result of it. The depth of the colonial deposits testifies both to the rate of erosion due to the expansion of agriculture which occurred across Saba during the colonial period, and ploughing across the site which resulted in Ceramic-age artifacts being found in context with colonial artifacts. Colonial ceramics were found to a depth of 60cm to 70cm in some instances, even though the depth of this deposit only represents approximately 400 years. The house, either the foundations or in whole, was constructed of locally sourced and cobbled face stones, and imported Ijssel and red-colored brick. The southern quarter of Structure 2, between the two lines of face stones, was set with grey and orange tiles. The house fell into ruins, and was evidently scavenged for bricks and tiles, leaving some traces of rubble just south of Test Unit 3. The presence of aloe fields indicates that it was intentionally cultivated, likely by the former residents of the site. The water basin formed by shoring up a natural depression in a boulder with a face stone and mortar attests to the presence of livestock during this period, which included cattle or horses as demonstrated by the intact ungulate recovered from the 5m x 10m pit. Additional insight into their class can be seen through the presence of Whieldon ware, Chinese porcelain, and early creamwares, especially between 1762 to the 1770's when both creamware and Whieldon ware were fashionable and thus priced accordingly. The cistern ownership, its unique design, the intentional cultivation of surplus aloe, possession of livestock, and ability to keep up with the latest ceramic fashions demonstrates that the residents were probably counted among Saba's upper class by this time. The chance discovery of the grave as part of the expansion of Test Unit 2 adds further context to the site. It is very likely that this woman was an enslaved African, as her method and style of burial is entirely inconsistent with Saban norms, and her strontium isotope ratios reflect West African ancestry. This also demonstrates that the residents of the homestead owned at least one enslaved African.

SB 036: The Bottom, Privy Pit

Overview and site location

The site SB 036 is located at 17°37'75N and 63°14'40E, on property owned by the Saba School of Medicine, upon the lower slope of "Pepperpot Hill" in The Bottom. Directly below the site is the district of The Bottom called "New Town", formerly commonly known as "Niggertown". The author discovered the site on 6 April 2013 while driving down from St. John's to The Bottom as a large anomaly in the soil stratigraphy in one of two vertical soil profiles created by and bulldozers, below the student residence building. The soil anomaly was a deposit of loamy sand, transitioning down into sandy loam, originating from a stable horizontal layer across the lower profile. It deeply penetrated the lower,

natural layers of red and tan tephra. It measured approximately 2.83cm wide from the surface, and extended down about 150cm. Numerous ceramics and faunal remains protruded from the anomaly, and the proportion of Chinese porcelain sherds in relation to other ceramics was immediately apparent. It appears that this was a pit excavated around the early eighteenth century that served as a privy over the next hundred years. Just 8m to the southeast of the excavation unit were the remains of a cut stone and mortar house foundation and a cistern. However, these were mostly buried by fill from the prior construction project, and could not be studied in detail.

Following a confirmation from HES Construction that they were going to resume construction within four days, permission was obtained from the Saba School of Medicine to proceed with excavations. SABARC students assembled the following day to assist with excavations and surface collections. Excavations were completed mostly by the author working alone over the course of one week. Construction at the site, in fact, never actually resumed until August that year.



Figure 69: The outline of SB 036 clearly visible from the soil profile created by the excavator, with SABARC students assisting in the foreground.

Excavation and results

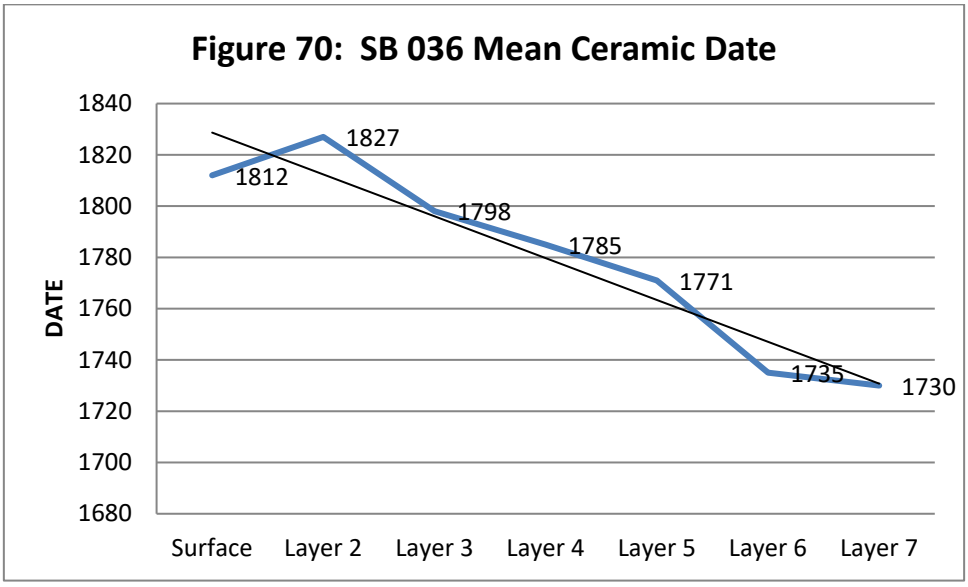
Due to the time constraints imposed to complete the work, the site was excavated by shovel. An excavation area measuring 280cm along the length of the profile, and 1.5m back was delineated, with the contours of the unit following the extents of the soil feature. The first 50cm of soil were determined to be a layer of modern fill created during the late twentieth century. This was designated as Layer 1. Successive layers were undisturbed prior to this period, and these were divided into 20cm levels.

The first 50cm of fill were disregarded archaeologically in terms of its relation to the layers below, as it was significantly disturbed in the late twentieth century, containing items such as scrap

PVC pipe, flagging tape, and a deflated soccer ball. Layer 2 (50cm-70cm) consisted of a loamy sand transitioning to a sandy loam, with four visible oblong features comprised of a loam. Four loamy soil features were noted in Layer 2. While two of them were shallow and harboured no artifacts, within features 3 and 4 lay the remains of a mature, articulated goat, and an articulated kitten, respectively. The head and front quarters of a dog, also articulated, were found within the southwestern profile face of layer 4. This was not removed. The presence of the cat and dog, deposited whole in the privy, is indicative of pet ownership on the part of the groups owning the structure.

There were a total of 3,831 non-faunal artifacts recovered from SB 036, of which 2,132 were ceramics. The depositional sequence of ceramics throughout Layers 2 to 6 represents refuse from the mid nineteenth century back to at least the late seventeenth century, respectively. Disregarding Layer 1, the surface had 992 artifacts, Layer 2 had 1,799 artifacts, Layer 3 had 627, Layer 4 had 147, Layer 5 had 196, Layer 6 had 61, and Layer 7 ended with just 9 artifacts. Scattered throughout Levels 2-5 were 42 sherds of coarse earthenware that are probably Amerindian in origin, but this is uncertain given the colonial context of the other artifacts. Excavations by Josselin de Jong in the first half of the twentieth century were situated downslope of SB 037, which recovered a large assemblage of Amerindian artifacts, including many ceramics. Therefore, these sherds may be surface scatter from the pre-Columbian period that was present during the colonial period, and which were incidentally deposited over time. The figure below displays the MCD per level. Layers 6 and 7 are shown for consistency, though their MCD may be earlier than indicated by the ceramics, due to the small size of the assemblage, and the wide range of date range applied to uncharacteristic tin-enamel ware and stoneware, which both range from 1640 to around 1800.

Figure 70: SB 036 Mean Ceramic Date



The assemblage from SB036 appears to represent a Saban upper-class assemblage, and there were several notable characteristics about this assemblage that differentiate it from others recovered from the island. With particular attention to ceramics, the number, proportion, and consistent presence of Chinese porcelain relative to the rest of ceramic types in the assemblage, per layer and including the surface, is higher than average. Of 2,132 ceramics recovered from SB 036, 202 were either Chinese or European porcelain, comprising 9.47% of the colonial assemblage. Transfer print varieties on pearlware, and later whiteware were preferred, and made up the largest proportion of the assemblage. This was followed by a preference for creamware during the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century, represented by Layers 2 and 3. It is worth noting that sponge varieties are only present in Layer 2, and in significantly smaller proportions than will be seen in contemporary assemblages at Middle Island and Palmetto Point. It appears that the household that created the deposits, especially in Layers 2 and 3, purchased ceramics in sets. This is most apparent with spatter pearlware, shell edge ware, transfer print whiteware and pearlware, and creamware. The distribution of ceramic decoration types per layer are listed in Tables 17 to 21 below.

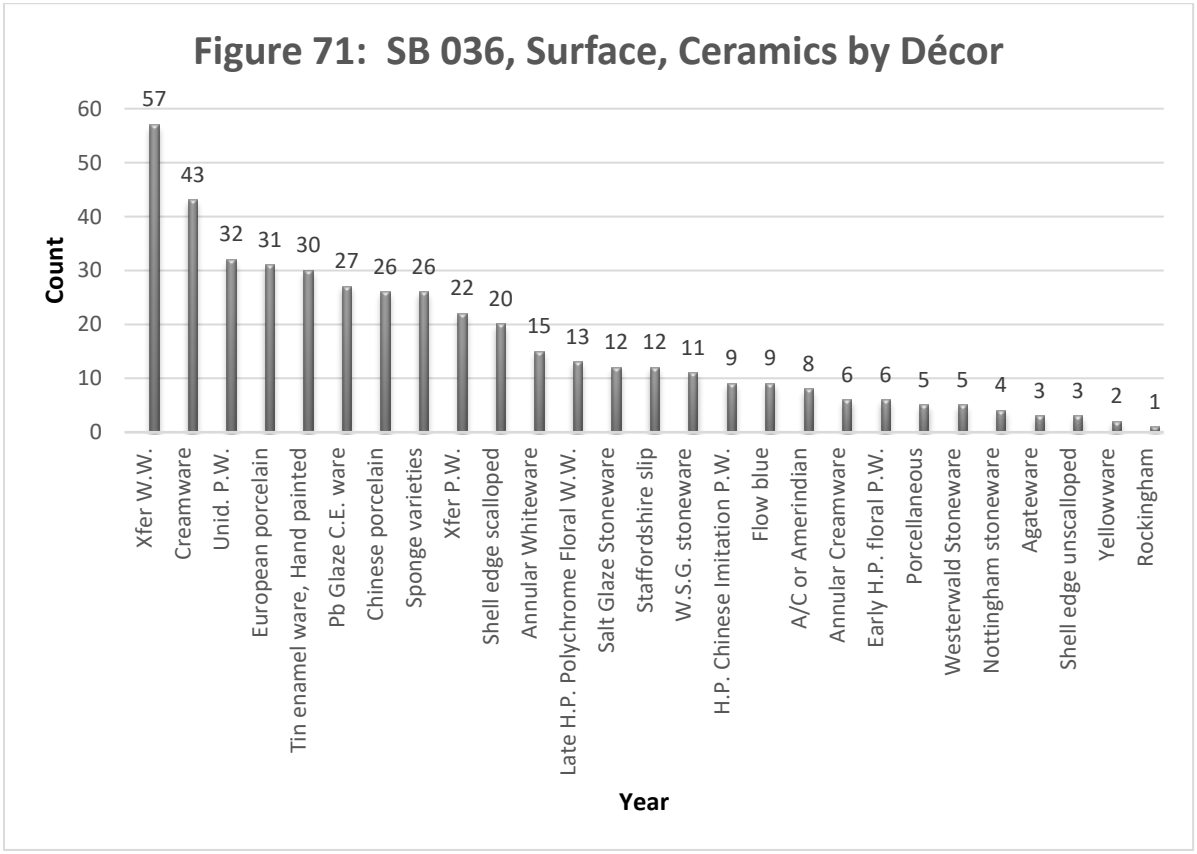


Figure 72: SB 036, Layer 2, Ceramics by Décor

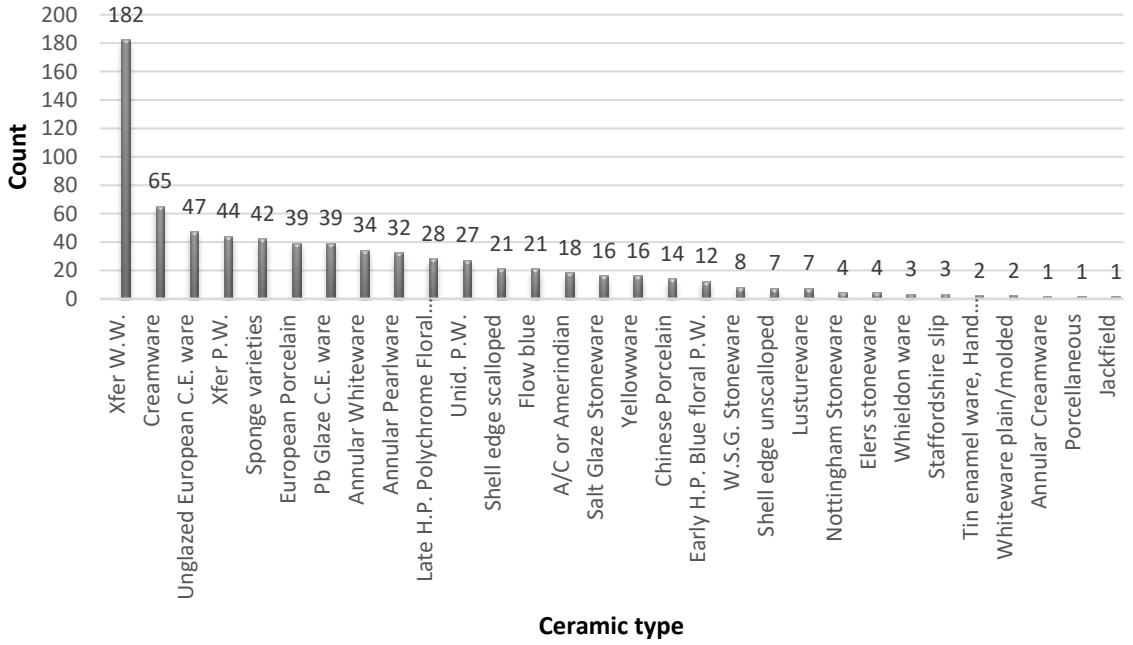
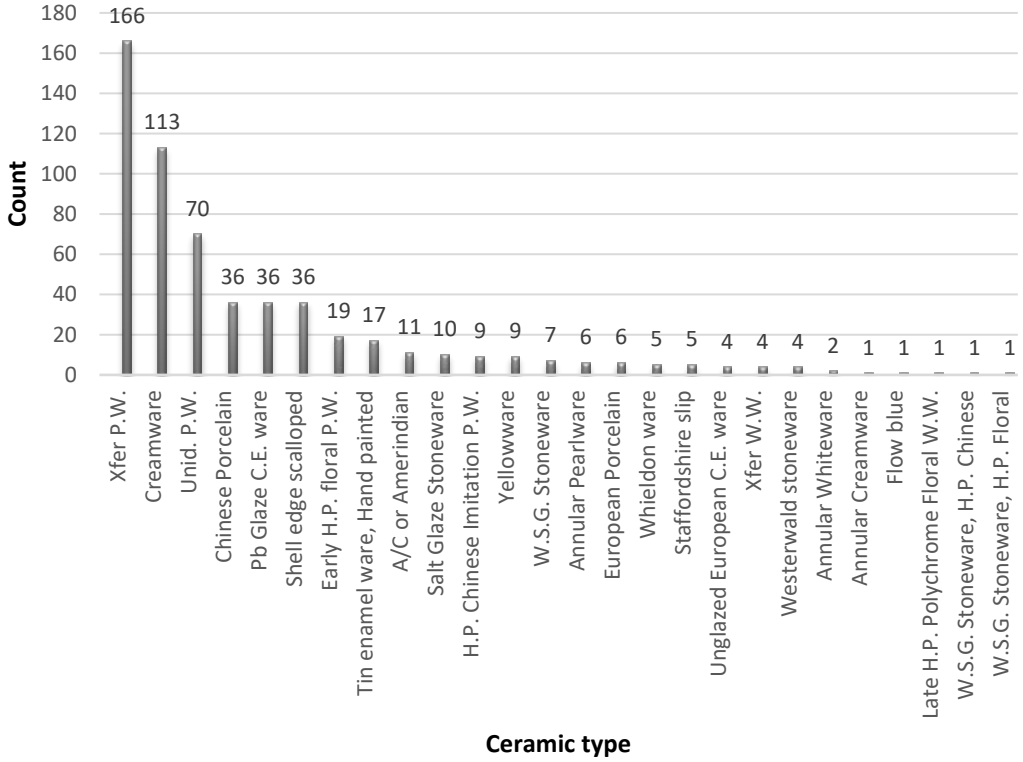
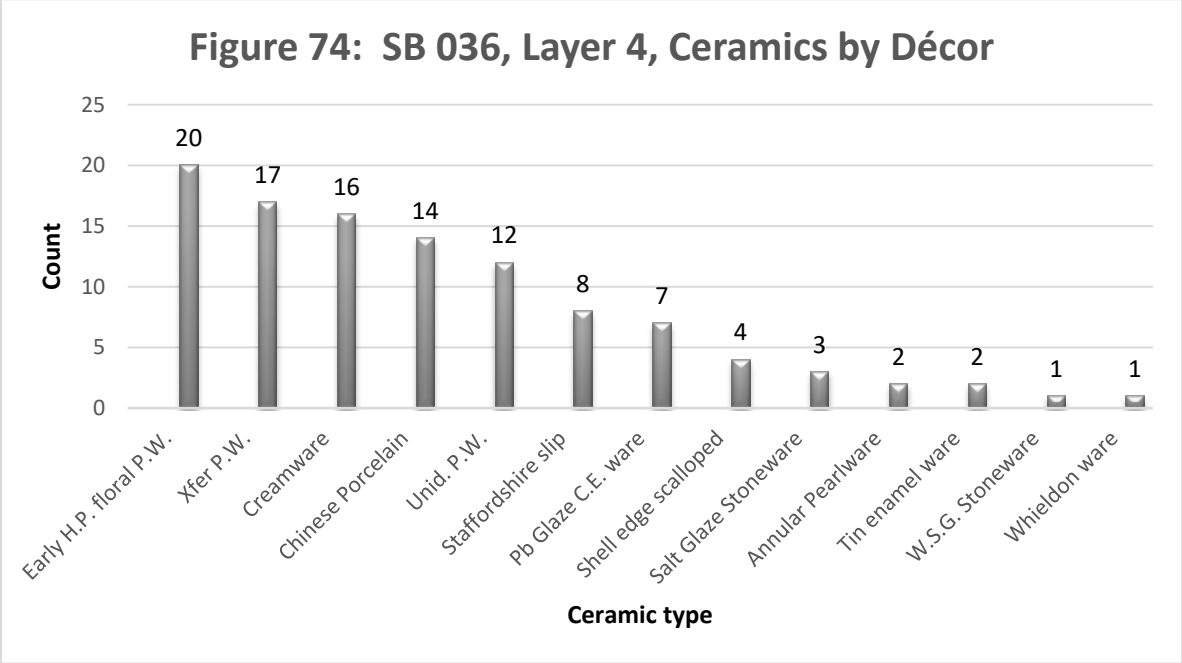
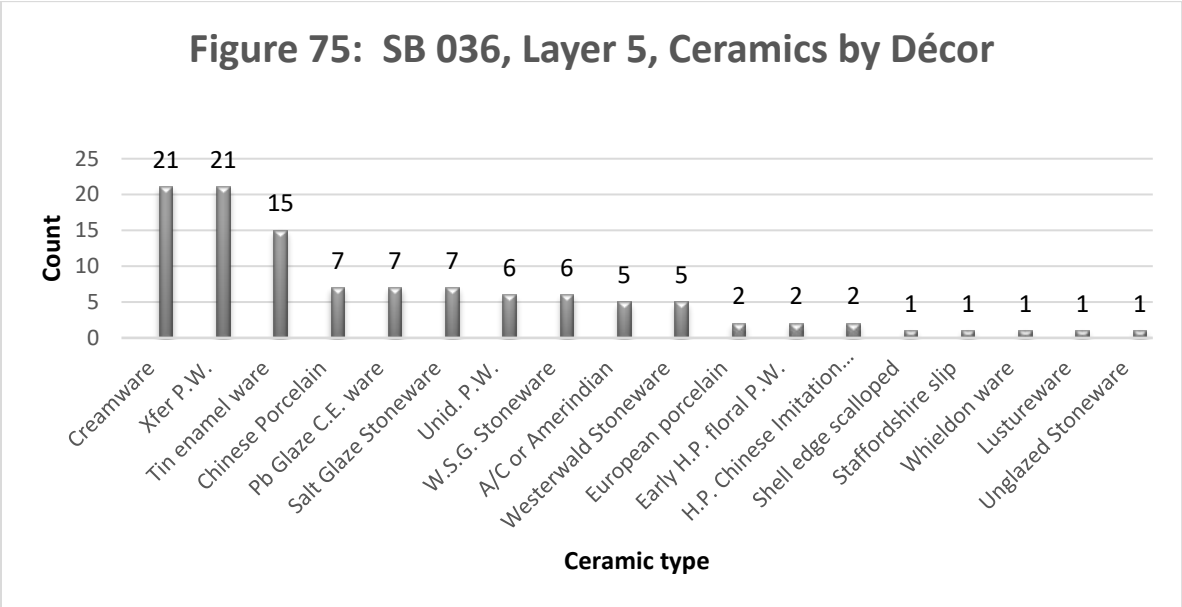


Figure 73: SB 036, Layer 3, Ceramics by Décor







The nail assemblage had an MNI of 136, with 26 cut nails, of which 25 had machine-made heads, and five wire nails recovered exclusively from Layer 2. The remainder of the assemblage was comprised of wrought nails. Machine-made head cut nails have a TPQ of the early nineteenth century (Wells 1999), while wire nails have a TPQ of around 1880 (Wells 1999), strongly indicative of a mid to late nineteenth century deposition period for Layer 2. Interestingly, 39 wrought nails and 30 unidentifiable nails were also recovered from Layer 2; together, this comprises 81% of the total assemblage. These probably comprise the surviving deposits of the last structure situated over top the privy pit, evidently either left to rot, or dismantled and discarded into the privy pit itself.

The glass assemblage did not feature many readily identifiable or datable vessels outside of generalized forms such as round bottles and case bottles, and its proportion relative to the ceramic assemblage, 423:2,132, is far less than what was seen at Palmetto Point or Middle Island. Interestingly, the surface collection featured 233 sherds, while Layer 2 contained 182, compared to a complete absence of glass in Layers 3 and 4, just 11 sherds in Layer 5, and 1 in Layer 6. This glaring difference between layers is evidence of either an increase in household alcohol consumption by the early to mid-nineteenth century, a shift in deposition sites for alcohol bottles during this period, or relative abstinence from alcohol consumption by the household through time. The identifiable elements of the glass assemblage do aid in dating Level 2, however, and, together with the nail assemblage, suggests a date range for Layer 2 extending later than indicated by the MCD of 1827. The P.F. Heering second generation bottle is reliably dated to a manufacture between 1850 and 1865 (http://danish-bottles.dk/heeringarticle.htm, last accessed 27/8/2015), and three case bottle bases with pointed corners indicate deposition prior to the 1860's (http://www.sha.org/bottle, last accessed 27/8/2015). No free blown glass sherds were identified in the Layer 2 assemblage.

The artifacts catalogued as "miscellaneous" bear some interest. Two glass beads were recovered from Levels 2 and 3 respectively, one 11mm diameter black glass bead with a green line spiraling from hole to hole, and a 7mm diameter turquoise-coloured glass bead with twenty-one facets. This is a type of bead is commonly known as "Russian Blue". It was manufactured in Bohemia during the nineteenth century, and commonly traded by the Russians and the Dutch (Hume 1969). One 4mm diameter shell bead was also recovered from Level 3, but this is probably Amerindian in origin. From Level 5, a very round fragment of coral was found, 18mm in diameter, which may have been used as a game piece, such as a marble. Two flat, rounded, modified ceramic sherds were found from Level 2. These could have been used either as game pieces, or as the body-base for a cloth button. These are made by enveloping the token with a patch of cloth, twisting the back together, and sewing it shut. It can then be sewn into a garment to replace a lost button (Jay Haviser 2013, personal communication). In Level 2, a 24k gold teardrop-shaped filigree pendant was found, missing the eyelet to string onto a necklace. While trade finds of gold in itself is not indicative of upper class, its presence among other upper class vectors in this assemblage further strengthens this assessment.

Four olive shells were found at SB 036, the only examples since found on Saba. One was recovered from the surface collection, and the other three were from Level 3. The tip of one was shorn off, suggesting that it was used as jewelry. Shells were not known to have been commonly used as jewelry by Sabans who did not identify with African ancestry (Johnson 2014, personal communication), while it was common among both cultures of West Africa, and enslaved Africans in the New World (Lee 2011). This shell was probably employed as an adornment item by African-descent people (Katz-

Hyman & Rice 2011). Strengthening their association with jewelry lies in that the rest of the shell assemblage from SB 036 is tiny. Level 2 harboured just one *Chiton sp.* one keyhole limpet (*Fissurella nodosa)*, a fragment of *Purpura patula,* locally known as the "Frenchman's whilk", and a bivalve shell. The only other shells present were three fragments of *Cittarium pica* were present in Layer 4, which may be from secondary use by the Caribbean soldier crab (*Coenobita clypeatus)* that were attracted to the food refuse in the pit. Conversely, over three kilograms of non-shell faunal material was recovered from the privy pit. The remains included large mammals such as cattle (*Bos)* and goats (*Capra);* wild avian species; smaller sharks or rays; large, fast swimming fish species such as tuna (*Thunnus sp.).* and jacks (*Caranx sp).*; and smaller reef fish species such as triggerfish (*Balistoides)*, squirrelfish (*Hollocendtridae)*, and parrotfish (*Scaridae)*. Several of the *Bos* remains featured butchering marks that included both parallel and perpendicular cuts and chops to large bones. At least two bone cutlery handle fragments were found in the privy pit, decorated with a series of horizontal incisions. While the faunal diet is composed of a wide range of terrestrial, avian, and marine species, shellfish remains are almost completely absent in comparison. All other trash pits on Saba excavated by the author as part of this research, and others excavated or seen across Saba, have so far all contained sizeable proportions of shellfish relative to other faunal remains. This includes high elevation sites such as Behind-the-Ridge in the upper reaches of Hell's Gate. This shows both that they were a common component of the Saban diet, and that they were accessible to all Sabans regardless of distance from shorelines. Their scarcity in SB 036, therefore, demonstrates that they were deliberately excluded from the diet of this site's households for over one hundred years. Intertidal shellfish, therefore, are a common component of low class diets, and probably not considered fare for Saba's upper class.



Figure 76: 24k gold filigree pendant, 50cm-70cm, SB 036. Black/white scale at 1cm.

SB 36 privy pit in context

The material recovered from the household privy pit at this site is strongly indicative of an upper class household or series of households from throughout the eighteenth century and into the early nineteenth century. Spatially, the site is located in The Bottom, where most of Saba's upper class was concentrated throughout its pre-emancipation colonial history. Similar to the household at SB 037, there was more of an effort to keep up with the latest fashion of ceramics from northern Europe than on other sites on Saba. This is most visible on Levels 3 and 4, and the ceramic assemblage itself featured the largest proportions of Chinese porcelain per layer than any other relevant site on Saba. The gold filigree pendant also lends support to their wealth in this regard. The modified olive shell in particular is notable. In a pure colonial context it would suggest use by people of African descent since white Sabans were not known to have used shells as jewelry, and these have not been found in any other colonial context on Saba, which includes intertidal shellfish middens. However, olive shell jewelry has also been recovered from pre-Columbian contexts on Saba, therefore its temporal provenience is presently uncertain. This assertion is strengthened by the near absence of intertidal shellfish as part of the site's households throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which strongly implicates shellfish to a component of a low class diet, and not commonly consumed by Saba's

upper class. This site is important for comparing artifact assemblages across other sampled sites on Saba relative to class and race, as it is the single largest collection of material that can be confidently ascribed to a series of enslaved African-owning upper class Saban households throughout the eighteenth to mid nineteenth centuries.

SB 027: Palmetto Point

Overview, Site Location, and Geology

Palmetto Point, better known as "Mary's Point" in the present, is an abandoned village located above Well's Bay and Torrens Point in the northwest of Saba. The site was surveyed by Haviser in 1985, who noted a material occupation ranging from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and excavated by the author in 2009 as part of his Research Masters thesis. The site is heavily overgrown with *Pimenta racemosa, Swietenia mahagon,* and *Coccoloba uvifera,* and to a lesser extent *Annona muricata*. Also noted were one *Citrus aurantium*, and one *Tamarindus indica* near beginning of the village from the trail leading from Well's Bay. The settlement area and upslope hinterlands of Palmetto Point coincide with an area of arable land, approximately 500m upslope by 200m across in area. There is a layer of organic topsoil about 8cm deep across the site, which transitions into a sandy loam for the next 15cm, on average. The volcanic deposits below this level in the aforementioned area are characterized by Roobol & Smith (2004:Plate 2) as "unlithified to weakly lithified andesite block and ash flow deposits, including some pumiceous deposits and fluvatile reworked material". A hot spring "hot enough to poach an egg" was once found at Well's Bay, and was eventually overtaken by the sea prior to 1938 (Kruythoff 1939:105). The North Coast Trail runs through Palmetto Point and continues to the Sulphur Mine. There is an area upslope of the trail between the village and Great Hill that is rife with terracing, and to date it has not been mapped, so its total area is unknown. However, based upon a pedestrian survey, it is clear that the area was greater than what would have been necessary for subsistence agriculture for Palmetto Point residents, so this region would have been cultivating agricultural surplus for trade within Saba, or off-island export, most likely to St. Eustatius in the eighteenth century, and St. Thomas in the nineteenth century (Espersen 2009).

Palmetto Point was considered a remote and isolated village even in the nineteenth century, with journeys to The Bottom by foot taking about two hours to complete, without a significant load (Crane 1971:308, Pearl Zagers, personal communication 2008). The site is currently situated at the top of a steep and rapidly eroding gut which is consuming the site. One cistern is half destroyed and lies exposed upon the face of the cliff. A photo taken in 1910 of Palmetto Point was taken from a vantage point that would be impossible in the present, testifying to the rate of erosion occurring in this area

(Will Johnson collection). On the north side of Torrens Point, there is a gut running down into Cave of Rum Bay which is experiencing frequent mass erosion. This began in 2012 with Tropical Storm Raphael, with periodic events every couple of months thereafter to 2014. It is a matter of time before Palmetto Point is completely destroyed.

What remains of Palmetto Point was founded during the last half of the eighteenth century based upon archaeological research by Espersen (2009) for the original purpose of exporting agricultural surplus to St. Eustatius. Its foundation period also coincided with a significant increase in island population, which would have created pressure to expand settlement and agriculture beyond the southern half of the island to the uninhabited and largely uncultivated north. The site has seen continuous erosion since its abandonment, and in the present the cliff has claimed half of a cistern which lies exposed at the edge. Pearl Zagers related to the author in 2008 that cliff erosion claimed part of her family graveyard in a single morning event. Indeed, the entire north coast of Saba has experienced steady erosion for thousands of years; what is now known as Diamond Rock, a rock protrusion located approximately 380 meters offshore northwest of Torrens Point, is actually the remains of more erosion-resistant rock that was once connected by land to Saba (Rahn 2015). Therefore, it is very likely that earlier settlement features that once existed at Palmetto Point are have now been lost to erosion. Will Johnson (personal communication), among others, maintains that Palmetto Point and Middle Island were Saba's first two colonial period settlements. While no archaeological and geological evidence exists for such at Middle Island, the continuous erosion at Palmetto Point makes this possible.



Figure 77: Schoolchildren at Palmetto Point, circa 1930's, facing southwest with House 7. Photo courtesy of Will Johnson.



Figure 78: Approximate location of the figure above, with Great Hill in the background.

Palmetto Point in the oral and documentary record

In 1815, at least four houses were present at Palmetto Point, based upon the E.H. Columbine map of the island (BNAr, Kew CO 700/WestIndies33). The estate of Peter Collins, a resident of Palmetto Point who died in 1815, indicates that some degree of wealth was present in his household; evidenced primarily by the value of Sary, an enslaved African, and the pair of gold buttons. The inventory is outlined below on Table 4, with the original text (DNAr, 1.05.13.01 #542). Currency is pieces of eight, stivers, and bitts.

Table 4: Estate of Peter Collins of Palmetto Point, 1815

Item	Purchaser	Pcs. 8	Bitts	Stivers
Half of the House and land within the Wall	Widow Mary Collins	31	1	0
Negroe woman, Sary	Thomas Zagers	400	0	0
A water jarr	Thomas Zagers	3	0	0
A tea pot	Widow Mary Collins	7	0	0
A pair of gold buttons	Orphan Peter Collins	5	0	0
A tea kittle	Widow Mary Collins	3	1	0
A broken mahogany table	Thomas Zagers	3	0	0
5 cups 3 saucers	Thomas Zagers	1	0	0
A looking glass	Widow Mary Collins	1	6	0
Bedstead	Widow Mary Collins	9	0	0
A spot of land in the flat	William Simmons	25	4	0
Do. Do. Near Flora Woods	Peter Collins	8	0	0

The water jar is also an interesting addition. In a previous publication by the author (2014) it was suggested that by the mid to late nineteenth century at Palmetto Point, residents would have had to collect water from rooftops to supplement their main supply derived from ground-catchment cisterns, as the population was gradually outstripping the available water supply from this source. The water jar then demonstrates that ground-catchment cisterns, if present during this time, were not the sole source of potable water at the site.



Figure 79: A house on the island of St. Bartholomew using a water jar for catchment. Photo courtesy of Will Johnson.

In 1823, the Burgher List of Saba lists nine heads of household for the "Palmetto Point Quarter", which likely also encompassed Middle island. The list included James Horton Sr., James Horton Jr., John Beal, Peter Simmons, Peter Hassell, John Zeagors, Thomas Zeagors, Peter Collins, and James Hassell (DNAr 1.05.13.01 #319:207). In the same year, James Horton Sr. was listed as the "District Master" on a list of military and naval rankings on Saba, collected by the Lieutenant Governor (DNAr 1.05.13.01 #319:196). The surname Beal originates from St. Bartholomew, and families of Beals were known to have lived at Middle Island in the nineteenth century (Will Johnson, personal communication 2012, 2013; James Johnson, personal communication 2013). The 2013 telephone directory of St. Bartholomew was also replete with listings for the surname Beal, and the cemetery in St. Jean also contains grave markers many as well, extending back to the early nineteenth century. In 1850, the settlement had expanded to include seven houses, all clustered upslope of Torrens Point and extending southwest along the cliff's edge (BNAr, CO 700/StChristopherandNevis14). The village population peaked in 1865 with a population of 75 residents in 11 houses; just four years earlier, there were 9 houses between 72 residents, 14 of which were enslaved Africans (Saba Baptismal Registers,

St. Paul's Conversion Church, Saba). This 1865 census was written in the blank pages preceding the baptism records, and is shown in Table 19, in the Appendix. Palmetto Point was abandoned in 1934 by an evacuation order issued by the Island Government, due to a concern of a lack of water, limited access to medical attention, poor health, erosion, and uncorroborated reports of schizophrenia. However, residents had begun emigrating to other villages prior to this time, most notably Hell's Gate. Those residents evacuated in 1936 were resettled to an area known as "The Promised Land" in the southeastern corner of The Bottom.

Accounts of life for those living at Palmetto Point were collected from personal interviews of former residents by Julia Crane (1971). One account by Pearl Zagers vividly describes the hardships (Crane 1971:26):

> Oh it was a hard life, me child. They never had priests or doctors to come out to Mary Point most of the time. If it had to be that a doctor had to come, he would go around by boat and be landed at Well Bay; and by the time he got there the doctor was too tired to do much. It was hard to get water – only a few little cisterns. To wash they would have to go down to the water and wait for water to come in the Well – sometimes that was a long time. And if you boiled vegetables in the water it would even turn red, because the water was not so good. Sometimes we would not like the water from the spring and we had to take bottles and carry them to Middle Island to get water. And there was no shop there at all. If you could muster a cent you had to come up to The Bottom to buy anything before you could get to eat it.

There are six cisterns located at Palmetto Point, and thirteen house foundations; the largest is cut stone and mortar, and the rest are dry stones. The disproportion of cisterns to households indicates that access to cistern water was shared or negotiated between residents. This created a situation where those families that owned cisterns could exercise social and economic leverage in the internal exchange network of Palmetto Point, especially during periods of drought (Espersen 2014). Water was also available from the aptly-named Well's Bay. This was not always reliable source, as ocean swells would contaminate the water and render it non-potable (Crane 1971:306). The number of residents at Palmetto Point after 1850 to the early twentieth century, relative to average rainfall and the number, volume, and catchment sizes of the cisterns created constant situation where the water supply was unpredictable (Espersen 2014). This eventually contributed to its abandonment and evacuation, as corroborated in the documentary record.

The diet of residents by the early twentieth century, and likely in the preceding centuries, included "Dutch potatoes", sweet potatoes, tannia, cassava, sheep, goats, and fish, either fresh or salted. Based upon faunal remains in the Trash Pit that could be identified by the author, this also included significant quantities of *Fissurella nodosa*, *Chitonidae,* and some *Purpura patula* and *Cittarium pica.* Notably, the predominance of keyhole limpets and chitons in the Trash Pit echoes the diet of enslaved Africans at the Flat Point sugar plantation, while these were almost completely lacking at SB 036. Another former resident interviewed by Crane described the diet (Crane 1971:26):

> There were many days in the old times you couldn't get even dried fish or pork or any of the things in Mary Point, where we had hard times. We would even live on tannia heads. The tannia heads were very, very bitter. There were times when you would be very glad to get a sweet potato to make it your whole meal – and maybe you would put lime juice on them to be able to eat them. Those who had no people in the family who could catch fish would come to your yard and work on the cleaning of the fish in the hopes that they would get a head or two. The people in Mary Point had it very hard indeed. In fact, they had to carry the clothes all the way to Well Bay to wash and it was a terrible distance. That was in dry weather when the few cisterns they had would go dry.

This testimony also describes the widespread poverty present at Palmetto Point by the early twentieth century. The residents of Palmetto Point, by the late nineteenth century, were seen as socially backwards, inbred, and represented the lowest class of white Sabans on a village basis. This stigma continues in the present among Sabans towards residents and descendants of inhabitants of The Promised Land. This sentiment was echoed by foreigners as well. A. Grenfell Price, in The Geographical Review of 1934, exemplifies this in his narratives of Palmetto Point. In addition to titling his section on Palmetto Point as "Marypoint: A Degenerate Community", he continues with his descriptions of the village throughout the article:

> ...and the present doctor has found no trace yet of hookworm, although one suspects its presence at Marypoint, where no sanitation exists... Yet, except in the tiny village of Marypoint, inbreeding does not seem to have destroyed fertility, stamina, or ability... The worst effects of isolation and inbreeding are to be seen in Marypoint. Here a community of some thirty to forty persons is composed almost entirely of seven families of Sagors, all closely intermarried and interrelated. The land seems fair, the settlement was once quite flourishing and progressive, and a few of the people still possess good physique. The diet is miserable, consisting mainly of bananas and sweet potatoes, cassava, and fish. Little effort is made to provide the children with greens or milk on an island where vegetables grow in profusion and goats are numerous. The people have even lost their former knowledge of baking and carry bread, biscuit, and condensed milk from Bottom by "head" (Price 1934:55-56).

This is similar to the regard ascribed to residents of the Ozark Mountains in the U.S.A., referred to derogatorily as "hillbillies" (Espersen 2009; Horning 1999). It is curious in that although Middle Island and Palmetto Point were contemporary villages of similar size, both dependent upon subsistence agriculture and centered around water access, fishing, and anchorage available from Well's Bay, there is no oral or documentary accounts of this designation having been given to residents of Middle Island. This is probably due to the different racial composition of Middle Island relative to Palmetto Point, and its closer proximity to The Bottom, therefore making it less remote.

It is likely that most, if not all enslaved Africans at Palmetto Point lived in the same house as their owners. The section of the island's 1861 census provides details into the number of houses in each settlement, including those made of thatch (NArC AN NAC4 Gouverneur 103 RT). Given that there are 13 dry stone house foundations known at the site in the present, it is unlikely that thatch houses

predominated to any degree at Palmetto Point. There are also no remains of structures similar to those encountered at Spring Bay Flat, Spring Bay, Tannia Ground, and Hell's Gate, with the two dry stone walls projecting from the face of a boulder. Since the early economy of the site was based upon agricultural export, later phasing into subsistence agriculture, enslaved Africans would have been for the most part engaged in field labour, but it is possible that some may have been employed aboard ships as sailors as well. Others may have seen work as fishermen, either from shore around Well's Bay and Torrens Point, or aboard the few boats that were kept by residents of Palmetto Point and Middle Island in the bay, which typically fished around the Saba Bank (Crane 1971:306).

Burial practices

There are up to five known burials at Palmetto Point, all consisting of dry stone outlines. There are potentially three graves distinctively marked with long, stone ovals just 4m upslope of Cistern 2, with no other stones surrounding them on the surface. These may be associated with House 1. There is a stone cross that was erected next to House 9 in the late twentieth century, and another grave now covered with a cement slab with a missing plaque erected northeast of House 5. Both of these two graves follow the Saban tradition of yard burials. Given this retroactive marking, it appears that in the present, Sabans are identifying less with a tradition of stone piles as grave markers in the present day.

Archaeological excavations

Archaeological excavation results are detailed in "From Folklore to Folk History: Contextualizing Settlement at Palmetto Point, Saba, Dutch Caribbean" (Espersen 2009). Excavation units included a 2m x 1.5m unit at the base of a large terrace which turned out to be a trash pit, a 1x1m unit underneath a rock overhang which provided definitive evidence of the first colonial settlement period at Palmetto Point, four 1x1 test domestic units, a 3m x 2m shovel test pit, and extensive surface collections. In early 2012, excavations at the Trash Pit were expanded towards the foot of the large terrace immediately adjacent to the southeast, but had to be halted at Level 3 so that the soil beneath the terrace would not be undermined; further excavations may have resulted in a swift and storied end to this research. The artifact assemblages from Palmetto Point were re-catalogued, in addition to the new material recovered from this excavation. The most intensive occupation period at Palmetto Point ranges between the mid to late nineteenth century, based on artifact assemblages primarily from the Trash Pit and Rock Overhang (Espersen 2009).

Figure 80: SB 027, Trash Pit 1, Artifact Type Composition by Percentage, 5073 Total

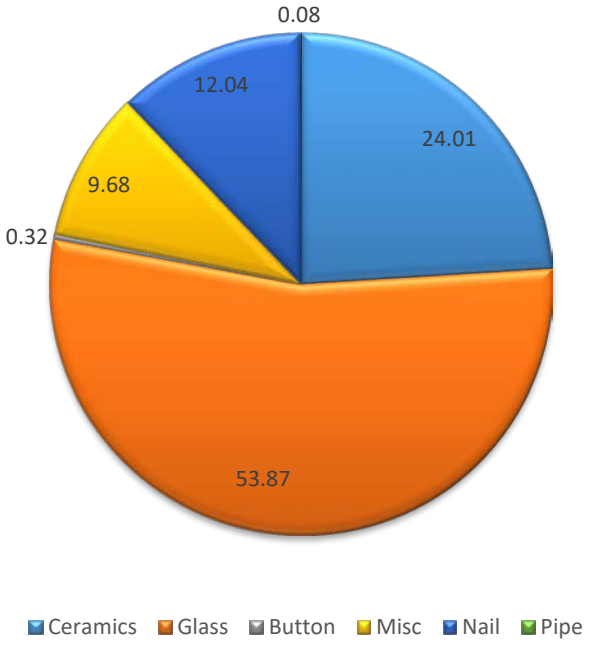
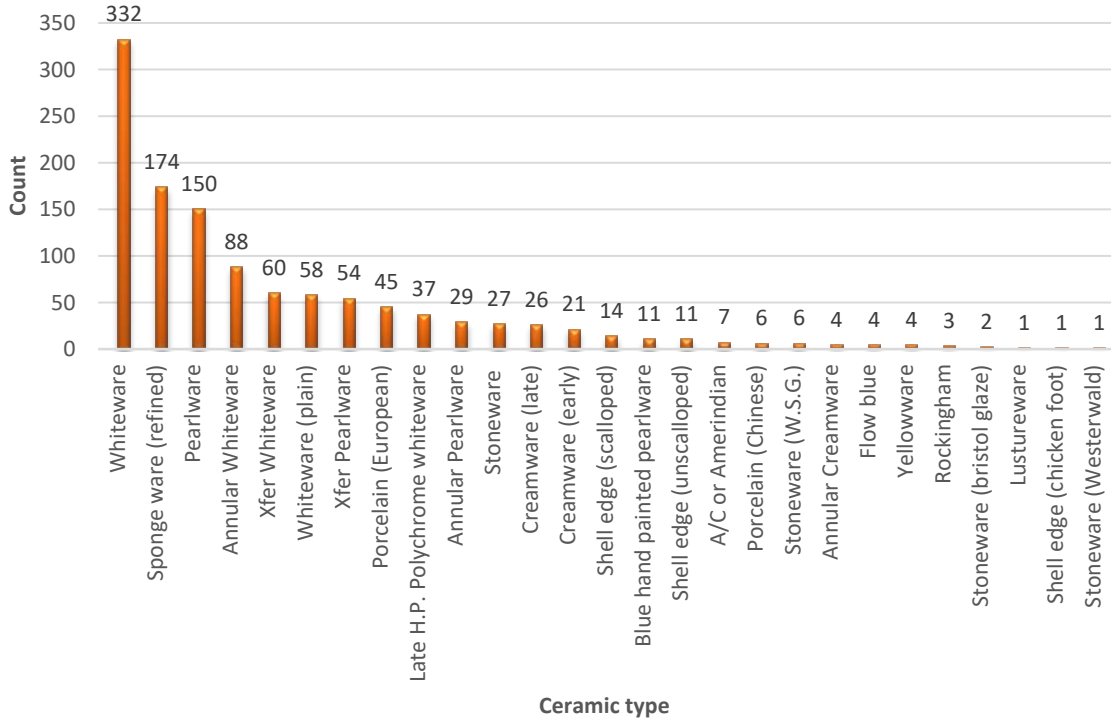
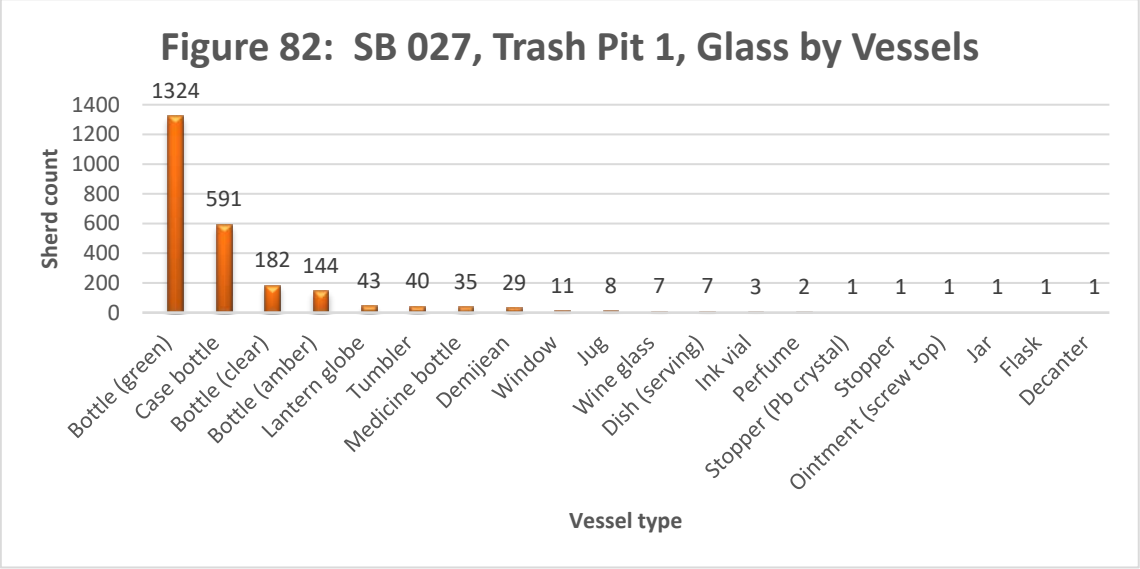


Figure 81: SB 027, Trash Pit 1, Ceramics by Décor





There were several noteworthy artifacts recovered from excavations at Palmetto Point. In the Trash Pit between Layers 2 and 3, 25 horizontal links of a gold-plated women's Chatelaine belt were found, which dates to the mid to late nineteenth century. Each link had a hinged clip on the back, which was evidently used to fasten the belt to a backing, such as a sash or leather strap belt. Several coins were found in the trash pit, including a silver 10-cent piece from St. Thomas dated 1848, a 1-cent coin dated 1854 from the U.S.A., a 2 sous coin from Cayenne, French Guiana dated 1789, and two Dutch ½ cent coins from the 1880's. The coin from St. Thomas was not surprising, as the island was the foremost regional trading center between Puerto Rico and Montserrat in the nineteenth century. A 17mm diameter clay marble was found in the trash pit, which may have been the remains from a Cobb-type bottle. Two clay marbles and one glass marble recovered from the House 1 domestic context at Middle Island, so this marble from Palmetto Point was probably used in children's games. The body of a small, unglazed kaolin female doll with 4/0 was found in the 2x3m shovel test pit, along with a tiny, 8mm diameter bone china toy teacup, further evidence of children's activities at the site. A hoe head, two axe heads, and a carpenter's plane provide testament to types of manual labour in everyday life at Palmetto Point. A total of 48 slate fragments with 7 slate pencil fragments were recovered from the trash pit alone, which is strongly indicative of a certain degree of literacy. In 1910, a children's school teacher was present at Palmetto Point for several years, known locally as "Skerritt", although he met with limited success with his students (Pearl Zagers, personal communication 2008).

Most of the glass assemblage in the trash pit dated from the mid nineteenth century to the site's abandonment in 1936, with some outliers such as a mid to late eighteenth century bottle neck with finish. The quantity of glass suggests that drinking was commonplace at Palmetto Point, with bottle origins from northern Europe, the U.S.A., and Canada. An MNI of eleven medicine bottles were

recovered, which would have been seen a less expensive alternative than paying for the doctor's trip for services to Palmetto Point. These costs are listed in the Middle Island section of this chapter.

The ceramic assemblage from Palmetto Point is characterized by lower value wares representative mostly of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Most were non-descript whitewares and pearlwares, with low-cost sponge-type wares and annular wares as the most common decorative varieties. Later varieties of transfer print pearlwares and whitewares are also present in smaller proportions, such as the "wild rose" variant and coloured transfers such as browns, purples, and reds. The European porcelains appear to be varieties from the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries. A finely-detailed hand painted sherd dating from some time between 1860 to 1880 has been identified as a commemorative hollowware vessel of Princess Alexandra of Denmark, who was born in 1844, served as Queen from 1902-1910, and died in 1924. As a commemorative piece, it most likely dates to either 1863, when she married Albert, Prince of Wales and heir apparent to Queen Victoria, and in the same year her father was crowned as the Danish King Christian IX, or 1902, when she was made Queen consort to Edward VII. This testifies again to the importance of St. Thomas as a trade destination for Palmetto Point residents and other Sabans during this time.

Saba-style wooden houses at Palmetto Point were all constructed upon dry stone foundations, except for House 5, also the largest, which was built upon a cut stone and mortar foundation. House dimensions for Palmetto Point are listed below on Table 5 (Espersen 2009:70):

Table 5: House Dimensions and Former Inhabitants, Palmetto Point

House	Dimensions (m)	Area (m2)	Last House Owners Prior to 1936
1	7.5 x 3.7	27.75	Peter Zagers = Yda Hassel
2	6.6 x 3.8	25.08	Henry Johnson = Ignacia Bail
3	6.7 x 4.2	28.14	Salomon Zagers = Anita Zagers
4	8.1 x 5.4	43.74	(Grandparents of Carl Zagers' father's side)
5	8.3 x 5.3	43.99	"Theresa"
6	5.2 x 3.5	18.20	(Uninhabited during Carl Zagers' residence)
7	6.5 x 3.8	24.70	Tommy Zagers = Jane Anne Zagers
8	6.3 x 4.0	25.20	"Old Missy"
9	8.0 x 4.7	37.60	Pinky Horton-Zagers (née Zagers)
10	7.4 x 4.0	29.60	William James Simmons = Lily May
11	7.7 x 3.8	29.26	John Henry Zagers = Mary-Ellen Zagers
12	7.0 x 3.5	24.50	William Thomas = Elizabeth (later to Joseph Collins)
13	**(**unknown)	(unknown)	Material Grandparents, C.Zagers
Average		29.81	

These houses are smaller than average across the island. Most would have contained just two rooms, and some, such as House 6, would have been too small for any practical interior divisions. The

implications of housing at Palmetto Point relative poverty, and their context within the rest of Saba, are discussed in detail in the following chapter.

Palmetto Point in context

Although re-analysis of archaeological and documentary research at Palmetto Point from the author's previous research did not reveal much in terms of direct evidence regarding free and enslaved Africans, it provides valuable insights with regards to class and class consciousness between white residents of the village and the rest of Saba in the nineteenth century, and resultant differences in material culture. Despite the presence of a considerable number of enslaved Africans living at Palmetto Point by 1861, no evidence has been found of separate living structures. This is compounded by the difficulty that enslaved Africans were known to have lived in the same residence as their owners, which complicates interpretations of the material record. In particular, the site provides a trove of comparative data to Middle Island, a contemporary, primarily free African-descent village of the same size and equidistant from Well's Bay, but more accessible from The Bottom.

SB 026: Middle Island

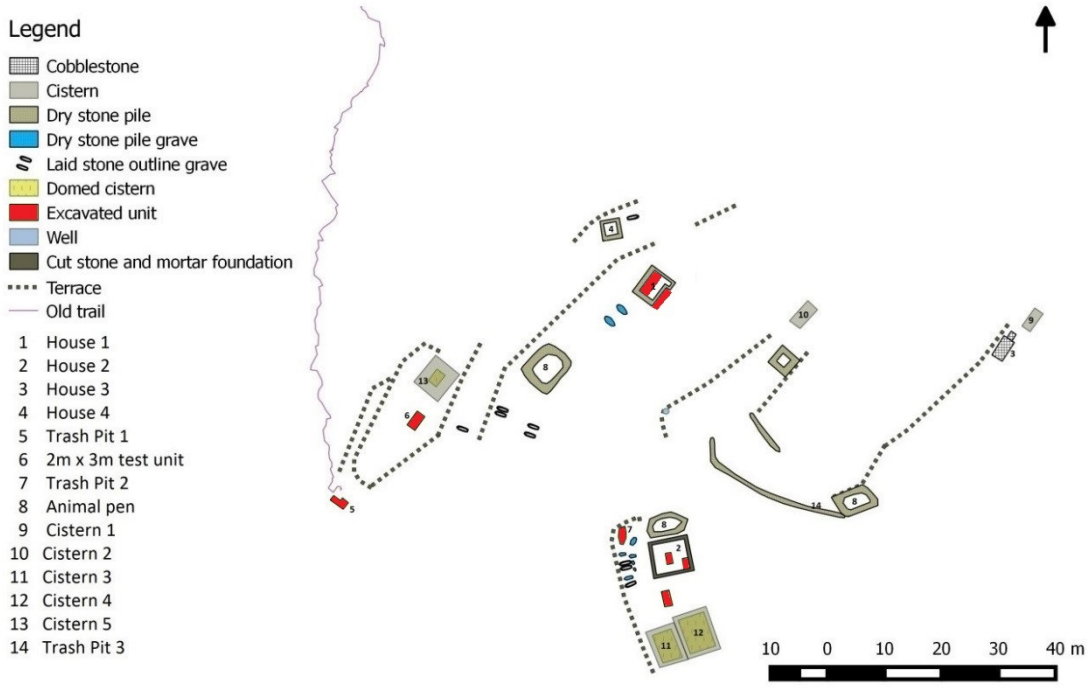
Overview and site location

Middle Island is located at approximately 17°38'12N, 63°15'5W, at an average elevation of 162m above sea level. The settlement area of the village was limited to the southern extents of a finger which terminates abruptly into high cliffs that border the ocean. The site is now overgrown with *Swietenia mahogany* and *Pimenta racemosa* of similar age and size, although during the occupation period the site would have been mostly barren of trees. Some *Annona muricata* are scattered across the site, and in the gut that separates Cow Pasture from Middle Island, several *Carica papaya* were noted as well. At the trailhead at Middle Island to Cow Pasture, just east of Cisterns 2 and 3, there is a large Tamarind tree (*Tamarindus indica),* which was also noted in Haviser's survey (1985). James Johnson (personal communication 2015), the seasoned trail guide for the Saba Conservation Foundation, has noted that tamarind trees appear to have been planted upon the trail linking the villages of Cow Pasture, Middle Island, and Palmetto Point, as a means to demarcate beginning and end of each village on the path. Haviser's (1985) survey noted a nineteenth and early twentieth century occupation period at Middle Island.

The soils at the site are identical to the more fertile section at Palmetto Point, described previously, with a top layer of loam of about 6-8cm. The slopes above House 2 were terraced and cultivated, while the entire area downslope (west) of Trash Pit 1 to the cliff edges was unmodified.

This would have been ideal pasture ground for cattle, as the cliffs surrounding the north, west, and southern limits of the finger formed a natural fence. Indeed, cattle pasture at Middle Island was noted as late as 1909 in E. J. Brill's survey of Dutch West Indian flora (1909:15). Extensive pedestrian surveys were carried out at Middle Island from 2012 to 2014. The site generally lacked surface features beyond dry stone terraces, despite being home to 70 residents in 1865. There are only surface remains of two cut stone and mortar houses, designated as House 1 and House 2, a rectangular cobblestone floor which was likely enclosed by a wattle house, a dry stone house foundation, five cisterns, a small well, and a graveyard of at least nine individuals. Two artifact concentration areas were located along the southern extents of the site, which were termed Trash Pits 1 and 2.

Figure 83: Middle Island Village



Middle Island in the oral and documentary records

Middle Island scarcely appears in Saba's documentary record, and those records that do pertain to the village either mention the village in passing, or involve an inhabitant or inhabitants discernable only through extensive cross referencing between documents. The site, either in portion or in its entirety, comprised the northwestern most extent of the Dinzey Plantation (SBRM:29/1/1827). By the late eighteenth century, sections of the present-day site were owned by free Sabans of African descent, and white Sabans. By corroborating between the Saba Vendue Book of 1780-1815 (DNAr 1.05.13.01 #542-543), the 1780 Census (Will Johnson Collection), and the aforementioned various document holdings at the Saba Planning Bureau, one of the first known inhabitants of Middle Island

by 12 April 1815 was a free black woman named Flora Wood, along with her son and daughter. Another early inhabitant by 3 May 1820 was a 63-year old free black man named Talamack Winfield and his wife, who accused Flora Woods of selling his bull while she only owned one quarter of it, but later determined that his wife sold it without informing him. He was ordered to pay the court costs as a result (DNAr 1.05.13.901 #319, #540.1). Peter Collins Sr. of Palmetto Point owned land in Middle Island by 12 April 1815, which was purchased following his death on account of his child son Peter Collins by Edward Beaks (DNAr 1.05.13.01 #542-543). Whether the younger Peter Collins actually inhabited the land later in his life is not certain. The first depiction of the village in the documentary record extends to 1816 on the Columbine map of Saba, where one house is visible at the site (BNAr, Kew CO 700/WestIndies33). On the 1850 British Admiralty map of Saba, four houses are depicted at Middle Island, extending downslope and close to the southern cliff of the gut separating Middle Island from Cow Pasture. These depictions are accurate as the 1848 census for Saba lists four houses present at Middle Island (NArC AN 84). This census is listed in Table 17, in the Appendix. The upper house depicted is well positioned to be House 2, and the second as House 1. The other two are curious, in that the cartographer was likely including wattle and thatch houses, since Houses 1 and 3 are the only two in the site that have house foundations. The lower two houses are in the vicinity of Trash Pit 1, and may have contributed to its deposits, as the assemblage is contemporary to this map.

Curiously, the 1823 Burgher List for Saba does not list any African descent surnames for Palmetto Point Quarter, let alone the island as a whole (DNAr 1.05.13.01 #319:207). Palmetto Point Quarter included Middle Island, and thus should have included at least the household of Talamack Winfield. The list of burghers includes, in order of appearance: James Horton Sr., James Horton Jr., John Beal, Peter Simmons, Peter Hassell, John Zeagors, Thomas Zeagors, Peter Collins, and James Hassell. James Horton Sr. is listed as the "District Master" of Palmetto Point, which denoted an island-wide military ranking system organized by the Island Government. However, of the five districts, Palmetto Point did not have residents with any higher rankings such as Corporals, Sargeants, 1st/2nd Lieutenant, and Captain (DNAr 1.05.13.01 #319:196). Beals were known to have lived at Middle Island (James Johnson, personal communication 2013; Will Johnson, personal communication 2013), but whether this includes the John Beal mentioned in the burgher list cannot be definitively determined. The Beal surname, interestingly, is relatively common on nearby St. Bartholomew, and James Johnson's Beal ancestors are supposed to have hailed from the island.

The population of Middle Island increased notably between 1848 and 1865, coinciding with an increase in manumissions of enslaved Africans during this time, followed by emancipation. The earliest census for Middle Island, taken in 1848, lists for free residents 11 men, 10 women, 4 boys, 9 girls, and 1 man born in the West Indies; one enslaved man, and two enslaved boys. Despite a total population

of 38 residents, only four houses are noted in the village. The 1861 census of Saba lists 16 (free) men, 14 women, 9 boys, and 8 girls born on Saba, one free boy born in other parts of the West Indies, and one male enslaved African, for a total of 51 inhabitants living between 13 houses, including those built of thatch (NArC). Importantly, the 1848 census did not include thatch houses in the house count, as there is no explicit statement outlining their inclusion in the tally as there was in the 1861 census. Therefore, thatch houses were probably present at Middle Island in 1848, as otherwise the ratio of inhabitants per house between 1848 to 1861 would have substantially decreased despite an increase in population. The only houses in the "Saba style" present at Middle Island, which would have been counted in the 1848 census, would have been located atop stone house foundations. Those remaining at Middle Island are Houses 1, 2, 4, and 5, if indeed the latter was considered part of the village.

In 1865, two years after emancipation in the Kingdom of the Netherlands, the population increased to 22 men, 28 women, 14 boys, and 6 girls, all born on Saba, for a total of 70 residents between 19 houses. The first Saba Catholic Baptismal Register (Our Lady of the Rosary Catholic Church, Saba) lists another census for the island in 1865, but this instance records 16 houses instead. The jump from an additional 19 residents and 3 to 6 houses (including thatch) in just four years is notable, and coincides with emancipation in 1863. These newly liberated Sabans were free to make conscious choices about where they could live, and several likely migrated to the village. Middle Island only had one enslaved Saban in 1861; the village did not have a social environment that harbored a legacy of owner-enslaved relations, which may have been attractive to those seeking to reject or distance themselves from former enslaved identities. No further village-specific population data is available after this time. It is unknown precisely when Middle Island was abandoned, but it probably occurred piecemeal during the first half of the twentieth century, based upon archaeological evidence, discussed in the following section.

There is a glaring gulf between the number of houses in the census records, which include those made of thatch, with the total found at the site from surface remains. This is almost certainly because the majority of houses at Middle Island by the 1860's were made of wattle with thatch roofs. Conveniently though for the archaeologist, as the whole site is located on an incline between 15-25 degrees, house construction at Middle Island required extensive terracing to create habitable flat areas, which then provide indirect evidence of their locations. These areas are marked upon the site map.

Although Middle Island is less than 700m away in a straight line from Palmetto Point, it did not suffer many of the inclemencies that beset the village throughout the later stages of its existence. The trail that led to The Bottom was less arduous than the latter half that led from Middle Island to

Palmetto Point, evidenced by the tariff fees for the first and special house visits by Dr. John W. Kloppers drawn up by the Delegated Bench of Justice on Saba on 3 March 1864 (DNAr 1.05.13.901 #540.1).

Town		**Cost (florins)**
First or special visit		*f*1.5
Ordinary	ditto	*f*1.0
Crispeen, St. Johns, and Middle Island		
First or special visit		*f*2.0
Ordinary	ditto	*f*1.50
Peak, Windwardside, and Booby Hill		
First or special visit		*f*4
Ordinary	ditto	*f*2
Palmetto Point & Hells Gate		
First or special visit		*f*7.5
Ordinary	ditto	*f*4
Night visits double		
Visits to a vessel clear of boat hire		*f*6
Consultation with a midwife		*f*6
A whole night's attendance		*f*6
Extracting teeth		*f*2
Bleeding		*f*2
Vaccinating		*f*3

The difficulty in attaining medical attention was one of the mitigating factors regarding the authorities' decision to evacuate and relocate residents of Palmetto Point in 1934. Residents of Middle Island also had access to a small well located just 21m west and downslope of House 2, in addition to the well at Wells Bay, guaranteeing them a more reliable supply of water than was available at Palmetto Point (Espersen 2013).

A deed to lands purchased by David Wright Hassell of The Bottom from David Wright Horton describes two named sections of Middle Island. The property concerned was named "The Hillside", half of which was sold for 12.5 guilders. This property was bordered in the east by lands known as the "Estate's Flat", in the west and south by lands of William Simmons, and in the north by the land of Phoenix Hassell (C-Repertorium No. 67 vol 5, Department of Public Works, Saba). While the location of the "Estate's Flat" is difficult to place with limited correlation points, it would be a remnant of the Dinzey Estate sugar plantation, and lend credence to oral history that Middle Island was one of the estate's enslaved African villages.

Faunal remains

Faunal remains from Middle Island were analyzed by Jorissen (2014), who noted the significantly lower proportions of shell material, especially regarding *Fissurela nimbosa* and *Chiton sp.* in House 1, and high proportions of fish. This stands in stark contrast to Palmetto Point, where these two shellfish varieties composed the majority of the assemblage in the trash pit and from domestic units. It was also peculiar that both trash pits excavated at Middle Island contained few faunal remains. Faunal material from Trash Pit 2 included just 9 specimens, consisting of two cow molars (*Bos)*, one goat tooth (*Caprinae*), and one pig molar (*Sus*), 3 unidentifiable fish bones, and one *Fissurela nimbosa*. These remains, and comparisons to other sites, are discussed in the following chapter.

Burial practices

The only readily determinable burials at Middle Island were at House 2, located just 4m west of the house, following the traditional Saban practice of burying one's nuclear family close to their residence. This is a series of 9 graves, set along the length of a terrace. Two of them, graves 1 and 2, appear to be constructed as a vault, created by lining the grave cavity with tall, flat stones. This is clearly evidenced on the surface by the protrusion of these stones through the fill, which together form a shape that is broad at the shoulders, and narrows to the feet. This is similar to the graves of the ex-Gezaghebber and his wife, excavated by Haviser, Gilmore, and Gilmore at what is now the Breadline Plaza in Windwardside (Haviser 2015). An unmodified rock slightly taller than the rest is set at the top as a headstone. These two graves are aligned east to west, with the headstone facing east. The other seven graves consist of unmodified, more rounded stones aligned in diamond or oval forms on the surface, with no clear intent regarding directional alignment. Located between graves 1 and 2 was a large fragment of a smooth-ground granite headstone. A second fragment of this was found on the surface next to Trash Pit 2. There was no text or other evidence of modification on the headstone. The surface of Middle Island is scattered with naturally-deposited rock and extensive leaf litter, making it difficult to readily identify rock alignments that could be signifiers of a burial. Despite repeated efforts during pedestrian surveys to locate other grave markers at Middle Island, including by removing leaf litter, no convincing surface evidence has been found.

House 1

Despite the 70 residents living at Middle Island in 1865, only four house remains (three with foundations) were located at the site. House 1 is constructed onto a narrow terrace, leaving only 300cm to the edge of the downslope terrace to the west, and about 1m to the terrace east (behind) and upslope of the house. Only the house foundation remains, which was constructed of cut stone

and mortar, and measures 592cm northeast to southwest along the terrace, and 439cm northwest to southeast, with a small, 80cm x 88cm alcove protruding from the eastern corner of the structure, which may have been a kitchen stove. Approximately 16.40m south of House 1 is a circular, dry stone animal pen 880cm in diameter. There is no cistern in the immediate vicinity of House 1; it is roughly equidistant, however, between Cisterns 4 and 5.

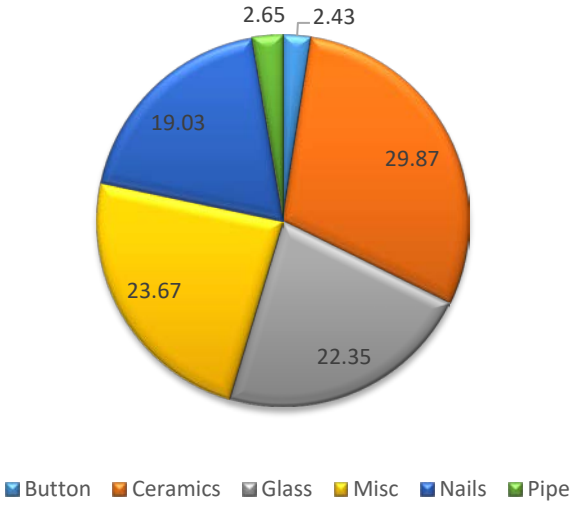


Figure 84: The foundations of House 1, looking north.

Four 1x1 meter units were excavated by trowel within the house foundations, composing approximately half of the interior, and a 50cm wide trench was excavated by shovel along the outer, eastern foundation wall. The inner excavation units produced interesting assemblages that varied considerably between one another. There was no clear stratification of ceramics in the assemblage throughout the levels, however the quantity of artifacts dropped off substantially after Level 2, dropping to just a few artifacts in Level 4, to nothing in Level 5 and beyond. The assemblage is notable in that it contains coins, buttons, and marbles in quantities that were not seen in any other surface collection or excavation on Saba. In particular, the bulk of the aforementioned artifacts were found in Units 1 and 2, with only one coin from Unit 3, and nothing in Unit 4. There were also larger faunal assemblages in Units 1 and 2, consisting of numerous fish scales, small fish bones, and some shell fragments, described in detail later. In addition, small or narrow artifacts such as coins and beads were

found in quantities not seen elsewhere on the island. This deposition pattern is likely due to a combination of factors. The house foundation cut stone and mortar with a smooth, flat surface. As the artifacts were found up to 40cm below the level of the foundation, it is unlikely that the house had a dirt floor, but instead sat upon the foundation with wooden floorboards that were not tongue-and-groove. This would have created gaps allowing thin artifacts such as coins and buttons, and mobile artifacts such as marbles to be lost into these spaces, and deposited within the confines of the house foundation. The floor space above units 3 and 4 may have been occupied by household furniture that covered these gaps, thus resulting in a considerably smaller deposition of these artifacts. The non-faunal assemblage consisted of 452 artifacts, with the distribution outlined the figure below.

Figure 85: SB 026, House 1, Artifact Type Composition by Percentage, 452 Total



The composition of the assemblage is fairly proportional regarding ceramics, glass, and nails. The bulk of miscellaneous denominator consists of unidentifiable pieces of iron. Also notable are seven slate fragments, eight slate pencil fragments, two clay marbles and one glass marble, a fragment of mica, a fishing hook, three grinding stones, a hammer stone, six glass beads, one gunflint, and five Dutch coins. Whiteware varieties, numbering 73, comprised the bulk of the ceramic assemblage. This included varieties and different colours of transfer print ware, late hand painted polychrome wares, cut sponge wares, and later varieties of annular ware, representative of the mid to late nineteenth century. There were comparatively fewer examples of pearlware, numbering 15, and only four sherds of creamware. Three sherds of Chinese porcelain were also found, along with three sherds of a lead glazed coarse earthenware similar North Holland slipware, and two sherds of European coarse earthenware. These are curious in that they may indicate an occupation period at Middle Island much earlier than the

nineteenth century. They were found in the top two layers, which suggests that they could have been deposited by erosion from upper slopes after the house was dismantled and abandoned. The assemblage is too small for a reliable use of the mean ceramic date, but from a qualitative assessment, outliers aside, this ceramic assemblage is strongly representative of the whole nineteenth century, but more especially the mid to later period. The most common decoration on the ceramics was transfer print whiteware, at 18 sherds, followed by 15 sherds of spongeware varieties, and nine sherds of scalloped shell edge varieties. Expensive varieties were limited to one sherd of lustureware and Chinese porcelain, respectively.

The glass assemblage, consisting of 101 artifacts, featured many examples of readily datable material. Smaller, identifiable pieces include 2 two-piece mold sherds, one post-bottom mold base, one machine made sherd, two turn mold sherds. Two intact bottles were also found, consisting of an aqua glass, two-piece, tooled finish, round bottle, approximately 700ml in volume, with "Stafford's Ink" as relief text. The finish was also intentionally folded into a single tip during manufacture, presumably to facilitate a clean pour. The tooled finish indicates a date after 1870. The second bottle was recovered standing upright from a depth of 35cm. It is an aqua, beveled corner, two-piece case bottle with "Hamburg" in relief text down the length of the vessel, indicating its origin in Hamburg, Germany, and likely containing spirits. The beveled corners indicate a date of manufacture after the 1860's. Together, the glass assemblage suggests an occupation period from the mid nineteenth century to the early twentieth century.

The presence of slate sherds, slate pencils, and large ink bottle strongly indicate literate household members. There is no documentary evidence concerning the presence or absence of literacy at Middle Island, and unlike Palmetto Point, no school teacher was known to have frequented the village for instruction. Four coins were recovered from Level 2, and one from Level 3. The coins from Level 2 include two Dutch 3-cent pieces dated 1863 and 1875, a ½ cent piece dated 1873, and an illegible denomination copper ally coin, 14mm in diameter, dated 1875. Unfortunately, the example from the third level is cut in half, and only "18", indicating the nineteenth century, is visible for a date. It is 16mm in diameter, and composed of a copper alloy, which are identical characteristics of the Dutch 3-cent pieces recovered from Level 2.

The nail assemblage consists of 33 wrought nails, 1 handmade head cut nail, 16 machine made head cut nails, one wire nail, and 21 unidentifiable nails that are either cut or wrought. The presence of four different nail varieties suggest that the house went through several stages of repair during the nineteenth century, and given the proportional distribution of wrought to cut nails throughout the excavation levels, it is likely that wrought nails were saved and reused during renovation and reconstruction.

A variety of buttons were recovered, 11 in total, consisting of 6 porcelain buttons, one single-hole bone disk, one 17mm brass button, 2 copper alloy buttons, and one turtle shell button, 19mm in diameter. The porcelain buttons are likely representative of three shirt buttons, 11mm in diameter, one undergarment button 9mm in diameter, and perhaps one jacket button, 16mm in diameter (Lindbergh 1999). The porcelain buttons have a TPQ of 1840's, and are undecorated except for the largest example, which features the hobnail decoration, characterized by raised dots along the rim (Lindbergh 1999:52). The bone disk was probably an undergarment button, and the copper alloy buttons were used to fasten suspenders and trousers (Lindbergh 1999). Although copper alloy fasteners had been in use since 1787, the text on one button, "BEST RING EDGE", was manufactured in the first decade of the twentieth century. A thimble was recovered from Level 2 of Unit 1. Tailoring is known throughout Saba's oral history and the documentary record as a woman's profession; in particular, all historical photographs of women stitching Saba lace viewed by the author take place in the vicinity of a house; either just outside a house, upon the balcony, or within the house. Together, the thimble and its context strongly indicate a direct association with women.

Two piles of stone were located just south of House 1, which given their location and organization, are very likely graves. The first pile measures 224cm east to west and approximately 114cm north to south, while the second measures 230cm east to west, and about 107cm north to south. Although the piles are aligned to potentially face east, there is no stone clearly designated as a headstone on either end, and the stones are somewhat haphazardly piled upon each above the ground rather than set into the ground as a single layer as seen with the graves at House 2. Their positioning relative to House 1 fits the Saba tradition of family yard burials.



Figure 86: Southernmost suspected grave associated with House 1, facing south.



Figure 87: Both dry stone piles suspected to be graves, with House 1 in the background, looking north.

House 3

House 3 is evidenced by a cobblestone floor with a small, attached cobbled porch situated just 200cm south of Cistern 1 upon a narrow band of flat terrain created by the same terrace. The cobbled area measures 420cm north to south, and 220cm east to west, with a cobbled entrance jutting from the middle-north face 100cm x 130cm. The location for the house is somewhat unfavourable as it was constructed directly on top of the dry stone terrace itself, rather than situated upon natural ground shored up or supported by a terrace. This would have made it difficult to construct a stable stone and mortar foundation for a house. As there is also no surface evidence to suggest a dry stone foundation surrounding the cobbled floor, and given the small dimensions of the feature, it is likely that a wattle house with a thatch roof was constructed over top instead.

The artifact assemblage from House 3 was small compared to that of House 1. Units 1 and 2 were located flush against the southern edge of the cobblestone floor, and were the only units to harbor artifacts. Nothing was recovered from units 3 and 4, which comprised the southern interior of the floor, and flush to units 1 and 2. Units depth did not proceed past Level 2, as the integrity of the terrace was becoming compromised. As well, by Level 2 the layer was composed entirely of backfilled terrace stones, creating multiple gaps between them, and thus many artifacts that would otherwise be found within the layer instead fell between the cracks. Due to the lack of soil and preponderance of rock fill, no postholes were visible.

The ceramic assemblage from both units consisted of nineteenth century sherds, with more bias towards the mid nineteenth century. Four sherds of a red bodied coarse earthenware were also recovered from Level 2, probably the same vessel, and likely Amerindian. A tiny perfume bottle, just 50mm in height, was recovered from the same layer. Only five wrought nails were recovered from the units, which suggests that a wattle structure surrounded the cobble floor, with posts set into the terrace rock fill.

The series of slavery laws passed in 1823 outlined previously clearly state that enslaved African houses were forbidden to have boarded partitions or a boarded floor. As a consequence, these houses must have been single room structures with either marl, dirt, or cobblestone flooring. The censuses for 1848 shows one enslaved man and two enslaved boys in the village, followed in 1861 by one enslaved man. House 3 fits the legal criteria for an enslaved African domestic structure, and is situated upon the rock foundations of a terrace, which created a thin section of platform that extends downslope no further than one meter from the house to the terrace edge, and three meters back from the house to a 20 to 30 degree slope. In addition, its location just 190cm southwest of Cistern 1 strongly suggests that the structure, adjoining land, and the cistern were owned by the same individual. Given the high cost associated with cistern construction, the costs incurred with purchase, the potential income from sale, and the social capital available through ownership where the cisterns in the village were not capable of supporting the water requirements of the inhabitants (Espersen 2013), it is highly likely that the person that inhabited House 3 did not own the cistern. Although there is a good possibility that House 3 is an enslaved African house, this cannot be a definite assertion without further evidence.

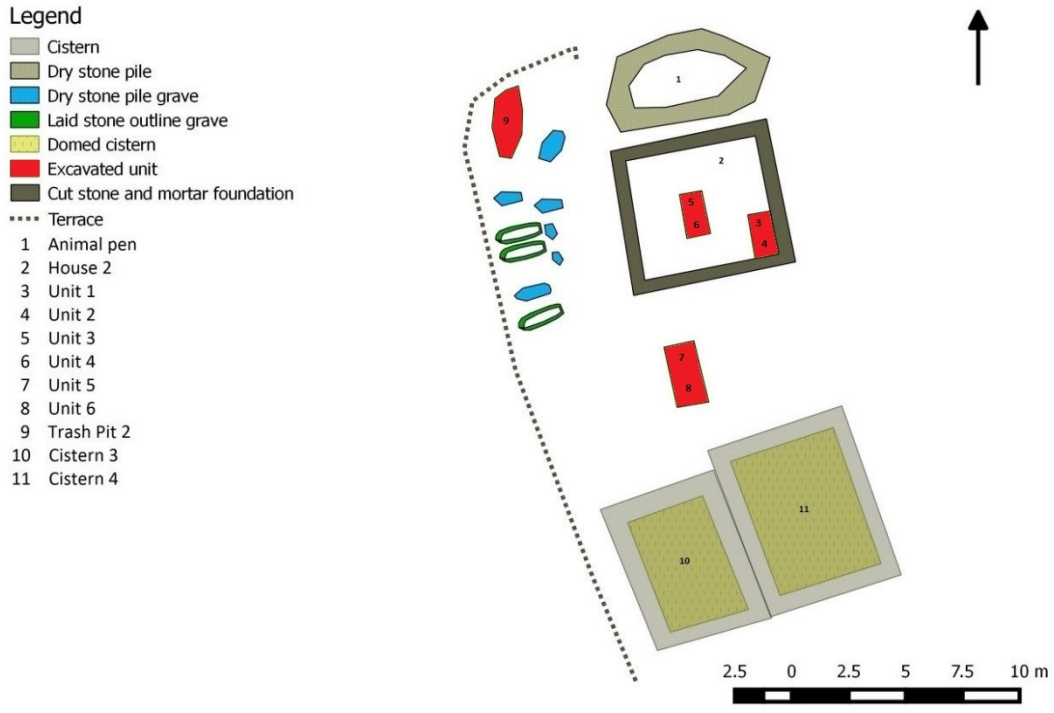


Figure 88: Middle Island, House 3, looking south.

House 2

House 2 is the largest structure at Middle Island, which composes part of what may have been considered an estate that includes an animal pen, at least nine stone-lined, oval graves adjacent to the east face of the house, and two large domed cisterns. The foundations appear to be a blend of a dry stones to along the north and western faces, and well cut stone and mortar along the east and southern walls. Surprisingly, few artifacts were recovered from four 1x1m units placed within the foundations of House 2 compared to House 1; the majority consisted of red brick fragments and a small proportion of wrought and cut nails. This absence can be attributed to several factors. The soil within the foundations may have been removed when the cut stone foundation was laid down, thereby destroying evidence of previous assemblages, and the house resting atop the foundation would have had a tongue-and-groove floor which would have minimized or eliminated cracks through which artifacts within the house could fall through to be deposited beneath.

Figure 89: Middle Island, House 2



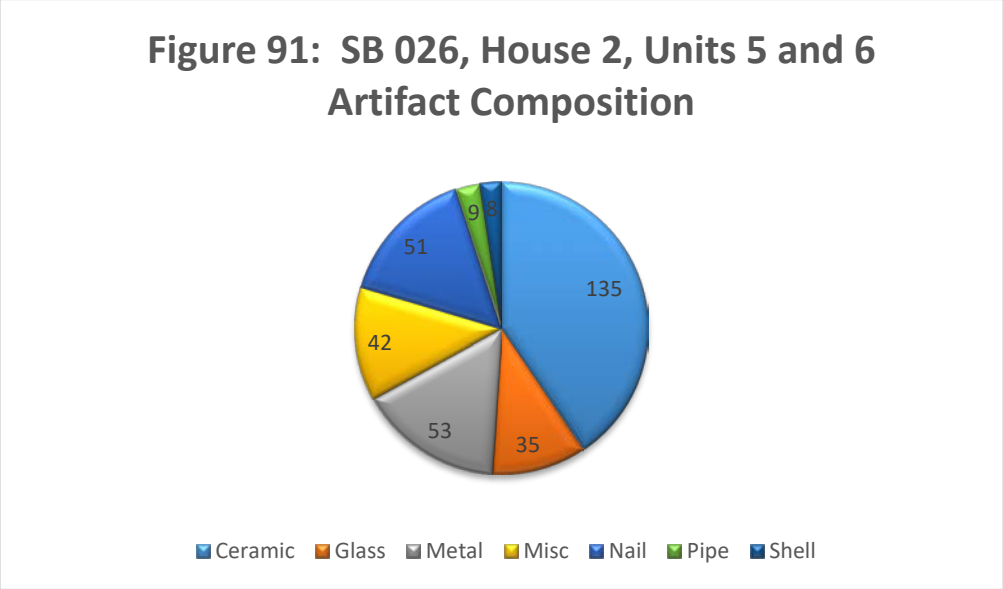
The ceramic assemblage amounts to just 19 sherds, composed of one sherd of creamware, one sherd of Imari porcelain, two sherds of pearlware, one sherd of annular pearlware, five sherds of cut sponge whiteware, one sherd of rococo shell edge ware, unscalloped shell edge ware, two sherds of unidentifiable whiteware, and two sherds of Bristol glaze stoneware. These ceramics suggest a nineteenth century occupation, with the Imari and rococo edge wares as outliers, possibly from a previous occupation. This range is also supported by the presence of a four-hole porcelain button, and

the nail assemblage, of which a total of 31 were recovered, consisting of 18 wrought nails, 6 cut nails, 4 wire nails, and 3 that were unidentifiable. Beyond these artifacts, few others in the assemblage are datable. A 2x1 unit was excavated approximately 2m north of Cistern 3 in light of the absence of artifacts recovered within House 2. These two units yielded a considerably larger assemblage, with a total of 333 artifacts, composed of 135 ceramics, 35 glass sherds, 53 metal artifacts, 51 nails, 9 pipe pieces, 8 shell fragments, 19 red brick fragments, 14 coral fragments, and some pieces of charcoal that were kept for samples. The ceramic assemblage consists primarily of equal proportions of pearlware and whiteware varieties, with the whiteware dating from the mid nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries. Ceramic decoration consisted primarily of transfer print varieties, numbering 31 sherds, 17 annular ware sherds, and 13 sherds of sponge varieties. Expensive varieties, such as lustureware and Chinese porcelain only accounted for one sherd each.



Figure 90: Middle Island, House 2, looking north from the southwest corner. Note the cut stone and mortar foundation to the right behind the young mahogany trees, and the dry stone foundation along the length of the scale rod on the left. The walls of the animal pen are visible just north of the foundation. The graves are located beyond the photo, just 4m west of the scale rod.

Unfortunately, as is the common case on Saba, no preserved stratigraphy was present, as scratch blue white stoneware and early creamware sherds were found in layers above cut sponge whiteware. The nail assemblage amounts to 51, including 31 wrought nails, 4 cut nails, 1 wire nail, and 15 unidentifiable nails. The preponderance of wrought nails relative to other varieties suggests a construction period in this general area that dates to the early nineteenth century or prior.



House 2 graves

At least six graves are located approximately 4m west House 2, along the edge of the terrace which supports the flat ground upon which the house, two cisterns, and graves are situated. The dimensions of each, relative to their alignment are, listed below.

Table 6: SB 026, House 2, Grave Dimensions

	E-W (cm)	N-S (cm)
Grave 1	135	70
Grave 2	109	60
Grave 3	242	83
Grave 4	177	51
Grave 5	189	51
Grave 6	160	76
Grave 7	48	119
Grave 8	51	134

Graves 1, 2, and 6 consist of andesite cobbles laid out in a pattern consisting of a stone for the head, two stones approximately the same size as the head-stone set side by side below its mid-point, similar to the shoulder flare seen in coffins, and an inconsistent number of similarly sized stones extending below the shoulder down to the feet. The dimensions of the graves are probably commensurate with the size of the corresponding interred individual. Two more possible graves, designated as 7 and 8, are located at the foot of Graves 3 and 4, respectively, marked in the same fashion. Graves 3, 4, and 5 are more defined than the rest. These are marked by long, flat slabs of andesite that are set vertically into the ground, with their tops protruding above the surface, giving sharp definition along the length of the interred individual. Notably, a large fragment of a polished, grey granite gravestone was located

between Graves 3 and 4; a second fragment was found adjacent to Trash Pit 2. It had a rounded top and a flat base, but lacked any incised text. The gravestone had apparently been intended as a marker for a new or existing grave at the site, but never set.

2m x 3m shallow trench

A 2x3 meter shallow trench was excavated by shovel approximately 2m south of Cistern 5 on a large, flat area created by a series of terraces above and below. It was thought that this would be an ideal location for a thatch hut. Unfortunately, no postholes were found. A small assemblage of artifacts was recovered, notably an intact musket barrel found lying parallel to the ground at the bottom of Level 2 (10cm – 20cm), in the northwest corner of the unit. It measured 635mm in length, with a tip width of 22mm. The bore diameter could not be ascertained due to concretions surrounding the entirety of the barrel. The ceramic assemblage included eight sherds of creamware, five sherds pearlware, one sherd of early hand painted pearlware, one sherd of rococo shell edge ware, one cabled annular creamware, one sherd of transfer print Chinese scene whiteware, one late hand painted whiteware, three unidentifiable stoneware sherds, one sherd of European coarse earthenware, and five sherds of a burnished, likely Amerindian vessel. Pre-Columbian outliers aside, together this ceramic assemblage is representative of the late eighteenth to nineteenth century, in line with the documented settlement period of the site. The glass assemblage featured no datable or noteworthy examples.



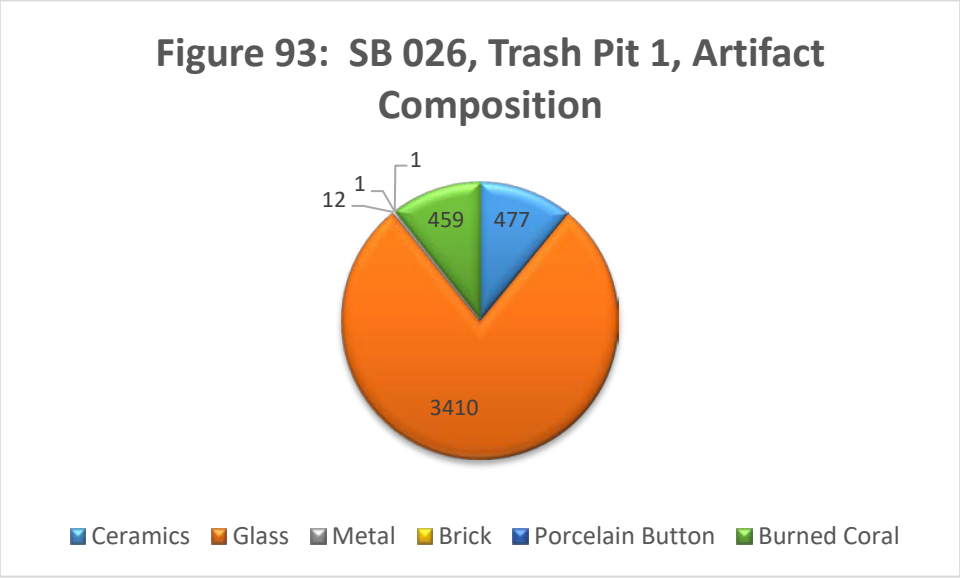
Figure 92: Middle Island, 2x3m shovel test pit, Layer 2, showing musket barrel in lower right in situ.

Trash Pit 1

Trash Pit 1, in a similar vein to its second namesake, was constructed into a pre-existing, short dry stone terrace along the middle southern extremity of SB 026. Rocks were removed from the terrace to form a hollow for rubbish, consisting mostly of glass bottles. The excavated area measures approximately 2x3 meters, and work proceeded by following the limits of the trash pit feature, as there was no stratigraphy apparent in the deposit. The depth of the trash pit feature varied between 80cm at the south end, to just 30cm in the west and north extents. The top 20cm of soil in the eastern half of the unit consisted of an ashen, black loam interspersed with charcoal and large quantities of burned coral, composing the remains of quicklime production. The northeastern 1x1m unit yielded 153

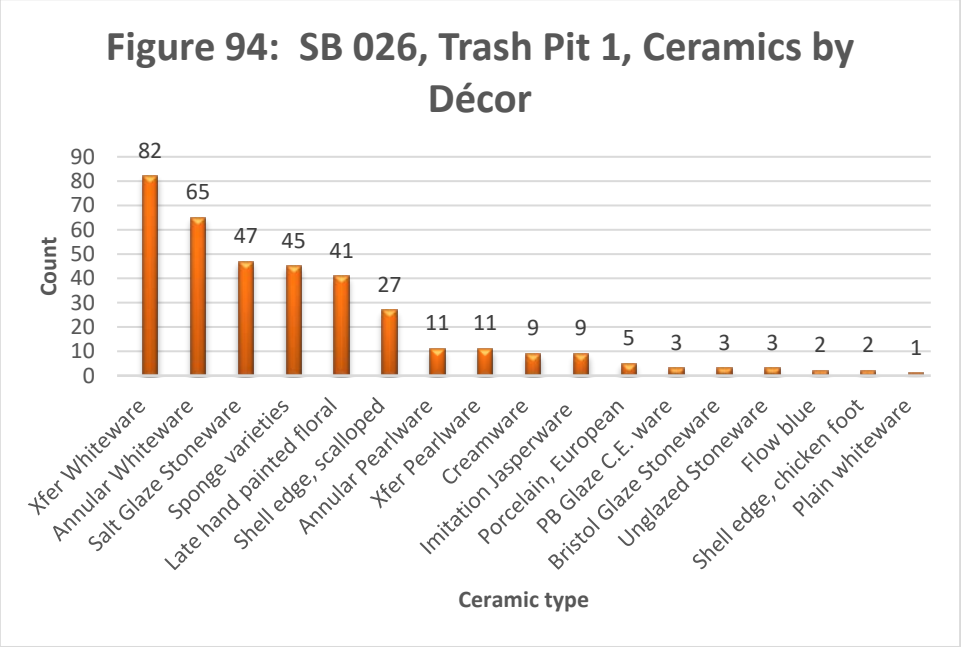
burned coral fragments from this layer, for an average count of 459 fragments in the aforementioned area. There were no sherds of melted or heat-stressed glass recovered from the pit, thus this top layer probably represents the discarded contents of kitchen ovens rather than from fires in the pit itself.

By and large, the majority of artifacts recovered are from glass bottles, predominately green case bottles. The composition is outlined in the figure below. The 12 artifacts referenced are metal, and the two counts of one represent the porcelain button and a red brick fragment.



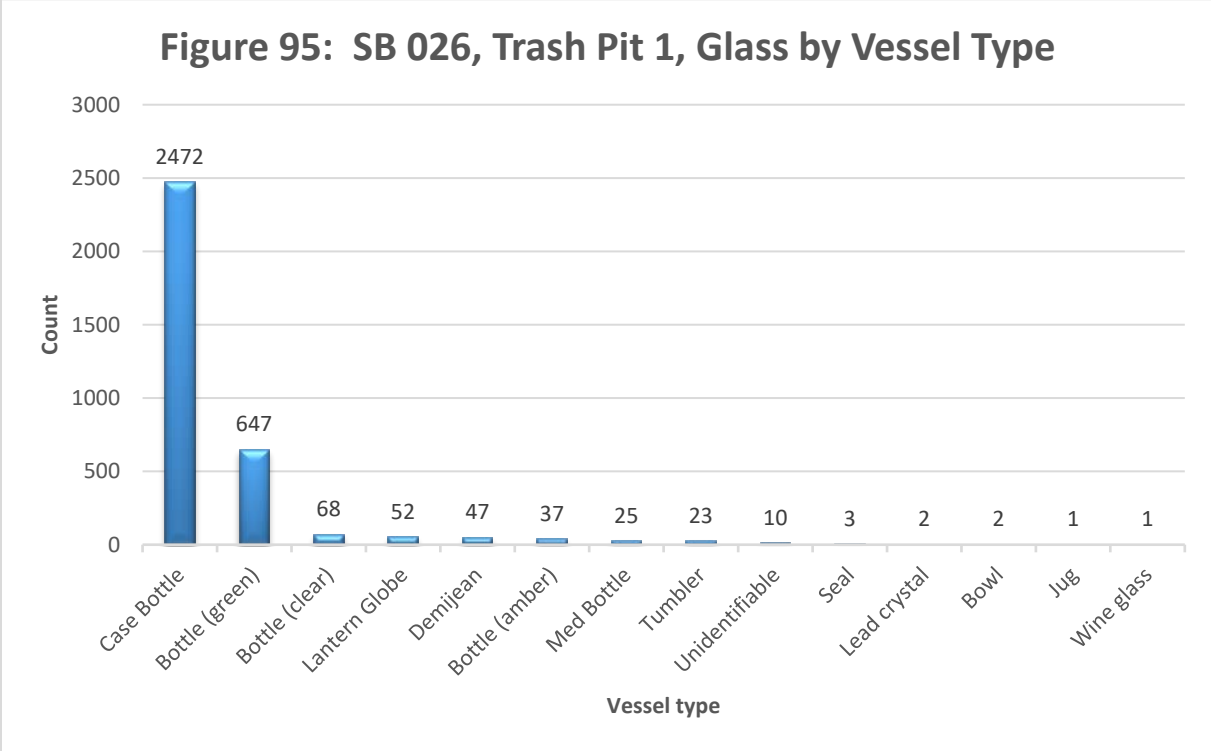
The mean ceramic date for the namesake assemblage is 1842. The glass assemblage, however, is large enough to provide a better indication for dating, given the short span between their production and deposition compared to ceramics. A qualitative assessment of the glass assemblage places it between the mid nineteenth to the early twentieth century.

Regarding the ceramic assemblage, mid nineteenth century varieties of whiteware predominate, especially later blue-banded annular ware, late hand painted polychrome floral wares, cut sponge wares, and later varieties of transfer print ware. There was a very notable lack of coarse earthenware in the ceramic assemblage, comprising only 13 sherds, 10 of which were from a single brown lead-glaze, orange bodied large bowl. Two sherds were from a burnished, tan-bodied vessel, probably a jug, with a "VVVV" pattern incised horizontally around the shoulder. This same ceramic type was found at Trash Pit 2, numbering 16 sherds with a probable MNI of 1, and 37 sherds of an identical vessel were recovered at SB 036 in Level 2 (20cm – 40cm), an early nineteenth century context with a MCD of 1827. Its origin of manufacture has not been determined.



While there were a variety of decorative stiles present in the assemblage, these were mainly confined to transfer print whiteware, annular varieties on whiteware, sponge varieties, and late hand painted floral designs on whiteware.

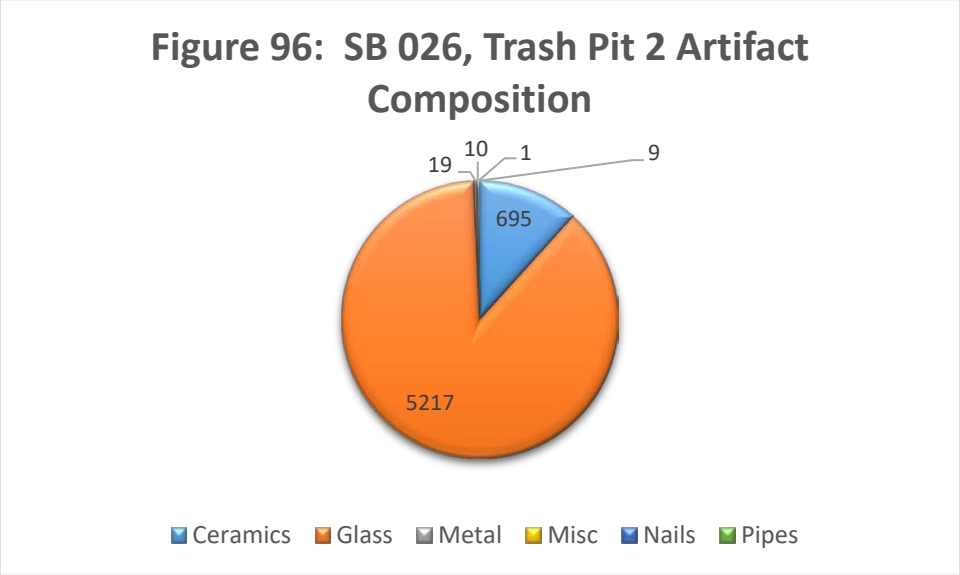
The glass assemblage is the second largest the author has amassed on the island from a single feature, next to Trash Pit 2 and Middle Island. It likely represents a small fraction of the actual alcohol consumption that took place at the site, as this refuse pit is located adjacent to the edge of a steep drop that leads down to the gut that separates Middle Island from Cow Pasture. Further east, approximately 40 meters, the site ends abruptly in a cliff that drops 100 meters down to the sea. It would have been easier, and perhaps more practical, to dispose of intact or broken glass over these edges rather than in a pit. In addition, as no rocks were placed on top of the assemblage to conceal their presence, the glass deposited at Trash Pit 1 was publicly visible, and thus indicative of alcohol consumption that was not done in secret, and without a general regard to conceal evidence. A potpourri of alcohol was consumed based upon the assemblage, including Bordeaux Red Wine by Julien Médoc, P.F. Heering Cherry Liqueur from Denmark, and large quantities of Dutch gins. Wine was also purchased by the demijean, evidenced by 47 sherds. A French olive oil bottle seal was found as well, by James Plaignol of Marseille. A comparatively small number of artifacts were recovered outside of ceramics, glass, and burnt coral. These included one 125mm diameter lead musket ball, three fragments of a cast iron pot, a .22 magnum rimfire bullet casing, and a large iron hinge.



Trash Pit 1 was not located near Houses 1, 2, or 3, but given the proximity to the long, flat terraces on the western extents of the site, this may be an assemblage associated with thatch houses in this area. The large quantity of glass recovered between a hollow in a terrace fits a deposition pattern seen across Saba. At Behind-the-Ridge, SB 030, a considerable assemblage of artifacts, including a large collection of glass and marine faunal remains, was recovered by SABARC from the surface after a Caterpillar excavator pulled away some large rocks from a terrace during the construction of a new house. Trash Pit 2 at Middle Island is composed of over 75% glass, while the trash pit at Palmetto Point contains a similar proportion.

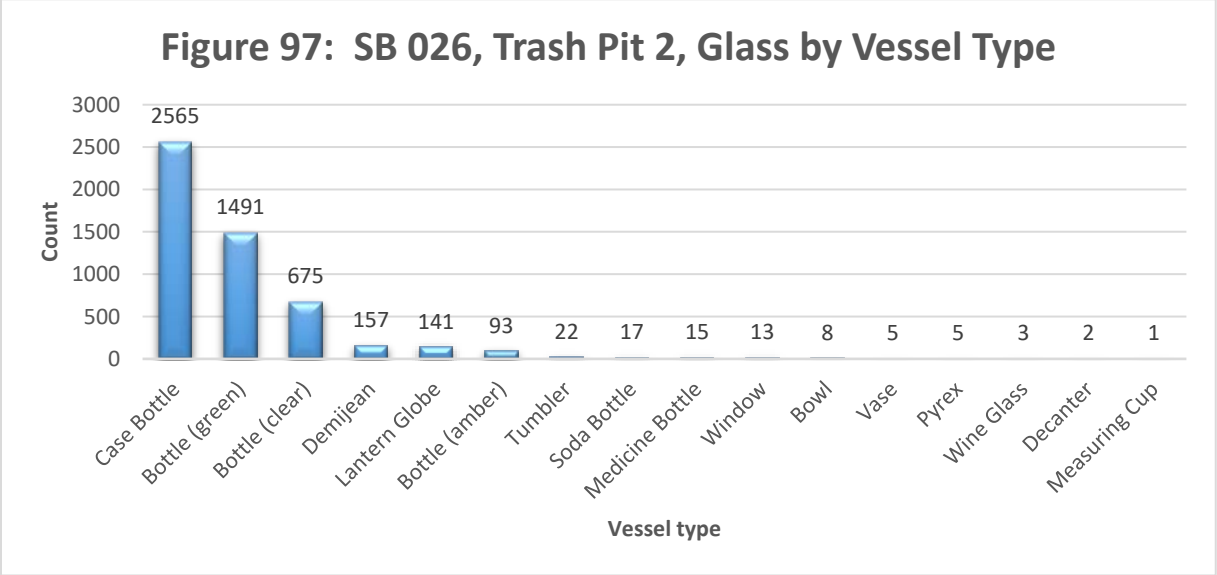
Trash Pit 2

Trash Pit 2 is actually associated with House 2, situated in the northwest of a terrace approximately 4m equidistant from the house and the closest grave maker. Similar to Trash Pit 1, this pit was created by removing rocks from a pre-existing terrace to create a hollow to contain refuse, consisting largely of discarded liquor bottles. The excavation unit for Trash Pit 2 followed the feature extents along all faces except the south, where a limit was delineated arbitrarily.

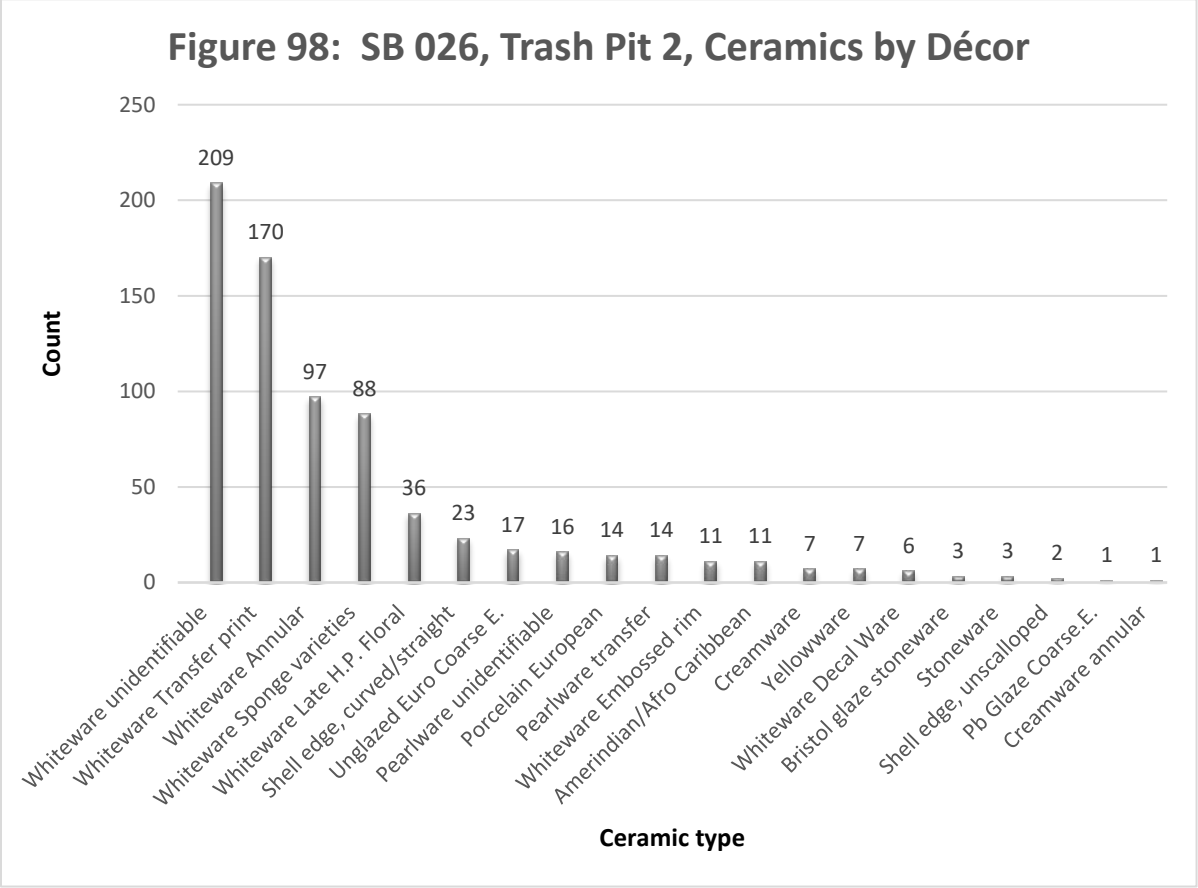


This resulted in a unit that measured 260cm in length, 100cm wide, and an average of 60cm depth. There was no stratigraphy visible in the deposit, but the artifact concentration in the unit was so thick that in the upper 50cm that there was almost no soil present, and thus to avoid damaging artifacts with the trowel within this level, artifacts were instead all removed by hand. Some ceramics recovered within Trash Pit 2, such as large fragments of a yellowware bowl and a late annular ware bowl, had matching vessel fragments recovered from the surface between graves 1 and 2, approximately 8m south.

The MCD for Trash Pit 2 is 1857, fifteen years later than Trash Pit 1. The glass assemblage suggests a date between the early nineteenth to the early twentieth century, no later than 1930. However, the glass assemblage is most strongly represented from around 1850 to the early twentieth century. Glass comprised approximately 87.6% of the total assemblage, with a minority of ceramics at 11.7%, and a comparatively negligible number of other artifact types such as red and Ijssel brick fragments, nine undecorated clay pipe stem fragments, one cut nail, and some unidentifiable fragments of metal. These latter artifacts did not occur in sufficient quantities to provide temporal data save for the cut nail, which is indicative of the nineteenth century. Of some interest are six pieces of a copper alloy round, perforated sheet which may be the remains of a skimmer used in sugar boiling. A 29mm diameter lead disk was also recovered, perforated through the middle, with a second attempted perforation nearby which extends halfway into the disk. Its use is uncertain, perhaps it was used as a fishing weight.



Known types of alcohol present in the bottle assemblage include cognac, cherry liqueur, wine and gin. The variety of glass vessel types present in Trash Pit 2 is mostly limited to round bottles and case bottles. However, the near-even proportion of the two present in this unit differs significantly from that of Trash Pit 1, where there are 776 round bottles to 2472 case bottles, or a ratio of approximately 1:3. This is indicative of a preference for strong spirits such as gin over wine and liqueurs by those responsible for the Trash Pit 1 assemblage, compared to more preference for variety by the inhabitants of House 2. The location of Trash Pit 2 is auspicious. It was a rubbish pit primarily for discarded alcohol bottles located in the front of the house, and adjacent to the family graveyard, in open view. The bottles do not appear to have been (often) reused for water bottles as three whole bottles were recovered from the pit, including a whole second-generation P.F. Heering cherry liqueur bottle. This is very revealing about the social acceptance of alcohol and alcohol consumption at Middle Island, as it was not located in a hidden or concealed place, least of most not in the back of the house. House 2 is also located close to the edge of the gut which separates Middle Island from Cow Pasture, and the trailhead to the latter begins beside Cisterns 2 and 3. The inhabitants probably refrained from discarding glass over the edge down into the gut as sherds would inevitably come to rest upon the trail, and opted instead for what became Trash Pit 2.



Trash Pit 3

This area was located by the author well after the end of excavations at SB 026. While assemblage was not excavated, it still provides some comparative data. Trash Pit 3 is a hollow formed by removing stones from the top of the dry stone wall that extends downslope as an extension of the southern wall of an upslope animal pen. It appears that bottles were deposited in the hollow and subsequently covered with rocks in order to hide their presence. Approximately 20kg of glass was observed within Trash Pit 3, mostly straight-sided dip moulded round green glass bottles and curved-bottom case bottles, both with free-blown and applied tooled finishes. This assemblage appears to date from the late eighteenth century to around 1860.

House 4

House 4 is located on a terrace directly below House 1, and consists of a dry stone foundation measuring approximately 370cm east to west, and 420cm north to south. It is perched flush to the edge of the lowest terrace in the northern half of Middle Island. Two sherds of tin enamel ware were and one sherd of late hand painted whiteware were noted on the surface. The remains of what is probably a grave were found 250 north of the foundation, measuring approximately 180cm north to

south, and about 60cm east to west. The head-stone is placed in the northern end of the grave, thus aligning the interred individual to face south.



Figure 99: Middle Island, House 4, probable grave.

House 5

House 5 consists of a short, tall terrace, upon which rests a small dry stone foundation. Its location was betrayed late into this research by a fruit-laden tangerine free visible from House 4, a considerable distance away. House 5 is actually situated north of the Middle Island gut, and about 10m north again of the Wells Bay road. The foundations are approximately 80cm wide, measuring 350cm east to west, and 325cm north to south. There was apparent care taken to ensure that a flat and straight inside edge was created during the placement of rocks for the foundation. There is a large rock, approximately 90cm x 80cm x 70cm, which rests upon a smaller rock, which together form the entire east wall, and project over top of the foundation. The north and south dry stone walls are braced by the boulder, and terminate behind it as seen in Figure 100 below. This fits the pattern of similar structures seen at Spring Bay, Spring Bay Flat, and Hell's Gate. The dry stone terrace is located about 8m west of the foundation, and averages about 2m in height. Three tangerine trees were noted in the immediate area; one just below the terrace, and two within the house foundations. The fruit has a thick rind, and is both sweet and tart. There are few other tangerine trees known on the island. There is a narrow strip of flat land immediately north of the foundation, somewhat clear of rocks and

boulders, which may have been used for subsistence agriculture. The rest of the surrounding land is quite steep, usually greater than 45 degrees in slope, strewn with boulders, and showing signs of frequent erosion, making it unsuitable for agriculture. There were no other terraces noted in this area. Two sherds of whiteware were noted below the southern wall of the house foundation. Notably, a very smooth, flat-faced grinding stone was found beside the house foundation.



Figure 100: Middle Island, House 5, view of the house foundation boulder, facing west.



Figure 101: Flat-faced, smooth grinding stone near the foundations of House 5.

Other burials at Middle Island

A cluster of five dry stone outline graves are found beginning about 600cm southwest of Cistern 5. They are aligned to face east, and there are two pairs situated closely to one another, and situated on a terrace above the fifth burial, suggesting that at least both members of each pair shared a family relationship. However, these burials are not associated with any visible house foundations; rather, these burials are located in an area that almost certainly hosted a series of thatch houses, as the terraces found throughout this lower area created the only available stretches of flat land for house construction. However, given the population increase due to an influx of free African descent Sabans from 1848 to 1865, the five graves found in this area does not reflect the number of residents that would have been found in this area; indeed, only a total of 17 graves were located throughout the entirety of archaeological work at the site. Of course, there are probably other graves that have yet to be located, either because they were missed during survey, or their markers have been buried due to erosion, root activity, and leaf litter, or destroyed over time. Nonetheless, the survey was quite extensive, and it appears that, especially for this part of Middle Island that hosted the thatch houses, not all inhabitants were observing Saban house-yard burial traditions. This may reflect an observance of other burial practices, such as those employed by enslaved Africans, or simply that individuals were buried according to a particular tradition without the use of markers. Further work is needed in this area to determine the reasons.

Middle Island in context

Middle Island provided a wealth of comparative data, both within the site itself, and in relation to others across Saba. By the nineteenth century the site was composed of both white and African-descent households, (though more the latter), which creates difficulties in correlating particular assemblages to island-specific notions of race, since the only definitive correlation of a household to a structure were the Beals in House 2. There was only one enslaved African known to have lived at Middle Island prior to 1863, which sets Middle Island apart from Palmetto Point. Relative levels of class, though, can be ascertained through both material record contexts and house architecture. Alcohol consumption was prevalent at Middle Island throughout the nineteenth century, as it was at Palmetto Point, but curiously less so with the SB 036 trash pit. In certain households, such as House 2, the residents even disposed of their empty bottles in the front of their house; however, this was viewed by others, they did not shy away from alcohol consumption and public evidence thereof. This contrasts with alcohol bottle deposition patterns in other parts of Saba, wherein they are hidden from overt view, such as between large stones in walls at SB 026 (Trash Pit 3) and SB 030, and the privy pit of SB 036. The preference for transfer print wares across assemblages at Middle Island is clear, and

particularly the relative lack of coarse earthenwares, especially non-European coarse earthenware, which could be either Afro-Caribbean or Amerindian in origin. Their absence is conspicuous given the prevalence of free African-descent families at Middle Island, and this may very well represent a conscious association of Afro-Caribbean wares with slavery. Thus denying or limiting their household use was a means of disassociating oneself from an identity as a slave. This will be discussed further in the following chapter.

Other relevant sites

SB 039: Upper Hell's Gate animal shelter

The site SB 039 was found by the author in 2013, and consists of a series of low, dry stone terraces, and an intact shelter identical to Structure A at Spring Bay Flat. It is located just 10m west of the end of the Upper Hell's Gate road, accessible from the beginning of the Sandy Cruz hiking trail. Interestingly, it is still in use, probably as a shelter for livestock. Excavation within the structure would have been difficult given the abundance of wasp nests within and around it. It consists of two dry stone walls, each projecting 220cm from the eastern face of a boulder, 180cm high, the walls 40cm thick at the base, and separated by 80cm. Therefore, the interior of the structure measures 180cm tall, 220cm long, and 80cm wide. The opening is oriented west, and the top is covered by a sheet of galvanized tin, supported by several rocks placed on top as weights. No artifacts were noted on the surface, or in the surrounding area. Small dry stone terraces were visible west of the structure, which may be remnants of divides used in a pasture ground. In this case, the structure was likely used as an animal shelter in former times.









Figure 102 (above): SB 039, facing northeast.

Figure 103 (below): SB 039, facing north.

Figure 104 (above): SB 039, facing northwest

Figure 105 (below): SB 039, facing east.

SB 022: Little Rendezvouz

The Rendezvous (pronounced as "Randy-hoo" by Sabans) is a descriptive name given to this region dating back to the seventeenth century, as a defensible and centralized area for residents of The Bottom, St. John's, and Windwardside to fall back upon if the island came under threat of land invasion (Johnson 2014). It has since been used as an agricultural site up to the twentieth century, with some areas still tended by individuals and the Ecolodge, mostly to grow bananas. While the site itself is not central to this research, a photo provided by Will Johnson (personal communication, 2014), shows Ulric Hassell at the Rendezvous tending to a calf in the 1960's, and features a twin-walled dry stone structure built into a dry stone terrace. The second photo shows a boy with a cow, with the same structure in the background. A hewn, square wooden beam is planted along the inside edge of one of the walls as support, and a pile of branches, logs, and hewn lumber are laid between the walls to serve as a roof. Surveys of the Rendezvous so far have not turned up evidence of this structure from the photograph, or anything similar. Regardless, the photo demonstrates that this style of structure served as livestock shelters, but similar structures at Spring Bay Flat and Spring Bay, discussed later, also show that they were used as housing for enslaved Africans.





Figure 106, above: Ulric Hassell and a calf, showing the dry stone shelter incorporated into the wall. Photo courtesy of Will Johnson.

Figure 107, below: Saban boy and cow, showing the dry stone shelter in the background. Photo courtesy of Will Johnson.

SB 050: Thais Hill trash pit

This site was found by the author in 2015 on the eastern flank of Thais Hill near St. John's, and consists of a scattered deposit of early to mid-twentieth century glass bottles around several large boulders. Notably, the bottles consist of a variety of sizes, from less than 250ml to well over 1000ml. Repeatedly carrying water in a series of small bottles out to work would be impractical, and therefore this assemblage is more indicative of alcohol consumption than their re-use and subsequent deposition as water bottles. The bottles were not collected, and the site was not excavated. The majority of the bottles are located on the upslope end of the boulders, which would have provided an excellent, sheltered location to discretely consume alcohol out of view from the village of St. John's.

SB 025: Cow Pasture village cistern

The region known as Cow Pasture is located on a tract of land between The Ladder and Middle Island, and formed a part of the Dinzey plantation. At least four houses are found in the village (Haviser 1985), which dates from the nineteenth to mid twentieth century. While the site has not been excavated to date, the author has frequented the site on several occasions. The village site identified by Haviser has three cisterns, one of which had not collapsed. At the bottom this cistern, five intact machine made glass bottles were found, dating from the early to mid twentieth century. These were originally alcohol bottles, mostly for gin. Their intact condition and context at the bottom of the cistern demonstrates their reuse as water bottles.

Closing Remarks

The results of excavations outlined in this chapter have provided a considerable wealth of archaeological data across a range of temporal, spatial, and social contexts. In particular, the archaeological record has highlighted a spectrum of material vectors through which ideologies of class, race, and gender within Saba be expressed. Those vectors analyzed in depth include spatial distribution of settlements across Saba, spatial distribution of buildings on plantations, domestic architecture, diet, burial practices, cistern ownership, livestock ownership, ownership of enslaved Africans, and among some elements of material culture such as ceramics, alcohol bottles, and domestic furniture. The following chapter will interpret the archaeological data derived from sites presented in Chapters 5 and 6, together with relevant data from the documentary and oral history records, and contextualize them within local and regional levels.

Chapter 7: Interpreting Race, Class, and Gender in Saba's Domestic Spaces and Material Culture

Chapters 5 and 6 have presented the results of archaeological excavations across a wide variety sites across Saba's plantation and non-planation contexts. The discussion will now proceed to interpretations of Saba's domestic space and material culture through data garnered through these excavations coupled with documentary evidence garnered from the sources outlined in Chapter 4.

Housing, domestic architecture, and cisterns

The house and home ownership occupies a central place in Saban class consciousness; in fact, there are no recorded instances of rental arrangements or payments for Sabans in the documentary record prior to 1863. Therefore, by studying types of house ownership and archaeological remains of domestic structures, important insights into class and race can be gleamed by their remains and associated archaeological deposits. The relationship between home ownership and class consciousness in capitalist social contexts has been a common object of study by numerous academics in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. While Saba was not a capitalist society prior to emancipation, the primacy of house architecture and home maintenance in Saban culture allows some parallels to be drawn between the two.

House ownership, architecture, and maintenance was and continues to be one of the predominant means among Sabans for projecting class. Houses, regardless of their size, were carefully maintained throughout Saba's colonial period with a pride and particularity to detail not seen in other regional islands (Labat 1724:342; Teenstra 1977:367; Price 1934:49-50). "Sabans' pride in maintaining their own appearance that that of their homes," quoted an administrator in the 1960's, is such that "they still do even if it means going without bread" (Crane 1971:237). Class consciousness relative to house maintenance was exemplified by Governor Edward Beaks Jr. in a series of exchanges with the Governor of Curaçao in the 1850's. Beaks placed his house at the disposal of the Government for holding meetings, since he considered the Church in The Bottom, which his predecessors used, to be an unsuitable location for conducting such affairs (NArC AN NAC 4 Gouverneur 103 RT:12/6/1858). Due to his declining income after taxes were annulled for manumitting enslaved Africans, for which he received *f*20 each, his annual income steadily declined each year from *f*1,300 in 1852, to a point by 1858 where the Governor of Curaçao could, "with much accuracy, judge the embarrassed state I am

placed in, to maintain myself, + family, with even the common necessities of life, added to which, to defray certain unavoidable expenses in my Government, with so small an income…" (NArC AN NAC 4 Gouverneur 103 RT:12/6/1858, original emphasis). The use of Beaks' own house to hold government sessions placed it in a very prominent position in the public eye, which led him to become increasingly embarrassed regarding its state and appearance to Sabans. "…And whereas my house is now requiring considerable repairs, and not having it in my power, to put it in a proper condition – I beg leave, with much submission, to solicit Your Excellencys assistance of *f*500 or *f*600 to enable me, to put the necessary repairs to it" (NArC AN NAC 4 Gouverneur 103 RT:12/6/1858, original emphasis). A sum of *f*600 was eventually granted by the Governor of Curaçao to Saba, though intentionally vague, "to be employ'd in acts of charity" (NArC AN NAC 4 Gouverneur 103 RT:11/3/1862). This response created a humiliating position for Beaks, as he was forced to choose between dealing with an acute affront to his class consciousness with the state of his house, or providing it to others in the island who would benefit from it at a subsistence level. The sum, however, was first forwarded to the Governor of St. Eustatius, who remorselessly kept it for himself instead, as he claimed that he had no instructions to send it to Saba (NArC AN NAC 4 Gouverneur 103 RT:14/5/1862). Beaks reiterated his request to use the funds for his house repairs, "that if it is not in Your Excellencys power, to grant to me, the aid that I so much require to support myself + family with; and to repair my house, that Your Excellency will as early as practicable, submit my grievous situation to His Excellency, The Minister of the Colonies… to obtain, an annual allowance for me, and be the means, of preventing myself, + family, from experiencing in future, actual want etc. etc." (NArC AN NAC 4 Gouverneur 103 RT:13/11/1862, original emphasis). The money was eventually obtained by Beaks and put towards his house renovations.

The term *estate* in the Saban documentary record describes a house, its associated land, and the material possessions of the household, and appears most often in context among sales of the aforementioned following the death of the head of a household. The estates of free African descent Sabans did not appear to be large, as any lands that are mentioned were referred to as "spots", and houses were not explicitly mentioned in most entries which implicitly reflects their low value. Thatch houses constructed on these spots of land would also have carried little in terms of monetary value compared to a "traditional" Saban house. The relatively low values of estates among free Sabans of African descent prior to emancipation may have led the heirs of estates to settle them to them amongst themselves rather than having to incur court and secretarial fees for bringing the issue before the Vendue Master or the Delegated Bench of Justice, which would explain their scarcity in the documentary record.

Visitors to the island since Labat in 1701 have remarked upon the island's cleanliness and the efforts that homeowners put towards maintaining and beautifying their house (Labat 1724:342;

Teenstra 1977:367, 377; Kruythoff 1939:102). The earliest accounts of land valuation are found in the Vendue Book 1780-1825. The value of lands offered for auction in this record and the 1820-1870 sales book range from plots so small that they are often only termed "a spot of land", selling for 3 pieces of eight, to 200 pieces of eight for land "in the mountain", to 400 pieces of eight for the whole of "Break Hart Hill". Unfortunately, lands were not surveyed to provide any indication of their area, and their locations are not always documented. Rather, they were described relative to their location to other known areas, such as "joining Thomas Darsey" or "in Flat Point", or to a physical feature such as "by the coconut trees". Out of a total of 69 sales of land which did not include a house or cistern, 58 were valued below 100 pieces of eight, and 49 were priced below 50 pieces of eight. The Sales Book 1820-1870, unfortunately, rarely lists the cost paid for goods, including land transactions. However, one entry in particular is quite detailed. On 25 September, 1835, 17 x 9 fathoms (506.79m square) composing "a small spot of land" was sold for 12 pieces of eight, lying "at the foot of the hill to the left hand side going to the gap, bounded as follows: to the south with Thomas Dinzey, to the North West, adjoining the land of Miss Pleasant Hassell, to the East or foot adjoining the common road" (SVB:25/9/1835). This would have been a property located in the periphery of The Bottom, situated at the southwest of the settlement, at the foot of Paris Hill, on the west side of The Gap, which is the gut dividing Paris Hill from Fort Hill. This provides some insight relative to the size of lands referred to as a "spot".

Thomas Dinzey was the largest landowner in Saba by the late eighteenth century, and upon his death in the 1820's, a partial probate inventory of his estate included 16 separate tracts of land across the island, the four-hectare sugar plantation in The Bottom, and 52 enslaved Africans (SBRM 4/1/1831), making him both the largest owner of both lands and enslaved Africans likely to have ever lived on Saba. His lands encompassed half of The Bottom, most of the land around Paris Hill and Great Hill, and all of the Tent, the Ladder, Cow Pasture, Middle Island, the Bush except for a few pockets that were sold as "spots of land" (SBRM:27/1/1827). Together these lands occupy approximately 200 hectares (the majority too steep or rocky for sugar cultivation), or about 14% of the island's surface area. This inventory of his estate was valued at 9025.0.0 pieces of eight (SBRM:271/1827). Unfortunately, his house and other possessions were not tallied in the document. In terms of Saba's upper classes throughout the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, Dinzey can be considered the known extreme. The largest breadth and value of material goods listed in Saban probate inventories was that of Peter Mardenborough, which included 7 plots of land totaling pcs. 551, 10 enslaved Africans at pcs. 1,930, one cow at pcs. 50, household furniture valued at pcs. 102, a "house and place" at pcs 400, and a half share in a canoe at pcs. 2.6. (DNAr 1.05.13.01 #542:5/20/1785).

However, when brought into a regional social context, Dinzey's and Mardenborough's class are considerably more modest.

Johannes de Graaf was a former governor along with a wealthy plantation owner on St. Eustatius. Following his death in 1808, his estate was inventoried and appraised by British authorities occupying the island at the time, which included his plantations, industrial buildings, lands, enslaved Africans, and household materials, valued at 246,382 pcs eight. He owned 33 tracts of land, many of which included houses and cisterns. In addition, he owned seven sugar plantations (Concordia, Benners, Berg & Heuvel, Vreeders Oort, Calabash Tree, Bredal, Solomon's Temple, and Fair Play), complete with all relevant infrastructure for processing sugar. The plantations and all other lands, including houses and cisterns, were valued at approximately 180,000 pcs eight. Scattered across the plantations were 134 enslaved Africans consisting of 50 men, 41 women with 8 children, 19 boys, and 16 girls. He also owned 60 enslaved Africans "about the town", nine "watchmen in different places", 18 tradesmen including five carpenters, five masons, two coopers, four shoemakers, one tailor, and one barber, and 15 house servants, thirteen of which were women and girls. Together these enslaved Africans were valued at 59,875 pcs eight. A supplementary inventory of de Graaf's estate is held at the National Archives in Curaçao (AN 298), and lists additional land holdings: a spot of land in Lower Town; two spots of land around the Anglican Church in The Bottom, one spot of land near the trail to St. John's; and "a spot of land called Round Hill". The addendum states that he also owned one dozen enslaved Africans that worked as his personal agents on other islands: three men on St. Thomas, a woman on Trinidad, two men on St. Bartholomew, and three men whose location was abroad but unknown. Three men were also listed for Saba. They were probably agents, but may have been formerly engaged on de Graaf's plantation(s) on the island.

Dinzey's holdings are significantly smaller in area and value than de Graff's. This is also clearly evident in the probate inventory of de Graff's sundry items in his house are discussed in the following section on material culture, though unfortunately no such inventory is available for Dinzey. Regardless, it is clear that Dinzey's class must be considered in both a local and regional context, as while he represented the highest class household on Saba, his landholdings and material goods are far more comparable to a small plantation owner or a successful merchant in contemporary St. Eustatius.

Houses on Saba were not always wholly owned by one individual or married couple. While little is known about the nuances of house ownership prior to 1780, there are many instances in the nineteenth century where an individual or group could own half of a house, or even as little as ten per cent (SNB:4/12/1857). A similar circumstance existed for cisterns. In the Vendue Book 1780-1825, there are three instances of "land, house, and cistern", two of "house and land", and one of "land" sold for half ownership. In every case, these are priced between 16 to 80 pieces of eight, which, as

previously discussed, fall among the lower tiers of house and land values on Saba even when their sale price is doubled to represent the approximate price for the whole.

Cistern ownership could also be used as a form of social leveraging within Saba's internal economy. Not every household owned a cistern as their construction was relatively expensive; some were owned in shares with other households or individuals, while others had no access at all and relied instead upon well water or from water caught on rooftops and stored in water jars. At Middle Island, for example, the population reached up to 75 residents in 1865, but the village harboured only five cisterns, two of which were built side-by-side and owned by the inhabitants of House #2. Water consumption models based upon average monthly rainfall, cistern size, and catchment areas, combined a series of water consumption volumes per person per day, determined that the cisterns at Middle Island were incapable of supplying even minimal water requirements for the entire village in 1865, necessitating many inhabitants to obtain water through other means (Espersen 2013:21-22). Those who did not own or have shares in a cistern, especially those living in thatch houses, would instead have to obtain their water from the small well at the village, or at Well's Bay. Otherwise they would have had to obtain water through Middle Island's internal economy, creating the potential for powered relationships between those with access to water through cisterns, and those without, especially in times of drought. This situation was not unique to Middle Island, and would have occurred across the whole island.

Frans Brugman, an architectural historian, conducted an architectural survey of houses in The Bottom, Windwardside, Hell's Gate, and St. John's to uncover elements that could constitute a unique "Saban tradition" of domestic architecture. Brugman (1995:59-60) defined the "Saban house" as follows:

> It is only one storey in height and of timber-framed construction on a stone plinth. The exterior walls are covered with rectangular wooden shingles which are painted white. The sash-windows are three panes wide and two times two panes high, and are fitted with shutters. Also the doors have stormshutters. The shutters are generally painted green and white… The roofs – generally painted red – have a right angle proportion with a rise of 3, a run of 4 and a pitch of 5; with its nominal angle of 37 degrees… The oldest type here is the hipped roof; in addition the gabled roof is frequently found…

Saban wooden houses were typically rectangular, and commonly constructed with mortise-and-tenon joints (Brugman 1995:27, 30). This allows the house to bend along the joints against lateral forces, granting them excellent resistance to hurricanes (Brugman 1995:30). Mortise and tenon construction was also used in ship construction, which is notable given that Sabans constructed ships up to 60 tons on the island itself, and was also home to many sea captains. This method of construction also allowed a house to be easily dismantled and moved piecemeal to another location if necessary, which occurred

when Palmetto Point was evacuated in 1934. One of the former village's houses was relocated to Hell's Gate, and inhabited by Pearl Zagers, who was born and raised in Palmetto Point (Brugman 1995:67; Pearl Zagers, personal communication 2008). The layout of her house is depicted in Figure 13 below. Roofs were shingled with either cedar or walaba wood. Tongue and groove flooring is present in some houses, but this would not have occurred prior to 1855 (Brugman 1995:27). House 1 at Middle Island evidently had earlier flooring with gaps between the floorboards, since excavations in within the house foundations recovered many small and thin objects such as coins, marbles, fish scales, and glass beads. Brugman's survey noted that no Saban houses were constructed with brick except for chimneys and hearths. Domestic masonry construction materials were commonly limited to locally modified andesite cobbles that were shaped either into what are known on Saba as "face stones"; a cobble wherein on face is modified to be flat, and aligned to the structure's exterior. These were bonded with locally produced mortar to construct cisterns, village walls, and house foundations. In other instances, local andesite cobbles are fully modified into rectangular blocks to construct house foundations, such as House 1 at Middle Island.

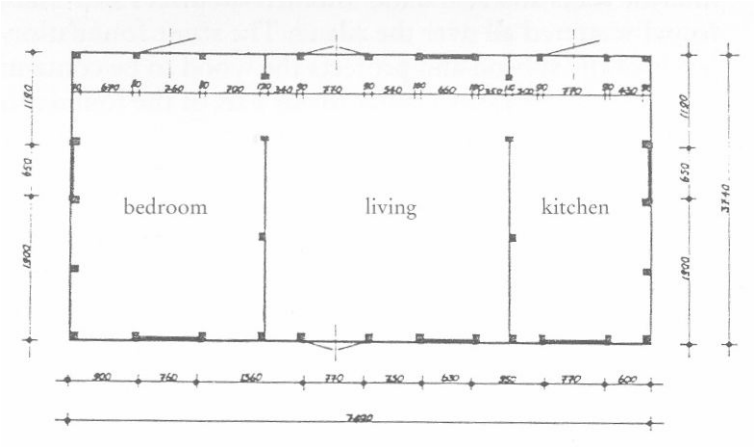


Figure 108: Layout of Pearl Zagers' house in Hell's Gate relocated from Palmetto Point (Brugman 1995:66). External measurements in millimeters.

Saban houses are typically rectangular, but, as Brugman observed, Sea Captains' houses somewhat larger and more elaborately decorated (Brugman 1995:30). The smallest houses included in Brugman's survey were divided into three rooms, consisting of one bedroom, a dining room with a kitchen, and a living room, "better developed than the simple ordinary kunuku houses of the Leeward Islands, which usually consist of only two areas" (Brugman 1995:30). Larger cottages were partitioned so as to include two additional rooms (Brugman 1995:31). The symmetry typical of Saban houses,

Brugman mused, “could encompass hidden traditional reasons by shipwrights to do such above the minimum demands for functionality” (Brugman 1995:31).

The smallest house surveyed by Brugman measured 769cm x 374cm, for an area of 28.76m2. However, none of these houses had dry stone (no mortar used) foundations. This is because his study did not include the extant house foundations in the historic peripheral villages on Saba, such as Cow Pasture, Middle Island, and Palmetto Point, none of which were inhabited beyond the 1950’s, and any pre-existing dry stone foundations in The Bottom, Windwardside, St. John’s, and Hell’s Gate would have been since reconstructed as either cut stone and mortar or cement foundations. As seen in Chapter 6, the aforementioned house is very close to the average house dimensions and area of all house foundations at Palmetto Point. However, there are seven houses with smaller areas, with five houses at about 25m2 or less; the smallest at Palmetto Point was just 520cm x 3560cm for an area of 18.60m2. All houses at the site were set upon dry stone foundations (no mortar used) except for House 5, which not coincidently had a cut stone block and mortar foundation and happened to be the largest at 810cm x 540cm; an area of 43.99m2. The few extant house foundations at Middle Island consist of two cut stone and mortar foundations for Houses 1 and 2. House 1 measured approximately 440cm x 600cm, or 26.40m2. House 2, the largest at Middle Island, measures 588cm x 512cm, for an area of 30.10m2, slightly above the size of Brugman’s smallest surveyed house. Houses 4 and 5 are small, square dry stone foundations, just 16.59m2 and 12.73m2 area. However, these small houses are not limited to Middle Island and Palmetto Point. An abandoned, small, two room house can be found between the Crispeen Track and The Bottom, which measures just 340cm x 450cm. This house was not surveyed by Brugman, and it would have been more akin to those that were located upon the smaller foundations at Palmetto Point and Middle Island, and the house displayed in Figure 111 from The Gap, an area of The Bottom.

The abundance of dry stone foundations at Palmetto Point was not seen to the same degree in The Bottom, Windwardside, St. John’s, and Hell’s Gate. None were noted in Brugman’s survey of these villages. While these foundations likely existed to a certain degree in these villages while Palmetto Point was settled, to date few historical photos from the nineteenth century known to the author show dry stone foundations in The Bottom, Windwardside, or St. John’s; most are cut stone and mortar. An undated photograph from The Bottom shows a dry stone foundation, home to free Sabans of African descent. Excavations of Structure 2 at SB 037 by SABARC from May-June 2014 revealed a well cobbled dry stone foundation of an early colonial house which did not survive the hurricane of 1772. Constructing a dry stone foundation rather than a cut stone and mortar foundation is both less labour intensive and a cheaper option. In addition, the dry stone foundations Palmetto Point and Middle Island are mostly equivalent or less in area to Brugman’s smallest surveyed house

size of “traditional houses” on Saba, with the exceptions of Houses 4 and 9 at Palmetto Point, which are 43.74m2 and 37.60m2 respectively. It is notable that a proliferation of dry stone foundations is found among a village whose residents and their descendants are considered to be socially “backwards” or low class by their Saban contemporaries. There is a tangible relationship between class and house foundations, if at least by the nineteenth century.



Figure 109: Undated photograph from The Bottom. Courtesy of Will Johnson.

Brugman’s observation about the complete absence of brick masonry in traditional Saban domestic architecture is important, because all known sugar boiling houses on Saba, SB 001, SB 004, and SB 007, incorporate bricks in their construction, either Dutch Ijssel bricks, or red bricks, presumably English. In addition, the only known concave red ceramic roof tile found on Saba was recovered from Level 8 in Unit 2 in the boiling house at SB 001, and upon the surface of the same site near Structure 4H. This demonstrates with near certainty that SB 001 was constructed to non-local specifications and owned by non-Sabans. SB 004 is harder to correlate with Brugman’s observation since it very likely did not survive into the eighteenth century, let alone past 1665, and a “Saban style” for architecture may not have been culturally standardized by that point.

Housing and domestic architecture is clearly a strong vector on Saba for projecting class throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In particular, those houses identified that do not fit the “Saba style” as outlined by Brugman can be indicative of both class and potentially race. Ceramic

roof tiles were only found at SB 001, owned last by Simon Doncker of St. Eustatius, and brick was used as a construction material on larger houses found only at SB 037 and probably SB 007. Smaller, two room houses were not surveyed by Brugman but were found throughout Saba during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Enslaved African houses were similarly not considered by Brugman.

"The House", class, and Saban culture

The primacy of the house as a defining element of one's class in pre-emancipation Saba created a semantic and ideological divide among residents with regards to domestic structures that did not fit the "Saban style" as defined by Brugman. This at least includes enslaved African wattle and dry stone domestic structures such as Structures C, D, E, ans H at Spring Bay Flat (SB 007), Structure A (potentially) at Spring Bay (SB 001), and Structures 5 and 6 at Flat Point (SB 001); the wattle huts inhabited by free people of African descent at Middle Island (SB 026), which includes House 2; and the dry stone animal shelters such as SB 039 and SB 022 which are identical to enslaved African domestic structures found at Spring Bay Flat and Flat Point, respectively. This ideological divide is visible on the 1861 Saba census, which in addition to the population, also recorded the "number of houses, including Thatch ones, in which thee persons, are also located" (NArC AN NAC 4 Gouverneur 103 RT). The Saban definition of what constitutes a "house" did not necessarily extend to domestic structures constructed of thatch, so this had to be clearly stated upon the census. On Saba, thatch houses refer to those built of woven sticks (wattle) or with boards and nails, but with always with roof of palm fronds. A modern replica of a wattle house was constructed by the St. Eustatius Center for Archaeological Research on that island in 2013, shown in the figure below.



Figure 110: Reconstructed wattle house, built on St. Eustatius by SECAR in 2013. Courtesy of SECAR staff.



Figure 111: Thatch roof house in The Gap (section of The Bottom), circa late 19th – early 20th century. Photo courtesy of Will Johnson.

A rough scale of the house from The Gap is possible from the woman standing flush to its entrance. The house length is approximately 2.75 times her height. If she is anywhere between a height of 160cm to 200cm, then the house measures between 440cm to 550cm long. The house is clearly rectangular, therefore even if the width constitutes 75% of the length, the area falls between 14.52m2 and 22.68m2. In any case, despite the variances, this thatch house is significantly smaller than the smallest "traditional house" recorded by Brugman.

Direct archaeological evidence of thatch houses from survey and excavations were found with House #3 at Middle Island and Structure C at Spring Bay Flat. Both houses featured an interior cobbled stone floor, however, they differed in that the stones of the former were broad and flat, while that of the latter were smaller and rounded. The cobbled floors on both also extended out into a relatively square entranceway. Two postholes were also found along the southernmost (back) wall of Structure C approximately 50cm apart, each about 12cm in diameter. As discussed in Chapter 6, the broad, flat terraces downslope of House 2 and 3 at Middle Island would have also harboured thatch houses, since the 1865 census recorded 19 houses at the village, and these modified regions of the site represent the only other practical areas for habitation.

Thatch houses were located throughout villages of pre-emancipation Saba, but probably limited mostly to the peripheries of The Bottom and Windwardside. Will Johnson (personal communication 2013, 2015) recounts that "there was an area below the Chinese restaurant in

Windwardside and below Eric and Janice Johnson's house which was known as "The Alley". There were about eight black families there (Maxwell and Rose mostly). One of them an old bachelor… (was) Joe Maxwell, lived in a semi thatch house with a dirt floor which through sweeping was hard as cement. The walls were pasted with photos of Jesus and other pages from Life Magazine and the few Magazines which came to the island. This was in the nineteen fifties and I am sure that some survived in other parts of the island up and until the Second World War. Helen Peterson (aged at the 91 time) was just telling me recently that her grandfather the well-known Henry Hassell Johnson was living in a thatch house on Booby Hill before he moved to Statia as a boy and became a very successful businessman there." Thatch houses evidently were not the exclusive domain of African descent Sabans. Their association with class is evident given their consistently small sizes, smaller than all "traditional houses" surveyed by Brugman, and Beaks' clarification on house definitions on the 1861 census.

Material culture in eighteenth and nineteenth-century Saba

Compared to housing, material culture in general provides more subtle vectors for projecting class, race, and gender in pre-emancipation Saba. Since class is a process, it follows that the capacity for material culture to express class will change through time as well. By understanding the social organization of certain periods, it will be possible to identify assemblages and individual artifacts that existed in a dialectic with class, race, and gender. It must be reiterated, however, that while class is a process, gender and race are imposed upon individuals within the context of a given society. In the context of colonial Saba, gendered assblages are visible as products of and spaces and activities specifically ascribed to either women or men, in a dialectic with differential access to power. Unlike class, gender, in certain contexts, may be reflected within a singular artifact due to rigid, externally-imposed divisions of labour and activities based upon gender that cannot be transcended without a radical shift in the given culture's ideology. Identifying gendered labour, activities, and their associated spatial contexts, therefore, can by extension engender their associated material assemblages. Gender norms, however, also operate in dialectic with race. Therefore, what is considered a gendered activity among white Sabans, such as Saba lace manufacture, may not have been so among Sabans of African descent.

The house and home ownership has been established as the primary means for projecting class on Saba. Saban material culture builds upon the use of the house as a class vector, as it appears to be employed primarily as a means to project class centered upon material enhancements to the interior of the house and household members. Recall from Chapter 4 the observation by Father Fast in 1857 on Saban material culture: "the craving for luxury in furniture, but especially in clothing, is great. It is therefore only for this that their money seems to be disposable" (Nomina Geographica Neerlandica

1885:213; https://thesabaislander.com/2016/06/, last accessed 11 July 2016). This provides clear, even hierarchical context when interpreting early to mid-nineteenth century Saban material culture and its dialectic with race, class, and gender. However, this observation is probably limited to the majority population of white Sabans together with certain free African descent residents, who together had access to credit or at least some form of disposable income.

The material culture database for this research was drawn from archaeological excavations, probate inventories, and sales records. The Vendue Books for 1780-1825 and 1815-1875 deal primarily with sales in bulk, consisting mostly of goods listed in probate inventories, several instances of shipwreck salvage, and one instance of a travelling salesman who sold tools and tailoring goods. The probate inventories provide an important source of information relative to the island's material culture, especially those items that either are not commonly preserved or deposited in the archaeological record, such as furniture, clothing, and gold. The document lists the quantities of each item or group of items, their sale price, the vendor or previous owner, the purchaser, and the transaction's date. Figure 112 lists the total instances of commonly auctioned items, whether single or in bulk, in which there are at least three recorded sales.

There appears to be some regular purchasing patterns within the Vendue Books prior to 1863 relative to gender. Overall, most purchases were made by men, presumably the heads of households. The exceptions on large purchases appear to be widows and unmarried women with their own household. Items quantities small enough to permit some inference, such as beacon stones, were bought exclusively by men, while there was no item below that quantity which was purchased only by women. Even those items that were associated with women's activities, such as tailoring, were mostly purchased by men.

In 1826, a travelling merchant by the name of Robert Ferrier stopped through Saba sold a wide variety of tailoring goods, clothing, tools such as knives and drills, and miscellaneous goods such as books and umbrellas. From the 152 recorded sales by this merchant, the goods sold consisted mainly of thread, patterned cloth, and muslin, but from this total, just 17 were sales to women. Among these women, one was known to be of African descent (Mary Ann Johnson), and two were probably such (Miss Bey and Susan Hassell). The last, Ann Horton, was probably white, and likely either unmarried or widowed. Therefore, based upon the purchases by gender within the Vendue Books, married male heads of households among white Saban families, and probably married African descent families as well, generally assumed control of finances and irregular purchases. Racially, most purchasers during estate auctions, with few exceptions, were white Sabans. However, regarding the estate of Sarah Gumbs, a free African descent woman, all identifiable purchasers were African descent, such as Daniel Woods, Pleasant Hassell, and Charles Hassell (SVB 1816-1876:14/11/1853). The only other purchaser,

H. (Henry) Hassell, was one of several with the same name during this time and thus cannot identified as a particular individual. Otherwise purchases by African descent Sabans during auctions of white Sabans' estates were rare; Pleasant Hassell bought an enslaved African named Phetita in 1825 from the estate of Rebecca Simmons, and Charles Hassell bought four milk mugs and flower pots from the liquidated estate of Arthur Gozales (SVB 1816-1876:4/2/1860). Enslaved Africans were not wholly barred from participating in auctions, at least by the mid nineteenth century, nor did they actively participate either. There is only one recorded instance an enslaved African as a purchaser (SVB 1816-1876:29/10/1847), by the name of Manerva, who bought two blue china cups for *ƒ*0.38.

Figure 112: Sales by Instance, Saba Vendue Books, 1780-1869

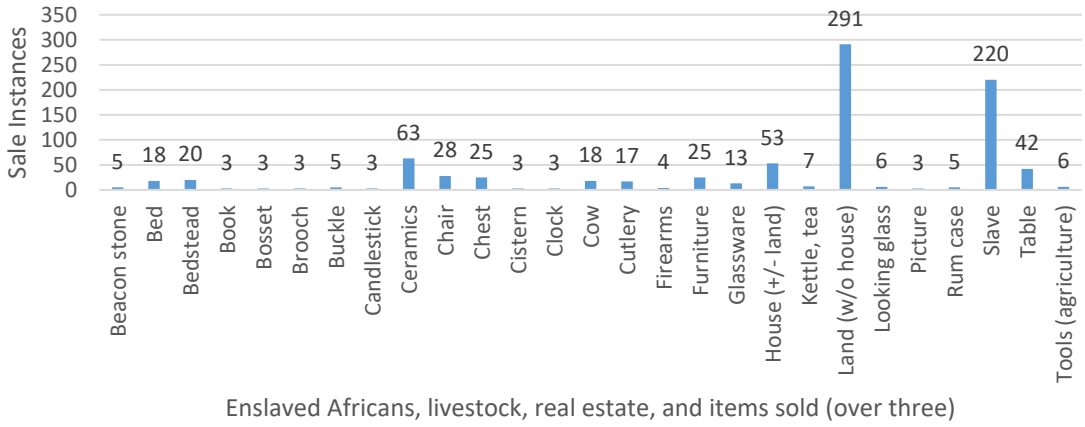


Table 7 on the following page lists the low, high, and average price of individually purchased goods in the Vendue Book 1780-1825. The prices are listed in pieces of eight, with bitts and stivers converted to decimal.

Table 7: Price Range of Selected Goods, p/8, Saba Vendue Book 1780-1825					
Item		**Count**	**Low**	**High**	**Avg**
Barrell (water)		1	0.125	0.125	0.125
Beacon stone		5	3.375	5.500	4.775
Bed & bedstead		11	6.000	40.000	27.000
Bedsack		1	0.500	0.500	0.500
Book		1	0.500	0.500	0.500
Bookcase		1	6.750	6.750	6.750
Bosset		2	6.000	6.000	6.000
Broom		1	0.675	0.675	0.675
Buckle (knee)		2	1.375	1.550	1.456
Buckle (shoe)		1	5.625	5.625	5.625
Button (gold, pair)		1	5.000	5.000	5.000
Candle stick		4	0.125	0.550	0.418
Chair		16	0.500	11.000	4.459
Chest		8	1.000	9.000	2.818
Clock		1	4.000	4.000	4.000
Cow		7	40.000	60.000	49.600
Cupboard		1	0.500	6.000	3.250
Desk		4	2.250	30.000	17.062
Flour (barrell)		14	3.125	7.250	5.342
Frying pan		1	0.375	0.375	0.375
Glass (wine)		4	1.125	2.020	1.572
Gun		4	3.500	6.625	5.060
Gun (Pepper box, old, silver)		1	1.500	1.500	1.500
Hatchet		1	4.375	4.375	4.375
House		22	33.000	600.000	311.000
Kettle (tea)		3	0.875	3.125	2.166
Kettle (wash)		2	1.500	7.250	7.250
Land		78	3.000	400.000	51.000
Large bible		1	0.500	0.500	0.500
Musket		1	3.000	0.000	0.000
Pig		1	3.250	3.250	3.250
Rum (cask)		1	25.000	0.000	0.000
Schooner		1	999.000	999.000	999.000
Shoes, pair, with knee buckles		1	5.125	5.125	5.125
Slave	Boy	16	50.000	276.000	172.625
Slave	Girl	15	66.000	352.000	181.066
Slave	Man	32	30.000	483.000	225.500
Slave	Woman	32	6.000	400.000	201.156
Table		21	0.375	22.000	6.529
Tobacco (cask)		1	7.687	7.687	7.687

A wide variety of goods were sold in the Vendue Books, ranging from everyday household items such as a broom and chairs, to items beyond the expense of many which included large tracts of

land and a whole schooner. Unfortunately, it cannot be determined whether the items listed per estate are remainders after benefactors received their inheritances, or if they represent the entirety of an estate. Therefore, only partial inferences can be made concerning each estate owner and the associated items. From this list, a house could be furnished with a simple table, four chairs, banana leaf bedding (no cost), ceramics and other basic household items for less than 14 pieces of eight. Ceramics are listed on a separately on Table 27 in the Appendix, as they were often sold in lots consisting of a variety of vessel types.

Cows are evidently expensive when compared to other livestock such as pigs, and shareholding cattle was a common practice on Saba at least by the early nineteenth century (1.05.13.901 #540.1:3/5/1820). Therefore, a low-income household could be expected to own chickens, a pig, or goats, and perhaps shares in cow. Outright ownership of cattle, especially of a pair capable of reproducing, would have served at least as a supplemental source of income. It is therefore unsurprising that some residents took to breeding and exporting cattle in the early nineteenth century. This continued into the twentieth century, and by 1951, of the 79 Sabans engaged in agriculture, 42 of them owned "mixed" farms composed of several plots of land scattered about the regions of The Bottom, Windwardside, and Hell's Gate, and owned one to two cows each (Keur & Keur 1960:75).

The range in value between certain furniture articles, such as chairs, tables, and beds with bedsteads, demonstrate that these were employed as a means to project class. The three most expensive tables, priced at 11.5.0, 18.0.0, and 22.0.0 pieces of eight, were all made from mahogany. This was followed by a round tea table for 12.0.0, a mahogany table for 11.5.0, and finally a small mahogany table for 8.2.0. The only other wood type mentioned in the list, a square maple table, sold for 4.0.0. A broken mahogany table sold for 3.0.0, more valuable still than two unspecified dining tables and three deal tables, which refers to softwood such as pine or fir. Mahogany was a valuable furniture wood across colonial Europe, and this clearly extended to Sabans, which continues into the present day. The wood is very resistant to decay, which also provides utilitarian value on Saba given conditions at higher elevations on the island in Windwardside and Booby Hill which are highly conducive to the growth of moulds and fungi, especially upon dark surfaces.

Bed and bedstead ownership is indicative of class, both during the colonial and early post-colonial periods. Those estates that owned them were also auctioning other items associated with higher class such as items made from lignum vitae and mahogany, high-priced houses, silver cutlery, and groups of enslaved Africans. Out of all 20 bedstead sales, most prices ranged between 25 and 93 pcs of eight; the two outliers priced at 6 pcs of eight probably represent those in need of repair. The majority of Sabans during this time, rather, would have slept on beds of straw or banana leaves. This

practice continued on the island up to the mid-twentieth century (Will Johnson, personal communication 2013; Lorna Simmons, personal communication 2014).

Prices of enslaved Africans declined gradually upon Saba as the nineteenth century progressed. However, higher prices could be fetched by selling to other islands which occurred on occasion. The prices set for individuals differed primarily by age and gender, but also by skills.

Cutlery was often auctioned in lots in the Vendue Books, and appeared with enough frequency and variance in price to indicate that it was also tied to class. Silver cutlery in notably more expensive than the others listed, which were probably pewter; in one instance, seven silver table spoons sold for 2 pieces of eight each, while eight non-silver spoons went for about 4 stivers per piece.

Table 8: Sales of Spoons, Saba Vendue Book, 1780-1825

ID1	ID2	ID3	QUANTITY	Pcs. 8	BITTS	STIVERS	DATE
Spoon	silver	table	8	33	0	0	?/4/1784
Spoon	silver	table	8	33	0	0	?/4/1784
Spoon	silver	table	7	14	0	0	3/11/1815
Spoon		table	8	0	5	3	17/4/1784
Spoon		small	6	0	1	2	17/4/1784
Spoon		tea	8	0	2	0	?/4/1784
Spoon			5	4	4	0	30/3/1824

The Saba Government Log Book 1816-1836 (DNAr 1.05.13.01 #319) provides some small insight into the range of goods imported into the island that were subject to import duties for the years 1820-1823. These detailed in Tables 60a, 60b, 60c, and 60d in the Appendix. The list consists primarily of bulk staples and construction materials. Flour is by far the most predominant staple food, numbering 340 barrels in total over the four years. The year 1820, however, lists 167 barrels imported, which consists of half the total imports for the period concerned. Several other goods, such as lumber, shingles, and salt fish, show quantities for 1820 that surpass all imports for the following three years. The large imports of food and construction materials for 1820 are a direct consequence of the structural and financial state of Saba and other surrounding islands following the damaging hurricane of 1819; it was noted by the Gezaghbebber at the time that following the hurricane, “all ground provisions saved will be shortly consumed” (DNAr 1.05.13.01 #319:30/9/1819). Therefore, the difference in staple food imports between 1820 and 1821 not only reveals the damage from the hurricane, but provides a general indication of the amount of food necessary to see the island through to the next round of crop harvests in 1820. The difference in sugar imports between 1820 and the following years also substantiates Teenstra’s statement that the sugar plantation in The Bottom produced only enough sugar to satisfy Saban demand; 13 barrels of sugar were imported in 1820, compared to just 12 between 1821 and 1823. In “average” years such as 1821-1823, some imports of staple foods were still required on Saba, though it can be safely assumed that a proportion of these

were for consumption by the enslaved Africans working on the Dinzey plantation. Viewed together, these import tables indirectly demonstrate the level of self-sufficiency of Saba through subsistence agriculture and small surpluses available through the island economy. It is apparent too that other material goods not included on the import duties list were simply not arriving to the island in sufficient quantities to merit specific taxation, thereby demonstrating the prevalence of subsistence-based livelihood across Saba.

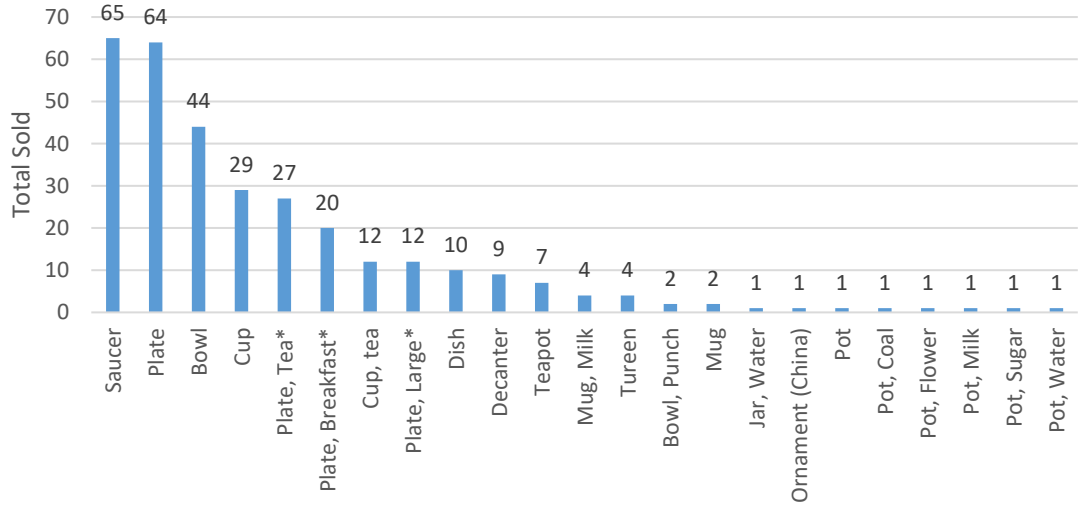
Sales of ceramics on Saba were found only in the Vendue Books. The only other documented instance specifying ceramics occurs in the Government Log Book (DNAr 1.05.13.01 #319:31/12/1823), where a crate of "Qurins warr" is included in a list of goods which were subject to import duties for the year 1823. This would have been a crate of "Queen's ware", a common synonym for creamware, but originally distinguished by its particular rim style. Creamware was growing unfashionable in Europe and the colonies by this point in time (Miller 1991:1), and by consequence this would have been a shipment of cheap ceramics. In the Vendue Books, ceramics were often grouped under the term "household goods" or "household wares", sold as a lot of miscellaneous wares including wine glasses and spoons, or simply "earthenware". Out of 63 sale instances in the Vendue Books, all but two of them describe a form and function, such a plate, pot, bowl, tureen, or teacup. In most cases, they are simply referred to as such with no other descriptors. The other two refer to groups of ceramics, either as "crockery wares" or "earthenware", and the latter is the only entry in the Vendue Books that refer directly to fabric. Just 13 entries referred to colour or style: this included three instances of white plates, and ten for "China", "Chinea", "Chinny" or "Chinese" ceramics. From the Chinese ceramics, three were referred to as "blue". "Chinny" in this case was recorded in a Saban dialect and pronounced with a long "i", and refers to "Chinese". Hand painted and blue transfer print pearlware was commonly referred to in Staffordshire as "China glaze" ware after 1775 (Miller 1991:8), further compounding the problem of identification by records. While in two instances ceramics were referred to as "Chinese", this does not necessarily imply that they were Chinese porcelain. These references date to 1782 for the "Chinny plates" and 1824 for the blue "Chinese" punch bowl, and can thus also describe blue hand painted ware, or in the case of the latter, also transfer print pearlware. Both were refined earthenwares originally manufactured as a popular imitation of Chinese porcelain. Blue transfer print ware with Chinese scenes were popular in Europe and the New World at this time, especially at during the late eighteenth century (Samford 1997). Whether pearlware or actual Chinese porcelain, the "Chinese" aspect of the wares in the Vendue Books were significant enough to merit their description as such. This also applies to "white" as a descriptor for otherwise undecorated plates. The 1782 sales of white plates probably refer to either creamware, white salt glaze stoneware, or undecorated or minimally decorated white-glaze tin enamel ware.

Ceramic prices were at times wildly inconsistent relative to their description. In one instance in 1817, a lot of 30 "China plates" were sold for just 1.4.0 p/8. They were purchased by Richard Dinzey, son of Thomas Dinzey, who can be assumed to have some sense of ceramic styles and values; each piece in this lot would have cost about 2.5 stivers each, a great bargain regardless if they were actual porcelain or transfer print refined earthenware. The price per plate is the lowest among all ceramic sales in pieces of eight in Saba's documentary record. In the same year, two China plates sold at a separate estate auction for 1.6.0 p/8. The second extreme of this auction lies in the quantity of plates, which is the largest lot of plates sold at once. While thirty Chinese porcelain plates would have been valuable in monetary terms elsewhere in the Caribbean, the sheer quantity of thirty plates in most Saban households would have been impractical. Other price inconsistencies were noted. Both the "white plates" sold in 1782 and the "Chinny plates" sold the following year were sold for nearly the exact price: the bulk purchase of the former equaled pcs. 0.2.0 each, while the latter was pcs. 0.2.1 per plate. Their relative values in Europe, however, would have been substantially different at the time. The "Chinese" plates, whether actual Chinese porcelain or European blue hand painted/transfer print pearlware, would have sold for a considerably higher price than either white salt glaze stoneware or tin enamel ware, both of which were falling out of fashion, and creamware, which was both popular and affordable in most varieties (Miller 1991:1). These price inconsistencies, along with others listed in Table 27, demonstrate a gulf between those elements of ceramic form, fabric, and decoration that were valued by potters and connoisseurs versus those that were considered important or irrelevant to Sabans.

At the absentee-owned plantation at Spring Bay Flat, however, conscious choices about ceramic types that were provided to enslaved Africans by the plantation owner or manager are apparent. While late eighteenth to early nineteenth century transfer print wares were found in the boiling house assemblage and in surface contexts associated with the Big House, only one very small sherd of it was found between all of Structures C, D, E, and F. Transfer print wares were popular in Europe during the last twenty years of the eighteenth century, especially upon pearlwares, and this corresponded with a purchasing price rivalled only by Chinese and European porcelains (Miller 1991:8,15). Since Spring Bay Flat was foreign-owned through Statia by wealthy plantation owners during the time of its "Golden Rock" era, their tastes and values in ceramics most likely would have corresponded to ceramics currently in vogue among the upper classes of Europe rather than Saba-situated tastes, such as those that were apparent on Saba. Therefore, during this period enslaved Africans on the Spring Bay Flat plantation were correspondingly furnished with cheaper wares according to St. Eustatius' market values rather than those upon Saba.

Ceramic decoration is an important signifier both for dating and differentiating between cultures in archaeology, and given their survivability in the archaeological record relative to more perishable artifacts, they have understandably become the object of disproportionately more studies. Their value to archaeologists in understanding past cultures is not necessarily a direct reflection of their social value to the cultures who used them, however. It is clear from these records that the form and functionality of ceramics were generally of more importance to most Sabans than decoration, despite the wide variety of ceramic décor types that are present in archaeological assemblages at sites contemporary to the Vendue Book 1780-1825, such as SB 007, SB 027, and SB 036. This demonstrates that utility generally took precedence over décor among non-upper class Sabans, and given the nonchalance of appraisers towards the descriptions of vessels offered for sale, ceramics were evidently not a primary means of projecting class among most residents in pre-emancipation Saba, relative to the more important material vectors such as one's house, lands, and furniture. The prevalence of utilitarian ceramics is further highlighted on Figure 113. Saucers, plates, bowls, and cups consist of 77% of the total sales, discounting the single lots of breakfast plates and tea plates.

Figure 113: Ceramics by Function, Saba Vendue Books 1780-1865



A cause for the preference for utilitarian ceramics appears to be due to the lack of many equivalent households on Saba that would be considered among the highest echelons of the upper class in a regional context. When viewed from a broader perspective, the best Saban exemplar is Governor Thomas Dinzey. His position as governor aside, he had the regional class on par with a successful small plantation owner, but with the social networks both on Saba and abroad approaching that of the region's elite such as Johannes de Graaf.

In the absence of a material assemblage for Dinzey, the closest in the present is the SB 036 ceramic assemblage. This suggests an upper class assemblage in that the temporal changes in proportions of specific, more valuable types of ceramics per level between 1750 and 1850 were contemporaneous to shifts in pricing and popularity of the same types in Europe (Miller 1991:12-22). Therefore, the owners of the ceramic assemblages made efforts to keep up with the latest styles; this was not common on Saba, thereby for them, either explicitly or implicitly, it was a means of projecting class, making this household one of the exceptions on Saba relative to class projection via ceramic style and décor. This is particularly the case in the assemblage with creamware, transfer print wares, tin enamel ware, and Chinese porcelain. Transfer print wares are well represented throughout Levels 2-5 and are the most numerous throughout, notably at the expense of creamware, and especially by Levels 2 and 3. Chinese porcelain is also consistently represented in each of the levels, with the highest proportions (MNI 5) in Level 6, which dates to the mid eighteenth century. Viewed from a Saban perspective of ceramic descriptions, the higher-valued "Chinny wares", consisting of either Chinese porcelain and transfer print earthenwares, consistently outnumbered the lesser valued "white" wares and the least valued other "earthenwares" in the SB 036 assemblage, marking it one of the few upper class assemblages on the island identifiable based on ceramics alone.

When viewed from a regional context, however, the SB 036 assemblage and the estate of Thomas Dinzey are once again considerably more modest in class. The probate inventory of Johannes de Graaf's household and plantation items on St. Eustatius, tallied in 1808 by British officials, is quite large yet incomplete since not all of the plantations were inventoried (DNAr 1.05.08.01 #729). Within his house, he owned a large library of books including at least 9 in French, 20 in English, and 57 in Dutch, a "parcel of old printed books of little value", and a "chest containing history and law books". Various volumes of correspondences were also kept, including one set of missives from Portuguese and Dutch Jews. All of these books spanned subjects from geographies and travel accounts of regions such as China and Brazil, politics, law, medicine, dictionaries, American and European history, a dictionary of the arts and sciences in five volumes, chemistry, to Psalms and studies of the New Testament. In this sense could be figuratively styled as a "Renaissance Man", either to himself, by others, or both. The contents of the library are listed in Table 26 in the Appendix. The probate inventory of other material goods spans 16 pages, with the majority consisting of furniture, household items of gold and silver, and Chinese porcelain. The entirety of the material inventory is listed in Tables 25 in the Appendix.

The ceramic assemblage consisted almost entirely of Chinese porcelain, and perhaps to some extent transfer print pearlwares. The assessor recorded 466 "China" vessels, which included at least seven large sets, with some services numbering over 100 vessels. Together the "China" assemblage

was valued at 300 pcs eight, but "not including a sett of blue China in daily use" (DNAr 1.05.08.01 #729:36). Colour was only noted in a few instances; there was a set of "blue China" that was noted for daily use, and 14 red dishes that were described as "red China", which are probably varieties of the Famille Rose group (Madsen & White 2011:106-110). These are not red transfer print ware, as this variety was not produced until the early nineteenth century. The large majority of vessel forms among the porcelain included plates, which were either shallow, soup, or unspecified; and dishes, consisting of round, oval, tart, or unspecified. Other less common forms included two tureens, six sauce boats, a pickle stand, three butter pots, and a blue jar with a cover. Tin enamel ware was also found among the ceramics, all members of the remainder of a 56-piece set consisting of 40 shallow plates, three soup plates, seven small plates, five dishes, and one sauce boat. The descriptive inventory only lists five creamware vessels, which were recorded as "white Queen's ware". This would mark it as the whiter, later variety of creamware that became abundant by 1800. However, in the valuation later in the document, an entire "chest of Queen's ware" was appraised at 10 pcs eight, which indicates that there were many more creamware vessels that were not recorded in the descriptive inventory. The only examples of earthenware are 10 French water jars, appraised together at 10 pcs eight. Table serving ware was accentuated by a variety of 9 silver waiters, 3 silver dishes, and 2 silver sugar dishes. Tea wares were notably scant in the inventory, and may indicate that Mr. and Mrs. de Graaf may not have been fond of the beverage. Nonetheless, these included one silver tea kettle, 3 small "plain" teapots, and one unspecified teapot. Cups in any form are also nearly absent on the inventory, which is probably observation or value bias on the part of the assessor. The cutlery was composed mostly of silver utensils. This included 96 silver spoons, ranging from table (47), soup (10), tea (17), dessert (25), and one olive spoon; 34 silver forks, 4 small silver forks, and 10 French forks; and 25 silver-handled knives. Other notable silver-forged items included two small silver cups, 18 silver candlesticks, one silver goglet (a tall decanter for serving water), 6 salt cellars, and 3 pairs of silver spectacles. One of the silver candles was described "with branches", along separately with one pair of branches with "6 silver pieces to fix under the said branches".

A small, separate assortment of household wares were marked as "daily use", and this was clearly reiterated in the valuation. These items consisted of two milk pots (probably earthenware), one silver snuffer and stand, 16 spoons (soup, tea, and table) which were probably pewter, an oil and vinegar stand, one non-silver sugar tong, one non-silver tankard with cover, one unspecified tea pot, two black pepper boxes, four silver candlesticks, and a certain number of blue China vessels. All of the spoons designated for "daily use" are not silver, and likewise, silver table utensils are absent from the above list. Together, however, these daily use wares compose only a small percentage of the total number of similar and more valuable goods. These would have been reserved for special occasions or

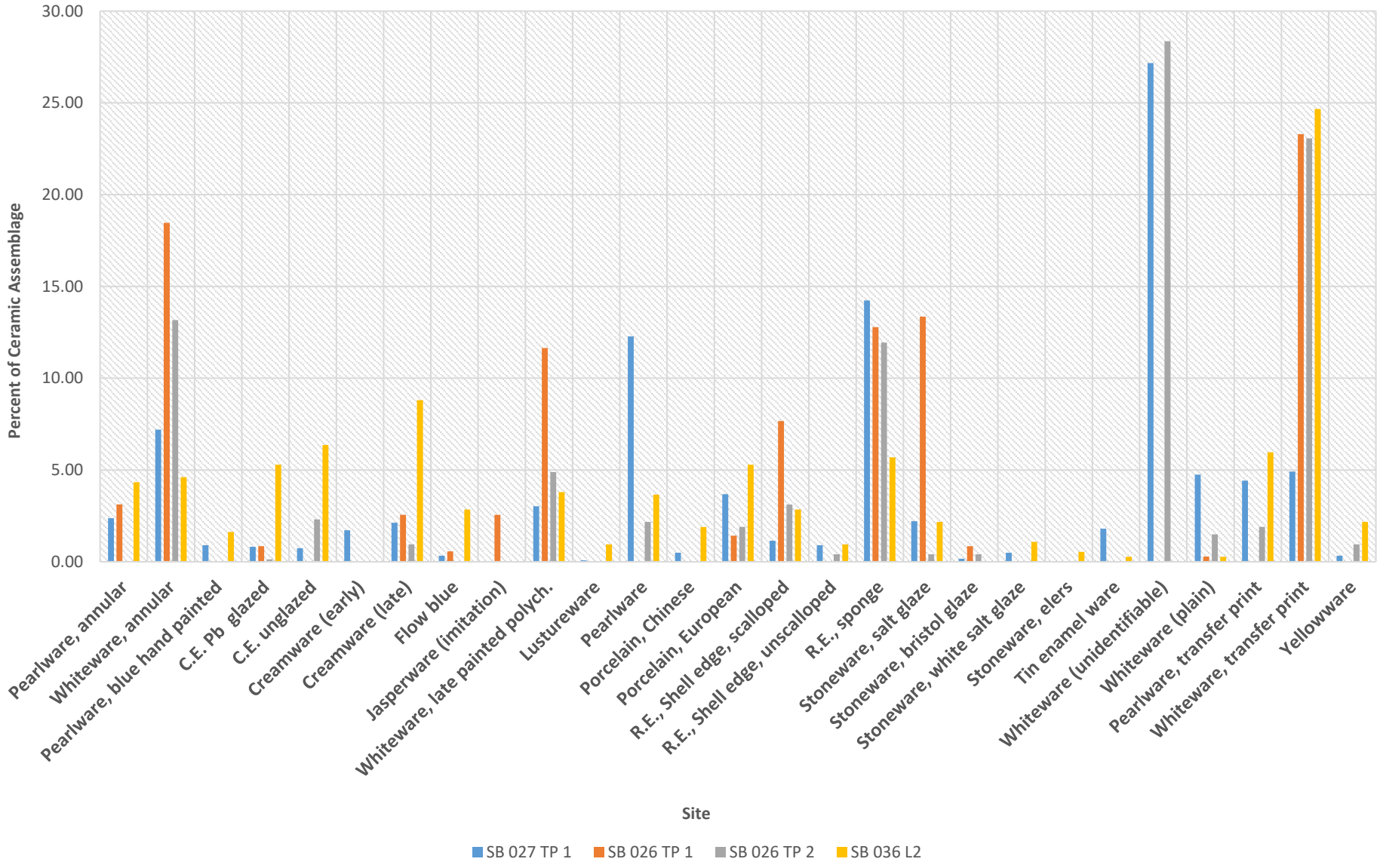
for hosting guests. This demonstrates that within the de Graaf household, ceramics, cutlery, serving ware, and table accessories such as candlesticks were an active vector for both class consciousness and class projection.

The estate of Thomas Dinzey is comparatively modest when placed within its contemporary regional perspective. However, within the context of Saba, Dinzey and his household still would have represented the uppermost of the island's upper class. While a variety of sites within a range of temporal and spatial contexts were included in this research, the best comparative assemblages collected range throughout the mid to late eighteenth century, and throughout the nineteenth century. In the absence of a comparative assemblage for Thomas Dinzey for the early to mid-nineteenth century, the Level 2 ceramic assemblage from SB 036 is large enough to serve as a suitable potential upper class example from the early to mid-nineteenth century. Unlike the relative nonchalance of the late eighteenth century Vendue Book appraisers and purchasers towards "white" ceramics versus "Chinny" wares, it is clear that the household that produced the SB 036 assemblage during this time did not share these sentiments. When compared to contemporary ceramic assemblages from Trash Pits 1 and 2 from Middle Island and Trash Pit 1 from Palmetto Point, some stylistic preferences are clearly evident. Ceramic types, based upon décor, are represented as percentile proportions on Figure 114.

As discussed in the previous chapter, ceramic types within the SB 036 assemblage represented an attempt by the household to keep up with the newest, in-vogue styles available between the last half of the eighteenth century to the mid nineteenth century. With respect to Level 2, with a MCD of 1827, a preference for late creamware, European and Chinese porcelains, early annular wares, transfer printed wares, and a small proportion of other expensive ceramics such as lusture ware and elers stoneware, is clearly evident over other available styles such as later (whiteware-based) annular ware, sponge ware, and late (post-Napoleonic wars) hand-painted polychrome whiteware (often termed "Gaudy Dutch"). These latter, cheaper types (Miller 1991:6), conversely, are seen in significantly larger proportions in Middle Island and Palmetto Point, and together comprise the majority within the respective assemblages. The large amount of indeterminate whiteware in SB 026 Trash Pit 2 and SB 027 Trash Pit 1 would be representative mostly of later whiteware varieties which feature large, undecorated areas such as late annular ware, sponge ware, "Gaudy Dutch", shell edge ware, transfer print ware limited to plate rims, and plain whiteware. It should be noted that the apparent high proportion of unglazed coarse earthenware at SB 036 level 2 compared to SB 027 and SB 026 is due to 40 sherds from a single hollowware vessel incised with a double "V" pattern along the shoulder. The proportion of late creamware in the SB 036 Level 2 assemblage, at about 8%, cannot be reliably dated relative to the rest of the assemblage since it was produced throughout the nineteenth century. They

may have retained a Saba-specific value as a “white” ceramic into the nineteenth century. However, given the propensity of the household to keep up with the latest styles beyond Saba, it probably represents the earliest ceramics in this level. An abundance of transfer print whiteware is evident throughout all four assemblages. By the second to third decades of the nineteenth century, the price of transfer print wares dropped by approximately one third to one half from 1796, and by 1854, the price was only about twice that of undecorated creamware, the cheapest variety produced by English potteries (Miller 1991:14). Therefore, it appears that transfer print wares, also regarded as “Chinny” wares, maintained a cross-class appeal during mid to late nineteenth century Saba, due to its affordability, (presumably) aesthetic appeal, and that they appear to have been commonly mistaken for Chinese porcelain. On its own accord, this ceramic variety on Saba is not a reliable indicator of class in any quantity without further context during this time. The abundance of sponge wares, late hand painted polychrome wares, and later varieties of annular ware in the Middle Island and Palmetto Point assemblages, though, together suggest lower class. These ceramics were among the cheapest variety available throughout the mid to late nineteenth century (Miller 1991:1). Correlating low proportions of these wares to high proportions of transfer whitewares and porcelains on mid to late nineteenth century Saban assemblages may be indicative of upper class based on a given ceramic assemblage alone, while high proportions of sponge wares, later annular wares, and late hand painted polychrome wares in an assemblage appears to suggest lower class.

Figure 114: Comparative Ceramic Assemblage by Decor - SB 026, SB 027, SB 036



The glass assemblages collected and analyzed from the sites excavated as part of this research are disproportionate in relative interpretive value. While excavations at SB 026 and SB 027, among other sites they are negligible. Trash Pit 1 at SB 027, associated with House 5, the largest at the village, contained a similar assemblage to both Trash Pits 1 and 2 at Middle Island; the latter associated with House 2, also the largest at Middle Island. Alcohol consumption at SB 036 during the nineteenth century, with an MNI of only six bottles, is significantly less for its contemporaries within Trash Pits 1 (MNI 91, plus a MNI of two demijeans) and 2 (MNI 71 and a MNI of one demijean) at Middle Island and Palmetto Point (MNI 93, plus a MNI of one demijean). Known types of liquor between Middle Island and Palmetto Point included brandy, Bordeaux wine, gin, and cherry liqueur, specifically P.F. Heering, which was based in Denmark. The assemblage presumably included rum, although there were no seals or embossments on bottles which betrayed their contents as such. Alcohol consumption appears to have been public and normalized within some households, as exemplified by Trash Pit 2, which was a refuse pit for the House 2 inhabitants. Trash Pit 2 was prominently located in the front yard beside the family burial plot facing downslope towards the rest of Middle Island, with over 100 kilograms of glass within an open hollow in a terrace. The small numbers of eighteenth century glass bottles recovered from enslaved African domestic contexts at Spring Bay Flat and Flat Point are not necessarily indicative of alcohol consumption, as they were forbidden from consuming it, and may instead reflect re-use, such as for water storage.

Reuse of bottles for other purposes has been noted in Saba's oral history and the archaeological record. Eddie Hassell (personal communication 2008) has a collection of several nineteenth century Dutch gin stoneware bottles on display at his bar, "The Swinging Doors", and stated these bottles were often reused by residents of Palmetto Point as torches. The bottle would be filled with fish oil, stuffed with a rag or length of rope, and lit. These were most useful by residents during Sunday mornings, whereby they would leave Palmetto Point in the dark prior to sunrise in order to attend church in The Bottom. This account was repeated by Carl Zagers (personal communication 2008), a former resident of the village. The author has also noted a recurring artifact patterning between domestic areas and those beyond, whereby glass and stoneware bottles are the most common type of artifact found on trails and formerly cultivated lands. These bottles would have served (most often) as water bottles during their last use. This type of reuse was also noted at a cistern in Cow Pasture, where five intact early to mid twentieth century glass bottles were recovered from the bottom, evidently dropped into the cistern as they were being filled. The greenstone awl found within Structure 6 at Flat Point, among the shell debitage and seventeenth to mid eighteenth century ceramics, was notably pointed and sharp and was very likely reused by enslaved Africans who frequented the structure.

Medicine bottles also formed a small but significant proportion of the glass assemblages at Middle Island and Palmetto Point. An MNI of six medicine bottles were recovered from Trash Pit 1 at SB 026, together with another MNI of five from Trash Pit 2, while Trash Pit 1 at SB 027 yielded a MNI of five medicine bottles. At SB 036, conversely, the contemporaneous context (Level 2) only produced one medicine bottle. This may be reflective of the higher expenses for doctors' visits to Middle Island and especially Palmetto Point, and the villages' corresponding relative lack of income. Additionally, one of the mitigating factors in the evacuation of Palmetto Point was the lack of regular access to medical attention (Espersen 2009). Patent medicine, then, may have been regarded as a more affordable (albeit risky) alternative to a doctor. In a similar vein, high consumption rates of patent medicine among lower class relative to middle and upper class residents of mid to late nineteenth century U.S.A. has also been observed (Howson 2003).

Gendered glass assemblages are present across non-plantation contexts Saba when associated with remote animal pens and butchering sites. Tending to livestock in remote areas, together with butchering, were both male-oriented activities among white Sabans and Sabans of African descent (Will Johnson, personal communication 2012, 2013). "Pigpen parties" still occur at Hell's Gate in the present day, whereby Sabans, mostly men, congregate at a pigpen just south of the village to drink. As listed back on Figure 12, enslaved Africans listed as "field hands" owned by Sabans were also predominantly male, with only about 13% being women. Therefore, this appears to be a gendered activity regardless of race and legal status. Three such assemblages are known on Saba at SB 11 and SB 050, and Trash Pit 3 at SB 026.

The enslaved African assemblages recovered from excavations are derived from two general temporal contexts. The SB 001 assemblage from the surface, together with Structures 5/6 and 3/7, point to an occupation during the second half of the seventeenth century, probably with an interruption after 1665, and throughout the eighteenth century to 1772. The SB 007 assemblages were exposed to consistent surface debris intrusions from the Amerindian occupation period throughout the plantation's operation from the mid eighteenth century to around 1810. By extension, these intrusive materials would also have included colonial artifacts. While the different temporal contexts do not allow for direct material culture comparisons, qualitative comparisons can be drawn between enslaved African contexts with SB 007 with Levels 3 and 4 from SB 036.

One of the clearest absences within the ceramic record of Structures C, D, and E at SB 007 concerned transfer print wares. Across all contexts between the three structures, only one tiny sherd was recovered. Surface collections at SB 007 which concentrated around the boiling house only recovered six sherds of transfer print pearlware, and a large fragment of a black transfer print creamware teacup was found near the Big House. Conversely, transfer print pearlware was the most

common ceramic type from Level 3 (MCD 1798) in SB 036 with 166 sherds, and in Level 4 (MCD 1785) it was second only to creamware. In a similar vein across enslaved African contexts at SB 001, tin enamel wares and lead glazed coarse earthenwares together compose the most common ceramic types, with no recorded Chinese porcelain. The household from Levels 3 and 4 from SB 036 continues to show a marked preference and regular use of Chinese porcelain. Small quantities of this are also found among Structures C, D, and E at SB 007, which may suggest its use as a valued object rather than numerous vessels that saw regular use, although how they were obtained is speculative.

Since transfer print pearlware was among the most expensive ceramic type during the last two decades of the eighteenth century (Miller 1991:9, 13-14), its price was likely taken into consideration by the owner of Spring Bay Flat when purchasing ceramics to supply to enslaved Africans tied to the plantation. This conscious differentiation between the value of transfer print wares to creamware by the owner of the Spring Bay Flat plantation, meanwhile, contrasts to the equal value assigned to undecorated "white" ceramics versus "Chinny" wares by contemporary Sabans in the Vendue Books. This, however, would be expected since the plantation owners during this time were Abraham Heyliger, followed by Carel Seelig, both wealthy plantation owners on St. Eustatius during its "Golden Rock" era.

Afro-Caribbean ware has not been definitively identified on Saba, which is unfortunate as studies of household choices relative to use and ownership of these vessels would certainly demonstrate its utility on the island as a material vector for race, class, and possibly gender. While it was manufactured in nearby St. Kitts and St. Eustatius (Heath 1989; Gilmore 2005; Alhman, Schroedl, & McKeown 2009), they can be indistinguishable from imported and locally produced and imported undecorated Amerindian wares without excellent archaeological context. Even then, differences between tempers, clays, and manufacturing processes between Amerindian and Afro-Caribbean ceramics are not sufficiently understood on Saba to permit reliable identifications based solely upon visual analyses.

Beyond the aforementioned elements of Saban material culture, other tenable comparisons are difficult to draw. Gun use and possession by enslaved Africans on Saba was noted in the early nineteenth century, and supported by the remains of gunflints and a Bess-type gunlock from Structures C, D, and E at SB 007. This indicates that relations between owners and enslaved Africans, both on plantation and non-plantation contexts, were sufficiently civil that this was not perceived as a general threat to their wellbeing and the island's security. Cowrie shells have only been recovered at SB 001 and SB 004, which were among Saba's first sugar and indigo plantations. While the Atlantic Grey Cowrie, *Luria cinerea*, occurs in the eastern half of the Americas, other cowrie species are common in the Indian Ocean. Across East, Central, and Western Africa, they were highly prized and

used for ornamentation, ritual, and as trade currency (Rice & Katz-Hyman 2010). It is expected that most cowrie shells brought to Saba would have arrived during the 1650 to 1665 period, coinciding with an import of at least 300 enslaved Africans to Saba to work sugar and indigo plantations, and secondly during the 1700 to 1727 period, where a second wave of coffee, sugar, and indigo plantations required enslaved labour. The only recorded import of enslaved Africans after 1727 was nearly one hundred years later, in 1819. During Statia's boom as the "Golden Rock" from the 1760's to 1795, it may have been possible for enslaved Africans on Saba to obtain cowrie shells from St. Eustatius via trade. Nonetheless, these cowrie shells, whether the native variety or those brought from across the Atlantic, bear a close association with enslaved Africans.

Beads were recovered in small quantities from several sites. A clear glass bead was recovered from Structure C; the interior of House 1 at Middle Island produced five 21-faceted blue beads, commonly known as "Russian blue beads", and a 12mm diameter black bead which may be a rosary bead; SB 036 contained a faceted 7mm turquoise bead, a 4mm diameter shell bead, and an 11mm diameter black bead with green swirls; while SB 004 featured an eight-faceted purple French slave trade bead from Nantes. While there have been some correlations between blue coloured beads and (West) African worldviews (Sitne, Cabak, & Groover 1996) and status and cultural affiliation (DeCorse 1999), the bead assemblages between most of these sites are simply too small to permit any tenable inferences concerning their social significance. The French slave trade bead, though, is clearly associated with the trans-Atlantic slave trade. These beads were manufactured specifically for trade in France's coastal West African forts rather than in its colonies in the New World, and since it was found within the context of a sugar and indigo plantation, it probably arrived to the Caribbean as a possession of an enslaved African rather than a European.

Clothing and personal adornments are a pervasive and very visible vector for class. Unfortunately, very few remains of clothing and jewelry were recovered from excavations, and were scarcely mentioned in Saba's documentary record relative to other material things, with the notable exception of Robert Ferrier's sale in 1826. In the Vendue Book 1780-1825, a "pack of cloathes" for children was purchased from the estate of Peter Halley by John Halley for pcs. 13.5.0., together with a hat for five stivers, and a bluish "broad cloth coat" for pcs. 1.5.1 on 17 April 1784. Just five buckles were counted among the inventories in the Vendue Book 1780-1825, including two knee buckles, one shoe buckle, and two stock buckles. They varied little in cost, ranging from just pcs. 1.1.5 for a stock buckle, to 2.5.5. for a shoe buckle. While a small variety of buttons were recovered from excavations, their numbers are insufficient for a reliable assessment concerning their use as ideological vectors. A pair of gold buttons were part of the estate of Peter Collins, and were purchased for pcs. 2.5.0. on account of his son by Edward Beaks at interest. Their purchase in this fashion by Edward Beaks

indicates that they had some real or perceived symbolic value to Peter Collins' son. The only other indication of clothing recovered from excavations are small assemblages of copper-alloy hooks and eyes for fastening garments, which again are too small in number and distribution to be of much significance. Purchases from Robert Ferrier by Sabans reveal that tailoring was pervasive on Saba. Unfortunately, these pages of the Vendue Book 1816-1876 are in poor condition. The ink is very faded, making parts illegible, and the right sides of the pages crumbling away, thereby destroying purchase prices. Nonetheless, from 152 purchases, 26 were for thread, and 31 were for yards of textiles such as muslin, cotton (including madapollam), and patterned fabric. Other tailoring related items included a thimble and three sets of shirt buttons. Compared to raw materials, few finished garments were purchased; this included only six pairs of cotton shirts, one order of stockings (per dozen), and two pairs of shoes. The dearth of finished garment purchases relative to tailoring supplies demonstrates both that tailoring was widespread, and Sabans largely tailored their own clothing for personal use and local sale. Lt. Governor Edward Beaks, however, took advantage of the opportunity to purchase a silk dress, the only recorded sale for either silks or dresses. This was evidently an exercise in class projection on his part, and for the recipient of the dress, which was probably his wife.

While material culture provides a wide variety of potential vectors for projecting class, race, and gender, their efficacy for such is not universal and are naturally dependant on a dialectic with social, spatial, and temporal contexts. The documentary and archaeological records highlighted a variety of class-specific vectors, including household furniture, beds, boat ownership and shareholding, and ceramics. Gendered assemblages were visible though alcohol bottle trash pits, whether hidden or open, within or around agricultural sites. Race was somewhat discernable in the material record. The eight faceted French slave trade bead found at SB 004 indicates a probable association with enslaved Africans rather than Europeans during its last use, but unfortunately it was found on the surface near an eroding shoreline, rather than within a sealed context. The large, perforated cowrie shell also found at SB 004 was very likely associated with use by enslaved Africans, and though its species was not identified, since cowries do not naturally occur around Saba, it was probably brought along by an individual from West Africa. The olive shell with the shorn tip from SB 036 may also be associated with use by enslaved Africans, since no white Saban are known to have used shells as jewelry, but its context is unfavourable, and thus may also date to the pre-Columbian period. The context of the lockbox under an enslaved African house-yard at Spring Bay Flat associates it with race, and the assemblage contents provided a strong association with West African afterlife and transformative elements. The confirmation of the teeth as being from the same individual, and isotope analysis that shows a birth in West Africa, and subsequent (forced) migration to the Caribbean mirrors the journey of millions of other Africans during the trans-Atlantic slave trade, and it can be

comfortably stated that this individual was, at some point in his or her lifetime, an enslaved African in the Caribbean.

Diet

There were noted differences and similarities between the faunal assemblages from the sites involved in this research. In particular, differences were noted between the relative proportions of fish, shell, and large mammal remains. A more detailed study of faunal remains from certain sites was proposed by the author as a bachelor's thesis topic to Philippa Jorissen, who subsequently spent a semester at the Florida Museum of Natural History under Irvy Quitmeyer to study the faunal remains from SB 026, SB 027, and SB 030, a section of Hell's Gate known as "Behind-the-Ridge". While SB 030 was not studied as part of this research, its use as a comparative assemblage for SB 026 and SB 027 is still valuable since they are contemporary sites, and its inhabitants were similar in terms of race and class to SB 027 (Will Johnson, personal communication 2014).

According to Jorissen's research (Jorissen 2015), there were notable differences between these three sites relative to consumption levels of mammals, fish, and shellfish. Figure 115 shows the biomass for identified taxa, identified fish by species, and identified large mammals by species (Jorissen 2015:49, 50, 52). Since no allometric data was available for *Neoloricata*, they were not included in the biomass although they clearly constituted a dietary element between the three sites (Jorissen 2015).

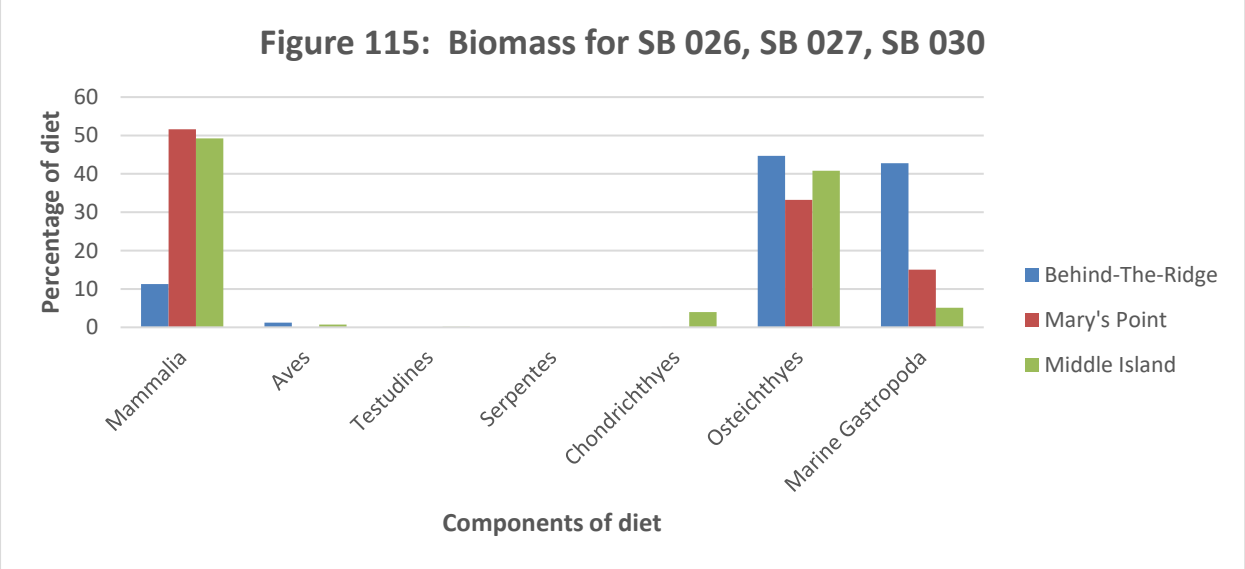


Figure 115: Biomass for Palmetto Point, Middle Island, and Behind-the-Ridge (Jorissen 2015:52).

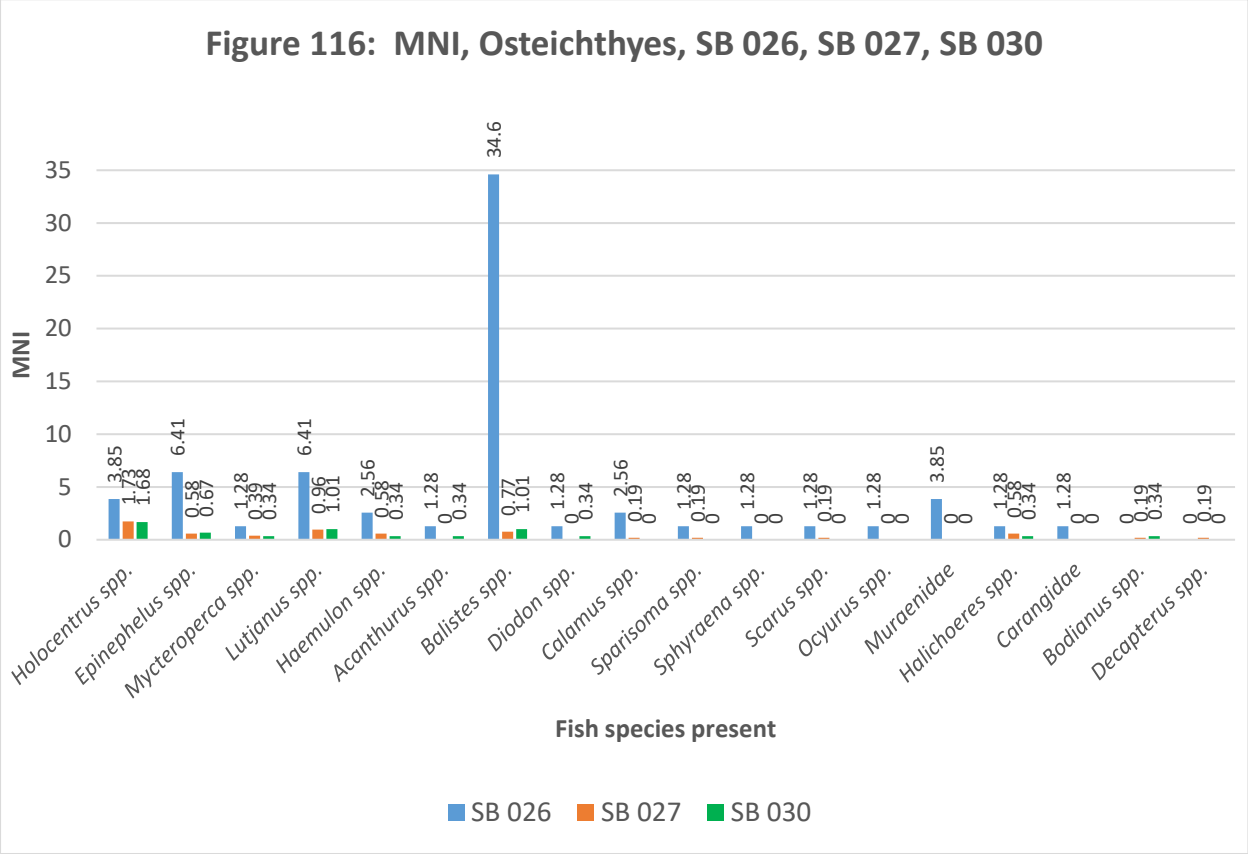


Figure 116: MNI for fish species, Palmetto Point, Middle Island, and Behind-the-Ridge (Jorissen 2015:49)

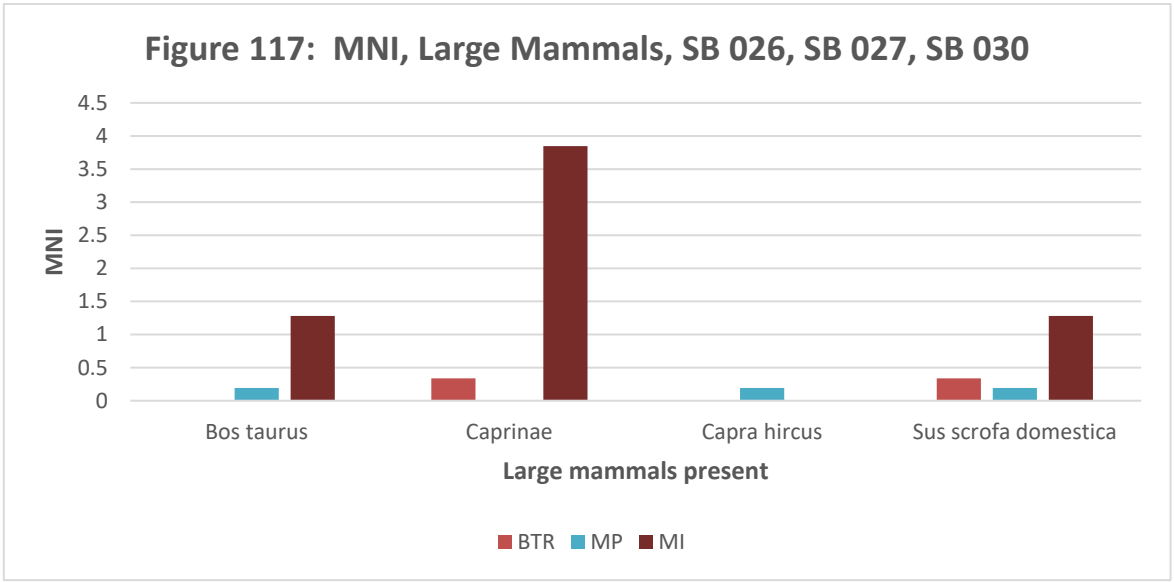


Figure 117: MNI for large mammals, Middle Island, Palmetto Point, and Behind-the-Ridge (Jorissen 2015:50)

The diets among residents of all three villages appear to rely upon large mammals, shellfish, and fish as primary food sources, but the relative proportions of each may have varied depending on

the availability of each at certain points in time. The higher proportions of large mammals at Middle Island, especially goats and pigs, likely reflects animal pen ownership by the inhabitants of Houses 1 and 2. As previously mentioned, cattle are known to have been kept at Middle Island, either in pens or within the western extreme of the village. The shellfish assemblages consisted mostly of intertidal shellfish such as *Neoloricata sp.* and to a smaller extent *Fissurella nodosa, Cittarium pica,* though Jorissen noted up to 15 species of shellfish at Palmetto Point (Jorissen 2015). No large shellfish such as *Strombus gigas* were found amongst the assemblages, or notably, in any colonial period assemblage from Saba. The abundance of *Neoloricata sp.* and *Fissurella nodosa* between the three sites is notable since although they continue to be consumed on many Caribbean islands, they are not considered as a food item to Sabans, and are only used as bait for fishing. *Cittarium pica,* known regionally as "whilks", continue to be harvested and are commonly served in a stew. Unlike Middle Island and Palmetto Point, Behind-the-Ridge is located nearly one kilometer from the nearest access to the sea at Cove Bay, starting from an elevation of approximately 270m, therefore despite the difficulty in accessing marine resources, intertidal shellfish still constituted an important part of their diet. The very large amount of *Neoloricata* and *Fissurella nodosa,* together with smaller amounts of *Cittarium pica* and even the diminutive *Littorina sp.*, many less than 10mm diameter, within Structure 6 at SB 001 clearly attests to the importance of intertidal shellfish in the diet of the enslaved Africans living on the plantation. Shellfish assemblages at Structures C, D, and E at SB 007 are more proportionate to the remains of small fish, supplemented by some large mammals. Behind-the-Ridge, Palmetto Point, and Middle Island were small, peripheral villages that are no longer inhabited, and consumption of *Neoloricata* and *Fissurella nodosa* are likely indicative of lower class since no remains of *Fissurella nodosa and Neoloricata* were found among the faunal assemblage of SB 036 throughout its entire use period. The SB 036 assemblage, in fact, only produced two Frenchmen's whelks and a few fragments of *Cittarium pica*. Intertidal shellfish evidently composed little to no part of the eighteenth and nineteenth century upper class diet in The Bottom. While fish did not compose a large proportion of the assemblage from SB 036, the remains themselves included a range of sizes, but notably, many were large. The lack of intertidal shellfish and the abundance of large fish and mammals stands in contrast to the remains recovered from all other sites concerned in this research, and suggests that this was not a lower class faunal assemblage. The ability to procure large fish implies that the household had continual access to a large, offshore boat, or that they had the social or financial means to regularly procure them. The class vectors implicated in the continual access to large fish further strengthens the assertion that this household was among Saba's upper class.

The author frequently fishes from shore across Saba, and the species of fish caught in shallower waters reflects the fish remains present between the three sites. The common names of

fish species present among the Palmetto Point, Behind-the-Ridge, and Middle Island assemblages includes, in order of appearance on Figure 116: *Holocentrus,* which refers to the squirrelfish; *Epinephalus* is very likely a small grouper of the species *Epinaphalus maculatus,* locally known as "butterfish" due to the texture of the cooked flesh and commonly caught from shore; *Mycteroperca* refers to several medium-sized groupers which frequent reefs around Saba; *Haemulon* refers to several species of grunts which are commonly found around Saban reefs; *Balistes* refer to triggerfish, probably mostly *Melichthys niger*, commonly known as the Black Durgon and known locally as "pigfish" due to the grunting sound it produces after being landed. This species is readily caught from shore on Saba where there is access to deeper water, which is evident based upon its abundance at Middle Island. *Acanthurus* refers to Surgeonfish; *Diodon* refers to species such as pufferfish, boxfish and porcupine fish; *Calamus* refers to fish commonly known as porgies; *Sparisoma* and *Scarus* refer to genus parrotfish; *Muraenidae* refers to moray eels; *Halichoeres* refer to the wrasse genus; *Carangidae* refers to the jack family; and finally *Decapterus* refers to the mackerel genus. Except for the mackerel present at Middle Island, all of these fish inhabit shallow coral reefs and can be caught from shore with hook and line. No deeper water reef fish such as yellowtail snapper (*Ocyurus chrysurus*) or red snapper, locally known as "redmen" (*Lutjanus campechanus*), were present in the assemblage, and also lacking are any of the large, open water species such as yellowfin tuna (*Thunnus albacares*), dolphinfish (*Coryphaena hippurus),* or wahoo (*Acanthocybium solandri*). Mackerel, together with Atlantic cod (*Gadus morhua*), are species that were commonly salted and sent to the Caribbean as "salt fish". In light of the absence of other open water species, this mackerel is almost certainly salt fish. Jorissen (2015) identified at least three Moray Eels (Muraenidae) at Middle Island, and either shark, stingray, or skate at Palmetto Point. The author has observed through personal communication with Sabans that small sharks and stingrays are kept and eaten if caught while fishing. Moray eels and other eels are occasionally caught while fishing, though they are not intentionally targeted, and are also not typically considered as food by Sabans. Jorissen also noted the absence of *Sphyraena spp.* (barracuda) among the assemblages, which is probably due to their propensity to harbour ciguatoxins which are common among large, predatory reef fish around Saba, and especially the Saba bank (Jorissen 2015; Keur & Keur 1960). Fish consumption at SB 001 appears to be secondary in importance to intertidal shellfish based upon the sheer number of the latter. The fish remains are clearly all from small species and is consistent with diets from Palmetto Point, Middle Island, and Behind-the-Ridge. The presence of *Diodon* at Structure 6 in SB 001, Behind-the-Ridge and Middle Island, which probably consists of pufferfish or porcupine fish, is curious since nearly the entire flesh and organs of these fish are extremely poisonous, and it is highly doubtful that they were consumed. Their use outside of a food source at this point is only speculation, but it may relate to the use of the flesh or organs as a

poison or narcotic, or perhaps reuse of the caltrop-shaped bones as a defense against intrusions into or around one's household at night by ghosts, locally known as "jumbies". In an account by Will Johnson of "Big Jim", a free Saban of African descent in the early twentieth century, Johnson describes that "…night filled him with terror. He was afraid of jumbies, and to protect himself, broke up empty Bay Rum bottles and sprinkled the pieces on the floor. No one could convince him that a ghost's feet couldn't be cut" (Johnson 1994:50).

Together these assemblages of shallow reef fish and salt fish suggests that the inhabitants of Behind-the-Ridge, Middle Island, and Palmetto Point did not have the economic or social means to acquire larger, seaworthy boats capable of offshore fishing, and especially in the case of Middle Island, residents did not discriminate between fish in terms of suitability as food. Therefore, the diet consisting of these reef fish at SB 001 Structure 6, Middle Island, Palmetto Point, and Behind-the-Ridge is indicative of lower class. The faunal assemblage for SB 036, in contrast to Palmetto Point, Middle Island, and Behind-the-Ridge, features larger fish evidenced by vertebra and ribs, and large, stiff pectoral fins such as from *Thunnus sp.* and large *Caranx sp,* though most were unidentifiable to the author. This indicates that the households that produced the assemblage had access either to larger, offshore fishing boats, or the means to acquire large fish either through trade or purchase, and consequently indicative of upper class.

Saba has been historically recognized for the quality of its horticultural produce, most notably for giant cabbages and banana trees, and the quality of its potatoes (Adams 1795; Anonymous 1778; Thompson 1814; Wentworth 1834). Other produce included tannia, "indian corn", cassava, and yams. Fruit trees are found across the island, but are mostly dominated by mango trees. These can be found scattered throughout the mid ranges of the island, but well The Bottom, and especially in the area known as Tara Ground where there is a large, pure stand of old growth mango trees. Mangoes do not grow as well in the upper ranges of the island, in particular the mid to upper western part of Saba, including Windwardside, Booby Hill, The Level, and the upper portion of Hell's Gate as they are exposed to the trade winds. Warmer air from the trades condenses as it is funneled upslope to the island's higher, cooler windward regions to produce or increase localized cloud cover, which readily fosters the growth of a black mould upon mango fruits and leaves in these areas (Lloyd Simmons, personal communication 2013; Harry Simmons, personal communication 2013). Fruit trees such as soursop, orange and tamarind were noted at Palmetto Point and Middle Island, while lemon trees can be found in the upper reaches around The Mountain. Indigenous fruit trees are found mostly in the mid-levels of Saba; soursop is common, and a small grove of *Eugenia ligustrina*, which grows small edible fruits, was found by the author just below English Quarter. Bananas were cultivated in the upper levels around and within the crater of The Mountain. These fruits, vegetables, and root crops

were cultivated and collected by subsistence agriculturalists across the island, and surpluses were shipped to St. Eustatius to be sold. Therefore, these surpluses would also have been available for local purchase by Saban plantations to partially fulfill the ration requirements for their enslaved Africans. In addition, the personal plots allotted to enslaved Africans for their own use very likely featured the same vegetables and root crops that were cultivated by free subsistence agriculturalists, therefore lending further similarity to the diets between them and low class Sabans.

Burial practices

There are distinct temporal and spatial differences in burial practices across Saba. Saban burials were either unmarked, or marked with either dry stone arrangements, burial vaults, cobbled stone and mortar rectangular markers (herein referred to as "mock vaults"), or grave stones (also including cement crosses). In a tradition now unique to the modern Caribbean, white Sabans and many free African descent Sabans were buried close to their own house in a plot designated as the family graveyard, with most aligned to face east. Middle-aged and elderly Sabans took a certain pride in having their own coffins constructed, and they were often kept underneath their beds until the time they were required (Crane 1971:62). Burials upon church property did not occur until at least the last half of the nineteenth century; the earliest datable marker in this graveyard dates to 1854, while the earliest example in the Catholic churchyard in Windwardside dates to 1876. In at least one instance, a plot of land was designated as a burial ground set apart from churches, whereupon land was sold to the government of Saba in English Quarter for use as a burial ground for the poor (SVB 1816-187:20/1/1873). Unfortunately, this plot could not be located during a pedestrian survey, and may have been destroyed during the construction of the Agriculture Department and other houses in the area.

Regardless of whether it existed or was never implemented, the necessity for such a graveyard indicates that a continuous number of those that were considered Windwardside's poor by governing officials either did not wish to follow the Saban house-yard burial tradition, or more likely, simply lived on very small plots and did not have the available land around their house for such, and could not afford (or were not permitted) a burial in a churchyard. Such households almost certainly existed before this time, and would have been situated on "spot of land" in Saba's documentary record.

Saba's population had also been continuously growing throughout the nineteenth century. In 1816 there were 1,145 residents, climbing to 1,617 in 1847, 1,877 in 1861, and 2,072 by 1878. Therefore, the availability of land for households and agriculture would have been nearly halved from the beginning of the century, and larger household lots were probably subdivided for further house construction. Other households with burgeoning families did not make structural adjustments, and

small houses sleeping up to a dozen family members were not uncommon (Lorna Simmons, personal communication 2014; Will Johnson, personal communication 2013; Pearl Zagers, personal communication 2008). In households with small yards that had been continuously occupied by family members into previous centuries, there may simply have been little to no land remaining for house-yard burials, thereby necessitating the new graveyard for the poor. An increase in poverty, therefore, was commensurate throughout nineteenth century Saba with a population increase otherwise unseen in the island's colonial and post-colonial history.



Figure 118: Bobby Every poses with his coffin which he constructed himself. Courtesy of Will Johnson.

The earliest known grave markers employed on Saba are arrangements of unmodified, unmortared stones. This can consist either of a flat or heaped pile of stones, or an outline of stones around the interred individual. In some instances, this outline consists of carefully selected flattened stones, set into the ground widthwise in order to form a line, with a more rounded rock serving as the headstone. These can be found throughout the island in small numbers, and three have been noted in the graveyard near The Gap in The Bottom in an apparent mid twentieth century context.



Figure 119: Dry stone grave at House 2, Middle Island.



Figure 120: Dry stone outline grave at House 2, SB 026.

The earliest use of grave markers other than dry stone piles or outlines dates to 1825, within the Thomas Dinzey graveyard in The Bottom. This was probably located close or adjacent to his former homestead. The graveyard hosts the household of the former governor, his descendents and their wedded partners, and a probably a select few unrelated individuals. Thomas Dinzey's grave marker consists of a type that became prevalent among Saba's upper class during the nineteenth century. It was built of locally sourced grey andesite cobbled into rectangular blocks and stacked to at least to two levels in the form of a rectangle roughly proportional to the individual interred, and aligned to face east. The top would then be covered with a thin layer of mortar to make a smooth, plain surface. From herein this will be referred to as a "mock vault" grave marker. There are no other distinguishing features of Thomas Dinzey's marker, other than the initials "T.D. AG'D 72 Y" engraved in serif onto a block in the northwestern corner. Most grave markers constructed in this style were otherwise unmarked. A partial survey of grave markers across Saba from churchyard cemeteries, public cemeteries, and certain households across Saba produced a count of 50 graves in this basic style. Probable pre-emancipation variations to this type of grave include the addition of a tall obelisk as a headstone, which often housed a slate engraved with the details of the deceased in cursive writing. Few datable examples of the nineteen known markers remain due to the poor preservation of the slates, but one behind Lambee's Place in Windwardside dates to 1864, while a second in the Catholic cemetery in Windwardside dates to 1876. Another variant to this type includes the use of engraved

marble or slate slabs, usually in approximate dimensions to the surface area of the mock vault marker, which was laid on top of it. This occurred in four instances, and dated to 1854 (Elizabeth Winfield), 1862 (B.R.W. Horton), 1875 (Moses Leverock, former Lt. Governor), and 1898 (Joanna D. Leverock). Not coincidentally, these were all markers for known upper class Sabans. As previously mentioned, the marker for B.R.W. Horton also prominently featured the Mason symbol encircled by laurel leaves.



Figure 121: The grave of Thomas Dinzey, showing his carved initials. The corner of the grave of B.R.W. Horton can be seen to the left of Dinzey's grave.

The use of grave stones and mock vaults as markers became increasingly common by the late nineteenth century, and were the norm by the twentieth century. These can be found in both the churchyard cemeteries, and the Saban house burials. The use of grave stones and vaulted graves as markers, however, did not extend into Palmetto Point, Middle Island, or the plantations at Flat Point, Spring Bay, and Spring Bay Flat. The latter cannot be claimed with complete certainty, though, given the cliff's erosion which has reached right up to the Big House, to the point of consuming part of the north east part of the house foundation. No grave markers are known for Spring Bay. The one marker found at Flat Point is located about 20m northeast of the probable location of the Big House, and aligned to face north, shown in Figure 112 below. Given its context within SB 001, it represents the oldest known grave marker on Saba. At Spring Bay Flat up to fourteen suspected dry stone graves were identified, though no interred individuals were located after thin test trenches across four that

were considered the most likely. Therefore, it appears that enslaved Africans who lived and died on the Spring Bay Flat plantation were probably buried in unmarked graves, as burial at sea is unknown in Saba.



Figure 122: Probable dry stone grave marker, Flat Point plantation.

Palmetto Point and Middle Island both feature multiple burials associated with houses. At Palmetto Point, at least seven dry stone outline graves have been identified, and at Middle Island, 9 have also been found. Those at Middle Island are concentrated at House 2, and also to the west of Cistern 5. Middle Island also features dry stone graves, which are found also at House 2, with another pair just 3m south of House 1. Notably, though, those at House 1 are heaped piles of dry stone, which even include some cut stone that would have otherwise been used as part of a house foundation or a hearth. There have been a few posthumous modifications in the later twentieth century to the burials at Palmetto Point, whereby small cement crosses were erected on one associated with House 9, and a plaque associated with House 5. Curiously, a grey granite gravestone, rounded at the top, was found unused and deposited face-down on the surface at House 2 at Middle Island in two pieces. The largest was found between Graves 3 and 4, while the second, smaller fragment was located near Trash Pit 2. The gravestone was smooth and polished, but bore no etchings or other forms of modification. Considering the number of houses that were present on the 1861 and 1865 censuses at each village,

this does not correspond to the number of graves located. While a margin of error on the part of the survey can be attributed to the preponderance of stones scattered across the surface, making dry stone grave markers difficult to identify, this indicates that some burials may have been unmarked, or have since lost their marker.

The differences in markers across Middle Island itself is also noteworthy. There are three types of grave markers across the village. This consists of two heaped dry stones at House 1, the aforementioned dry stone outlines, and a third, which is somewhat a hybrid of the two. The third is composed of a single layer of stones set into the ground to form the rough outline of an elongated hexagonal coffin, with two stones to flare out at the shoulders, and a single stone protruding somewhat higher than the rest as a headstone. The last two both occur at House 2; three of them are the second variety, while six are from the third. Since the house had at least two different white families as tenants during the late nineteenth century, and probably more previously, this difference in marker style among the graves may be indicative of slight differences in burial practices between households. All the known tenants of House 1 during the nineteenth century were of African descent, and this is the only house with associated burials that are heaped dry stones. As of the 1865 census, there were 70 inhabitants across 19 houses. Since the village was also occupied between the late eighteenth century and the 1940's, the presence of just 17 grave markers represents only a fraction of the former residents who lived and died at Middle Island. In particular, the absence of grave markers upon the flat, terraced areas of Middle Island which would have supported wattle huts suggests that the traditional Saban grave markers were not consistently employed for burials if indeed individuals are interred there.

There are two known styles of interment on Saba. The first and presently universal method involves lining the bottom and sides of the grave pit with either modified or unmodified locally sources stones, in order to form a chamber for the individual's coffin. The top of this vault is then either covered with a broad, flat stone, or a series of elongated stones, and the rest of the pit is backfilled with soil. A detailed overview of the Saban underground vault tradition is provided by Haviser (2015), who notes that it appears to have direct roots in the burial practices of Wales. The second style, for which the only example is known from the Fort Bay Ridge site (SB 037), involves a shallow burial with no coffin in an unmodified pit.

A good example of the first style was noted in late April of 2015, when construction crews in The Quarter section of Windwardside accidently penetrated a burial vault of an unknown grave. The author documented the burial, and noted some differences in style compared those excavated by Haviser (2015). The burial follows the Saba style noted by Haviser in that it consisted of a vault lined with andesite stones aligned inward with a flat face, either natural or cobbled. The vault measured

53cm high, 52cm wide, and approximately 210cm long. The vault stones were bonded with mud, and the individual in the grave was aligned to face east. A slight variance was noted in this grave's capstone, in that rather than a solid, flattened block of stone, it consists of a series of elongated andesite stones bonded with mortar, with flat faces aligned inwards towards the vault. Coffin nails lined the perimeter of the interred individual in a rectangular fashion. Aside from the coffin nails, the only other artifacts recovered were a second molar and two pairs of hook and eye clothing fasteners, one of which laid atop the posterior of a lumbar vertebra, indicating that it was from a front-fastening garment. The bottom of the vault is approximately 122cm (4ft) from the surface, and the grave is marked with a dry stone marker. The burial is difficult to date given the absence of contextual artifacts, but based upon the dry stone grave marker in Windwardside, it probably dates prior to the late nineteenth century.



Figure 123: Grave vault at the Windwardside parking lot in "The Quarter", facing east.



Figure 124: Dry stone outline grave marker atop the vault of the Windwardside parking lot grave. Note the closely-set series of eight stones running east to west. Faces west.

The second known interment style is derived from the Fort Bay Ridge site (SB 037). The remains were remarkably well preserved in stark contrast to all skeletal remains encountered by the author using the burial shaft vault tradition. It appears that decomposition increases rapidly since this technique produces preserves a large air pocket due to the cap stone(s) laid upon the top of the vault. The shallowness of the burial shaft, the lack of lining in the shaft, the absence of a coffin, grave marker, and grave goods, and its location quite some distance from house foundations all strongly suggest that this is an individual that was not accorded a traditional Saban burial, and by extension was not considered Saban. These characteristics alone strongly suggest that this individual was enslaved. The strontium isotope ratios show an origin in West Africa, and therefore this woman was a first-generation enslaved African.

The adoption of gravestones and mock vaults as markers represents a shift in cultural practices among Sabans, and served as a nascent class vector due to their expense. Grave stones and mock vaults require labour and materials which increase in cost relative to the size and style desired by interested parties, whereas dry stone markers, whether piles or outlines, can be made with no monetary investment. A tangible class divide is present at Middle Island, Palmetto Point, and among lower class residents of The Bottom, St. John's, and Windwardside through their continued use of dry stone grave markers rather than grave stones and mock vaults, which intensified as the nineteenth and twentieth centuries progressed as dry stone markers slowly fell out of favour. Class consciousness

relative to burial markers is evidenced by the unfinished, abandoned grave stone at House 2 in Middle Island, among the dry stone house yard burials.

Chapter 8: The Social and Material Landscapes of Race, Class, and Gender in pre-Emancipation Colonial Saba

Determining the social and material vectors of class, race, and gender in pre-emancipation colonial Saba stemmed from a call by Charles Orser for historical archaeologists to consider "how race and class determine, structure, and impact the distribution of the material objects they find at sites associated with people who have belonged to racial groups" (Orser 2007:46). Dialectical ideologies of class, race, and gender operated as Bourdieu's unquestioned "structuring structures" in Caribbean colonial society and manifested on the island through a variety of social and material vectors whose efficacy for such were dependent on social, temporal, and spatial contexts in which they were embedded. Determining common ideological vectors for powered relations on Saba proceeded by identifying those immutable vectors that were imposed upon individuals by Saban society at birth, and those malleable vectors that could be realized by individuals within the confines imposed by the immutable vectors.

Now that the fundamental aspects of Saba's pre-emancipation archaeology and history have been outlined, the discussion will now proceed to dissect and analyze the processes that resulted in Saban ideologies of class, race, and gender within the island's social, physical, and material landscapes as they are evidenced in these records. The "incomplete hegemony" of colonial authorities and plantations upon Saba are rooted in negotiations with the realities imposed by the island's landscape. This would frame the island's economic development and social relations throughout the pre-emancipation colonial period. Class is a facet of ideology that acts between people through social and material queues, rather than through perceived biological queues such as race and gender. Non-material class vectors normally require an introduction or some form of familiarity between individuals for them to become relevant to the given social context. It is this caveat that separates non-material class vectors from race and gender in European colonial slave society. No introductions or familiarity is required between individuals for race and gender to become active ideological vectors within the social context, since they are instantly recognizable. While one's class is capable of changing both through time and particular social contexts, race and gender were an immutable element of the individual that pervaded every set of social relations. Race and gender, in other words, allowed colonial slave society to deal in absolutes. A black man could never be a white woman, enslaved Africans could never become Governor, and women of any race could never become Saban

sea captains. As a means to showcase the dialectic between race, class, and gender in Saba's social and material landscape, they will be discussed separately, which will also serve to highlight how particular ideological vectors waxed and waned through time in Saba's colonial slave society.

The relevancy of particular vectors for ideology will vary depending upon a given social context. However, while particular elements of class do not manifest in every social context, race and gender have more inherent capacity to do so. The distribution of gender and race among agents within a given European colonial social context has a wider *potential* to contextualize and influence social relations than class simply because they recognizable without an introduction. Therefore, unlike race and gender, particular vectors of class do not frame every social context since they are transient between them, and can be transcended by the individual. Understanding the relevancy of class, therefore, requires it to be framed within particular social and geographic contexts where it is most prevalent. Through this approach, this research identified a series of particular ideological vectors within pre-emancipation colonial Saban society. This includes shifts from European national identity to a Saban identity in the late seventeenth century, titles, profession, religion, surname, first name, wealth and estates, debt and credit systems, purchasing practices, village of residence, race and legal status, diet, race relations, laws pertaining to slavery and emancipation, burial practices, housing and domestic architecture, and material culture.

Once the social and material vectors of Saban ideology were identified, the resultant datasets can be instrumental in addressing several important issues within historical archaeology. This includes identifying race, class, and gender in Saba's pre-emancipation colonial archaeological record, the development and maintenance of poverty in a proto-capitalist context; and socio-material differentiations between slavery, poverty, and low class. Together these establish the social and material vectors of ideology in Saba during the concerned period, the limits of inquiry employing this approach, and the multiple dimensions of ideology that can be embodied in a given assemblage due to the social context of the observer.

Seascapes, landscapes, and the "incomplete hegemony"

The "incomplete hegemony" of colonial authorities and plantation agriculture enabled both prosperity and poverty for Saban residents. The tensions that resulted between these interests relative to those of creole residents would serve to frame the development of ideological relations on Saba. The island's colonial landscape was defined primarily by plantation and non-plantation landscapes, which partitioned the islands during the mid seventeenth century. During initial settlement Dutch settlement of the Caribbean during this time, Curaçao was intended primarily as a defensible staging point for trading with the Spanish Main. The northern islands, meanwhile, were

settled and initially governed with the intent to turn them into plantation colonies. St. Maarten, as an exception, also had salt pans that were desired by the Dutch. Saba and probably Statia witnessed a boom in sugar production during the 1650's, which ended by 1665, and recovered by the end of the century. While the quality of sugar on Saba was especially noted to be of high quality, the landscape of Saba inherently limited the possibilities for the extent of its cultivation. Other small plantations sprung up across Saba, including indigo, tobacco, coffee, were evidently small scale and met with mixed successes. While coffee is noted on Saban exports to St. Eustatius during the mid eighteenth century, there were no documented exports of tobacco or indigo. The realities surrounding Statia's viability as a plantation colony were summarized succinctly by then St. Eustatius Governor Isaac Lamont, wherein he said that "…without trade St. Eustatius would not be worth 100 guilders" (Goslinga 1985:211). The GWC's eventual support of the *klein vaart* out of St. Eustatius provided a means to work with powerful creole family groups and other creole residents' interests due to the inability of St. Eustatius to function as a full plantation-based economy. Similar circumstances were experienced on Saba due to the geographic realities of the island. These conflicting interests between geographic realities and creole residents resulted in the "incomplete hegemony" of the GWC on Statia. On Saba, this extended to the plantocracy and the emergence of capitalism as well, especially before 1778 as most plantations were foreign-owned. The tensions which resulted between GWC interests, plantation interests, island residents, and the geographic limitations of the landscape would serve to frame Saba's colonial history.

Beginning in the 1650's and extending past emancipation, Saban residents were excluded from a significant proportion of Saba's flat, prime agricultural land that was owned largely in absentia by merchants and government officials in St. Eustatius. This early division of the island's landscape into plantation and non-plantation contexts would have profound effects on the capacity for Sabans to develop their own agrarian export economies. Nonetheless, some small scale cultivation occurred. The prevalence of hand-drawn sugar cane presses among households across Saba into the nineteenth century testifies to the "incomplete hegemony" of the proto-capitalism of plantations versus non-plantation agriculture across Saba. Sugar cane was cultivated by private individuals, but the hand press was for personal consumption of cane juice rather than as a means to provide it to plantations. In addition, oral history recounts that sugarcane was cultivated in English Quarter and supplied to the boiling house at Spring Bay Flat. Given the small size of the prime agricultural land at Spring Bay Flat for sugar cultivation, it appears that the plantation was partially reliant upon sugarcane sold to it by private residents. Effectively, the plantation was reliant upon private individuals for its viability, at least in the later years of its existence. The negligible value of the plantation towards Abraham Heyliger, and later Carel Seelig, is reflected in the size of the Big House, which was smaller than the

size of the average "Saban-style" house documented by Brugman. More comparable house sizes were to be found at Palmetto Point, a village that Sabans generally considered socially backwards and poor. This highlights the importance of space in defining class relative to people and materiality, and the limitations that Saba's landscape imposed upon the dominance and profitability of its plantations.

Despite the significant proportion of Saba's landmass that was occupied by plantation lands, the profits derived by the GWC from Saban plantation produce in eighteenth century were neglibile. Between 1770 and 1771, for example, the pasturage fees collected on St. Eustatius by the GWC were equal or greater than their profits derived from Saba. However, this may also be a result of smuggling goods out of Saba to St. Eustatius to avoid taxation by the GWC, which may account for the general absence of sugar and indigo on shipping records from the eighteenth century. As a result of being neither profitable nor an expense to the GWC, Saba received little attention from colonial authorities. The fort destroyed in 1651 was never rebuilt, and the island's defenses instead relied upon taking advantage of the island's poor anchorage and inaccessibility. A series of double-use retaining walls along the sides of the Fort Bay gut, which led from Fort Bay to The Bottom, were constructed both mitigated the effects of hillside erosion and served as a trap for invaders such as Pinel in 1689. While this system was still in use during the late eighteenth century, the island's defenses were almost non-existant by 1820.

While certain industries such as tailoring and cobbling probably made use of locally available materials, such as leather and cotton, most agricultural surpluses on non-plantation lands were small scale and intermittent, witnessed by the sporadic exports to Saba of provisions to St. Eustatius during the eighteenth century. By the early nineteenth century, the only recorded exports were small numbers of live cattle. Even though the last plantation on Saba ceased operations by the 1820's, the large tracts of land encompassed by the Spring Bay and Bottom plantations did not see significant development or settlement efforts up to emancipation, and laid fallow. In the case of the latter, its fallow state in the middle of settlement in The Bottom prompted the Saban government to pass a law restricting passage through the plantation grounds, and in particular, prohibited the collection of thatch within its bounds as well.

Following the destruction of Saba's and Statia's plantations by the English in 1665, both islands struggled to recover economically. The result on Saba was quite dramatic compared to the 1650's; just 90 white residents were recorded for 1678. Saba's plantation economy was non-existant during this period due to the tiny population and complete lack of enslaved Africans. This would have led the remaining Sabans to consider the regional seascape, rather than Saba's landscape, as a means to subsist and profit. Statian and Saban residents engaged in the regional trade to the disregard of England and France's mercantile policies to such as extent that Stapleton considered them better

under water than above. Throughout this early period, the GWC turned a blind eye to their dealings, but was recognized after the liberalization of the Company's monopolies in 1730. This helped contribute to Statia's economic boom during that decade, and provided further incentive for Sabans to participate in the *klein vaart* either as owners or shareholders of ships. Indeed, between 1743 and 1770, at least twenty Saban captains were engaged in the regional trade. Saba's worsening economic situation following hurricanes in 1772, 1780 and 1819, coupled with the regional instability of the Napoleonic Wars and the end of Statia's Golden Rock priod, did not halt their participation in seafaring and trade. Conveniently, the disorder in oversight and governance in the Netherlands' western colonies coincided well with the outbreak of the South American Wars of Independence and the later Cisplatine War. Saba and Statia became well known as trade, smuggling, and laundering destinations for privateers engaged in these wars, as well as pirates. The *Carraboo* incident, coupled with the end of the Cisplatine War, spelled an end to this trade. Meanwhile, Saba's regional trade became less lucrative due to the increasing prevalence of free and open trade across the islands, and the gradual demise of sugar cultivation in the region. The seascape for Sabans, therefore, was required to expand beyond their previous horizons, and around the time of emancipation, many Saban seafarers began seeking work abroad, especially out of New York.

To certain degrees, eighteenth century Dutch ship owners engaged in the *klein vaart* could be considered as capitalists in the same vein as plantation owners. A trade vessel's owner or shareholders owned the means of production, in this case, a ship, which provided the means for engaging in regional trade. The eighteenth century Dutch regional trade, which included Saban ship owners, captains, and both free and enslaved sailors, partook in an economic system that continuously sought customers by penetration into new markets, and those markets that were actively discouraged or even outlawed by other nations. The recorded profits from these ventures were distributed though wages according to a hierarchical system, with sailors and young deckhands receiving the least, and enslaved Africans of course receiving none. From here, these social relations fit with with Leone and Potter's definition of capitalism from Chapter 3. The definition breaks down regarding private ownership and freedom. Adult Sabans working aboard these ships probably owned land on Saba. If they did not, their relatives almost certainly did, and they would probably eventually become landowners through inheritance, as Saba recognized private ownership. The land they owned or had access to allowed them a means to sustain themselves; again, if they did not have access to their own land, they could resort to a sharecropping arrangement with another land-owning Saban. For those engaged upon these ships as enslaved crew members, they do not fall under the umbrella of this definition as it assumes that workers are free rather than enslaved.

The successes of St. Eustatius as the "Golden Rock" reflects the antagonisms between European colonial interests and the lived experiences and realities of creoles in the Caribbean colonies. While Britain continued to maintain a policy of mercantilism, which often worked against creole interests and was openly and continually thwarted by British citizens both on British and non-British islands, Dutch colonial policy on St. Eustatius, conversely, was content to work with local interests to take advantage of regional, creole trade networks and an easy naturalization processes for foreigners, to the benefit of the United Provinces. British merchants in particular were attracted to St. Eustatius during the 1740's and 1750's to engage in the *klein vaart*, which British colonial authorities in Antigua viewed as detrimental to their own interests, verging even on traitorous. Free trade fostered a prosperous and cosmopolitan society on St. Eustatius during the mid to late eighteenth century, in stark contrast to Saba. The GWC's interests in Saba as a plantation-based economy can be generally regarded as a failure, and served to exacerbate the island's poverty throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Thomas Dinzey's accession to the position of Governor in 1778, combined with his class as a plantation owner, represents the merger of plantation versus non-plantation interests, and the simultaneous accession of a Saban to power and the plantocracy. This merger between governance, plantation interests, and local residents is clearly visible in laws passed by governing officials on the island. One law in particular made it illegal to trespass in order to collect grass, timber, thatch, and firewood on the Dinzey's lands, which included their other lands beyond the bounds of the plantation. Dinzey's grave introduced a new style of marker to Saba, evidently derived from his familiarity with the burial practices of plantation owners, merchants, and officials on St. Eustatius. This "mock vault" style was adopted by other upper class Sabans throughout the rest of the century. With regards to the incomplete hegemony of colonial governance and plantation interests over Saba's landscape and residents, Thomas Dinzey represents its apex. Upon his death in 1825, Saba's plantation era was over.

Just two decades later, Lamont's observation was starkly realized as its trade-based economy withered to regional irrelevance. The economy, social environment, and population of St. Eustatius was very similar to that of Saba by the 1840's: insignificant trade, the collapse of plantation agriculture with a subsequent rise in subsistence agriculture, cattle raising, small-scale exports of provisions, pervasive poverty, and a more homogenized population. Slavery, as a figure of the GWC's hegemony over Statia, brought prosperity to the island during the eighteenth century. Ironically, by the nineteenth century, the successes brought by slavery from the previous century would serve to exacerbate poverty across the island. Repeated attempts by the Dutch government to promote and sponsor agricultural projects continually failed since many free African descent residents refused to provide the labour for their success. To them, this was reminiscent of "slave work".

Saba's insignificance to colonial authorities was such that no projects were proposed to improve the island's economy, once again leaving residents to find their own path to prosperity within a landscape still dominated by the legacy plantation agriculture from previous centuries. Indeed, even the courts on Saba had their own legal system, meting out justice "as it always was". After the closure of Saba's last plantation in the 1820's, the "incomplete hegemony" of external authorities and plantation agriculture grew to what could be considered "indifferent hegemony", or even "careless hegemony". Few foreigners visited the island, and by 1904, it was recommended to the Dutch Tweede Kamer to move all Saban residents to St. Eustatius due to widespread poverty and soil exhaustion. Saba would have been left as an uninhabited island. This "incomplete hegemony" clearly shaped Saba's colonial history, and fostered a sense of self-reliance upon its residents who lived with a legacy indifference by colonial authorities, and marginalization by living on second-tier lands otherwise unfavourable to plantation interests.

Landscapes of class

Saban identity is strongly village-oriented, and this identity is closely tied with ideologies of class, and to a lesser extent race. The island's steep and rugged topography provides only a few scattered areas large and flat enough to support clustered settlement. Their relative isolation from one another, despite the small side of Saba, created an environment which fostered identities rooted in one's village of residence. This is most clearly evidenced with the existence of no less than five distinct accents across Saba recognized by residents in the present: The Bottom, Hell's Gate, Windwardside, Mary's Point (Palmetto Point), and among the white inhabitants of St. John's. On St. Eustatius, conversely, identity among ancestral residents was more strongly tied to an island basis since historically there was only one recognized town (Oranjestad). Village of residence as a class vector almost certainly increased in relevance at the expense of nationality as a more island-based identity became rooted in the populace.

The division of space by nationality during the seventeenth century is visible in the present through certain place names. English Quarter, a self-evident in its implication, is the name of a domestic district adjacent and northeast of Windwardside. Crispeen is the name of an area between St. John's and The Bottom that presently features several houses. This area was remarked upon by Labat (1724:343), who said it was named after St. Crispin, the patron saint of cobblers. Shoemaking was a very common profession on Saba during this time, and the Catholic name given to this area implies that it was inhabited by Catholics, who likely were not Dutch, but rather English, Irish, French, or Scottish. By 1699, the census was organized by household with no mention of nationality, thereby demonstrating the increasing status of a creole, Saban identity among the majority of the island's

residents as the eighteenth century opened and progressed, and relegated class based upon nationality to (European) immigrants and visitors

One's village of residence was an important class-based ideological vector in Saban society that continues to the present day. Residents of The Bottom considered themselves the highest class of Saban on the island, which likely persisted throughout most of Saba's colonial period. Tensions existed among residents between villages; marriages between people from The Bottom and Windwardside were rare, and many Sabans lived their entire lives without having visited other villages across the island. Palmetto Point was considered to be low class and socially backwards by both Sabans and early twentieth century visitors. This stigma, with its origins in the pre-emancipation period, continues in the present relative to the area of The Bottom known as "The Promised Land", a formerly unsettled tract of land in the southeast corner of the village where the last residents of Palmetto Point were evacuated to in 1936 by the Government of Curaçao in exchange for their lands in their former village.

Differences in burial practices were visible across Saba's landscape beginning around the early nineteenth century with the introduction of gravestones and mock vaults as grave markers. These gradually replaced dry stone markers in The Bottom, Windwardside, and St. John's. The use of dry stone markers was increasingly relegated to the low class, and remained the only style used at Saba's more peripheral villages such as Middle Island and Palmetto Point.

The population of enslaved Africans during the 1650's exceeded that of white residents, which reflects the early spread of Saba's plantation economy and the resultant division of lands between plantation and non-plantation contexts. Due to the high percentage of foreign ownership among Saba's plantations up to 1778, it was expected that some material differences should be visible between landscapes of slavery on Saba between the largely foreign-owned plantations and the local, subsistence-oriented slavery among those owned by Sabans. Between the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century on the Spring Bay Flat plantation, this occurred through the absence of transfer print wares in enslaved African domestic areas, evidently an intentional choice by the plantation manager or owner; and the use of dry stone housing for enslaved Africans. Foreign ownership was materialized on the eighteenth century landscape at the Flat Point plantation through its use of ceramic roof tiles, which to date has not been found anywhere else on Saba, and is not a component of traditional Saban domestic architecture.

Landscapes of race

Racialized space across pre-emancipation colonial Saba was limited to those associated with slavery during the seventeenth and early to mid eighteenth century, and expressed most visibly on

Saban plantations. Following cumulative increases of free African descent Sabans after 1780, free racialized space began to emerge on Saba via Middle Island by the early nineteenth century. Enslaved African housing on Saban non-plantation contexts included either thatch housing, wattle houses, or shared domestic space with their owners. Plantation contexts on Saba saw either housing of wattle or dry stone. No remains of dry-stone enslaved African houses were found outside of plantation contexts; rather, these structures were used as animal shelters, such as the example within the sheep pen in Upper Hell's Gate (SB 039) and the cattle shelter at the Rendez-vouz. Since clearing stones from fields precluded planting and infrastructure, a large surplus of stone was available from the Spring Bay Flat and Flat Point plantations which could be put towards construction. At Spring Bay Flat this is especially visible in the series of organized piles of rock, such as the rock towers, and other unorganized rock piles scattered across the planted area immediately west of the boiling house. Constructing enslaved African housing from dry stone was therefore a natural extension of this practice, and fostered a visible difference in Saba's material landscape between plantation and non-plantation contexts.

Landscapes of gender

Unlike landscapes of class and race on Saba, which occupied definable swathes of land, Saba's gendered landscape was most visible at the household level. Unfortunately, due to the small sizes of houses, it was difficult to engender household materiality relative to the use of space. In addition, it appears that men did most of the public purchasing among late eighteenth to nineteenth century. Within the extents of Saba's known documentary record, it is difficult at this point to surmise on whose behalf and what degree of influence particular household members had towards the (male) buyer to engender goods at the point of purchase. However, within households where the male head was at sea or working abroad for extended periods, even years, the opportunity exists for interpreting household assemblages in terms of a woman's choice. While these particular households were not identified or excavated as part of this research, this is a fruitful avenue of research in the future. Religion became visible ideological vector by the 1850's on Saba's landscape with the spread of Catholicism across Saba. Its initial spread was concentrated among women, but mostly among residents of Windwardside. The Bottom remained mostly Anglican between 1850-1870, as evidenced through marriage records, their absence in the Catholic baptismal records, and funeral donations to the Anglican Church throughout the last wills and testaments in the Book of Recorded Mortgages and the Saba Transfer Deeds. This provides the best known example of gendered space in Saba's pre-emancipation colonial history beyond a household level.

Saba's landscapes and seascape are integral to understanding how ideologies of race, class, and gender pervaded pre-emancipation colonial Saban society. Multiple readings of Saba's landscape allowed these facets of ideology to be understood relative to scale, time, and locality. The tensions and complexities between race, class, and gender that resulted from social interactions within specific contexts on Saba and abroad will now be discussed.

Class in pre-emancipation colonial Saba

The Dutch colonized St. Eustatius in 1636, and most sources agree that Saba was subsequently colonized from that island in the following decade. However, by this time the island probably already sheltered a potpourri of English, Irish, French, and Scottish residents, mostly refugees from the Spanish siege of St. Christopher in 1629. Despite Dutch governance of the island and having composed about half the European population by this time, English became the island's lingua franca by 1659, and cemented after the English occupations in the 1660's and 1670's. During the 1650's, it appears that all offices associated with governance on Saba were occupied by Dutchmen. The governor was Pieter de Vries, and the island secretary was Floris Simonz. This was not only a logical decision for an early territorial claim to an island, as the first Anglo-Dutch War also erupted during the 1650's. Therefore, having non-Dutch residents in places of governance in colonies such as Saba, especially those of English nationality, would have been unwise both politically and strategically. Dutch residents were then inherently privileged over those of other nationalities on seventeenth century Saba, as Dutch nationality provided a means for government positions, making it an absolute vector of class in seventeenth century Saba. Residents self-identifying by European nationality appears to have persisted by the time of Labat's visit in 1701, where he makes note of some French refugees, but apparently as a means of differentiating between Saban residents and non-residents since this was the sole instance in his account.

Early colonists prior to the 1650's had established small plantations, likely cotton, tobacco, and indigo. The "planter class", however, probably did not arise until the 1650's following the rapid expansion of sugar plantations and corresponding rapid rise of the enslaved African population. &8 This expansion included the foundation of the plantations at Spring Bay, Flat Point, and almost certainly the The Bottom. However, this period of Saba's history was short lived as the island's plantations were thoroughly sacked during the 1665 raid and occupation. At least all the large plantations were destroyed, and all enslaved Africans present on the island were rounded up and shipped to Jamaica for resale. By 1678, the entire population consisted of 80 white residents, from a population of 111 white residents and roughly 300 enslaved Africans by 1659, which emphasizes the extent of the devastation wrought to the island's plantation economy. Archaeological evidence from

the Flat Point and Spring Bay Flat plantations indicates that sugar production there did not resume until the very late seventeenth century to the first two decades of the eighteenth century. Saba's first planter class survived for no longer than 15 years, and gave way to an economy based upon certain entrepreneurship outside of plantation agriculture, among those few that remained. By 1701, Saba had become a regional manufacturer of footwear, and the tailoring and regional shipping industries probably have their origins in this initial post-planter period as well. In particular, the burgeoning tailoring industry is evidenced by the demand for regional cotton, supplied on at least one occasion to Saba from Anguilla during the early eighteenth century. The early cobbling industry on Saba provided sufficient income for Labat to observe, in general, a high standard of living among island residents, with particular attention paid to housing and furniture, which continued to be among the prime material class vectors into the 1850's as observed by Gast. Cobbling was apparently so ubiquitous in early eighteenth century Saba that even the governor at the time partook in it, however unlike owning shares in a ship, the costs associated with start up and manufacture would have been exponentially smaller. There while the cobbling profession supplied sufficient income for an above-average materiality relative to the region, it does not appear that an identity associated with cobbling itself served as a vector for class, unlike Saban sea captains.

The rebirth of plantations across Saba by the early eighteenth century signified renewed, "large" scale importations of enslaved Africans to the island. However, with one known exception by 1778, most plantations appear to have been owned in absentia through merchants and government officials in St. Eustatius. Therefore, while Sabans were not directly enriched by plantations on their own island until later in the eighteenth century, many derived incomes through cobbling and tailoring by the late seventeenth century, though shoemaking appears to have reached its apex during the early eighteenth century and did not survive past the 1850's. Sugarcane was cultivated on personal plots by Sabans for their own consumption, and many households possessed their own hand-driven cane mill to extract cane juice for direct consumption. Cane was probably also sold from household plots to nearby plantations, most likely among residents of The Bottom to the plantation present there, and by residents of English Quarter and Windwardside to the Spring Bay Flat plantation.

Certain Sabans earned sufficient wealth, or at least access to credit, to purchase small numbers of enslaved Africans in St. Eustatius between 1720 and 1727. Following the absence of enslaved Africans by 1679 to these purchases by 1727, slave ownership among Sabans would have been a stronger indicator of higher class during this early period than it was by the nineteenth century. Saba Governor Charles Simmons' purchases of enslaved Africans between 1721 and 1727, consisting four men, four boys, and two girls, may suggest that he owned a plantation on the island. More likely, however, they were destined as sailors and for domestic labour, as he was known to have owned at

least one regional trade vessel by the 1740's, which may have been partially crewed by male enslaved Africans.

By this time Sabans were active participants in the regional trade, evidenced by no less than twenty Saban captains who served aboard ships bearing the same name throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This included legitimate trade, and trade actively discouraged or declared illegal by France and especially Britain, particularly with respect to the Neutral Islands prior to the Seven Years War. Even the Governor of Saba, Peter Simmons, partook in this trade as the owner of the ship *Rebecca* during the 1750's and 1760's. Serving aboard a ship granted Sabans, whether captain or sailor, a set of experiences that were unknown to those engaged in subsistence agriculture on Saba or other means of living that stymied their opportunities to travel abroad or emigrate. They were exposed to other cultures, afforded opportunities to expand their social network, and were able to acquire goods normally unavailable on Saba. The breadth and success of the regional trade among Saban captains during this time probably coincides with the appearance of the title "Captain" before mens' names on Saba as a means for indicating upper class associated with the profession.

During the mid eighteenth century, while Saban captains were enjoying successes in the regional trade during the mid eighteenth century, and returning to Saba to relay word of the world beyond, the social and economic disparities between Saba and other islands in the region was becoming increasingly apparent. Sugar cultivation was booming on St. Maarten, St. Croix, and most of the neighboring French and English islands, and St. Eustatius was growing as an important regional and international trade destination. Coffee plantations expanded across Saba, while sugar and indigo production continued largely as enterprises under foreign ownership. The profits available through cobbling in the early eighteenth century appear to have dropped as well; Sabans began emigrating to other islands in the 1740's, which continued throughout the mid-century. However, the ability to emigrate would not have been available to all Sabans, as those who partook in subsistence agriculture would have had little personal savings through which to afford passage and other costs associated with relocation. Rather, this was a proportion of Saba's population with disposable income and enslaved Africans, such as those Sabans wishing to emigrate to Bequia in 1765. This exodus of residents and wealth from the island would have contributed towards the 1773 observation from Jan de Windt that Saba was a poor island.

The extensive damage wrought to Saba by the 1772 hurricane would have also encouraged further emigration from the island. The eighteenth century archaeological records at both the Flat Point plantation and the Fort Bay Ridge site (SB 037) end at the point of early creamware, coinciding with this disaster. Thatch houses and other improvised shelters, including caves, abounded in the

immediate aftermath of 1772 and 1780 hurricanes. Recall the petition of 124 Saban male household heads following the 1772 hurricane to the GWC in Chapter 4; a particular section is worth reiterating:

> Most of us have lost our little all, our houses, our clothes, our furniture, our crops, and even our coffee trees... And being reduced to the utmost distress, not only by the want of money, but of all the necessarys of life, and means of procuring them, having 140 of our dwelling houses out of about 180 which were upon the Island, dashed to pieces insomuch that numbers of our families, even at this distance of time, are obliged to shelter themselves from the inclemencies of the weather under rocks and caves of the earth, half naked and famishing with hunger; unable to help themselves and others by reason of the universal nature of the calamity being unable to render them any effectual relief…We thought proper, urged by the most pressing necessity, to apply in this manner to our European friends... but for the relief of numbers of families among us which are reduced to beggary, and the most heart affecting wretchedness. (DNAr 1.05.06.13 #1151).

A great many Saban families who formerly owned "traditional houses" either found themselves soon living in a cave or thatch homes, which could be constructed with monetary investment. A transition period occurred whereby the "traditional houses" were eventually reconstructed and families moved back in, but aside from those who may have well been content to continue living in caves, many Sabans would have found it financially difficult to afford to rebuilt their homes. Due to the hurricane, they lacked "all the necessarys of life, and the means of procuring them". This was no over exaggeration by the petitioners, and it was just the dawn of a sharp decline in Saba's export industry. There is a significant drop in Saban exports from the 1760's, prior to the 1772 hurricane, which included coffee, sugar, molasses, lime, and cattle, to the 1820's, where the only recorded exports were cattle. Therefore, those families that supported themselves through commodity exports were financially ruined. Some that were financially fortunate to be able to rebuild after the 1772 hurricane faced a second misfortune just eight years later with the hurricane in 1780. Tellingly, the oldest functional structure on Saba is the Anglican Church in The Bottom, dating to its reconstruction in 1778. The oldest house documented by Brugman's survey only back to around 1810, and most date to the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries (Brugman 1995:123). Therefore, probably until the end of the century, thatch houses abounded across Saba, and in the years following the 1772 hurricane, they would have outnumbered the "traditional" Saban houses across the island as residents rebuilt within their financial and logistical means.

While class divisions among enslaved Africans almost certainly existed among enslaved Africans on Saba relative to region of origin and the newly enslaved vs. creole, as of yet there is no direct documentary evidence of it, and correspondingly little in the archaeological record. These two vectors for class among enslaved Africans would only have been apparent during periods of large scale arrivals to Saba; therefore, this would have been limited to Saba's early periods from the 1650's to 1665; and later from the 1680's to the 1727, and not again until perhaps 1818, after a privateer ship

landed a cargo of enslaved Africans upon Saba. By the last half of the eighteenth century, nearly all enslaved Africans on the island would have been creole, thereby greatly diminishing the means for projecting class through those two vectors. There were likely class differences between professions of enslaved Africans, particularly among those that worked as sailors aboard ships. The enslaved African, Olaudah Equiano, recounts that he made a considerable sum of money through purchasing merchandise in St. Eustatius to resell for profit on Montserrat in 1763, earning enough to purchase his freedom (Equiano 1790:154-155). These types of economic opportunities, together with the experiences described previously for white Saban captains and sailors, would have been conceivable for enslaved African sailors aboard Saban-owned or captained ships as well. These were opportunities not available on Saba to other enslaved Africans with other professions, thereby providing them a means to improve their class through wealth and material goods within their lived reality as an African descent person in a hierarchical-racialized society.

The 1772 and 1780 hurricanes also promted the sale of plantation lands on Saba owned in absentia through St. Eustatius. Simon Donker sold his lands at Flat Point, which was probably the Flat Point plantation, and Abraham Donker and Madam de Graff, wife of Johannes de Graff, sold The Bottom plantation to Thomas Dinzey, who became Governor of Saba by 1778. While operations at Flat Point ceased after its destruction by the 1772 hurricane, they continued at Spring Bay Flat and The Bottom. Thomas Dinzey soon became the highest class of Saban, being both a plantation owner and Governor simultaneously. However, his wealth was modest when placed into a regional perspective among his contemporaries, especially with Johannes de Graff, who like Dinzey, had served twice as Governor of St. Eusatius and owned many plantations across that island. It is also around this period that the title “Esquire” begins appearing in Saba’s documentary record to specifically denote upper class.

Data from sales between Sabans visible in the Vendue Books between 1780 up until emancipation, coupled with data from the archaeological record, demonstrate how Sabans employed material goods and enslaved Africans as a vector for class. The house stood as the primary vector for class on Saba, followed by furniture and clothing. The “Saba style” of architecture noted by Brugman would have been present in eighteenth century Saba, but his definition of this style did not account for the preponderance of one and two-room houses which would have predominated across villages such as Middle Island and Palmetto Point, or those with thatch roofs versus shingled roofs which was evidently an important distinction to Lt. Governor Edward Beaks Jr. in 1861. Class was also visible in housing through the choice of house foundations, whether it be dry stone in the case of smaller houses, or cut stone and mortar, more often employed on larger houses. Cisterns were expensive, and not every household owned one or had full ownership. Certain villages, such as Palmetto Point

and Middle Island, consequently suffered from repeated water shortages as the population relative to the number of cisterns resulted in continual water stresses. As a result, opportunities abounded for cistern owners to exercise social leveraging within the internal economy, or to sell water at exhorbitant prices.

Mahogany furniture was most desirable, with bed frames and tables among the most popular and expensive furniture items. Bed furniture and bedding itself were particularly auspicious class vectors, as the majority of Sabans would have slept upon beds of banana leaves. Ceramics were a secondary-rate class vector to these. It appears that their utility as a class vector was more apparent in seventeeth to mid eighteenth century Saba, based upon Saban household assemblages from the Fort Bay Ridge site and the trash pit, SB 036. Within the Spring Bay Flat plantation, it was clear that transfer print ware was valued by the owner of the plantation, as it occurred in significant quantities around the Big House, but was effectively absent within the nearby enslaved African house-yards. For most Sabans, during the late eighteenth to nineteenth centuries, form and function took precedence over decoration. Indeed, while British officials on St. Eustatius inventoried Johannes de Graff's estate and described the many different valuable sets of Chinese porcelains and other wares, just nine years later, Sabans were selling 30 "Chinese" plates for just 1.4.0 p/8. Together, this demonstrates that in nineteenth century Saba, ceramics were valued more for their utility than for their means as a vector for projecting class, due in part to the increase in poverty across Saba during this time.

Artifact reuse was noted in Saba's archaeological record and oral history, but instances or reuse or repurposing cannot be universally ascribed to material vectors for ideology. The glass bottles found "stashed" between rocks and in nooks around the Flat Point Plantation may be contextual evidence of their last use as alcohol bottles, while the greenstone awl found within Structure 6 strongly suggests reuse or repurposing of an Amerindian artifact by enslaved Africans. In the absence of water skins in the archaeological and documentary record as a potential class vector in this regard, glass bottles so readily serve as repurposed water bottles and their reuse was so consistent and prevalent throughout Saba's colonial era that no meaningful inferences relative to ideology, including poverty, can be derived from this practice on the island, except that they were employed by agriculturalists and those traversing Saba's roads. Stoneware bottles were reused by Palmetto Point residents as oil torches, which makes them a potential class vector as their use was a conscious choice over kerosene lamps, which were also found within the village.

Enslaved Africans were rarely purchased en masse between this period, and were rather bought alone or as a mother with child. The most enslaved Africans in the known documentary record purchased by an individual Saban was Governor Charles Simmons between 1722 and 1727, totalling 10. This was also the latest documented example of a purchase of an enslaved African abroad by a

Saban, though the enslaved African woman at the Fort Bay Ridge site would probably have been purchased and brought to Saba during the mid-century. After this time, in the Vendue Books, all enslaved Africans were bought and sold within Saba itself. Large sales of enslaved Africans, such as the 1861 sale, were for shares rather than outright ownership. This demonstrates that the late eighteenth to nineteenth century economy, which was centered mostly upon subsistence agriculture with small scale cattle imports, did not require any surplus of enslaved labour.

Since ownership of enslaved Africans was not universal across the island's households, and probably composed less than half throughout its history, the possibility existed for class projection through this means, relative to those who owned enslaved Africans in any number, and those that owned none. Ownership also crossed the colour line, and did not necessarily correspond with a higher level of class compared to those Saban households who owned none; recall the literacy rates among owners across the island noted on the 1863 emancipation list from Table 20. Other supporting criteria such as temporal context, some indication of their wealth, and how they were obtained are important supporting factors. Obtaining enslaved Africans through purchase, rather than inheritance, demonstrates either wealth or access to credit, along with the assumed notion that the owner has wherewithal to ensure they are sheltered, clothed, and fed, whereas inheriting them as part of an estate may have been a boon in the seventeenth and eighteen centuries, but was increasingly a potential financial liability for the estate's benefactors by the mid nineteenth century, leading up to emancipation. Ownership of enslaved Africans in nineteenth century Saba also carried the potential to futher impoverish their owners due to the legal requirements of feeding, clothing, and sheltering them, coupled unforeseen costs which may arise, such as legal fees. Some households would not have been able to afford the costs associated with manumission, thereby locking them into a cycle of poverty.

While little is known of religion's role relative to class, race, and gender in seventeenth and eighteenth century Saba, the nineteenth century is much better documented. By 1816, enslaved Africans, on Saba and across the Dutch colonies, were considered "not Christian". Up to the early nineteenth century, it appears that Sabans were generally welcoming of Christian ministers regardless of their denomination. While Coke's mission to spread the Wesleyan Methodism failed to spread across the island, by the 1830's there were Sabans who professed the Wesleyan faith, but was observed by the Lt. Governor of Saba that "those few does it more out of opposition" (DNAr 1.05.13.01 #319:18/12/1834). The Wesleyan faith, it appears, was used as a vector for projecting class according to Gezaghebber Edward Beaks, but whether the converts were conscious or unconscious of their religion as a class vector is unknown. The episcopal minister Rev. Toland does not appear to have

attracted a significant congregation either, perhaps indicative of his character as evidenced in the court records.

The death of Thomas and Joanna Dinzey in 1825 heralded the end of sugar production on Saba, and introduced a new type of grave marker to Saba from St. Eustatius that would serve as a very visible vector for class. This "mock vault" style was not widely employed across Saba during the nineteenth century, but commemorated identifiably upper-class Sabans. The introduction of this style to Saba, in lieu of the traditional dry stone marker, not only demonstrates their links with high society in St. Eustatius, but also that upper class Sabans held a more inclusive, regional view of their place within society. This stands in contrast to a more localized worldview prevalent among Saba's lower class, evidenced by the factionalism prevalent between villages on such a small island, and through those Sabans who never left the island, let alone their village of birth.

The cessation of all indigo production on Saba during the eighteenth century, followed by sugar production in 1825, left a legacy of industrial infrastructure that fell into ruin; however, this did not extend to disuse. The boiling houses at Spring Bay Flat and Flat Point, and the indigo vats at Cove Bay were reused during the nineteenth century as ideal areas to burn coral as a means of producing quicklime. The boiling houses, having been constructed below ground level, and the lower indigo vat Cove Bay were sheltered from the wind. In addition, the stone walls of the structures provided insulation to help raise the heat of the fire to a temperature sufficient to result in the chemical reactions necessary to produce quicklime from calcium carbonate. Their use as lime kilns reflects general lack of income prevalent across the island, as sugar and indigo production structures, which required significant overhead to construct and employ for operations, were being reused for small scale lime production which required no overhead costs at all. The reuse of these structures as lime burning kilns demonstrates the complete collapse of Saba's plantation industry.

Class was visible to a small degree through elements of Saba's early and mid nineteenth century legal system. One's character was taken into account during legal proceedings, and often influenced the quality of testimony. Lying during testimony in court resulted in the perpetrator being "recorded as a liar". One's reputation across the island in the nineteenth century, and probably well before, was evidently an important class vector on Saba.

Saba experienced a chronic lack of money in circulation around the island by the mid nineteeth century. This resulted in at least five currencies traded across the island. This economic environment was very visible at both Palmetto Point and Middle Island. The trash pit at Palmetto Point yielded French, Danish, American, and Dutch currency. Meanwhile, at House 1 in Middle Island, half of a nineteenth century Dutch 3-cent coin was found, indicating that it was split to make change due to a lack of currency. Saba's economic environment during the nineteenth century necessitated

alternative means of exchange. Labat remarked in 1701 that meat was shared communally, whereby residents took turns butchering their livestock. While this was a practical matter in the absence of adequate preservation, it undoubtedly fostered a certain sense of community among residents. Given this social and economic environment, especially with a small population with no anonymity, it was not have been socially expedient in every case to lend as a means of leveraging power, or using loans at interest as an active means to profit, especially when physical money was so scarce that it was impossible to employ in every transaction, especially when their sale value exceeded the amount of money in circulation. The act of mortgaging and lending cash, goods, and services in Saba's internal economy carried the potential for the creditor to leverage power over the debtor, though this clearly was not exercised in every case. Crediting in late eighteenth and nineteenth century Saba was in itself was not so much a universal means of projecting power through debt holding and profiting through interest as was the *ability* to lend, and the interpersonal relationships that were created and fostered through the act of lending and the transactions themselves (Graeber 2012). The amounts that one was able to credit and similarly request as a debtor, however, do project class through a demonstration of wealth, or lack thereof.

Race and slavery in pre-emancipation colonial Saba

Race, together with gender, was an immutable element of identity that was externally imposed upon individuals, and could never be transcended without a radical shift in the *habitus* of pre-colonial Saban society. Therefore, one's race framed all social relations between individuals. The concept of race and racism would have quickly taken root on the island in the decade following its first colonization by the Dutch. The 1650's saw immigration to Saba by Dutch settlers evicted from then Dutch Brazil, who brought along their knowledge of sugar production. Based upon the origins of the fourteen enslaved Africans that escaped to Puerto Rico from Saba during this decade, it is apparent that they accompanied their owners to the island. By mid decade the population of enslaved Africans, by their estimate, outnumbered that of the European-descent settlers. Less then ten years after their escape, the English capture of Saba in 1665 had counted just 85 enslaved Africans. This event marked the end of Saba's first colonial slave society. All the major plantations were destroyed, including Spring Bay and Flat Point, and by 1678, no enslaved Africans were noted on the island.

The institution of slavery appears to have been reintroduced to Saba by the end of the century based upon the resumption of sugar exports to the GWC in 1686, and the archaeological assemblages from the Flat Point plantation to indicate the resumption of sugar production around this time. During Statia's first tenure as a slave trading destination during the 1720's, Sabans purchased 50 enslaved Africans, mostly male. This demonstrates that a certain proportion of Sabans had sufficient wealth or

access to credit to acquire enslaved Africans, derived from the earlier economic boom Labat had noted in 1701. While the type of labour these enslaved Africans were destined for is unknown, it was probably not plantation labour as most, if not all plantations on Saba at this time were owned by foreigners. After this period, first generation enslaved Africans appear to have been occasionally purchased and brought to the island by Sabans up to 1772, evidenced by the first-generation African descent woman buried at the Fort Bay Ridge site.

Certain elements of racialized material culture were recovered from eighteenth century plantation contexts acrosst the island. The cowrie shells from Spring Bay and Flat Point strongly suggest use by enslaved Africans, especially given that these shells cannot be obtained from Saba. The eight-faceted purple glass bead found on the surface at Spring Bay is a French slave trade bead manufactured in Nantes. While the bead is inseparably associated with the transatlantic slave trade, unfortunately due to its surface provenience it cannot be definitively associated with use by enslaved Africans, though this is probably the case. Dry stone enslaved African housing was unique to Flat Point and Spring Bay Flat. Outside of plantation contexts, similar structures existed, but were used as animal shelter.

The lockbox assemblage recovered from Structure D at Spring Bay Flat provides clear associations with race based upon the West African cultural elements present in the items. The intact *Cittarium pica* shell, iron nails, and lock latch together all share West African cultural associations with transformation and the afterlife. Isotope analyses from the teeth also provide direct evidence of first generation African ancestry. Placing shells on top of graves continues into the present across the Caribbean, including Saba, as a means to commemorate the dead. This practice has its antecendants in previous West African creole traditions in the Caribbean, as evidenced through the lockbox contents.

The destruction from the 1772 hurricane would have explicitly challenged class and class consciousness across among white residents, especially in context with enslaved Africans. Many white Sabans were reduced to similar if not worse material conditions than poor white Sabans and even enslaved Africans prior to 1772; they were “obliged to shelter themselves from the inclemencies of the weather under rocks and caves of the earth, half naked and famishing with hunger; unable to help themselves and others”. Whether living in caves, thatch houses, or even stone houses such as as Spring Bay Flat, this would have exposed the *habitus* in Saban ideology relative to race and class, and fostered its subsequent re-evaluation. This event occurred during a period of continued exodus of a proportion of the Saban population with sufficient means to afford to emigrate, since the 1740’s, which served to increase the proportion of poor residents to the whole. It is therefore no coincidence with a shift in *habitus* and the economic environment of Saba during this time that the first

documented free Sabans of African descent appeared in the census of 1780, followed by a rise in manumission rates in the coming decades.

Free African descent Sabans began appearing the 1780 census, and by the 1816, there were 27. However, among the 27, only five were male, demonstrating that economic expedience, rather than altruism, lay behind their owners' motives for manumission, as men were valued for field labour over women. Nonetheless, many free African descent Sabans by this time owned land in areas of The Bottom and Middle Island. Relative to enslaved people, the 1780 census shows only 28 coloured to 534 black, demonstrating that there were occasional sexual relations between white Sabans and enslaved Africans. These are very likely creole individuals as there appear to have been very few enslaved Africans brought to the island since the 1720's. Sexual relations continued into the nineteenth century, which challenged the powered relations inherent in Saba's race relations; in some instances, grandfathers were manumitting their (mustee) grandsons. The numbers of Sabans regarded as coloured, or at least not black due to certain degrees of known or perceived European ancestry, challenges contemporary notions that all African-decent Caribbean residents are ancestors of enslaved people, or that white Caribbean residents are wholly descended from European colonists (Armstrong 2003:22; Johnson 2014:32-33).

Since only a very small number of African descent Sabans were free on the island by 1780, the ideological vectors associated with free Africans by white Sabans would not have developed within white Saban society until their numbers expanded by the early nineteenth century. Saba does not appear to have observed the colour line as strictly as other islands in the Dutch Antilles. Saba's early censuses do not account for "coloured" enslaved people; in fact, the only census that does so is from 1780, which was Saba's only census since 1715. This may have been a stipulation from authorities in St. Eustatius since it does not appear in later nineteenth century censuses from Saba. Nonetheless, the Saban colour line observed black, sambo, mulatto, coloured, and mustee as hierarchical degrees of real or perceived African ancestry. Scales of real or perceived African descent created a racial hierarchy that was not experienced by white Sabans. This was exemplified through Pleasant Hassell's insult towards Celia Wood; she was a "damn black thief". The court had recorded Pleasant as a coloured woman, and Celia as black. This practice was combined with the denial of prefixes to result in a series of individual address unique to African descent Sabans, such as "the black man John", or "Jibber, a coloured woman".

Social relations between owners and enslaved in nineteenth century Saba were varied. Some were sufficiently bad that enslaved Africans absconded. In other examples, owner and enslaved toiled side by side during fieldwork, and some were manumitted upon the deaths of their owners, and given a house and land. Examples such as the latter probably gave rise to the prevalence within Saban oral

history that enslaved Africans were treated as "family" by their owners. Conditional manumission was also employed by owners as a loophole to guarantee some form of permanent labour from their former enslaved Africans in return for divesting themselves of their legal obligations as slave owners. There does not appear to be a large number, if any number, of abolitionists living on Saba prior to emancipation. The sole example is limited to Captain Robert Stovels Dinzey, who sailed under the British flag, and helped enslaved Africans on Saba abscond from the island aboard his ship to gain freedom in Barbados. Saban seafarers would have been more likely to become abolitionists through their ability to interact with others across different islands, especially after 1848 when the Dutch were among the last European nations to maintain the instutition of slavery.

Being a free African descent Saban did not guarantee sympathy to the enslaved; some owned enslaved Africans, and in the example of Pleasant Hassell, apparently thought it proper to set fire to their houses. In other examples, those that were previously enslaved maintained love interests with those within slavery, such as Daniel Woods and Miah. Other free African descent Sabans used their freedom as a means to earn money to manumit enslaved Africans, often their relatives. In some cases, they used their freedom to assist enslaved Africans from persecution from their owner. This was evidenced in the trial of Wenter for theft of goats and cassava, wherein he was provided assistance and shelter by George, who was himself a free man of African descent. The legal system served the powered interests of white Sabans through harsh sentences to free Sabans of African descent. Exile in particular was reserved exclusively for them, and enacted on at least five occasions. African descent Sabans rarely participated in public auctions, and when they did, it was often to purchase goods among themselves.

The systematic exclusion of free African descent by white Sabans appears to have functioned to socially distance these racialized groups from one another. This included nineteenth century practices such as excluding enslaved Africans from adopting Christianity prior to the introduction of Catholicism, denying free African descent residents prefixes during introductory conversation and written documents, and severe punishments through the legal system, such as exile. Free African descent residents rarely participated in estate auctions of white Sabans throughout the nineteenth century. However, they composed the majority of purchasers at the estate auctions of African descent Sabans. This exclusion extended to marriage between white and African descent Sabans, but to a lesser degree with sexual relations.

Despite the exclusion of free African descent Sabans from white Saban society, acculturation to white Saban culture was prevalent among them. This was seen through the adoption of Saban domestic architecture, the use of Saban household burial traditions, and the adoption of Saban surnames after manumission. Between owner and enslaved, naming conventions demonstrate a

complex series of interactions involving a desire for assimilation through the use of traditional Saban names, and a rejection of Saban tradition through the use of non-Saban names. This was especially prevalent among enslaved women. Assimilation through religion was discouraged, to the point that in 1816, all enslaved Africans were considered "non-Christian". White Sabans also adopted cultural elements from Saba's African descent population, most notably through the use of conch shells on top of graves, which are present in the Thomas Dinzey cemetery.

Gender in pre-emancipation colonial Saba

Gender, together with race, is a pervasive element of powered social relations in colonial Saban society, deeply rooted in the *habitus* of Saban culture. Throughout Saba's pre-emanciption colonial period, and indeed the wider Caribbean, gender framed every set of social relations between individuals, and both enabled and restricted one's capacity to engage with society. Census records were organized by household as early as the late seventeenth century, with married men as the "head" of the household, guaranteeing the subordinate status of women to men. Women only occasionally made purchases in public auctions, and many of those that did were either umarried or widowed, demonstrating that in general, male household heads controlled finances. Professions were strongly gender-oriented. Seafaring, governance, carpentry, and shipbuilding were strictly male enterprises, while tailoring was the domain of women. Cobbling was probably a shared enterprise, though this is yet unknown. White women probably participated to certain degrees in the field labour associated with subsistence agriculture, especially if they were widowed or the unmarried head of a household. This is reflected in the types of gendered labour visible in the 1863 emancipation list among previously enslaved Africans, whereby male field labourers outnumber their female contemporaries by a margin of about 6:1. Among other professions among enslaved Africans by 1863, domestic labour is mostly the domain of women, while cooking, washing, and midwifery were done by women exclusively. Notably, all agents working abroad on other islands for Sabans were women; while the exclusivity of this profession among women is probably not coincidental, the reason is unknown at this point beyond conjecture. Men appear to have assumed general control of household finances, evidenced by their majority as purchasers of raw materials for tailoring, a Saban woman's profession, during Robert Ferrier's auction in 1826. Occasional purchases, however, were made by married women during the late eighteenth to nineteeth centuries as evidenced in the Vendue Books. Gender-specific insults are visible in court cases from early and mid nineteenth century Saba. These usually centered on a woman's fidelity, such as being called a "whore", "blood of a whore", and a "Martineller's whore".

Gendered artifacts were difficult to identify without the benefit of spatial context. The gendered nature of certain professions, however, subsequently engenders material items associated with their practice. The thimble recovered from House 1 at Middle Island is associated with tailoring, and thus a woman's artifact, while the carpenter's plane found at Palmetto Point can be engendered as a male artifact. Gendered activities beyond profession can also provide further context to certain assemblages. Glass bottles often found scattered around animal pens are often the result of butchering, a male activity that was usually preceeded with considerable alcohol consumption.

Interpreting Saba's landscapes of race, class, and gender in its pre-emancipation colonial archaeology

By viewing class, race, and gender as local and regional social processes that contribute to archaeological assemblages, the capacity and effectiveness for associated materiality to express these ideological vectors can become apparent for a given area or population embedded within those contexts. These vectors are inseparably related as ideological processes throughout this period. Therefore, both object-centered approaches that view powered vectors through collections of "things", and representational approaches that infer these vectors by comparing material anomalies in assemblages relative to standardized expectancies, will risk reifying foreign ideologies upon the past without first considering the processes that produced them, especially at local levels and small scales such as Saba. As previously discussed, there were no examples of class within pre-emancipation colonial Saban society that could be understood without reference to how race and gender enabled, disabled, or otherwise informed the ability of an individual to employ any of them as a class vector. Class vectors, in other words, were primarily dependant upon their dialectic with race, gender, scale, and locality. An excellent example of this are the late eighteenth and nineteenth century naming conventions among white Sabans and enslaved Africans on Saba.

In colonial Saba, a tradition existed of bestowing a narrow selection of biblical and English names among white Sabans, while enslaved Africans names were more varied. This is likely due to a common practice on Saba of naming children after their ancestors. Due to this practice, there does not appear to be a correlation of particular first names with class at any point in time prior to emancipation. Gendered names, though, were clearly visible among both white Sabans and enslaved Africans. Among enslaved Africans, there is no explicit mention in the oral or documentary records that state whether owners or enslaved African parents exercised control over naming children. Regardless of who exercised control over naming enslaved African children, whether parents or owner, a cognitive split is visible through naming conventions. Bestowing white Saban names upon enslaved African children could facilitate their cultural assimilation to the dominant culture within the

realities of a racialized Saban slave society, while giving non-traditional names such as Jibber and Washington may have made this more difficult. Roland Fryer and Steven Levitt (2003), in a study and survey of naming practices in the U.S.A. among African-descent Americans between 1970 and 2003, inquired as to why a split appeared among African-descent American parents' name choices for their children between more 'white' American names versus those that were distinctively African-American during the 1970's. "Within a seven-year period in the early 1970's," they found that "…a profound shift in naming conventions took place, especially among Blacks in racially isolated neighborhoods. The median Black female in a segregated area went from receiving a name that was twice as likely to be given to Blacks as Whites to a name that was more than twenty times as likely to be given to Blacks. Black male names moved in the same direction, but the shift was less pronounced. Among a subset of Blacks, encompassing about one-fourth of Blacks overall and one-half of those in predominantly White neighborhoods, name choices actually became more similar to those of Whites during this period. We argue that these empirical patterns are most consistent with a model in which the rise of the Black Power movement influenced Black identity" (Fryer and Levitt 2003:4). Naming conventions among enslaved Africans from 1780-1863 on Saba are similar to these results, and may indicate that both owners and enslaved may have exercised power in different circumstances over naming children.

A significant percentage of white Saban male and female names were visible among male and female enslaved Africans, with the prevalence of specific names roughly equivalent to their proportions among the white population. Among enslaved Africans, those name choices that fell outside the pool of traditional names accounted for 33% of male names, and 56% among females. Many of these names were unique to African-descent Sabans. Certain names within the non-traditional pool would have been a means of expressing class. This trend has been noted in the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries within the American Social Security Administration (SSA) database of registered births (Gureckis & Goldstone 2009). Conversely, if the choice of these names for enslaved African children was done by their owners, it was mired in a certain inescapable irony whether or not this was done consciously, as the names harken to power from within a position of slavery.

Although this trend appears non-existent among white Sabans, among male enslaved Africans this expressed to a small degree in readily identifiable names such as Yankey, William Wallace, Augustus (including variations), Titus, Don Carlo, London, Scotland, Washington and Wellington. The name Yankey appears as early as 1782, in the midst of the American Revolution. By 1863 there were five individuals with this name across Saba. "Powerful leaders" were represented among names such as William Wallace, a Scottish independence hero; Augustus and Titus, both Roman emperors; Washington, general of the U.S.A. rebel armies during the War of Independence with Britain, and

Wellington, the British general who led the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo. Don Carlo may directly relate to any of Don Carlos I, II, or III of Spain, the last being contemporary with the individual; but in any case, Don is a title signifying royalty or a member of the secular clergy in Spain. London and Scotland make reference to the global power and influence enjoyed by the two during the nineteenth century. Among females an equivalent is only found in one instance, with the name Cleopatra. All these "non-traditional" names assigned to enslaved African children are not found among the white population, and therefore indicate African ancestry. With the case of the name Yankey, it appears to be a continuation of the ancestral naming tradition, but through a "non-traditional" white Saban name.

By reconstructing these naming conventions relative to the insights garnered separately between race, class, and gender, the nuances and synergies between them become readily apparent. Employing gender alone allows one to see differences in names based upon engendered names, as there are few examples of unisex first names, limited to cases of first and middle names such as "Peter Ann", which is exclusive to women. Race becomes visible through analyzing the prevalence of names between white Sabans and enslaved Africans. All white Saban names could be adopted by enslaved Africans, but among the enslaved, there were many names which were unique, and therefore reflected their African descent. With regard to class, specific names were visible that made reference powerful places and figures, whether contemporary or historical. Employing race as a layer to this analysis reveals that these names were not present among white Sabans. Employing both race and gender reveals a higher prevalence of "non-traditional" white Saban names among enslaved women than men. There are clearly inferences to draw from this difference, but unfortunately it is dependant upon knowing which group exercised control of naming enslaved children. Gender and class analyses show that the powered names referencing people andplaces were limited mostly to men. Race, class, and gendered analyses together reveal that the powered names referencing people and places were much more prevalent among enslaved males than females. In this example, studying either race, class, or gender as isolated ideological vectors, rather than dialectically, would result in incomplete and even misleading data.

The spread of Catholicism is also inextricably informed by class, race, and gender. Catholicism largely excluded enslaved Africans until 1857, when 60 enslaved Africans were baptized under the zealous sponsor Sarah Christopher Mardenborough. By this time, women also constituted the largest majority of sponsors for Catholic baptisms. By 1861, the Catholic Church on Saba counted 486 converts, but only 171 were male; similarly, 183 of the total converts were enslaved Africans, but just 71 of them were male. The spread and practice of Catholicism on Saba during the 1850's and 1860's was clearly an enterprise driven primarily by women, and provided a means for white Saban women

and enslaved Africans to transcend racial divisions across the island despite Saba's history of denying Christianity to the enslaved population.

The interactions and complexities in the dialectic between class, race, and gender-based analyses within pre-emancipation colonial Saba are further tied to the quality, scale, and locality of vectors that can be ascribed to them. This harkens back to the "Humpty Dumpty" problem described in Chapter 3. A pair of gold buttons alone without context cannot serve as a definitive ideological vector for an individual or household. A pair of gold buttons, three enslaved Africans, and a small house could very well have been possessed by a Saban (as they were with Peter Collins of Palmetto Point) designated by authorities as poor during the late eighteenth century; however, this person would be highly unlikely inhabit a dry stone house as this was the domain of enslaved Africans on plantations, and of livestock in non-plantation contexts across the island. If this person was referred in terms of explicit gender rather as a title, such as "the woman" rather than "Ms., Mrs, or Miss", then they are certainly of African descent according to this absolute race and gender dependent vector. A person who in the late eighteenth century owned a pair of gold buttons, three enslaved Africans, and a modest house in addition to a cut stone and mortar house in The Bottom, along with extensive land ownership, "white" plates and "Chinny ware", shares in a regional trade vessel, and buried in a mock vault, would almost certainly not have been designated as poor or low class, and would rather have been counted among Saba's upper class. Such a combination of vectors rules out Sabans of African descent, as no known individuals possessed the necessary wealth to purchase shares in a ship, own large tracts of land, or to be buried in a nineteenth century mock vault. Locality is also important in this regard for regional context. Thomas Dinzey stood as the highest class of Saban within an "island of poor people" by during the late eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries, who stood as both a wealthy plantation owner and Governor of Saba. However, his wealth and plantation were comparatively modest relative to his regional contemporaries, such as Johannes de Graaf of St. Eustatius.

Along this line, locality is also implicated in the applicability of price scaling models had towards interpreting ceramic assemblages, as evidenced in the quantitative and qualitative values Sabans placed upon them in the Vendue Book. During 1780's, despite Rodney's occupation in 1781, St. Eustatius continued to enjoy a second round of its "Golden Rock" era, wherein it was a global emporium for European goods, including the latest fashions of ceramics. Price-scaling models such as Miller's CC index (1991) would certainly be applicable and informative towards excavating warehouses and upper class residents' houses on Statia during that period. Such a fragment of St. Eustatius' "Golden Rock" period was manifested on Saba through the Spring Bay Flat Plantation during the late eighteenth century, where an awareness of ceramic value to the plantation's owners was clearly

visibe. While pearlwares were relatively common at the site, transfer print wares, including those in pearlware, were rare; in fact, there was more Chinese porcelain recovered across the plantation than transfer wares. Amongst the enslaved African domestic structures excavated at Spring Bay Flat, no transfer print wares were recovered except a very small fragment from Structure E. Around the vicinity of the Big House and the boiling house, transfer print ware was present in small quantities, including an early black transfer print creamware teacup, which suggests that transfer print wares were valued and expensive; enslaved African were deliberately provided with cheaper wares than those that were employed by the Big House inhabitants. Meanwhile, at the Flat Point plantation, probably owned by Simon Donker of St. Eustatius, ceramic roof tiles were employed across plantation infrastructure, which did not figure into Saban architecture. During the eighteenth century, Saba was governed through St. Eustatius. A further layer of dominance lay in the foreign ownership of plantations across the island. In this respect, Spring Bay Flat and Flat Point effectively functioned as a social and physical annex of "Golden Rock" St. Eustatius via the island's merchant class.

Meanwhile, on Saba, beyond the bounds of plantations, most residents paid little regard to ceramic fashion, and were more concerned with fabric, form, and function as evidenced in the sales records and probate inventories from the time. Indeed, the only fashion descriptors included white, "Chinny", which may have referred to both Chinese porcelain and transfer print wares, and "Queen's ware" as a generalized reference to creamware by the 1820's. In this context, a European-derived, upper class-centric consumption model such as Miller's model would have little inferential use beyond the notion that these Sabans were not keeping up with the latest fashions, and were not observing those norms for value. Interpreting Saban ceramic assemblages from this time therefore necessitates a knowledge of how different groups of Sabans saw their value and utility in order to make responsible use of an object-centered approach towards interpreting this assemblage. Although commonalities existed among ceramic assemblages between Middle Island and Palmetto Point, with a preponderance of early and late hand painted polychrome floral whitewares, annular wares, and sponge wares, these were also among the cheapest varieties of ceramics available for purchase. This would correspond to price scaling models in that low class people bought within their means. Their decorations, though, were not described relative to those considered worthy of description in records, and were probably considered irrelevant. In the case of SB 036, a break in this norm was observed, in that the household was in fact attempting to keep up with the latest styles during the eighteenth century, which strongly indicates an awareness and adoption of regional upper class norms tied to Europe. While the social value of Chinese-type wares is evident from estate auctions, their monetary value fluctuated considerably to the point where their capacities for class projection could reach saturation levels when they flirted with practicality, as evidenced through the sale of 30 "Chinese"

plates for 1.4.0 p/8 in 1817. Ceramics were evidently not a primary means of class projection in nineteenth century Saba as its plantation-era dwindled.

Together, these vectors presented in the previous chapter provide an excellent means for understanding elements of the materiality of inequality throughout Saba's pre-emancipation colonial period as they are implicated in the processes which fostered ideological divisions throughout particular periods of Saba's colonial history. Specific dimensions associated with the lower rungs of inequality on Saba, such as low class, poverty, and slavery, however, cannot be differentiated between each other through their material characteristics alone.

Differentiating between poverty, slavery, and low class in pre-emancipation colonial Saba

Identifying slavery, poverty, and low class begins by understanding the processes involved in their creation, maintenance, and change within a particular society; in this case, Saba. Slavery and deserving/undeserving poverty are a product of a legalized process, whereas low class it not. Therefore, one entry point for the archaeology of slavery and poverty begins by understanding how an imposed legal status by a dominant culture is implicated in its materiality, and how this changed through time. This is most prominent through spaces that were designated for enslaved Africans (Armstrong & Kelly 2000). The socio-spatial dialectic demonstrated class and race divisions at both an island, plantation, and village level. The experience of plantation and non-plantation slavery on Saba, however, limited its utility to the former. Enslaved African villages were located at Flat Point and Spring Bay Flat following Armstrong & Kelly's (2000) model for plantation spatial organization. According to both oral history and documentary records, nineteenth century enslaved Africans owned by Sabans often co-habited with their owners in the same house, and those engaged in field labour were also known to work side-by-side with their owners as well. Therefore, determining the materiality of non-plantation slavery in these co-habitation contexts would be exceedingly difficult.

Saba's legal system and social conventions among Sabans relative to enslaved Africans also served to reinforce powered relations. Enslaved Africans were obliged to observe certain manners in the presence of white Sabans as outlined by Joseph Dinzey, such as hat tipping. The legal system is closely implicated in the materiality of slavery by regulating the living conditions and behavior of the enslaved. This can translate into processes that can be visible archaeologically. Unlike free Sabans, in those cases where enslaved Africans lived in a separate house from their owners, they were bound to observe certain laws relative to its construction. Floorboards and housing partitions were deemed illegal on Saba in 1823, and therefore enslaved African structures dating after this period can be expected to be single room structures with either marl, dirt, or cobblestone flooring. This was exemplified by House 3 at Middle Island. This was situated atop of unfavourable land, which was

nothing more than a narrow tract of flat space created by the backfill of a stone terrace. It was adjacent to one of the few cisterns at in the village, also located upon this same flat, which suggests that both the cistern and the enslaved African house was being squeezed into the limited tract of land available to the owner. The cistern ownership indicates a degree of wealth and access to social leveraging within the village through water access on part of the owner. Together this shows that that House 3 was the most likely home of the sole adult enslaved African that lived at Middle Island between 1848 and 1861.

Other processes beyond the legal system also affected the materiality of slavery on Saba, such as relations between enslaved Africans, their owners, and white residents. Saba was perceived in the nineteenth century to be an island where enslaved Africans had more personal liberties and did not feel the weight of their bondage as much as others did on nearby islands. Saban oral history similarly recounts that enslaved Africans and their owners, outside of plantation contexts, often worked in the field side by side. Joseph Dinzey related that they were allowed to carry firearms, and this extended to plantation contexts, wherein a Bess-type gunlock and several European gunflints were recovered from Structure C at the Spring Bay Flat plantation. This demonstrates that both outside plantations and within certain ones, relations between enslaved Africans and their owners were sufficiently civil for the former to be entrusted with firearms; owners evidently did not fear for their lives, and Sabans did not expect a slave revolt. Therefore, the presence of firearms within enslaved African contexts on Saba does not generally indicate an intent to defend or revolt against their owners or white residents as it may have in other islands, and rather indicates the relatively civil relations they enjoyed with white Sabans.

Even with the benefit of context provided by the socio-spatial dialectic, identifying low class, poverty, and slavery according to material assemblages is difficult. Indeed, superficially, the assemblages between Palmetto Point, Middle Island, Spring Bay Flat, and Flat Point are very similar. The lockbox contents from Structure D at SB 004, and the burial at the Fort Bay Ridge site, collectively provided the clearest association with slavery. The individuals' West African origins from both of these archaeological contexts are visible through isotope analysis. While these individuals were first generation African descent individuals, their context *strongly suggests* that they individual were enslaved, but is not sufficient to *prove* slavery. In this case, what is required to demonstrate first-generation slavery in the colonial America in an individual beyond a reasonable doubt is a means to demonstrate the presence of a unifying experience of colonial American slavery. Among first generation enslaved Africans in the Americas, this was the forced migration bought about by the transatlantic slave trade. The migration history revealed through isotope analysis of the individual's teeth from Spring Bay Flat is entirely consistent with millions of similar experiences of Africans

captured and brought to the Americas as part of the transatlantic slave trade. In this case, it begins with a birth in West Africa, a capture by slave raiders, sale at a coastal European slave trading fort, and forced migration to the Americas. The comparative odds of a European birth in West Africa, relocation to the coast, and subsequent migration to the Caribbean during teenage years is infinitesimally small. The (forced) migration history revealed through carbon, oxygen, and strontium isotope analysis demonstrates that this individual was enslaved with comfortable certainty.

The burial encountered at the Fort Bay Ridge site is that of a first-generation pregnant African woman with a late-term child. Strontium isotope ratios recovered from her teeth point to an origin in West Africa. Her first-generation origins in West Africa demonstrate that she was enslaved during her lifetime, but not necessarily at the point of her death. However, the spatial context and manner in which she was buried is entirely inconsistent with Saban burial practices, and strongly indicates that she was enslaved while she died, and was interred accordingly. The burial was very shallow, the grave was a simple pit, she was buried with no items, and her grave was unmarked and located away from the house. In addition, the 1780 census recorded only four free African descent Sabans, while this woman died between 1762 and 1772/1780. The household's wealth, evident through the site's layout, unique cistern architecture, and material culture, indicates a high level of wealth are very inconsistent with the type of burial for her to have been the landowner. It can therefore be comfortably stated that this woman was buried as an enslaved African.

In pre-emancipation colonial Saba, low class was visible through its dialectic with racialized space among free African descent Sabans, and through class vectors such as diet, domestic architecture, domestic furnishing, enslaved African ownership, and a reliance upon subsistence agriculture. Most, if not all free African descent Sabans would have been considered low class, and likely many considered poor. This created an inseparable link between class and race within the norms of the dominant white Saban society. Due to the homogenization of low class among free African descent Sabans, their material possessions would not have been an effective class vector within their communities if their material class vectors were identical to those of white Saban society. Indeed, even the diets between enslaved Africans at Flat Point and Spring Bay Flat were very similar to free, low class residents of Palmetto Point, Middle Island, and Behind-the-Ridge. A key exception, however, lies among those free African descent Sabans who identified more strongly with white Saban culture than those who rejected it. Unfortunately, material evidence of this rejection was not clearly visible in the archaeological record; while Afro-Caribbean ware may have been associated more strongly with African descent Sabans than not, and therefore an excellent potential material vector of class and race, an effective means of distinguishing it from nearly identical Amerindian wares has to date not been determined.

In the absence of spaces designated as poor, poverty and low class are materially indistinguishable on Saba. Low class and slavery share a range of ideological vectors that were archaeologically indistinguishable from the other due to different processes that produced similar materiality, save for the notable exceptions of the socio spatial dialectic, and enslaved African plantation domestic architecture with dry stone houses. The intangible vectors, which are more readily visible in the documentary record, provide much clearer ideological differentiation between low class and enslavement beyond materiality.

Enslaved Africans almost certainly did not qualify as poor, since slavery constituted its own legal class, and their owners, rather than themselves, were legally responsible for their welfare. This would have fostered somewhat ironic instances, especially after 1772, where owners may have been considered among the deserving poor by the government, but their enslaved Africans, with similar or worse material circumstances, were not. The inhabitants of Palmetto Point, at least by the last half of the nineteenth century, would probably have all been considered as deserving poor, since the village was stigmatized as "socially backwards", yet still inhabited entirely by white residents. Free Sabans of African descent were likely eligible to have been considered among the deserving poor, but the racial discrimination prevalent throughout Saba's nineteenth century legal system suggests that it may have been more difficult for them to obtain this recognition along with corresponding support than for white Sabans under otherwise identical circumstances. The close association of housing with class on Saba, especially among the island's upper class, implies that government officials probably considered low class housing as a prime constituent of deserving poverty, especially relative to thatch houses.

Although few in number, the social and material ideological vectors that distinguish low class from slavery in pre-emancipation colonial Saba have been identified and discussed. The question of identifying poverty, though, remains. Identifying poverty through the material things is problematic as it cannot be materially differentiated in Saba's archaeological record apart from low class and slavery.

Perspectives and landscapes of poverties

Poverty is a process which involves a dialectic between particular vectors of class, race, and gender relative to Saba's social and spatial environment. By considering poverty as a process rather than a "thing" which can be directly reflected by objects, changes in the materiality of poverty did not alter the lived experience of the poor (Chicone 2011a). While a reified class of poor Sabans lived on the island in the nineteenth century due to government remittances designated for the poor, non-reified notions of Saban poverty existed among both Sabans and residents on other islands in their regard to Saba. By studying poverty in terms of space and powered perspectives, the materiality of

the people inhabiting a given poor space changes relative to people or groups that could enforce and maintain their powered perspective of places they considered poor, and those they did not. Effectively, they have lost control of their own ideological narrative. This emphasis on the experience of poverty highlights the importance of multiple powered perspectives, both external and internal, in designating and reifying poverty. Due to the ephemeral nature of poverty relative to space and perspective, it is best understood archaeologically through powered landscapes rather than through a pile of representative material objects.

A variety of social and environmental processes contributed towards the creation and maintenance of Saban poverty. Saba's stark topography produced few areas of flat land, which limits practical settlement to certain parts of the island. The prime lands were claimed quickly by plantations in the seventeenth century. Plantation landscapes quickly and permanently laid the foundations for poverty by occupying most of those lands that were flat, fertile, and provided ready access to anchorage. Indeed; in the midst of Saba's second plantation boom, by 1717 Sabans already requested permission to colonize nearby unoccupied islands as they considered Saba overpopulated. Though the last plantation, that of the Dinzeys, ceased operations in the 1820's, the estate's extensive landholdings across the western quarter of Saba were not parcelled off and sold to Sabans to any meaningful degree until around the 1850's, thereby maintaining these land limitations to other Sabans nearly until emancipation. Devastating hurricanes such as the 1772 "Great Hurricane" would have driven many to poverty for years afterward, as it destroyed 140 of 180 houses on the island and forced some to live in caves, and resulted in an unprecedented direct plea to the GWC for aid. Poverty's spread was further enabled during the nineteenth century through the growth of nuclear families, where households approaching twelve children were not uncommon. These processes which fostered and maintained poverty were visible on an island-wide scale through the lack of currency circulating on Saba by the nineteenth century; no less than five currencies were in use, and the amount of Dutch guilders in circulation was about equal to the purchase price of five adult male enslaved Africans.

The immutability of race and gender significantly restricted the ability of non-white and female Saban residents to improve their social and material dimensions of class relative to the whole of the island's society. Together these served as a series of processes that fostered poverty within this demographic. Regardless of the time period concerned, while freedom was granted to enslaved Africans through manumission, it also entailed the end of an owner's legal requirements towards them relative to housing, clothing, and shelter, potentially leaving them landless, homeless, and with few (if any) personal possessions, depending on the whim of the previous owner. This could have been mitigated to varying degrees by support available to these individuals through their social networks. These issues were implicitly addressed during the nineteenth century by some owners in their last

wills, wherein enslaved Africans were manumitted together with bequeathals such as housing, land, cisterns, and cash. Conditional manumissions imposed a form of extra-legal forced labour upon some African descent Sabans which diverted their own resources or time towards their previous owners. This involved conditions such as furnishing a family with shoes for life, or working one day out of every week for an appointed person until death, or until slavery ceased to exist. Judges in Saba's court of justice meted disproportionate sentences upon African-descent Sabans, further contributing to their social disenfranchisement. African descent Sabans, both free and enslaved, were also disenfranchised from Saba's public markets. In all the late eighteenth and nineteenth century sales records, African descent buyers are rare, and most often were recorded as purchasers from the estates of other African descent Sabans. The notable exception was Mary Ann Johnson, who appeared to have a degree of disposable income sufficient to purchase at least three enslaved Africans and a variety of goods, including an umbrella, from the travelling merchant Robert Ferrier. Though the reasons for these purchasing practices among African descent Sabans are unclear, it appears they are at least rooted in social marginalization due to race. Being widowed as a dependent spouse imposed visible difficulties upon women towards self-support. Through the rest of their lives many had to continuously sell off land or even their house in a piecemeal fashion until it was completely sold as a means to obtain income.

Saba's processes of poverty operated within powered social landscapes, both locally and regionally. Saba was known as an "island of poor people" among certain residents of St. Eustatius, despite internal class and race-based differentiations within Saban society. The whole island of Saba was designated as "poor" prior to the 1772 hurricane by the Island Secretary of St. Eustatius (DNAr 1.05.01.02 #629:2/2/1773), which was probably a commonly-held assertion outside of Saba during this time, but which obscured the real complexities of contemporary Saban social organization. The petition sent to the GWC by Sabans in the aftermath of the 1772 hurricane described their plight in detail, and the petition, likely through the pen of government officials, characterized Sabans as poor to the extent that they would be unable to finance the reconstruction of the church in The Bottom; "…and (which affects us most of all) whereas, God hath been pleased, no doubt as a just punishment of our aims, to smite his own house among us and lay it in ruins, a great labour and expence which the poor inhabitants could hardly bear" (DNAr 1.05.06.13 #1151). While the hurricane certainly reduced large numbers of Sabans to living in conditions akin to poverty, Saban officials were applying the known external characterization of "poor Saba" prior to the hurricane to support their petition, while internally, Saba's social organization maintained more discerning characterizations of poverty among its residents.

The importance of space in defining class relative to people and materiality is best highlighted in a comparison of housing at Spring Bay Flat and Palmetto Point. The plantation and the village were both co-existing from the late eighteenth century to the first decade of the nineteenth century. Palmetto Point was implicitly considered a social backwater to officials in The Bottom, as it scarcely appears in government documentation outside of court and sales records. It was also widely considered poor by the mid-nineteenth century. However, as previously mentioned, the size of the Big House at Spring Bay Flat is smaller than the average "Saban house" surveyed by Brugman, and is more comparable in size to the houses at Palmetto Point. Recalling the centrality of the house and its upkeep to class among Sabans, such a comparison is tenable. Although poverty homogenized all potential material vectors for ideology within the village, a comparable sized house within plantation lands as the "Big House" makes it upper class. This emphasizes the importance of space in negotiating the bounds of poverty relative to materiality.

External perceptions of Saban poverty would also have been fostered through the island's economy. As previously discussed, the chronic lack of specie on Saba made the payment of debts through cash difficult, and by consequence encouraged a culture of lending and debt holding across the island. Often, debts were only payable upon the death of the debtor, whereupon his or her estate would be wholly or partially auctioned to repay them. Debt holding was so pervasive, in fact, that it is likely that if all Saban debts were repaid, the island's economy would collapse as it greatly outstripped the amounts of actual currency in circulation. As a result, this economic environment fostered means of exchange beyond currency. Many Sabans reified this notion of a "poor island" abroad during the mid-nineteenth century in St. Thomas by employing barter rather than specie as a means of exchange, even acquiring goods there that could have otherwise been obtained on Saba itself. Barter effectively became a symbol of their poverty abroad. Despite changes in the material possessions of Sabans, to residents of Golden-Rock era St. Eustatius, and nineteenth century St. Thomas, Saba was an island of poor people and therefore their possessions became co-constituent with their poverty, regardless if their properties and possessions may have expressed otherwise according to Saban cultural standards, or their own. Locality, therefore, can bestow multiple ideological dimensions upon material assemblages, and this must be taken into account by archaeologists.

One of the few internal self-characterizations of poverty, thereby demonstrating class consciousness, was evinced through Daniel Simmons. While he characterized himself as poor in his divorce petition to the Governor of Curaçao, he may not necessarily have figured among the deserving or even undeserving poor by Saba's Delegated Bench of Justice. The social and material criteria to officially qualify individuals and households as poor by the governing class were unfortunately not

specified. This absolute measure of poverty, though, would have created two classes from among Saba's pre-existing lower class; those deserving of poverty, and those undeserving of the charity associated with it. Those considered deserving had poverty bestowed upon their space and possessions, regardless of these materials' capacities to serve as vectors for class that may indicate otherwise. Consequently, possessions of the deserving poor will then embody a second set of social relations; they were once low class, and subsequently made poor. The same principle of "becoming" would apply to spaces considered impoverished. Domestic architecture at Palmetto Point certainly would have remained strong class vector among residents within the village, for example, but outside it mattered less as Sabans considered the inhabitants to be poor and socially backwards because they lived at Palmetto Point. Therefore, identifying poverty based upon materiality and other ideological vectors is inherently problematic as it embodies multiple social and spatial perspectives derived from powered relationships, giving it an ephemeral quality. It is this empheral nature of poverty that makes studies of a "culture of poverty" problematic (Orser 2004; 2007), and situates studies of poverty's landscapes into Hicks & Hauser's (2007:268) call for archaeologists to situate the permeabilities of materiality "between humans, objects, places, and the contemporary sense of what 'matters'- at the heart of their studies". Archaeologies of poverty, therefore, are better off addressing how poverty was sustained, how it can simultaneously exist and not exist in an assemblage depending on the social and regional context of the observer, and how it was used in powered relations, rather than how it can be *seen* in material things.

Closing remarks

This research has uncovered a range of social and material vectors for projecting ideology in pre-emancipation colonial Saba by understanding the dialectics between landscapes, materiality, and ideological abstractions such as class, race, and gender. This research proceeded in response to a call from Hicks & Hauser (2007) and Hicks (2007) to connect materiality to archaeological landscapes, and from Orser (2007) to understand the relationships between race, class, and material culture. Throughout this research, it was evident that ideological analyses could not proceed without understanding how immutable ideological vectors such as gender and race informed those vectors that were transient, such as class, space, and social context. In response to Orser's suggestion that archaeologies of class may be more productive than archaeologies of race, establishing a hierarchy of relevance between the two is misleading. Rather, the division between transience and intransience relative to ideology is key to understanding the dialectic between race, class, gender, materiality, and landscapes.

The ideological vectors which contributed to this materiality are rooted in the lived experiences of both free and enslaved island residents throughout this period, which were derived from oral history and Saba's documentary record. While certain aspects of class, race, and gender were visible through material assemblages, their utility was limited when applied to the archaeology of slavery on Saba, and problematic relative to the materiality of poverty, due to the importance of powered perspectives across multiple social and spatial contexts that are implicated in defining and administering poverty. Nonetheless, slavery was visible in the archaeological record through combined evidence through isotope analysis, spatial context, and the archaeological record in in the examples of the burial at the Fort Bay Ridge site, and the lockbox assemblage from Spring Bay Flat. The data and methodology presented herein can serve as a foundation for further regional studies of this nature. The preponderance of small islands across the eastern Caribbean facilitates an accountability to the whole as advocated in the methodology, where archaeologists, as mere mortals, can employ dialectical archaeology towards a study of the whole, and explore its limits and potentials within their lifetimes (Wurst 2006). In particular, St. Eustatius is well suited towards a similar study, with an emphasis on the effects that the collapse of the island's "Golden Rock" era heralded upon the social and material vectors of class, race, and gender into the nineteenth century. The theoretical framework which informed this research, while applied herein towards colonial Caribbean archaeology, is not limited to time and space and therefore can be applied towards the study of other groups and eras, at least where a large dataset is available. The ideological vectors presented in Chapter 7 will also provide comparative data for further research in the region. In particular, the use of dry stone structures as enslaved African housing is probably not limited to Saba, and may be present in both plantation and non-plantation contexts on other islands. Spatial analysis of dry stone housing may also show continuity with culture-specific domestic spatial patterning in West Africa, as may be the case with the structures at Flat Point (Kodzo Gavua & William Gblerkpor, personal communication 2015). Naming conventions among enslaved Africans also merits further research, especially upon other islands that featured little historical free immigration. A differentiation between undecorated Amerindian ceramics and potential Afro-Caribbean ware need to be made for Saban ceramics, combining fabric, temper, XRF analyses, and radiocarbon dating of embedded carbon within fabric pores or from other datable associated artifacts.

Randall McGuire's (2008) call for praxis in archaeology, and an awareness of how archaeological research is disseminated, interpreted, and used beyond an author's control has not gone unheeded. While the end date of emancipation in this research is not entirely arbitrary as it represents a fundamental shift in social relations and governance within the Dutch colonies, it was also intentionally selected so as to distance the author from the recent past, which encompasses the

lived experiences of Sabans in the present. The author lives on Saba and currently serves as director of SABARC, which is reliant upon government subsidies to fulfil its mandate. In addition, a thorough study and full disclosure of ideological processes in present-day Saba, which would include households, families, justice, and individual reputations, would effectively make the island socially uninhabitable for the author among a population of just around 1,500 residents. Nonetheless, on a general scale, the twentieth century saw continuity and change with regard to the prior century's ideological processes. Most importantly, these processes occurred within the context of fully capitalist social relations based upon wage labour and private ownership. While modern vectors for poverty such as education, minimum wage levels, and cost of living were not active in Saba's pre-emancipation period, colonial vectors such as race, gender, and the socio-spatial dialectic, as well as range of class vectors including first name and surname, wealth, village of residence, reputation, profession, and domestic architecture continue to define Saban ideology in the present. Sabans continue to identify themselves on a village basis, which now includes The Level since the 1970's, and a section of The Bottom known as the Promised Land in lieu of Palmetto Point following the latter's evacuation to the former in 1936. Villages and particular sections of them continue to bear close associations with race and class. Due to the influx of immigrants to Saba in the late twentieth century from the U.S.A., Columbia, the Netherlands, the Dominican Republic, Canada, Haiti, the Philippines, and other countries, nationality has re-emerged from Saba's seventeenth century as a class vector. Other colonial vectors either have diminished or complete irrelevance in the present. Slavery, of course, has not existed on Saba since 1863 and is thus a relic of former times. Religion has declined as a class vector from its height in the nineteenth century, titles are now the domain of medical doctors, medical school professors, PhD degree holders, and government officials. The title of Captain is no longer bestowed upon residents of that profession, along with the class that it once conferred. However, the class associated with sea captains has begun to become increasingly associated with fixed wing pilots after Saba's airport was inaugurated at Flat Point in 1963. This has continued into the present with WinAir pilots capable of landing on Saba, along with a local admiration for the Twin Otter aircraft.

Since the incorporation of Saba into the Netherlands as a "Public Entity" after 10 October, 2010, Saba has slid further into poverty according to a series of absolute measures employed by the Dutch government, which is closely associated with low wages and high costs of living (www.evaluationdutchcaribbean.nl, last accessed 13-12-2015). Whether Sabans are considered deserving or undeserving of their poverty, and even deserving of equal legal status with the European Dutch citizens, is currently the subject of debate within the Tweede Kamer (second chamber) of Dutch Parliament. It is the author's desire that legislation concerning these issues are grounded in an

awareness and accountability to the historical ideological processes that define Saba's history, and those that inform decisions of Dutch lawmakers in The Netherlands.

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Appendices

Table 9: Sugar due to GWC by Planters, 1686

Surname	First Name	Origin	Sugar (lbs)
le Sous	Anthony	EUX	120
Battrij	Pieter	EUX	208
Sotgeloos	Adriaen	EUX	24045
de Windt	Jannes	EUX	3581
Jaweert	Jannes	EUX	10
Morsmouss	Jannes	EUX	1458
Runnels	Adriaen Sr.	EUX	2830
Engel	Jannes	EUX	95
Terlingh	Joris Sr.	EUX	288
Louwerijs	Hansen	EUX	94
Vereijck	Jacob Sr.	EUX	160
Page	Francois	EUX	112
Hendricksen	Cornelis	EUX	180
Benner	Jannes	EUX	1152
van Prel	Dirck	EUX	225
van de Woestijne	Isaack	EUX	250
Barents	Michiel	EUX	120
Vereijck	Jacob Jr.	EUX	311
Minnebeeck	Jannes	EUX	18
van Stel	Jacob	EUX	510
de Fonteijne	Simon	EUX	204
Flinck	Jannes	EUX	72
Leverick	Willem	SAB	385
Nasareth	William Anthonij	EUX	180
Simonsen	Jannes	SAB	837
de Wever	Jannes	EUX	460
Haly	Dirck	SAB	75
Leverick	Willem Sr.	EUX	1687
Maesten	Geies	EUX	796
Davids	Willem Alexander	EUX	60
Davids	Alexander Jr.	EUX	892
Mulder	Matthij Sr.	EUX	60
Runnels	Neltij	EUX	65
Sprouts	Willem Jan	EUX	2038
Cuvilje	Jannes	EUX	39
Smith	Jannes	EUX	270
Winsvelt	Matthij	SAB	2396
George	Samuel	EUX	29545
Graval	Olivier	EUX	728
Heijliger	Giliaen	EUX	228
le Ducq	Jannes	EUX	514
Carremans	Catherijn	EUX	1743
Larghmes	Jannes	EUX	324
Pijcke	Daniel	EUX	1779
de Mulder	Philip	SAB	1900
Vallan	Jannes	SAB	453
Gravals	Anthonij	SAB	556
Maegden	Christ	SAB	1356
Turnaerts	Anna	SAB	1508
Simonsen	Floris	SAB	1392
Gernaer	Julij	SAB	1781
Vanderpoele	Willem	SAB	1556
Runnels	Pieter	SAB	416
Hijl	Thomas	EUX	18000
Cordijck	Bartel	EUX	2765
Sprouts	Jannes	EUX	53
de Velder	Ariaen	EUX	232

Surname	First Name	Origin	Sugar (lbs)
Sprouts	Haack	EUX	160
Westerbaen	Couwereijs	EUX	90
Teerlingh	Joris Jr.	EUX	112
Hijl	Elizabeth	EUX	1100
Davids	Jaques	EUX	397
Runnels	Arian Sr.	EUX	905
Salmonsen	Joannes	EUX	221
Jacobs	Willem Lucas	EUX	1677
Uijttendale	Joos Sr.	EUX	0
Barents	Willem Jr.	EUX	60
Segers	Jan	SAB	5335
Bartholomeus	Abraham	EUX	598

Note: EUX = St. Eustatius; SAB = Saba
Source: DNAr 1.05.01.02 #1180:6/7/1686

Table 10: Sugar Credited to Residents by the GWC, St. Eustatius, 1686

Surname	First Name	Origin	Sugar (lbs)	Notes
Davids	Jaques Jr.	EUX	1627	likely a servant
Lodowijck	Willem	EUX	42	likely a servant
Simonsen Doncker	Jan	EUX	552	GWC surgeon
Oyen	Philip	EUX	108	
Huijsen	Engel	EUX	355	and Pieter de Ducq
Hose	Josias	EUX	106	
Uijttendale	Joos Sr.	EUX	57	
Pijcke	Thomas	EUX	590	
Calwaert	Jan Sr.	EUX	40	
Steeven	Herman	EUX	5000	

Source: DNAr 1.05.01.02 #1180:6/7/1686

Table 50: Saba Census, 1705

Surname	First Name	W.M.	W.W.	W.B.	W.G.	E.M.	E.W.	E.B.	E.G.	Notes
Simons	Jeems	1	1	2	1	3	1	0	2	
Wintfil	Mattheuwis	1	1	3	5	0	2	0	0	
Leverock	Willem	1	1	4	4	0	0	1	1	
Hoet	Willem	1	1	2	4	0	0	0	0	
Hasel	Vitsent	1	3	2	1	0	0	0	0	
Pietersen	Daniel	1	1	2	4	0	1	1	1	
Cool	Mattheus	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	1	
Pietersen	Daniel	1	1	4	1	1	1	2	2	
Simons	Jeems	1	1	3	2	3	3	1	1	Son of Jan Simons
Seegers	Jan	1	1	4	2	3	1	3	0	
Simons	Saarels Jr.	1	1	1	3	1	0	0	0	
Bennels	Jan	1	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	
Hoet	Jeems	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Young man
Hasel	Joris Jr.	1	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	Son missing
Valaen	Esoia	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	
Evenet	Jan	1	1	1	2	1	1	0	0	
Jansen	Cornelis Jr.	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Young man
Robberts	Clement	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Young man
Leverick	Pieter	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Young man
Kellij	Edman	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	
Hasel	Thomas	1	1	2	0	1	0	0	1	
Hasel	Jeems	1	1	0	2	0	1	0	1	Son missing
Naentou	Janneton	1	1	3	6	1	0	0	0	
Pantonfelet	Jan	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	
Hasel	Joris	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Young man
Pantonfelet	Pieter	1	1	4	0	1	0	0	0	
Zeegers	Tam	1	1	3	0	1	1	0	0	
Simons	Jan	1	1	3	2	2	0	0	0	Son of Jan Simens
Hoet	Vissent	1	1	2	5	0	0	0	0	
Hoet	Jan	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Young man
Gruvail	Nicolaes	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Young man
Simens	Floris	1	1	1	5	0	1	0	0	
Leverick	Willem Jr.	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	
Simens	Jeems	1	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	Son of Saurels
Scijif	Thomas	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	
Hasel	Christoffel	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Young man
Robberts	Edwart	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Young man
Valaen	Jan	1	1	3	3	2	1	0	0	
Sijmens	Jeems Sr.	1	1	3	4	2	0	0	0	
Halman	Joris	1	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	
Jansen	Pieter	1	1	3	1	0	0	0	0	
Simens	Jan	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	Son of Saarels
Robbers	Steven	1	1	2	3	0	0	0	0	
Pietersen	Jan	1	1	1	3	0	0	0	0	
Hassel	Emmeri	1	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	
Hasel	Anckelaes	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	

Surname	First Name	W.M.	W.W.	W.B.	W.G.	E.M.	E.W.	E.B.	E.G.	Notes
Valaen	Tabij	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Hasel	Nissent	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Young man
Hasel	Pieter	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Young man
Halij	Dirck	1	1	4	2	1	2	3	2	
Jansen	Isaac	1	1	2	2	1	2	3	2	
van Beverhout	Geloude	1	1	1	1	6	1	4	3	
Dijnsij	Thomas	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	
Leverock	Jeems	1	1	2	5	1	1	0	1	
Leverock	Mosis	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Young man
Jansen	Cornelis Sr.	1	1	0	4	3	1	0	0	
Hasel	Joris Sr.	1	1	5	1	3	3	0	2	
Seegers	Pieter	1	1	4	5	4	0	0	0	
Cuvelje	Pieter	1	1	1	1	2	0	0	1	
Gruval	Anthonij	1	1	2	2	1	0	0	0	
Clerck	Joos	1	1	0	4	0	0	0	0	
Hamilton	Willem	1	0	1	2	3	3	1	2	
Maeghdenburgh	Pouwelus	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	First name probably Paulus
Simens	Jan Sr.	1	1	1	2	3	1	2	1	
Simens	Saarels Sr.	1	1	4	5	0	1	2	3	
Waters	Jan	1	1	2	0	2	1	0	2	
Tamesen	Jan	1	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	
Hassel	Jeems Sr.	1	1	4	2	4	2	1	1	
Leverock	Mosis Sr.	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	0	
Zeegers	Pieter	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Young man
Hoet	Jan	1	1	4	3	0	0	0	0	
Serne	Jan	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	
Gerrin	Jeems	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	
Nissent	Jan	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Young man
Maeghdenburgh	Jan	1	1	3	1	0	0	0	0	
Griffen	Deerman	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Old man
Beel	Margrita	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	
Hasel	Nelle	0	1	0	0	2	2	3	2	Widow
Hasel	Maria	0	1	0	0	2	2	0	1	Widow
Jansen	Margrita	0	1	2	3	2	0	0	1	Widow
Jansen	Debora	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	Widow
Schorer	Lucas	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	*See below
Teerlinck	Catelijra	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	Widow
Trulof	Grees	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	Old woman
Pantonffelet	Rebecka	0	1	2	3	0	0	0	0	Widow
Wintful	Matthij Jr.	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
Hassel	Jan	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Young man
Total		79	70	128	126	68	38	29	35	

Notes: *"W.M." = white men; "W.W." = white women; "W.B." = white boys, "W.G." = white girls, "E.M." = enslaved men, etc.*

Young man indicates an unwed male, probably beginning around age 12.
Lucas Schorer was the Governor of St. Eustatius & Saba,
living on Saba while St. Eustatius was occupied by French.

Source: DNAr 1.05.01.02 #1180

Table 12: Purchases of Enslaved Africans in St. Eustatius by Sabans, 1723-1727

Last Name	First Name	Qty	Gender	Cost	Ship	Date	Source	Purchaser
Beijl	Tomas	1	Man	85		1/6/1726	1183	Thomas Bail
Beijl	Tomas	1	Man	90		18/6/1726	1183	Thomas Bail
Cellij	Redman	1	Girl	100		1723	326	Redman Kelly
Cellij	Redman	1	Man	90		8/4/1726	1183	Redman Kelly
Everi	Jan	1	Boy	60		21/5/1726	1183	John Every
Hassell	Henry	1	Boy	75		1723	1182	
Hassell	Henry	1	Woman w/ child	80		5/3/1725	1182	
Hassell	Joris	2	Man	200		5/5/1725	1182	
Hassell	Henry	1	Man	100		10/5/1725	1182	
Hassell	Hercules	1	Boy	82		16/5/1725	1182	
Hassell	Hercules	1	Man	100		26/5/1725	1182	
Hassell	Joris	1	Boy	85	*Goede Put*	4/7/1725	1183	
Hassell	Jacobus	1	Boy	60		21/5/1726	1183	
Hassell	Jacobus	1	Man	90		21/5/1726	1183	
Hassell	Henry	1	Man	93	*Rusthoff*	10/4/1727	1183	
Hoet	Jacobus	1	Man	95		24/5/1726	1183	
Jansen	Peter	2	Boy	170		1723	326	Peter Johnson
Jansen	Olivier	1	Man	95		21/4/1726	1183	"Black man"
Kelli	Redman	1	Boy	85		18/5/1726	1183	Redman Kelly
Leverock	Jeems	1	Boy	87		1723	326	James Leverock
Pantofflet	Jan	1	Boy	70		24/5/1726	1183	
Pau	Paulus	1	Man	94		18/4/1726	1183	
Reijton	Tomas	1	Man	95		24/5/1726	1183	
Rijton	Thomas	1	Man	80	*Rusthoff*	9/7/1727	1183	
Simmons	Charles	1	Girl	80	*Goede Put*	4/7/1725	1183	Charles Simmons
Simmons	Charles	1	Boy	85	*Goede Put*	4/7/1725	1183	Charles Simmons
Simmons	Charles	1	Boy	80	*Goede Put*	4/7/1725	1183	Charles Simmons
Simmons	Charles	1	Man	95		16/4/1726	1183	Charles Simmons
Simmons	Charles	1	Man	90		16/4/1726	1183	Charles Simmons
Simmons	Charles	1	Man	85		16/4/1726	1183	Charles Simmons
Simmons	Charles	1	Boy	80		16/4/1726	1183	Charles Simmons
Simmons	Charles	1	Girl	70		16/4/1726	1183	Charles Simmons
Simmons	Jeems Sr.	1	Man	85		3/6/1726	1183	James Simmons Sr.
Simon	Charles	1	Boy	75	*Rusthoff*	2/4/1727	1183	Charles Simmons
Simons	Jabocus	1	Woman	90		1723	1182	Jacobus Simmons
Simons	Jan	1	Boy	80		5/3/1725	1182	John Simmons
Simons	Lucas	1	Man	100		10/5/1725	1182	Lucas Simmons
Simons	Joris	1	Boy	65		26/5/1725	1182	Joris Simmons
Simons	Charles	1	Man	90		30/5/1725	1182	Charles Simmons

Last Name	First Name	Qty	Gender	Cost	Ship	Date	Source	Purchaser
Simons	Jan	1	Boy	85		1723	326	John Simmons
Simons	Jan	1	Man	92		16/4/1726	1183	John Simmons, half purchase with Jeems Simmons (James)
Simons	Jacobus	1	Woman	90		3/6/1726	1183	Jacobus Simmons
Simons	Jan	1	Woman w/ child	85		3/7/1726	1183	John Simmons, half purchase along with his son James
Vallaen	Jan	1	Boy	90		24/5/1726	1183	

Sources
326 = DNAr 1.05.01.02 #326 (Maas Kamer, GWC)
1182 = DNAr 1.05.01.02 #1182 (Zeeland Kamer, GWC)
1183 = DNAr 1.05.01.02 #1183 (Zeeland Kamer, GWC)

Note: Cost given in pieces of eight. The Amsterdam Kamer records did not contain lists of enslaved Africans shipped or sold to St. Eustatius during the concerned period.

Table 13: Saba Census, 1780

			Free Residents							Enslaved, Black								Enslaved, Coloured								
Surname	**Name**	**Race**	**OM**	**OW**	**M**	**W**	**B**	**G**	**T**	**OM**	**OW**	**M**	**W**	**?**	**B**	**G**	**C.?**	**T**	**OM**	**OW**	**M**	**W**	**?**	**B**	**G**	**C?**	**T**	**H.H.**
Beakes	John	W			1	1	1	2	5					8			8	16									0	21
Beal	Thomas	W			1	1	1		3					2			1	3									0	6
Beaks	Mary	W			2	3	2	2	9					16			7	23					1				1	33
Baker	Joanna	W			2	3	1		6				1		1			2									0	8
Beakes	Edward	W			1	1		1	3				1					1				1					1	5
Beakes	Johanna	W		1	1				2	1	2	9	7		2	3		24				1			1		2	28
Beakes	Ruth	W				1			1			1	1		1	1		4									0	5
Beakes	Thomas	W			1	2		1	4					3				3									0	7
Bonyea	Catherine	W			1	1		1	3				1		1			2									0	5
Bonyea	Charles	W			1	1			2				1		1			2									0	4
Carter	Esther	W				1	2	2	5			1			1			2									0	7
Carter	Henry	W			1	1	1		3				1		1	1		3									0	6
Carter	Joshua	W			1	3	2	1	7			1	1			1		3									0	10
Carter	Mary	W		1					1			3	1					4									0	5
Collins	Peter	W			1	1	2	1	5									0									0	5
Davis	Abraham	W			3	1		1	5			1	2		1	4		8									0	13
Davis	Abraham Jr.	W			1	1			2			2	3		4	1		10									0	12
Dinzey	Joanna	W				1	1		2							1		1									0	3
Dinzey	Thomas	W			2	2	3	2	9	2	1	14	15		9	4		45					1	1			2	56
Dinzey	Thomas Jr.	W			1	1	2	1	5			3	4		1	1		9					1	1			2	16
Dyett	William	W			1	1			2									0									0	2
Every	Catherine	W				1			1		1	1			1	1		4									0	5
Every	Peter	W			1	1	6	1	9						1			1									0	10
Every	Ann	W			2	1			3				1					1									0	4
Every	Anthony	W	1		1	1			3									0									0	3
Every	James	W	1			1			2			1						1									0	3

Every	John	W			1	1	2		4								0							0	4
Every	John	W			1	1	1	1	4		1						1							0	5
Every	Catherine	W				1	3		4			1				1	2							0	6
Every	Anthony	W			1	1		2	4			1	1			1	3							0	7
Every	James	W			1	1			2			1					1							0	3
Every	James	W			1	1	1		3								0							0	3
Every	Anthony	W			2	3	2		7				3		1	1	5				1	1		2	14
Every	James	W	1			1			2			1					1							0	3
Flora		B				1	1	1	3								0							0	3
Hassell	Joseph	W			1	1		1	3								0							0	3
Hassell	Joshua	W			2	2	4	2	10								0							0	10
Hassell	James	W	1		3	3	1	1	9	2		1	3		1	1	8					2		2	19
Heyliger	Abraham	W							0	2	3	16	12		2	1	36							0	36
Hassell	Peter	W			1	1	2	2	6			1					1							0	7
Hassell	Thomas	W			1	1		1	3								0							0	3
Hassell	Daniel	W			2	2	1	1	6				1		1		2							0	8
Hassell	Henry	W			2	1	4	1	8			1	2				3							0	11
Hassell	Mary	W		1	1	6			8								0							0	8
Hassell	Henry	W			1	1	1		3								0							0	3
Hassell	Peter	W			1	1		2	4								0							0	4
Halley	John	W			1	1			2								0							0	2
Hassell	Peter	W			1	1	1		3						1	1	2							0	5
Hassell	Peter	W			2	3	2	4	11	1							1							0	12
Hassell	Elizabeth	W			1	2	2	2	7				2		2	3	7							0	14
Hassell	Thomas	W			2	2	1	3	8			2			1	2	5		1					1	14
Hassell	Ann	W			1	2	1	2	6	1		2	1		1		5							0	11
Hassell	Hercules	W			1	2	1	1	5							1	1							0	6
Hassell	James	W			3	1			4		1				1		2			1				1	7
Hassell	George	W			1	1	1		3				1			1	2							0	5
Hassell	Peter	W			1	1	1	1	4								0							0	4
Hassell	James	W			1	1	2	1	5		1	1					2							0	7

Hassell	James	W			1	1		5	7				1			1							0	8
Hassell	Jane	W				2			2				1		1	2							0	4
Hassell	Henry	W			2	1		2	5							0							0	5
Hassell	James	W	1		1	4			6			1	2		1	4							0	10
Hassell	James	W			1	1		1	3			1	1			1	3						0	6
Hassell	Henry	W			3	1	2	1	7				2		1	2	5						0	12
Hassell	George	W			1	1	1		3								0						0	3
Hassell	Richard	W			1	1	1	4	7				1				1						0	8
Hassell	Peter	W			2	2	3	3	10				1		1	1	3						0	13
Hassell	Peter	W			1	4		5	10			1	4		2	1	8						0	18
Hassell	Peter	W			1	3	2		6				1		1		2						0	8
Hassell	Peter	W			4	2	1	1	8		1	2	2				5						0	13
Hassell	Richard	W			2	3	4	4	13		1	1					2						0	15
Hassell	John	W			1	1	2	3	7				1				1						0	8
Hassell	John	W			1	2	3	2	8				1				1						0	9
Hassell	Daniel	W			1	2	1	4	8			1					1						0	9
Hassell	James	W			2	1			3			1	1			2	4						0	7
Hassell	Mary	W			1	3			4				3		1	4	8						0	12
Hassell	George	W			1	1	2	2	6				1		2		3						0	9
Hassell	George	W			1	1	2	2	6				1				1						0	7
Hassell	Catherine	W				1			1				2			1	3						0	4
Hassell	Henry	W			2	2	1	3	8			1	2		1	3	7						0	15
Johnson	Peter	W			2	1	2		5		1	1				1	3						0	8
Johnson	Elizabeth	W			3	4			7			1					1						0	8
Johnson	Ann	W			1	2			3								0						0	3
Johnson	William	W			1	1		2	4								0						0	4
Johnson	Susanna	W				1	2	1	4			1					1						0	5
Johnson	George	W			1	1		2	4								0						0	4
Johnson	John	W			3	1	3	1	8			3	2		4	1	10				1		1	19
Johnson	Olivier	W			2	1	1		4			1	2				3						0	7
Johnson	Cathrine	W				1			1								0						0	1

Johnson	Herman	W			1	1		2	4			1	1		1	3				0	7
Kelly	Edmond Sr.	W		1	2	3	1		7			1	1	1	1	4				0	11
Kelly	Matthew	W			1	1	3		5							0				0	5
Kelley	James	W			1	2	2	1	6			1	1		1	3				0	9
Keeve	Thomas	W			3	3	1		7			1				1				0	8
Keeve	John	W			3	3	1	1	8							0				0	8
Leverock	Moses	W	1		1	2			4	1			1	1		3				0	7
Leverock	James Sr.	W	1	1	2				4			2				2				0	6
Leverock	John	W			1	1	1	2	5	1		1		1		3				0	8
Leverock	James Jr.	W			1	3	4	1	9			4	2	4	2	12			2	2	23
Leverock	William	W	1		2	2			5			1	1	1		3				0	8
Leverock	James	W			2	2		2	6	1			2			3				0	9
	Minos	B			1				1							0				0	1
Molosner	Matthew	W			1	1	1	1	4				1	1	1	3				0	7
Mardenborough	Peter	W			1	2	1	1	5	1		3	1	2		7				0	12
Mardenborough	Peter	W			1	1	1		3					1		1				0	4
Mardenborough	Elizabeth	W			1	3	1		5		1					1				0	6
Markoe	Peter	B			1				1							0				0	1
Markoe	Sara	B				1			1							0				0	1
Peterson	Richard	W			3	1		2	6							0				0	6
Peterson	John	W	1	1					2			1				1				0	3
Peterson	Johanna M.	W				1			1			1	2			3		1	1	2	6
Peterson	John	W			1	1	1	3	6			1		1		2		1		1	9
Peterson	Daniel	W			1	1	2	2	6							0				0	6
Peterson	Peter	W			1	1	1	4	7		1					1				0	8
Simmons	Jacob	W			1	1	1		3							0				0	3
Simmons	Peter	W			1	1	2	2	6							0				0	6
Simmons	John	W			1	2	2	1	6			1	1			2				0	8
Skinner	Richard	W			1	1	1		3				1		1	2				0	5
Simmons	Charles	W			1	1	2	1	5				1	1		2				0	7
Simmons	James Sr.	W			4	2		2	8	4	1	1	3	2	4	15		1		1	24

Simmons	Abraham	W			4	1			5			1	2				3						1	3		4	12
Simmons	John	W			1	1	2	2	6			1					1									0	7
Simmons	John Sr.	W	1	1	3	1	1	1	8	1		2	1			2	6									0	14
Simmons	Ann	W				1		1	2								0									0	2
Simmons	William	W			1	1	3	2	7			1	2		1		4							1		1	12
Simmons	Peter	W			2	3	1	2	8				1		1		2									0	10
Simmons	Lucas	W			1	1	1	3	6								0									0	6
Simmons	Peter	W			2	2			4			1					1									0	5
Simmons	Isaac	W	1		2	2	2		7	1	1	3	2		1	1	9									0	16
Simmons	Rebecca	W			3	1		2	6		1						1									0	7
Simmons	Charles	W			1	1		1	3								0									0	3
Simmons	Abraham	W			1	1		1	3			1			1	1	3						1			1	7
Simmons	James	W			1	1		1	3				2			1	3									0	6
Simmons	John	W			2	2	2	1	7			2	2		2	2	8							1		1	16
Simmons	Charles	W			1	1	1	1	4			3	3		2	2	10									0	14
Simmons	James	W			1	1	1	4	7			2	1			1	4									0	11
Vlaughan	John	W			2	2			4				1				1									0	5
Vaughan	James	W			3	1	3	1	8				1		2	1	4									0	12
Winfield	Matthew Jr.	W			1	1	2	1	5								0									0	5
Wood	Peter	W			1		2		3			2	3			3	8									0	11
Winfield	Charles	W	1	1			1	1	4			1					1									0	5
Winfield	William	W	1	1	2	1	1		6	1	1	5	2			1	10									0	16
Winfield	William	W			1	2	3	1	7				1				1									0	8
Warton	Thomas	W			1	1		3	5								0									0	5
Winfield	Thomas Sr.	W			3	2	5	6	16			6	6		3	7	22									0	38
Zeagors	Solomon	W			2	1	3	4	10			2	4		1	3	10									0	20
Total			13	9	189	208	155	160	734	20	19	134	151	29	81	84	16	534	0	0	0	3	4	9	12	0	28	1296
			13	9	189	208	155	160	734	20	19	134	151	29	81	84	16	534	0	0	0	3	4	9	12	0	28	1296

Note: OM = old male over 60 years; OW = old woman over 60 years; M = man; W = woman; B = boy; G = girl; ? = unspecified adult; C? = unspecified child, H.H. = Total number of individuals in the household. From the Will Johnson collection.

Table 14: Surnames Adopted After Emancipation, Saba, circa 1870's

Name	Size of Household	Name	Size of Household
Atwater	9	Levenston	13
Atwater	5	Lidasoy	2
Atwell	1	Lidasoy	3
Baily	2	Ling	14
Banks	2	Linsey	15
Bell	10	Linsey	14
Bell	3	Lowuny	2
Black	1	Lynch	3
Blyden	13	Maxwell	11
Boxwell	2	McMahon	9
Bramer	6	McMahon	3
Bramer	2	Miller	6
Brooks	12	Miller	4
Brown	1	Mitchel	7
Bryan	1	Mitchel	1
Capel	4	Monk	5
Carter	2	Mussenden	11
Carty	9	Newton	4
Chapel	2	Newton	10
Cornett	9	Nieuman	3
Cort	1	Nightengale	6
Cort	11	Olive	1
Crawford	1	Osborn	2
Cross	1	Osborn	1
Desire	13	Parker	4
Dezvous	14	Patterson	3
Dezvous	12	Percival	1
Dickman	4	Pickett	3
Dover	5	Pierce	1
Drew	6	Pittman	1
Dunkin	4	Pittman	1
Ely	1	Pratt	1
Emmith	5	Primas	2
Farmer	1	Pysan	2
Fleming	6	Ready	1
Florence	2	Riley	9
Gibbs	6	Rock	29
Gibbs	2	Rogers	11
Gibbson	1	Rollins	1
Goodchild	2	Rose	8
Gordon	6	Scott	5
Gordon	7	Selig	6
Granger	16	Silent	1
Gray	4	Smidth	10
Gray	2	Sorton	7
Groebe	2	Spencer	9
Gumps	3	Stephens	1
Haddock	2	Thompson	18
Haswell	7	Ulrich	3
Heyligo	10	Wallace	12
Hill	1	Watson	3
Hope	1	Whitfield	10
Hughes	13	Wilcoy	15
Jackson	1	Wilkins	10
Jacobs	1	Williams	5
James	8	Wilmans	7
James	3	Wilmans	4
Jenkins	1	Wilson	2
John	1	Wilson	2
Jones	4	Wilson	15
King	6	Wilson	13
Lake	15	Woodley	15
Landsman	3		

Source: Will Johnson collection, Saba.

Table 15: List of Men Holding Military Posts, Saba, 1823

Captain Edward Beaks "Qz"
1st Lieut. Thomas D. Winfield
2nd Lieut. Peter Darsey & Adj.
2nd Lieut. Daniel Every "Qz"
Sargeant Major Lewis B. Granger

Sargeants:
Hercules Hassell - St. John's
John G Hassell - Windwardside
James Every - Hells Gate
William Simmons - The Bottom

Coporals:
Peter A. E. Hassell - Windwardside
Josiah Peterson - Windwardside
John James Hassell - Hells Gate
George James Hassell - Hells Gate
William Simmons - St. Johns
John Beaks - St. Johns
William Simmons - The Bottom
Thomas Beal - The Bottom
Moses Leverock Sr. - Ferrieur

District Masters:
Peter George Hassell - Hells Gate
Henry Hassell Jr. - Windwardside
Jacob Every - St. Johns
James Horton Sr. - Palmetto Point

Source: DNAr 1.05.13.01 #319:196

Table 16: Debtor and Creditor List, Saba, 1780-1836

Creditor	Debtor	Item	P/8	St	Bt	Guilty	Date	Source	Notes
Peter Johnson (dec'd)	(unspecified)		297	0	0		3/1/1781	V.B.	
Peter Johnson (dec'd)	Daniel Every		18	1	3		3/1/1781	V.B.	
Peter Johnson (dec'd)	Hercules Hassell Secretary		18	6	0		3/1/1781	V.B.	
Peter Johnson (dec'd)	Peter Johnson		5	4	0		3/1/1781	V.B.	
Peter Johnson (dec'd)	James Every		2	0	3		3/1/1781	V.B.	
Peter Johnson (dec'd)	Peter Hassell tz		1	2	3		3/1/1781	V.B.	
Peter Johnson (dec'd)	Peter Johnson Sr.		30	1	3		3/1/1781	V.B.	
Joanna Beaks	Matthew Winfield (dec'd)	Account	37	6	1		23/11/1781	V.B.	
Mary Beaks	Matthew Winfield (dec'd)	Note of hand	23	6	3		23/11/1781	V.B.	
George Peterson	Matthew Winfield (dec'd)		4	4	0		23/11/1781	V.B.	
John Beaks	Matthew Winfield (dec'd)	Pair of shoes	2	6	0		23/11/1781	V.B.	
Peter Hassell	Matthew Winfield (dec'd)	Maintaining John Williams	22	0	0		23/11/1781	V.B.	
John Beaks Tz	Matthew Winfield (dec'd)		1	7	0		23/11/1781	V.B.	
John Outwaith	Matthew Winfield (dec'd)	Schooling John Williams	2	0	0		23/11/1781	V.B.	
Peter Every Tz			4	3	0		23/11/1781	V.B.	
Rev. Hugh Knox	Rebeckah Johnson	Account	22	3	5		21/3/1782	V.B.	Widow of John Johnson
Henry Johnson	Rebeckah Johnson		13	4	3		21/3/1782	V.B.	
John Outwaith	Rebeckah Johnson		3	6	0		21/3/1782	V.B.	
Peter Mardenburgh Esquire	Rebeckah Johnson		2	2	3		21/3/1782	V.B.	
James Simmons Tz	Rebeckah Johnson		10	6	0		21/3/1782	V.B.	
Charles Winfield wz	Guardians of John Leverock		129	4	0		3/8/1782	V.B.	
Charles Mussenden	Guardians of John Leverock	Note of hand	30	0	0		3/8/1782	V.B.	
"the midwife"	Guardians of John Leverock	For delivering Lucey	2	0	0		3/8/1782	V.B.	
Rebeckah Dunkin	Guardians of John Leverock		49	0	0		3/8/1782	V.B.	
Lucey	Guardians of John Leverock	For cash lent her mistress	19	2	0		3/8/1782	V.B.	
"Expenses paid at St. Eustatius"	Guardians of John Leverock	Expenses on St. Eustatius	4	6	3		3/8/1782	V.B.	
Captain Hassell	Guardians of John Leverock	Freight	7	7	0		3/8/1782	V.B.	
"for getting up things"	Guardians of John Leverock	Transport	1	6	0		3/8/1782	V.B.	
Mrs. Oiston	Guardians of John Leverock	For the child's schooling	0	4	0		3/8/1782	V.B.	
John Simmons	Guardians of John Leverock	Goat	4	1	0		3/8/1782	V.B.	
Isaac Abraham	James Simmons (dec'd)		201	3	0		15/7/1782	V.B.	
Mary Simmons	James Simmons (dec'd)		184	1	5		15/7/1782	V.B.	"Mary Simmons child" is listed as
Peter Simmons tz	James Simmons (dec'd)		41	0	4		15/7/1782	V.B.	
Peter Simmons tz	James Simmons (dec'd)		40	7	0		15/7/1782	V.B.	
Henry Simmons	James Simmons (dec'd)		49	4	0		15/7/1782	V.B.	
Peter Beaks	James Simmons (dec'd)		3	4	0		15/7/1782	V.B.	

Creditor	Debtor	Item	P/8	St	Bt	Guilty	Date	Source	Notes
Henry Simmons	James Simmons (dec'd)		2	2	0		15/7/1782	V.B.	
Isaac Simmons Sr	James Simmons (dec'd)		4	5	4		15/7/1782	V.B.	
Mary Valane	James Simmons (dec'd)		6	7	0		15/7/1782	V.B.	
Captain Winfield	James Simmons (dec'd)		1	0	0		15/7/1782	V.B.	
John Simmons and son William	James Simmons (dec'd)		17	1	1		15/7/1782	V.B.	
James Simmons	James Simmons (dec'd)		24	7	0		15/7/1782	V.B.	
John Outwaith	James Simmons (dec'd)		66	2	0		15/7/1782	V.B.	
Abraham Davis	James Simmons (dec'd)		2	6	0		15/7/1782	V.B.	
John Hassell	James Simmons (dec'd)		4	0	0		15/7/1782	V.B.	
William Haddocks	Martha Haddocks (dec'd)	Note of hand	90	0	0		5/11/1782	V.B.	
Matthew Molenar	Martha Haddocks (dec'd)		44	0	0		5/11/1782	V.B.	
Phineas Wright	Martha Haddocks (dec'd)	A board	7	0	0		5/11/1782	V.B.	
Catharine Johnson	Martha Haddocks (dec'd)	##	2	7	0		5/11/1782	V.B.	^
Peter Hassell tz	Hercules Hassell (dec'd)		236	0	2		23/1/1783	V.B.	
John Every	Hercules Hassell (dec'd)	###	100	0	0		23/1/1783	V.B.	
Richard Hassell	Hercules Hassell (dec'd)	Note of hand	35	4	0		23/1/1783	V.B.	
Anthony Every tz	Hercules Hassell (dec'd)	Account	37	5	0		23/1/1783	V.B.	
Peter Hassell tz	Hercules Hassell (dec'd)		17	3	0		23/1/1783	V.B.	
James Every tz	Hercules Hassell (dec'd)		20	0	0		23/1/1783	V.B.	
Peter Mardenburgh Esquire	Hercules Hassell (dec'd)		3	0	0		23/1/1783	V.B.	
John Hassell	Hercules Hassell (dec'd)		42	0	0		23/1/1783	V.B.	
Peter Hassell	Hercules Hassell (dec'd)	Cost of Debtor's funeral	235	0	0		23/1/1783	V.B.	
Peter Hassell	Peter Halley (dec'd)	####	19	7	3		17/3/1784	V.B.	
Widow (Hassell)	Peter Halley (dec'd)		18	4	3		17/3/1784	V.B.	
Elisabeth Mardenburgh	Peter Halley (dec'd)		1	3	2		17/3/1784	V.B.	
James Every tz	Peter Halley (dec'd)		0	5	2		17/3/1784	V.B.	
Joshua Hassell	Peter Halley (dec'd)	Sundries as per account	15	5	5		17/3/1784	V.B.	
John Halley	Peter Halley (dec'd)	For cash land with interest	23	2	0		17/3/1784	V.B.	
James Every	Peter Halley (dec'd)	On the house	71	4	0		17/3/1784	V.B.	
Abraham Halley Sr	Peter Halley (dec'd)		66	7	4		17/3/1784	V.B.	
Abraham Halley Sr	Peter Halley (dec'd)	Fish and nails	2	6	5		17/3/1784	V.B.	
John & Hames Halley	Peter Halley (dec'd)	&	3	0	4		17/3/1784	V.B.	
William Leverock	Peter Halley (dec'd)		0	2	0		17/3/1784	V.B.	
Joshua Carter	Peter Halley (dec'd)		1	2	3		17/3/1784	V.B.	
James Hassell	Peter Halley (dec'd)	For his share	9	0	0		17/3/1784	V.B.	
Henry Hassell hz	Peter Halley (dec'd)		6	1	3		17/3/1784	V.B.	
James Leverock Jr	Peter Halley (dec'd)		1	5	3		17/3/1784	V.B.	
Joshua Hassell	Peter Halley (dec'd)	For building his house	55	0	0		17/3/1784	V.B.	
Hercules Hassell	Peter Halley (dec'd)	For boards	11	0	0		17/3/1784	V.B.	
Thomas Dinzey (governor)	Peter Halley (dec'd)	Note of hand	25	0	0		17/3/1784	V.B.	

Creditor	Debtor	Item	P/8	St	Bt	Guilty	Date	Source	Notes
James Hassell (dec'd)	Richard Hassell		20	0	0		16/6/1784	V.B.	
James Hassell (dec'd)	Peter Hassell		6	0	0		16/6/1784	V.B.	
James Hassell (dec'd)	Thomas Hassell		6	5	0		16/6/1784	V.B.	
James Hassell (dec'd)	Thomas Hassell	For a part of land in Plumb gut	30	0	0		16/6/1784	V.B.	
James Hassell (dec'd)	Thomas Hassell	A piece called the new ground	70	0	0		16/6/1784	V.B.	
James Hassell (dec'd)	Elenor Hassell	A piece in the gut	40	0	0		16/6/1784	V.B.	
James Hassell (dec'd)	Richard Hassell	A piece above the bush	40	0	0		16/6/1784	V.B.	
James Hassell (dec'd)	Richard Hassell (James son)	A piece above the bush (ditto)	33	4	3		16/6/1784	V.B.	
James Hassell (dec'd)	Joshua Hassell	A piece above the bush (ditto)	50	2	0		16/6/1784	V.B.	
Elizabeth Leverock	James Hassell (dec'd)		5	6	3		16/6/1784	V.B.	
William Leverock	James Hassell (dec'd)	For pork	0	6	0		16/6/1784	V.B.	
Thomas Hassell	James Hassell (dec'd)	For a shroad (shrowd?)	2	3	3		16/6/1784	V.B.	
Peter Johnson	James Hassell (dec'd)	Cabbage	0	3	0		16/6/1784	V.B.	
(unspecified)	James Hassell (dec'd)	A board at 17ft at 7 stivers	2	3	5		16/6/1784	V.B.	
John Every	James Hassell (dec'd)		3	0	0		16/6/1784	V.B.	
Elenor Hassell	James Hassell (dec'd)		29	0	0		16/6/1784	V.B.	
Thomas Hassell	James Hassell (dec'd)		28	7	0		16/6/1784	V.B.	
Elenor Hassell	James Hassell (dec'd)		7	1	0		16/6/1784	V.B.	
Rebeckah Johnson	Ann Argin (dec'd)	Note of hand	32	0	0		10/12/1784	V.B.	Note of hand for the cost of the court
Martha Simmons	Ann Argin (dec'd)	Note of hand	30	4	4		10/12/1784	V.B.	For interest on a long standing order
Thomas Dinzey (governor)	Ann Argin (dec'd)	A board and taxes	5	1	3		10/12/1784	V.B.	
Mother's half	Ann Argin (dec'd)	Inheritance	61	4	5		10/12/1784	V.B.	
John Argin	Mother's half (Ann Argin dec'd)	As per account	38	0	0		10/12/1784	V.B.	
Funeral costs	Ann Argin (dec'd)	Funeral costs	11	0	0		10/12/1784	V.B.	
Children of Ann Argin	Ann Argin (dec'd)	Inheritance	56	0	0		10/12/1784	V.B.	
George Argin	Ann Argin (dec'd)		20	1	4		10/12/1784	V.B.	
Samuel Argin	Ann Argin (dec'd)		56	6	0		10/12/1784	V.B.	
John Argin	Ann Argin (dec'd)	Note of hand	66	7	0		10/12/1784	V.B.	#
Thomas Dinzey (governor)	Peter Simmons tz		196	6	2		8/3/1785	V.B.	
Isaac Abrahams	Peter Simmons tz		30	6	1		8/3/1785	V.B.	
Thomas Winfield	Peter Simmons tz		5	0	1		8/3/1785	V.B.	
Thomas Simmons tz	Peter Simmons tz		13	7	2		8/3/1785	V.B.	
William Winfield	Peter Simmons tz		3	4	1		8/3/1785	V.B.	
Abraham Davis	Peter Simmons tz		5	0	0		8/3/1785	V.B.	
Thomas Simmons tz	Peter Simmons tz		3	2	0		8/3/1785	V.B.	
Samuel Cherito	Peter Simmons tz	Cash lent	5	4	0		8/3/1785	V.B.	
Dianah	Peter Simmons tz	Meat	1	0	3		8/3/1785	V.B.	
James Simmons	Peter Simmons tz	As per account	5	7	0		8/3/1785	V.B.	
Peter Simmons	Peter Simmons tz		19	5	3		8/3/1785	V.B.	
James Simmons	Peter Simmons tz	Goat	4	4	0		8/3/1785	V.B.	

Creditor	Debtor	Item	P/8	St	Bt	Guilty	Date	Source	Notes
Isaac Simmons	Peter Simmons tz		62	2	3		8/3/1785	V.B.	
William Simmons	Peter Simmons tz		5	4	3		8/3/1785	V.B.	
Abraham Simmons	Peter Simmons tz		14	4	3		8/3/1785	V.B.	
Phoenix	Peter Simmons tz		1	7	0		8/3/1785	V.B.	
Yankey	Peter Simmons tz		0	7	3		8/3/1785	V.B.	
Daniel Hassell	Peter Simmons tz		3	0	0		8/3/1785	V.B.	
Thomas Beal	Peter Simmons tz		12	4	0		8/3/1785	V.B.	
"The Children"	Peter Simmons tz	Upon the first setting	23	0	0		8/3/1785	V.B.	
Thomas Dinzey (governor)	Peter Simmons tz		68	4	1		8/3/1785	V.B.	
Thomas Dinzey (governor)	Peter Simmons tz	Note of hand	30	0	0		8/3/1785	V.B.	
Thomas Dinzey (governor)	Peter Simmons tz	Note of hand	8	4	0		8/3/1785	V.B.	"For sloman"
Thomas Dinzey (governor)	Peter Simmons tz	Half barrell of beef	10	0	0		8/3/1785	V.B.	
Thomas Dinzey (governor)	Peter Simmons tz	Half barrell of beef	18	6	0		8/3/1785	V.B.	
Thomas Dinzey (governor)	Peter Simmons tz	Cash lent	88	0	0		8/3/1785	V.B.	"To cash paid your wife"
Thomas Dinzey (governor)	Peter Simmons tz	Cash lent	75	7	4		8/3/1785	V.B.	Cash paid "your self"
Thomas Dinzey (governor)	Peter Simmons tz	8 goats	24	0	0		8/3/1785	V.B.	
Thomas Dinzey (governor)	Widow of Peter Simmons tz	Mortgage	0	0	0		8/3/1785	V.B.	*
Thomas Dinzey (governor)	Isaac Beal (dec'd)	"For what he paid bomman"	26	4	3		16/3/1785	V.B.	
Abel Blyden Sr.	Isaac Beal (dec'd)		36	6	3		16/3/1785	V.B.	
Matthew Winfield	Isaac Beal (dec'd)		16	7	0		16/3/1785	V.B.	
John Hassell	Isaac Beal (dec'd)		32	7	0		16/3/1785	V.B.	
Isaac Abrahams	Isaac Beal (dec'd)		30	2	0		16/3/1785	V.B.	
Charles Hassell tz	Isaac Beal (dec'd)	Gallon old rum	1	3	0		16/3/1785	V.B.	
Daniel Peterson	Isaac Beal (dec'd)	As per account	74	2	0		16/3/1785	V.B.	
Thomas Dinzey (governor)	James Peterson (dec'd)	Boards	5	7	2		15/3/1786	V.B.	
(unspecified)	James Peterson (dec'd)	For a piece of Bartanyas	2	6	0		15/3/1786	V.B.	
Thomas Beal Esq.	James Peterson (dec'd)	2 gallons and 2 pints rum	2	2	4		15/3/1786	V.B.	
Serraph	James Peterson (dec'd)		0	4	0		15/3/1786	V.B.	
James Peterson (dec'd)	Ann Every		46	2	0		15/3/1786	V.B.	
John Leverock	Peter Mardenburgh		198	0	4		20/7/1785	V.B.	
Christopher & Peter Mardenburgh	Peter Mardenburgh		177	4	0		20/7/1785	V.B.	Sons of Peter Mardenburgh
Hercules Hassell	Peter Mardenburgh		22	0	0		20/7/1785	V.B.	
Rebeckah Hassell orphan	Peter Mardenburgh		22	0	0		20/7/1785	V.B.	
Abraham Beaks			24	0	0		20/7/1785	V.B.	
"my son James"	Peter Mardenburgh		11	0	0		20/7/1785	V.B.	
Thomas Dinzey (governor)	Peter Mardenburgh		2	2	0		20/7/1785	V.B.	
(unspecified)	Peter Hassell	Debts	204	7	1		14/3/1815	V.B.	
(unspecified)	Peter Collins (dec'd)	Debts	56	2	0		12/4/1815	V.B.	
(unspecified)	Anthony + Elinor Every (dec'd)	Debts	266	0	1		24/11/1815	V.B.	
(unspecified)	John J. Simmons	Debts	205	3	3		7/8/1816	V.B.	

Creditor	Debtor	Item	P/8	St	Bt	Guilty	Date	Source	Notes
(unspecified)	Mrs. Joanna Johnson	Debts	210	7	5		7/8/1816	V.B.	
(unspecified)	Anthony Every (dec'd)	Debts	34	7	0		23/8/1821	V.B.	
(unspecified)	Abram J. Every	Debts	234	3	4		17/11/1821	V.B.	
(unspecified)	John Peterson	Debts	284	7	2		13/11/1827	V.B.	
Joseph D. Horton	James Simmons Sr.		189			y	3/2/1813	S.C.R.	
Joseph D. Horton	Mrs. Martha Burgett		183			y	3/2/1813	S.C.R.	
William Simmons	James Simmons Sr.		410	8	5	y	9/4/1813	S.C.R.	For house, 10% interest per annum.
Joseph D. Horton	James Simmons Sr.		28			y	9/2/1813	S.C.R.	
Joseph D. Horton	Dr. Ariel Blyden (St. Barths)		200			y	6/11/1816	S.C.R.	**
John H. Dinzey	Dr. Ariel Blyden (St. Barths)		34			y	6/11/1816	S.C.R.	**
Thomas Dinzey Sr.	Dr. Ariel Blyden (St. Barths)		280			y	6/11/1816	S.C.R.	**
William Simmons	Dr. Ariel Blyden (St. Barths)		39			y	6/11/1816	S.C.R.	**
Marie Beaks	Dr. Ariel Blyden (St. Barths)		274			y	6/11/1816	S.C.R.	**
Ann Dorsey	Dr. Ariel Blyden (St. Barths)		24			y	6/11/1816	S.C.R.	**
William Simmons	Dr. Ariel Blyden (St. Barths)		242			y	6/11/1816	S.C.R.	**
Moses Leverock	Dr. Ariel Blyden (St. Barths)		192			y	6/11/1816	S.C.R.	**
John Dinzey	Dr. Ariel Blyden (St. Barths)		63			y	6/11/1816	S.C.R.	**
Ann Char[ity?]	Dr. Ariel Blyden (St. Barths)		10			y	6/11/1816	S.C.R.	**
James Simmons	Dr. Ariel Blyden (St. Barths)		16			y	6/11/1816	S.C.R.	**
John A. Simmons	Dr. Ariel Blyden (St. Barths)		42			y	6/11/1816	S.C.R.	**
Permielyer Beaks	Mrs. Ann Simmons		117			y	15/3/117	S.C.R.	**
John B. Simmons	John Simmons		93	5		y	16/9/1817	S.C.R.	For note of hand, plus 10% per annum
Charles Simmons	Mrs. Joanna Simmons		57	3	2	y	16/9/1817	S.C.R.	Old debt for schooling and sundry
John Johnson	Jacob Every Hassell	Mortgage	233	0	0		4/12/1825	S.S.R.	^^
Rev. John Tolland	Peter J. Every		22			y	18/1/1826	S.C.R.	
Peter Simmons	John James Simmons	Mortgage	484		3		28/10/1826	S.S.R.	^^^
Thomas Dinzey (dec'd)	James Simmons		91	1	0		5/2/1827	S.S.R.	Indebted to heirs of Dinzey estate
George S. Johnson	George Joseph Hassell		12	4		y	7/2/1827	S.C.R.	Def to pay 9.0.8
Mr. Engle Heyliger	Pleasant Hassell		118	0	3	/	11/2/1827	S.C.R.	Debtor to repay 63.5.1, half of court
Mr. Thomas Every	James Simmons		500			y	12/2/1828	S.C.R.	***
Henry Hassell	Matthew Winfield		166	0	3	y	5/7/1831	S.C.R.	Leftovers from a mortgage
John G. Hassell	Matthew Winfield						5/7/1831	S.C.R.	Creditor with Henry Hassell
	Charles Simmons						5/5/1832	S.C.R.	****
Thomas D. Winfield	Edmond Hassell		18	0	0	y	13/1/1836	S.C.R.	Payment within three months
Doctor James Leuren	Capt. Moses Leverock (dec'd)		79	0	0	-	13/1/1836	S.C.R.	Debt to be settled from estate
Moses Leverock (dec'd)	Capt. Moses Leverock (dec'd)		88	69	0	-	13/1/1836	S.C.R.	Debt to be settled from estate
Jacob Monsanto	Capt. Moses Leverock (dec'd)		35	50	0	-	13/1/1836	S.C.R.	Debt to be settled from estate
Joseph Marcial	Capt. Moses Leverock (dec'd)		29	7	0	-	13/1/1836	S.C.R.	Debt to be settled from estate

Creditor	Debtor	Item	P/8	St	Bt	Guilty	Date	Source	Notes
Moses Hassell	Capt. Moses Leverock (dec'd)		9	14	0	-	13/1/1836	S.C.R.	Debt to be settled from estate
James Simmons	Capt. Moses Leverock (dec'd)		8	40	0	-	13/1/1836	S.C.R.	Debt to be settled from estate
Thomas D. Winfield	Mrs. Anne Darsey		79	22	0	?	9/3/1836	S.C.R.	^^^^
Jacob Monsanto	Mr. Henry Hassell		118		7	?	9/3/1836	S.C.R.	Overdue debt.
Susanna Leverock	John William Barnes		5	3		y	11/15/1836	S.C.R.	
Jacob Every	John Michael Dinzey Sr.		163	5	0	?	8/6/1836	S.C.R.	Def'd not present, could not pass

Notes

*Thomas Dinzey holds Peter Simmons' house and land in mortgage until debts paid in full by his widow and heirs. House and lands previously appraised at pcs. 250.0.0
**Debtor deceased, creditor to receive payment from sale of estate to settle debts
***Charged against estate of deceased debtor and deceased wife Mary Simmons, brought to court 9/6/1830, 8% interest per annum
****Deceased, estate owes money to a variety of people, mostly for services rendered to him during life + funeral costs
^Rum and sugar made available to public at the vendue for 7 pcs eight by the estate
^^Mortgages house at Booby Hill and "negro slave Prince" at 10% per annum
^^^Debtor is father of creditor. Mortgages house and lot in The Bottom called The Company's Ground
^^^^Payment. Def'd not present, could not pass sentence. 2nd time present, to pay by 15 November 1836
#House and land left for security from estate to pay outstanding debts
##"Taking care of our mother in her time of sickness"
###"Maintaining his mother in law a year and two weeks"
####"For tending upon him twenty nine days whilst with the small pox"
&"For their 1/3 part of a canoe sold in St. Thomas"

Sources

V.B. = Saba Vendue Book 1780-1816 (DNAr 1.05.13.01 #542)
S.C.R. = Saba Court Records (DNAr 1.05.13.01 #319)

Table 17: Saba Census, 1848

	Residents																				Free Total	Slaves					Grand Total
	Born on the Island					Born in the West Indies					Born in the Netherlands					Born Elsewhere											
District	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total		Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total	
The Town	65	89	36	38	228	4	4	1		9					0	1				1	238	58	65	58	60	241	479
St. John's	42	76	38	55	211	1				1					0					0	212	21	22	20	17	80	292
Windwardside	104	113	53	63	333	3	5	1	1	10					0					0	343	62	64	44	60	230	573
Booby Hill	22	20	13	6	61	1	1			2					0					0	63	2	2	3	7	14	77
Hell's Gate	30	33	14	19	96	2	1			3					0					0	99	14	14	11	18	57	156
Palmetto Point	12	14	11	6	43					0					0					0	43	2	5	1	1	9	52
Middle Island	11	10	4	9	34	1				1					0					0	35	1		2		3	38
	286	355	169	196	1006	12	11	2	1	26	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1033	160	172	139	163	634	1667

Count of Houses		Religion		Marriage		General Tally of Residents	
The Town	44	Protestant	1663	Men	122	Men	459
St. John's	23	Catholic	4	Women	122	Women	538
Windwardside	67	Total	1667	Total	244	Boys	310
Booby Hill	10					Girls	360
Hell's Gate	11					Total	1667
Palmetto Point	6						
Middle Island	4						
Total	165						

Note: Census was drawn and organized above as close to the original as possible.

Table 18: Saba Census, 1861

	Residents																				Free Total	Slaves					Grand Total
	Born on the Island					Born in the West Indies					Born in the Netherlands					Born Elsewhere											
District	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total		Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total	
The Town	78	116	49	43	286	4	5	1	1	11					0	1				1	298	58	84	77	77	296	594
St. John's	46	66	28	28	168					0					0					0	168	20	14	14	19	67	235
Windwardside	118	133	59	73	383	7	5		3	15	1				1	1				1	400	40	73	58	70	241	641
Booby Hill	25	22	13	21	81	1	1			2					0					0	83	4	2		3	9	92
Hell's Gate	24	35	19	12	90	1				1					0					0	91	10	14	14	12	50	141
Palmetto Point	17	17	10	14	58					0					0					0	58	1	4	7	2	14	72
Middle Island	16	16	9	8	49			1		1					0					0	50	1				1	51
	324	405	187	199	1115	13	11	2	4	30	1	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	2	1148	134	191	170	183	678	1826

Count of Houses, Including Thatch	
The Town	70
St. John's	33
Windwardside	93
Booby Hill	17
Hell's Gate	19
Palmetto Point	9
Middle Island	13
Total	254

Religion	
Protestant	1396
Catholic	430
Total	1826

Marriage	
Men	147
Women	147
Total	294

General Tally of Residents	
Men	474
Women	607
Boys	359
Girls	386
Total	1826

Note: Census was drawn and organized above as close to the original as possible.

Table 19: Saba Census, 1865

	Residents																				
	Born on the Island					Born in the West Indies					Born in the Netherlands					Born Elsewhere					
District	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total	**Grand Total**
The Town	139	200	131	129	599	5	7	2		14	3				3					0	616
St. John's	69	78	52	45	244					0	1				1					0	245
Windwardside	147	190	104	110	551	5	6	5	5	21	1				1					0	573
Booby Hill	24	24	15	24	87	1	1			2					0					0	89
Hell's Gate	33	46	33	28	140					0					0					0	140
Palmetto Point	17	24	17	17	75	1				1					0					0	76
Middle Island	22	28	14	6	70					0					0					0	70
	451	590	366	359	1766	12	14	7	5	38	5	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	1809

Count of Houses	
The Town	94
St. John's	40
Windwardside	117
Booby Hill	18
Hell's Gate	23
Palmetto Point	16
Middle Island	16
Total	324

Marriage	
Men	188
Women	188
Total	376

General Tally of Residents	
Men	468
Women	604
Boys	373
Girls	364
Total	1809

Note: Position of Hell's Gate and Palmetto Point swapped from original for ease of comparison with previous censuses for 1848 and 1861.

Table 20: Emancipation List, Saba, 1863

Owner	Owner Sex	Village	Enslaved Name	Enslaved Sex	Age	Trade	Religion	Compensation	Notes
Henry J. Hassell	M	Booby Hill	Lucy	F	22	H.S.	P	200	Manumission completed by Henry Hassell Jr.
Joanna Hassell	F	Booby Hill	Bob	M	52	F.L.	P	200	Manumission completed by Richard Hassell.
Capt. James Hassell, William Mitchell	M	Booby Hill					?	3000	James Hassell (Captain) literate. No description of the
Elenor Johnson	F	Booby Hill	Abram	M	21	F.L.	R.C.	400	Manumission dealt with by Henry Johnson.
Elenor Johnson	F	Booby Hill	Pleasant	F	9		R.C.		
Richard Johnson	M	Booby Hill	Margaret	F	46	Midwife	R.C.	800	Owner illiterate.
Richard Johnson	M	Booby Hill	John	M	19	F.L.	R.C.		
Richard Johnson	M	Booby Hill	Susan	F	15	Washer	R.C.		
Richard Johnson	M	Booby Hill	Louisa	F	13	H.S.	R.C.		
Daniel Every	M	Hells Gate	Benjamin	M	5		R.C.	200	Owner literate.
Jacob Every (1)	M	Hells Gate	Ephriam	M	59	F.L.	P	2600	Owner literate.
Jacob Every (1)	M	Hells Gate	Jack	M	51	F.L.	P		
Jacob Every (1)	M	Hells Gate	William	M	18	F.L.	P		
Jacob Every (1)	M	Hells Gate	Hannah	F	46	F.L.	P		
Jacob Every (1)	M	Hells Gate	Elizabeth	F	21	F.L.	R.C.		
Jacob Every (1)	M	Hells Gate	Maria	F	35	Washer	R.C.		
Jacob Every (1)	M	Hells Gate	Nancy	F	15	Cook	R.C.		
Jacob Every (1)	M	Hells Gate	Rinner	F	7		R.C.		
Jacob Every (1)	M	Hells Gate	Ann Maria	F	6		R.C.		
Jacob Every (1)	M	Hells Gate	Rosevena	F	3		R.C.		
Jacob Every (1)	M	Hells Gate	Charles	M	11	F.L.	R.C		
Jacob Every (1)	M	Hells Gate	John George	M	7		R.C.		
Jacob Every (1)	M	Hells Gate	Daniel	M	0.66		R.C.		
Jacob Every (1)	M	Hells Gate	Polly Burris	F			?	600	
Jacob Every (1)	M	Hells Gate	Susanna	F			?		
Jacob Every (1)	M	Hells Gate	Leah	F			?		
George James Hassell	M	Hell's Gate	Peter	M	35	F.L.	P	800	Owner literate.
George James Hassell	M	Hell's Gate	Alexander	M	2		R.C.		
George James Hassell	M	Hell's Gate	Celia	F	25	F.L.	P		
George James Hassell	M	Hell's Gate	Mary	F	21	F.L.	R.C.		
James Horton	M	Hell's Gate	John	M	3		?	600	Heir of aforementioned P.G.Hassell. James is literate.
James Horton	M	Hell's Gate	Thomas	M	0.25		?		
James Horton	M	Hell's Gate	Mary	F	19		?		
J. Horton (Esq.) and G.J. Hassell	M	Hell's Gate	Sarah	F			?		

Owner	Owner Sex	Village	Enslaved Name	Enslaved Sex	Age	Trade	Religion	Compensation	Notes
Peter James Hassell	M	Hell's Gate	Benjamin	M	36	F.L.	P	400	Owner illiterate.
Peter James Hassell	M	Hell's Gate	Richard	M	4		R.C.		
Peter James Hassell	M	Hell's Gate	Industry	M	2		R.C.		
James Horton	M	Hell's Gate	Scipio	M	36	F.L.	?	2400	Owner literate.
James Horton	M	Hell's Gate	Yankey	M	17	F.L.	?		
James Horton	M	Hell's Gate	Thomas	M	69	F.L.	?		
James Horton	M	Hell's Gate	Ephriam	M	14	F.L.	?		
James Horton	M	Hell's Gate	Prince	M	9	F.L.	?		
James Horton	M	Hell's Gate	Moses	M	9	F.L.	?		
James Horton	M	Hell's Gate	Theadore	M	0.63		?		Theadore is 7 months old.
James Horton	M	Hell's Gate	Cotta	F	44	Washer	?		
James Horton	M	Hell's Gate	Susan	F	19	Cook	?		
James Horton	M	Hell's Gate	Rosalthe	F	13	H.S.	?		
James Horton	M	Hell's Gate	Celia	F	10	H.S.	?		
James Horton	M	Hell's Gate	Ann	F	5		?		
Elizabeth Johnson	F	Hell's Gate	Elinor	F	21	H.S.	R.C.	200	Owner illiterate.
Henry Thomas Johnson	M	Hell's Gate	Margaret	F	40	H.S.	R.C.	1800	Owner illiterate.
Henry Thomas Johnson	M	Hell's Gate	Sally	F	17	H.S.	R.C.		
Henry Thomas Johnson	M	Hell's Gate	John Levy	M	15	F.L.	R.C.		
Henry Thomas Johnson	M	Hell's Gate	Charlotte	F	13	H.S.	R.C.		
Henry Thomas Johnson	M	Hell's Gate	Maria	F	10		R.C.		
Henry Thomas Johnson	M	Hell's Gate	Peggy	F	7		R.C.		
Henry Thomas Johnson	M	Hell's Gate	Peter	M	5		R.C.		
Henry Thomas Johnson	M	Hell's Gate	Leah	F	2		R.C.		
Henry Thomas Johnson	M	Hell's Gate	Alice	F	2		R.C.		
Jane Johnson	F	Hell's Gate	Patience	F	19	H.S.	R.C.	600	Owner illiterate.
Jane Johnson	F	Hell's Gate	Scipio	M	17	F.L.	R.C.		
Jane Johnson	F	Hell's Gate	Peter	M	15	F.L.	R.C.		
Judith Hassell	F	Middle Island	Peter	M	19	F.L.	P	?	Owner illiterate. A note at the bottom says that Peter has
Daniel James Hassell Every	M	St. Eustatius	Jacob	M	50		?	1600	Owner literate. Jacob absent.
Daniel James Hassell Every	M	St. Eustatius	Ann	F	32		?		Ann absent.
Daniel James Hassell Every	M	St. Eustatius	Peter	M	29		?		
Daniel James Hassell Every	M	St. Eustatius	Richard	M	25		?		Richard absent.
Daniel James Hassell Every	M	St. Eustatius	Joseph	M	7		?		
Daniel James Hassell Every	M	St. Eustatius	John	M	4		?		
Daniel James Hassell Every	M	St. Eustatius	Ann	F	1		?		Ann Rebecca absent.

Owner	Owner Sex	Village	Enslaved Name	Enslaved Sex	Age	Trade	Religion	Compensation	Notes
Daniel James Hassell Every	M	St. Eustatius	Novah	F	16		?		
Daniel James Hassell Every	M	St. Eustatius	Jacob	M	15		?		
Daniel James Hassell Every	M	St. Eustatius	Marcotto	F	28		?		
Ann Beale widow	F	Palmetto Point	Richard	M	30	F.L.	P	200	Owner illiterate.
Abram Simmons	M	Palmetto Point	Thomas	M	15	F.L.	P	1600	Owner illiterate.
Abram Simmons	M	Palmetto Point	David	M	13	F.L.	P		
Abram Simmons	M	Palmetto Point	Edward	M	11	F.L.	P		
Abram Simmons	M	Palmetto Point	Augustus	M	7		P		
Abram Simmons	M	Palmetto Point	William	M	4		P		
Abram Simmons	M	Palmetto Point	Henry	M	1		P		Henry noted as sick.
Abram Simmons	M	Palmetto Point	Phillis	F	36	F.L.	P		
Abram Simmons	M	Palmetto Point	Catharine	F	9	F.L.	P		
William James Simmons Jr.	M	Palmetto Point	Catharine	F	64	F.L.	P	400	*
William James Simmons Jr.	M	Palmetto Point	Flora	F	30	F.L.	P		
Thomas Zeagors, William Zeagors, and Peter Zeagors	M	Palmetto Point	Edward	M	12	F.L.	P	600	All owners illiterate.
Thomas Zeagors, William Zeagors, and Peter Zeagors	M	Palmetto Point	Frankey	F	33	F.L.	P		
Thomas Zeagors, William Zeagors, and Peter Zeagors	M	Palmetto Point	Mary Ann	F	14	F.L.	P		
Eliza Dinzey widow	F	St. Barts	David	M	61	F.L.	P	4200	
Eliza Dinzey widow	F	St. Barts	Thomas	M	33	F.L.	P		
Eliza Dinzey widow	F	St. Barts	William	M	31	F.L.	P		
Eliza Dinzey widow	F	St. Barts	Samuel	M	30	F.L.	P		
Eliza Dinzey widow	F	St. Barts	Peter	M	29	F.L.	P		
Eliza Dinzey widow	F	St. Barts	Simon	M	26	F.L.	P		
Eliza Dinzey widow	F	St. Barts	Emele	M	22	F.L.	P		
Eliza Dinzey widow	F	St. Barts	Moses	M	19	F.L.	P		
Eliza Dinzey widow	F	St. Barts	George	M	14	F.L.	P		
Eliza Dinzey widow	F	St. Barts	John	M	11	F.L.	P		
Eliza Dinzey widow	F	St. Barts	Adelbert	M	13	F.L.	P		
Eliza Dinzey widow	F	St. Barts	Stanford	M	10	F.L.	P		
Eliza Dinzey widow	F	St. Barts	Peggy	F	62	Cook	P		
Eliza Dinzey widow	F	St. Barts	Lucy	F	37	Washer	P		
Eliza Dinzey widow	F	St. Barts	Eugene	F	36	Washer	P		
Eliza Dinzey widow	F	St. Barts	Betsey	F	35	Washer	P		
Eliza Dinzey widow	F	St. Barts	Catharine	F	20	Washer	P		
Eliza Dinzey widow	F	St. Barts	Lucy	F	13	H.S.	P		
Eliza Dinzey widow	F	St. Barts	Arabella	F	12	H.S.	P		

Owner	Owner Sex	Village	Enslaved Name	Enslaved Sex	Age	Trade	Religion	Compensation	Notes
Eliza Dinzey widow	F	St. Barts	Wilhelmena	F	6		P		
Eliza Dinzey widow	F	St. Barts	Delestena	F	3		P		
Ann Mary Barnes	F	St. Johns	Rebecca	F	17	H.S.	P	200	**
Jacob Every Barnes	M	St. Johns	Abram	M	31	F.L.	P	1200	1200 florins compensation for all six enslaved.
Jacob Every Barnes	M	St. Johns	Richard	M	23	F.L.	P		
Jacob Every Barnes	M	St. Johns	Leney	F	33	Washer	P		
Jacob Every Barnes	M	St. Johns	Frances	F	20	Cook	R.C.		
Jacob Every Barnes	M	St. Johns	James	M	5		P		
Jacob Every Barnes	M	St. Johns	Rosetta	F	1		R.C		
Elenor Beaks	F	St. Johns	Francois	M	41	Labourer	P	1000	Owner literate. Jacob absent.
Elenor Beaks	F	St. Johns	Prince	M	35	Labourer	P		
Elenor Beaks	F	St. Johns	Talamac	M	17	Labourer	P		
Elenor Beaks	F	St. Johns	Maria	F	16	Cook	P		
Elenor Beaks	F	St. Johns	John Charles	M	7		P		
Elizabeth Darsey	F	St. Johns	John	M	33	F.L.	P	1000	Owner literate.
Elizabeth Darsey	F	St. Johns	Elizabeth	F	38	Washer	P		
Elizabeth Darsey	F	St. Johns	Frances	F	16		R.C.		
Elizabeth Darsey	F	St. Johns	William	M	15		P		
Elizabeth Darsey	F	St. Johns	Nanny	F	11		R.C.		
George Dowlin	M	St. Johns	John Jack	M	20	Labourer	P	1400	Settled by Joanna Dowlin (literate). George is illiterate.
George Dowlin	M	St. Johns	Susanna	F	16	Cook	P		
George Dowlin	M	St. Johns	Nancy	F	30	Washer	P		
George Dowlin	M	St. Johns	Sarah	F	5		?		
George Dowlin	M	St. Johns	Rosalinda	F	4		?		
George Dowlin	M	St. Johns	Walter	M	2		?		
George Dowlin	M	St. Johns	Frances	F	0.5		?		
Jacob Every (2)	M	St. Johns	Stephen	M			?	200	Owner deceased; heirs dealing with compensation.
Jacob Every (2)	M	St. Johns	Jacob	M	14	F.L.	P	200	
Jacob Every (2)	M	St. Johns	Juliet	F	20		?		Juliet residing in St. Thomas at least since 19 January 1863.
Peter John Simmons Every	M	St. Johns	Rose	F	28	Washer	R.C.	1000	Owner literate.
Peter John Simmons Every	M	St. Johns	John	M	8		P		
Peter John Simmons Every	M	St. Johns	Joseph	M	6		R.C.		
Peter John Simmons Every	M	St. Johns	Wenter	M	4		R.C.		
Peter John Simmons Every	M	St. Johns	Adam	M	1		R.C.		
Ann Hassell widow	F	St. Johns	Norah	F	16		?	200	Owner illiterate.
Hercules Hassell	M	St. Johns	William	M	50	F.L.	P	1600	Owner literate, probably the Island Secretary.

Owner	Owner Sex	Village	Enslaved Name	Enslaved Sex	Age	Trade	Religion	Compensation	Notes
Hercules Hassell	M	St. Johns	Jenny	F	31	Washer	P		
Hercules Hassell	M	St. Johns	Cloe	F	26	F.L.	R.C.		
Hercules Hassell	M	St. Johns	Frances	F	21	Cook	R.C.		
Hercules Hassell	M	St. Johns	Rosanna	F	4		P		
Hercules Hassell	M	St. Johns	Geradine	F	2		R.C.		
Hercules Hassell	M	St. Johns	Alvira	F	2		P		
Hercules Hassell	M	St. Johns	William	M	1		P		
John Hassell (1)	M	St. Johns	Adam	M	34	F.L.	P	1200	Owner literate.
John Hassell (1)	M	St. Johns	Edward	M	22	F.L.	P		
John Hassell (1)	M	St. Johns	Isabella	F	22	Cook	R.C.		
John Hassell (1)	M	St. Johns	Rachel	F	5		R.C.		
John Hassell (1)	M	St. Johns	Simon	M	3		R.C.		
John Hassell (1)	M	St. Johns	Julet	F	1		R.C.		
James Hassell	M	St. Johns	Peter	M	27	F.L.	P	200	Manumission completed by Ann Louisa Hassell (literate).
John Hassell (2)	M	St. Johns	Angeller	F	55	Washer	P	400	Manumission completed by Ann E. Hassell.
John Hassell (2)	M	St. Johns	Franswar	M	15	F.L.	P		
Mary Ann Eliza Hassell, James Hassell, John Thomas	F	St. Johns	Charlotte	F	36	Washer	P	400	Completed by Mary A. Simmons. Owners all illiterate.
Mary Ann Eliza Hassell, James Hassell, John Thomas	F	St. Johns	Sarah	F	6		P		
Mary Ann Eliza Hassell, James Hassell, John Thomas	F	St. Johns					?		
Heirs of Peter Hassell, John Hassell, and Judith	M	St. Johns	Benjamin	M	22	F.L.	P	400	Judith is illiterate.
Heirs of Peter Hassell, John Hassell, and Judith	M	St. Johns	Margaret	F	17	F.L.	P		
Heirs of Isaac R. Kelley	M	St. Johns	Yankey	M	57	F.L.	P	400	Heir is Thomas J. Kelley (illiterate).
Heirs of Isaac R. Kelley	M	St. Johns	Zepariah	M	7		P		
Heirs of Charles Simmons	M	St. Johns	Wenter	M	53	F.L.	P	200	Heirs are Elizabeth Simmons (literate), Rebecca Simmons
Peter Simmons	M	St. Johns	Phenix	M	66	F.L.	P	2800	Owner literate.
Peter Simmons	M	St. Johns	Yankey	M	57	F.L.	P		
Peter Simmons	M	St. Johns	Titus	M	38	F.L.	P		
Peter Simmons	M	St. Johns	George	M	34	F.L.	P		
Peter Simmons	M	St. Johns	Wenter	M	28	F.L.	P		
Peter Simmons	M	St. Johns	Lainchey	F	35	Washer	P		
Peter Simmons	M	St. Johns	Adelbert	M	18	F.L.	P		
Peter Simmons	M	St. Johns	George	M	14	F.L.	P		
Peter Simmons	M	St. Johns	Catherine	F	12		P		
Peter Simmons	M	St. Johns	Frances	F	10		P		
Peter Simmons	M	St. Johns	Jane Ann	F	7		P		
Peter Simmons	M	St. Johns	Titus	M	5		R.C.		
Peter Simmons	M	St. Johns	Malvener	F	3		R.C.		

Owner	Owner Sex	Village	Enslaved Name	Enslaved Sex	Age	Trade	Religion	Compensation	Notes
Peter Simmons	M	St. Johns	Thomas	M	0.75		P		
Rebecca Simmons	F	St. Johns	Hannah	F	15	Washer	P	200	Owner literate.
Edward J. Beaks Esq. Lt. Gov	M	The Bottom	Cussy	M	55	F.L.	P	5600	Owner literate.
Edward J. Beaks Esq. Lt. Gov	M	The Bottom	Benjamin	M	20	F.L.	P		
Edward J. Beaks Esq. Lt. Gov	M	The Bottom	John Burley	M	14	F.L.	P		
Edward J. Beaks Esq. Lt. Gov	M	The Bottom	Charles	M	13	F.L.	P		
Edward J. Beaks Esq. Lt. Gov	M	The Bottom	Joseph	M	9	F.L.	P		
Edward J. Beaks Esq. Lt. Gov	M	The Bottom	Albert	M	8	F.L.	P		
Edward J. Beaks Esq. Lt. Gov	M	The Bottom	Howard	M	6	F.L.	P		
Edward J. Beaks Esq. Lt. Gov	M	The Bottom	James	M	4	F.L.	P		
Edward J. Beaks Esq. Lt. Gov	M	The Bottom	William	M	1	F.L.	P		
Edward J. Beaks Esq. Lt. Gov	M	The Bottom	William	M	0.75	F.L.	P		
Edward J. Beaks Esq. Lt. Gov	M	The Bottom	William	M	0.75	F.L.	P		
Edward J. Beaks Esq. Lt. Gov	M	The Bottom	Samuel	M	0.75	F.L.	P		
Edward J. Beaks Esq. Lt. Gov	M	The Bottom	Sarah	F	52	Cook	P		
Edward J. Beaks Esq. Lt. Gov	M	The Bottom	Ann	F	25	H.S.	P		
Edward J. Beaks Esq. Lt. Gov	M	The Bottom	Catharine	F	23	H.S.	P		
Edward J. Beaks Esq. Lt. Gov	M	The Bottom	Sophie	F	22	H.S.	P		
Edward J. Beaks Esq. Lt. Gov	M	The Bottom	Sarah	F	20	H.S.	P		
Edward J. Beaks Esq. Lt. Gov	M	The Bottom	Mary Ann	F	40	Washer	P		
Edward J. Beaks Esq. Lt. Gov	M	The Bottom	Permelia	F	30	Washer	P		
Edward J. Beaks Esq. Lt. Gov	M	The Bottom	Margaret	F	22	H.S.	P		
Edward J. Beaks Esq. Lt. Gov	M	The Bottom	Clara	F	16	H.S.	P		
Edward J. Beaks Esq. Lt. Gov	M	The Bottom	Emelia	F	13	H.S.	P		
Edward J. Beaks Esq. Lt. Gov	M	The Bottom	Elizabeth	F	12	H.S.	P		
Edward J. Beaks Esq. Lt. Gov	M	The Bottom	Albertina	F	10	H.S.	P		
Edward J. Beaks Esq. Lt. Gov	M	The Bottom	Agness	F	4	H.S.	P		
Edward J. Beaks Esq. Lt. Gov	M	The Bottom	Belinda	F	30	Washer	P		
Edward J. Beaks Esq. Lt. Gov	M	The Bottom	Catharine	F	9	H.S.	P		
Edward J. Beaks Esq. Lt. Gov	M	The Bottom	Susan	F	5	H.S.	P		
Edward J. Beaks Esq. Lt. Gov	M	The Bottom	Lucinda	F	3	H.S.	P		
Thomas Beale	M	The Bottom	Richard	M	33	F.L.	P	600	Owner literate.
Thomas Beale	M	The Bottom	Theadore	M	19	F.L.	P		
Thomas Beale	M	The Bottom	Theolophus	M	3	F.L.	P		
Thomas Beale	M	The Bottom	Sarah	F			?		***
Ann Catharine Cappell widow	F	The Bottom	Lucy Ann	F	35	Washer	P	1200	Owner literate.
Ann Catharine Cappell widow	F	The Bottom	Charlotte	F	15	Cook	P		

Owner	Owner Sex	Village	Enslaved Name	Enslaved Sex	Age	Trade	Religion	Compensation	Notes
Ann Catharine Cappell widow	F	The Bottom	Lucy	F	5		P		
Ann Catharine Cappell widow	F	The Bottom	Salinda	F	2		P		
Ann Catharine Cappell widow	F	The Bottom	Verginia	F	0.18		P		
Ann Catharine Cappell widow	F	The Bottom	William	F	7		P		
Annie Darsey widow	F	The Bottom	Peter	M	45	F.L.	P	1400	Owner literate.
Annie Darsey widow	F	The Bottom	Nathaniel	M	7	F.L.	P		
Annie Darsey widow	F	The Bottom	Maccion	M	7	F.L.	P		
Annie Darsey widow	F	The Bottom	Julia	F	43	Washer	P		
Annie Darsey widow	F	The Bottom	Jane	F	29	H.S.	P		
Annie Darsey widow	F	The Bottom	Emelia	F	27	H.S.	P		
Annie Darsey widow	F	The Bottom	Julia Ann	F	23	Cook	P		
Abraham Davis Esq.	M	The Bottom	Peter	M	47	F.L.	P	2600	Owner literate.
Abraham Davis Esq.	M	The Bottom	Albert	M	15	F.L.	P		
Abraham Davis Esq.	M	The Bottom	Simon	M	8	F.L.	P		
Abraham Davis Esq.	M	The Bottom	Thomas	M	8	F.L.	P		
Abraham Davis Esq.	M	The Bottom	Richard	M	5	F.L.	P		
Abraham Davis Esq.	M	The Bottom	James	M	3	F.L.	P		
Abraham Davis Esq.	M	The Bottom	John Rogers	M	0.33	F.L.	P		
Abraham Davis Esq.	M	The Bottom	Agness	F	15	H.S.	P		
Abraham Davis Esq.	M	The Bottom	Frances	F	12	H.S.	P		
Abraham Davis Esq.	M	The Bottom	Pleasant	F	11	H.S.	P		
Abraham Davis Esq.	M	The Bottom	Cleopatra	F	3		P		
Abraham Davis Esq.	M	The Bottom	Florinda	F	38	Cook	P		
Abraham Davis Esq.	M	The Bottom	Dianna	F	36	Washer	P		
Anna Dinzey	F	The Bottom	Daniel	M		?Sailor	?	6200	Owner literate. D.J. was off island on several occasions
Anna Dinzey	F	The Bottom	Peter	M	52	F.L.	P		
Anna Dinzey	F	The Bottom	Robert	M	38	F.L.	P		Infected with elephantiasis. Son of Bella.
Anna Dinzey	F	The Bottom	Daniel	M	33	F.L.	P		
Anna Dinzey	F	The Bottom	Dominique	M	20	F.L.	P		
Anna Dinzey	F	The Bottom	Abram	M	19	F.L.	P		
Anna Dinzey	F	The Bottom	Charles	M	13	F.L.	P		
Anna Dinzey	F	The Bottom	Lewis	M	7		P		
Anna Dinzey	F	The Bottom	John Raglin	M	7		P		
Anna Dinzey	F	The Bottom	John	M	7		P		
Anna Dinzey	F	The Bottom	Arvid	M	5		P		
Anna Dinzey	F	The Bottom	Isaac	M	3		P		
Anna Dinzey	F	The Bottom	Frederick	M	3		P		

Owner	Owner Sex	Village	Enslaved Name	Enslaved Sex	Age	Trade	Religion	Compensation	Notes
Anna Dinzey	F	The Bottom	Remoi	M	2		P		
Anna Dinzey	F	The Bottom	Maria	F	62	Washer	P		
Anna Dinzey	F	The Bottom	Nancy	F	58	Cook	P		
Anna Dinzey	F	The Bottom	Sarah Ann	F	16	Cook	P		
Anna Dinzey	F	The Bottom	Isabella	F	12	Cook	P		
Anna Dinzey	F	The Bottom	Hellen	F	41	Washer	P		
Anna Dinzey	F	The Bottom	Henrietta	F	35	Cook	P		
Anna Dinzey	F	The Bottom	Sarah Ann	F	32	Cook	P		
Anna Dinzey	F	The Bottom	Susannah	F	31	Cook	P		Infected with elephantiasis. Daughter of Nancy.
Anna Dinzey	F	The Bottom	Jane	F	28	Washer	P		
Anna Dinzey	F	The Bottom	Ann Louisa	F	20	Washer	P		
Anna Dinzey	F	The Bottom	Camilla	F	19	Washer	P		
Anna Dinzey	F	The Bottom	Louisa	F	27	Washer	P		
Anna Dinzey	F	The Bottom	Rosalee	F	11	Washer	P		
Anna Dinzey	F	The Bottom	Auxalena	F	7		P		
Anna Dinzey	F	The Bottom	Leanora	F	3		P		
Anna Dinzey	F	The Bottom	Arabella	F	3		P		
Anna Dinzey	F	The Bottom	Jessy	F	3		P		
Elizabeth Dinzey	F	The Bottom	Madelain	F	40	Washer	P	1200	Owner literate.
Elizabeth Dinzey	F	The Bottom	Precilla	F	27	H.S.	P		
Elizabeth Dinzey	F	The Bottom	Rosealena	F	9	H.S.	P		
Elizabeth Dinzey	F	The Bottom	Jane	F	7		P		
Elizabeth Dinzey	F	The Bottom	Commetia	F	3		P		
Elizabeth Dinzey	F	The Bottom	Gertrude	F	2		P		
Margaret Dinzey	F	The Bottom	William	M	19	F.L.	P	800	Owner literate
Margaret Dinzey	F	The Bottom	Desire	F	38	H.S.	P		
Margaret Dinzey	F	The Bottom	Amelia	F	21	Washer	P		
Margaret Dinzey	F	The Bottom	Lucy	F	16	Cook	P		
William Simmons Dinzey	M	The Bottom	Sarah	F	21	Washer	P	400	Owner literate.
William Simmons Dinzey	M	The Bottom	Arabella	F	2		P		
John George Hassell	M	The Bottom	Bone	M	15	F.L.	P	600	Owner illiterate.
John George Hassell	M	The Bottom	Andrew	M	13	F.L.	P		
John George Hassell	M	The Bottom	Clementina	F	17	F.L.	P		
Joanna Dinzey Horton	F	The Bottom	Robert	M			?	5400	Owner literate. No enclosed document describing Robert.
Joanna Dinzey Horton	F	The Bottom	John	M	54	F.L.	P		****
Joanna Dinzey Horton	F	The Bottom	Robert	M	32	Sailor	P		^

Owner	Owner Sex	Village	Enslaved Name	Enslaved Sex	Age	Trade	Religion	Compensation	Notes
Joanna Dinzey Horton	F	The Bottom	Edward	M	24	Sailor	P		
Joanna Dinzey Horton	F	The Bottom	Albert	M	17	F.L.	P		
Joanna Dinzey Horton	F	The Bottom	Charlotte	F	55	H.S.	P		
Joanna Dinzey Horton	F	The Bottom	Lettice	F	35	Cook	P		
Joanna Dinzey Horton	F	The Bottom	Jinny	F	60	H.S.	P		
Joanna Dinzey Horton	F	The Bottom	Jane	F	29	Washer	P		
Joanna Dinzey Horton	F	The Bottom	Lydia	F	20	H.S.	P		
Joanna Dinzey Horton	F	The Bottom	Christianna	F	19	H.S.	P		
Joanna Dinzey Horton	F	The Bottom	Ida	F	25	H.S.	P		
Joanna Dinzey Horton	F	The Bottom	Adalaide	F	18	H.S.	P		
Joanna Dinzey Horton	F	The Bottom	Ricard	M	16	Sailor	P		
Joanna Dinzey Horton	F	The Bottom	William	M	6		P		
Joanna Dinzey Horton	F	The Bottom	Alva	M	4		P		
Joanna Dinzey Horton	F	The Bottom	William	M	4		P		
Joanna Dinzey Horton	F	The Bottom	Peter	M	3		P		
Joanna Dinzey Horton	F	The Bottom	Scotland	M	11	F.L.	P		
Joanna Dinzey Horton	F	The Bottom	Juliella	F	12	H.S.	P		
Joanna Dinzey Horton	F	The Bottom	Rosalina	F	9		P		
Joanna Dinzey Horton	F	The Bottom	Ann	F	9		P		
Joanna Dinzey Horton	F	The Bottom	Rachael	F	6		P		
Joanna Dinzey Horton	F	The Bottom	Elistena	F	3		P		
Joanna Dinzey Horton	F	The Bottom	Nicolema	F	3		P		
Joanna Dinzey Horton	F	The Bottom	Christopher	M	2		P		
Joanna Dinzey Horton	F	The Bottom	Clarisa	F	0.18		P		Clarisa is 2 months old.
Joanna Dinzey Horton	F	The Bottom	Claudina	F	0.18		P		May be twins with Clemincia; names joined with "}" in
Joanna Dinzey Horton	F	The Bottom	Clemincia	F	0.18		P		May be twins with Claudina; names joined with "}" in
Joanna Dinzey Horton	F	The Bottom	Angelina	F	15	H.S.	P		
Rebecca Horton	F	The Bottom	Valentine	M	9	F.L.	P	1200	Owner literate.
Rebecca Horton	F	The Bottom	John	M	6		P		
Rebecca Horton	F	The Bottom	Ann	F	37	Washer	P		
Rebecca Horton	F	The Bottom	Matilda	F	19	H.S.	P		
Rebecca Horton	F	The Bottom	Jamima	F	18	H.S.	P		
Rebecca Horton	F	The Bottom	Margaret	F	15	H.S.	P		
Rebecca Horton	F	The Bottom	Clementina	F	11	H.S.	P		
Rebecca Horton	F	The Bottom	Lucinda	F	13	H.S.	P		
Rebecca Horton	F	The Bottom	Ann	F	4		P		

Owner	Owner Sex	Village	Enslaved Name	Enslaved Sex	Age	Trade	Religion	Compensation	Notes
Virginia Horton	F	The Bottom					?	200	^^
Heirs of Moses and Susanna Leverock	M	The Bottom	John	M	73	F.L.	P	6600	Owners literate. Trades used include planter, domestic,
Heirs of Moses and Susanna Leverock	M	The Bottom	Richard	M	60	F.L.	P		
Heirs of Moses and Susanna Leverock	M	The Bottom	Richard	M	41	F.L.	P		
Heirs of Moses and Susanna Leverock	M	The Bottom	Cato	M	30	F.L.	P		
Heirs of Moses and Susanna Leverock	M	The Bottom	Peter	M	28	F.L.	P		
Heirs of Moses and Susanna Leverock	M	The Bottom	Peter	M	28	F.L.	P		
Heirs of Moses and Susanna Leverock	M	The Bottom	Sarah	F	31	H.S.	P		
Heirs of Moses and Susanna Leverock	M	The Bottom	Catherine	F	36	Cook	P		
Heirs of Moses and Susanna Leverock	M	The Bottom	Christianna	F	25	H.S.	P		
Heirs of Moses and Susanna Leverock	M	The Bottom	Susanna	F	63	Washer	P		
Heirs of Moses and Susanna Leverock	M	The Bottom	Maria	F	18	H.S.	P		
Heirs of Moses and Susanna Leverock	M	The Bottom	Flora	F	22	H.S.	P		
Heirs of Moses and Susanna Leverock	M	The Bottom	Sofinna	F	19	H.S.	P		
Heirs of Moses and Susanna Leverock	M	The Bottom	Maria	F	37	seller	P		
Heirs of Moses and Susanna Leverock	M	The Bottom	John	M	12	H.S.	P		
Heirs of Moses and Susanna Leverock	M	The Bottom	Richard	M	11		P		
Heirs of Moses and Susanna Leverock	M	The Bottom	James	M	9		P		
Heirs of Moses and Susanna Leverock	M	The Bottom	John	M	9		P		
Heirs of Moses and Susanna Leverock	M	The Bottom	Augustus	M	6		P		
Heirs of Moses and Susanna Leverock	M	The Bottom	Josephus	M	5		P		
Heirs of Moses and Susanna Leverock	M	The Bottom	Cortland	M	5		P		
Heirs of Moses and Susanna Leverock	M	The Bottom	Peter	M	3		P		
Heirs of Moses and Susanna Leverock	M	The Bottom	George	M	3		P		
Heirs of Moses and Susanna Leverock	M	The Bottom	Hiram	M	5		P		
Heirs of Moses and Susanna Leverock	M	The Bottom	William	M	1		P		
Heirs of Moses and Susanna Leverock	M	The Bottom	Lanah	F	12		P		
Heirs of Moses and Susanna Leverock	M	The Bottom	Rosa	F	12		P		
Heirs of Moses and Susanna Leverock	M	The Bottom	Centrinetta	F	8		P		
Heirs of Moses and Susanna Leverock	M	The Bottom	Cubber	F	5		P		
Heirs of Moses and Susanna Leverock	M	The Bottom	Ann Maria	F	3		P		
Heirs of Moses and Susanna Leverock	M	The Bottom	Peter	M	0.75		P		
Heirs of Moses and Susanna Leverock	M	The Bottom	John	M	0.66		P		
Heirs of Moses and Susanna Leverock	M	The Bottom	Augusta	F	0.33		P		
Abram Simmons (2)	M	The Bottom	Mingo	M	49	F.L.	P	2200	Owner literate
Abram Simmons (2)	M	The Bottom	Mucco	M	45	F.L.	P		
Abram Simmons (2)	M	The Bottom	Pheonix	M	35	F.L.	P		"Pheonix" is how the name is spelled on the document

Owner	Owner Sex	Village	Enslaved Name	Enslaved Sex	Age	Trade	Religion	Compensation	Notes
Abram Simmons (2)	M	The Bottom	Peter	M	33	F.L.	P		
Abram Simmons (2)	M	The Bottom	Robert	M	22	F.L.	P		
Abram Simmons (2)	M	The Bottom	Augustus	M	16	F.L.	P		Dead
Abram Simmons (2)	M	The Bottom	Wellington	M	8	F.L.	P		
Abram Simmons (2)	M	The Bottom	Susanna	F	38	Cook	P		
Abram Simmons (2)	M	The Bottom	Rebecca	F	10	H.S.	P		
Abram Simmons (2)	M	The Bottom	Prudence	F	6		P		
Abram Simmons (2)	M	The Bottom	Gertrude	F	4		P		
Abram Simmons (2)	M	The Bottom	Robertina	F	2		P		
Heirs of Ann Simmons	F	The Bottom	Mima	F	25	Washer	P	1200	Trade terms used are washer, domestic, planter
Heirs of Ann Simmons	F	The Bottom	Mary	F	21	H.S.	P		
Heirs of Ann Simmons	F	The Bottom	Richard	M	16	F.L.	P		
Heirs of Ann Simmons	F	The Bottom	Melville	M	4	H.S.	P		
Heirs of Ann Simmons	F	The Bottom	Aryonetta	F	6	H.S.	P		
Heirs of Ann Simmons	F	The Bottom	Dorathy	F	1.75	H.S.	P		
Catharina Maria Simmons widow	F	The Bottom	John	M	1		P	800	Owner literate
Catharina Maria Simmons widow	F	The Bottom	Elizabeth	F	36	Washer	P		
Catharina Maria Simmons widow	F	The Bottom	Louisa	F	5		P		
Catharina Maria Simmons widow	F	The Bottom	Justina	F	3		P		
Edward Simmons Sr.	M	The Bottom	William	M	17	F.L.	P	800	Owner literate
Edward Simmons Sr.	M	The Bottom	Rosetta	F	43	Washer	P		
Edward Simmons Sr.	M	The Bottom	Lucretia	F	15	H.S.	P		
Edward Simmons Sr.	M	The Bottom	Malvena	F	13	H.S.	P		
John Simmons	M	The Bottom	Philis	F	32	H.S.	P	200	Owner literate. Philis was sent to St. Thomas 20 January
Joanna Simmons widow	F	The Bottom	Pheonix	M	20	F.L.	P	1800	Owner literate
Joanna Simmons widow	F	The Bottom	John Riley	M	18	F.L.	P		
Joanna Simmons widow	F	The Bottom	Robert	M	16	F.L.	P		
Joanna Simmons widow	F	The Bottom	Narrick	M	11	F.L.	P		
Joanna Simmons widow	F	The Bottom	Delbert	M	9	F.L.	P		
Joanna Simmons widow	F	The Bottom	Nathaniel	M	6	F.L.	P		
Joanna Simmons widow	F	The Bottom	James	M	3		P		
Joanna Simmons widow	F	The Bottom	Francinner	F	38	Washer	P		
Joanna Simmons widow	F	The Bottom	Emeline	F	13	H.S.	P		
John James Simmons	M	The Bottom	Albert	M	14		?	1200	Owner literate
John James Simmons	M	The Bottom	James	M	30	Sailor	?		not present
John James Simmons	M	The Bottom	Sarah	F	24		?		not present

Owner	Owner Sex	Village	Enslaved Name	Enslaved Sex	Age	Trade	Religion	Compensation	Notes
John James Simmons	M	The Bottom	Peter	M	16	F.L.	P		
John James Simmons	M	The Bottom	William	M	7		P		
John James Simmons	M	The Bottom	Thadius	M	6		P		
John James Simmons	M	The Bottom	Ann	F	48	F.L.	P		
John James Simmons	M	The Bottom	Eliza	F	13	H.S.	P		
John Michael Dinzey Simmon	M	The Bottom	Jane	F	36	H.S.	P		%%
John Michael Dinzey Simmon	M	The Bottom	David	M	9	H.S.	P		
John Michael Dinzey Simmon	M	The Bottom	Susan Ann	F	4	H.S.	P		
Heirs of Margaret Simmons	F	The Bottom	Talamack	M	56	F.L.	P	200	
Phoenix Simmons	M	The Bottom	Flora	F	35	Washer	P	1000	Owner illiterate
Phoenix Simmons	M	The Bottom	Rosa Bella	F	16	H.S.	P		
Phoenix Simmons	M	The Bottom	Philis	F	7		P		
Phoenix Simmons	M	The Bottom	Tacheal	F	5		P		
Phoenix Simmons	M	The Bottom	Frances	F	2		P		
William Simmons	M	The Bottom	Peter	M	56	F.L.	?	3000	Owner literate
William Simmons	M	The Bottom	George	M	46	F.L.	?		
William Simmons	M	The Bottom	Thomas	M	30	F.L.	?		%%%
William Simmons	M	The Bottom	James	M	25	F.L.	?		
William Simmons	M	The Bottom	Samuel	M	13	F.L.	?		
William Simmons	M	The Bottom	Joseph	M	9	F.L.	?		
William Simmons	M	The Bottom	Sofinner	F	54		?		
William Simmons	M	The Bottom	Margaret	F	34		?		
William Simmons	M	The Bottom	Jane	F	28		?		
William Simmons	M	The Bottom	Victoria	F	22		?		
William Simmons	M	The Bottom	Fredrica	F	19		?		
William Simmons	M	The Bottom	Sophia	F	17		?		
William Simmons	M	The Bottom	Silviana	F	6		?		
William Simmons	M	The Bottom	Clowdiana	F	2		?		
William Simmons	M	The Bottom	Charlotte	F			?		
William Simmons (2)	M	The Bottom	Alexander	M	22	F.L.	P	200	Owner illiterate
James Simmons Winfield	M	The Bottom	Joseph	M		Sailor	?	2600	%%%%
James Simmons Winfield	M	The Bottom	Lucy	F	39	H.S.	P		Lucy absent. Trade terms inc. domestic, planter, cook,
James Simmons Winfield	M	The Bottom	John	M	23	F.L.	P		
James Simmons Winfield	M	The Bottom	William	M	27	F.L.	P		
James Simmons Winfield	M	The Bottom	Joseph	M	17	F.L.	P		absent
James Simmons Winfield	M	The Bottom	Jibber	F	54	Washer	P		
James Simmons Winfield	M	The Bottom	Louisa	F	27	Cook	P		

Owner	Owner Sex	Village	Enslaved Name	Enslaved Sex	Age	Trade	Religion	Compensation	Notes
James Simmons Winfield	M	The Bottom	Anna	F	23	H.S.	P		
James Simmons Winfield	M	The Bottom	Eugenia	F	19	H.S.	P		
James Simmons Winfield	M	The Bottom	Elizabeth	F	15	H.S.	P		
James Simmons Winfield	M	The Bottom	Catherine	F	13	H.S.	P		
James Simmons Winfield	M	The Bottom	Eva	F	7		P		
James Simmons Winfield	M	The Bottom	Frances	F	7		?		
James Simmons Winfield	M	The Bottom	Jane	F	4		?		
James Simmons Winfield	M	The Bottom	Maria	F	2		?		
Capt. James Hassell, William Mitchell	M	The Bottom, St.	William	M	20	F.L.	P	2000	Owner literate. Trades listed on sheet are planter, sailor,
Capt. James Hassell, William Mitchell	M	The Bottom, St.	Abram	M	19	Sailor	P		
Capt. James Hassell, William Mitchell	M	The Bottom, St.	Permelia	F	21	Domestic	P		
Capt. James Hassell, William Mitchell	M	The Bottom, St.	Joseph	M	13	F.L.	P		
Capt. James Hassell, William Mitchell	M	The Bottom, St.	Augustus	M	10	F.L.	P		
Capt. James Hassell, William Mitchell	M	The Bottom, St.	John	M	8	F.L.	P		
Capt. James Hassell, William Mitchell	M	The Bottom, St.	Tobias	M	7	F.L.	P		
Capt. James Hassell, William Mitchell	M	The Bottom, St.	Scipio	M	2	F.L.	P		
Capt. James Hassell, William Mitchell	M	The Bottom, St.	Eglantine	F	4	F.L.	P		
Capt. James Hassell, William Mitchell	M	The Bottom, St.	Abram	M		Sailor	P		
Capt. James Hassell, William Mitchell	M	The Bottom, St.	Jacob	M	55	F.L.	P		
Capt. James Hassell, William Mitchell	M	The Bottom, St.	Thomas	M	27	F.L.	P		
Capt. James Hassell, William Mitchell	M	The Bottom, St.	James	M	24	Sailor	P		
Capt. James Hassell, William Mitchell	M	The Bottom, St.	Oscar	M	18	F.L.	P		
Capt. James Hassell, William Mitchell	M	The Bottom, St.	Chloe	F	61	Domestic	P		
Capt. James Hassell, William Mitchell	M	The Bottom, St.	Susanna	F	55	Domestic	R.C.		
Capt. James Hassell, William Mitchell	M	The Bottom, St.	Catherine	F	35	Domestic	P		
Capt. James Hassell, William Mitchell	M	The Bottom, St.	Jane	F	29	Domestic	P		
Capt. James Hassell, William Mitchell	M	The Bottom, St.	Mary	F	20	Domestic	P		
Capt. James Hassell, William Mitchell	M	The Bottom, St.	Margaret	F	18	Domestic	R.C.		
Capt. James Hassell, William Mitchell	M	The Bottom, St.	Theodore	M	16	Sailor	P		
Capt. James Hassell, William Mitchell	M	The Bottom, St.	Yankey	M	9	F.L.	P		
Capt. James Hassell, William Mitchell	M	The Bottom, St.	William -	M	9	F.L.	R.C.		
Capt. James Hassell, William Mitchell	M	The Bottom, St.	Jacob	M	9	F.L.	R.C.		
Capt. James Hassell, William Mitchell	M	The Bottom, St.	Jacob	M	4		R.C.		
Capt. James Hassell, William Mitchell	M	The Bottom, St.	Amanda	F	15	Domestic	R.C.		Might be twins with Malvina. Names on list are joined with
Capt. James Hassell, William Mitchell	M	The Bottom, St.	Malvina	F	15	Domestic	R.C.		Might be twins with Amanda. Names are joined with a "}"
Capt. James Hassell, William Mitchell	M	The Bottom, St.	Lucretia	F	8	Domestic	R.C.		
Capt. James Hassell, William Mitchell	M	The Bottom, St.	Adolph	M	1	Domestic	R.C.		

Owner	Owner Sex	Village	Enslaved Name	Enslaved Sex	Age	Trade	Religion	Compensation	Notes
William Simmons Dinzey	M	The Bottomn	Louisa	F	30	Washer	P	200	Owner trustee to Elizabeth Dinzey widow
Ann Every	F	Windwardside	Mary Ann	F	64	Washer	P	200	Owner literate
Abram Every	M	Windwardside	Peter	M	36	F.L.	P	400	Owner literate
George Dowlin	M	Windwardside	Daniel	M	33	F.L.	P		Marked as absent
George Dowlin	M	Windwardside	William	M	23	F.L.	P		Marked as absent
Ann Hassell	F	Windwardside	Boker	M	52	F.L.	P	1400	Owner literate
Ann Hassell	F	Windwardside	Thomas	M	48	F.L.	P		
Ann Hassell	F	Windwardside	Thomas	M	20	F.L.	P		
Ann Hassell	F	Windwardside	William	M	38	F.L.	R.C.		
Ann Hassell	F	Windwardside	Christina	F	78	Cook	P		
Ann Hassell	F	Windwardside	Catharine	F	47	Washer	P		
Ann Hassell	F	Windwardside	Susanna	F	48	Midwife	R.C.		
Ann Hassell	F	Windwardside	Joanna	F	38		R.C.		^^^
Ann Hassell	F	Windwardside	William	M	9		R.C.		
Ann Hassell	F	Windwardside	Peter	M	6		R.C.		
Ann Hassell	F	Windwardside	Janette	F	15		R.C.		
Ann Hassell	F	Windwardside	Oliver	F	3		R.C.		
Ann Hassell	F	Windwardside	Joseph	M	1		R.C.		
Abram Hassell	M	Windwardside	Maria	F	45	Washer	R.C.	600	Owner literate.
Abram Hassell	M	Windwardside	Joanna	F	18	Cook	R.C.		
Abram Hassell	M	Windwardside	Adalade	F	13		R.C.		
Catharine Hassell	F	Windwardside	Margaret	F	18	F.L.	?	1400	Owner literate.
Catharine Hassell	F	Windwardside	Isaac	M	47	F.L.	P		
Catharine Hassell	F	Windwardside	Elizabeth	F	37	Washer	P		
Catharine Hassell	F	Windwardside	John Belford	M	21	F.L.	P		
Catharine Hassell	F	Windwardside	Robert	M	14	F.L.	R.C.		
Catharine Hassell	F	Windwardside	Theodore	M	10		R.C.		
Catharine Hassell	F	Windwardside	Christina	F	6		R.C.		
Eglantine Hassell	F	Windwardside	Elizabeth	F	18	Washer	R.C.	200	Owner illiterate.
Esther Hassell	F	Windwardside	Sarah	F	35	Washer	P	2200	^^^^
Esther Hassell	F	Windwardside	Peter	M	29	F.L.	R.C.		
Esther Hassell	F	Windwardside	Ann Louise	F	22	H.S.	R.C.		
Esther Hassell	F	Windwardside	Janet	F	16	H.S.	R.C.		
Esther Hassell	F	Windwardside	Gustavius	M	14	H.S.	R.C.		
Esther Hassell	F	Windwardside	Rose Ann	F	13		R.C.		
Esther Hassell	F	Windwardside	Sophia	F	10		R.C.		
Esther Hassell	F	Windwardside	William	M	9		R.C.		

Owner	Owner Sex	Village	Enslaved Name	Enslaved Sex	Age	Trade	Religion	Compensation	Notes
Esther Hassell	F	Windwardside	Elvira	F	8		R.C.		
Esther Hassell	F	Windwardside	Moses	M	4		R.C.		
Esther Hassell	F	Windwardside	Mary Ann	F	1		R.C.		
Henry Hassell (1)	M	Windwardside	Nanny	F	50	F.L.	P	600	Owner literate
Henry Hassell (1)	M	Windwardside	Peter	M	42	F.L.	R.C.		
Henry Hassell (1)	M	Windwardside	William	M	18	F.L.	R.C.		
Henry Hassell (2)	M	Windwardside	Mary	F	36	Cook	R.C.	3400	&
Henry Hassell (2)	M	Windwardside	Marget Ann	F	26	Washer	P		Trade terms include cook, washer, domestic, and pasture
Henry Hassell (2)	M	Windwardside	Mary Ann	F	23	H.S.	P		
Henry Hassell (2)	M	Windwardside	Amelia	F	18	Washer	R.C.		
Henry Hassell (2)	M	Windwardside	Ann Marie	F	16	H.S.	R.C.		
Henry Hassell (2)	M	Windwardside	William	M	11	Pasture	R.C.		
Henry Hassell (2)	M	Windwardside	Carroline	F	9		R.C.		
Henry Hassell (2)	M	Windwardside	Glorianna	F	7		R.C.		
Henry Hassell (2)	M	Windwardside	Melidia	F	7		P		
Henry Hassell (2)	M	Windwardside	James	M	5		P		
Henry Hassell (2)	M	Windwardside	Visgennia	F	4		P		
Henry Hassell (2)	M	Windwardside	Ellen	F	4		P		
Henry Hassell (2)	M	Windwardside	James	M	2		P		
Henry Hassell (2)	M	Windwardside	Mary	F	1		P		
Henry Hassell (2)	M	Windwardside	Alfred	M	0.45		R.C.		
Henry Hassell (2)	M	Windwardside	Rosalthe	F	17	Washer	R.C.		
Henry Johnson Hassell	M	Windwardside	Simon	M	9	H.S.	P	200	Owner literate.
John Hassell	M	Windwardside					?	200	&&
James Benjamin Hassell (1)	M	Windwardside	George	M	30	F.L.	P	400	Owner literate
James Benjamin Hassell (1)	M	Windwardside	Alexander	M	19	F.L.	P		
James Benjamin Hassell (2)	M	Windwardside	Yenchy	M	36	F.L.	P	1800	Owner literate. Different signature than the
James Benjamin Hassell (2)	M	Windwardside	John	M	21	F.L.	R.C.		
James Benjamin Hassell (2)	M	Windwardside	Rinner	F	19	F.L.	R.C.		
James Benjamin Hassell (2)	M	Windwardside	Franky	F	29	F.L.	R.C.		
James Benjamin Hassell (2)	M	Windwardside	Dianna	F	18	F.L.	R.C.		
James Benjamin Hassell (2)	M	Windwardside	Clarisa	F	12		R.C.		
James Benjamin Hassell (2)	M	Windwardside	John Henry	M	9		R.C.		
James Benjamin Hassell (2)	M	Windwardside	Nanny	F	7		R.C.		
James Benjamin Hassell (2)	M	Windwardside	Rose Lean	F	1		R.C.		
Jacob Every Hassell	M	Windwardside	Jack	M	29	F.L.	?	1200	Owner literate.
Jacob Every Hassell	M	Windwardside	Jacob	M	17	F.L.	?		

Owner	Owner Sex	Village	Enslaved Name	Enslaved Sex	Age	Trade	Religion	Compensation	Notes
Jacob Every Hassell	M	Windwardside	Don Carlo	M	14	F.L.	?		
Jacob Every Hassell	M	Windwardside	Peter John	M	8	F.L.	?		
Jacob Every Hassell	M	Windwardside	Ritter	F	27	F.L.	?		
Jacob Every Hassell	M	Windwardside	Josephine	F	1		?		
John William Hassell	M	Windwardside	Nanny	F	29	Washer	R.C.	800	Completed by Abram Hassell. John William Hassell is
John William Hassell	M	Windwardside	Abram	M	6		R.C.		
John William Hassell	M	Windwardside	John	M	5		R.C.		
John William Hassell	M	Windwardside	Peter	M	0.18		R.C.		Peter is 2 months old.
Mary Hassell widow	F	Windwardside	Desire	F	55	Midwife	P	1400	Completed by Peter Mardenborough. Mary Hassell is
Mary Hassell widow	F	Windwardside	Jane	F	25	Washer	P		
Mary Hassell widow	F	Windwardside	Mary	F	24	H.S.	R.C.		
Mary Hassell widow	F	Windwardside	Rose	F	22	F.L.	R.C.		
Mary Hassell widow	F	Windwardside	Richard	M	3		R.C.		
Mary Hassell widow	F	Windwardside	James Oliver	M	1		R.C.		
Mary Hassell widow	F	Windwardside	Margaret	F	1		R.C.		
Peter Hassell	M	Windwardside	Lucy	F	51	H.S.	P	2600	Owner literate.
Peter Hassell	M	Windwardside	Peggy	F	38	H.S.	R.C.		
Peter Hassell	M	Windwardside	Jimmy	M	26	Sailor	P		
Peter Hassell	M	Windwardside	Valentine	M	17	F.L.	P		
Peter Hassell	M	Windwardside	John Charles	M	15	H.S.	P		Referred to as "house boy".
Peter Hassell	M	Windwardside	Peter	M	11	H.S.	P		
Peter Hassell	M	Windwardside	Henry	M	7	H.S.	P		
Peter Hassell	M	Windwardside	Frederick	M	14	F.L.	R.C.		
Peter Hassell	M	Windwardside	Albert	M	7		R.C.		
Peter Hassell	M	Windwardside	Delbert	M	11		R.C.		
Peter Hassell	M	Windwardside	Rachel	F	3		R.C.		
Peter Hassell	M	Windwardside	Simon	M	20	F.L.	P		
Peter Hassell	M	Windwardside	Ernest	M	1	F.L.	R.C.		
Peter Hassell (2)	M	Windwardside	Dinah	F			?	200	&&&
Peter Carter Hassell	M	Windwardside	Jane	F	30	Washer	P	2000	Owner illiterate.
Peter Carter Hassell	M	Windwardside	Lucy	F	26	Washer	P		
Peter Carter Hassell	M	Windwardside	Susanna	F	24	F.L.	P		
Peter Carter Hassell	M	Windwardside	Nanny	F	20	Cook	P		
Peter Carter Hassell	M	Windwardside	Scipio	M	18	F.L.	P		
Peter Carter Hassell	M	Windwardside	John Joseph	M	14	F.L.	P		
Peter Carter Hassell	M	Windwardside	Roseanna	F	12		P		

Owner	Owner Sex	Village	Enslaved Name	Enslaved Sex	Age	Trade	Religion	Compensation	Notes
Peter Carter Hassell	M	Windwardside	Lorenzo	M	10		P		
Peter Carter Hassell	M	Windwardside	Frances	F	5		P		
Peter Carter Hassell	M	Windwardside	Josephine	F	1		P		
Peter Carter Hassell	M	Windwardside	Peter James	M	1		P		
Heirs of Peter George Hassell (dec'd)	M	Windwardside	Sarah	F			?		&&&&
Richard Hassell Sr.	M	Windwardside	Ritta	F	34	Washer	P	800	Owner literate.
Richard Hassell Sr.	M	Windwardside	Catharine	F	18	H.S.	R.C.		
Richard Hassell Sr.	M	Windwardside	Elizabeth	F	6		R.C.		
Richard Hassell Sr.	M	Windwardside	Malvira	F	3		R.C.		
Richard Hassell Jr.	M	Windwardside	George	M	22	Sailor	P	400	Owner literate.
Richard Hassell Jr.	M	Windwardside	Cathrin	F	22	Washer	P		
Richard Hassell Jr.	M	Windwardside	James	M	1		P		
Richard Johnson Hassell	M	Windwardside	Jane	F	37	Washer	R.C.	1000	Owner literate.
Richard Johnson Hassell	M	Windwardside	Leah	F	22	Cook	R.C.		Only Jane has religion listed, the rest are blank but probably
Richard Johnson Hassell	M	Windwardside	Simon	M	4		R.C.		
Richard Johnson Hassell	M	Windwardside	Edith Amelia	F	3		R.C.		
Richard Johnson Hassell	M	Windwardside	Rosaline	F	0.25		R.C.		
Heirs of Susanna Hassell	M	Windwardside	Ann	F			?		
Thomas Hassell	M	Windwardside	Elizabeth	F	29	H.S.	P	1400	
Thomas Hassell	M	Windwardside	Abram	M	13		R.C.		
Thomas Hassell	M	Windwardside	James	M	6		R.C.		
Thomas Hassell	M	Windwardside	Ann	F	12		R.C.		
Thomas Hassell	M	Windwardside	Ann Louisa	F	10		R.C.		
Thomas Hassell	M	Windwardside	Margaret	F	4		R.C.		
Thomas Hassell	M	Windwardside	Thomas	M	1		R.C.		
George W. C. Holm	M	Windwardside	Ann	F	19	H.S.	P	200	Owner literate.
Phineas L. Holm	M	Windwardside	Celia	F		Washer	R.C.	400	Owner literate.
Phineas L. Holm	M	Windwardside	Charlotte	F	4		R.C.		
Cohone Johnson	M	Windwardside	Venter	M	29	F.L.	?	200	Owner illiterate.
Henry Johnson	M	Windwardside	Yankee	M	48	F.L.	P	1200	Owner literate.
Henry Johnson	M	Windwardside	Johanna	F	29	H.S.	R.C.		
Henry Johnson	M	Windwardside	Susanna	F	16	H.S.	R.C.		
Henry Johnson	M	Windwardside	Johanna	F	12	H.S.	R.C.		
Henry Johnson	M	Windwardside	Moses	M	6		R.C.		
Henry Johnson	M	Windwardside	Wenter	M	3		R.C.		
Moses Leverock Johnson	M	Windwardside	Peter	M	40	F.L.	P	400	Owner literate.

Owner	Owner Sex	Village	Enslaved Name	Enslaved Sex	Age	Trade	Religion	Compensation	Notes
Moses Leverock Johnson	M	Windwardside	Paulina	F	13	H.S.	P		
Thomas Johnson	M	Windwardside	Sally	F	43	H.S.	P	4400	Owner literate.
Thomas Johnson	M	Windwardside	Flora	F	20	F.L.	R.C.		
Thomas Johnson	M	Windwardside	Jemima	F	18	F.L.	R.C.		
Thomas Johnson	M	Windwardside	Georgy	F	15	F.L.	R.C.		
Thomas Johnson	M	Windwardside	Nanny	F	13		R.C.		
Thomas Johnson	M	Windwardside	Letice	F	5		R.C.		
Thomas Johnson	M	Windwardside	Selina Alvieu	F	4		R.C.		
Thomas Johnson	M	Windwardside	Neller	F	33		R.C.		
Thomas Johnson	M	Windwardside	Opheia	F	19	F.L.	R.C.		
Thomas Johnson	M	Windwardside	Theresa	F	13	H.S.	R.C.		
Thomas Johnson	M	Windwardside	Cathrine	F	8	H.S.	R.C.		
Thomas Johnson	M	Windwardside	Nanney	F	33	H.S.	R.C.		
Thomas Johnson	M	Windwardside	Rose	F	9		R.C.		
Thomas Johnson	M	Windwardside	Lucy	F	67		P		
Thomas Johnson	M	Windwardside	Elenor	F	3		R.C.		
Thomas Johnson	M	Windwardside	Isabella	F	9	H.S.	R.C.		
Thomas Johnson	M	Windwardside	John	M	5		R.C.		
Thomas Johnson	M	Windwardside	Simon Peter	M	7		R.C.		
Thomas Johnson	M	Windwardside	Moses	M	5		R.C.		
Thomas Johnson	M	Windwardside	Scippio	M	29	F.L.	R.C.		
Thomas Johnson	M	Windwardside	Paul	M	0.75		R.C.		
Thomas Johnson	M	Windwardside	Stephen	M	13	F.L.	R.C.		
Ann Elizabeth Leverock	F	Windwardside	Lucy	F	35	Cook	P	200	Owner literate.
Elenor Leverock	F	Windwardside	Rose	F			?	1600	#
Elenor Leverock	F	Windwardside	Thomas	M	38	F.L.	P		
Elenor Leverock	F	Windwardside	Lucy	F	32	Washer	P		
Elenor Leverock	F	Windwardside	Mary	F	12		P		
Elenor Leverock	F	Windwardside	Isabelle	F	10		?		
Elenor Leverock	F	Windwardside	Peter	M	5		?		
Elenor Leverock	F	Windwardside	Edith	F	2		?		
Elenor Leverock	F	Windwardside	Rose	F	0.5		?		Born 4 May 1862.
Jacob Hassell Leverock	M	Windwardside	Elizabeth	F	33	Washer	P	800	Owner literate.
Jacob Hassell Leverock	M	Windwardside	Rosavina	F	3		R.C.		
Jacob Hassell Leverock	M	Windwardside	Matilda	F	6		P		
Jacob Hassell Leverock	M	Windwardside	Jeremiah	M	0.66		R.C.		

Owner	Owner Sex	Village	Enslaved Name	Enslaved Sex	Age	Trade	Religion	Compensation	Notes
John James Leverock	M	Windwardside	Celia	F			?	3400	##
John James Leverock	M	Windwardside	Catharine	F			?		###
John James Leverock	M	Windwardside	Susanna	F	54	Cook	P		####
John James Leverock	M	Windwardside	Frances	F	39	Washer	R.C.		
John James Leverock	M	Windwardside	Simon	M	32	F.L.	P		
John James Leverock	M	Windwardside	Mary	F	31	Washer	P		
John James Leverock	M	Windwardside	Peter	M	26	F.L.	P		
John James Leverock	M	Windwardside	Zagers	M	25	F.L.	P		
John James Leverock	M	Windwardside	Mary Ann	F	19	H.S.	P		
John James Leverock	M	Windwardside	William	M	16	F.L.	R.C.		
John James Leverock	M	Windwardside	John	M	11	H.S.	R.C.		
John James Leverock	M	Windwardside	Rebecca	F	12	H.S.	R.C.		
John James Leverock	M	Windwardside	Daniel	M	8		R.C		
John James Leverock	M	Windwardside	Camel	M	4		R.C.		
John James Leverock	M	Windwardside	John Richard	M	4		R.C.		
John James Leverock	M	Windwardside	Catherine	F	10		R.C.		
John James Leverock	M	Windwardside	Mary Milly	F	1		R.C.		
Ophelia Leverock	F	Windwardside	Simon	M	62	F.L.	?	200	Owner illiterate.
William Leverock	M	Windwardside	George	M	23	F.L.	P	400	Owner illiterate.
William Leverock	M	Windwardside	Joanna	F		Washer	P		
Esther Mardenborough widow	F	Windwardside	Joanna	F	27	Washer	R.C.	1000	Owner literate. Esther collected the compensation from St.
Esther Mardenborough widow	F	Windwardside	Joseph	M	12		R.C.		
Esther Mardenborough widow	F	Windwardside	Elizabeth	F	4		R.C.		Elizabeth noted as dead.
Esther Mardenborough widow	F	Windwardside	Benjamin	M	33	F.L.	P		
Esther Mardenborough widow	F	Windwardside	Samuel	M	30	F.L.	P		
Esther Mardenborough widow	F	Windwardside	Margaret	F	31	Cook	R.C.		
Rebecca Mardenborough	F	Windwardside	Sally	F	55	Washer	P	2200	%
Rebecca Mardenborough	F	Windwardside	Sarah	F	29	F.L.	P		
Rebecca Mardenborough	F	Windwardside	Yanky	M	32	F.L.	P		
Rebecca Mardenborough	F	Windwardside	Ann	F	27	Washer	P		
Rebecca Mardenborough	F	Windwardside	Lanah	F	25	H.S.	P		
Rebecca Mardenborough	F	Windwardside	J. Richard	M	19	F.L.	R.C.		
Rebecca Mardenborough	F	Windwardside	J.A.	F	9		R.C.		
Rebecca Mardenborough	F	Windwardside	W. Thomas	M	10		P		
Rebecca Mardenborough	F	Windwardside	Exeria	F	2		P		
Rebecca Mardenborough	F	Windwardside	J. William	M	1		R.C		
Rebecca Mardenborough	F	Windwardside	Justave	M	1		R.C.		

Owner	Owner Sex	Village	Enslaved Name	Enslaved Sex	Age	Trade	Religion	Compensation	Notes
Elizabeth Peterson	F	Windwardside	Lanah	F	42	F.L.	R.C.	1800	Legal compensation paper signed by Rebecca
Elizabeth Peterson	F	Windwardside	Etheleinda	F	2	H.S.	P		
Elizabeth Peterson	F	Windwardside	Patience	F	18	Washer	R.C.		
Elizabeth Peterson	F	Windwardside	Ann Precsilla	F	15	H.S.	R.C.		
Elizabeth Peterson	F	Windwardside	William	M	14	F.L.	R.C.		
Elizabeth Peterson	F	Windwardside	Eglantina	F	10		R.C.		
Elizabeth Peterson	F	Windwardside	Ardonis	M	7		R.C.		
Elizabeth Peterson	F	Windwardside	Elissa	F	4		R.C.		
Elizabeth Peterson	F	Windwardside	Henry	M	1		R.C.		
Josiah Peterson	M	Windwardside	Sarah	F	54	Cook	P	800	Owner literate
Josiah Peterson	M	Windwardside	Judith	F	23	Washer	P		
Josiah Peterson	M	Windwardside	Catharine	F	8		P		
Josiah Peterson	M	Windwardside	Charles	M	41		?		
Josiah Peterson	M	Windwardside	Sofinner	F	36		?		
Josiah Peterson	M	Windwardside	Henry	M	21	F.L.	P		From a second legal manumission set. Probably the same
Josiah Peterson Sr.	M	Windwardside	Mary	F	47	Washer	P	400	
Josiah Peterson Sr.	M	Windwardside	Margaret	F	27	Cook	P		
Josiah Peterson Sr.	M	Windwardside	Josephine	F	1		P		Enslaved African was dead
John Peterson Sr.	M	Windwardside	Nancy	F	54	Washer	P	200	Owner literate
Josiah Peterson Jr.	M	Windwardside	Sophinna	F			?	400	Owner literate. Sophinna in St. Thomas since 24 July 1852.
John William Every	M	Windwardsidwe	Nanny	F	29	H.S.	P	800	Owner literate
John George Every	M	Windwardwide	James	M	34	Labourer	P	3400	Owner literate
John George Every	M	Windwardwide	George	M	19	Labourer	R.C.		
John George Every	M	Windwardwide	Maria	F	21	Cook	R.C.		
John George Every	M	Windwardwide	Cotto	F	22	Labourer	R.C.		
John George Every	M	Windwardwide	Maria	F	26	Washer	P		
John George Every	M	Windwardwide	Christiana	F	21	Cook	P		
John George Every	M	Windwardwide	Stephen	M	16	seaman	P		
John George Every	M	Windwardwide	Thomas	M	7		P		
John George Every	M	Windwardwide	Mortimer	M	6		P		
John George Every	M	Windwardwide	Abram	M	3		R.C.		
John George Every	M	Windwardwide	Joseph	M	2		R.C.		
John George Every	M	Windwardwide	Hannah	F	4		P		
John George Every	M	Windwardwide	Laurentia	F	1		P		
John George Every	M	Windwardwide	Laura	F	1		R.C.		
John George Every	M	Windwardwide	Adelade	F	1		R.C.		
John George Every	M	Windwardwide	John Henry	M	1		R.C.		

Owner	Owner Sex	Village	Enslaved Name	Enslaved Sex	Age	Trade	Religion	Compensation	Notes
John George Every	M	Windwardwide	Jacob	M	21	Labourer	P		
John William Every	M	Windwardwide	Estelle	F	8	H.S.	P		
John William Every	M	Windwardwide	Mariah	F	3	H.S.	P		
John William Every	M	Windwardwide	Henry James	M	1	H.S.	P		
Peter Anthony Every	M	Windwardwide	Clementina	F	18	Washer	R.C.	200	Completed by Elenor L. Every (literate)

Notes

*Completed by William James Simmons Sr. W.J.S. Jr. is illiterate, literacy of the senior is uncertain.

**Enslaved name is Mimi Reba Barnes on Lawful Attorney document. Owner illiterate.

***In 1846 he dispatched her to St. Thomas, presumably to work for him as an agent there. He claims that she is still his slave.

****Enslaved Africans of former Dinzey Plantation. However, "none" is answered under the first row "Name of plantation to which the slaves are attached".

^Descriptions used for trades are planter, sailor, domestic, cook, washer. Robert was sailing while the health inspection was taking place.

^^Description of enslaved African not enclosed. Manumission dealt with by Joanna Dinzey Horton widow.

^^^All enslaved from Joanna down belong to the heirs of Susanna Leverock dec'd and Ann Hassell.

^^^^No mention of compentation total but likely 2200. James B. Hassell dealt with the act of manumission.

&Owner literate, but misspells name as Henery, which is corrected by the Secretary. Also has a different signature than the previous Henry Hassell.

&&Manumission completed by Josiah Peterson. No enclosed document describing enslaved.

&&&Owner literate. Dinah left for St. Thomas, described in letter dated 10 December 1863.

&&&&Sarah left for St. Thomas with permission, thus being absent for the legal process of manumission. Unknown if compensation was given.

#No enclosed list describing enslaved African. Widow of William Leverock. Rose was sent to St. Thomas and was absent for the manumission/inspection.

##Manumission dealt with by Elizabeth Leverock (wife, J.J.L. had died). Celia has been in St. Thomas since 1844.

###Pass granted for Catharine to leave for St. Thomas 15 March 1863, she has been there since the document was made on 16 December 1863.

####Compare John James Leverock's terminology with that of Plantation-oriented Leverocks in The Bottom.

%Owner literate. In next claim she is noted as Mrs. Rebecca Mardenborough.

%%Completed by Moses Leverock. Trade terms used include domestic. He was on St. Barts during the medical inspection and manumission procedure.

%%%In a document by Capt. William Hodge, he states that "Thomas Simmons, son of Sophia Simmons and the property of Mr. William Simmons of ... Saba... was absent... with permission of the governor... as a mariner on board the schooner "Governor Ulric" during the medical examination.

%%%%Owner literate. Joseph absent during medical examination and manumission. Joseph was on board the Neth. schooner "Casket" commanded by J.H. Simmons of Saba.

Table 21: Imports Subject to Duties, Saba, 1820

Item	Unit	Qty
Fish	Box	14
Flour	Barrel	167
Pork	Barrel	3
Butter	Firkin	2
Sugar	Barrel	13
Boards	Each	3000
Lumber	feet	3500
Shingles	Each	16000
Shingles (Boston)	Each	5000
Rum	Puncheon	8.66
Trass	Barrell	2
Lime	Barrell	4
Oil	Barrell	1
Candles	Box	2
Soap	Box	2
Beef	Barrell	1.5
Rice	Bag	4
Barrell	Corn	4

Total Duties: $52.4.0 Spanish
Source: DNAr 1.05.13.01 #319

Table 22: Imports Subject to Duties, Saba, 1821

Item	Unit	Qty
Flour	Barrell	46
Sugar	Barrell	5
Rum	Puncheon	11
Mackerel	Barrell	1
Boards	Feet	750
Pork	Barrell	2
Lumber	Feet	3000
Butter	Firkin	2

Total duties: $25.2.5 Spanish dollars
Source: DNAr 1.05.13.01 #319

Table 23: Imports Subject to Duties, Saba, 1821

Item	Unit	Qty
Flour	Barrell	46
Sugar	Barrell	5
Rum	Puncheon	11
Mackerel	Barrell	1
Boards	Feet	750
Pork	Barrell	2
Lumber	Feet	3000
Butter	Firkin	2

Total duties: $25.2.5 Spanish dollars

Source: DNAr 1.05.13.01 #319

Table 24: Imports Subject to Duties, Saba, 1822

Item	Unit	Qty
Rum	Puncheon	11
Rum	Gallon	60
Flour	Barrell	74.5
Butter	Firkin	3
Sugar	Barrell	4
Lumber	Feet	8500
Shingles	Each	11000
Rice	Trier	1.5
Herring	Box	4
Fish (salt)	Box	1
Beef	Barrell	0.5
Soap	Box	3

Total duties: $34.7.5 Spanish dollars

Table 25: Probate Inventory of Johannes de Graff, St. Eustatius, 1808

Item	Desc 1	Desc 2	Desc 3	Qty	Type Qty	Value (p/8)	Notes
"The remnant of a piece of bed tick"				1			
Basin		Silver	Worked	1			
Bedstead		Mahogany		1		176	With feather bed and feather appertenances.
Bedstead	Fluted	Mahogany		1			
Bedstead	Fluted	Mahogany		1			"Asunder".
Book case		Mahogany		1		33	
Book case		Mahogany		1			
Book case				1			Defective.
Box	Snuff			1			
Box	Snuff	Gold		2			
Box	Tobacco	Silver		1			With cover.
Box	pepper	Black		2			In daily use.
Branches				1	Pair		For candlesticks, including six silver pieces to fix under the said branches.
Bread basket		Silver		2			
Buckle	Stock	Gold		2			
Buckle	Shoe	Gold		1	Pair		
Buckle	Stock	Silver		1			
Buckle	Breeches	Silver		1			
Buckle	Shoe	Silver	Inlaid with gold	1	Pair		
Buckle	Stone			1	Pair		
Button	Sleeve	Gold		3	Pair		
Button	Waistcoat	Gold		15	Pair		
Button	Coat	Silver	Inlaid with gold	17	Pair		
Button	Coat	Silver	Small	1	Pair		
Can	Coffee			1			With cover.
Can	Coffee	Silver		3			With cover.
Candlestick		Silver	With branches	1	Pair		
Candlestick		Silver		6			
Candlestick		Silver		1			
Candlestick		Silver		6			

Item	Desc 1	Desc 2	Desc 3	Qty	Type Qty	Value (p/8)	Notes
Candlestick		Silver		4			In daily use.
Cane	With a gold head			1		44	
Carpet				3			
Case	Rum			1		44	With flasks.
Case	Rum		Large	1		428	With flasks.
Chair	Windsor			4			
Chair	Elbow	Mahogany		1			
Chair	Chamber	Mahogany		1		12	
Chair	Windsor			4		12	
Chair	Arm			1	Pair	12	
Chair	Arm			1			
Chest	Brass mounted	Mahogany		1		33	
Chest		Cedar		1			
Chest of drawers				1			
China	Dish	Round		9	Set 1		
China	Dish	Oval		9	Set 1		
China	Dish	Tart and pudding		9	Set 1		
China	Plate			41			
China	Plate			48	Set 2		
China	Plate	Soup		41	Set 2		
China	Plate	Shallow		26	Set 3		
China	Bidet			1		3	Likely China but unspecified.
China	Bowl	Punch		7			Includes one defective.
China	Plate	Soup		22			
China	Plate	Shallow		13			
China	Dish	Tart		7			
China	Dish		Red	14	Set 6		Probably "Famille Rose" variety.
China	Plate	Shallow		43			
China	Plate	Soup		6			
China	Jar	Blue	Inc. cover	1			Includes jar cover.
China	Dish	Pudding		6			
China	Plate	Shallow		35			
China	Sauce boat			4			
China	Butter pot			3			

Item	Desc 1	Desc 2	Desc 3	Qty	Type Qty	Value (p/8)	Notes
China	Plate	Soup		2			
China	Bowl			1			
China	Plate	Shallow		40	Set 5		
China	Plate	Soup		10	Set 5		
China	Plate	Shallow		24	Set 5		
China	Plate	Soup		18	Set 5		
China	Dish			16	Set 5		
China	Tureen			2			
China	Sauce boat		Red	2	Set 6		
China	Dish			4			
China	Stand	"for pickles"		1	Pair		
China			Blue	1	Set 7		"Daily use".
Clock				1		44	
Cloth	Sash	Green		1	piece		
Cloth	Bed			1			
Cloth	Table			21			
Comfoor		Silver		1			
Comfoor			Small	1			
Couch				2		22	
Couch		Morocco leather	Red	1			
Cover		Silver		1			"For a mug".
Cover		Silver		1			
Cover		Silver	Worked	1			
Cup		Silver	Small	2			
Cup	Water	Plain	Small	3			
Delft	Plate	Shallow		40	Set 8		
Delft	Plate	Soup		3	Set 8		
Delft	Plate	Small		7	Set 8		
Delft	Dish			4	Set 8		
Delft	Sauce boat			1	Set 8		
Delft	Dish			1	Set 8		
Desk	Writing	Common wood		1		0.6	
Diaper				1	Piece		
Dish		Silver	Large	2			For a tureen.

Item	Desc 1	Desc 2	Desc 3	Qty	Type Qty	Value (p/8)	Notes
Dish	Sugar	Silver		1			
Dish	Sugar	Silver		1			
Dish		Silver	Large	1			
Earthenware	Water jar	French	6 large, 4 small	10		66	Assumed to be earthenware by author; not speficied.
Etu		Gold		1			
Etu		Silver		2			
Facings		Silver	For a desk	1			Quantity not specified.
Flasket	"with old books and papers"			4			
Fork		Silver		10			
Fork		Silver	Small	4			
Fork	French	Silver		5			
Fork		Silver		24			
Frame		Silver		1			For salt cellars.
Glass	Shades	House		1	Pair	3	
Glass	Fruit	Cut	Large	1			
Glass	Fruit	Cut	Small	5			With covers.
Glass	Fruit	Cut		5			
Glass	Plate	Cut		15			
Glass	Mustard pot			2			
Glass	Crown			1		33	
Glass	Shades	House		1			
Glass	Door buffet			1			
Glass	Plate	Cut		2			
Glass	Cooking		Half large, half small	6		33	
Glass	Door buffet			1		50	
Guglet		Silver		1			
Kettle	Tea	Silver		1			
Knife		Silver handle		25			
Ladle	Punch		Piece	1			
Lamp		Silver	Small	1			
Lanthorn				3			(Lantern).
Lock	Brass			1			
Lumber		Old		1	Parcel		
Mangle		Mahogany		1			

Item	Desc 1	Desc 2	Desc 3	Qty	Type Qty	Value (p/8)	Notes
Marble top				1			"For a side board".
Misc	Broken chairs and other furniture			1	Parcel		
Napkin				11			
Picture		Large		8			
Picture		Smaller		62			
Picture		Smaller		33			Smaller in size than that with quantity of 62.
Pot	Milk		Worked, large	1			With cover.
Pot	Milk		Worked, small	1			Without cover.
Pot	Milk			2			In daily use.
Press	Book	Cobbery wood		1			
Press		Manchineel		1		77	
Press	Letter			1		44	
Press	French			1		22	
Press		Manchineel		2		55	
Press		Manchineel		1		44	
Press		Cobbery wood		1		12	
Press		Mahogany	Small	1			
Queens ware	Set	White		1	Set 4		
Queens ware	Tureen	Fruit	Small	4			
Salt cellar		Silver		3			
Salt cellar		Silver		2			
Salt cellar		Silver		1	Pair		
Sauce pan		Silver	Small	2			
Scale	Brass			1	Pair	3	
Seal		Crystal		1			
Shades				1	Pair	22	
Side board			With marble top	1		7.4	
Snuffer		Silver		2	Pair		
Snuffer	Stand	Silver		1			
Snuffer		Silver		2			With stands.
Snuffer	inc. stand	Silver		1			In daily use.
Sofa		Mahogany	Small	1			

Item	Desc 1	Desc 2	Desc 3	Qty	Type Qty	Value (p/8)	Notes
Spectacles		Silver		3	Pair		
Spoon	Soup	Silver		6			
Spoon	Soup	Silver		2			
Spoon	Table	Silver		36			
Spoon	Dessert	Silver		21			
Spoon	Tea	Silver		13			
Spoon	Dessert	Silver		4			
Spoon		Silver	Large and small	12			
Spoon	Soup	Silver		1			
Spoon	Olive	Silver		1			
Spoon	Table			11			In daily use.
Spoon	Soup			1			In daily use.
Spoon	Tea			4			In daily use.
Stand	Decanter		With wood bottom	4			
Stand	Oil and Vinegar			1			In daily use.
Strainer		Silver		1			
Sugar tong		Silver		1	Pair		
Sugar tong				1			In daily use.
Sword	Old			4			
Table	Tea	Mahogany		1			
Table		Mahogany		3		50	
Table	Card			1		15	
Table	Tea			1			
Table	Dining			1			Broken.
Table	Card			2			
Tankard		Silver		1			With cover.
Tankard		Plain		1			With cover.
Tankard		Plain	Worked	1			With cover.
Tankard				1			Without cover.
Tankard			Worked, large	1			
Tankard	with cover			1			In daily use.
Tea pot		Plain	Small	3			
Tea pot				1			In daily use.

Item	Desc 1	Desc 2	Desc 3	Qty	Type Qty	Value (p/8)	Notes
Top		Silver		1			For a candlestick.
Trunk				1			"And some trumpery".
Tureen		Silver	Large	2			With cover.
Unspecified	Kettle	Wash		2		49.4	
Unspecified	Dish	Shaving		2			
Unspecified	Dish	Pudding		1			
Unspecified	Jar			2			
Waiter			Worked, small	1			
Waiter		Silver, plain		2			
Waiter		Silver	Worked, Small	1			
Waiter		Silver	Worked, large	2			
Waiter		Silver, plain	Large	1			
Waiter		Plain	Small	2			
Waiter		Silver	Small, worked	2			
Waiter		Silver	Worked, large	1			
Watch & Chain		Gold		1			
Watch & Chain		Gold	With stone and pearls	1			
Whip	Riding			8			
Wine cooler		Mahogany		1			
Wine crane		Silver		1			

Source: Dutch National Archives 1.05.08.01 #729

Table 26: Library of Johannes de Graaf

Title	Author	Volumes
Amontannus beschrijving van America		1
Amontannus beschrijving van China		1
Amontannus beschrijving van de Brasils		1
Kourt Woordenboek	E. Buys	1
Decisien & Observatien	J. Loemms	1
Hedendaagsche Rechtsgeleertheyt	Huber	1
Spreegel der Wereld	Ludeman	1
Formulier Boek	van Alphen	1
Zee Rechten		1
Verkiezing van zijn Hooghiet	W. C. H. Friso tot Stadhouder	1
Brieven van Eenige Portuguesche & Hoog Duitsche Jooden		1
Lykgerang van Nich Adriaans de Ruiter		1
Psalm boeken		2
Over de Genering van Zukten	J. E. Lyklama	2
Catechismus der Natuur	J. F. Martuvet	1
Staats Regelen & Regelmenten		1
de Brun Proces Crimineel		1
Historische School & Huys Bybel		1
Practyk der Medecynen	Stephanus Blankaart	1
Zuevere & Beproefde Waarkeden	Cornelis van Vollenhoven	1
Leukens Schrijtuurlyke Bescheidenissen en Gelykenissen		1
Wagenaar Beschryvens van Amsterdam		2
Rechtgeleerds Woordenboek		1
Woorden Folk	T. Boey	2
Bynkerschoek Staats Zaken		2
Rooms Hollrecht	Simon van Leeuwen	1

Romeynsche Rechten	Karel van Allen		2
Deductie van Johannes de Graaf			2
Beschryvens der Natuur	Martinet		3
Resolutien van de Hoog mogen de Staaten Generalvan Eenigde Nederlanden 1776, 1777, 1778		(unknown)	
Receuil van Egle Stukken en brijven door Solomon der Ressis	3		
Jodoei Schoemaker Selecta			1
Consilia et respousa Juris			3
Nederlands advijs boek			5
Kerkelyke Placart Boek			5
Militaire Woorden boek			1
Consultatien en advijsen			6
Kort begrijp der consultatien + advijsen			1
Vaderlandsche Historie			1
S. van Leeuwen manier van Proceedeeren			
Gebeden voor het heelig avondmaal der Heeren			
Nieuwe handeling tot de manier van brieven schrijven			
De Schijnderige op het tweede schavot			
Genees kundige handboek			
Nieuwe Hollandsche Consultatien			
Hollandsche rechts gelierd worden boek			
Handvesten der stad Amsterdam			3

Table 27: Instances of Ceramic Sales, Saba Vendue Books

ID1	ID2	ID3	QTY	p/8	Bts	Stv	PREV. OWNER	PURCHASER	DATE	SOURCE
2 dishes & teapot			1	1	6	0	Guardians of John Leverock, child	Henry Hassell (secretary)	3-8-1782	VB 1780
2 large dishes & 3 plates & spoons & pot			1	6	0	0	James Every Sr.	John Every	30-7-1783	VB 1780
3 Bowls 3 saucers			1	0	5	0	Peter Halley (dec'd)	Elizabeth Johnson	17-4-1784	VB 1780
3 Bowls 3 saucers			1	0	4	0	Peter Halley (dec'd)	Joshua Carter	17-4-1784	VB 1780
5 bowls 6 saucers			1	2	7	0	Guardians of John Leverock, child	illegible	3-8-1782	VB 1780
5 Cups, 3 saucers			1	1	0	0	Peter Collins (dec'd)	Thomas Zagers	12-4-1815	VB 1780
6 white bowls 3 glasses & canter			1	1	2	0	Guardians of John Leverock, child	William Leverock	3-8-1782	VB 1780
A half dish and tea spoons			1	1	4	0	Guardians of John Leverock, child	Samuel Cherito	3-8-1782	VB 1780
Bowl			1	0	1	2	James Hassell (dec'd)	Thomas Hassell	16-6-1784	VB 1780
Bowl			1	0	6	0	Peter Halley (dec'd)	John Hassell	17-4-1784	VB 1780
Bowl	Chinea		2	2	5	0	James Hassell	Edward Beaks Jr.	3-11-1824	VB 1816
Chinney plate			13	3	5	0	Guardians of John Leverock, child	James Hassell	3-8-1782	VB 1780
Crockery wares			1	3	0	0	James & J?-er Wood	John Hassell	20-9-1830	VB 1816
Cup	With handle		4	0	4	0	Peter Halley (dec'd)	Joshua Carter	17-4-1784	VB 1780
Decanter			1	1	2	3	James & J?-er Wood	Jinny	20-9-1830	VB 1816
Two dishes, one cup	Cup		1	2	6	0	James Simmons (dec'd)	Children of James Simmons (dec'd)	2-6-1782	VB 1780
Dish	Earthen		1	0	1	0	Peter Halley (dec'd)	Peter Hassell	17-4-1784	VB 1780
Earthenware			?	3	7	2	George Hassell Sr. (dec'd)	Mary Hassell	4-7-1782	VB 1780
Jar	Water		1	3	0	0	Peter Collins (dec'd)	Thomas Zagers	12-4-1815	VB 1780
Plate	China		2	1	6	0	Peter & Rebecca Hassell	Sarah Johnson	?-11-1817	VB 1780
Plate			9	1	2	0	Peter Halley (dec'd)	Peter Hassell	17-4-1784	VB 1780
Plates	China		30	1	4	0	J. D. Horton	Richard J. Dinzey	5-9-1817	VB 1816
Punch bowl	China	Blue	1	1	4	0	Mrs. Mary Ann Hassell (widow)	Appraisal	30/3/1824	SGR 1820-1835
Tea pot			1	0	7	0	Peter Collins (dec'd)	Mary Collins	12-4-1815	VB 1780
Tea pot			1	0	5	0	Peter Halley (dec'd)	William Winfield	17-4-1784	VB 1780
Three plates, one dish, two bowls, three saucers, one tumbler			1	2	1	0		Mary Hassell	13-2-1782	VB 1780
Tureen & two teapots			1	1	0	0	William Hassell (dec'd)	Edward Beaks	?-4-1784	VB 1780
Tureen, butter pot, 2 salt sillins			1	3	4	0	Guardians of John Leverock, child	William Winfield	3-8-1782	VB 1780
White plate			11	2	7	0	Guardians of John Leverock, child	Abraham Beaks	3-8-1782	VB 1780

ID1	ID2	ID3	QTY	Sp. Dollars	Cents	PREV. OWNER	PURCHASER	DATE	SOURCE
1 milk, 1 sugar pot & 2 tea pots, 1/2 dozen cups & saucers, etc			1	14		Arthur Gauzales (Gonzales)	Jno Peterson	4-2-1860	VB 1816
10 bowls 12 saucers			1	0	52	Sarah Gumbs (dec'd)	Daniel Woods	14-11-1853	VB 1816
2 pair China mugs, 4 remnants calico 48 1/2 yards			1	7	?	Arthur Gauzales (Gonzales)	Susan Simmons	4-2-1860	VB 1816
6 cups 5 saucers			1	0	65	Arthur Gauzales (Gonzales)	Edward Beaks Esq.	4-2-1860	VB 1816
Bowl	Punch		?	1	90	Arthur Gauzales (Gonzales)	Edward Beaks Esq.	4-2-1860	VB 1816
Coal pot			1	0		Arthur Gauzales (Gonzales)	M. Leverock	4-2-1860	VB 1816
Cup	?Casther ?Easter	Small	2	?		Arthur Gauzales (Gonzales)	M. Leverock	4-2-1860	VB 1816
Decanter			3	2	25	Arthur Gauzales (Gonzales)	Charles Dinzey	4-2-1860	VB 1816
Decanter			4	0	52	Sarah Gumbs (dec'd)	Daniel Woods	14-11-1853	VB 1816
Dishes	?Frayage		?	1	80	Arthur Gauzales (Gonzales)	Edward Beaks Esq.	4-2-1860	VB 1816
Mug	Milk		4	?		Arthur Gauzales (Gonzales)	Charles Hassell	4-2-1860	VB 1816
Mugs	White		2	?		Arthur Gauzales (Gonzales)	M. Leverock	4-2-1860	VB 1816
Ornament	China	Small	4	?		Arthur Gauzales (Gonzales)	M. Leverock	4-2-1860	VB 1816
Pitcher			1	0	20	Sarah Gumbs (dec'd)	Daniel Woods	14-11-1853	VB 1816
Plate			12	1	9	Sarah Gumbs (dec'd)	Daniel Woods	14-11-1853	VB 1816
Plate			6		32	Sarah Gumbs (dec'd)	H. Hassell	14-11-1853	VB 1816
Pot	Flower		4	?		Arthur Gauzales (Gonzales)	Charles Hassell	4-2-1860	VB 1816
Saucers			9	?		Arthur Gauzales (Gonzales)	M. Leverock	4-2-1860	VB 1816
Tea cups & saucers			12	?		Arthur Gauzales (Gonzales)	Jno Peterson	4-2-1860	VB 1816

ID1	ID2	ID3	QTY	Guilders	Cents	PREV. OWNER	PURCHASER	DATE	SOURCE
Bowl	China		6	0	80	John & Mary Hassell (dec'd)	Nereston Lake	29-10-1847	VB 1816
Bowl	Large		1	0	80	John & Mary Hassell (dec'd)	John Simmons (Cunks)	29-10-1847	VB 1816
Bowls & Saucers			6	0	30	John & Mary Hassell (dec'd)	Edward Beas Esq.	29-10-1847	VB 1816
Cup	China		2	1	5	John & Mary Hassell (dec'd)	E. Heyliger	29-10-1847	VB 1816
Cup	China		2	1	10	John & Mary Hassell (dec'd)	Edward Beaks Esq.	29-10-1847	VB 1816
Cup	China	Blue	2	0	38	John & Mary Hassell (dec'd)	Manerva	29-10-1847	VB 1816
Cup	Small	Blue	0	12		John & Mary Hassell (dec'd)	Elizabeth Horton	29-10-1847	VB 1816
Decanter			1	0	45	John Simmons & Permelia Beaks (dec'd)	Peter Every	16-1-1845?	VB 1816
Dishes & Tureen	China		3	12	3	Martha J. Burzett	Edward Beaks Esq.	25-6-1816	VB 1816
Plate	Large		12	1	25	John & Mary Hassell (dec'd)	Edward Beaks Esq.	29-10-1847	VB 1816
Plate	Breakfast		10	0	75	John & Mary Hassell (dec'd)	Henry Hassell	29-10-1847	VB 1816
Plate	Breakfast		10	0	60	John & Mary Hassell (dec'd)	Nereston Lake	29-10-1847	VB 1816
Plate	Tea		9	0	56	John & Mary Hassell (dec'd)	Mrs S. Simmons	29-10-1847	VB 1816
Plate	Tea		18	0	52	John & Mary Hassell (dec'd)	Thomas Vanterpool	29-10-1847	VB 1816
Teapot & Water pot	Silver		1	8	2	Martha J. Burzett	Thomas Dinzey	25-6-1816	VB 1816
Tureen			1	5	50	John Simmons & Permelia Beaks (dec'd)	Elizabeth Hassell	16-1-1845?	VB 1816

Sources: Source: DNAr 1.05.13.01 #542 (VB 1780), Saba Planning Bureau (VB 1816, SGR 1820-1835).

Table 28: Claims by St. Eustatius Shippers from Vessels Captured by English Warships and Privateers, 1760

Goods claimant	Ship type	Ship name	Captain	Coming from	Cargo	Captured by	Brought to	Costs	Notes
Jan de Windt	Ship	Princes	Jurgen Rupke	Guadeloupe	sugar, cotton	Privateer	N. America	10,000	
Jan de Windt	Schooner	Maria	Andries Claar	Greneda	sugar, coffee	Privateer	Antigua	12,500	
Jan de Windt, Daniel Haley	Schooner	Metta	Anthony Louis	Greneda	sugar, coffee	Warship	Antigua	10000	
Johannes Heyliger	Schooner	Jagtlust	Cornelis Claasen	Dominica	coffee	Privateer	Antigua	3297	
Johannes Heyliger	Schooner	Resolutie	George Road	St. Lucia	coffee	Privateer	Montserrat	10,967	
Peter Simmons, Governor of Saba	Bark	Rebecca	? Horton	Dominica	provisions	Privateer	Antigua	4,818	1
Johannes de Graaf	Bark	Prins Willem de Vijfde	Jan Simmons	Martinique	sugar, cotton	Privateer	St. Kitts	5,500	
Johannes de Graaf	Bark	Suffaletta	Carel Pedouk Michael	Martinique	sugar, coffee, cotton	Privateer	Antigua	15,665	
(Abraham) Heyliger & Artsen	Bark	Pieter ?van ?		Guadeloupe	sugar	Privateer	Antigua	9,108	
(Abraham) Heyliger & Artsen	Bark	de Boop		Guadeloupe	sugar	Privateer	Antigua	13,214	
(Abraham) Heyliger & Artsen	Bark	de Boop				Privateer	Antigua	1,525	
(Abraham) Heyliger & Artsen	Bark	Victoria			molassess, syrup	Privateer	Antigua	1,500	
(Abraham) Heyliger & Artsen	Bark	Victoria		Guadeloupe	sugar	Privateer	Antigua	2,158	
(Abraham) Heyliger & Artsen	Bark	Jonge Nicolaas			sugar, 8 male negroes	Privateer	Antigua	25,778	
(Abraham) Heyliger & Artsen	Bark	Thomas					Montserrat	2,500	
(Abraham) Heyliger & Artsen	Bark	de Twee Brooders				Privateer	Montserrat	3,200	
(Abraham) Heyliger & Artsen	Bark	Victoria		Sto. Domingo		Privateer	Jamaica	6,200	
(Abraham) Heyliger & Artsen	Bark	Adriana				Warship *Bristol*	Antigua	1,997	
(Abraham) Heyliger & Artsen	Brig	St. Nicolaas		Guadeloupe		Privateer	St. Kitts	28,880	
(Abraham) Heyliger & Artsen	Brig				wood	Warship	Nevis	5,000	
(Abraham) Heyliger & Artsen	Bark	Catharina			Sugar	Warship *Griffon*	Antigua	26,088	
(Abraham) Heyliger & Artsen	Bark	Maria Vana		Martinique	provisions			1,356	
(Abraham) Heyliger & Artsen	Bark	de Boop, de Succes				Privateer	Antigua	24,531	2
(Abraham) Heyliger & Artsen	Schooner	Rebecca		St. Vincent	provisions		Montserrat	2,500	
(Abraham) Heyliger & Artsen	Schooner	Nassau		Greneda	coffee, sugar	Warship *Griffon*	St. Kitts	4,376	
(Abraham) Heyliger & Artsen	Bark	Twee Broeders		Monte Christi	Sugar	Warship *Cambridge*	Jamaica	11,910	3
(Abraham) Heyliger & Artsen	Bark	Maria Vanna		Sto. Domingo	sugar	Warship *Cambridge*	Jamaica	7,083	
(Abraham) Heyliger & Artsen	Bark	Nonpareil		Martinique	sugar	Warship	St. Kitts	12,625	4
(Abraham) Heyliger & Artsen	Schooner	Rebecca		St. Vincent	coffee	Privateer	Antigua	1,500	
Simon de Graaf, etc.	Sloop		Cornelis Backer	Guadeloupe	sugar, cotton, coffee	2 privateers	Rhode Island	12,000	
Jan Pierre Allier	Bark	Prins van Oranje	Jacob Christiaan Molse	Martinique	provisions	Privateer	Antigua	7,322	
Jan Pierre Allier	Bark	Peggy	Johannes Heyliger	Martinique	provisions	Privateer	Antigua	6,086	
Jan Pierre Allier	Bark	Thomas	Joseph Looggende	Greneda		Privateer	N. America	9,400	
Jan Pierre Allier	Bark	de Windt	Thomas Gardon	Dominica, Martinique	provisions	Warships	Antigua	9,645	
Jan Pierre Allier	Bark	Eindragt	Abraham Simmons	Martinique	coffee	Privateer	Antigua	14,600	
Jan Pierre Allier	Bark	Neptunus, Jan Pieter		Martinique	provisions	Privateer	Antigua	2,000	

Goods claimant	Ship type	Ship name	Captain	Coming from	Cargo	Captured by	Brought to	Costs	Notes
Jan Pierre Allier	Schooner	Louisa	Hans Muller		sugar		Montserrat	3,500	
Jan Pierre Allier	Bark	Elizabeth		St. Martin, Grenada	sugar	Privateer	Antigua	12,800	
Jan Pierre Allier	Schooner	de Boop	Anthony Marten	St. Thomas to Grenada	ballast	Privateer	Antigua	2,000	
Jan Pierre Allier	Schooner	Surprise			sugar, coffee	2 privateers	St. Kitts	8,273	5
Pieter Cornelis, Doeke Groebe	Bark	Avantuur		Sto. Domingo	coffee, sugar	Privateer	Antigua	21,571	
Pieter Cornelis, Doeke Groebe	Bark	Vrijmetselaar		Sto. Domingo	provisions	Warship	Jamaica	8,516	
Pieter Cornelis, Doeke Groebe	Schooner	Vriendschap		Sto. Domingo	provisions	Privateer	New Providence	3,202	
Pieter Cornelis, Doeke Groebe	Schooner	Napauio		Grenada	sugar, coffee	Warship Griffon	St. Kitts	4,375	
Pieter Cornelis, Doeke Groebe	Bark	Maria & Anna		Martinique	provisions	King's brig	Antigua	1,356	
Pieter Cornelis, Doeke Groebe	Bark	Twee Broeders		Monte Christi	sugar	Warship	Jamaica	9,010	6
Pieter Cornelis, Doeke Groebe	Bark	Maria & Anna		Sto. Domingo	sugar	Warship	Jamaica	7,083	
Pieter Cornelis, Doeke Groebe	Bark	Nonpareil		Martinique	sugar	Warship *Emerald*	*St. Kitts*	13,125	7
Pieter Cornelis, Doeke Groebe	Vrijmetselaar			Martinique	sugar		Montserrat	3,000	8
Pieter Cornelis, Doeke Groebe	Bark	de Boop		St. Thomas	sugar	Warships	St. Kitts	1,950	
Pieter Runnels		Drie Vrienden	Peter Hassell	Monte Christi	sugar	Privateer	New England	12,400	
Jacob Simmons, etc.	Schooner	Drie Vrienden			sugar	Warship *Emerald*	Antigua	4,492	
Pieter de la Chau	Bark	Neptunus, Jan Pieter	Jacob Iver	Guadeloupe	syrup	Privateer	Montserrat	843	
Pieter de la Chau	Bark	Vrijmetselaar	Adam Hendrick	Martinique			Antigua	0	9
Pieter de la Chau	Bark	Success	Marten Beyert	Martinique			Antigua	0	10
Pieter de la Chau	Schooner	Voor sigtig(roytt)	Simon van Derdys	Martinique			Antigua	0	11
Pieter de la Chau	Schooner	Drie Vrienden		Guadeloupe			Antigua	37561	
Pieter de la Chau	Bark	Success	Martin Beyer	Antigua	ballast	Privateer	Montserrat	618	
Pieter de la Chau	Bark	Brutus	Pieter Lawrence	Grenada	92 barrels sugar, coffee	2 privateers	Sto. Domingo	16450	12
Pieter de la Chau	Minerva	Hendrik van Oest		Sto. Domingo	sugar, indigo, coffee	2 privateers	Rhode Island	18900	
Pieter de la Chau	Zeebloem	Anthony Middelkoop		Sto. Domingo	sugar, coffee	Privateer	Providence	12950	
Pieter de la Chau	Schooner	Elizabeth & Maria		Guadeloupe	sugar, coffee	Privateer	Antigua	603	
Pieter de la Chau	Bark	Maria	Pieter C. Spiering	Guadeloupe	sugar, coffee	Privateer	New York	3200	
Pieter de la Chau	Bark	Unice	Francisco Silan	Guadeloupe		2 privateers	Antigua	2901	13
Pieter de la Chau	Schooner	de Boop	Harm van Vrolick	Martinique	sugar, coffee	Privateer	Montserrat	12310	
Pieter de la Chau	Bark	Success	Jacob Pa?	Grenada	sugar, coffee	Privateer	Antigua	13272	
Pieter de la Chau	Bark		Don Pedro	Monte Christi				4135	
Anthonee Pascaud	Bark	Maria Louisa	Joseph Looggende	Martinique	sugar, coffee, cacao			11527	
Anthonee Pascaud	Bark	Prins Willem de Vijfde	John Simmons	Martinique				9973	
Anthonee Pascaud	Bark	Alletta	Nicolaes Corneluis	Dominica	provisions			5510	
Anthonee Pascaud	Bark	Princes Carolina	Morris Collins	Martinique	provisions			7864	
Anthonee Pascaud	Schooner	Meerzorg		Martinique	sugar, coffee			13000	
Anthonee Pascaud	Bark	Robyn	Jan Bean	St. Vincent	coffee	Privateer		20000	
Anthonee Pascaud	Bark	de Curaçao	Alepander Espanza					5873	
Anthonee Pascaud	Bark	La Resource	Charles Aumont	Dominica	coffee	Privateer	St. Kitts	3000	14

Goods claimant	Ship type	Ship name	Captain	Coming from	Cargo	Captured by	Brought to	Costs	Notes
Booy Pieterse	Schooner	Elizabeth		St. Vincent	coffee	Privateer	Antigua	3943	
Booy Pieterse	Schooner	Elizabeth & Francina		St. Vincent	cacao	Privateer	Antigua	5068	
Booy Pieterse	Schooner	Eendragt		St. Vincent		Warship *Griffon*	St. Croix	2768	
Booy Pieterse	Schooner	Maria		St. Vincent	ballast	Warship	St. Kitts	2000	
Pieter Ogmont, etc.	Bark	Don Philip	James Simmons	Martinique	sugar	Privateer	St. Kitts	11970	
Jan Benners, etc.	Bark	Zeebloem	John Gibbes	Grenada	coffee, sugar	Warship *Emerald*	St. Kitts	14100	
Jan Janse de Jonge	Bark	Johanna	Jan p?resent	St. Vincent	miscellaneous goods, provisions	Privateer	St. Kitts	1938	15
C. H. Hoffmeyer	Schooner	Wigende Mescurius?	Joseph Thomas	Dominica		Warship Echo	Guadeloupe	2195	
Jan Schooning	Bark	Maria	Jacob Grick	Grenada	coffee, sugar	*Diana* (Privateer)	Rhode Island	13975	
Jan Schooning	Schooner	Johanna Galley	Sybrand Voogdt	Martinique	provisions	King's brig	Antigua	7632	
William Packwood & Comp	Bark	Jan		Martinique	coffee, sugar	Privateer	Montserrat	7175	
Campbell Stevens	Schooner	Maria	William Collins				Antigua	548	
Campbell Stevens	Brig	Dolphyn	Joseph White			Privateer	Antigua	4827	
Campbell Stevens	Schooner	Prins William		Dominica		Warship *Blanford*	Jamaica	2110	
Campbell Stevens	Schooner	Thomas Schyderbuk				Privateer	St. Kitts	223	16
Campbell Stevens	Bark	John Dean				Warship *Griffon*	Antigua	256	16
Campbell Stevens	Bark	Twee Broeders		Monte Christi			Jamaica	156	
John de Witt & Campbell Stevens	Schooner	Drie Broeders	Henry Johnson			Privateer	St. Kitts	1776	17
John de Witt & Campbell Stevens	?	Peter Smith				Warships	Antigua	1550	18
John de Witt & Campbell Stevens	Schooner	de Windschap	Jan Dankwast			Warships	St. Kitts	2616	
Regail Versel	Bark	Barard				Privateer	Montserrat	6805	
Jan Regail Junior	Schooner	Vrijmetselaar	Peter Kieweel	Grenada		Privateer	Montserrat	3067	19
Jan Foulquier	Schooner	Vrijmetselaar	Jacob Hoogstrate	Grenada		Warship *Griffin*	St. Kitts	2043	
Jan Fitzpatrick	Schooner	Amsterdam	Adam Hendrick	Dominica	sugar		New Providence	10500	
Jan Fitzpatrick	Brig			Dominica	sugar	Warship	Antigua	10000	20
Jan Fitzpatrick	Bark	Reegenboog	Adam Hendrick	Demerary		2 privateers	Antigua	2000	21
Ernst Christiaan Runge	Bark	Hollandia	Jan Jongeraaven	Sto. Domingo		2 warships	Jamaica	7000	
Ernst Christiaan Runge	Schooner	Vrijheydt	Marten Sybrandtse	Sto. Domingo	sugar, coffee	Privateer	Antigua	9000	
Ernst Christiaan Runge	Schooner	Fortuyn	Jan Eslten	Essequibo	misc. goods	Privateer	Nevis	4500	22
Ernst Christiaan Runge	Bark	Catherina & Elizabeth	Fredrick Barman	Martinique	sugar, coffee, cacao		Montserrat	3600	
Bernard Fronchin	Schooner	de Hoop		Guadeloupe	coffee, sugar	Privateer	St. Kitts	1200	
Bernard Fronchin	Schooner	Hoop		Demerary		Privateer	Antigua	1100	
Bernard Fronchin		Hoop						1300	23
Attkinson & Bankes	Bark	Sally		Martinique	sugar, coffee	Privateer	Antigua	1501	24
Attkinson & Bankes	Bark	Zeebloem	?Peter Beakes	Martinique	sugar	Privateer	St. Kitts	3699	
Attkinson & Bankes	Bark	Thomas	Thomas Buike	Demerary	provisions	Warship *Emerald*	St. Kitts	2865	25
Attkinson & Bankes	Bark	Betsy	Jacob Leverock	Demerary	provisions	Privateer	Antigua	2850	

Goods claimant	Ship type	Ship name	Captain	Coming from	Cargo	Captured by	Brought to	Costs	Notes
Robert Stewart, etc.	Bark	Drie Vrienden		Dominica	sugar	Privateer	Antigua	10353	
William Crooke, etc.	Bark	Catherina & Elizabeth	?Coried Vincent	Martinique	sugar	Warship	St. Kitts	6000	
William Crooke, etc.	Schooner	Speedwell	Richard Andrews	Grenada			Montserrat	5500	26
Jan Cadet	Schooner	Speedwell	Richard Andrews	Grenada	sugar, coffee		Antigua	2806	27
Jan Cadet	Bark	Adriaan			sugar	Warship	Antigua	2575	28
Jan Cadet	Schooner	Batchelor		Grenada	provisions		Antigua	2464	29
Jan Cadet	Bark	Bazard		St. Vincent	cacao, coffee		Antigua	1025	30
Jan Cadet	Bark	Twee Broeders		Martinique	provisions		Montserrat	463	31
Jan Cadet	Bark	de Vier Vrienden	Jan Oyen	Sto. Domingo	sugar	Privateer	New York	322	
Jan Cadet	Schooner	Nancy		St. Vincent	coffee		St. Kitts	333	
Jan Cadet	Snauwschip	Voorsigligheydt	Roeloff Roelofse	Sto. Domingo	provisions		Jamaica	34971	
Jan Cadet	Schooner	Nancy		Martinique	ballast	Privateer	St. Kitts	305	
Jan Cadet	Schooner	Tartar		St. Vincent	provisions		St. Kitts	716	32
Jan Cadet	Schooner	Victory		Grenada	provisions		Barbados	1466	
John Don	Bark	Endeavour			sugar		Antigua	3000	33
John Don	Bark	Industry		St. Vincent		Privateer	Tortola	2350	34
John Don	Schooner	Klyne Anna				Warship	Antigua	1320	
John Don	2 boats	de Vleegende Visch, Antentie				Warship	Antigua	1096	35
John Don	Schooner	Endeavour				Privateer	Antigua	2335	
John Don	Schooner	Geertruyda		Sto. Domingo		Warship	Jamaica	1860	
Abraham Doncker	Schooner	Maria & Elizabeth		Guadeloupe	sugar	5 privateers	Antigua	603	36
Abraham Doncker	Bark	Petronella & Elizabeth		Guadeloupe	sugar	Privateer	Antigua	14340	37
Abraham Doncker	Schooner	Prins Willem		Sto. Domingo	sugar, coffee, indigo	Warship	Jamaica	15000	
Robert Warren	Schooner	Elizabeth		Guadeloupe	sugar, coffee, molasses	Privateer	Antigua	6000	
Christiaan Hendrick Prebaud	Bark	de Maria		Guadeloupe			Antigua	4500	
Christiaan Hendrick Prebaud	Bark	Betsy		Guadeloupe		Privateer	Antigua	4700	
Christiaan Hendrick Prebaud	Bark	Twee Broeders		Guadeloupe	ballast		Antigua	1400	38
Christiaan Hendrick Prebaud	Bark	de Maria Theresia		Guadeloupe	sugar, molasses		St. Kitts	3600	
Pieter Hendricks, etc.	Schooner	Vier Vrienden		Dominica			Antigua	850	
J. Simmons, C. Simmons, J. Beakes				St. Eustatius			Antigua	603	39
Wodrop Heyns	Schooner	Success		St. Vincent	cofffee		Antigua	8945	
Paul & Andre Amoyt	Bark	Twee Broeders	Berm. Vrolick	Sto. Domingo			Providence	1444	40
Paul & Andre Amoyt	Snauwschip	Geregligheydt		Guadeloupe	sugar		Anguilla	1058	41
Paul & Andre Amoyt	Bark	Speedwell		St. Lucia	coffee, cacao		Antigua	2806	42
Paul & Andre Amoyt	Bark	Expeditie		Martinique	sugar	Privateer	Montserrat	5014	
Paul & Andre Amoyt	Snauwschip	de Voorsiglighydt		Sto. Domingo	provisions	Privateer	Jamaica	3497	
Paul & Andre Amoyt	Bark	Twee Broeders		Guadeloupe	provisions		St. Kitts	3818	43
Paul & Andre Amoyt	Bark	de Unice		Guadeloupe		Privateer	Montserrat	2901	44
Olivier Oyen	Bark	Speedwell		St. Lucia	coffee, cacao		Antigua	7016	45
Olivier Oyen	Bark	St. Thomas		St. Lucia	coffee	Warship	Antigua	7953	

Goods claimant	Ship type	Ship name	Captain	Coming from	Cargo	Captured by	Brought to	Costs	Notes
Olivier Oyen	Bark	Maria & Fransena		St. Lucia	provisions	Privateer	St. Kitts	4720	
Olivier Oyen	Bark	Adriana				Warship Bristol	Antigua	1997	
Mathieu Moreau	Bark	de Hoop		St. Eustatius	provisions		Antigua	6485	46
Mathieu Moreau	Bark	Lydia		St. Eustatius			Antigua	2756	47
Mathieu Moreau	Bark	de Hoop	Hercules Hassell	St. Eustatius	provisions	Privateer	Rhode Island	5950	48
Mathieu Moreau	Schooner	Intustrie		Sto. Domingo	provisions	Warship	Jamaica	3750	
Ralph Sampson, etc.	Bark	Donkersgalley		Martinique	molassess, syrup		Montserrat	6483	
Ralph Sampson	Bark	Wyt		Martinique	sugar	Privateer	Antigua	9744	
Ralph Sampson	Bark	Draak		St. Domingue		Warship	Jamaica	2689	49
Ralph Sampson	Bark	Amsterdam		St. Domingue			Jamaica	10016	
Ralph Sampson	Schooner	Gelvek		Grenada	sugar	Privateer	St. Kitts	16393	
Boswell & Besse	Bark	de Windt		St. Eustatius	misc. goods	Warship	Antigua	1293	50
Boswell & Besse	Bark	Mvw. Catherina Elizabeth		Martinique	sugar		Montserrat	3483	
Boswell & Besse	Bark	Elizabeth & Adriana		Martinique	provisions, misc. goods	Privateer	Antigua	13293	
Boswell & Besse	Schooner	de Vrouw Aletta		Martinique			Montserrat	500	51
Boswell & Besse	Bark	Twee Broeders		Grenada		Warship	St. Kitts	1605	52
Boswell & Besse	Schooner	Vrouw Aletta		St. Vincent	coffee	Privateer	St. Kitts	4134	53
Boswell & Besse	Bark	Catherina & Elizabeth	John Horton	Grenada		Warship	Antigua	800	
Boswell & Besse	Schooner	Windthonal		Martinique	provisions	Privateer	St. Kitts	845	
Boswell & Besse	Schooner	Princes Carolina			provisions	Privateer	St. Kitts	279	54
Jan Navaret & Comp	Schooner	Radt van Avantuur		Martinique	sugar	Warship	Antigua	2400	
Jan Navaret & Comp	Schooner	Nancy				Privateer	Antigua	1200	
Jan Navaret & Comp	Bark	Napauio		Martinique	molassess, syrup	Warship	St. Kitts	3000	
Martin du Brois Godet Junior	Schooner	Sara		Dominica	coffee, cacao, cotton		Antigua	3379	
Martin du Brois Godet Junior	Bark	Elizabeth & Sara		Dominica	sugar		Jamaica	6698	55
Martin du Brois Godet Junior	Schooner	Drie Vrienden		Sto. Domingo	sugar, coffee		Antigua	6945	
Martin du Brois Godet Junior	Bark	Jonge Thomas		Sto. Domingo	sugar		Antigua	1534	
Martin du Brois Godet Junior	Bark			Martinique			Antigua	3400	
Martin du Brois Godet Junior	Bark	de Windt		Martinique			Antigua	1140	
Martin du Brois Godet Junior	Ship	Gemmeray		Sto. Domingo			Jamaica	683	
Martin du Brois Godet Junior	Bark		Jacob Butters	Martinique			Antigua	578	
Martin du Brois Godet Junior	Bark			Martinique				1497	
Martin du Brois Godet Junior	Schooner	Industry		Grenada	coffee		Antigua	10388	
Angus Campbell	Bark	Johanna		Guadeloupe		Privateer	Antigua	3383	
Angus Campbell	Schooner	Prins van Orange		Guad., Martinique		Privateer	Philadelphia	1581	56
Angus Campbell	Schooner	Pally		St. Eustatius	ballast	Privateer	Antigua	1000	57
Angus Campbell	Brig			Martinique		Privateer	St. Kitts	2300	
Angus Campbell	Bark	Johanna		Grenada	provisions	Privateer	St. Kitts	3800	
Louis Peusch	Bark	de Cornelia & Laurentia		St. Eustatius	provisions		Providence	10157	58
Louis Peusch	Bark	Dolphyn		St. Eustatius	provisions		Rhode Island	5084	59
Louis Peusch	Bark	Hoop		Martinique	sugar, coffee, molasses		Antigua	3700	
Thomas Perkins	Schooner	Isabella		Martinique	sugar, coffee, cotton		Boston	10000	60

Goods claimant	Ship type	Ship name	Captain	Coming from	Cargo	Captured by	Brought to	Costs	Notes
Thomas Perkins	Schooner	Aventuur		Sto. Domingo	sugar, coffee	Warship	Jamaica	12200	
Thomas Perkins	Bark	Maria		Martinique	provisions	Privateer	Montserrat	4000	
Thomas Perkins	Schooner	Success				Warship Griffin	St. Kitts	2500	
Thomas Perkins	Schooner	Willem & Jan		Grenada	coffee, sugar	Privateer	Jamaica	3000	
Thomas Perkins	Bark	Elizabeth & Sara		Sto. Domingo	40 barrels sugar	Privateer	Jamaica	4000	
Jan Pernettes	Bark			Guadeloupe	sugar	Privateer	St. Kitts	4000	
Jan Pernettes	Bark			Guadeloupe	provisions		Martinique	6000	
John Packwood	Bark			Neutral islands	coffee		Antigua	2200	61
Robert Stewart & Comp	Schooner			Grenada	coffee, sugar		Montserrat	2200	62
Francois Rouvelet	Bark			Guadeloupe	provisions		Montserrat	9500	
Benjamin Bunting	Bark			Guadeloupe	sugar		Antigua	7500	
Jacob Bogaard	Bark	Catherina & Elizabeth		Martinique	sugar, coffee, cacao		Montserrat	3483	63
Jacob Bogaard	Bark	Twee Broeders		Grenada	provisions	Warship	St. Kitts	1655	64
Jacob Bogaard	Schooner	de Vrymetselaar		Grenada	provisions		Montserrat	700	65
Jacob Bogaard	Schooner	Fortuyn		Grenada			Montserrat	250	
Alphonse Renou	Bark	de Maria		Martinique	provisions	Privateer	St. Kitts	1264	
Nathaniel Lawrence	Bark	Bachelor		Martinique	provisions		Antigua	2431	66
Nathaniel Lawrence	Schooner	Nancy		St. Vincent	coffee		St. Kitts	611	67
Nathaniel Lawrence	Schooner	Fartai		St. Vincent	provisions		St. Kitts	1432	68
Nathaniel Lawrence	Schooner	Victory		Grenada			Barbados	1466	69
Nathaniel Lawrence	Schooner	Nancy		Martinique	ballast		St. Kitts	666	70
Jan Oyen	Bark	Twee Broeders					Montserrat	463	
Jan Oyen	Bark	Bachelor		Martinique	provisions		Montserrat	2433	71
Jan Oyen	Bark	Vier Vrienden		Sto. Domingo				322	72
Jan Bey	Bark	Elizabeth		Grenada	sugar, coffee	Warship	Antigua	5366	
James Scott	Bark	Elizabeth		Sto. Domingo	sugar, coffee	Privateer	Anguilla	319	
James Scott	Bark	Jonge Willem		Guadeloupe		Privateer	St. Kitts	920	
James Scott	Periager	de Boop		St. Eustatius		Privateer	St. Kitts	1510	73
James Scott	Periager	de Boop		Dominica	coffee		St. Kitts	905	
James Scott	Schooner	Boop		Dominica	coffee		St. Kitts	1051	
Jan van Put	Bark	Elizabeth & Sara		Sto. Domingo	43 hogsheads sugar		Jamaica	4000	
Jan van Put	Periager			Martinique	provisions		St. Kitts	1500	
Jan van Put	Bark	Haarlem					Antigua	4000	
Abraham Heyliger Junior	Schooner	de Jonge Abraham	Jacobus Hassell	Monte Christi	sugar, coffee	2 privateers	New Providence	12636	
							Pieces of eight:	1,268,681	

St. Eustatius, 5 March, 1761

Cost in document, total, with bitts and stivers: 1,212,824.2.0

Source: Dutch National Archives 1.05.01.02 #1191:13

Costs incurred = The money lost by the goods claimant as a result of the capture in pieces of eight.

Neutral islands as of 1761 were St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Dominica, and Grenada.

Notes

1 Captured by English privateership under Robert Patten (Potton)

2 Two ships

3 Value includes 8410 in goods, 3500 in enslaved Africans who were sailors aboard the ship

4 Value incldes 11625 in goods, 2 slave-sailors at 1000

5 cargo sold

6 Two slave-sailors sold each for 300, belonging to Cornelis Groebe and Docke (Doeke) Groebe

7 Inc. 3 slave-sailors sold for 500 each

8 Randomed for total

9 See Pieter de la Chau "Drie Vrienden", all condemned together

10 See Pieter de la Chau "Drie Vrienden", all condemned together

11 See Pieter de la Chau "Drie Vrienden", all condemned together

12 Captured by English (New York) and French privateer; strange. Stranger still, brought to St. Domingo.

13 Again, a French and English privateer

14 Randomed for total, plus another 4000 for the vessell

15 Ransomed for price

16 Claim for partial goods on board

16 Claim for partial goods on board

17 Ransomed for price

18 Ransomed for price

19 Goods auctioned for 447

20 Ransomed for price

21 Ordered released by the court as it was trading to and captured off Dutch territory

22 Previous vessel captured off of Demerary ordered set free, this one condemned…

23 Ship also stolen, condemned, sold for 10,000

24 One fourth of cargo claimed

25 Capture by English warship when destined to Demerary

26 Crew fled, captain put into a boat, ship and cargo brought to Montserrat and sold by the crown

27 Claim for recovery for two slaves on the bark, and cargo from the speedwell including cacao and coffee. Apparently the Speedwell was bought back by Statia merchants and recaptured.

28 Claim for one fourth part of cargo
29 Claim for one fourth part of cargo
30 Claim for two thirds part cargo
31 Claim for one fourth part of cargo
32 Claim for third part
33 Claim for half cargo's ransom
34 Claim for bark and cargo
35 Ransomed for price
36 Half claim, cargo sold
37 Half claim
38 Ransomed for price
39 From Statia to Dominica
40 Released with costs
41 Released with costs
42 Claim for 2/9 cargo
43 Claim for half cargo
44 Claim for half cargo
45 Claim for 5/9 cargo
46 To Martinique
47 To Martinique
48 To Santo Domingo
49 Released with costs
50 To Martinique
51 Ransomed for price
52 Claim for 1/4 cargo
53 Claim for 2/3 cargo. Cargo ransomed
54 Ransomed for price. Vessel was seeking shelter from a storm on the roadstead of St. Barths when captured.
55 Claim for 2/3 cargo.
56 Captured while flying a friendly flag
57 Captured while flying a friendly flag. En route to Guadeloupe
58 To. Sto. Domingo

59 To Sto. Domingo

60 Schooner condemned

61 Ransomed for cost

62 Ransomed for cost

63 One third part cargo

64 One fourth part cargo

65 One fourth part cargo

66 Claim for his fourth part

67 Claim for 2/3 part

68 Claim for 2/3 part

69 Claim for 1/3 part

70 Claim for 2/3 part

71 Claim for 1/4 part

72 Claim for 1/9 part. Sailing from New York to Sto. Domingo. Released with costs.

73 To Martinique. A passenger on board was the General of the GWC in the Caribbean, who had a plantation on the Demerary River under the direction of the Directors of the GWC. He was brought along with the ship to St. Kitts.

Appendix: Spring Bay boiling house

The Spring Bay sugar boiling house is the largest and oldest set of standing ruins on Saba. Curiously, there is no mention of the Spring Bay boiling house in the documentary record. The Spring Bay boiling house is located at 17°63'08 degrees north, and 63°22'03 degrees west, in between the third and fourth guts (Hoogland 1996). The structure was surveyed by Haviser (1985), and later mapped by Bruins (2000), though the site was not excavated. Surface collections by Haviser turned up pipe stems, salt glazed stonewares, green interior-glazed coarse earthenware jars, and tin enamel ware. Surface collections amassed by the author in December 2012 included one sherd of Buckley ware, one sherd of Staffordshire combed slipware, eleven sherds of buff-bodied tin enamel ware, three sherds of Chinese porcelain, five sherds of white salt glaze stoneware, two sherds of Fulham stoneware, five sherds of unidentifiable salt glazed stoneware, and a small octagonal dip-mould lead crystal decanter, which dates to the late seventeenth to early eighteenth century (Hume 1969:197). Notably, no refined earthenwares were recovered during this collection, or during successive fieldwork. A free blown base of an amethyst-tint medicine bottle was recovered from the cattle mill, which according to Hume (1967:73) is a style dating from the early to mid -eighteenth century. From this assemblage, a date between the mid seventeenth century to the first quarter eighteenth century can be surmised.

Figure 27: Spring Bay Boiling House

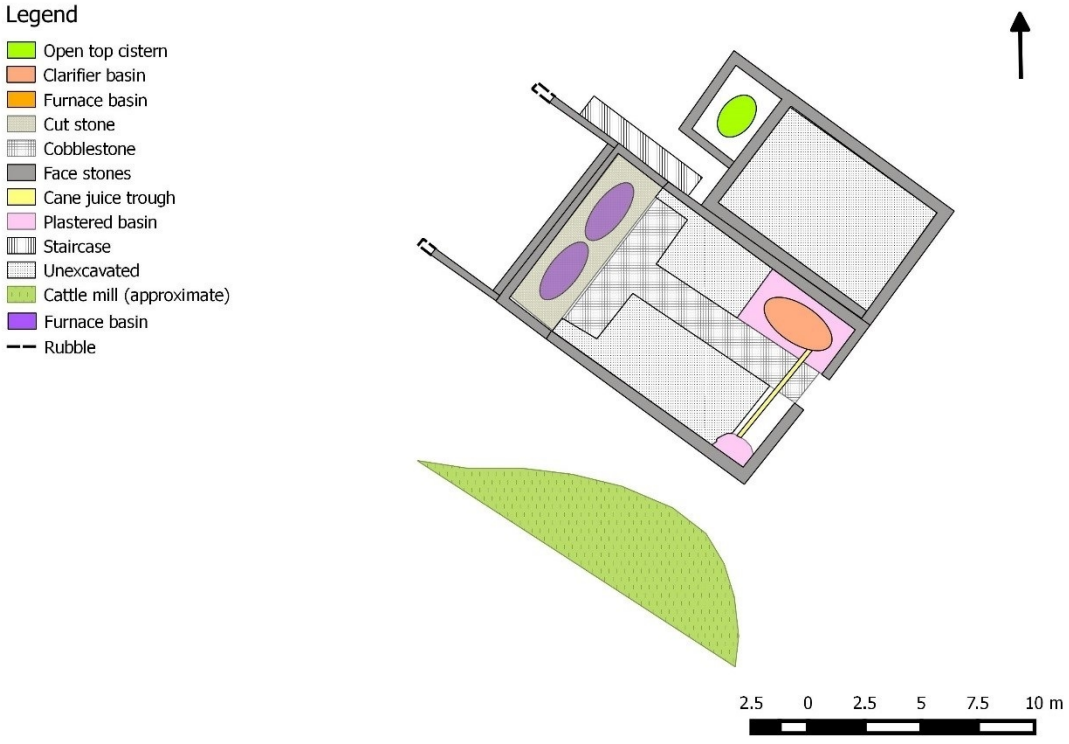




Figure 28: SB 004 sugar boiling house, zoomed in from atop Kelbey's Ridge, facing southwest.

The boiling house features a four-pot furnace with a Jamaica train, a cattle mill, a brick-lined aqueduct that leads from the cattle mill to a plastered clarifier basin set into the ground, a cobbled "T"-shaped walkway across the boiling works, a drying and curing house adjacent to the boiling house, and a molasses cistern, lined with trass-based plaster. The layout and construction materials of the structures comprising the boiling house at Spring Bay mirrors that of Spring Bay Flat at twice the scale. The main difference lies in the positioning of the clarifier basin relative to the position of the cattle mill; at Spring Bay Flat it is located closest to the cattle mill within the boiling house, while at Spring Bay a brick-lined aqueduct runs through the boiling house to carry cane juice to the clarifier basin at the opposite end of the structure. A portion of the Spring Bay boiling house was excavated over three days during the field school in July 2013, in order to get a sense of its structural layout relative to the boiling house at Spring Bay Flat. This was limited to the furnace, the walkway running parallel to the furnace, and the southern wall of the boiling house, where some fine grained plaster was visible on the surface in the south west end, indicating the presence of a clarifier basin. The Spring Bay boiling house was filled with an average of 10cm of sandy soil, with the exceptions being the clarifier basin and the furnace, which were filled in their entirety. Only one sherd of buff-body tin enamel ware and a small sherd of Fulham stoneware were recovered from this fill, which strongly suggests that the site did not see a period of re-use after operations ceased. Interestingly, only one wrought nail was found in the fill inside the boiling house, compared to some 108 from the within boiling house at Spring Bay Flat. This suggests that the wooden superstructure sheltering the boiling house did not fall into

disrepair and decomposition, but was instead either deconstructed while taking care to salvage nails, or it was totally destroyed by a hurricane. No ash or charcoal was found within the fill to reflect destruction by fire. Also inside the boiling house, several types of brick fragments were strewn across the surface and within the fill, including Ijssel brick, orange brick, and orange tile-bricks. Ijssel bricks were found bonded with a white tabby consisting of sand, crushed shell, lime, and some charcoal. This white tabby was also found lining the exterior, outer bricks which line walkway parallel to the furnace, and was also used to bond all of the face stones used in the construction of the boiling house. Some of the orange bricks had an orange coloured tabby bonded consisting of lime, gravel, and orange coloured trass, which serves both as a temper and additive to make the tabby water resistant. Consequently, these bricks were likely employed in a structure to hold a liquid, such as the molasses cistern. This type of mortar also lined the clarifier basin, located in the extreme south eastern corner of the boiling house. An Ijssel brick lined aqueduct to transfer cane juice from the mill runs from the south western wall, through the walkway leading to the furnace, and directly into the clarifier basin. The stones used to line the inner wall of the furnace consist of cut granite, cobbled with evidently more care than the andesite face stones.

The curing house and drying house are a two-story structure located east and adjacent to the boiling house. It is also constructed of two walls of face stones, bonded with the aforementioned white tabby, with a gap in the middle that was filled with smaller, unmodified stones for support and to increase the width of the walls. The second floor of this structure was plastered with the orange, trass-based tabby, which indicates that the second floor was lined with plastered aqueducts with drained molasses from barrels into the molasses basin located flush to the north wall. While the western wall of this structure is mostly intact, the southern and eastern walls have all but collapsed except for the first two layers of face stones.



Figure 29: SB 004 boiling house, showing the plastered cane juice trough leading from the cattle mill to the clarifier basin, facing northeast.



Figure 30: SB 004, sugar boiling house, showing clarifier basin set into the ground. Note the cane juice trough in the bottom right.



Figure 31: SB 004, boiling house, vantage point atop the cattle mill, facing northeast.

Appendix: Flat Point plantation boiling house

The boiling house at SB 001 is more similar to those observed by the author on St. Eustatius, such as the English Quarter plantation, and SB 004 than it is to the boiling house at SB 007. The SB 001 structure is constructed from a base stage of finely cobbled grey stone blocks, likely imported into Saba, topped by a second stage of locally sourced andesite cobbled into face stones, interspersed with both red and Ijssel bricks. The unfinished backs of the face stones are not set flush to each other to form walls, but instead are spaced apart, and the resultant gap in the middle is somewhat chaotically filled with a slurry of mortar together with broken bricks and small, unmodified locally sourced rocks, and braced intermittently in vertical sections with lengths of lumber, approximately 2 inches by 4 inches (5cm x 10cm) in thickness and width. A section of milled lumber is visible between a section of two walls over the excavation units at the boiling house.

The boiling house itself is a four-pot Jamaica train, running north to south, with the furnace flue located at the south end of the structure. The remains of the clarifier basin are located south of the train. Unlike SB 007, the clarifier basin is not set into the ground, but is instead constructed at the surface as a rectangular, bricked structure, sealed with a fine grained, sand-paste white mortar. The remains of a cane juice trough are visible, surfaced with the same mortar, running from the cattle mill, located just east of the boiling house. It was reported by Jay Haviser (personal communication 2012) that the copper kettles from the boiling house were still visible at the site until the early 1980's.

In January 2012, a 1m x 2m unit was excavated by SABARC along the outer western wall of the boiling house, in order to derive a date of last occupation based upon ash deposits from the furnace flue. Levels were divided into 20cm sections and proceeded until it was not possible to excavate further. The first three levels, 1-3, consisted of nineteenth and twentieth century artifacts, notably turn-mold and machine-mold glass sherds. Infertile soil, composed of silt with poorly sorted andesite rock, was encountered by 30cm. No artifacts were encountered on Level 4 except for a few red brick fragments, but by Level 5 (80cm – 100cm), a compacted layer of burnt coral, approximately 12cm thick, was encountered. This consisted both of lime powder and unbroken chunks of burnt coral. It appears that during the early to mid-nineteenth century, the alcove of furnace area of the then-abandoned boiling house was used to burn coral in order to produce quicklime.

By Level 6, beneath the coral/lime layer, the soil quickly transitioned to a rich, black loamy silt with high proportions of black ash. However, only temporally ambiguous artifacts were found, including seven red brick fragments, 30 unidentifiable iron fragments and a goat vertebra. The loam of Level 7 transitioned to a silty loam, then quickly to a layer of hard, compacted silt which was impenetrable with a trowel. This was formed from repeated foot traffic in front of the furnace flue during the operation of the sugar boiling house. A clearly delineated posthole was visible in Unit 1

close to the wall; it was approximately 12cm in diameter, and contained loose silt in stark contrast to the surrounding hard compacted floor. It extended down 15cm, and the fill contained only a few small pieces of charcoal. In the southwestern corner of Unit 1, on the surface of the floor, a white salt glaze stoneware sherd of a teacup was recovered, along with a rounded clay pipe stem. Three wrought nails were also recovered across the floor surface of Units 1 and 2.

Approximately 10cm of flooring was broken through using a pickaxe, upon which the soil once again became silt with poorly sorted andesite inclusions. Two sherds of orange bodied coarse earthenware were recovered, probably from a large storage vessel. Significantly, an orange concave roof tile was also found, the second such at the site. This strongly suggests that plantation structures at the boiling works were covered with ceramic roof tiles, which would be a unique find for Saba; no other structure is known to have employed this on the island. No artifacts were noted in Level 10, and excavations beyond this level were not possible to due large, immovable rock deposits. The paucity of artifacts recovered did not provide enough evidence to ascribe a reliable date range for the production period of the boiling house during these first excavations.

Appendix: Spring Bay Flat boiling house

The boiling house at Spring Bay Flat was constructed as a "Jamaica Train", whereby there is a single firebox that serves to heat the copper kettles, rather than one firebox per kettle as in a Spanish boiling house. This boiling house has a two-pot furnace, with one furnace flue with three dampers to control air flow as a means to manage the temperature during the sugar boiling process. The interior of the furnace was constructed from finely cobbled granite, while the exterior is constructed of locally sourced andesite rocks cobbled into face stones. The flue itself was constructed with an arched top of Dutch Ijssel brick lining the exterior face. The firebox is 182cm long, 63cm wide at the base, with the arch beginning 54cm from the base, with an apex of 78cm. The entire length of the flue is arched in the interior, with three gaps in the arch at 17cm wide to allow heat convection into the train.



Figure 32: Spring Bay Flat boiling house, showing the furnace flue and damper, facing east.



Figure 33: Interior of Spring Bay Flat boiling house furnace flue, facing east.

Note the twin arches of Ijssel brick.

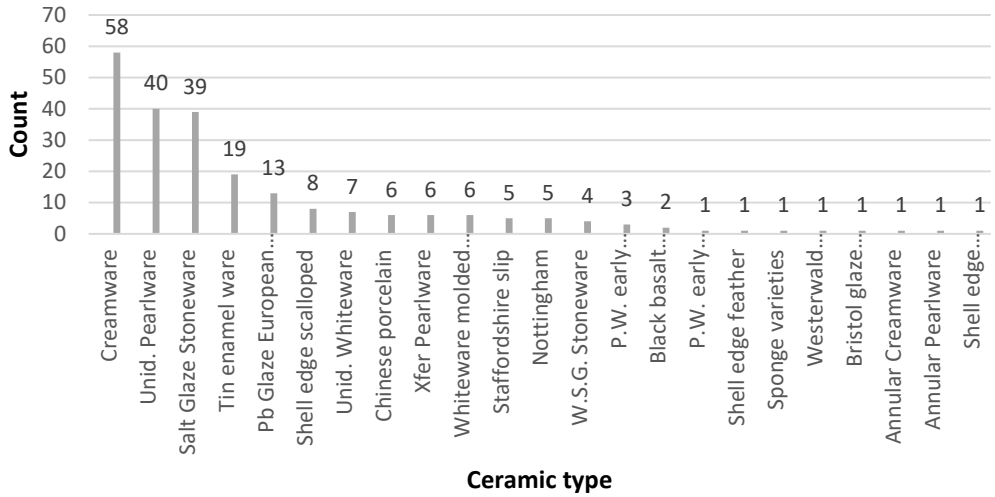
Spring Bay Flat, Structure B

A 2x1 meter unit was excavated flush and lengthwise along the western face of the boiling house to a depth of 150cm. The layers were divided into 10cm intervals. The surface layer to 80cm consisted of silt/silty loam, which transitioned quickly to a more infertile gravel matrix which represented the post-abandonment fill. This series of layers also included many cobbled face stones and pieces of mortar which had tumbled from the upper levels of the furnace as the boiling house fell into ruin during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. By 30cm the soil started to show white ash inclusions, which increased in frequency down to the 80cm layer, which was also level with the bottom face of the furnace flue. This last 60cm-80cm level would have represented the final use period of the furnace. The first eight layers consisted of early eighteenth to nineteenth century ceramics, although there were significant disturbances during the deposition process, as the artifacts did not feature clear stratigraphy. Coarse earthenware included Staffordshire-type slipware sherds, and buff-bodied tin enamel wares, refined earthenwares consisted of early creamware, and blue transfer print pearlware sherds. Stonewares included a fragment of a white salt glaze teacup, and some English and Rhenish hollowwares. Other artifacts included a four-hole shell button, and some unidentifiable round green glass fragments. Between 30-40cm, 954 grams of burnt and partially burnt coral fragments were recovered, with an average diameter of 10cm. At approximately 80cm depth in the unit, a 10cm-thick layer of burnt and partially burnt coral was encountered. This composes the remains of the last load of coral burnt in the sheltered nook of the furnace area to obtain quicklime. Below this layer, at 90cm to approximately 105cm, a layer of rich, thick black loam with white ash inclusions was encountered, with no sand or gravel inclusions, or any rubble present. Late eighteenth to early nineteenth century wares were found in stratigraphic sequence in this layer. Wares included one sherd of European orange-bodied coarse earthenware, one sherd of buff-body tin enamel ware, and one sherd of pearlware. Other artifacts included a large iron horseshoe-shaped hinge, a cast iron pot handle, and some unidentifiable fragments of iron.

The area east of the furnace was excavated by removing approximately 10cm of surface soil by trowel and shovel to reveal its physical features. Initially, all that was visible on the surface prior to excavation were the tops of four rectangular stones which protruded through the soil in a straight line. This led to the discovery of the clarifier basin, plastered with an orange tabby, and an orange tabby-plastered aqueduct which ran flush and parallel to the basin on its northeast edge. The cane juice basin and aqueducts were excavated by brush and trowel as the plaster was fragile. This area was designated as one context during artifact collection. A total of 380 artifacts were recovered from Structure B, comprised mostly of ceramics and wrought nails. The ceramics included white salt glaze stoneware (MNI 2), creamware (MNI 7), early pearlwares such as scalloped & curved shell edge ware

(MNI 4) and early hand painted (MNI 2), Chinese porcelain hollowwares (MNI 4) including 2 Imari types (MNI 2), and some whiteware (MNI 4), which indicates a use period that was strong in the late eighteenth century, and diminished by the early nineteenth century. The ceramics suggest a use period from the mid eighteenth century to the early nineteenth century, with strongest representation beginning in the late eighteenth century.

Figure 34: SB 007, Boiling Works, Surface, Ceramics by Décor



The ceramic assemblage above combines that of Structure B with the general surface collection in the cattle pen, and the area around the cisterns, limited in the north by the enslaved African huts, the Big House to the east, the edge of the gut cliff separating Spring Bay Flat from The Level, and the dividing terrace running north from the cattle pen. The assemblage bears elements of both a domestic and industrial assemblage. The abundance of stoneware is likely due to the use of bottles and jugs as water containers by enslaved Africans during labour. While these ceramics also bare characteristics of a domestic assemblage, given the preponderance of plates, and to a lesser extent, teacups, cups, and saucers, it cannot be definitely ascribed to use by inhabitants of Big House or any of the enslaved African huts, although the former is more likely. However, except perhaps for a few exceptions, these vessels are representative of purchases on the part of either the plantation owner or the manager's household. A preference for creamware is clear. The lack of transfer print ware is notable, especially given that there were 40 sherds of pearlware bearing no decoration; it is unlikely that many of these were undecorated fragments of transfer print vessels. This contrasts significantly with the contemporary upper-class assemblage from SB 036 in Layer 3 (MCD 1798), which shows a clear preference for transfer print pearlware over creamware.

A MNI of 107 wrought nails were recovered from the Structure B area, which strongly suggests that the physical infrastructure was constructed before the nineteenth century. A 15cm diameter round, irregularly perforated copper disk was found, which would have been attached to a long handle and used to skim the scum from the surface of cane juice during the boiling process. One of these skimmer heads was also found to have been reused during the construction of Cistern 4 in the 1980's as a sieve over the top of its catchment collection drain.

The approximate remaining area of the boiling house (Structure B) not impacted by the modern cistern construction is composed of the furnace, the cobblestone walkway, tabby aqueducts and tabby basins, is 692cm northwest to southwest, and 598cm northwest to northeast. This area would have been sheltered by a roof, a necessity to prevent rain water from collecting in the basins and aqueducts year round, and the kettles during the boiling process. Two square postholes were visible along the northeast and southwest edges of the cobbled walkway, with a diagonal of 34cm and 29cm respectively. These would have served as support beams for the roof. The clarifier basin, the aqueducts, and the walls of the furnace were all plastered with a tabby consisting of a conglomerate of orange trass, lime, sand, and water, giving the tabby a slight orange hue. This type was also employed at the Spring Bay boiling house, but to date it has not been observed on structures dating to the nineteenth or twentieth century on Saba. The use of trass as a temper and bonding additive in the tabby increased its water resistance, making it ideal for lining cisterns and clarifier basins. Haviser (1985:34) notes that on Curaçao the same type of tabby was used to plaster a seventeenth century cistern at an indigo processing site (C-076).

The tabby lining the clarifier, the clarifier funnels, and the aqueducts are well preserved, but that which lined the furnace is only visible in small sections of the southern face of the boiling house. The clarifier basin is oval in shape, measuring 186cm long, 75cm wide, and 67cm deep, and is seamlessly surrounded by a tabby-plastered sloped surface which would have served to funnel cane juice running down from the cattle mill. A flat-surfaced, Ijssel brick arched pipe measuring 58cm wide by 15cm high also drains into the clarifier basin from the shallow, tabby plastered basin 129cm to the east. Unlike both plastered basins flanking it, Ijssel brick serves entirely as the contact surface for liquids passing through the drain rather than tabby.

The second basin drains through the arched pipe into the clarifier basin. It is also plastered with same orange trass-based tabby, and measures 570cm long by 180cm wide, and surrounded by unplastered face stones turned inward. The tabby surface of the basin begins 13cm from the tops of the face stones, and the basin drains towards the entrance of the pipe, where it is 10cm below the level of the basin's extremities. An aqueduct fashioned of orange tabby runs flush along the top of the northeast edge of this basin, but there is a break in both the wall of the basin and the aqueduct

which is closely aligned with the brick-arched drainpipe, probably not coincidently. The aqueduct turns 90 degrees at the northeastern edge of the second basin to flow into an undetermined location which is now buried by the modern cistern. The purpose of the second basin is not immediately clear, but its position relative to the Ijssel-arched pipe and the aqueduct provide come indications relative to its function. The break in the aqueduct, given its alignment to the Ijssel-arched pipe, likely indicates that there was a junction in the aqueduct where a liquid could be diverted to the second basin rather than continue down the aqueduct into an area now obscured by the modern cisterns. Will Johnson (personal communication, 2011-2013) states that prior to the construction of the modern cistern in the 1980's, there was a "very old" cistern somewhere in that location. This cistern probably held molasses given its proximity to the furnace. This would also mirror the layout at Spring Bay. In the English fashion of harvesting molasses from syrup packed into barrels, molasses flowed from the barrels either directly or via a trough into long, flat collection basins. From there it was stored in a molasses cistern. The second basin could have served that function well, as it flowed directly into the clarifier basin through the arched pipe running through the walkway. However, the plastered aqueduct flush to the north face of the second basin runs east to west, and continues to run under Cistern 1, thus there must have run to the aforementioned molasses cistern adjacent to the furnace. Although it is unfortunate that the modern cisterns destroyed half of the Spring Bay Flat plantation works, an analysis of the cisterns and the construction methods can provide clues to the former structures.



Figure 35: Spring Bay Flat boiling house, facing north.



Figure 36: Spring Bay Flat boiling house, facing south.



Figure 37a: Spring Bay Flat boiling house furnace, facing north.



Figure 37b: Spring Bay Flat boiling house, facing west.

The modern cisterns and their catchments run flush and parallel along the northeast face of the visible remains of the boiling house. They are divided into two distinct sections: the first is rectangular and is closest to the boiling house, while the second is asymmetrical and comprises two small rectangular cisterns and one round cistern. This entire area is topped by layer of cement which serves as a catchment for water, with only the cisterns' cement hatches visible to provide any indication of their presence beneath. All of the cisterns are situated above ground level, rather than below, which correlates to Will Johnson's assertion (personal communication, 2011-2013) that they were constructed by taking advantage of the layout of the standing ruins. The first section measures 821cm east to west, protruding 227cm east past the furnace, and 390cm north to south. The cistern is situated in the easternmost end, close to the furnace, with the remainder serving as a cement catchment, gently sloping towards a drain close to the hatch. Cistern 1 measures 238cm north to south, 151cm east to west, and 227cm deep. Beneath the catchment appears to be a leveled layer of rubble from the remains of a structure. The rubble beneath the catchment immediately west of the cistern are the remains of the curing house and drying house, probably as a two story structure, again mirroring the layout of the Spring Bay boiling house. Curing houses were typically located adjacent to or in the same structure as the boiling house in order to take advantage of the radiant heat from the furnace to ensure a warm environment. This simple decision in location significantly increases the efficiency of the production process. Higher temperatures lower the viscosity of the molasses, which

consequently separates more rapidly from the sugar. At ground level, nearly flush to the exterior east wall of Cistern 1, is a small area of remains of face stones with flat surfaces aligned towards the structure, which appear to be the remains of the original cistern after the construction of the modern cistern in the 1980's. The top layer of face stones is approximately 20cm below the level of the aqueduct as it passes under the modern cistern. This then explains the positioning and slope of the aqueduct, which would have piped molasses as it separated from the sugar in the curing house into the molasses cistern. The molasses cistern (Cistern 1) would have been open faced, but was likely located on the ground floor of the curing house. Barrels containing syrup would have been arranged on the second floor or from an elevated position on a single-floored structure to allow the molasses to separate from the sugar. The molasses from the barrels would have flowed down through troughs leading to the mortared aqueduct, and from there into the molasses cistern. Alternatively, a stopper could have been placed where the break in the aqueduct lies to divert molasses into the second basin, and from there could flow to collect in the clarifier basin. This is an efficient and practical design element incorporated into the boiling house. The clarifier basin would no longer be needed to store cane juice from the cattle mill after the last round of boiling, thus the clarifier basin could double as a second molasses cistern for the last batches of syrup as it separated in barrels stored in the curing house.

If the sugar works at Spring Bay Flat are essentially a smaller scale version of Spring Bay, then it follows that the second section of the modern cisterns are not associated with sugar production. Given that Hartog (1975) mentions that indigo production occurred at Spring Bay Flat, this area may have been associated with that industry, as no other structural evidence for this is visible across the site. The catchment surface and hatch of the largest cistern, Cistern 2, is located 54cm lower than that of Cistern 1. The northwestern interior wall of Cistern 2 is flush to the face of the wall of Cistern 1, and measures 147cm north to south, approximately 400cm east to west, and 190cm deep. Its position adjacent and below Cistern 1 would have allowed the roof covering the sugar works to serve as a large catchment for water, and it would have been strategically situated between the sugar and indigo production areas for industrial use or consumption by enslaved Africans.

Cistern 3 is curious, in that it is round, with a radius of 127cm and a depth of 187cm. It appears unlikely that this shape was cosmetic given that the cisterns were constructed to take advantage of the ruins' contours. Cistern 4 is slightly lower than Cistern 3, and located at the edge of the north wall of the second section, but is notably small and square, measuring just 188cm x 188cm, and 34cm deep. This cistern is filled with roots, and no longer retains water. A shallow basin juts flush from the northern wall of the second section nearly parallel to Cistern 4, measuring 168cm north to south, 158cm east to west, and 30cm deep. The structure itself is low, just 40 cm from ground level. This

appears to have been rebuilt from an original structure, and the top of the walls and the basin are covered in modern Portland cement. A 66cm length section is cut out from the northeast face of this trough, which makes it clear that this structure was reconstructed as a watering trough for goats. The nearly square shapes of Cistern 4 and the adjacent basin, their shallowness, and the alignment of Cisterns 3 and 4 with this shallow, open-faced goat watering trough are significant, as together it follows the design of indigo works. Three to five successive basins were required for indigo production: a steeping tank, a beating tank, and a settling tank, with water provided by a nearby or attached well (Delpuech 2001:48). This suggests, in turn, that there was a basin which was situated between Cisterns 3 and 4, now covered by the cement catchment, as the two are separated by 240cm. However, this would then imply that Cistern 3, being round and slightly more elevated than the successive basins, was originally a large diameter well. It does not appear to be an ideal location for ground water to collect, since it is located just 30m from the eastern cliffs of Spring Bay Flat, and located on an elevated flat rather than at the base of a gut. It is possible that a spring may have once existed here, but natural, potable water sources on Saba figure prominently into the island's oral history, and there is no mention of a spring at Spring Bay Flat. Spring Bay accounts include such as the Tale of Johnny Frau and the Big Injun, a seventeenth century story which involves the spring at Spring Bay (Johnson 2014) and oral accounts of long trips to collect water at Spring Bay from Hell's Gate and Behind-the-Ridge (Will Johnson, personal communication 2012; Lloyd Simmons, personal communication 2013). The potable spring at Fort Bay, combined with the anchorage afforded offshore, made that location ideal for initial settlement. It is also possible that the design of the indigo processing site at Spring Bay and other locations was mimicked in form but not in functionality, so then Cistern 3 would have functioned as a round cistern previous to the 1980's construction, supplied either from a roof or ground catchment, or from Cistern 2. A further argument against these two cisterns being associated with indigo production lies in that two indigo production centers with wells are already situated on the estate property at Core Gut Bay and Spring Bay. It appears that identifying the original use of these two features will only be possible by removing the modern cisterns and the cement catchment.

English summary

This research strives to reveal how ideologies of race, class, and gender manifested in the material and social environments of pre-emancipation colonial Saba, Dutch Caribbean. Race, class, and gender are vectors for ideology, and by viewing them as processes, their capacity to express such through their social and material environments inextricably tied to their particular temporal and spatial contexts. Through comparisons of the social and material environments of multiple, contemporaneous social contexts within Saba, common social and material vectors of class, race, and gender can become apparent. This work diverges from similar, previous research in that it studies the dialectics involved between culturally-derived abstractions of class, race, and gender, and the materiality which resulted from these relationships. Dialectical studies emphasize an accountability to the totality of a given social environment. As a single researcher, tracing the processes of ideological abstractions such as class, race, and gender while accounting for the whole can be a daunting task. It is facilitated, however, by studying social environments that are bounded through geographical limitations with small populations, but with sufficient cultural similarities to the region to permit insightful contextualization of similar and divergent processes within their respective ideologies. Saba is a Caribbean island just 13 square kilometers in area, with a population that never exceeded 1,877 residents by the time of emancipation, saw very little immigration to the island after 1700, and remained a Dutch possession for most of its colonial era. Saba never developed into a full plantation economy, and therefore the population of white residents compared to enslaved Africans and free Sabans of African descent fluctuated mildly around fifty per cent respectively. The island of Saba is therefore an ideal environment to demonstrate the utility of dialectical archaeology towards these ends. Consequently, the social and material database derived from an archaeological study of a whole, small scale society embedded within permits insights into a range of issues of concern to historical archaeologists. In particular, this concerns:

- How tensions between the “incomplete hegemony” of colonial authorities and plantation agriculture with Saban residents resulted in a dialectic between local landscapes, materiality, and ideologies of race, class, and gender.
- Differentiating between slavery, free poverty, and low class in the archaeological record.
- The dialectic between scale, locality, and perspective in defining and situating class and poverty.

Studying social organization proceeds through the process of abstraction, where aspects of society are divided into manageable parts of a social and temporal framework, which are then analyzed together to see how they relate to and inform the whole. A dialectical approach studies

these components in terms of their relationships to each other, whereby it is the relationship between given components that defines them, and they cannot otherwise exist outside this relationship without becoming a new or different social abstraction. The discreet "structuring structures" which comprise the habitus of a given culture foster the potential for powered relations among its members. Those facets of habitus, the "ideas rooted in power" (Burke 2006:128) which encapsulate ideology, can manifest among multiple, overlapping social abstracts such as class, race, and gender.

As Orser (2004) describes in practice theory relative to race, the process of uncovering material landscapes and the social and material vectors of class, race, and gender on Saba through time begins by understanding the creation and maintenance of social institutions and the socio-spatial dialectic of a given region of study, together with the shared experiences among people considered as members of particular classes, races, and genders. Since documentary or archaeological expressions of ideology is the result of many factors, documents and sites were chosen that were able to best express and isolate particular ideological vectors within its material, social, spatial, and temporal context, that become apparent when compared to others where these vectors are identical, similar, irrelevant, or absent. However, the lived experience of Saban residents, despite their race, class, or gender, may not be directly reflected in material assemblages attributed to them by artifacts suggestive of wealth, as would what Chicone identifies as an object-centered approach, or other material anomalies that may show a deviation from socio-material norms, as would be in what she terms a representational approach (Chicone 2011a). Rather, the materiality of class, race, and gender of Saban residents is co-constitutive of their lived experience (Chicone 2011a). Therefore, the processes involved in constructing and maintaining these ideological constructs must be understood relative to the materiality present in the areas of concern within Saba's landscape. A failure to do so will risk reifying foreign ideologies upon these assemblages which may be otherwise irrelevant within Saban colonial social relations.

Searching for social and material vectors for class, race, and gender rooted in local realities harkens to Brandon's (2009:12) call for a "holistic cultural analysis… to analyzing competing categorical registers (i.e., class and race). If applied in a non-reifying manner, a cultural analysis may reveal the complex linkages between different, but often simultaneously manifested, identities". By understanding changes in the social organization of Saba throughout its colonial period, the dialectic between ideology and materiality changes as well. Therefore, it will be possible to identify the materiality of race, class, and gender in certain individual artifacts and assemblages on Saba relative to particular periods. Clearly, there are many avenues for applying dialectical analyses of class, race, and gender throughout the island's pre-emancipation colonial period. Louann Wurst correctly stated that "archaeologists cannot, as mere mortals, study the totality of any social context, but we must

recognize that we proceed with abstractions of the internal relations that form a totality" (Wurst 2006:201). Saba, being a small island with scant immigration throughout its colonial period, serves as an excellent example for demonstrating the efficacy and potential of dialectical approaches that stress accountability to totality in historical archaeology.

The research proceeded by identifying surviving collections of documents relating to Saba, and relevant archaeological sites across Saba from site survey and previous research. A wide variety of documentary sources were employed throughout this research in several collections worldwide. The most important sources for seventeenth and eighteenth colonial documents have been the Calendar of State Papers through the British National Archives, and the Dutch National Archives in The Hague. The National Archives of Curaçao holds two important collections of correspondence between Lt. Governor Edward Beaks, Jr. and the colonial governors in Curaçao during the mid-nineteenth century. Unfortunately, there are few primary sources from the seventeenth century up to 1781 that directly pertain to Saba. Important documentary sources on Saba included notarized documents from the nineteenth century held by the Saba Planning Bureau, the Catholic baptism and marriage registers at St. Paul's Conversion church in Windwardside, the land registries and deeds housed at the Department of Public Works, and several important document collections in the possession of Will Johnson.

Oral history forms an important body of data for this research, which was collected both from interviews with Sabans, and the ethnographies of Julia G. Crane. Will Johnson is a decorated former politician of Saba and the former Netherlands Antilles, has been actively researching Saba's history for over forty years, and continues to be an important source of Saba's oral history. Crane's "Saba Silhouettes" is an ethnographic collection of oral history accounts recorded verbatim in the 1970's and 1980's from Sabans throughout the island. Countless conversations with Sabans by the author during nearly three years of living on the island have also been of invaluable use.

A series of plantation and non-plantation context sites were chosen across Saba for survey and excavation that would best express certain facets of ideology on Saba from particular time periods and groups. This included seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth century Saba, from groups ranging from enslaved Africans, deserving and undeserving poor Sabans, low class Sabans, free white residents and those of African descent, and upper class residents. These included three small sugar and indigo plantations; a strategically-located early colonial homestead; a poor white village known as Palmetto Point; a predominantly free African descent village called Middle Island, an upper class privy pit in The Bottom, and various smaller sites across the island. The largest sites were mapped with a Trimble GeoXH Centimeter-edition differential GPS, and maps were generated from the survey data using QGIS, versions Chugiak, Valmeira, and Lyon. Most units were excavated by 10cm arbitrary

levels, but in certain cases of emergency excavations, such as the deep privy pit in The Bottom, they were excavated by 20cm arbitrary levels. Artifacts were sieved through a 5mm plastic mesh.

The results of the documentary research, collection of oral history, and the archaeological surveys and excavations have identified a series of temporally-relevant material and social vectors for projecting ideology on Saba throughout its pre-emancipation colonial period. Identifications of particular ideological vectors in the material record must be rooted in local, lived realities of the subject culture. The identifiable vectors included shifts from European national identity to a Saban identity in the late seventeenth century, titles, profession, religion, surname, first name, reputation, wealth and estates, debt and credit systems, purchasing practices, village of residence, race and legal status, race relations, laws pertaining to slavery and emancipation, burial practices, diet, housing and domestic architecture, and material culture. These ideological vectors ranged from those that could only be employed by specific segments of society, such as sea captains being limited to white males, to vectors that require further context to ensure their utility.

Class, race, and gender-based inferences of individuals and assemblages scaled in reliability corresponding to the number and quality of locally-derived vectors that can be ascribed. In certain cases, singular artifacts, architectural elements, and elements of social relations were the ideological domain of specific groups. Dry stone structures were used as housing exclusively by enslaved Africans in plantation contexts, two ceramic roof tiles at the Flat Point plantation indicated foreign ownership, shell jewelry was used only by African descent Sabans (Will Johnson, personal communication 2013), and dry stone grave markers increasingly indicated low class as they were increasingly replaced by gravestones during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Domestic architecture on Saba developed into a distinctive “Saban style” (Brugman 1995). Domestic architecture was the most important cultural vector among Sabans for projecting class; Sabans would “go without bread” if it meant keeping up repairs to their house (Crane 1971:237). Residents who lived in wattle houses, consequently, were strongly associated with low class. Class can be surmised in “Saba style” houses by the type of house foundations, being either dry stone or cut stone and mortar.

Class was visible through certain elements of material culture. Most Sabans valued form and function of ceramics over decoration, and the small size and economy of the island restricted imports, rendering price-scaling models ineffective. At least one household, however, made attempts to keep up to the latest European fashions during the eighteenth century, thereby pointing to upper class. Ownership of beds and bedsteads was uncommon, and during the late eighteenth century to well into the twentieth century, most Sabans slept upon banana leaf beds. Class was also reflected through furniture materials, mahogany and fustic being the most valued.

Race, class, and gender were often visible through use of the socio-spatial dialectic, especially on the carefully managed landscape of plantations. This allowed the association of artifact assemblages found in particular areas of plantations, notably domestic landscapes, to enslaved Africans. In one instance, a lockbox was recovered with contents harkening to West African cosmologies, among which was found five teeth from the same individual. Carbon, oxygen, and strontium isotope analysis of the teeth by Jason Laffoon determined that this individual was born in West African, and brought to the Caribbean during teenage years. The childhood migration history recounted by the isotope analysis matches that of millions of enslaved Africans that were captured and sent to the Americas as part of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, comfortably demonstrating through this process that this individual was a first-generation *enslaved* African.

Class, race, and gender was also visible in the social relations and conventions within pre-emancipation colonial Saban society. First names among white Saban males and females were restricted to a small pool of less than a dozen names, with other names amounting to 8% and 12%, respectively. Among enslaved males, about two thirds of them bore the same names common to white males, with 33% bearing other names, while among enslaved women, just 44% bore the same names as white Sabans, with 56% bearing different ones. This demonstrates both acculturation on the part of enslaved Africans, and a willingness to break with the dominant white culture through naming conventions, perhaps as a means of resistance. Class was denoted through accorded titles such as “Captain” and “Esquire”, while denying titles was a means of identifying others as having African ancestry. Class was implicitly acknowledged through liquor license sales, as most individuals accorded this privilege held “good reputations” and were counted among Saba’s upper class or bore close relations to them. In nineteenth century government documentation, especially court records, African descent Sabans were addressed according to their perceived degree of African ancestry together with their gender as “the man” or “the woman” in place of Mr., Mrs., or Ms. Individual reputation was important, and carried weight in court, where one could me recorded as a liar to permanently mar their public character. Sentencing and punishments were asymmetrical between white Sabans and free African descent Sabans, particularly with regards to exile. Only African descent Sabans were subject to exile, and this occurred on several occasions during the first half of the nineteenth century. Laws regulating slavery, in some cases, translated to archaeologically visible elements. Unlike free Sabans, in those cases where enslaved Africans lived in a separate house from their owners, they were bound to observe certain laws relative to its construction. Floorboards and housing partitions were deemed illegal on Saba in 1823, and therefore enslaved African structures dating after this period can be expected to be single room structures with either marl, dirt, or cobblestone flooring. This was exemplified by House 3 at Middle Island.

Slavery and poverty represent two aspects of low class, but do not compose its totality. Identifying slavery, poverty, and low class begins by understanding their processes within a particular society; in this case, Saba. Slavery and deserving/undeserving poverty are a product of a legal process, while low class it not. Therefore, one entry point for the archaeology of slavery and poverty begins by understanding how a diachronically imposed legal status by a dominant culture is implicated in their materiality. This is most prominent through spaces that were designated for enslaved Africans (Armstrong & Kelly 2000), as material remains recovered from these contexts would be co-constitutive of slavery, but not necessarily reflective of slavery outright on their own accord without the benefit of spatial context. The socio-spatial dialectic demonstrated class and race divisions at both an island, plantation, and village level. The experience of plantation and non-plantation slavery on Saba, however, limited its utility to the former. Enslaved African villages were located at SB 001 and SB 007 following Armstrong & Kelly's (2000) model for plantation spatial organization. Unfortunately, coastal erosion at SB 004 probably claimed the Big House at the site, and the locations of enslaved African domestic areas along with it. According to both oral history and documentary records, nineteenth century enslaved Africans owned by Sabans often co-habited with their owners in the same house, and those engaged in field labour were also known to work side-by-side with their owners as well. Therefore, determining the materiality of non-plantation slavery in this co-habitation context is exceedingly difficult.

In pre-emancipation colonial Saba, low class was visible spatially, through race, and through class vectors such as diet, domestic architecture, domestic furnishing, enslaved African ownership, and a reliance upon subsistence agriculture. All free African descent Sabans would have been considered low class, and likely many considered poor. This created an inseparable link between class and race within the norms of the dominant white Saban society. Due to the homogenization of low class among free African descent Sabans, the material accoutrements would not have been an effective class vector within their communities if their material class vectors were identical to those of white Saban society. Indeed, even the diets between enslaved Africans at Flat Point and Spring Bay Flat were very similar to free, low class residents of Palmetto Point, Middle Island, and Behind-the-Ridge. The key exception, however, lies among those free African descent Sabans who identified more strongly with white Saban culture than those who rejected it. Unfortunately, this rejection was not clearly visible in the archaeological record; while Afro-Caribbean ware may have been associated more strongly with African descent Sabans than not, and therefore an excellent potential material vector of class and race, an effective means of distinguishing it from nearly identical Amerindian wares has to date not been determined. However, in the absence of spaces designated as poor, poverty and low class are materially indistinguishable on Saba. Low class has little interpretive and explanatory use

within the context of slavery, as it implies freedom, and although enslaved Africans generally occupied the lowest rung of colonial social hierarchy, they also maintained social hierarchies among themselves. Low class and slavery share a range of ideological vectors that were archaeologically indistinguishable from the other due to different processes that produced similar materiality, save for the notable exceptions of the socio spatial dialectic, and enslaved African plantation domestic architecture with dry stone houses. The intangible vectors, which are more readily visible in the documentary record, provide much clearer ideological differentiation between low class and enslavement beyond materiality.

Saba was known as an "island of poor people" among certain residents of St. Eustatius, despite internal class and race-based differentiations within Saban society. The whole island of Saba was designated as "poor" prior to the 1772 hurricane by the Island Secretary of St. Eustatius, which was probably a commonly-held assertion outside of Saba during this time, but which obscured the real complexities of contemporary Saban social organization (DNAr 1.05.01.02 #629:2/2/1773). External perceptions of Saban poverty would also have been fostered through the island's economy. A chronic lack of specie on Saba made the payment of debts through cash difficult, and by consequence encouraged a culture of lending and debt holding across the island. Often, debts were only payable upon the death of the debtor, whereupon his or her estate would be wholly or partially auctioned to repay then. Many Sabans reified this notion of a "poor island" abroad during the mid-nineteenth century in St. Thomas by employing barter rather than specie for trade, even acquiring goods there that could have otherwise been obtained on Saba itself. So, despite changes in the material possessions of Sabans, to residents of Golden-Rock era St. Eustatius, and nineteenth century St. Thomas, Saba was an island of poor people, and therefore their possessions became co-constituent with their poverty despite their possessions which may express otherwise according to Saban cultural standards, or their own. Locality, therefore, can bestow multiple dimensions of class and poverty upon material assemblages, and this must be taken into account by archaeologists.

Despite the external homogenization of poverty of Saba, the island maintained its own social organization and perspectives of poverty. This was most visible through class-based landscapes. The strong Saban identity with one's village isolated residents along with the topography, to the point where residents of Hell's Gate had never visited The Bottom; people from Windwardside generally did not marry people from The Bottom; and some women were born, lived full lives, and died in Hell's Gate without ever having left the community. Most upper class Sabans lived in The Bottom up to emancipation, while small, remote villages such as Hell's Gate, Middle Island and Palmetto Point were occupied almost exclusively by lower classes, to the point residents of Palmetto Point were considered socially "backwards" by other Sabans regardless of their own village. Middle Island experienced a

surge in African descent residents in the decade prior and after emancipation, to the point where they composed the majority of residents. Free Sabans of African descent were almost universally poor in terms of materiality. The immutability of race and gender significantly restricted their ability to improve their social and material dimensions of class relative to the whole of Saban society.

One of the few internal self-characterizations of poverty was evinced through Daniel Simmons. While he characterized himself as poor in his divorce petition to the Governor of Curaçao, he may not necessarily have figured among the deserving or even undeserving poor by Saba's Delegated Bench of Justice. The social and material criteria to qualify individuals and households as poor by the governing class were unfortunately not specified. This absolute measure of poverty, though, would have created two classes from among Saba's pre-existing lower class; those deserving of poverty, and those undeserving of the charity associated with it. Those considered deserving had poverty bestowed upon their space and possessions, regardless of these materials' capacities to serve as vectors for class that may suggest otherwise. Consequently, possessions of the deserving poor will then embody a second set of social relations as they become co-constituent of their poverty; they were once low class, and subsequently made poor. The same principle of "becoming" would apply to spaces considered impoverished. Domestic architecture at Palmetto Point certainly would have remained a class vector among residents within the village, for example, but outside it mattered less as Sabans considered the inhabitants to be poor and socially backwards because they lived at Palmetto Point. Therefore, identifying poverty based upon materiality and other ideological vectors is inherently problematic as it embodies multiple social and spatial perspectives derived from powered relationships, giving it an ephemeral quality. While a similar comparison could be made towards the archaeology of race relative in the colonial Caribbean, the important difference lies within the myriad of cultural differences that existed between white residents, free Sabans of African descent, and enslaved Africans, while no "culture of poverty" existed (Orser 2004; 2007). Archaeologies of poverty, therefore, are better off addressing how poverty was sustained and how it was used in powered relations rather than how it can be seen in material things. These examples reinforce the relevance of class relative to particular social and spatial contexts, and highlights the need to account for powered perspectives when employing object-centered approaches to reflect or suggest ideology.

Samenvatting

Dit onderzoek laat zien hoe ideologieën van ras, klasse en geslacht zich - voor de emancipatie - in de materiële cultuur en sociale structuur van koloniaal Saba, eiland van Nederlandse Antillen manifesteerden. Ras, klasse en geslacht vormen de vectoren van de ideologie. Door ze als processen te bekijken, is hun sociale en materiële omgeving onlosmakelijk verbonden met hun specifieke tijdelijke en ruimtelijke verband. En door verschillende sociale en materiële relaties uit dezelfde periode op Saba te vergelijken, worden de gemeenschappelijke sociale en materiële vectoren - ras, klasse en geslacht - duidelijk. In tegenstelling tot eerder onderzoek, is dit onderzoek gericht op de dialectiek tussen culturele abstracties van ras, klasse en geslacht, en de relatie met materieel belang als gevolg. Dialectische studies leggen de nadruk op de verantwoording van een bepaalde sociale omgeving in zijn totaliteit. Rekening houdend met het geheel, kan het voor een onderzoeker bij het opsporen van de processen van de ideologische abstracties, zoals klasse, ras en geslacht een ontmoedigende opdracht zijn. Binnen een begrensd geografisch gebied en een beperkte bevolkingsgrootte wordt het bestuderen van sociale omgevingen echter wel mogelijk gemaakt. Ook de culturele overeenkomsten in de regio maakt het mogelijk dat soortgelijke en uiteenlopende processen en de desbetreffende ideologieën in een duidelijk verband kan worden geplaatst. Saba is een Caribisch eiland met een oppervlakte van slechts 13 vierkante kilometer. Het eiland telde ten tijde van de emancipatie 1.877 bewoners en na het jaar 1700 vond er weinig immigratie plaats. Voor het grootste deel van de koloniale periode bleef Saba Nederlands grondgebied. Saba heeft nooit een volledige plantage-economie ontwikkeld, waardoor zowel het percentage van de blanke bewoners en als dat van de tot slaaf gemaakte Afrikanen en ‘vrije’ Sabanen van Afrikaanse afkomst rond de vijftig procent lag. Het eiland biedt daarom een uitstekende casus om het nut van dialectische archeologie aan te tonen. De sociale en materiële informatie op Saba biedt een inzicht van een scala aan onderwerpen die voor de historische archeologie van belang zijn. In het bijzonder betreft dit:

• Hoe de spanningen tussen de "incomplete hegemonie" van de koloniale autoriteiten en plantagelandbouw van Sabanen zich resulteerde in een dialectiek tussen het lokale landschap, materialiteit, en ideologieën van ras, klasse en geslacht;
• Een onderscheid tussen de slavernij, armoede onder de niet-slaven, de lagere klasse in het archeologische bestand;
• De dialectiek tussen schaal, plaats en perspectief in het definiëren en positioneren van klasse en armoede.

Het bestuderen van sociale organisatie vindt plaats door een proces van abstractie, waarbij de kenmerken van de samenleving in beheersbare sociale en tijdelijke categorieën worden opgedeeld. Deze worden vervolgens tezamen geanalyseerd om te zien hoe zij betrekking hebben op het geheel. Een dialectische benadering onderzoekt de onderlinge relaties tussen deze componenten. Deze relaties definiëren de componenten en ze kunnen niet buiten deze relaties bestaan, zonder een nieuwe of andere sociale abstractie te vormen. De "structurerende structuren", die de 'habitus' van een bepaalde cultuur vormen, bevorderen machtsrelaties tussen de mensen. Die facetten van habitus, de "ideas rooted in power" (Burke 2006, 128), kunnen zich binnen meerdere, overlappende sociale abstracties, zoals klasse, ras en geslacht manifesteren.

Volgens Orser (2004) begint het proces van het vinden van de ideologie in materiële zaken met het begrijpen van het creëren en het onderhouden van sociale instellingen en de sociaal-ruimtelijke dialectiek in een regionaal onderzoek. Dit wordt gecombineerd met ervaringen die onder de mensen worden gedeeld en door mensen in bepaalde klasse, ras en geslacht worden gezien. Aangezien documenten en archeologie als uiting van ideologie het resultaat is van veel factoren, zijn documenten en vindplaatsen gekozen die op de best mogelijke wijze de ideologische vectoren in hun materiële, sociale, ruimtelijke en tijdelijke verband weergeven. Deze ideologische vectoren worden in vergelijking met andere documenten en vindplaatsen duidelijk waar deze vectoren identiek, vergelijkbaar irrelevant of afwezig waren. Echter, de beleving van Sabanen wordt, ongeacht hun ras, klasse of geslacht, niet per se direct weerspiegeld in de materiële cultuur (door Chicone beschreven als de object-gerichte aanpak). Of in andere materiële afwijkingen van socio-materiële normen (door Chicone de 'representatieve benadering' genoemd) (Chicone 2011a). De materialiteit van klasse, ras en geslacht van Sabanen vormt slechts een deel van hun ervaring (Chicone 2011a). Wat ook moet worden beschouwd, zijn de processen met betrekking tot in het opbouwen en het onderhouden van deze ideologieën ten opzichte van de materialiteit in de onderzoeksgebieden van het landschap van Saba. Bij het invoeren van niet-lokale ideologieën op de materiële assemblages is het risico op een mislukking aanwezig, die niet effectief in Sabaanse koloniale sociale relaties kunnen zijn.

De zoektocht naar sociale en materiële vectoren van klasse, ras en geslacht ontstond door Brandons vergelijking; "*holistic cultural analysis… to analyzing competing categorical registers (i.e., class and race). If applied in a non-reifying manner, a cultural analysis may reveal the complex linkages between different, but often simultaneously manifested, identities*" (2009:12). Door kennis te nemen van de veranderingen in de sociale organisatie gedurende de koloniale periode van Saba, verandert ook de dialectiek tussen ideologie en materialiteit. Zo is het mogelijk om voor bepaalde periodes ras, klasse en geslacht in individuele voorwerpen en artefact assemblages te identificeren. Er zijn voor de toepassing van dialectische analyses van klasse, ras en geslacht gedurende de pre-geëmancipeerde

koloniale periode op het eiland veel mogelijkheden. Louann Wurst constateert terecht dat "*archaeologists cannot, as mere mortals, study the totality of any social context, but we must recognize that we proceed with abstractions of the internal relations that form a totality*" (Wurst 2006:201). Voor verantwoord gebruik van een dialectische benadering van de historische archeologie is door de beperkte immigratie tijdens de koloniale periode het kleine eiland Saba een uitstekend voorbeeld.

Het onderzoek is uitgevoerd door historische documenten met betrekking tot Saba te bestudren en het opsporen van relevante archeologische vindplaatsen door middel van veldonderzoek en door de resulaten van eerder onderzoek te bestuderen. Dit onderzoek heeft van een groot aantal schriftelijke bronnen uit verschillende archieven gebruik gemaakt. De belangrijkste bronnen voor documenten uit de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw zijn de *Calendar of State Papers* van het Britse Nationaal Archief en het Nederlands Nationaal Archief in Den Haag geweest. Het Nationaal Archief van Curaçao bevat van twee belangrijke verzamelingen correspondentie die halverwege de negentiende eeuw tussen Lt. Gouverneur Edward Beaks, Jr en de koloniale gouverneurs op Curaçao is gevoerd. Er zijn helaas maar weinig primaire bronnen vanaf de zeventiende eeuw tot aan 1781 die direct betrekking hebben op Saba. De notariële documenten uit de negentiende eeuw zijn belangrijke schriftelijke bronnen op Saba. Deze zijn nu in het bezit van het Saba Planbureau en de katholieke doop- en huwelijksregisters in *St. Paul's Conversion* kerk in Windwardside. De kadasters en notariële akten zijn bij de dienst Openbare Werken ondergebracht, en een belangrijke verzameling is in het bezit van Mr. Will Johnson.

De mondelinge geschiedenis vormt een belangrijk gegeven voor dit onderzoek. Deze bestaat zowel uit interviews gehouden door de auteur als 'life histories' gepubliceerd door Julia G. Crane. Al meer dan veertig jaar verricht Mr. Will Johnson, een gerenommeerde oud-politicus van Saba actief onderzoek naar de geschiedenis van Saba. Dit blijft een belangrijke bron voor de mondelinge geschiedenis van het eiland. Crane's "*Saba Silhouettes*" is een gebundelde verzameling van biografische interviews met Sabanen die in de jaren '70 en '80 over het hele eiland zijn gemaakt. Tijdens het vijf jaar durende verblijf op het eiland heeft Crane talloze gesprekken met Sabanen gevoerd, die van onschatbare waarde zijn.

Er is een aantal vindplaatsen op Saba voor het onderzoek geselecteerd die als context zowel een plantage als een nederzetting hebben. In deze selectie komen bepaalde facetten van de ideologie op Saba uit bepaalde perioden en groepen goed tot zijn recht. Dit betreft de zeventiende, achttiende en negentiende eeuw. De groepen zijn variërend van Afrikaanse slaven, arme Sabanen, de lagere klasse Sabanen, vrije Sabanen van zowel Europese als Afrikaanse afkomst en bewoners uit de hoge sociale klasse. De vindplaatsen bestaan uit drie kleine suiker- en indigoplantages, een strategisch

gelegen vroege koloniale hoeve, een arm blank dorp bekend als Palmetto Point, een dorpje genaamd Middle Island met bewoners van overwegend vrije Afrikaanse afkomst, een hogere klasse beerput in The Bottom, en verscheidene kleinere vindplaatsen over het eiland. De grootste vindplaatsen zijn met een Trimble GeoXH Centimeter-editie differentiële GPS in kaart gebracht. De kaarten zijn uit de onderzoekgegevens gegenereerd met behulp van QGIS, versies Chugiak, Valmeira en Lyon. De putten zijn in arbitraire lagen van 10 cm opgegraven, met uitzondering van enkele noodopgravingen, zoals de beerput in The Bottom, die vanwege tijdgebrek in lagen van 20 cm is opgegraven. De grond is gezeefd over een plastiek zeef met een maaswijdte van 5 mm.

De resultaten van het archiefonderzoek, de analyse van de interviews en het archeologisch onderzoek hebben een reeks van tijdelijk-relevante materiële en sociale vectoren voor het projecteren van de ideologie gedurende de pre-emancipatie koloniale perioden op Saba vastgesteld. Het identificeren van ideologische vectoren in de materiële cultuur moet zijn geworteld in de lokale en beleefde realiteit van de cultuur onder studie. De vastgestelde vectoren in eind zeventiende eeuw laten een verschuiving van de Europese nationale identiteit naar een Sabaanse identiteit zien. Dit is gereflecteerd in titels, beroepen, godsdienst, namen, voornamen, reputatie, rijkdom en bezittingen, schulden en kredietsystemen, inkooppraktijken, woonplaats, ras en juridische status, rasrelaties, wetten met betrekking tot de slavernij en emancipatie, begrafenispraktijken, voeding, huisvesting en de lokale architectuur en materiële cultuur. Deze ideologische vectoren liepen uiteen van specifieke segmenten die in de samenleving kunnen worden gebruikt, zoals blanke mannen als kapiteins, tot aan de vectoren die een verdere verband nodig hebben om het nut ervan te waarborgen.

De gevolgtrekkingen gebaseerd op klasse, ras en geslacht van individuen en assemblages zijn geschaald voor betrouwbaarheid afhankelijk van het aantal en de kwaliteit van de afgeleide vectoren. In bepaalde gevallen waren unieke vondsten, architectonische elementen en elementen van de sociale verhoudingen het ideologische domein van specifieke groepen. Structuren opgebouwd met losse stenen werden voor huisvesting gebruikt door uitsluitend de tot slaaf gemaakte Afrikanen op de plantage. Door, sieraden gemaakt van schelp werden alleen door Sabanen van Afrikaanse afkomst gebruikt (personal communication Will Johnson 2013). Grafmarkeringen met losse stenen werden geleidelijk aan een duidelijk kenmerk van de lagere klasse. Gedurende de negentiende en twintigste eeuw zijn deze in toenemende mate door grafstenen vervangen.

De lokale architectuur heeft zich tot een eigen 'Sabaanse stijl' (Brugman 1995) ontwikkeld. Architectuur was de belangrijkste culturele pijler om klasse op het eiland te uiten; Sabanen zouden liever 'zonder brood leven', dan de reparaties aan huis niet te kunnen uitvoeren (Crane 1971: 237). Huizen van vlechtwerk en aangesmeerd met een klei met stro mengsel werden sterk geassocieerd

met de lagere klasse. Daarnaast kunnen huizen in "Sabaanse stijl" aan het type funderingen worden afgelezen: opgestapeld met losse stenen of gehouwen steen en mortel.

Klasse was in bepaalde elementen van de materiële cultuur zichtbaar. De meeste Sabanen gaven de voorkeur aan vorm en functie van keramiek boven decoratie. De kleine omvang van de economie op het eiland en de beperkte invoer, maakten het prijsniveau ineffectief. Tijdens de achttiende eeuw was er één huishouden die echter een poging deed om de laatste Europese mode, gericht op de hogere klasse, bij te houden. Het bezitten van bedden en matrassen was ongewoon. Eind achttiende eeuw tot ver in de twintigste eeuw sliepen de meeste Sabanen op matrassen van bananenblad. Klasse werd ook geuit door middel van materialen waar het meubilair van werd gemaakt: de meest gewaardeerde materialen waren mahonie en fustic.

Ras, klasse en geslacht waren in het gebruik van de sociaal-ruimtelijke dialectiek vaak duidelijk zichtbaar. Met name in de zorgvuldigheid van het beheren van het land op de plantages. Hierdoor konden in bepaalde delen van de plantages vondstassemblages worden gevonden. Met name in het rurale landschapp kon dit aan tot slaaf gemaakte Afrikanen worden gerelateerd. Er werd in één geval een sleutelkastje gevonden met een inhoud die een Westafrikaanse cosmologie weerspiegelde, waaronder vijf tanden van één individu. Vastgesteld staat dat deze persoon in West-Afrika is geboren en tijdens diens kinderjaren naar het Caribisch gebied is gebracht. De geschiedenis van de jeugdmigratie komt overeen met de levens van de miljoenen Afrikaanse slaven die tijdens de trans-Atlantische slavenhandel gevangen werden genomen en naar Amerika zijn gebracht. Klasse, ras en geslacht was ook zichtbaar in de sociale verhoudingen en kwamen overeen met de pre-geëmancipeerde koloniale Sabaanse samenleving. Minder dan een dozijn voornamen waren in algemeen gebruik onder blanke Sabaanse mannen en vrouwen, andere namen respectievelijk 8% en 12%. Van de tot slaaf gemaakte mannen had ongeveer twee derde dezelfde namen als de blanke mannen, en een derde had andere namen. Van de tot slaaf gemaakte vrouwen had slechts 44% dezelfde namen als blanke Sabanen, en 56% droegen andere namen. Dit geeft wellicht aan dat zowel de acculturatie van Afrikaanse slaven als de bereidheid om door middel van naamgeving met de dominante blanke cultuur te breken, een teken van weerstand kan zijn. Klasse werd aangeduid door middel van titels als "Kapitein" en "Esquire", terwijl het ontkennen van titels een manier was om anderen, zoals degenen van Afrikaanse afkomst, te identificeren. Klasse werd impliciet erkend door de verkoop van drankvergunning, aangezien de meesten die een vergunning toegekend kregen een "goede reputatie" hadden en tot de hogere klasse werden gerekend of nauwe betrekkingen hadden met hen. In de overheidsdocumenten uit de negentiende eeuw, in het bijzonder gerechtelijke dossiers, werden Sabanen van Afrikaanse afkomst aangeduid op basis van hun vermeende mate van Afrikaanse afkomst, samen met hun geslacht als "de man" of "de vrouw" in de plaats van de heer,

mevrouw of mejuffrouw. Individuele reputatie was belangrijk. Vooral in de rechtbank, waar als men als een leugenaar kon worden geregistreerd, om zo het publieke imago van de persoon permanent te beschadigen. Veroordelingen en straffen van blanke Sabanen en vrije Sabanen van Afrikaanse afkomstige waren ongelijk, vooral met betrekking tot ballingschap. Alleen aan Sabanen van Afrikaanse afkomstig werd ballingschap opgelegd. Dit gebeurde verscheidene malen in de eerste helft van de negentiende eeuw. Wetten die de slavernij reguleerden, zijn in enkele gevallen zichtbaar in de archeologie. De tot slaaf gemaakte Afrikanen die apart van hun eigenaren woonden, in tegenstelling tot vrije Sabanen, waren gebonden aan wetten met betrekking tot de bouw van hun huizen. Houten vloeren en huisverdeling werden in 1823 als onwettelijk bestempeld. Na deze periode kan men aan hun vorm en bouwmaterialen de Afrikaanse slavenstructuren identificeren: éénpersoonskamer met ofwel een aangestampte kalk vloer of een geplaveide vloeren. Hiervan is Huis 3 in Middle Island een goed voorbeeld.

Slavernij en armoede vertegenwoordigen twee aspecten van de lagere klasse, maar vormen niet de totaliteit. Het identificeren van slavernij, armoede en lage klasse begint met het vergaren van inzicht in hun processen binnen een de Sabaanse samenleving. Slavernij en verdienstelijke/onverdienstelijke armoede zijn het product van een juridisch proces, terwijl dit bij de lage klasse niet zo is. Daarom één van de ingangen voor de archeologie van slavernij en armoede begint met het begrijpen hoe de door een dominante cultuur opgelegde wettelijke status door de tijd heen in materialiteit vorm krijgt. Door de tijd heen is dit de meest opvallende aanwijzing voor de tot slaaf gemaakte Afrikanen (Armstrong & Kelly 2000). De in deze omstandigheden gevonden materiaalresten kunnen aan de slavernij worden gekoppeld, maar niet noodzakelijkerwijs als bewijs voor de slavernij op zichzelf, zonder de ruimtelijke verdeling. De sociaal-ruimtelijke dialectiek toont aan dat er klasse en ras op eiland-, dorps- en plantage-niveau aanwezig zijn. Afrikaanse slavendorpen waren op SB 001 en SB 007 gevestigd volgens het model van Armstrong & Kelly's (2000), het model voor de plantage ruimtelijke organisatie. Helaas is het huis van de eigenaar bij SB 004 door kusterosie opgeëist, eveneens de huislocaties van de tot slaaf gemaakte Afrikanen. Volgens zowel mondelinge geschiedenis als schriftelijke bronnen, leefden negentiende-eeuwse Afrikaanse slaven vaak samen met hun eigenaren in hetzelfde huis. Degenen die zich bezighielden met werkzaamheden op het land deden dit ook samen met hun eigenaren. Het definiëren van de materialiteit van slavernij op niet-plantage context is in verband met het samenleven buitengewoon moeilijk.

In het koloniale pre-geëmancipeerde Saba was lage klasse zichtbaar in ruimtegebruik door middel van ras en door middel van klassevectoren zoals voeding, architectuur, meubilair, slavenbezit en een afhankelijkheid van tuinbouw. Alle vrije Sabanen van Afrikaanse afkomst zouden als lage klasse zijn beschouwd, en waarschijnlijk werden velen als arm beschouwd. Dit zorgde voor een onlosmakelijk

verband tussen klasse en ras binnen de normen van de dominante blanke Sabaanse samenleving. Als gevolg van de homogenisering van lage klasse onder Sabanen van Afrikaanse afkomst, zou de materiële uitrusting geen effectieve vectoren van klasse binnen hun gemeenschappen zijn geweest als hun materiële vectoren identiek waren aan die van de blanke Sabaanse gemeenschap. Sterker nog, zelfs de voeding van de tot slaaf gemaakte Afrikanen in Flat Point en Spring Bay Flat was zeer vergelijkbaar met vrije, lage klasse bewoners van Palmetto Point, Middle Island, en Behind-the-Ridge. De belangrijkste uitzondering vindt men onder de vrije Sabanen van Afrikaanse afkomst die zich sterk identificeerden met blanke Sabaanse cultuur. Dit was helaas niet duidelijk zichtbaar in de archeologische vondsten; terwijl het Afro-Caribische aardewerk wordt geassocieerd met Afrikaanse Sabanen. Aardewerk zijn uitstekende materiële vectoren van klasse en ras, echter het is moeilijk te onderscheiden van het bijna identieke Indiaanse aardewerk. Echter, bij gebrek aan ruimtelijke gebied die aan armen werden toegeschreven, zijn armoede en lage klasse op basis van materiaal op Saba niet te onderscheiden. De lage klasse heeft weinig interpretatieve en verklarende waarde in verband met de slavernij, omdat het vrijheid impliceert. Hoewel de tot slaaf gemaakte Afrikanen in het algemeen de laagste trede van de koloniale sociale hiërarchie innamen, onderhielden ze ook sociale hiërarchieën onderling. Lage klasse en slavernij delen een reeks ideologische vectoren die archeologisch niet te onderscheiden zijn, omdat verschillende processen dezelfde materialiteit produceren. Eene opmerkelijke uitzondering op de sociaal ruimtelijke dialectiek is de architectuur van plantages met de huizen gefundeerd op los opgestapelde stenen. De immateriële vectoren, die in de schriftelijke bronnen beschreven zijn, bieden veel duidelijker ideologisch onderscheid tussen lage klasse en slavernij.

Onder de inwoners van St. Eustatius stond Saba bekend als een "eiland van arme mensen", ondanks de klasse en op ras gebaseerde differentiaties binnen de Sabaanse samenleving. Heel Saba werd na orkaan in 1772 door de eilandsecretar is van St. Eustatius als "arm" aangeduid en waarschijnlijk een wijdverbreide constatering buiten Saba . Maar dit verhulde de ware complexiteit van de Sabaanse sociale organisatie (DNAr 1.05.01.02 # 629: 1773/02/02). Externe waarnemingen van Sabaanse armoede zou door de economie van het eiland zijn bevorderd. Een chronisch gebrek aan geld op Saba maakte de betaling van de schulden door middel van contant geld moeilijk. Als gevolg ontstond er een cultuur van kredietverlening en schuld op het eiland. Vaak konden schulden alleen betaald worden bij het overlijden van de schuldenaar, waarna zijn of haar goederen geheel of gedeeltelijk werden geveild. Halverwege de negentiende eeuw bevestigden veel Sabanen het begrip "arm eiland" op St. Thomas, door het gebruik van ruilhandel in plaats van geld, zelfs voor het opkopen van goederen die beschikbaar waren op Saba zelf. Ondanks de veranderingen in de materiële bezittingen van de Sabanen was Saba volgens de inwoners van Golden-Rock tijdperk van St. Eustatius

en de negentiende-eeuwse St. Thomas een eiland van arme mensen. Hun bezittingen werden daarom gezien als een uiting van hun armoede, terwijl dit volgens Sabaanse culturele normen misschien anders was. Zo zijn er meerdere dimensies van klasse en armoede in lokale materiële assemblages en zou door archeologen rekening mee moet worden gehouden.

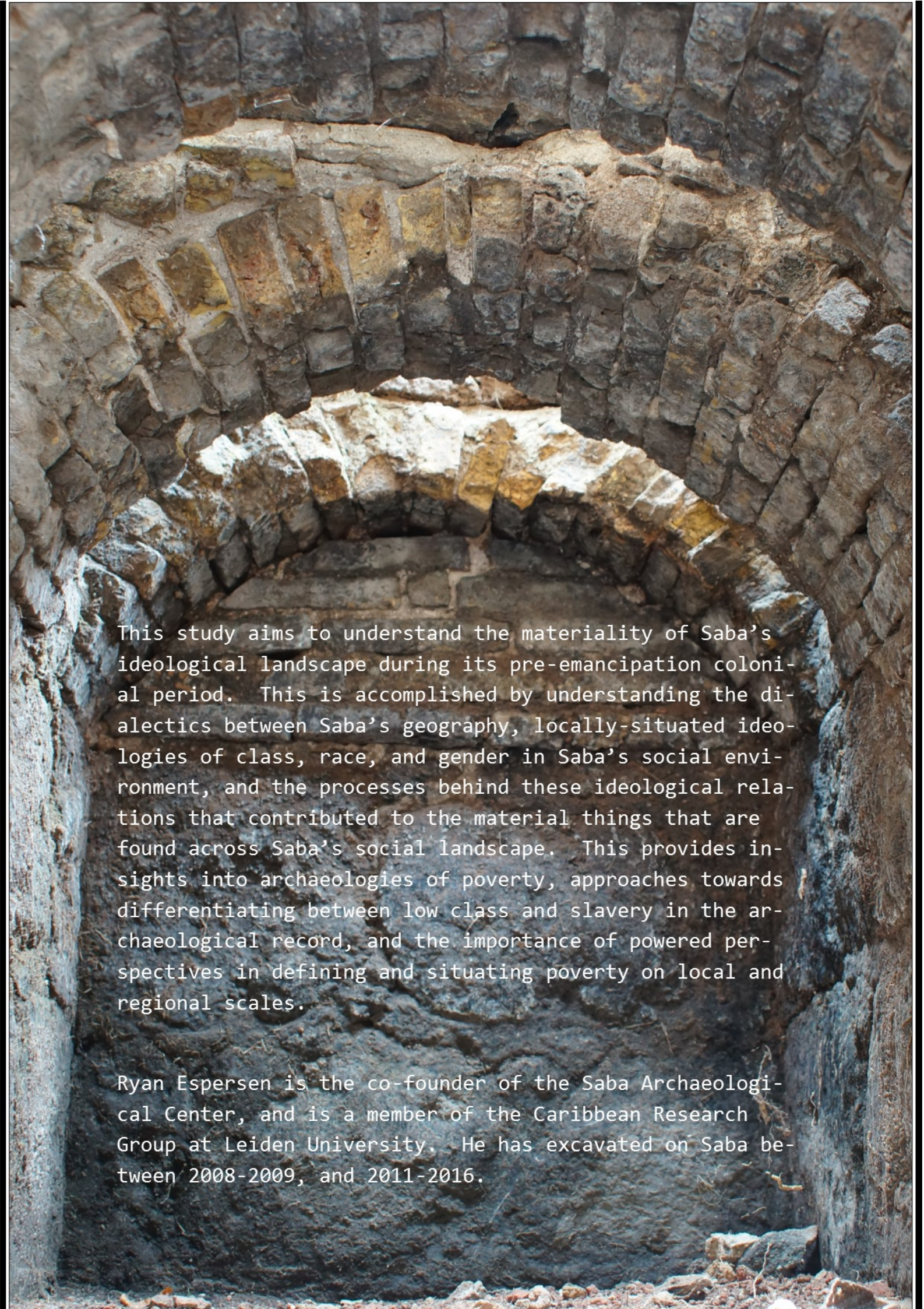
Ondanks de externe homogenisering van de armoede van Saba, heeft het eiland haar eigen sociale organisatie en perspectieven van armoede behouden. Dit was zichtbaar in de op klasse gebaseerde sociaal-geografische landschap. De sterke Sabaanse identiteit en de topografie van het eiland isoleerde de bewoners; zo bezochten bijvoorbeeld inwoners van Hell's Gate nooit The Bottom; mensen van Windwardside trouwden in het algemeen niet met mensen van The Bottom; en sommige vrouwen die er waren geboren, leefden hun hele leven zonder ooit Hell's Gate te hebben verlaten. De meeste Sabanen van hogere klasse woonden in The Bottom tot de emancipatie, terwijl kleine, afgelegen dorpen zoals Hell's Gate, Middle Island en Palmetto Point vrijwel uitsluitend werden bewoond door de lagere klassen. Inwoners van Palmetto Point werden daarom bijvoorbeeld beschouwd als "backwards" door andere Sabanen. Middle Island had een stijging in het aantal bewoners van Afrikaanse afkomst, in de decennia voorafgaand aan en na de emancipatie. Vrije Sabanen van Afrikaanse afkomst, waren in termen van materialiteit vrijwel allemaal arm. De onveranderlijkheid van ras en geslacht beperkten hen aanzienlijk in hun vermogen om hun sociale en materiële aspecten van de klasse te verbeteren ten opzichte van de gehele Sabaanse samenleving.

Een van de weinige zelf-karakteriseringen van armoede werd naar voren gebracht door Daniel Simmons. Hoewel hij tijdens zijn verzoek tot echtscheiding aan de gouverneur van Curaçao zichzelf als arm kenmerkte, behoorde hij volgens Saba's Gedelegeerde Bench van Justitie niet per se tot die groep. De sociale en materiële criteria die individuen en huishoudens in de ogen van de klasse van bestuurders arm maken, waren echter niet gespecificeerd. Deze absolute maatstaf voor armoede zou twee klassen binnen de reeds bestaande lagere klasse van Saba hebben gecreëerd; diegenen die armoede verdienden en diegenen die de daarmee geassocieerde liefdadigheid niet verdienden. Als gevolg hiervan belichamen de bezittingen van de verdienstelijke armen een tweede reeks van sociale relaties, naarmate ze een bestanddeel van hun armoede zijn; ze waren ooit lage klasse, en werden vervolgens als arm bestempeld. Hetzelfde principe van 'worden' zou op verarmde plaatsen worden toegepast. De architectuur in Palmetto Point zou zeker een klassepijler onder bewoners in het dorp zijn gebleven. Daarbuiten telde het minder, omdat Sabanen de inwoners van Palmetto Point als arm en achtergesteld beschouwden. Daarom is het identificeren van armoede op basis van de materialiteit en andere ideologische vectoren inherent problematisch, omdat het meerdere sociale en ruimtelijke perspectieven belichaamt en afgeleid is van machtsrelaties van een kortstondige kwaliteit. Terwijl een soortgelijke vergelijking in de richting van de archeologie van ras in de koloniale Caribisch gebied kan

worden gemaakt, ligt het belangrijkste verschil in de gevarieerde culturele verschillen die tussen de blanke bewoners, vrije Sabanen van Afrikaanse afkomst en Afrikaanse slaven bestonden, terwijl er geen ''cultuur van de armoede'' (Orser 2004; 2007) bestond. Archeologie van armoede is beter af in het benaderen van hoe armoede werd volgehouden en hoe het in machtsrelaties werden gebruikt, in plaats van hoe het kan worden gezien in materiële dingen. Deze voorbeelden versterken de relevantie van klasse ten opzichte van bepaalde sociale en ruimtelijke verband en wijst op de noodzaak door rekening te houden met machtsperspectieven bij gebruik van materialiteit en objecten om over ideologie na te denken.

Curriculum vitae

After completing his secondary education at Dryden High School in Dryden, Ontario, Canada, Ryan Erik Espersen (Terrace, 1982) studied archaeology and Latin American history at the University of Calgary, Alberta, Canada, resulting in a Joint Bachelors Degree in Archaeology and Latin American History in (2001-2006). He participated in several excavations, beginning at the Honen Dalim synagogue in St. Eustatius in 2007 with the St. Eustatius Center for Archaeological Research (SECAR), followed by two months of excavations in the Chontalpa region of southern Oaxaca, Mexico, assisting Danny Zborovber with his PhD research at the University of Calgary. From 2007-2009 he earned a Research Masters degree from Leiden University in Archaeology, studying the origins of Palmetto Point colonial village in Saba, Dutch Caribbean. During his second year of study he was awarded a Leiden University Fund (LUF) scholarship. Later in 2009 to early 2010 he worked as a lab assistantat SECAR, and from 2010-2011 he earned a Bachelor of Education (BEd) Lakehead University, Ontario, Canada. Every summer, from 2001-2011, he worked as a forest firefighter for the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, the last four years as a Unit Crew Leader, wherein he was responsible for coordinating and executing the ground suppression of forest fires. In 2011, he moved to Saba to begin teaching at the Saba Comprehensive School in Geography, History, and Social Studies, and together with Jay Haviser, started the Saba Archaeology Center (SABARC). Every Saturday, he organized archaeologically-centered projects to allow the island youth to participate in the discovery of their own history. SABARC was turned into a non-profit organization in the Netherlands in 2012, with Espersen serving on the board as Secretary and Haviser as President. In the same year, Espersen started his PhD at Leiden University as a Marie Curie scholar, a member of the EUROTAST (European Transatlantic Slave Trade) research group which consisted of twelve early stage researchers (PhD students) and experienced researchers (postdocs). He continued to live on Saba from 2012-2013, and between Leiden and Saba from 2013-2015, undertaking surveys and excavations on sites across the island. He participated in a month-long UNESCO regional capacity building program for underwater culturalheritage management in Port Royal, Jamaica in 2012, and later instructed segments of the same course in St. Eustatius in 2014. In 2013, His Majesty King Willem III and Queen Máxima of the Netherlands officially opened the Saba Heritage Trail, which was initiated by SABARC due to the excavations he undertook as part of his EUROTAST research. In 2015, Espersen's funding proposals to the Prins Bernhard Cultuur Fonds and the Mondriaan Fonds were accepted in order to finance the creation of the Saba Heritage Center (SHC), a multi-functional locus dedicated to the preservation and promotion of Saba's cultural heritage. The SHC was opened in early 2016, and how houses the office of SABARC. Since 2015, Espersen has been working as Director of the Saba Archaeological Center.



This study aims to understand the materiality of Saba's ideological landscape during its pre-emancipation colonial period. This is accomplished by understanding the dialectics between Saba's geography, locally-situated ideologies of class, race, and gender in Saba's social environment, and the processes behind these ideological relations that contributed to the material things that are found across Saba's social landscape. This provides insights into archaeologies of poverty, approaches towards differentiating between low class and slavery in the archaeological record, and the importance of powered perspectives in defining and situating poverty on local and regional scales.

Ryan Espersen is the co-founder of the Saba Archaeological Center, and is a member of the Caribbean Research Group at Leiden University. He has excavated on Saba between 2008-2009, and 2011-2016.