



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

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

Citation

Espersen, R. (2017, February 9). *“Better than we”: landscapes and materialities of race, class, and gender in pre-emancipation colonial Saba, Dutch Caribbean*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/45747>

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/45747>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/45747> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation

Author: Espersen, R.

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

Issue Date: 2017-02-09

Chapter 8: The Social and Material Landscapes of Race, Class, and Gender in pre-Emancipation Colonial Saba

Determining the social and material vectors of class, race, and gender in pre-emancipation colonial Saba stemmed from a call by Charles Orser for historical archaeologists to consider “how race and class determine, structure, and impact the distribution of the material objects they find at sites associated with people who have belonged to racial groups” (Orser 2007:46). Dialectical ideologies of class, race, and gender operated as Bourdieu’s unquestioned “structuring structures” in Caribbean colonial society and manifested on the island through a variety of social and material vectors whose efficacy for such were dependent on social, temporal, and spatial contexts in which they were embedded. Determining common ideological vectors for powered relations on Saba proceeded by identifying those immutable vectors that were imposed upon individuals by Saban society at birth, and those malleable vectors that could be realized by individuals within the confines imposed by the immutable vectors.

Now that the fundamental aspects of Saba’s pre-emancipation archaeology and history have been outlined, the discussion will now proceed to dissect and analyze the processes that resulted in Saban ideologies of class, race, and gender within the island’s social, physical, and material landscapes as they are evidenced in these records. The “incomplete hegemony” of colonial authorities and plantations upon Saba are rooted in negotiations with the realities imposed by the island’s landscape. This would frame the island’s economic development and social relations throughout the pre-emancipation colonial period. Class is a facet of ideology that acts between people through social and material queues, rather than through perceived biological queues such as race and gender. Non-material class vectors normally require an introduction or some form of familiarity between individuals for them to become relevant to the given social context. It is this caveat that separates non-material class vectors from race and gender in European colonial slave society. No introductions or familiarity is required between individuals for race and gender to become active ideological vectors within the social context, since they are instantly recognizable. While one’s class is capable of changing both through time and particular social contexts, race and gender were an immutable element of the individual that pervaded every set of social relations. Race and gender, in other words, allowed colonial slave society to deal in absolutes. A black man could never be a white woman, enslaved Africans could never become Governor, and women of any race could never become Saban

sea captains. As a means to showcase the dialectic between race, class, and gender in Saba's social and material landscape, they will be discussed separately, which will also serve to highlight how particular ideological vectors waxed and waned through time in Saba's colonial slave society.

The relevancy of particular vectors for ideology will vary depending upon a given social context. However, while particular elements of class do not manifest in every social context, race and gender have more inherent capacity to do so. The distribution of gender and race among agents within a given European colonial social context has a wider *potential* to contextualize and influence social relations than class simply because they are recognizable without an introduction. Therefore, unlike race and gender, particular vectors of class do not frame every social context since they are transient between them, and can be transcended by the individual. Understanding the relevancy of class, therefore, requires it to be framed within particular social and geographic contexts where it is most prevalent. Through this approach, this research identified a series of particular ideological vectors within pre-emancipation colonial Saban society. This includes shifts from European national identity to a Saban identity in the late seventeenth century, titles, profession, religion, surname, first name, wealth and estates, debt and credit systems, purchasing practices, village of residence, race and legal status, diet, race relations, laws pertaining to slavery and emancipation, burial practices, housing and domestic architecture, and material culture.

Once the social and material vectors of Saban ideology were identified, the resultant datasets can be instrumental in addressing several important issues within historical archaeology. This includes identifying race, class, and gender in Saba's pre-emancipation colonial archaeological record, the development and maintenance of poverty in a proto-capitalist context; and socio-material differentiations between slavery, poverty, and low class. Together these establish the social and material vectors of ideology in Saba during the concerned period, the limits of inquiry employing this approach, and the multiple dimensions of ideology that can be embodied in a given assemblage due to the social context of the observer.

Seascapes, landscapes, and the "incomplete hegemony"

The "incomplete hegemony" of colonial authorities and plantation agriculture enabled both prosperity and poverty for Saban residents. The tensions that resulted between these interests relative to those of creole residents would serve to frame the development of ideological relations on Saba. The island's colonial landscape was defined primarily by plantation and non-plantation landscapes, which partitioned the islands during the mid seventeenth century. During initial settlement Dutch settlement of the Caribbean during this time, Curaçao was intended primarily as a defensible staging point for trading with the Spanish Main. The northern islands, meanwhile, were

settled and initially governed with the intent to turn them into plantation colonies. St. Maarten, as an exception, also had salt pans that were desired by the Dutch. Saba and probably Statia witnessed a boom in sugar production during the 1650's, which ended by 1665, and recovered by the end of the century. While the quality of sugar on Saba was especially noted to be of high quality, the landscape of Saba inherently limited the possibilities for the extent of its cultivation. Other small plantations sprung up across Saba, including indigo, tobacco, coffee, were evidently small scale and met with mixed successes. While coffee is noted on Saban exports to St. Eustatius during the mid eighteenth century, there were no documented exports of tobacco or indigo. The realities surrounding Statia's viability as a plantation colony were summarized succinctly by then St. Eustatius Governor Isaac Lamont, wherein he said that "...without trade St. Eustatius would not be worth 100 guilders" (Goslinga 1985:211). The GWC's eventual support of the *klein vaart* out of St. Eustatius provided a means to work with powerful creole family groups and other creole residents' interests due to the inability of St. Eustatius to function as a full plantation-based economy. Similar circumstances were experienced on Saba due to the geographic realities of the island. These conflicting interests between geographic realities and creole residents resulted in the "incomplete hegemony" of the GWC on Statia. On Saba, this extended to the plantocracy and the emergence of capitalism as well, especially before 1778 as most plantations were foreign-owned. The tensions which resulted between GWC interests, plantation interests, island residents, and the geographic limitations of the landscape would serve to frame Saba's colonial history.

Beginning in the 1650's and extending past emancipation, Saban residents were excluded from a significant proportion of Saba's flat, prime agricultural land that was owned largely in absentia by merchants and government officials in St. Eustatius. This early division of the island's landscape into plantation and non-plantation contexts would have profound effects on the capacity for Sabans to develop their own agrarian export economies. Nonetheless, some small scale cultivation occurred. The prevalence of hand-drawn sugar cane presses among households across Saba into the nineteenth century testifies to the "incomplete hegemony" of the proto-capitalism of plantations versus non-plantation agriculture across Saba. Sugar cane was cultivated by private individuals, but the hand press was for personal consumption of cane juice rather than as a means to provide it to plantations. In addition, oral history recounts that sugarcane was cultivated in English Quarter and supplied to the boiling house at Spring Bay Flat. Given the small size of the prime agricultural land at Spring Bay Flat for sugar cultivation, it appears that the plantation was partially reliant upon sugarcane sold to it by private residents. Effectively, the plantation was reliant upon private individuals for its viability, at least in the later years of its existence. The negligible value of the plantation towards Abraham Heyliger, and later Carel Seelig, is reflected in the size of the Big House, which was smaller than the

size of the average “Saban-style” house documented by Brugman. More comparable house sizes were to be found at Palmetto Point, a village that Sabans generally considered socially backwards and poor. This highlights the importance of space in defining class relative to people and materiality, and the limitations that Saba’s landscape imposed upon the dominance and profitability of its plantations.

Despite the significant proportion of Saba’s landmass that was occupied by plantation lands, the profits derived by the GWC from Saban plantation produce in eighteenth century were negligible. Between 1770 and 1771, for example, the pasturage fees collected on St. Eustatius by the GWC were equal or greater than their profits derived from Saba. However, this may also be a result of smuggling goods out of Saba to St. Eustatius to avoid taxation by the GWC, which may account for the general absence of sugar and indigo on shipping records from the eighteenth century. As a result of being neither profitable nor an expense to the GWC, Saba received little attention from colonial authorities. The fort destroyed in 1651 was never rebuilt, and the island’s defenses instead relied upon taking advantage of the island’s poor anchorage and inaccessibility. A series of double-use retaining walls along the sides of the Fort Bay gut, which led from Fort Bay to The Bottom, were constructed both mitigated the effects of hillside erosion and served as a trap for invaders such as Pinel in 1689. While this system was still in use during the late eighteenth century, the island’s defenses were almost non-existent by 1820.

While certain industries such as tailoring and cobbling probably made use of locally available materials, such as leather and cotton, most agricultural surpluses on non-plantation lands were small scale and intermittent, witnessed by the sporadic exports to Saba of provisions to St. Eustatius during the eighteenth century. By the early nineteenth century, the only recorded exports were small numbers of live cattle. Even though the last plantation on Saba ceased operations by the 1820’s, the large tracts of land encompassed by the Spring Bay and Bottom plantations did not see significant development or settlement efforts up to emancipation, and laid fallow. In the case of the latter, its fallow state in the middle of settlement in The Bottom prompted the Saban government to pass a law restricting passage through the plantation grounds, and in particular, prohibited the collection of thatch within its bounds as well.

Following the destruction of Saba’s and Statia’s plantations by the English in 1665, both islands struggled to recover economically. The result on Saba was quite dramatic compared to the 1650’s; just 90 white residents were recorded for 1678. Saba’s plantation economy was non-existent during this period due to the tiny population and complete lack of enslaved Africans. This would have led the remaining Sabans to consider the regional seascape, rather than Saba’s landscape, as a means to subsist and profit. Statian and Saban residents engaged in the regional trade to the disregard of England and France’s mercantile policies to such an extent that Stapleton considered them better

under water than above. Throughout this early period, the GWC turned a blind eye to their dealings, but was recognized after the liberalization of the Company's monopolies in 1730. This helped contribute to Statia's economic boom during that decade, and provided further incentive for Sabans to participate in the *klein vaart* either as owners or shareholders of ships. Indeed, between 1743 and 1770, at least twenty Saban captains were engaged in the regional trade. Saba's worsening economic situation following hurricanes in 1772, 1780 and 1819, coupled with the regional instability of the Napoleonic Wars and the end of Statia's Golden Rock period, did not halt their participation in seafaring and trade. Conveniently, the disorder in oversight and governance in the Netherlands' western colonies coincided well with the outbreak of the South American Wars of Independence and the later Cisplatine War. Saba and Statia became well known as trade, smuggling, and laundering destinations for privateers engaged in these wars, as well as pirates. The *Carraboo* incident, coupled with the end of the Cisplatine War, spelled an end to this trade. Meanwhile, Saba's regional trade became less lucrative due to the increasing prevalence of free and open trade across the islands, and the gradual demise of sugar cultivation in the region. The seascape for Sabans, therefore, was required to expand beyond their previous horizons, and around the time of emancipation, many Saban seafarers began seeking work abroad, especially out of New York.

To certain degrees, eighteenth century Dutch ship owners engaged in the *klein vaart* could be considered as capitalists in the same vein as plantation owners. A trade vessel's owner or shareholders owned the means of production, in this case, a ship, which provided the means for engaging in regional trade. The eighteenth century Dutch regional trade, which included Saban ship owners, captains, and both free and enslaved sailors, partook in an economic system that continuously sought customers by penetration into new markets, and those markets that were actively discouraged or even outlawed by other nations. The recorded profits from these ventures were distributed through wages according to a hierarchical system, with sailors and young deckhands receiving the least, and enslaved Africans of course receiving none. From here, these social relations fit with Leone and Potter's definition of capitalism from Chapter 3. The definition breaks down regarding private ownership and freedom. Adult Sabans working aboard these ships probably owned land on Saba. If they did not, their relatives almost certainly did, and they would probably eventually become landowners through inheritance, as Saba recognized private ownership. The land they owned or had access to allowed them a means to sustain themselves; again, if they did not have access to their own land, they could resort to a sharecropping arrangement with another land-owning Saban. For those engaged upon these ships as enslaved crew members, they do not fall under the umbrella of this definition as it assumes that workers are free rather than enslaved.

The successes of St. Eustatius as the “Golden Rock” reflects the antagonisms between European colonial interests and the lived experiences and realities of creoles in the Caribbean colonies. While Britain continued to maintain a policy of mercantilism, which often worked against creole interests and was openly and continually thwarted by British citizens both on British and non-British islands, Dutch colonial policy on St. Eustatius, conversely, was content to work with local interests to take advantage of regional, creole trade networks and an easy naturalization processes for foreigners, to the benefit of the United Provinces. British merchants in particular were attracted to St. Eustatius during the 1740’s and 1750’s to engage in the *klein vaart*, which British colonial authorities in Antigua viewed as detrimental to their own interests, verging even on traitorous. Free trade fostered a prosperous and cosmopolitan society on St. Eustatius during the mid to late eighteenth century, in stark contrast to Saba. The GWC’s interests in Saba as a plantation-based economy can be generally regarded as a failure, and served to exacerbate the island’s poverty throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Thomas Dinzey’s accession to the position of Governor in 1778, combined with his class as a plantation owner, represents the merger of plantation versus non-plantation interests, and the simultaneous accession of a Saban to power and the plantocracy. This merger between governance, plantation interests, and local residents is clearly visible in laws passed by governing officials on the island. One law in particular made it illegal to trespass in order to collect grass, timber, thatch, and firewood on the Dinzey’s lands, which included their other lands beyond the bounds of the plantation. Dinzey’s grave introduced a new style of marker to Saba, evidently derived from his familiarity with the burial practices of plantation owners, merchants, and officials on St. Eustatius. This “mock vault” style was adopted by other upper class Sabans throughout the rest of the century. With regards to the incomplete hegemony of colonial governance and plantation interests over Saba’s landscape and residents, Thomas Dinzey represents its apex. Upon his death in 1825, Saba’s plantation era was over.

Just two decades later, Lamont’s observation was starkly realized as its trade-based economy withered to regional irrelevance. The economy, social environment, and population of St. Eustatius was very similar to that of Saba by the 1840’s: insignificant trade, the collapse of plantation agriculture with a subsequent rise in subsistence agriculture, cattle raising, small-scale exports of provisions, pervasive poverty, and a more homogenized population. Slavery, as a figure of the GWC’s hegemony over Statia, brought prosperity to the island during the eighteenth century. Ironically, by the nineteenth century, the successes brought by slavery from the previous century would serve to exacerbate poverty across the island. Repeated attempts by the Dutch government to promote and sponsor agricultural projects continually failed since many free African descent residents refused to provide the labour for their success. To them, this was reminiscent of “slave work”.

Saba's insignificance to colonial authorities was such that no projects were proposed to improve the island's economy, once again leaving residents to find their own path to prosperity within a landscape still dominated by the legacy plantation agriculture from previous centuries. Indeed, even the courts on Saba had their own legal system, meting out justice "as it always was". After the closure of Saba's last plantation in the 1820's, the "incomplete hegemony" of external authorities and plantation agriculture grew to what could be considered "indifferent hegemony", or even "careless hegemony". Few foreigners visited the island, and by 1904, it was recommended to the Dutch Tweede Kamer to move all Saban residents to St. Eustatius due to widespread poverty and soil exhaustion. Saba would have been left as an uninhabited island. This "incomplete hegemony" clearly shaped Saba's colonial history, and fostered a sense of self-reliance upon its residents who lived with a legacy of indifference by colonial authorities, and marginalization by living on second-tier lands otherwise unfavourable to plantation interests.

Landscapes of class

Saban identity is strongly village-oriented, and this identity is closely tied with ideologies of class, and to a lesser extent race. The island's steep and rugged topography provides only a few scattered areas large and flat enough to support clustered settlement. Their relative isolation from one another, despite the small size of Saba, created an environment which fostered identities rooted in one's village of residence. This is most clearly evidenced with the existence of no less than five distinct accents across Saba recognized by residents in the present: The Bottom, Hell's Gate, Windwardside, Mary's Point (Palmetto Point), and among the white inhabitants of St. John's. On St. Eustatius, conversely, identity among ancestral residents was more strongly tied to an island basis since historically there was only one recognized town (Oranjestad). Village of residence as a class vector almost certainly increased in relevance at the expense of nationality as a more island-based identity became rooted in the populace.

The division of space by nationality during the seventeenth century is visible in the present through certain place names. English Quarter, a self-evident in its implication, is the name of a domestic district adjacent and northeast of Windwardside. Crispeen is the name of an area between St. John's and The Bottom that presently features several houses. This area was remarked upon by Labat (1724:343), who said it was named after St. Crispin, the patron saint of cobblers. Shoemaking was a very common profession on Saba during this time, and the Catholic name given to this area implies that it was inhabited by Catholics, who likely were not Dutch, but rather English, Irish, French, or Scottish. By 1699, the census was organized by household with no mention of nationality, thereby demonstrating the increasing status of a creole, Saban identity among the majority of the island's

residents as the eighteenth century opened and progressed, and relegated class based upon nationality to (European) immigrants and visitors

One's village of residence was an important class-based ideological vector in Saban society that continues to the present day. Residents of The Bottom considered themselves the highest class of Saban on the island, which likely persisted throughout most of Saba's colonial period. Tensions existed among residents between villages; marriages between people from The Bottom and Windwardside were rare, and many Sabans lived their entire lives without having visited other villages across the island. Palmetto Point was considered to be low class and socially backwards by both Sabans and early twentieth century visitors. This stigma, with its origins in the pre-emancipation period, continues in the present relative to the area of The Bottom known as "The Promised Land", a formerly unsettled tract of land in the southeast corner of the village where the last residents of Palmetto Point were evacuated to in 1936 by the Government of Curaçao in exchange for their lands in their former village.

Differences in burial practices were visible across Saba's landscape beginning around the early nineteenth century with the introduction of gravestones and mock vaults as grave markers. These gradually replaced dry stone markers in The Bottom, Windwardside, and St. John's. The use of dry stone markers was increasingly relegated to the low class, and remained the only style used at Saba's more peripheral villages such as Middle Island and Palmetto Point.

The population of enslaved Africans during the 1650's exceeded that of white residents, which reflects the early spread of Saba's plantation economy and the resultant division of lands between plantation and non-plantation contexts. Due to the high percentage of foreign ownership among Saba's plantations up to 1778, it was expected that some material differences should be visible between landscapes of slavery on Saba between the largely foreign-owned plantations and the local, subsistence-oriented slavery among those owned by Sabans. Between the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century on the Spring Bay Flat plantation, this occurred through the absence of transfer print wares in enslaved African domestic areas, evidently an intentional choice by the plantation manager or owner; and the use of dry stone housing for enslaved Africans. Foreign ownership was materialized on the eighteenth century landscape at the Flat Point plantation through its use of ceramic roof tiles, which to date has not been found anywhere else on Saba, and is not a component of traditional Saban domestic architecture.

Landscapes of race

Racialized space across pre-emancipation colonial Saba was limited to those associated with slavery during the seventeenth and early to mid eighteenth century, and expressed most visibly on

Saban plantations. Following cumulative increases of free African descent Sabans after 1780, free racialized space began to emerge on Saba via Middle Island by the early nineteenth century. Enslaved African housing on Saban non-plantation contexts included either thatch housing, wattle houses, or shared domestic space with their owners. Plantation contexts on Saba saw either housing of wattle or dry stone. No remains of dry-stone enslaved African houses were found outside of plantation contexts; rather, these structures were used as animal shelters, such as the example within the sheep pen in Upper Hell's Gate (SB 039) and the cattle shelter at the Rendez-vous. Since clearing stones from fields precluded planting and infrastructure, a large surplus of stone was available from the Spring Bay Flat and Flat Point plantations which could be put towards construction. At Spring Bay Flat this is especially visible in the series of organized piles of rock, such as the rock towers, and other unorganized rock piles scattered across the planted area immediately west of the boiling house. Constructing enslaved African housing from dry stone was therefore a natural extension of this practice, and fostered a visible difference in Saba's material landscape between plantation and non-plantation contexts.

Landscapes of gender

Unlike landscapes of class and race on Saba, which occupied definable swathes of land, Saba's gendered landscape was most visible at the household level. Unfortunately, due to the small sizes of houses, it was difficult to engender household materiality relative to the use of space. In addition, it appears that men did most of the public purchasing among late eighteenth to nineteenth century. Within the extents of Saba's known documentary record, it is difficult at this point to surmise on whose behalf and what degree of influence particular household members had towards the (male) buyer to engender goods at the point of purchase. However, within households where the male head was at sea or working abroad for extended periods, even years, the opportunity exists for interpreting household assemblages in terms of a woman's choice. While these particular households were not identified or excavated as part of this research, this is a fruitful avenue of research in the future. Religion became visible ideological vector by the 1850's on Saba's landscape with the spread of Catholicism across Saba. Its initial spread was concentrated among women, but mostly among residents of Windwardside. The Bottom remained mostly Anglican between 1850-1870, as evidenced through marriage records, their absence in the Catholic baptismal records, and funeral donations to the Anglican Church throughout the last wills and testaments in the Book of Recorded Mortgages and the Saba Transfer Deeds. This provides the best known example of gendered space in Saba's pre-emancipation colonial history beyond a household level.

Saba's landscapes and seascape are integral to understanding how ideologies of race, class, and gender pervaded pre-emancipation colonial Saban society. Multiple readings of Saba's landscape allowed these facets of ideology to be understood relative to scale, time, and locality. The tensions and complexities between race, class, and gender that resulted from social interactions within specific contexts on Saba and abroad will now be discussed.

Class in pre-emancipation colonial Saba

The Dutch colonized St. Eustatius in 1636, and most sources agree that Saba was subsequently colonized from that island in the following decade. However, by this time the island probably already sheltered a potpourri of English, Irish, French, and Scottish residents, mostly refugees from the Spanish siege of St. Christopher in 1629. Despite Dutch governance of the island and having composed about half the European population by this time, English became the island's lingua franca by 1659, and cemented after the English occupations in the 1660's and 1670's. During the 1650's, it appears that all offices associated with governance on Saba were occupied by Dutchmen. The governor was Pieter de Vries, and the island secretary was Floris Simonz. This was not only a logical decision for an early territorial claim to an island, as the first Anglo-Dutch War also erupted during the 1650's. Therefore, having non-Dutch residents in places of governance in colonies such as Saba, especially those of English nationality, would have been unwise both politically and strategically. Dutch residents were then inherently privileged over those of other nationalities on seventeenth century Saba, as Dutch nationality provided a means for government positions, making it an absolute vector of class in seventeenth century Saba. Residents self-identifying by European nationality appears to have persisted by the time of Labat's visit in 1701, where he makes note of some French refugees, but apparently as a means of differentiating between Saban residents and non-residents since this was the sole instance in his account.

Early colonists prior to the 1650's had established small plantations, likely cotton, tobacco, and indigo. The "planter class", however, probably did not arise until the 1650's following the rapid expansion of sugar plantations and corresponding rapid rise of the enslaved African population. &8 This expansion included the foundation of the plantations at Spring Bay, Flat Point, and almost certainly the The Bottom. However, this period of Saba's history was short lived as the island's plantations were thoroughly sacked during the 1665 raid and occupation. At least all the large plantations were destroyed, and all enslaved Africans present on the island were rounded up and shipped to Jamaica for resale. By 1678, the entire population consisted of 80 white residents, from a population of 111 white residents and roughly 300 enslaved Africans by 1659, which emphasizes the extent of the devastation wrought to the island's plantation economy. Archaeological evidence from

the Flat Point and Spring Bay Flat plantations indicates that sugar production there did not resume until the very late seventeenth century to the first two decades of the eighteenth century. Saba's first planter class survived for no longer than 15 years, and gave way to an economy based upon certain entrepreneurship outside of plantation agriculture, among those few that remained. By 1701, Saba had become a regional manufacturer of footwear, and the tailoring and regional shipping industries probably have their origins in this initial post-planter period as well. In particular, the burgeoning tailoring industry is evidenced by the demand for regional cotton, supplied on at least one occasion to Saba from Anguilla during the early eighteenth century. The early cobbling industry on Saba provided sufficient income for Labat to observe, in general, a high standard of living among island residents, with particular attention paid to housing and furniture, which continued to be among the prime material class vectors into the 1850's as observed by Gast. Cobbling was apparently so ubiquitous in early eighteenth century Saba that even the governor at the time partook in it, however unlike owning shares in a ship, the costs associated with start up and manufacture would have been exponentially smaller. There while the cobbling profession supplied sufficient income for an above-average materiality relative to the region, it does not appear that an identity associated with cobbling itself served as a vector for class, unlike Saban sea captains.

The rebirth of plantations across Saba by the early eighteenth century signified renewed, "large" scale importations of enslaved Africans to the island. However, with one known exception by 1778, most plantations appear to have been owned in absentia through merchants and government officials in St. Eustatius. Therefore, while Sabans were not directly enriched by plantations on their own island until later in the eighteenth century, many derived incomes through cobbling and tailoring by the late seventeenth century, though shoemaking appears to have reached its apex during the early eighteenth century and did not survive past the 1850's. Sugarcane was cultivated on personal plots by Sabans for their own consumption, and many households possessed their own hand-driven cane mill to extract cane juice for direct consumption. Cane was probably also sold from household plots to nearby plantations, most likely among residents of The Bottom to the plantation present there, and by residents of English Quarter and Windwardside to the Spring Bay Flat plantation.

Certain Sabans earned sufficient wealth, or at least access to credit, to purchase small numbers of enslaved Africans in St. Eustatius between 1720 and 1727. Following the absence of enslaved Africans by 1679 to these purchases by 1727, slave ownership among Sabans would have been a stronger indicator of higher class during this early period than it was by the nineteenth century. Saba Governor Charles Simmons' purchases of enslaved Africans between 1721 and 1727, consisting four men, four boys, and two girls, may suggest that he owned a plantation on the island. More likely, however, they were destined as sailors and for domestic labour, as he was known to have owned at

least one regional trade vessel by the 1740's, which may have been partially crewed by male enslaved Africans.

By this time Sabans were active participants in the regional trade, evidenced by no less than twenty Saban captains who served aboard ships bearing the same name throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This included legitimate trade, and trade actively discouraged or declared illegal by France and especially Britain, particularly with respect to the Neutral Islands prior to the Seven Years War. Even the Governor of Saba, Peter Simmons, partook in this trade as the owner of the ship *Rebecca* during the 1750's and 1760's. Serving aboard a ship granted Sabans, whether captain or sailor, a set of experiences that were unknown to those engaged in subsistence agriculture on Saba or other means of living that stymied their opportunities to travel abroad or emigrate. They were exposed to other cultures, afforded opportunities to expand their social network, and were able to acquire goods normally unavailable on Saba. The breadth and success of the regional trade among Saban captains during this time probably coincides with the appearance of the title "Captain" before mens' names on Saba as a means for indicating upper class associated with the profession.

During the mid eighteenth century, while Saban captains were enjoying successes in the regional trade during the mid eighteenth century, and returning to Saba to relay word of the world beyond, the social and economic disparities between Saba and other islands in the region was becoming increasingly apparent. Sugar cultivation was booming on St. Maarten, St. Croix, and most of the neighboring French and English islands, and St. Eustatius was growing as an important regional and international trade destination. Coffee plantations expanded across Saba, while sugar and indigo production continued largely as enterprises under foreign ownership. The profits available through cobbling in the early eighteenth century appear to have dropped as well; Sabans began emigrating to other islands in the 1740's, which continued throughout the mid-century. However, the ability to emigrate would not have been available to all Sabans, as those who partook in subsistence agriculture would have had little personal savings through which to afford passage and other costs associated with relocation. Rather, this was a proportion of Saba's population with disposable income and enslaved Africans, such as those Sabans wishing to emigrate to Bequia in 1765. This exodus of residents and wealth from the island would have contributed towards the 1773 observation from Jan de Windt that Saba was a poor island.

The extensive damage wrought to Saba by the 1772 hurricane would have also encouraged further emigration from the island. The eighteenth century archaeological records at both the Flat Point plantation and the Fort Bay Ridge site (SB 037) end at the point of early creamware, coinciding with this disaster. Thatch houses and other improvised shelters, including caves, abounded in the

immediate aftermath of 1772 and 1780 hurricanes. Recall the petition of 124 Saban male household heads following the 1772 hurricane to the GWC in Chapter 4; a particular section is worth reiterating:

Most of us have lost our little all, our houses, our clothes, our furniture, our crops, and even our coffee trees... And being reduced to the utmost distress, not only by the want of money, but of all the necessarys of life, and means of procuring them, having 140 of our dwelling houses out of about 180 which were upon the Island, dashed to pieces insomuch that numbers of our families, even at this distance of time, are obliged to shelter themselves from the inclemencies of the weather under rocks and caves of the earth, half naked and famishing with hunger; unable to help themselves and others by reason of the universal nature of the calamity being unable to render them any effectual relief...We thought proper, urged by the most pressing necessity, to apply in this manner to our European friends... but for the relief of numbers of families among us which are reduced to beggary, and the most heart affecting wretchedness. (DNaR 1.05.06.13 #1151).

A great many Saban families who formerly owned “traditional houses” either found themselves soon living in a cave or thatch homes, which could be constructed with monetary investment. A transition period occurred whereby the “traditional houses” were eventually reconstructed and families moved back in, but aside from those who may have well been content to continue living in caves, many Sabans would have found it financially difficult to afford to rebuilt their homes. Due to the hurricane, they lacked “all the necessarys of life, and the means of procuring them”. This was no over exaggeration by the petitioners, and it was just the dawn of a sharp decline in Saba’s export industry. There is a significant drop in Saban exports from the 1760’s, prior to the 1772 hurricane, which included coffee, sugar, molasses, lime, and cattle, to the 1820’s, where the only recorded exports were cattle. Therefore, those families that supported themselves through commodity exports were financially ruined. Some that were financially fortunate to be able to rebuild after the 1772 hurricane faced a second misfortune just eight years later with the hurricane in 1780. Tellingly, the oldest functional structure on Saba is the Anglican Church in The Bottom, dating to its reconstruction in 1778. The oldest house documented by Brugman’s survey only back to around 1810, and most date to the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries (Brugman 1995:123). Therefore, probably until the end of the century, thatch houses abounded across Saba, and in the years following the 1772 hurricane, they would have outnumbered the “traditional” Saban houses across the island as residents rebuilt within their financial and logistical means.

While class divisions among enslaved Africans almost certainly existed among enslaved Africans on Saba relative to region of origin and the newly enslaved vs. creole, as of yet there is no direct documentary evidence of it, and correspondingly little in the archaeological record. These two vectors for class among enslaved Africans would only have been apparent during periods of large scale arrivals to Saba; therefore, this would have been limited to Saba’s early periods from the 1650’s to 1665; and later from the 1680’s to the 1727, and not again until perhaps 1818, after a privateer ship

landed a cargo of enslaved Africans upon Saba. By the last half of the eighteenth century, nearly all enslaved Africans on the island would have been creole, thereby greatly diminishing the means for projecting class through those two vectors. There were likely class differences between professions of enslaved Africans, particularly among those that worked as sailors aboard ships. The enslaved African, Olaudah Equiano, recounts that he made a considerable sum of money through purchasing merchandise in St. Eustatius to resell for profit on Montserrat in 1763, earning enough to purchase his freedom (Equiano 1790:154-155). These types of economic opportunities, together with the experiences described previously for white Saban captains and sailors, would have been conceivable for enslaved African sailors aboard Saban-owned or captained ships as well. These were opportunities not available on Saba to other enslaved Africans with other professions, thereby providing them a means to improve their class through wealth and material goods within their lived reality as an African descent person in a hierarchical-racialized society.

The 1772 and 1780 hurricanes also prompted the sale of plantation lands on Saba owned in absentia through St. Eustatius. Simon Donker sold his lands at Flat Point, which was probably the Flat Point plantation, and Abraham Donker and Madam de Graff, wife of Johannes de Graff, sold The Bottom plantation to Thomas Dinzey, who became Governor of Saba by 1778. While operations at Flat Point ceased after its destruction by the 1772 hurricane, they continued at Spring Bay Flat and The Bottom. Thomas Dinzey soon became the highest class of Saban, being both a plantation owner and Governor simultaneously. However, his wealth was modest when placed into a regional perspective among his contemporaries, especially with Johannes de Graff, who like Dinzey, had served twice as Governor of St. Eustatius and owned many plantations across that island. It is also around this period that the title “Esquire” begins appearing in Saba’s documentary record to specifically denote upper class.

Data from sales between Sabans visible in the Vendue Books between 1780 up until emancipation, coupled with data from the archaeological record, demonstrate how Sabans employed material goods and enslaved Africans as a vector for class. The house stood as the primary vector for class on Saba, followed by furniture and clothing. The “Saba style” of architecture noted by Brugman would have been present in eighteenth century Saba, but his definition of this style did not account for the preponderance of one and two-room houses which would have predominated across villages such as Middle Island and Palmetto Point, or those with thatch roofs versus shingled roofs which was evidently an important distinction to Lt. Governor Edward Beaks Jr. in 1861. Class was also visible in housing through the choice of house foundations, whether it be dry stone in the case of smaller houses, or cut stone and mortar, more often employed on larger houses. Cisterns were expensive, and not every household owned one or had full ownership. Certain villages, such as Palmetto Point

and Middle Island, consequently suffered from repeated water shortages as the population relative to the number of cisterns resulted in continual water stresses. As a result, opportunities abounded for cistern owners to exercise social leveraging within the internal economy, or to sell water at exorbitant prices.

Mahogany furniture was most desirable, with bed frames and tables among the most popular and expensive furniture items. Bed furniture and bedding itself were particularly auspicious class vectors, as the majority of Sabans would have slept upon beds of banana leaves. Ceramics were a secondary-rate class vector to these. It appears that their utility as a class vector was more apparent in seventeenth to mid eighteenth century Saba, based upon Saban household assemblages from the Fort Bay Ridge site and the trash pit, SB 036. Within the Spring Bay Flat plantation, it was clear that transfer print ware was valued by the owner of the plantation, as it occurred in significant quantities around the Big House, but was effectively absent within the nearby enslaved African house-yards. For most Sabans, during the late eighteenth to nineteenth centuries, form and function took precedence over decoration. Indeed, while British officials on St. Eustatius inventoried Johannes de Graff's estate and described the many different valuable sets of Chinese porcelains and other wares, just nine years later, Sabans were selling 30 "Chinese" plates for just 1.4.0 p/8. Together, this demonstrates that in nineteenth century Saba, ceramics were valued more for their utility than for their means as a vector for projecting class, due in part to the increase in poverty across Saba during this time.

Artifact reuse was noted in Saba's archaeological record and oral history, but instances or reuse or repurposing cannot be universally ascribed to material vectors for ideology. The glass bottles found "stashed" between rocks and in nooks around the Flat Point Plantation may be contextual evidence of their last use as alcohol bottles, while the greenstone awl found within Structure 6 strongly suggests reuse or repurposing of an Amerindian artifact by enslaved Africans. In the absence of water skins in the archaeological and documentary record as a potential class vector in this regard, glass bottles so readily serve as repurposed water bottles and their reuse was so consistent and prevalent throughout Saba's colonial era that no meaningful inferences relative to ideology, including poverty, can be derived from this practice on the island, except that they were employed by agriculturalists and those traversing Saba's roads. Stoneware bottles were reused by Palmetto Point residents as oil torches, which makes them a potential class vector as their use was a conscious choice over kerosene lamps, which were also found within the village.

Enslaved Africans were rarely purchased en masse between this period, and were rather bought alone or as a mother with child. The most enslaved Africans in the known documentary record purchased by an individual Saban was Governor Charles Simmons between 1722 and 1727, totalling 10. This was also the latest documented example of a purchase of an enslaved African abroad by a

Saban, though the enslaved African woman at the Fort Bay Ridge site would probably have been purchased and brought to Saba during the mid-century. After this time, in the Vendue Books, all enslaved Africans were bought and sold within Saba itself. Large sales of enslaved Africans, such as the 1861 sale, were for shares rather than outright ownership. This demonstrates that the late eighteenth to nineteenth century economy, which was centered mostly upon subsistence agriculture with small scale cattle imports, did not require any surplus of enslaved labour.

Since ownership of enslaved Africans was not universal across the island's households, and probably composed less than half throughout its history, the possibility existed for class projection through this means, relative to those who owned enslaved Africans in any number, and those that owned none. Ownership also crossed the colour line, and did not necessarily correspond with a higher level of class compared to those Saban households who owned none; recall the literacy rates among owners across the island noted on the 1863 emancipation list from Table 20. Other supporting criteria such as temporal context, some indication of their wealth, and how they were obtained are important supporting factors. Obtaining enslaved Africans through purchase, rather than inheritance, demonstrates either wealth or access to credit, along with the assumed notion that the owner has wherewithal to ensure they are sheltered, clothed, and fed, whereas inheriting them as part of an estate may have been a boon in the seventeenth and eighteen centuries, but was increasingly a potential financial liability for the estate's benefactors by the mid nineteenth century, leading up to emancipation. Ownership of enslaved Africans in nineteenth century Saba also carried the potential to further impoverish their owners due to the legal requirements of feeding, clothing, and sheltering them, coupled unforeseen costs which may arise, such as legal fees. Some households would not have been able to afford the costs associated with manumission, thereby locking them into a cycle of poverty.

While little is known of religion's role relative to class, race, and gender in seventeenth and eighteenth century Saba, the nineteenth century is much better documented. By 1816, enslaved Africans, on Saba and across the Dutch colonies, were considered "not Christian". Up to the early nineteenth century, it appears that Sabans were generally welcoming of Christian ministers regardless of their denomination. While Coke's mission to spread the Wesleyan Methodism failed to spread across the island, by the 1830's there were Sabans who professed the Wesleyan faith, but was observed by the Lt. Governor of Saba that "those few does it more out of opposition" (DNAr 1.05.13.01 #319:18/12/1834). The Wesleyan faith, it appears, was used as a vector for projecting class according to Gezaghebber Edward Beaks, but whether the converts were conscious or unconscious of their religion as a class vector is unknown. The episcopal minister Rev. Toland does not appear to have

attracted a significant congregation either, perhaps indicative of his character as evidenced in the court records.

The death of Thomas and Joanna Dinzey in 1825 heralded the end of sugar production on Saba, and introduced a new type of grave marker to Saba from St. Eustatius that would serve as a very visible vector for class. This “mock vault” style was not widely employed across Saba during the nineteenth century, but commemorated identifiably upper-class Sabans. The introduction of this style to Saba, in lieu of the traditional dry stone marker, not only demonstrates their links with high society in St. Eustatius, but also that upper class Sabans held a more inclusive, regional view of their place within society. This stands in contrast to a more localized worldview prevalent among Saba’s lower class, evidenced by the factionalism prevalent between villages on such a small island, and through those Sabans who never left the island, let alone their village of birth.

The cessation of all indigo production on Saba during the eighteenth century, followed by sugar production in 1825, left a legacy of industrial infrastructure that fell into ruin; however, this did not extend to disuse. The boiling houses at Spring Bay Flat and Flat Point, and the indigo vats at Cove Bay were reused during the nineteenth century as ideal areas to burn coral as a means of producing quicklime. The boiling houses, having been constructed below ground level, and the lower indigo vat Cove Bay were sheltered from the wind. In addition, the stone walls of the structures provided insulation to help raise the heat of the fire to a temperature sufficient to result in the chemical reactions necessary to produce quicklime from calcium carbonate. Their use as lime kilns reflects general lack of income prevalent across the island, as sugar and indigo production structures, which required significant overhead to construct and employ for operations, were being reused for small scale lime production which required no overhead costs at all. The reuse of these structures as lime burning kilns demonstrates the complete collapse of Saba’s plantation industry.

Class was visible to a small degree through elements of Saba’s early and mid nineteenth century legal system. One’s character was taken into account during legal proceedings, and often influenced the quality of testimony. Lying during testimony in court resulted in the perpetrator being “recorded as a liar”. One’s reputation across the island in the nineteenth century, and probably well before, was evidently an important class vector on Saba.

Saba experienced a chronic lack of money in circulation around the island by the mid nineteenth century. This resulted in at least five currencies traded across the island. This economic environment was very visible at both Palmetto Point and Middle Island. The trash pit at Palmetto Point yielded French, Danish, American, and Dutch currency. Meanwhile, at House 1 in Middle Island, half of a nineteenth century Dutch 3-cent coin was found, indicating that it was split to make change due to a lack of currency. Saba’s economic environment during the nineteenth century necessitated

alternative means of exchange. Labat remarked in 1701 that meat was shared communally, whereby residents took turns butchering their livestock. While this was a practical matter in the absence of adequate preservation, it undoubtedly fostered a certain sense of community among residents. Given this social and economic environment, especially with a small population with no anonymity, it was not have been socially expedient in every case to lend as a means of leveraging power, or using loans at interest as an active means to profit, especially when physical money was so scarce that it was impossible to employ in every transaction, especially when their sale value exceeded the amount of money in circulation. The act of mortgaging and lending cash, goods, and services in Saba's internal economy carried the potential for the creditor to leverage power over the debtor, though this clearly was not exercised in every case. Crediting in late eighteenth and nineteenth century Saba was in itself was not so much a universal means of projecting power through debt holding and profiting through interest as was the *ability* to lend, and the interpersonal relationships that were created and fostered through the act of lending and the transactions themselves (Graeber 2012). The amounts that one was able to credit and similarly request as a debtor, however, do project class through a demonstration of wealth, or lack thereof.

Race and slavery in pre-emancipation colonial Saba

Race, together with gender, was an immutable element of identity that was externally imposed upon individuals, and could never be transcended without a radical shift in the *habitus* of pre-colonial Saban society. Therefore, one's race framed all social relations between individuals. The concept of race and racism would have quickly taken root on the island in the decade following its first colonization by the Dutch. The 1650's saw immigration to Saba by Dutch settlers evicted from then Dutch Brazil, who brought along their knowledge of sugar production. Based upon the origins of the fourteen enslaved Africans that escaped to Puerto Rico from Saba during this decade, it is apparent that they accompanied their owners to the island. By mid decade the population of enslaved Africans, by their estimate, outnumbered that of the European-descent settlers. Less than ten years after their escape, the English capture of Saba in 1665 had counted just 85 enslaved Africans. This event marked the end of Saba's first colonial slave society. All the major plantations were destroyed, including Spring Bay and Flat Point, and by 1678, no enslaved Africans were noted on the island.

The institution of slavery appears to have been reintroduced to Saba by the end of the century based upon the resumption of sugar exports to the GWC in 1686, and the archaeological assemblages from the Flat Point plantation to indicate the resumption of sugar production around this time. During Statia's first tenure as a slave trading destination during the 1720's, Sabans purchased 50 enslaved Africans, mostly male. This demonstrates that a certain proportion of Sabans had sufficient wealth or

access to credit to acquire enslaved Africans, derived from the earlier economic boom Labat had noted in 1701. While the type of labour these enslaved Africans were destined for is unknown, it was probably not plantation labour as most, if not all plantations on Saba at this time were owned by foreigners. After this period, first generation enslaved Africans appear to have been occasionally purchased and brought to the island by Sabans up to 1772, evidenced by the first-generation African descent woman buried at the Fort Bay Ridge site.

Certain elements of racialized material culture were recovered from eighteenth century plantation contexts across the island. The cowrie shells from Spring Bay and Flat Point strongly suggest use by enslaved Africans, especially given that these shells cannot be obtained from Saba. The eight-faceted purple glass bead found on the surface at Spring Bay is a French slave trade bead manufactured in Nantes. While the bead is inseparably associated with the transatlantic slave trade, unfortunately due to its surface provenience it cannot be definitively associated with use by enslaved Africans, though this is probably the case. Dry stone enslaved African housing was unique to Flat Point and Spring Bay Flat. Outside of plantation contexts, similar structures existed, but were used as animal shelter.

The lockbox assemblage recovered from Structure D at Spring Bay Flat provides clear associations with race based upon the West African cultural elements present in the items. The intact *Cittarium pica* shell, iron nails, and lock latch together all share West African cultural associations with transformation and the afterlife. Isotope analyses from the teeth also provide direct evidence of first generation African ancestry. Placing shells on top of graves continues into the present across the Caribbean, including Saba, as a means to commemorate the dead. This practice has its antecedents in previous West African creole traditions in the Caribbean, as evidenced through the lockbox contents.

The destruction from the 1772 hurricane would have explicitly challenged class and class consciousness across among white residents, especially in context with enslaved Africans. Many white Sabans were reduced to similar if not worse material conditions than poor white Sabans and even enslaved Africans prior to 1772; they were “obliged to shelter themselves from the inclemencies of the weather under rocks and caves of the earth, half naked and famishing with hunger; unable to help themselves and others”. Whether living in caves, thatch houses, or even stone houses such as Spring Bay Flat, this would have exposed the *habitus* in Saban ideology relative to race and class, and fostered its subsequent re-evaluation. This event occurred during a period of continued exodus of a proportion of the Saban population with sufficient means to afford to emigrate, since the 1740’s, which served to increase the proportion of poor residents to the whole. It is therefore no coincidence with a shift in *habitus* and the economic environment of Saba during this time that the first

documented free Sabans of African descent appeared in the census of 1780, followed by a rise in manumission rates in the coming decades.

Free African descent Sabans began appearing the 1780 census, and by the 1816, there were 27. However, among the 27, only five were male, demonstrating that economic expedience, rather than altruism, lay behind their owners' motives for manumission, as men were valued for field labour over women. Nonetheless, many free African descent Sabans by this time owned land in areas of The Bottom and Middle Island. Relative to enslaved people, the 1780 census shows only 28 coloured to 534 black, demonstrating that there were occasional sexual relations between white Sabans and enslaved Africans. These are very likely creole individuals as there appear to have been very few enslaved Africans brought to the island since the 1720's. Sexual relations continued into the nineteenth century, which challenged the powered relations inherent in Saba's race relations; in some instances, grandfathers were manumitting their (mustee) grandsons. The numbers of Sabans regarded as coloured, or at least not black due to certain degrees of known or perceived European ancestry, challenges contemporary notions that all African-decent Caribbean residents are ancestors of enslaved people, or that white Caribbean residents are wholly descended from European colonists (Armstrong 2003:22; Johnson 2014:32-33).

Since only a very small number of African descent Sabans were free on the island by 1780, the ideological vectors associated with free Africans by white Sabans would not have developed within white Saban society until their numbers expanded by the early nineteenth century. Saba does not appear to have observed the colour line as strictly as other islands in the Dutch Antilles. Saba's early censuses do not account for "coloured" enslaved people; in fact, the only census that does so is from 1780, which was Saba's only census since 1715. This may have been a stipulation from authorities in St. Eustatius since it does not appear in later nineteenth century censuses from Saba. Nonetheless, the Saban colour line observed black, sambo, mulatto, coloured, and mustee as hierarchical degrees of real or perceived African ancestry. Scales of real or perceived African descent created a racial hierarchy that was not experienced by white Sabans. This was exemplified through Pleasant Hassell's insult towards Celia Wood; she was a "damn black thief". The court had recorded Pleasant as a coloured woman, and Celia as black. This practice was combined with the denial of prefixes to result in a series of individual address unique to African descent Sabans, such as "the black man John", or "Jibber, a coloured woman".

Social relations between owners and enslaved in nineteenth century Saba were varied. Some were sufficiently bad that enslaved Africans absconded. In other examples, owner and enslaved toiled side by side during fieldwork, and some were manumitted upon the deaths of their owners, and given a house and land. Examples such as the latter probably gave rise to the prevalence within Saban oral

history that enslaved Africans were treated as “family” by their owners. Conditional manumission was also employed by owners as a loophole to guarantee some form of permanent labour from their former enslaved Africans in return for divesting themselves of their legal obligations as slave owners. There does not appear to be a large number, if any number, of abolitionists living on Saba prior to emancipation. The sole example is limited to Captain Robert Stovels Dinzey, who sailed under the British flag, and helped enslaved Africans on Saba abscond from the island aboard his ship to gain freedom in Barbados. Saban seafarers would have been more likely to become abolitionists through their ability to interact with others across different islands, especially after 1848 when the Dutch were among the last European nations to maintain the institution of slavery.

Being a free African descent Saban did not guarantee sympathy to the enslaved; some owned enslaved Africans, and in the example of Pleasant Hassell, apparently thought it proper to set fire to their houses. In other examples, those that were previously enslaved maintained love interests with those within slavery, such as Daniel Woods and Miah. Other free African descent Sabans used their freedom as a means to earn money to manumit enslaved Africans, often their relatives. In some cases, they used their freedom to assist enslaved Africans from persecution from their owner. This was evidenced in the trial of Wenter for theft of goats and cassava, wherein he was provided assistance and shelter by George, who was himself a free man of African descent. The legal system served the powered interests of white Sabans through harsh sentences to free Sabans of African descent. Exile in particular was reserved exclusively for them, and enacted on at least five occasions. African descent Sabans rarely participated in public auctions, and when they did, it was often to purchase goods among themselves.

The systematic exclusion of free African descent by white Sabans appears to have functioned to socially distance these racialized groups from one another. This included nineteenth century practices such as excluding enslaved Africans from adopting Christianity prior to the introduction of Catholicism, denying free African descent residents prefixes during introductory conversation and written documents, and severe punishments through the legal system, such as exile. Free African descent residents rarely participated in estate auctions of white Sabans throughout the nineteenth century. However, they composed the majority of purchasers at the estate auctions of African descent Sabans. This exclusion extended to marriage between white and African descent Sabans, but to a lesser degree with sexual relations.

Despite the exclusion of free African descent Sabans from white Saban society, acculturation to white Saban culture was prevalent among them. This was seen through the adoption of Saban domestic architecture, the use of Saban household burial traditions, and the adoption of Saban surnames after manumission. Between owner and enslaved, naming conventions demonstrate a

complex series of interactions involving a desire for assimilation through the use of traditional Saban names, and a rejection of Saban tradition through the use of non-Saban names. This was especially prevalent among enslaved women. Assimilation through religion was discouraged, to the point that in 1816, all enslaved Africans were considered “non-Christian”. White Sabans also adopted cultural elements from Saba’s African descent population, most notably through the use of conch shells on top of graves, which are present in the Thomas Dinzey cemetery.

Gender in pre-emancipation colonial Saba

Gender, together with race, is a pervasive element of powered social relations in colonial Saban society, deeply rooted in the *habitus* of Saban culture. Throughout Saba’s pre-emancipation colonial period, and indeed the wider Caribbean, gender framed every set of social relations between individuals, and both enabled and restricted one’s capacity to engage with society. Census records were organized by household as early as the late seventeenth century, with married men as the “head” of the household, guaranteeing the subordinate status of women to men. Women only occasionally made purchases in public auctions, and many of those that did were either unmarried or widowed, demonstrating that in general, male household heads controlled finances. Professions were strongly gender-oriented. Seafaring, governance, carpentry, and shipbuilding were strictly male enterprises, while tailoring was the domain of women. Cobbling was probably a shared enterprise, though this is yet unknown. White women probably participated to certain degrees in the field labour associated with subsistence agriculture, especially if they were widowed or the unmarried head of a household. This is reflected in the types of gendered labour visible in the 1863 emancipation list among previously enslaved Africans, whereby male field labourers outnumber their female contemporaries by a margin of about 6:1. Among other professions among enslaved Africans by 1863, domestic labour is mostly the domain of women, while cooking, washing, and midwifery were done by women exclusively. Notably, all agents working abroad on other islands for Sabans were women; while the exclusivity of this profession among women is probably not coincidental, the reason is unknown at this point beyond conjecture. Men appear to have assumed general control of household finances, evidenced by their majority as purchasers of raw materials for tailoring, a Saban woman’s profession, during Robert Ferrier’s auction in 1826. Occasional purchases, however, were made by married women during the late eighteenth to nineteenth centuries as evidenced in the Vendue Books. Gender-specific insults are visible in court cases from early and mid nineteenth century Saba. These usually centered on a woman’s fidelity, such as being called a “whore”, “blood of a whore”, and a “Martineller’s whore”.

Gendered artifacts were difficult to identify without the benefit of spatial context. The gendered nature of certain professions, however, subsequently engenders material items associated with their practice. The thimble recovered from House 1 at Middle Island is associated with tailoring, and thus a woman's artifact, while the carpenter's plane found at Palmetto Point can be engendered as a male artifact. Gendered activities beyond profession can also provide further context to certain assemblages. Glass bottles often found scattered around animal pens are often the result of butchering, a male activity that was usually preceded with considerable alcohol consumption.

Interpreting Saba's landscapes of race, class, and gender in its pre-emancipation colonial archaeology

By viewing class, race, and gender as local and regional social processes that contribute to archaeological assemblages, the capacity and effectiveness for associated materiality to express these ideological vectors can become apparent for a given area or population embedded within those contexts. These vectors are inseparably related as ideological processes throughout this period. Therefore, both object-centered approaches that view powered vectors through collections of "things", and representational approaches that infer these vectors by comparing material anomalies in assemblages relative to standardized expectancies, will risk reifying foreign ideologies upon the past without first considering the processes that produced them, especially at local levels and small scales such as Saba. As previously discussed, there were no examples of class within pre-emancipation colonial Saban society that could be understood without reference to how race and gender enabled, disabled, or otherwise informed the ability of an individual to employ any of them as a class vector. Class vectors, in other words, were primarily dependant upon their dialectic with race, gender, scale, and locality. An excellent example of this are the late eighteenth and nineteenth century naming conventions among white Sabans and enslaved Africans on Saba.

In colonial Saba, a tradition existed of bestowing a narrow selection of biblical and English names among white Sabans, while enslaved Africans names were more varied. This is likely due to a common practice on Saba of naming children after their ancestors. Due to this practice, there does not appear to be a correlation of particular first names with class at any point in time prior to emancipation. Gendered names, though, were clearly visible among both white Sabans and enslaved Africans. Among enslaved Africans, there is no explicit mention in the oral or documentary records that state whether owners or enslaved African parents exercised control over naming children. Regardless of who exercised control over naming enslaved African children, whether parents or owner, a cognitive split is visible through naming conventions. Bestowing white Saban names upon enslaved African children could facilitate their cultural assimilation to the dominant culture within the

realities of a racialized Saban slave society, while giving non-traditional names such as Jibber and Washington may have made this more difficult. Roland Fryer and Steven Levitt (2003), in a study and survey of naming practices in the U.S.A. among African-descent Americans between 1970 and 2003, inquired as to why a split appeared among African-descent American parents' name choices for their children between more 'white' American names versus those that were distinctively African-American during the 1970's. "Within a seven-year period in the early 1970's," they found that "...a profound shift in naming conventions took place, especially among Blacks in racially isolated neighborhoods. The median Black female in a segregated area went from receiving a name that was twice as likely to be given to Blacks as Whites to a name that was more than twenty times as likely to be given to Blacks. Black male names moved in the same direction, but the shift was less pronounced. Among a subset of Blacks, encompassing about one-fourth of Blacks overall and one-half of those in predominantly White neighborhoods, name choices actually became more similar to those of Whites during this period. We argue that these empirical patterns are most consistent with a model in which the rise of the Black Power movement influenced Black identity" (Fryer and Levitt 2003:4). Naming conventions among enslaved Africans from 1780-1863 on Saba are similar to these results, and may indicate that both owners and enslaved may have exercised power in different circumstances over naming children.

A significant percentage of white Saban male and female names were visible among male and female enslaved Africans, with the prevalence of specific names roughly equivalent to their proportions among the white population. Among enslaved Africans, those name choices that fell outside the pool of traditional names accounted for 33% of male names, and 56% among females. Many of these names were unique to African-descent Sabans. Certain names within the non-traditional pool would have been a means of expressing class. This trend has been noted in the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries within the American Social Security Administration (SSA) database of registered births (Gureckis & Goldstone 2009). Conversely, if the choice of these names for enslaved African children was done by their owners, it was mired in a certain inescapable irony whether or not this was done consciously, as the names harken to power from within a position of slavery.

Although this trend appears non-existent among white Sabans, among male enslaved Africans this expressed to a small degree in readily identifiable names such as Yankey, William Wallace, Augustus (including variations), Titus, Don Carlo, London, Scotland, Washington and Wellington. The name Yankey appears as early as 1782, in the midst of the American Revolution. By 1863 there were five individuals with this name across Saba. "Powerful leaders" were represented among names such as William Wallace, a Scottish independence hero; Augustus and Titus, both Roman emperors; Washington, general of the U.S.A. rebel armies during the War of Independence with Britain, and

Wellington, the British general who led the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo. Don Carlo may directly relate to any of Don Carlos I, II, or III of Spain, the last being contemporary with the individual; but in any case, Don is a title signifying royalty or a member of the secular clergy in Spain. London and Scotland make reference to the global power and influence enjoyed by the two during the nineteenth century. Among females an equivalent is only found in one instance, with the name Cleopatra. All these “non-traditional” names assigned to enslaved African children are not found among the white population, and therefore indicate African ancestry. With the case of the name Yankey, it appears to be a continuation of the ancestral naming tradition, but through a “non-traditional” white Saban name.

By reconstructing these naming conventions relative to the insights garnered separately between race, class, and gender, the nuances and synergies between them become readily apparent. Employing gender alone allows one to see differences in names based upon engendered names, as there are few examples of unisex first names, limited to cases of first and middle names such as “Peter Ann”, which is exclusive to women. Race becomes visible through analyzing the prevalence of names between white Sabans and enslaved Africans. All white Saban names could be adopted by enslaved Africans, but among the enslaved, there were many names which were unique, and therefore reflected their African descent. With regard to class, specific names were visible that made reference powerful places and figures, whether contemporary or historical. Employing race as a layer to this analysis reveals that these names were not present among white Sabans. Employing both race and gender reveals a higher prevalence of “non-traditional” white Saban names among enslaved women than men. There are clearly inferences to draw from this difference, but unfortunately it is dependant upon knowing which group exercised control of naming enslaved children. Gender and class analyses show that the powered names referencing people and places were limited mostly to men. Race, class, and gendered analyses together reveal that the powered names referencing people and places were much more prevalent among enslaved males than females. In this example, studying either race, class, or gender as isolated ideological vectors, rather than dialectically, would result in incomplete and even misleading data.

The spread of Catholicism is also inextricably informed by class, race, and gender. Catholicism largely excluded enslaved Africans until 1857, when 60 enslaved Africans were baptized under the zealous sponsor Sarah Christopher Mardenborough. By this time, women also constituted the largest majority of sponsors for Catholic baptisms. By 1861, the Catholic Church on Saba counted 486 converts, but only 171 were male; similarly, 183 of the total converts were enslaved Africans, but just 71 of them were male. The spread and practice of Catholicism on Saba during the 1850’s and 1860’s was clearly an enterprise driven primarily by women, and provided a means for white Saban women

and enslaved Africans to transcend racial divisions across the island despite Saba's history of denying Christianity to the enslaved population.

The interactions and complexities in the dialectic between class, race, and gender-based analyses within pre-emancipation colonial Saba are further tied to the quality, scale, and locality of vectors that can be ascribed to them. This harkens back to the "Humpty Dumpty" problem described in Chapter 3. A pair of gold buttons alone without context cannot serve as a definitive ideological vector for an individual or household. A pair of gold buttons, three enslaved Africans, and a small house could very well have been possessed by a Saban (as they were with Peter Collins of Palmetto Point) designated by authorities as poor during the late eighteenth century; however, this person would be highly unlikely inhabit a dry stone house as this was the domain of enslaved Africans on plantations, and of livestock in non-plantation contexts across the island. If this person was referred in terms of explicit gender rather as a title, such as "the woman" rather than "Ms., Mrs, or Miss", then they are certainly of African descent according to this absolute race and gender dependent vector. A person who in the late eighteenth century owned a pair of gold buttons, three enslaved Africans, and a modest house in addition to a cut stone and mortar house in The Bottom, along with extensive land ownership, "white" plates and "Chinny ware", shares in a regional trade vessel, and buried in a mock vault, would almost certainly not have been designated as poor or low class, and would rather have been counted among Saba's upper class. Such a combination of vectors rules out Sabans of African descent, as no known individuals possessed the necessary wealth to purchase shares in a ship, own large tracts of land, or to be buried in a nineteenth century mock vault. Locality is also important in this regard for regional context. Thomas Dinzey stood as the highest class of Saban within an "island of poor people" by during the late eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries, who stood as both a wealthy plantation owner and Governor of Saba. However, his wealth and plantation were comparatively modest relative to his regional contemporaries, such as Johannes de Graaf of St. Eustatius.

Along this line, locality is also implicated in the applicability of price scaling models had towards interpreting ceramic assemblages, as evidenced in the quantitative and qualitative values Sabans placed upon them in the Vendue Book. During 1780's, despite Rodney's occupation in 1781, St. Eustatius continued to enjoy a second round of its "Golden Rock" era, wherein it was a global emporium for European goods, including the latest fashions of ceramics. Price-scaling models such as Miller's CC index (1991) would certainly be applicable and informative towards excavating warehouses and upper class residents' houses on Statia during that period. Such a fragment of St. Eustatius' "Golden Rock" period was manifested on Saba through the Spring Bay Flat Plantation during the late eighteenth century, where an awareness of ceramic value to the plantation's owners was clearly

visibe. While pearlwares were relatively common at the site, transfer print wares, including those in pearlware, were rare; in fact, there was more Chinese porcelain recovered across the plantation than transfer wares. Amongst the enslaved African domestic structures excavated at Spring Bay Flat, no transfer print wares were recovered except a very small fragment from Structure E. Around the vicinity of the Big House and the boiling house, transfer print ware was present in small quantities, including an early black transfer print creamware teacup, which suggests that transfer print wares were valued and expensive; enslaved African were deliberately provided with cheaper wares than those that were employed by the Big House inhabitants. Meanwhile, at the Flat Point plantation, probably owned by Simon Donker of St. Eustatius, ceramic roof tiles were employed across plantation infrastructure, which did not figure into Saban architecture. During the eighteenth century, Saba was governed through St. Eustatius. A further layer of dominance lay in the foreign ownership of plantations across the island. In this respect, Spring Bay Flat and Flat Point effectively functioned as a social and physical annex of “Golden Rock” St. Eustatius via the island’s merchant class.

Meanwhile, on Saba, beyond the bounds of plantations, most residents paid little regard to ceramic fashion, and were more concerned with fabric, form, and function as evidenced in the sales records and probate inventories from the time. Indeed, the only fashion descriptors included white, “Chinny”, which may have referred to both Chinese porcelain and transfer print wares, and “Queen’s ware” as a generalized reference to creamware by the 1820’s. In this context, a European-derived, upper class-centric consumption model such as Miller’s model would have little inferential use beyond the notion that these Sabans were not keeping up with the latest fashions, and were not observing those norms for value. Interpreting Saban ceramic assemblages from this time therefore necessitates a knowledge of how different groups of Sabans saw their value and utility in order to make responsible use of an object-centered approach towards interpreting this assemblage. Although commonalities existed among ceramic assemblages between Middle Island and Palmetto Point, with a preponderance of early and late hand painted polychrome floral whitewares, annular wares, and sponge wares, these were also among the cheapest varieties of ceramics available for purchase. This would correspond to price scaling models in that low class people bought within their means. Their decorations, though, were not described relative to those considered worthy of description in records, and were probably considered irrelevant. In the case of SB 036, a break in this norm was observed, in that the household was in fact attempting to keep up with the latest styles during the eighteenth century, which strongly indicates an awareness and adoption of regional upper class norms tied to Europe. While the social value of Chinese-type wares is evident from estate auctions, their monetary value fluctuated considerably to the point where their capacities for class projection could reach saturation levels when they flirted with practicality, as evidenced through the sale of 30 “Chinese”

plates for 1.4.0 p/8 in 1817. Ceramics were evidently not a primary means of class projection in nineteenth century Saba as its plantation-era dwindled.

Together, these vectors presented in the previous chapter provide an excellent means for understanding elements of the materiality of inequality throughout Saba's pre-emancipation colonial period as they are implicated in the processes which fostered ideological divisions throughout particular periods of Saba's colonial history. Specific dimensions associated with the lower rungs of inequality on Saba, such as low class, poverty, and slavery, however, cannot be differentiated between each other through their material characteristics alone.

Differentiating between poverty, slavery, and low class in pre-emancipation colonial Saba

Identifying slavery, poverty, and low class begins by understanding the processes involved in their creation, maintenance, and change within a particular society; in this case, Saba. Slavery and deserving/undeserving poverty are a product of a legalized process, whereas low class it not. Therefore, one entry point for the archaeology of slavery and poverty begins by understanding how an imposed legal status by a dominant culture is implicated in its materiality, and how this changed through time. This is most prominent through spaces that were designated for enslaved Africans (Armstrong & Kelly 2000). The socio-spatial dialectic demonstrated class and race divisions at both an island, plantation, and village level. The experience of plantation and non-plantation slavery on Saba, however, limited its utility to the former. Enslaved African villages were located at Flat Point and Spring Bay Flat following Armstrong & Kelly's (2000) model for plantation spatial organization. According to both oral history and documentary records, nineteenth century enslaved Africans owned by Sabans often co-habited with their owners in the same house, and those engaged in field labour were also known to work side-by-side with their owners as well. Therefore, determining the materiality of non-plantation slavery in these co-habitation contexts would be exceedingly difficult.

Saba's legal system and social conventions among Sabans relative to enslaved Africans also served to reinforce powered relations. Enslaved Africans were obliged to observe certain manners in the presence of white Sabans as outlined by Joseph Dinzey, such as hat tipping. The legal system is closely implicated in the materiality of slavery by regulating the living conditions and behavior of the enslaved. This can translate into processes that can be visible archaeologically. Unlike free Sabans, in those cases where enslaved Africans lived in a separate house from their owners, they were bound to observe certain laws relative to its construction. Floorboards and housing partitions were deemed illegal on Saba in 1823, and therefore enslaved African structures dating after this period can be expected to be single room structures with either marl, dirt, or cobblestone flooring. This was exemplified by House 3 at Middle Island. This was situated atop of unfavourable land, which was

nothing more than a narrow tract of flat space created by the backfill of a stone terrace. It was adjacent to one of the few cisterns at in the village, also located upon this same flat, which suggests that both the cistern and the enslaved African house was being squeezed into the limited tract of land available to the owner. The cistern ownership indicates a degree of wealth and access to social leveraging within the village through water access on part of the owner. Together this shows that that House 3 was the most likely home of the sole adult enslaved African that lived at Middle Island between 1848 and 1861.

Other processes beyond the legal system also affected the materiality of slavery on Saba, such as relations between enslaved Africans, their owners, and white residents. Saba was perceived in the nineteenth century to be an island where enslaved Africans had more personal liberties and did not feel the weight of their bondage as much as others did on nearby islands. Saban oral history similarly recounts that enslaved Africans and their owners, outside of plantation contexts, often worked in the field side by side. Joseph Dinzey related that they were allowed to carry firearms, and this extended to plantation contexts, wherein a Bess-type gunlock and several European gunflints were recovered from Structure C at the Spring Bay Flat plantation. This demonstrates that both outside plantations and within certain ones, relations between enslaved Africans and their owners were sufficiently civil for the former to be entrusted with firearms; owners evidently did not fear for their lives, and Sabans did not expect a slave revolt. Therefore, the presence of firearms within enslaved African contexts on Saba does not generally indicate an intent to defend or revolt against their owners or white residents as it may have in other islands, and rather indicates the relatively civil relations they enjoyed with white Sabans.

Even with the benefit of context provided by the socio-spatial dialectic, identifying low class, poverty, and slavery according to material assemblages is difficult. Indeed, superficially, the assemblages between Palmetto Point, Middle Island, Spring Bay Flat, and Flat Point are very similar. The lockbox contents from Structure D at SB 004, and the burial at the Fort Bay Ridge site, collectively provided the clearest association with slavery. The individuals' West African origins from both of these archaeological contexts are visible through isotope analysis. While these individuals were first generation African descent individuals, their context *strongly suggests* that they individual were enslaved, but is not sufficient to *prove* slavery. In this case, what is required to demonstrate first-generation slavery in the colonial America in an individual beyond a reasonable doubt is a means to demonstrate the presence of a unifying experience of colonial American slavery. Among first generation enslaved Africans in the Americas, this was the forced migration bought about by the transatlantic slave trade. The migration history revealed through isotope analysis of the individual's teeth from Spring Bay Flat is entirely consistent with millions of similar experiences of Africans

captured and brought to the Americas as part of the transatlantic slave trade. In this case, it begins with a birth in West Africa, a capture by slave raiders, sale at a coastal European slave trading fort, and forced migration to the Americas. The comparative odds of a European birth in West Africa, relocation to the coast, and subsequent migration to the Caribbean during teenage years is infinitesimally small. The (forced) migration history revealed through carbon, oxygen, and strontium isotope analysis demonstrates that this individual was enslaved with comfortable certainty.

The burial encountered at the Fort Bay Ridge site is that of a first-generation pregnant African woman with a late-term child. Strontium isotope ratios recovered from her teeth point to an origin in West Africa. Her first-generation origins in West Africa demonstrate that she was enslaved during her lifetime, but not necessarily at the point of her death. However, the spatial context and manner in which she was buried is entirely inconsistent with Saban burial practices, and strongly indicates that she was enslaved while she died, and was interred accordingly. The burial was very shallow, the grave was a simple pit, she was buried with no items, and her grave was unmarked and located away from the house. In addition, the 1780 census recorded only four free African descent Sabans, while this woman died between 1762 and 1772/1780. The household's wealth, evident through the site's layout, unique cistern architecture, and material culture, indicates a high level of wealth are very inconsistent with the type of burial for her to have been the landowner. It can therefore be comfortably stated that this woman was buried as an enslaved African.

In pre-emancipation colonial Saba, low class was visible through its dialectic with racialized space among free African descent Sabans, and through class vectors such as diet, domestic architecture, domestic furnishing, enslaved African ownership, and a reliance upon subsistence agriculture. Most, if not all free African descent Sabans would have been considered low class, and likely many considered poor. This created an inseparable link between class and race within the norms of the dominant white Saban society. Due to the homogenization of low class among free African descent Sabans, their material possessions would not have been an effective class vector within their communities if their material class vectors were identical to those of white Saban society. Indeed, even the diets between enslaved Africans at Flat Point and Spring Bay Flat were very similar to free, low class residents of Palmetto Point, Middle Island, and Behind-the-Ridge. A key exception, however, lies among those free African descent Sabans who identified more strongly with white Saban culture than those who rejected it. Unfortunately, material evidence of this rejection was not clearly visible in the archaeological record; while Afro-Caribbean ware may have been associated more strongly with African descent Sabans than not, and therefore an excellent potential material vector of class and race, an effective means of distinguishing it from nearly identical Amerindian wares has to date not been determined.

In the absence of spaces designated as poor, poverty and low class are materially indistinguishable on Saba. Low class and slavery share a range of ideological vectors that were archaeologically indistinguishable from the other due to different processes that produced similar materiality, save for the notable exceptions of the socio spatial dialectic, and enslaved African plantation domestic architecture with dry stone houses. The intangible vectors, which are more readily visible in the documentary record, provide much clearer ideological differentiation between low class and enslavement beyond materiality.

Enslaved Africans almost certainly did not qualify as poor, since slavery constituted its own legal class, and their owners, rather than themselves, were legally responsible for their welfare. This would have fostered somewhat ironic instances, especially after 1772, where owners may have been considered among the deserving poor by the government, but their enslaved Africans, with similar or worse material circumstances, were not. The inhabitants of Palmetto Point, at least by the last half of the nineteenth century, would probably have all been considered as deserving poor, since the village was stigmatized as “socially backwards”, yet still inhabited entirely by white residents. Free Sabans of African descent were likely eligible to have been considered among the deserving poor, but the racial discrimination prevalent throughout Saba’s nineteenth century legal system suggests that it may have been more difficult for them to obtain this recognition along with corresponding support than for white Sabans under otherwise identical circumstances. The close association of housing with class on Saba, especially among the island’s upper class, implies that government officials probably considered low class housing as a prime constituent of deserving poverty, especially relative to thatch houses.

Although few in number, the social and material ideological vectors that distinguish low class from slavery in pre-emancipation colonial Saba have been identified and discussed. The question of identifying poverty, though, remains. Identifying poverty through the material things is problematic as it cannot be materially differentiated in Saba’s archaeological record apart from low class and slavery.

Perspectives and landscapes of poverties

Poverty is a process which involves a dialectic between particular vectors of class, race, and gender relative to Saba’s social and spatial environment. By considering poverty as a process rather than a “thing” which can be directly reflected by objects, changes in the materiality of poverty did not alter the lived experience of the poor (Chicone 2011a). While a reified class of poor Sabans lived on the island in the nineteenth century due to government remittances designated for the poor, non-reified notions of Saban poverty existed among both Sabans and residents on other islands in their regard to Saba. By studying poverty in terms of space and powered perspectives, the materiality of

the people inhabiting a given poor space changes relative to people or groups that could enforce and maintain their powered perspective of places they considered poor, and those they did not. Effectively, they have lost control of their own ideological narrative. This emphasis on the experience of poverty highlights the importance of multiple powered perspectives, both external and internal, in designating and reifying poverty. Due to the ephemeral nature of poverty relative to space and perspective, it is best understood archaeologically through powered landscapes rather than through a pile of representative material objects.

A variety of social and environmental processes contributed towards the creation and maintenance of Saban poverty. Saba's stark topography produced few areas of flat land, which limits practical settlement to certain parts of the island. The prime lands were claimed quickly by plantations in the seventeenth century. Plantation landscapes quickly and permanently laid the foundations for poverty by occupying most of those lands that were flat, fertile, and provided ready access to anchorage. Indeed; in the midst of Saba's second plantation boom, by 1717 Sabans already requested permission to colonize nearby unoccupied islands as they considered Saba overpopulated. Though the last plantation, that of the Dinzeys, ceased operations in the 1820's, the estate's extensive landholdings across the western quarter of Saba were not parcelled off and sold to Sabans to any meaningful degree until around the 1850's, thereby maintaining these land limitations to other Sabans nearly until emancipation. Devastating hurricanes such as the 1772 "Great Hurricane" would have driven many to poverty for years afterward, as it destroyed 140 of 180 houses on the island and forced some to live in caves, and resulted in an unprecedented direct plea to the GWC for aid. Poverty's spread was further enabled during the nineteenth century through the growth of nuclear families, where households approaching twelve children were not uncommon. These processes which fostered and maintained poverty were visible on an island-wide scale through the lack of currency circulating on Saba by the nineteenth century; no less than five currencies were in use, and the amount of Dutch guilders in circulation was about equal to the purchase price of five adult male enslaved Africans.

The immutability of race and gender significantly restricted the ability of non-white and female Saban residents to improve their social and material dimensions of class relative to the whole of the island's society. Together these served as a series of processes that fostered poverty within this demographic. Regardless of the time period concerned, while freedom was granted to enslaved Africans through manumission, it also entailed the end of an owner's legal requirements towards them relative to housing, clothing, and shelter, potentially leaving them landless, homeless, and with few (if any) personal possessions, depending on the whim of the previous owner. This could have been mitigated to varying degrees by support available to these individuals through their social networks. These issues were implicitly addressed during the nineteenth century by some owners in their last

wills, wherein enslaved Africans were manumitted together with bequeathals such as housing, land, cisterns, and cash. Conditional manumissions imposed a form of extra-legal forced labour upon some African descent Sabans which diverted their own resources or time towards their previous owners. This involved conditions such as furnishing a family with shoes for life, or working one day out of every week for an appointed person until death, or until slavery ceased to exist. Judges in Saba's court of justice meted disproportionate sentences upon African-descent Sabans, further contributing to their social disenfranchisement. African descent Sabans, both free and enslaved, were also disenfranchised from Saba's public markets. In all the late eighteenth and nineteenth century sales records, African descent buyers are rare, and most often were recorded as purchasers from the estates of other African descent Sabans. The notable exception was Mary Ann Johnson, who appeared to have a degree of disposable income sufficient to purchase at least three enslaved Africans and a variety of goods, including an umbrella, from the travelling merchant Robert Ferrier. Though the reasons for these purchasing practices among African descent Sabans are unclear, it appears they are at least rooted in social marginalization due to race. Being widowed as a dependent spouse imposed visible difficulties upon women towards self-support. Through the rest of their lives many had to continuously sell off land or even their house in a piecemeal fashion until it was completely sold as a means to obtain income.

Saba's processes of poverty operated within powered social landscapes, both locally and regionally. Saba was known as an "island of poor people" among certain residents of St. Eustatius, despite internal class and race-based differentiations within Saban society. The whole island of Saba was designated as "poor" prior to the 1772 hurricane by the Island Secretary of St. Eustatius (DNAr 1.05.01.02 #629:2/2/1773), which was probably a commonly-held assertion outside of Saba during this time, but which obscured the real complexities of contemporary Saban social organization. The petition sent to the GWC by Sabans in the aftermath of the 1772 hurricane described their plight in detail, and the petition, likely through the pen of government officials, characterized Sabans as poor to the extent that they would be unable to finance the reconstruction of the church in The Bottom; "...and (which affects us most of all) whereas, God hath been pleased, no doubt as a just punishment of our aims, to smite his own house among us and lay it in ruins, a great labour and expence which the poor inhabitants could hardly bear" (DNAr 1.05.06.13 #1151). While the hurricane certainly reduced large numbers of Sabans to living in conditions akin to poverty, Saban officials were applying the known external characterization of "poor Saba" prior to the hurricane to support their petition, while internally, Saba's social organization maintained more discerning characterizations of poverty among its residents.

The importance of space in defining class relative to people and materiality is best highlighted in a comparison of housing at Spring Bay Flat and Palmetto Point. The plantation and the village were both co-existing from the late eighteenth century to the first decade of the nineteenth century. Palmetto Point was implicitly considered a social backwater to officials in The Bottom, as it scarcely appears in government documentation outside of court and sales records. It was also widely considered poor by the mid-nineteenth century. However, as previously mentioned, the size of the Big House at Spring Bay Flat is smaller than the average “Saban house” surveyed by Brugman, and is more comparable in size to the houses at Palmetto Point. Recalling the centrality of the house and its upkeep to class among Sabans, such a comparison is tenable. Although poverty homogenized all potential material vectors for ideology within the village, a comparable sized house within plantation lands as the “Big House” makes it upper class. This emphasizes the importance of space in negotiating the bounds of poverty relative to materiality.

External perceptions of Saban poverty would also have been fostered through the island’s economy. As previously discussed, the chronic lack of specie on Saba made the payment of debts through cash difficult, and by consequence encouraged a culture of lending and debt holding across the island. Often, debts were only payable upon the death of the debtor, whereupon his or her estate would be wholly or partially auctioned to repay them. Debt holding was so pervasive, in fact, that it is likely that if all Saban debts were repaid, the island’s economy would collapse as it greatly outstripped the amounts of actual currency in circulation. As a result, this economic environment fostered means of exchange beyond currency. Many Sabans reified this notion of a “poor island” abroad during the mid-nineteenth century in St. Thomas by employing barter rather than specie as a means of exchange, even acquiring goods there that could have otherwise been obtained on Saba itself. Barter effectively became a symbol of their poverty abroad. Despite changes in the material possessions of Sabans, to residents of Golden-Rock era St. Eustatius, and nineteenth century St. Thomas, Saba was an island of poor people and therefore their possessions became co-constituent with their poverty, regardless if their properties and possessions may have expressed otherwise according to Saban cultural standards, or their own. Locality, therefore, can bestow multiple ideological dimensions upon material assemblages, and this must be taken into account by archaeologists.

One of the few internal self-characterizations of poverty, thereby demonstrating class consciousness, was evinced through Daniel Simmons. While he characterized himself as poor in his divorce petition to the Governor of Curaçao, he may not necessarily have figured among the deserving or even undeserving poor by Saba’s Delegated Bench of Justice. The social and material criteria to officially qualify individuals and households as poor by the governing class were unfortunately not

specified. This absolute measure of poverty, though, would have created two classes from among Saba's pre-existing lower class; those deserving of poverty, and those undeserving of the charity associated with it. Those considered deserving had poverty bestowed upon their space and possessions, regardless of these materials' capacities to serve as vectors for class that may indicate otherwise. Consequently, possessions of the deserving poor will then embody a second set of social relations; they were once low class, and subsequently made poor. The same principle of "becoming" would apply to spaces considered impoverished. Domestic architecture at Palmetto Point certainly would have remained strong class vector among residents within the village, for example, but outside it mattered less as Sabans considered the inhabitants to be poor and socially backwards because they lived at Palmetto Point. Therefore, identifying poverty based upon materiality and other ideological vectors is inherently problematic as it embodies multiple social and spatial perspectives derived from powered relationships, giving it an ephemeral quality. It is this ephemeral nature of poverty that makes studies of a "culture of poverty" problematic (Orser 2004; 2007), and situates studies of poverty's landscapes into Hicks & Hauser's (2007:268) call for archaeologists to situate the permeabilities of materiality "between humans, objects, places, and the contemporary sense of what 'matters' - at the heart of their studies". Archaeologies of poverty, therefore, are better off addressing how poverty was sustained, how it can simultaneously exist and not exist in an assemblage depending on the social and regional context of the observer, and how it was used in powered relations, rather than how it can be *seen* in material things.

Closing remarks

This research has uncovered a range of social and material vectors for projecting ideology in pre-emancipation colonial Saba by understanding the dialectics between landscapes, materiality, and ideological abstractions such as class, race, and gender. This research proceeded in response to a call from Hicks & Hauser (2007) and Hicks (2007) to connect materiality to archaeological landscapes, and from Orser (2007) to understand the relationships between race, class, and material culture. Throughout this research, it was evident that ideological analyses could not proceed without understanding how immutable ideological vectors such as gender and race informed those vectors that were transient, such as class, space, and social context. In response to Orser's suggestion that archaeologies of class may be more productive than archaeologies of race, establishing a hierarchy of relevance between the two is misleading. Rather, the division between transience and intransience relative to ideology is key to understanding the dialectic between race, class, gender, materiality, and landscapes.

The ideological vectors which contributed to this materiality are rooted in the lived experiences of both free and enslaved island residents throughout this period, which were derived from oral history and Saba's documentary record. While certain aspects of class, race, and gender were visible through material assemblages, their utility was limited when applied to the archaeology of slavery on Saba, and problematic relative to the materiality of poverty, due to the importance of powered perspectives across multiple social and spatial contexts that are implicated in defining and administering poverty. Nonetheless, slavery was visible in the archaeological record through combined evidence through isotope analysis, spatial context, and the archaeological record in the examples of the burial at the Fort Bay Ridge site, and the lockbox assemblage from Spring Bay Flat. The data and methodology presented herein can serve as a foundation for further regional studies of this nature. The preponderance of small islands across the eastern Caribbean facilitates an accountability to the whole as advocated in the methodology, where archaeologists, as mere mortals, can employ dialectical archaeology towards a study of the whole, and explore its limits and potentials within their lifetimes (Wurst 2006). In particular, St. Eustatius is well suited towards a similar study, with an emphasis on the effects that the collapse of the island's "Golden Rock" era heralded upon the social and material vectors of class, race, and gender into the nineteenth century. The theoretical framework which informed this research, while applied herein towards colonial Caribbean archaeology, is not limited to time and space and therefore can be applied towards the study of other groups and eras, at least where a large dataset is available. The ideological vectors presented in Chapter 7 will also provide comparative data for further research in the region. In particular, the use of dry stone structures as enslaved African housing is probably not limited to Saba, and may be present in both plantation and non-plantation contexts on other islands. Spatial analysis of dry stone housing may also show continuity with culture-specific domestic spatial patterning in West Africa, as may be the case with the structures at Flat Point (Kodzo Gavua & William Gblerkpor, personal communication 2015). Naming conventions among enslaved Africans also merits further research, especially upon other islands that featured little historical free immigration. A differentiation between undecorated Amerindian ceramics and potential Afro-Caribbean ware need to be made for Saban ceramics, combining fabric, temper, XRF analyses, and radiocarbon dating of embedded carbon within fabric pores or from other datable associated artifacts.

Randall McGuire's (2008) call for praxis in archaeology, and an awareness of how archaeological research is disseminated, interpreted, and used beyond an author's control has not gone unheeded. While the end date of emancipation in this research is not entirely arbitrary as it represents a fundamental shift in social relations and governance within the Dutch colonies, it was also intentionally selected so as to distance the author from the recent past, which encompasses the

lived experiences of Sabans in the present. The author lives on Saba and currently serves as director of SABARC, which is reliant upon government subsidies to fulfil its mandate. In addition, a thorough study and full disclosure of ideological processes in present-day Saba, which would include households, families, justice, and individual reputations, would effectively make the island socially uninhabitable for the author among a population of just around 1,500 residents. Nonetheless, on a general scale, the twentieth century saw continuity and change with regard to the prior century's ideological processes. Most importantly, these processes occurred within the context of fully capitalist social relations based upon wage labour and private ownership. While modern vectors for poverty such as education, minimum wage levels, and cost of living were not active in Saba's pre-emancipation period, colonial vectors such as race, gender, and the socio-spatial dialectic, as well as range of class vectors including first name and surname, wealth, village of residence, reputation, profession, and domestic architecture continue to define Saban ideology in the present. Sabans continue to identify themselves on a village basis, which now includes The Level since the 1970's, and a section of The Bottom known as the Promised Land in lieu of Palmetto Point following the latter's evacuation to the former in 1936. Villages and particular sections of them continue to bear close associations with race and class. Due to the influx of immigrants to Saba in the late twentieth century from the U.S.A., Columbia, the Netherlands, the Dominican Republic, Canada, Haiti, the Philippines, and other countries, nationality has re-emerged from Saba's seventeenth century as a class vector. Other colonial vectors either have diminished or complete irrelevance in the present. Slavery, of course, has not existed on Saba since 1863 and is thus a relic of former times. Religion has declined as a class vector from its height in the nineteenth century, titles are now the domain of medical doctors, medical school professors, PhD degree holders, and government officials. The title of Captain is no longer bestowed upon residents of that profession, along with the class that it once conferred. However, the class associated with sea captains has begun to become increasingly associated with fixed wing pilots after Saba's airport was inaugurated at Flat Point in 1963. This has continued into the present with WinAir pilots capable of landing on Saba, along with a local admiration for the Twin Otter aircraft.

Since the incorporation of Saba into the Netherlands as a "Public Entity" after 10 October, 2010, Saba has slid further into poverty according to a series of absolute measures employed by the Dutch government, which is closely associated with low wages and high costs of living (www.evaluationdutchcaribbean.nl, last accessed 13-12-2015). Whether Sabans are considered deserving or undeserving of their poverty, and even deserving of equal legal status with the European Dutch citizens, is currently the subject of debate within the Tweede Kamer (second chamber) of Dutch Parliament. It is the author's desire that legislation concerning these issues are grounded in an

awareness and accountability to the historical ideological processes that define Saba's history, and those that inform decisions of Dutch lawmakers in The Netherlands.