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

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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.

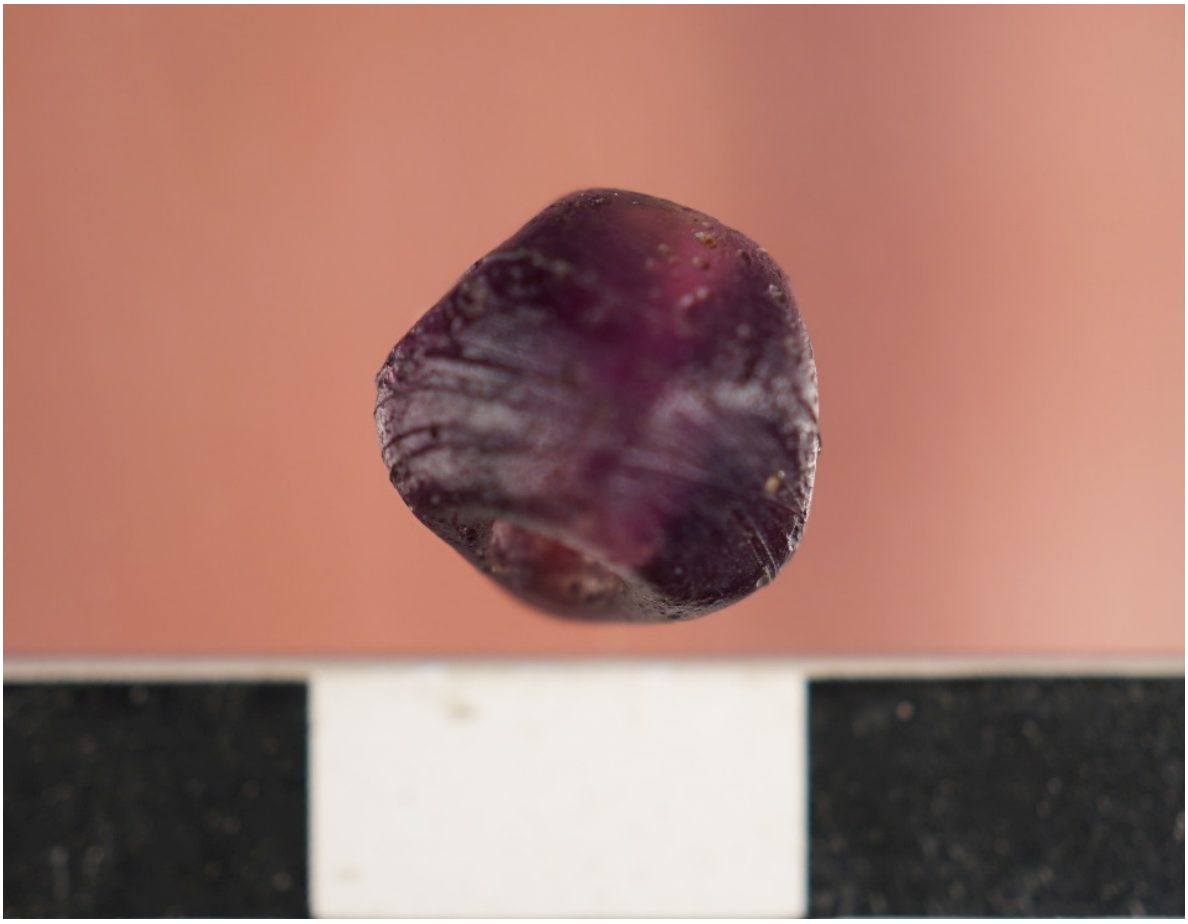


Figure 16: Eight-faceted purple bead from Spring Bay. Scale at 1cm intervals.

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

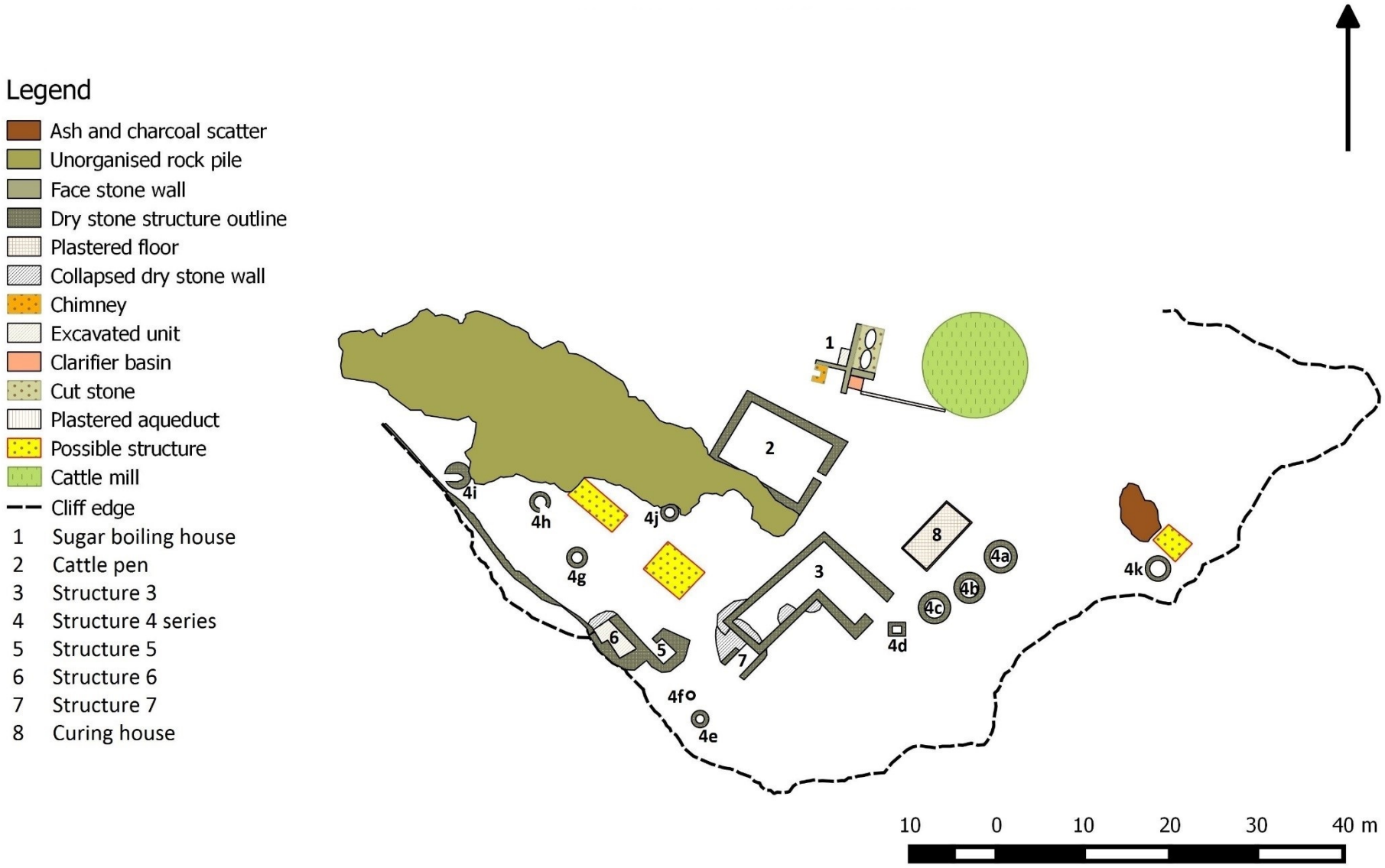
The Flat Point plantation is one of the best preserved set of colonial ruins on Saba, and is easily accessible by trail immediately adjacent to the Saba Comprehensive School technical skills building. The sugar works, featuring a four-pot Jamaica train, are located on the southern tip of Flat Point, 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.

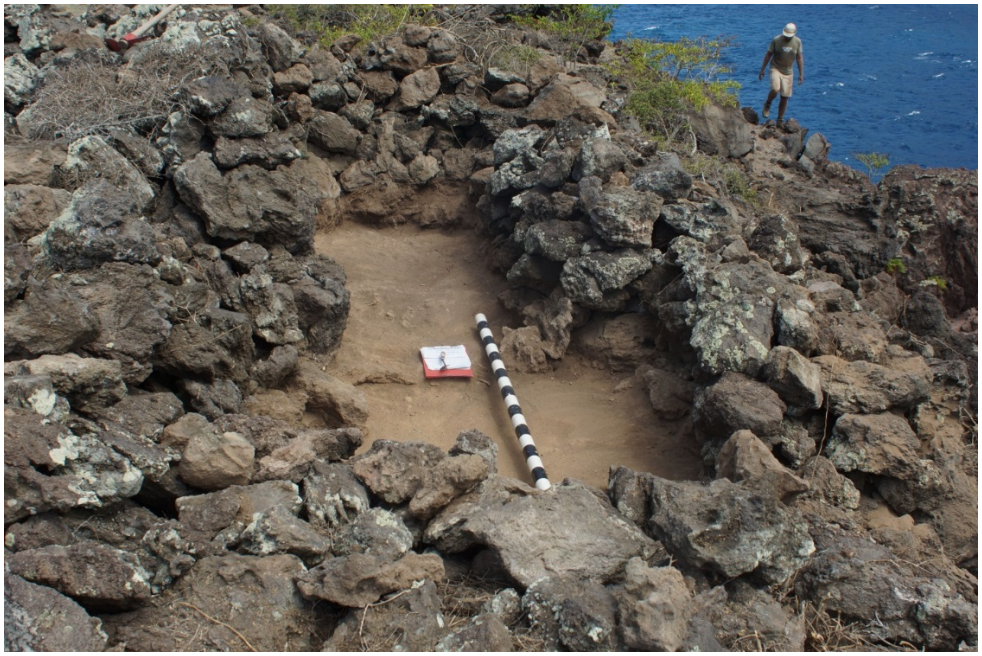


Figure 25b: Structure 6 following the end of excavations, facing south.

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

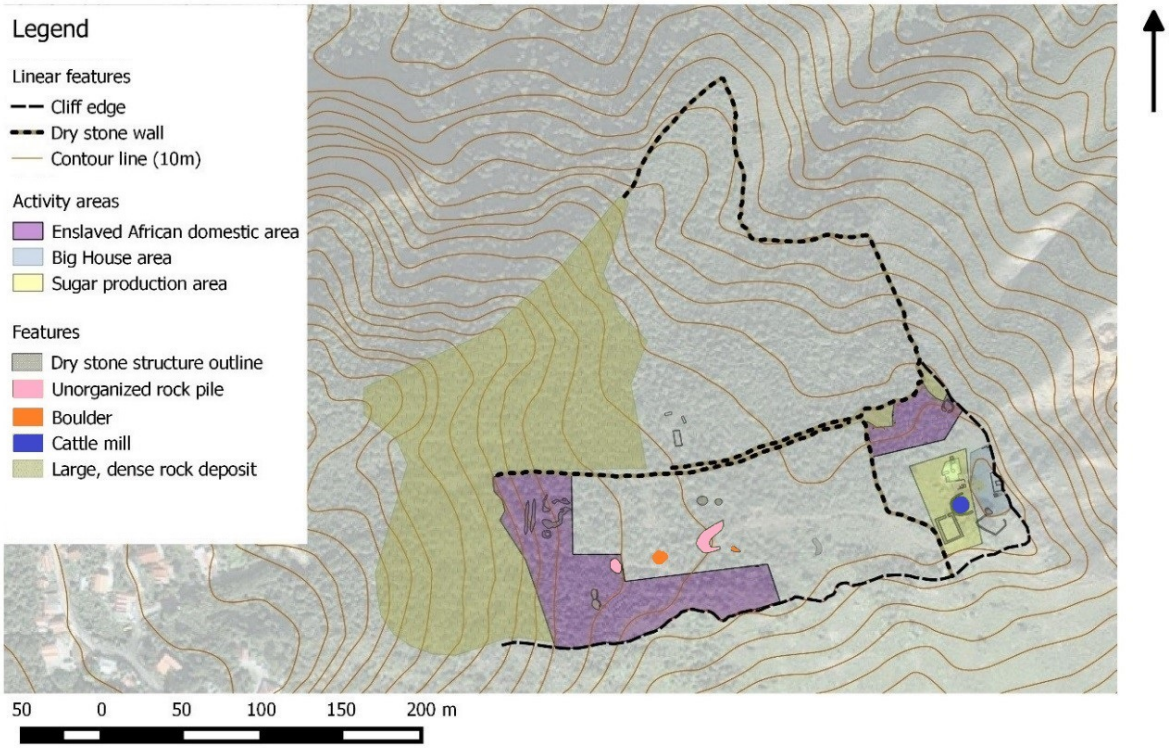
Heritage Trail head beginning in English Quarter, taking approximately 15 minutes downhill and 20 minutes up for those in moderate physical fitness, or by a longer route starting from Kelbey's Ridge via Spring Bay. Rainfall quantities are unknown, but are somewhat higher than what is received at Flat 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.

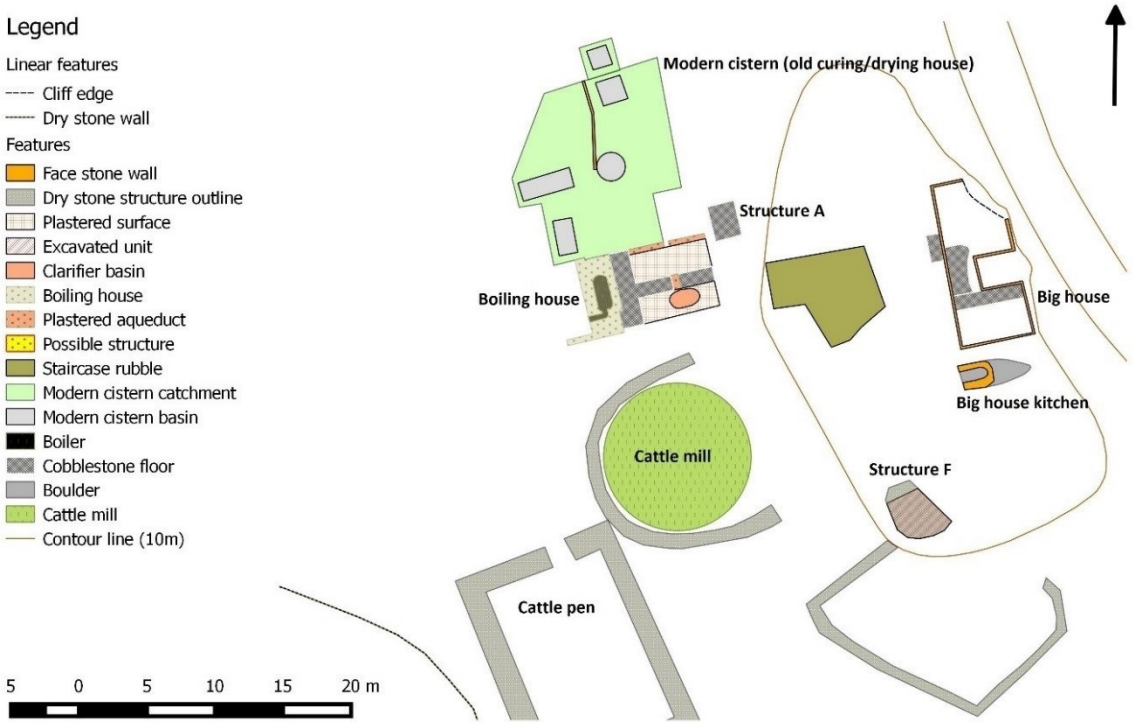
Within the aforementioned bounds of the boiling house area, 305 artifacts were recovered. From this total, 171 consisted of ceramics: 76 were non-European coarse earthenware, and 95 were colonial. The colonial ceramics consisted primarily of tin enamel wares, creamwares, early varieties of pearlware, 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.

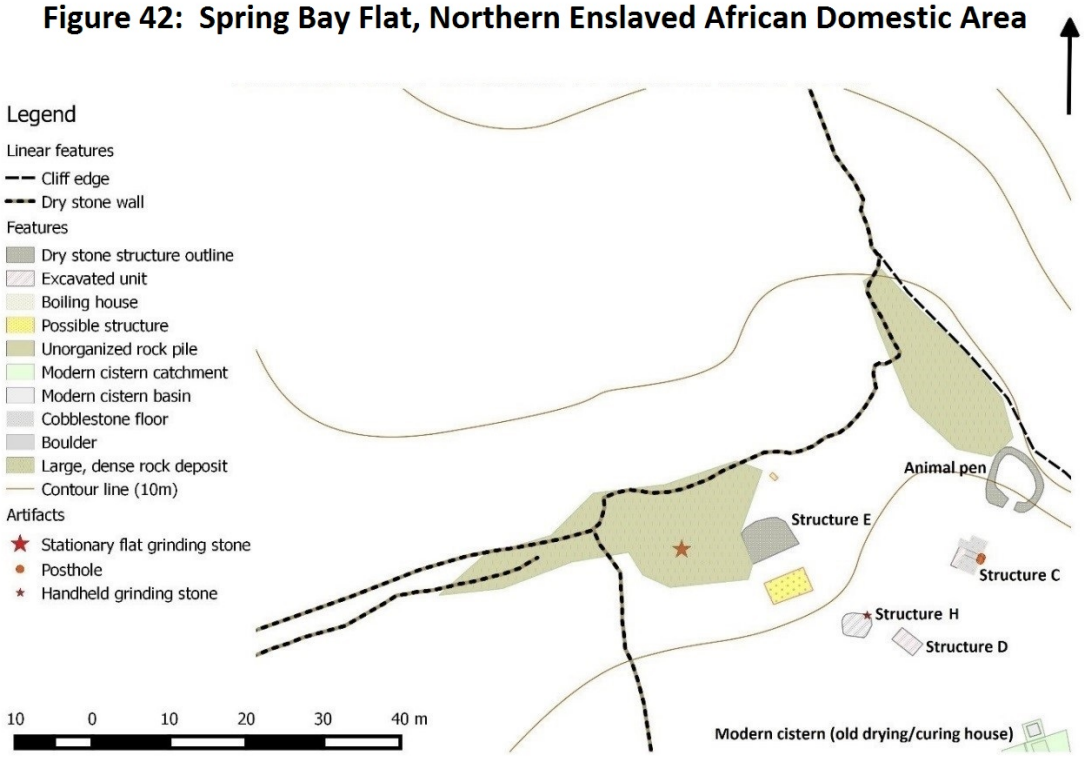
A total of 37 artifacts were recovered from the Big House from surface collections. Although no more than 5cm of topsoil was removed to expose the floor and foundations of the Big House, only one sherd of pearlware and one of creamware were recovered from the fill. Non-ceramic artifacts include a pipe 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.

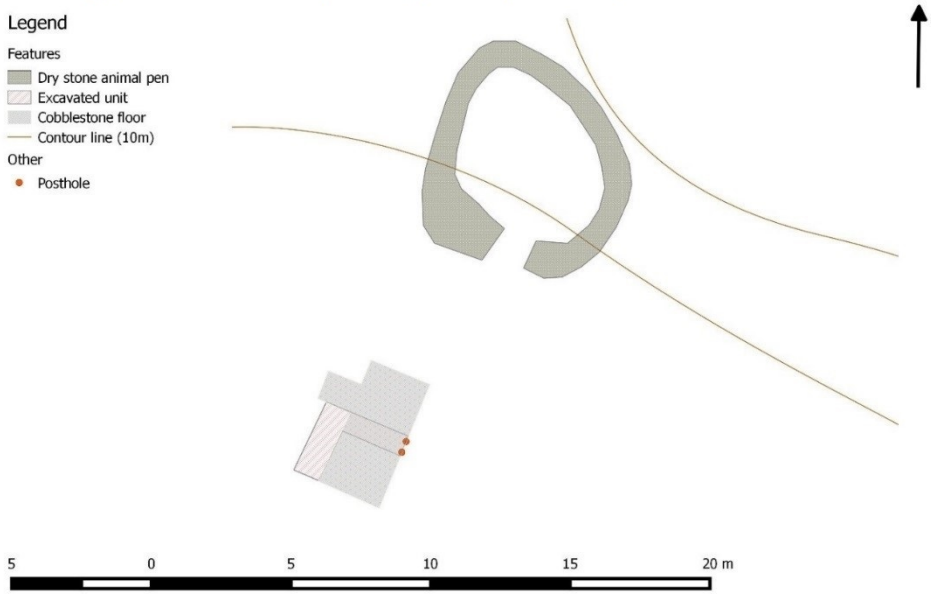
Structure C

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.

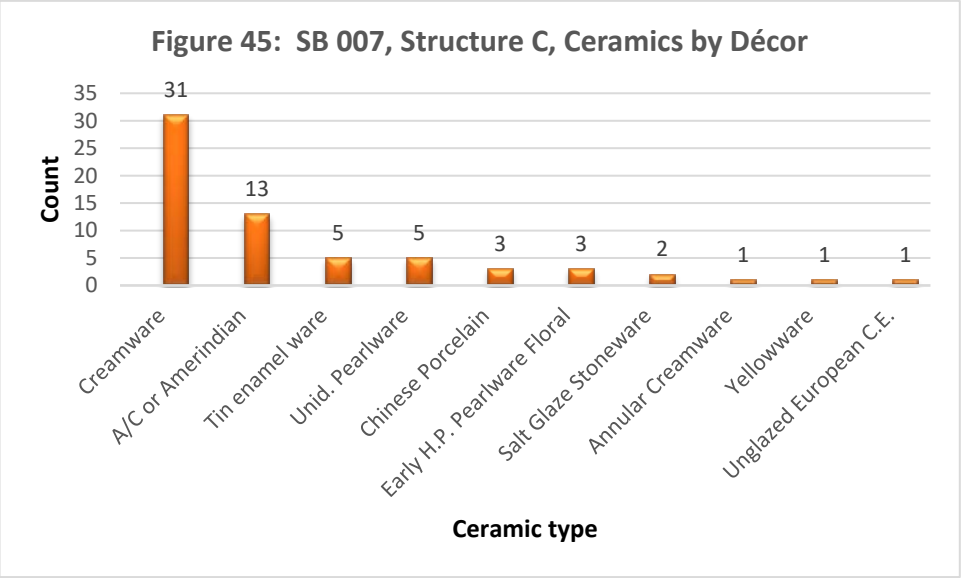
Figure 43: Edge of Structure C, facing south, showing two postholes indicated by nails.

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.

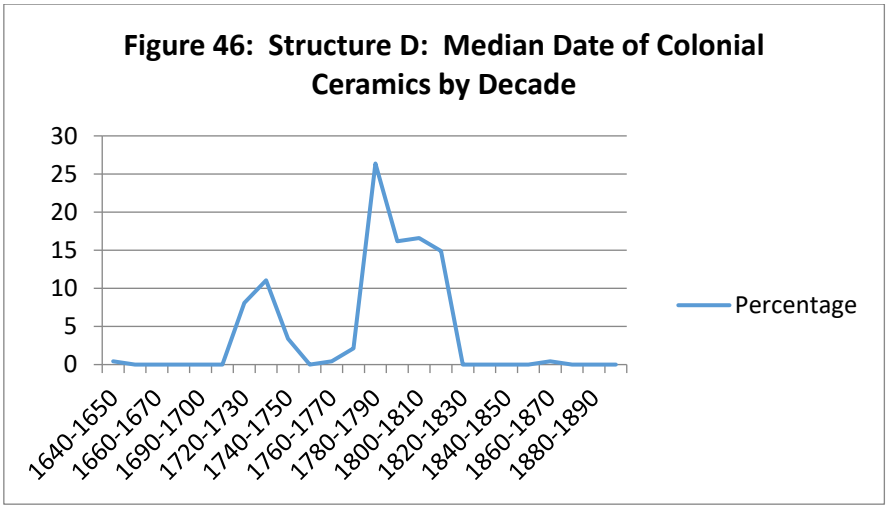
There were was no visible surface evidence of a kitchen or cooking area. To the east of Structure C, approximately 10m, lies a dry stone animal pen incorporating a large boulder along the western wall. It measures about 540cm long north to south, 300cm east to west, and averages about 150cm in height. 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.

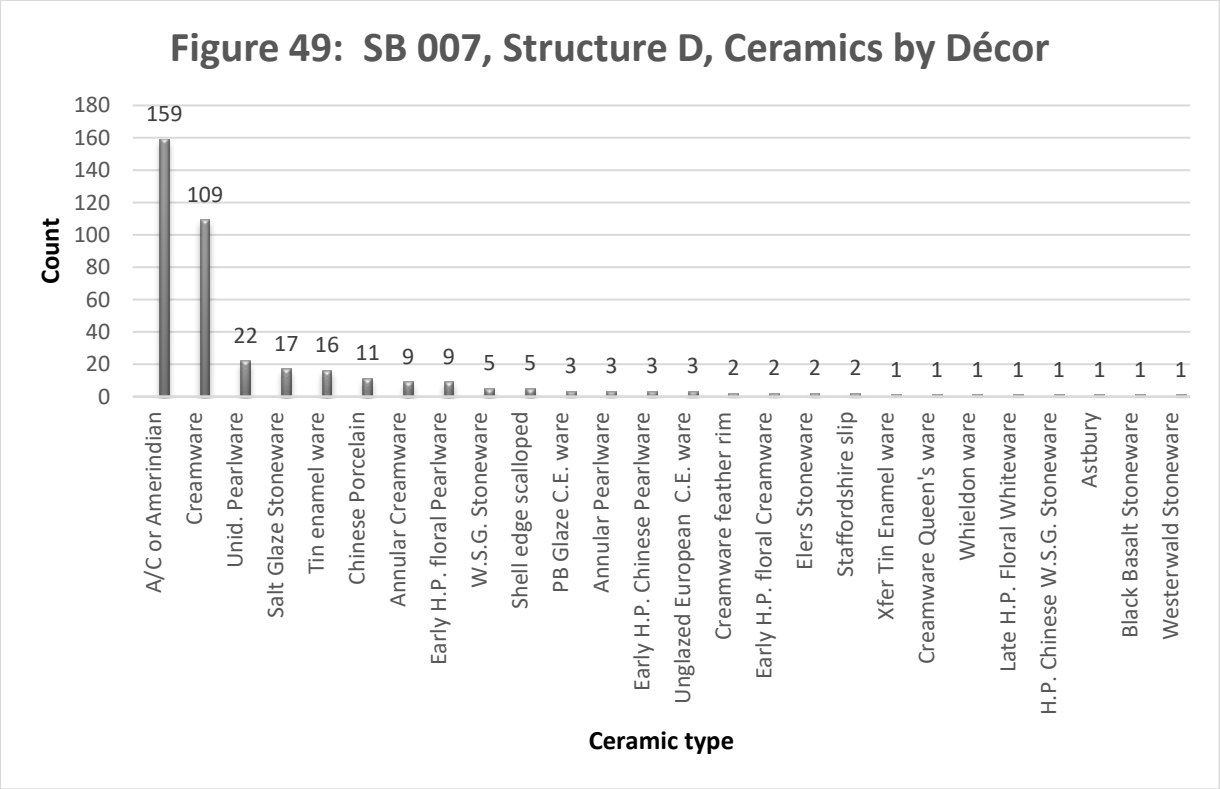
The shell has a diameter of 45mm for scale.

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.

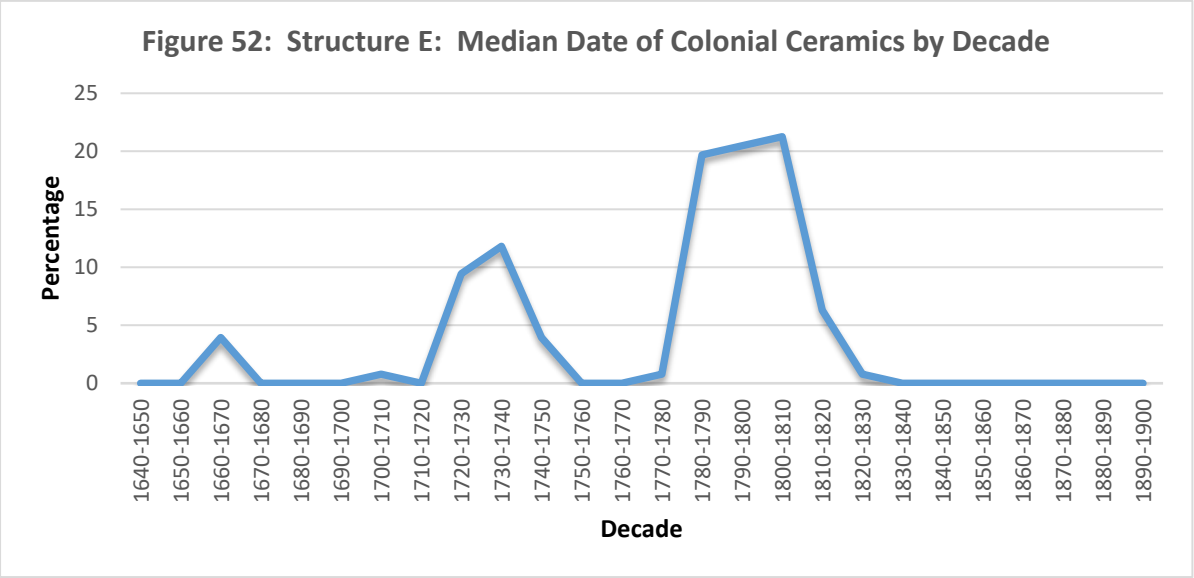
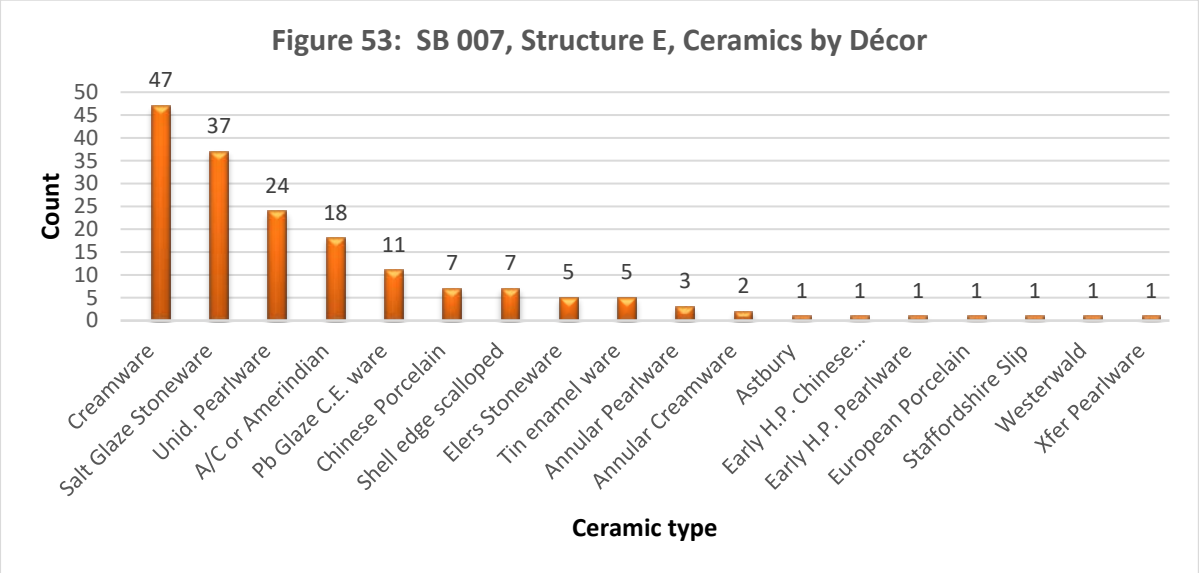


Figure 53 lists the sherd counts of ceramics by decoration. The seven sherds of Chinese porcelain, the European porcelain sherd, and the five sherds of Elers stoneware are noteworthy in their value. These are expensive ceramics relative to the assemblage, and it is doubtful their owner would have purchased 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

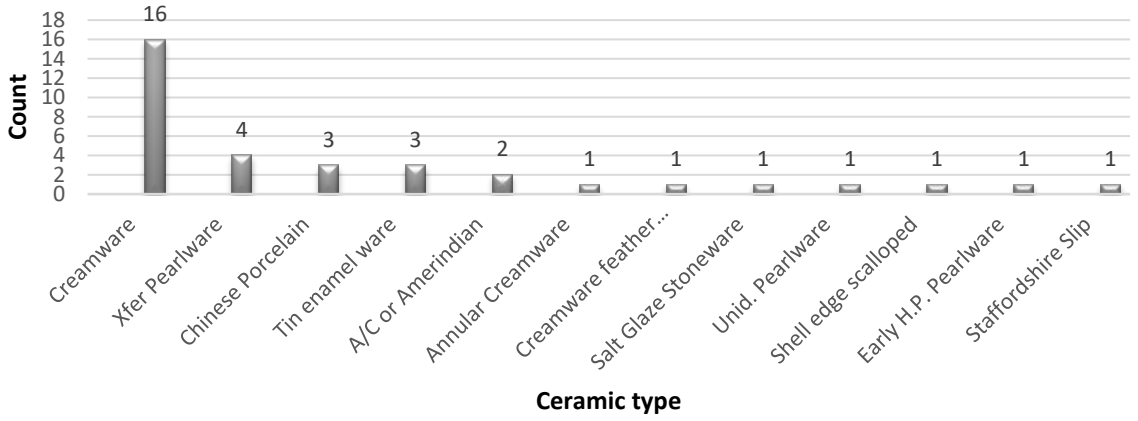
layers, and the assemblages from Layer 1 across the units represent the use period of Structure F after the backfill. This can be dated to the period between the very late eighteenth century to the early nineteenth century, based upon the sherd of late creamware at Layer 3 in Unit 4. No other soil features,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

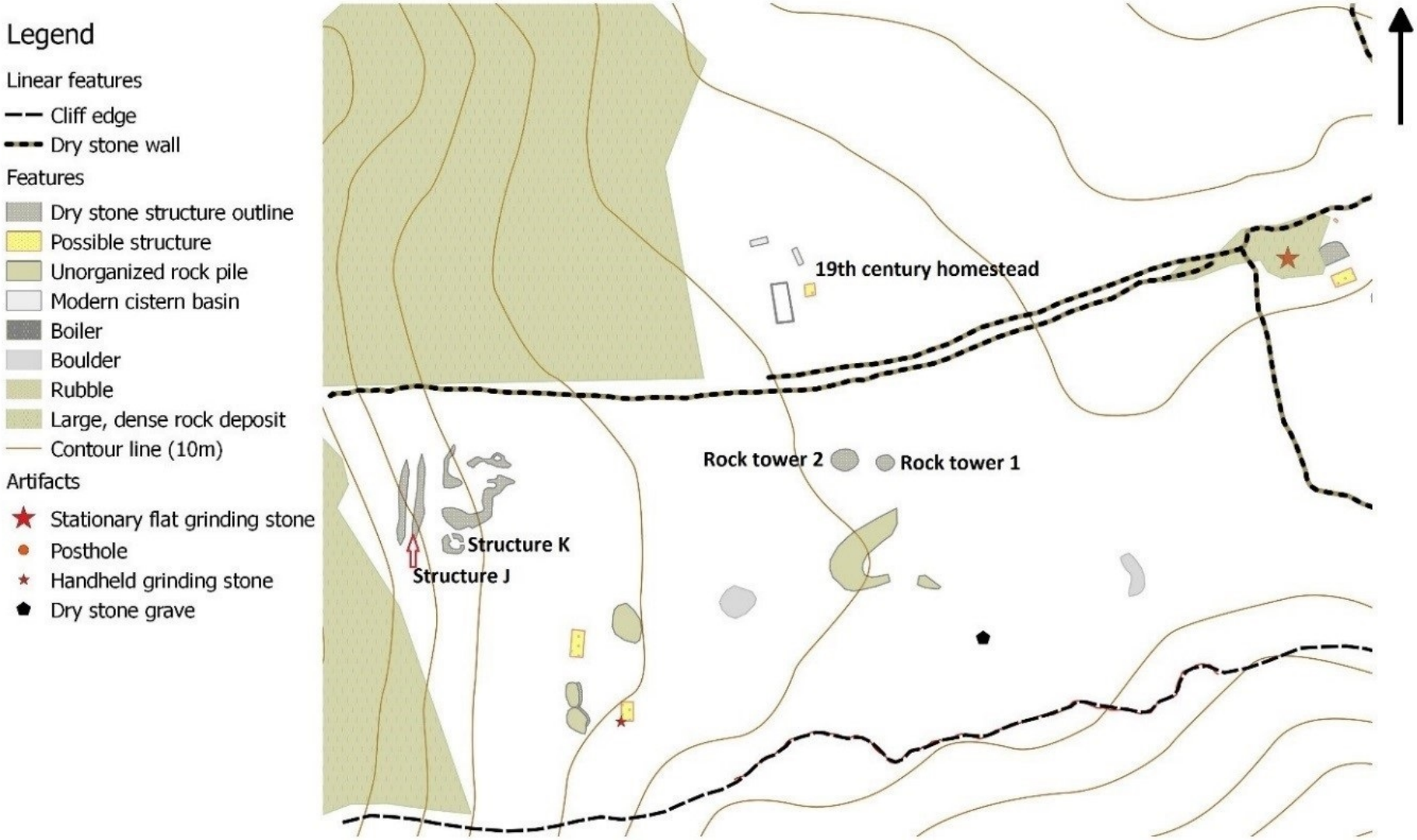
Structures J and K

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.