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**Free and Enslaved African Communities in Buff Bay, Jamaica: Daily
Life, Resistance, and Kinship, 1750-1834**

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**Free and Enslaved African Communities in Buff Bay, Jamaica: Daily
Life, Resistance, and Kinship, 1750-1834**

by

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Dedication

This work is dedicated to the memory of my grandmother Monica Guinessee Salfarlie, to my parents, Hollis Logan and Cecelia Mary Saunders, and to my nieces and nephews, Shanell, Jerrol, Doyle, Desire, Vaughn, Daley, Michaela, and Michaiiah.

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Free and Enslaved African Communities in Portland, Jamaica: Daily Life, Resistance, and Kinship, 1780-1834

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Supervisor: Samuel Wilson

Africans forcibly brought to the Americas during slavery came from very diverse cultural groups, languages, and geographical regions. African-derived creole cultures that were subsequently created in the Americas resulted from the interaction of various traditional African forms of knowledge and ideology, combined with elements from various Indigenous and European cultural groups and materials. Creating within the context of slavery, these complex set of experiences and choices made by Africans in the Americas resulted in an equally diverse range of fluid and complex relationships between various African-descended groups.

In a similar vein, Africans in Jamaica developed and exhibited a multiplicity of cultural identities and a complex set of relationships amongst themselves, reflective of their varied cultural, political, social, and physical origins (Brathwaite 1971; Joyner 1984). In the context of late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century Buff Bay, Jamaica, most Africans were enslaved by whites to serve as laborers on plantations. However, a

smaller group of Africans emerged from enslavement on plantations to form their own autonomous Maroon communities, alongside the plantation context and within the system of slavery. These two groups, enslaved Africans and Maroons, had a very complex set of relationship and identities that were fluid and constantly negotiated within the Jamaican slave society that was in turn hostile to both groups.

Using historical (archival), oral, and archaeological sources of data, this dissertation attempts to do two things: first, it examines the daily life conditions of enslaved Africans at a Jamaican coffee plantation, Orange Vale, in order to understand settlement patterns, house structures, access to goods, informal trade networks, and material culture in their village. With constraints on their freedom and general confinement to the plantation, how did enslavement affect the material world of the enslaved Africans at Orange Vale? What materials did they have access to, and how did they use them?

Second, I examine their cultural, social, and political identities alongside their autonomously freed Maroon “kin,” the neighboring Charles Town Maroon community. Using a popular origin myth, I attempt to show how descendents of both groups explain the origin of their relationship, as well as use the myth to simultaneously create political bonds based on their blackness and differentiate themselves. I also examine how their various origin, experiences, and worldview were manifested late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century Buff Bay and its place in the revolutionary Atlantic world, on the eve of emancipation.

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Abbreviations

JA	Jamaica Archives, Spanish Town
IRO	Island Record Office, Spanish Town
NLJ	National Library of Jamaica, Kingston
UWIL	University of the West Indies Library, Mona
PRO	Public Records Office, London (now National Archives)
SD	Survey Department, Kingston

Prologue

“Out of Many One People”: The Making of the African Diaspora in Jamaica

Two sistas a come a Jah-may-ka from Afrika on a slave ship. Back in dem days, white peeples dem a sell blaak peeples dem inna slavery, working for Buckra ben-fit. Dem two sista them both from royalty, you know. Wen dey get here, them slaveowners dem waan put dem on plantation to work, haad manual labor. One sista say ‘me nah work, me fight,’ but de adder sista say she cyan stand blood, so she nah goan fight. She nah goan fight. The first one, she fight she fight an’ ran up inna dem hills. She we now cal “Grandee Nanny,” our mother, ancesta to us Maroons. The secan sista, “Grandee Sue” she stay inna de plantay-sion, working haad for buckra, sweating blood. Grandee Sue became ancesta to all dem slave peeples who stay on dem plantay-sion until the Queen free dem.

(Charles Town, 2003)

Hear me now. This is what I want to tell you. They all come here as slaves... They all were from Africa. But they were from different-different districts, different-different tribes that had come down here. There were two leaders of those tribes of people. And they were two sisters, what you would call the elder ones, and you would call them leaders. They were two sisters. One was Grandy Nanny, and the other was her sister. One was Fanti Rose and one was Shanti Rose. In other words, the Maroons called her “Grandy Nanny”, because of a certain type of honour. Now, in the days when they came here and they all worked here. Well, the two sisters met and they were arguing. One said, well, she going to fight, and one said she wouldn’t fight. And I will tell you as far as this: one said, “o biamba shanty, o biamba shanti, o kotoku, o biamba so brinding” (Kromanti language). And she stopped right there. And one said, “o biamb ashanti, o biamba ashanti, kotoku, o biamba so brinding, she o shanty kotoku, she konkondba!” One said she wouldn’t fight, for she didn’t like the shedding of blood... she didn’t like the shedding of blood, so she wouldn’t fight, it was better for her to become a slave. The other side said that she would fight, right? And she was going to fight until the battle was rotten. Well, it was that side that became the Maroon side. For she did fight and became victorious. That’s how the split came about. After we fight, and I become free and you become a slave, there are certain different types of rules existing in my state of freedom than exist in your state, though all of us are from the same place. That’s how the bars were made between both of us.

One sister said she wouldn’t fight, for she didn’t like bloodshed. Well, the other one she saide she would fight. That’s how the separation came about. You find now that you get the Maroons, who are different from the outsiders, whom we call ‘niega’. But they are all Africans.

(Bilby 1984:12-13, collected in Moore Town, 1978)

The Origin Myth of Nanny and Seseku

These are two versions of the myth of “two sister pikni.” This dissertation deals in part with the complex history of two African communities, one Maroon and one enslaved, and so this historical myth is important for understanding this part of Jamaican history. This dissertation also combines a wide range of information – oral history, archaeology, historical documents, and genealogy – in an attempt to provide a richer and more complete view of the history of the African Diaspora. So before delving into the particular place and time dealt with in this work, it is important to understand this fundamental part of Jamaica’s African history.

This myth is an important part of Maroon oral tradition, serving as explanation for the origin of African people in Jamaica, as well as the origin of the complex relationship developed between Maroon and enslaved African-descended groups in Jamaica’s history. Various versions of this story are told, all with varying details, but this is the basic premise of the origin myth: there once were two African sisters who were abducted, put on a “slave ship” to Jamaica, where they were to be enslaved. Upon arrival on the island, one sister chose to fight and escape enslavement, forming a community in remote parts of Jamaica’s mountains, while the other, not liking violence, chose to remain enslaved on “the plantation,” where she was forced to work. The sister who remained on the plantation, “Grandy Sue” or Sekesu, became the mother/ancestor of all subsequent enslaved Africans, while the other, who escaped to the hills, known as “Grandy Nanny,” became the ancestor of all Maroons.

Today, it is hard to imagine a single individual in Jamaica who had not heard of Nanny and the many heroic actions she has been credited with. Everyone believes her to be the ancestress of Maroons, and she has become a national symbol of resistance, as well as an important female historical figure throughout the African Diaspora. However, few outside of the Maroon communities have heard of her sister Sekesu (also known as Grandy Sue, Grandy Sukasi, Grandy Sekeri, Grandy Sarah, Grandy Opinya, Grandy Nellie, and Grandy Grace), who came to Jamaica at the same time as Nanny (Bilby 1984:13, 1994:82; Gottlieb 2000:70).

Various versions of her story exist, depending on the storyteller. In the most popular version of the story, Nanny escaped to the mountains immediately upon arrival in Jamaica, while Sekesu became enslaved on a plantation. A few storytellers claim that Sekesu also attempted to escape plantation slavery to join her sister Nanny in the mountains, but she was caught and returned to her life of forced servitude, where she remained to become ancestress to all enslaved Africans in Jamaica. Some have suggested that she chose to remain on the plantation as an enslaved person, thereby causing her sister to dislike her choice, and ever since, their offspring have always had conflict (Brathwaite 1994:124).

As a result of this separation between the two sisters, Nanny's children became Maroons while Sekesu's children became enslaved people (or non-Maroons). Maroon myths claim that this was the cause of subsequent tension between enslaved Africans and Maroons (Bilby 1984:13, 1994:79; Gottlieb 2000:72). This part of the story articulates the very real, sometimes protagonistic, sometimes antagonistic relationship between

Maroons and enslaved Africans in Jamaican history, particularly evident after Maroons signed peace treaties with the British colonial government in 1740. According to Gottlieb:

The fracture between these two groups existed as soon as the Maroons fled to the mountains, and it was codified after the treaties were signed, officially separating Maroon from non-Maroon, i.e., classifying one as slave and the other as free (Gottlieb 2000:72).

Bilby further articulates this division by noting:

For Maroons, these classifications are based on mystical concepts of descent and inheritance. Membership in the Maroon community is automatically passed on (bilaterally) from parent to child, and according to traditional Maroon belief, all of the special attributes, knowledge, and powers connected with being a Maroon can only be passed on 'in the blood' (Bilby 1984:14).

Thus, these Maroon myths serve to explain Nanny's and their own Maroon origin, as well as the cause of the split between the descendents of the two sisters. The story of Nanny and her sister Sekesu served as a metaphor for the origin of the separation between Maroon and enslaved Africans in Jamaica. Much like their situational and fluid relationship over time, this myth served to simultaneously links yet differentiates them from each other. On the one hand, this story illustrates their common African heritage as descendents from two sisters who "came from the same blood." Yet, despite their common blackness and similar "African" origin, this myth has served and continues to serve as the reference used by Maroons to distinguish themselves into their "special status" that allowed them to live autonomously within the Jamaican political system.

This myth of two African sisters who took opposing actions with regard to enslavement is carried on through oral history within Jamaica's Maroon communities,

serving as an explanation for the origin of the division between Maroons and enslaved Africans, as well as their “familial” relationship, based on common origin and experiences. This myth, according to Kenneth Bilby, represents “a shared mental diagram: a collective representation, neatly encapsulated in a genealogical metaphor, of an important part of Jamaica’s past social topography” (Bilby 1984:11).

According to some Maroon oral history, this kinship relationship of common ancestry was often cited by enslaved peoples who went to Maroons for help, particularly for spiritual help (Gottlieb 2000:73). Some Maroons too might have also used the same rationale when they were in need of help from non-Maroons. In today’s context, this myth continues to reflect the situational relationship between descendent of the two communities. It has also been invoked for political reasons by Maroons that have allowed them to continue to be exempt from taxation, an extension of their “special status” after signing treaties with the British colonial government. In addition, this common ancestry is often recalled to re-enforce their status as heroes and freedom fighters. In this context, Nanny is often invoked as an important historical figure, not just in Maroon history, but in Jamaica’s history. She has been adopted and appropriated as a symbolic figure of resistance in Jamaica when she became a ‘National Hero’ in 1977, whose likeness appears on Jamaica’s \$500 bill (Zips 1999:155).

Chapter 1: Introduction and Methodology

Research Goals

Using archival, oral, and archaeological sources of data, this dissertation attempts to do two things: first, it examines the daily life of enslaved Africans at a Jamaican coffee plantation, Orange Vale, in order to understand settlement patterns, house structures, and their access to goods and informal trade networks in their village. Secondly, it seeks to examine the complexities in their relationship to the neighboring Maroon community, Charles Town (formerly, New Crawford Town). Although my primary goal is to shed light on the daily life of people who were constrained under the system of enslavement within the hills of the Blue Mountains, I also attempt to examine their cultural, social, and political identities alongside their autonomously free Maroon “kin.”

Using these three sources of data, I first attempt to describe the daily life experiences of the enslaved African population at Orange Vale. I do this by examining their archaeological artifacts that reflected their material culture, as well as put faces to the enslaved people themselves through the construction of enslaved African family genealogy. This population exhibited their creolized cultural practices, which reflected a generalized “African” cultural knowledge, with the use of American- and European-manufactured goods in Caribbean spaces. Though enslaved Africans made creative use of the resources available to them, analysis of their material culture from their village indicate a life of hardship, reflective of their forced enslavement in a harsh environment.

Analyses of the artifacts revealed that the majority of the material culture excavated at Orange Vale was of European origin and manufacture (Deetz 1996; Hume 1969). However, many objects were recycled and used in different ways than originally intended by their manufacturers (Deetz 1996:209; Mullins 1999; Patten 1992; Singleton and Bograd 1995:23; Wilkie 2000). In addition, the absence of certain artifacts also indicates that many of the materials enslaved Africans used were made from organic materials, or part of the natural environment itself. Enslaved Africans seem to have had a very close relationship with their immediate environment. They grew root crops, tubers, fruits, and vegetables for food, hunted wild animals, and used the natural resources as they needed. In addition, oral tradition suggests that there might have been restrictions on the diet of certain segments of the enslaved population, particularly newborns and infants. Certain kinds of foods were often believed to cause harm to children and so they were avoided, often exacerbating the already nutritionally-poor diet (Bennett 2003a, 2003b; Campbell, S. 1974a, 1974b).

I argue that, armed with various “African” forms of cultural knowledge, enslaved Africans at Orange Vale made use of European-manufactured goods, as well as the natural resources available in their immediate vicinity. Historical archeology is a useful approach to combine the fragmented written documentary and oral historical record with archaeological data in order to examine cultural practices of past peoples. The sparse remains of their domestic structures and spaces provide information on the ways they used space and organized themselves as a community. Broken pieces of glass, ceramic, and metal give clues to the kinds of foods they ate, as well as the kinds of goods they had

access to. Tobacco pipe fragments are useful in determining the approximate occupation dates of the site, as well as informing us about their leisure habits. These archaeological remains certainly inform on the ways in which the village inhabitants survived within their restricted spaces. Their ultimate goal, however, was not only to survive the hardships on plantations, but more importantly, to live as free and autonomous communities with their own distinctive cultural identity.

The second part of this research attempts to examine the ways in which the variety of African-descended peoples in Buff Bay interacted with each other over time. Using a popular origin myth, I attempt to show how descendents from both communities explain the origin and nature of their relationship, as well as historical interactions of enslaved Africans at Orange Vale and the Charles Town Maroons. Further, I suggest that their origin myth is reflective of their relationship that both links them while at the same time differentiating them. Because of their similar origin and racialized experiences, they encompassed similarities in worldview and spirituality that served as political unifying factors in their various acts of resistance, while at the same time, this origin myth has been used to distinguish them as being different from each other.

From the archaeological evidence of enslaved people at Orange Vale, the genealogical evidence from archives, and historical evidence from Maroon, this dissertation shows a picture of a relatively stable and complex sort of equilibrium between the various groups in Jamaica's Buff Bay River valley over time. The relationship between the two African-descended groups was one that was rife with contradictions throughout its history and continues today. On the one hand, after their

treaty with the colonial government Charles Town Maroons isolated themselves from the mass enslaved population, serving as hunters of runaways on behalf of the white plantation owners/managers and British colonial government. This resulted in the development of different identities by the two groups, based on their different circumstances. At the same time, they intermarried, traded goods, and shared some similar cultural knowledge and practices, such as their religious ideology that served as political strategies at particular times. This research attempts to examine the relationship between these two communities within the African Diaspora.

The African Diaspora

The term “African Diaspora” usually refers to the African-descended peoples dispersed throughout the world (Gordon 1998; Gordon and Anderson 1999; Lemelle and Kelley 1994; Orser 1998). Traditionally, it referred to the people and their descendants who were dispersed through forced migration of enslavement to the Americas and Europe. Recently, scholars have incorporated the historic movement of people within Africa, as well as contemporary voluntary migrations of people out of Africa throughout the world (Larson 1999; Pierre 2002).

Though the people in both communities fit into the socially-constructed racial category of “black”, their race was not necessarily the factor around which their culture was practiced, much like different black communities elsewhere (e.g Gordon and Anderson 1999). In fact, many Maroons are quick to affiliate themselves with their “special status” and “Englishness” (Campbell 1988; Zips 1999). However, their common blackness was the factor around which they aligned themselves for common

political goals, at various times. Like many African-descended groups throughout the African Diaspora, descendants from both communities have articulated the need of their people to align themselves to each other at various times to achieve common goals, particularly during enslavement when all black people were subjected to white hegemony and oppression (Gordon 1998). One Maroon informant stated that the contemporary relationship between the two groups was one in which they did what they had to do for their own survival, and cooperated when they “had to.” Thus, it seems that on a daily basis, each community developed different identities and made a variety of choices independent of the other. However, they also recognized that they needed each other at particular moments. What resulted was a situational relationship that involved both independence from and cooperation with each other.

One common story told within the Maroon community in Charles Town was the threat against the minority white government by past Maroon leaders to “call out the masses” of enslaved Africans, if and when they needed to. At the same time, those same Maroon leaders negotiated political alliances with the British government and took a very active role in returning enslaved Africans to plantations, including Orange Vale (Robertson, G. 1980). The origin myth that descendants of these communities refer to is reflective of their relationship over time by which it simultaneously linked them through a mythologized kinship, while at the same time establishing the origin of their differences (Bilby 1984; Zips 1999). They shared some similar ideology, particularly those relating to the relationship of the dead and the living; intermarried; and exchanged goods and

provisions, all while members of each were sometimes creating political alliances with white plantation owners/managers and the British colonial government

Thus, it seems that though blackness was imposed on both groups in an effort to benefit the white minority, racial and cultural affiliation ironically also served as a catalyst for political and social unification, as in other places throughout the Diaspora (Franklin 1997; Gordon and Anderson 1997; LaRoche and Blakey 1997). Though they created diverging cultures, it was within their common race and the affiliated limited autonomy imposed on both groups that they occasionally interacted. Activities related to religious ideology were one such focus of interaction. Though the examples of Orange Vale and Charles Town simultaneously produced at specific times an African-Jamaican identity, I acknowledge that this was not their only group affiliation, but each group embodied multiple identities. These multiple identities were both situational and fluid over time, space, and socio-political context. Thus, the focus of this research is focused primarily on the last two decades of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century, while incorporating an examination of the relationship today.

Creolization: Creating Diverse Black Identities in Buff Bay, Jamaica

Africans brought to the Americas during slavery came from very diverse cultural groups, languages, and geographical regions. As a result, the landscape of the Americas during slavery was one of complexity and an equally diverse and complex range of responses to it, even within the same geographical region (Blight 1995). The cultural, technological, and ideological knowledge they brought to the Americas, their interaction with other African, Native American, and European groups, as well as varying

constraints and access to goods resulted in similarly diverse cultures. African-derived cultures that were newly created in the Americas resulted from the interaction of traditional African knowledge and ideology brought with them from their homelands, combined with “new” cultural groups and materials, including various indigenous and European groups. As a result, a complex set of experiences of, and choices by, Africans in the Americas resulted in various creolized cultures reflective of their cultural, political, social, and physical environments (Brathwaite 1971; Joyner 1984).

The Buff Bay region represented a convergence of several different experiences representative of race-based slavery in the Americas, particularly that of creolization and cultural continuities of West and Central African cultures in the Americas, as well as the intertwining issue of resistance (Campbell, M. 1988; *VOAJ* 1761:226, 1799). Depending mostly on oral tradition and local “slave court” registers, I suggest that in the many varied identities African peoples developed in Jamaica, there was always an underlying political culture of anti-slavery among both enslaved and Maroons. Maroons ran away and created their own autonomous communities, while enslaved Africans practiced a long list of acts of resistance on a daily basis and in a variety of forms, often absenting themselves from the plantation system, though temporarily.

These new creolized cultural groups developed a wide range of cultural practices, and an equally diverse range of fluid, complex, and situational relationships between various African-descended groups. For example, resistance to the system of slavery took many forms and dimensions, often reflecting the existence of oppression in different contexts. Two such groups, enslaved Africans and Maroons, were no exception and

their relationships were constantly negotiated within the Jamaican slave society that was hostile to both groups. The reaction to the system of slavery were varied and situational, sometimes reflecting the varying degrees of limitations that were imposed on them. On the one hand, enslaved Africans had less autonomy over their time, while Maroons had autonomy and control over their time and that control affected the choices made by each community. Recent scholarship has emphasized that enslaved Africans still retained some autonomy and agency in their lives, including in economics and spatial organization (Armstrong 1994; Higman 1998; Reeves 1997; Wilkie 1997). Similarly, it has been shown that the opportunities and choices of Maroons and free people of color were severely limited by the colonial system that existed at the time. However, though they often lived in close proximity to each other, they often made very different choices (Agorsah 1994; Zips 1999). How similar or different were the lives of “free” and enslaved Africans in the Colonial Caribbean?

From a similar point of origin, the households of maroons and enslaved Africans in Jamaica developed in two very different sets of circumstances, one of enslavement on land controlled by the enslavers and overseers, and the other of the freedom experienced by the Maroons (Agorsah 1994; Campbell, M. 1988; Zips 1999). Virtually every aspect of life on plantations for enslaved Africans were restricted and dictated by those who enslaved them. Life for the maroons was probably also constrained to some degree by their positions on the margins of the legal and economic spheres of the Anglo-Jamaican regime. However, both communities of Africans may have shared a cultural knowledge of land use and settlement patterns. Understanding the lifeways of both groups in

comparison (for instance their degree of participation in the regional economic system) should reveal more about the cultural landscape of slavery in Jamaica than studying either in isolation.

I argue that the enslaved population at Orange Vale maintained social links with neighboring Maroon groups for economic, social, and political reasons. But what of the apparent tense relationship between the two groups? From their very inception, it appears that Maroon communities had complex and seemingly contradictory relationships with enslaved Africans still living and working on plantations. Maroons continued to maintain trade networks and kin relationships with enslaved Africans still on plantations, often depending on them for food, information, and socialization. In a similar vein, there has also been evidence of Maroons serving as militias on behalf of the colonial British government by hunting down and returning runaways.

The seemingly ambivalent relationships between enslaved Africans and Maroons are often explained by modern Maroons as the “nature of dem days” in which one can betray the other. One prominent Maroon explained that the situation was much more complex than we can envision. He claimed that the ultimate goal of his people was to maintain their hard-earned freedom and felt that incorporating new runaways into their communities would have jeopardized that freedom. Oftentimes, he said, many of the runaways were not trustworthy because they often served as spies for whites in exchange for favors and even promised freedom. What this research demonstrated is that the relationships between the two groups must always be taken in consideration within the

context in which they existed. It was certainly a complex time in which allegiances could be changed with each situation.

Racial oppression of and resistance by blacks represented the common factors that unified all African-descended peoples in the Americas during the period of slavery. Most importantly, though the two groups may not have always agreed on the methods in which they should achieve their full freedom and autonomy, they were certainly unified in their fight against the British colonial government's attempts to stabilize the system of slavery.

The complex relationship between the African-descended communities at Orange Vale and Charles Town is one example of the heterogeneity in the relations of and between various African-descended communities (Zips 1999:107). On the one hand, at times, they had diverging goals that benefit one at the expense of the other, as in the case of the Maroon treaties with the British colonial government. On the other hand, they have cooperated with each other at times for mutual benefit, as in their formation of social relationships through intermarriage, as well as in cultural practices, particularly those related to spirituality.

Racial Ideology and Colonial Strategies in the Caribbean

The historical institution that accounts for the presence of the majority of Africans in the Americas was race-based slavery (Burton 1997; Ferguson, J. 1999:120; Mintz and Price 1992; Thornton 1998). Enslavement of Africans represented the single most dramatic movement of people in the historic period and was the main cause for the development of the African Diaspora in the Americas (Hamilton, R. 1995; Klien 1986).

The first enslaved Africans were brought to the Americas to provide the needed labor on newly established European-owned agricultural settlements (Dunn 1972; Ferguson, J. 1999). However, changes in time, social, and political circumstances, as well as changing ideology, resulted in a unique form of enslavement based on racial differences (Goldberg 1993; Lewis 1983; Malik 1996; Turner 1995). Africans became linked with the category, “slave”, and with the state of constructed inferiority upon which the system of slavery was built.

White enslavers of Africans in the Americas relied on the socially-constructed idea of “race” to rationalize and validate the enslavement of and belief in the “inferiority” of *all* Africans, as well as numerous colonial laws to help police the behavior of African-descended peoples (Goveia 2000). However, these laws were not necessarily adhered to by enslaved Africans, and in fact resisted many of the attempts to control them. Thus, despite the differences in the legal and/or social status of African-descended peoples in Jamaica, there was an imposed “blackness” on all by the white colonial government. As such, the process of their identity formation in relation to each other was a central consideration in the examination of the enslaved Africans at Orange Vale and the Charles Town Maroons.

Enslavement of Africans was one of many attempts by various European groups to provide the necessary labor in their economic ventures in the Americas. From the very beginning of their landing and eventual settlement on the island of Jamaica, Europeans first attempted to enslave the indigenous population for profit (Ferguson, J. 1999; Knight 1990; Thompson 1987). Control of the island changed hands from one European

colonizer to another. When the island was seized from the Spaniards to become the most important colony in the British “empire,” the majority of the Taino population was decimated. The Spaniards had already enslaved, exploited, and decimated the bulk of the indigenous Taino population through forced labor, disease, and killings (Boucher 1992; Ferguson, J. 1999; Watts 1987). The English were eager to set up new, profitable colonies that produced tropical crops for profitable sale in European markets: tobacco, cotton, cocoa, indigo dye, and ginger (Ferguson, J. 1999; Knight 1990). However, they lacked the necessary labor that would produce enough of these crops. Initially, they used labor of indentured servants from Europe, but they too did not survive the harsh conditions of agricultural world in the tropics (Boucher 1992; Ferguson, J. 1999; Watts 1987).

A second labor source was provided by Portuguese traders who were working off the west coast of Africa where they were utilizing a similar system of servitude and slavery in the Canary Islands (Conniff and Davis 1991994:31-45; Klein 1986:1-20; Thornton 1998:43-71). The Portuguese provided the very first enslaved Africans to other European colonies, including Jamaica. These first Africans were to provide the needed labor on the newly-formed agricultural plots of land, owned by economically-motivated Europeans. Some historians (Dunn 1972; Williams 1984) have suggested that all indentured servants, African included, provided labor for a limited time and then were freed, often able to purchase land of their own. The few European indentured servants who did survive the period of servitude were also eager to claim their land grants at the end of their servitude in order to set up their own agricultural ventures (Beckles 1990:28-

32; Curtin 1998:77-81; Ferguson, J. 1999:41-42, 89-90). The number of Europeans willing to enter into indentured servitude dwindled, while the Portuguese continued to provide a seemingly endless abundance of Africans who were either prisoners from wars or caught in raids for sale (Conniff and Davis 1994:33-35; Curtin 1998:82; Thornton 1998:107-109).

In the context of Jamaica, during the early settlement of the island by the British, agricultural-based plantations were secondary in economic importance to the port-city of Port Royal, the infamous “city of sin,” and this maritime local represented the center of the British colonial “empire.” At the peak of Port Royal’s reign as the center of the British American colonies, (1670-1688) plantation and agriculturally-based ventures were peripheral and concentrated mostly along the coast in the north and west (Pawson and Buisseret 2000:88; Priddy 1975:8). Many enslaved Africans were present in both Port Royal and on these early plantation sites, many forced to work along with the European indentures (Pawson and Buisseret 2000; Gragg 2000:30).

The 1692 earthquake in Port Royal represented a major turning point in the economic ventures in the British colony. With the majority of Port Royal left under water after the earthquake, and the gradual need to seek alternative economic ventures, many English settlers moved into the interior and set up plantations. The Jamaican economy quickly shifted from a predominantly maritime economy with its main hub in the port city of Port Royal, to one based primarily on agricultural economy tied to plantations located in the interior of the island. This new economic venture, however, required a lot more laborers to perform these agricultural tasks in the production of

luxury goods for European markets. The importation of Africans rapidly increased and they quickly outnumbered Europeans by estimates of 10:1 (Conniff and Davis 1994:76-78; Engerman and Higman 1997:48; Ferguson 1999:94; Higman 1995a:72; Wells 1975:195-196).

Meanwhile, the Enlightenment introduced a new scientific theory suggesting that humans were part of the natural world and needed to be categorized (Hudson 1996:249). Its heavy emphasis on “science” and the categorization of plants, animals, and all living things led to the subdivision of humans into five “races,” graded from top to bottom on a continuum of “civilization” to “savage” (Hudson 1996:250; Eze 1997:10-14; Ferguson 1998:108-111). According to this theory, at the top of the heap were “superior” European-descended peoples, and at the bottom were “inferior” African-descended peoples.

The Eurocentric, constructed idea of race normalized and naturalized the notion of African inferiority and became the rationale for the enslavement of non-European peoples, (particularly Africans) by Europeans. Biological / phenotype differences were then translated to suggest innate differences in behavior and intellectual abilities. Further, it suggested that racial “superiority” and enslavement of Africans were the “natural” and moral responsibilities of the “superior” Europeans (Hudson 1996:252; Hurbon 1997:144-145; Knight 1999:209). By the beginning of the eighteenth century, these ideas were institutionalized in “slave laws” or codes imposed to justify slavery, regulate enslaved Africans, and maintain the social orders imposed under slavery (Beckles 1997; Craton 1997:161-184; Goveia 2000).

Policing the Enslaved: “Slave Laws” in Jamaica

The colonial British government in Jamaica passed a series of laws that were meant to serve as a guide in policing, supporting, and reinforcing of the racial hierarchy created by Europeans. The foundation of these laws rested in the general, obvious fear by whites of the uprising of African-descended peoples against the system of slavery (Beckles 1997:195-197; Craton 1997; Ferguson, J. 1999:102-103). These laws were written and subsequently edited to fit changing circumstances, but were mostly meant to repress mass Black uprisings that would threaten the system of slavery.

These laws essentially attempted to dictate every aspect of life for enslaved Africans, as well as free persons who might aid them in their quest for freedom. Most importantly, Europeans living in Jamaica recognized that the laws were necessary for their own self-preservation, and simultaneously that those laws violated the rights of human beings (Hurbon 1999:146; Goveia 2000:583). This was why it became necessary to deny that African people were intelligent, thinking humans beings, thereby seemingly exempting themselves from moral obligations. In his *The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British West Indies* (1801), Brian Edwards – himself a Jamaican plantation and enslaver of African peoples – wrote of the basic rationale for such laws:

In countries where slavery is established, the leading principle on which the government is supported is fear: or a sense of that absolute coercive necessity which, leaving no choice of action, supercedes all questions of right. It is vain to deny that such actually is, and necessarily must be, the case in all countries where slavery is allowed (Edwards 1801:36).

This profound statement of fear was the basis upon which all laws to “govern” enslaved and free Africans were founded. At varying degrees, laws affected the daily lives of African-descended peoples, both enslaved and free, and they edited and published almost annually in a series of books called *Acts of Jamaica*. Couched in paternalistic rhetoric, these laws *attempted* to dictate the most minute, daily practices of African-descended peoples, particularly those enslaved. For example, how, when, and what should be eaten; where and how they should live; what they should wear; what religion they should practice. There were also laws that they should live in houses mostly built from natural resources; granted provision grounds to grow their own crops so that their enslavers would not hold that responsibility; and raw cloth with which they were to fashion their own clothing (Acts of Jamaica 1792:616-618).

These numerous laws existed to control the activities of enslaved Africans, but often the laws were not followed by the enslaved themselves. Laws existed that required European enslavers to have enslaved Africans practice Christianity instead of their traditional religions (1792:618). In reality, however, traditional African religious beliefs and practices were never fully abandoned by enslaved peoples (RRS 1826). The British colonial government also attempted to regulate enslaved people’s participation in local markets by requiring that they travel at certain times with a ticket and in particular ways (1792:622), but their participation in informal markets were conducted outside of the control of their white enslavers. Imposed British laws also determined holidays they should celebrate, such as Christmas and Easter, two holidays that were based on a religion they did not actually practice (1792:622). Here too enslaved Africans found

ways of extending holidays by pretending to be sick, particularly around Christmas (Roberston, G. 1980).

Throughout the Caribbean, these and similar laws were followed at varying degrees over time and place, but particularly well in the British islands, like Jamaica. However, there were some laws that were adhered to very religiously by European enslavers and their supporting politicians. Conscious of the average ratio of Africans to Europeans at 10:1, European rigorously enforced laws that revolved around the fear of physical and bodily harm to whites, and particularly those that attempted to prevent the mass gathering of African peoples. There were numerous laws enacted in Jamaica to prevent the gathering in groups of African peoples, both within and outside of the plantation space.

Though “recreation” was “allowed” at the discretion of overseers and managers, laws dictated where, when, and how many should meet, as well as what kinds of sounds could be made from those “recreational activities” (1792:625). This law dictated that such gathering should take place only within the plantation space and must end before midnight. Initially, the use of drums, horns, and shells were left to the discretion of the managers, but only for recreation, “but that they shall and may grant such liberty when and as often as they please.” (Acts of Jamaica 1792:625-626). However, by 1814 this oral tradition, suggests that these noise-making instruments were not commonly allowed given the close physical proximity to Maroon groups in the area. Apparently, these instruments were also used by Maroons, along with their abeng, for coded communicative purposes.

In addition, numerous laws stressed the importance of ending activities that involved Africans by midnight, such as celebrations and Sunday markets. In the case of recreation, the law dictated that “amusements are put an end to by twelve of the clock at night” (*Acts of Jamaica* 1792:625). This was also the rationale for funerals. According to the law dictating funerals for Africans, they must be during the daytime hours. The rationale given was:

“... in order to prevent riots and nightly meetings among negro and other slaves, to the disturbance of the public peace, and the endangering their health, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all negro burial shall in future take place in the day-time, only, so that the same may be ended before sun-set; and if any master, owner, or possessor, of slaves, his or her overseer or chief manager, shall knowingly suffer or permit the burial of any slave otherwise than as before directed, he shall forfeit the sum of fifty pounds.” (1792:625)

Similarly, the act of running away (defined as absenting oneself for more than ten days or found more than eight miles from home without tickets/pass) or harboring runaways were also punished to the fullest extent of the law (1792:626). In this way, cooperation amongst enslaved Africans was strongly prohibited, and it was therefore a crime to aid runaways. One act stated that “... any slave or slaves, who shall knowingly harbour or conceal any runaway herein after appointed, and, or conviction, suffer such punishment as the justices at the said court shall think proper to inflict, not extending to life or limb” (*Acts of Jamaica* 1792:625). Free persons providing fake tickets to enslaved Africans were also punishable by law (1792:628).

These restrictions were not limited only to enslaved Africans, but also to free people of color and even whites, though with different consequences for whites. For

example, one law stated that free people of color harboring and abetting slaves were to “go off or to be transported and suffer death if they return” (pl.638), while another enacted that:

“... if an Indian, free negro, or mulatto, shall hereafter suffer any unlawful assembly of slaves at his or her house or settlement, every such Indian, free negro, or mulatto, shall, upon due conviction thereof, suffer imprisonment, not exceeding six months” (1792:625).

On the other hand, a white individual allowing for “unlawful gatherings” of Africans or “harboring and abetting slaves” would only be subjected to paying a monetary fine of 100 pounds (Acts of Jamaica 1792:638).

European lawmakers and enslavers (often one in the same), attempted to control more than the daily acts of enslaved Africans, but also attempted to change their ideological beliefs. Traditional ideological practices of enslaved and free Africans, generalized under terms like “obi” or “obeah,” were intensely discouraged. Laws were enacted to discourage practices that Europeans deemed “unchristian.” One law that addressed the issue directly stated:

“... in order to prevent the many mischiefs that may hereafter arise from the wicket art of negroes, going under the appellation of ‘obeah men and women,’ pretending to have communication with the Devil and other evil spirits, whereby the weak and superstitious are deluded into a belief of their having full power to exempt them, whilst under their protection from any evils that might otherwise happen, be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, that from and after the passing of this act, any slave who shall pretend to any supernatural power, in order to promote the purposes of rebellion, shall, upon conviction thereof, suffer death, transportation, or such other punishment as the court shall think proper to direct” (1792:630)

According to the laws,

“... it is necessary to prevent secret and unlawful meetings of slaves: be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all and every slave or slaves, who shall be found at any meeting, formed either for the purpose of administering unlawful oaths, by drinking human blood mixed with rum, grave-dirt, or otherwise, or of learning the use of arms, or for any other unlawful or dangerous purpose, such slave or slaves shall, on conviction thereof, suffer death, or transportation for life, or such other punishment as the court shall direct” (1831:75)

Despite these laws, enslaved Africans at Orange Vale continued to practice similar acts deemed to be “obeah.” In 1807, “a woman from Orange Vale,” was charged with drinking grave dirt and practicing obeah (*Jamaica Almanack* 1808). Similarly, in 1829, 43-year-old, African-born Henry Turner Burke was transported for practicing obeah (RRS 1829). According to the law, free people present at such meetings were also subjected to death or transportation, while those having knowledge of such meetings without reporting to the authorities were subject to be punished at discretion of court (1831:75-76).

Late Eighteenth-Century Buff Bay, Jamaica

In the contexts of late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century Buff Bay, Jamaica, these “slave laws” continued to reinforce the racial ideology of the “inferiority” of blacks and the “naturalness” of enslavement of African-descended peoples. The enslaved Africans at Orange Vale were subjected to such laws that reinforced their enslavement and attempted to limit their ability to live autonomously, particularly in terms of their movement away from the plantations. Even Maroons who had escaped plantation life

and set up their own communities were subjected to the same kinds of restrictions as their African kin still enslaved on various plantations.

In much the same way that they restricted the movements of enslaved Africans, so too did they try to control the activities of the Maroons. There was a general belief among whites that enslaved Africans were constantly in the process of plotting to gain their freedom. The greatest fear of the white colonial government was that Africans would revolt and reject the hierarchy the slave system created. This fear grew even more pronounced after the success of the unification of both free and enslaved Africans in neighboring St. Domingue in achieving their freedom and independence in 1804.

As a solution to this fear, it appears that the British colonial government attempted their ever popular method of “divide and rule” in attempts to control both groups by playing one against the other at various times (Campbell, M. 1988; Zips 1999:105-112). Before the treaties signed between the British colonial government and the Maroons, the British had used enslaved Africans on plantations to hunt down maroons and other runaways. After the treaties, particularly the treaty of 1739 between the Maroons and the British colonial government, their positions were reversed when Maroons agreed to hunt and return future runaways. As part of the agreement, the Maroons were officially granted land in exchange for promising to serve as allies to the colonial government in times of rebellion, and more regularly, Maroons served as militias in hunting down and returning runaways to their “owners” (*Acts of Jamaica* 1799).

I argue that the relationships and interactions between enslaved Africans and Maroons were incredibly complex and fluid, ranging from familial to antagonistic.

Though they had similar oppressive experiences and common origin allowed them to develop a sense of kinship based on a long history of contact and cultural exchange, they developed in two very different identities. There was a clear recognition of a shared “African-ness” among the varied African groups, based on a common “African” heritage and similar historical experiences, particularly their racially-based oppression. Yet, at the same time, post-treaty Maroons at Charles Town also made a clear distinction from their enslaved “kin” by aligning themselves with the British colonial government. Though both were creolized groups, they shared many similar worldviews and ways of doing, particularly during the period when many African-born enslaved peoples were present. In particular, I would argue that though worldviews cannot be directly observed, they can be inferred and interpreted from knowledge of cultural behavior.

In the case of Orange Vale and Charles Town, their world view can be interpreted from religion, beliefs, dance, music, language, myths, legends, and proverbs. It seems that ideology (particularly relating to religion, healing, and family structure) was the main unifying factor among them. This shared ideology often served important historical rationale in their common goal of resistance against a white, European-dominated society. More importantly, these diverse African cultural groups were much more similar to each other than they were to non-African groups, such as the Europeans, particularly during the period in which African-born peoples were being imported into Jamaica.

African Sites Archaeology in the Americas

Numerous historical studies have been conducted on African sites throughout the Americas. Throughout the Americas, archaeological and other historical research has tended to focus on enslaved Africans living and working primarily on plantations. (For a general overview of these works, see Armstrong 2000; Howson 1990; Singleton and Bograd 1995). On the other hand, historical research, and particularly archaeological investigations, on Maroon communities is in its beginning stages, with only a handful of archaeological studies being conducted (Agorsah 1994; Bonner 1974; Orser 1999; Weik 2003).

In Jamaica, much of the formal non-archaeological research undertaken by researchers from various disciplines, particularly historians and folklorists (Brathwaite 1994; Campbell 1988; Bilby 1984, 1994; Cooper 1994; Gottlieb 2000; Whylie and Warner-Lewis 1994), musicologists (Bilby 1994; Whylie and Warner-Lewis 1994). One seminal work to examine the many diverse elements of Maroon culture is encapsulated in Agorsah's *Maroon Heritage: Archaeological, Ethnographic and Historical Perspectives* (1994). This work encompassed research from several disciplines, and most innovatively allowed for Maroon representatives to contribute sections in the volume.

One main theme that underlies much of early research on plantation sites has been the identification of artifacts or cultural practices in the Americas that show continuities in African style, manufacture, or origin. These studies of "Africanisms" sought to demonstrate differences in material culture as reflection of cultural continuities, usually by comparing master and enslaved Africans (Otto 1980, 1984; Moore 1985). Otto

suggested that differences in racial/legal status result in differing access to material goods among enslaved laborers and plantation managers/owners within the plantation complex. Similarly, other archaeologists have examine locally-produced, handmade ceramics like colonoware and yabbas (Armstrong and Hauser 2000; Ebanks 1984; Ferguson 1992; Matthewson 1972), and ironwork technology of Africans (Goucher 1990, 1994) to seek evidence in origin, manufacture, or style to establish a cultural link with West and Central Africa.

Through this research, archaeologists have come to realize that the search for Africanisms by early archaeologists was not very useful. Instead, they have accepted that Africans in the Americas expressed their cultural values through the reinterpretation of European-manufactured material goods (Armstrong 1990; Brown and Cooper 1990; Ferguson 1992; Wilkie 1999). Ferguson (1992) interpreted African-produced colonoware vessels from the American South as examples of their ideological ability to resist Euro-American culture while maintaining their own cultural values. Likewise, Brown and Cooper's (1990) identification of "ritual" contexts in which various metal objects were found demonstrated the importance of context and possibility for multiple use of material goods, rather than focusing only on their known functional usage. Additionally, in the case of the Maroons in Jamaica, several researchers have suggested that Maroons were also influenced by and utilized goods manufactured by both European and indigenous groups (Agorsah 1994; Campbell 1988; Kopytoff 1979). This study seeks to go beyond the search for ethnic markers or cultural continuities in the material

culture. Instead, it seeks to demonstrate how the material world reflected the cultural practices within the complex Buff Bay environment.

Archaeological Research in Jamaica

Most of the archaeological and historical studies of enslaved African communities in Jamaica have focused on sugar plantations primarily along the coastline (e.g. Armstrong 1994; Higman 1999). Though this focus was valid given the fact that sugar production dominated the Jamaican economic, political, and geographic landscape through time, it seems somewhat repetitive in the questions asked, often simply seeking to acknowledge the existence of enslaved people at the site. At the same time more nuanced research questions were emerging, such as those relating to the diversity of the experiences of Africans in Jamaica. For example, Reeves work resulted from these questions to address the diversity Africans by comparing two enslaved African communities, one from sugar and the other from coffee plantations (1997). Jamaica's economy was a lot more varied, particularly by its second largest export of coffee. By the turn of the eighteenth century, coffee was fast becoming a profitable alternative to the sugar monoculture.

Although its rise in popularity was short-lived in comparison to sugar, coffee plantations were unique in their geographical locations. Usually situated far up in the hills, coffee plantations began to encroach on spaces that were once considered frontiers to Europeans, although Maroons and other autonomous groups already occupied these

distant spaces. This provides a unique opportunity to examine relations between a diverse range of communities.

Three substantial studies have focused on coffee plantations; two were archaeological and one was historical. The historical study was conducted by Kathleen Montieth (1992) and she focused on the economic rise and fall of coffee in Jamaica. Surveys of three coffee plantations were undertaken by James Delle (1997), but it is unclear if any archaeological work was conducted. Delle focused on the “crisis” in the economy with a focus on the impact of the metropole, and in particular, ways in which plans of plantations served as spaces in which power was negotiated. The third study was an archaeological comparison between two enslaved African communities in Jamaica, carried out by Matthew Reeves (1997). He examined one enslaved African community on a coffee plantation and another on a sugar plantation looking for direct comparison in material culture to suggest patterns in use and access to goods. So far, no studies have attempted to examine the relationships between African-descended peoples with differing legal status.

Reeves’ work at Juan de Bolas and Thetford (1997), along with Armstrong’s (1994) investigations at Drax Hall and Seville, and Higman’s (1998) work at Montpelier plantations have sought to examine the material record of its enslaved Africans, looking for unique cultural elements within the enslaved context. Reeves’ work (1997) is important here as it involved the comparison of different African groups, though both were enslaved. He examined the effects of the different labor demands on enslaved Africans between the gang system on Thetford sugar plantation and the task system on

Juan de Bolas coffee plantation. He concluded that overall, there was slightly less labor demand on coffee plantations than on sugar plantations. My research goes one step further to examine one free and one enslaved African-derived group to examine the diverse experiences of Africans within the Diaspora. It is the first to examine the cultural and political interactions between two African groups who had very situational and fluid relationships. Their relationship ranged from familial kinship to complete hostility, but both groups recognized that they needed each other in their common cause to fight oppression.

Additional research has focused on settlement patterns, land use, architecture, and building material, either in their own right or as part of a larger investigation. For example, Armstrong and Kelly's (2000) investigation of settlement pattern at Seville sugar plantation, and Agorsah's (1999) examination of settlement patterns among Maroons were the central focus of their studies, while Armstrong's (1990) examination of the use of space and architecture was part of a larger project.

An Ethno-Archaeological Framework

In my examination of Orange Vale's enslaved African village, I have used elements from the approaches of these past researchers. I have attempted to glean information on settlement patterns, architecture, foodways, and ideology. Like some of these researchers, I have examined the demand that plantation labour and life had on the enslaved Africans at Orange Vale. However, I have also attempted to go further to examine the enslaved community in juxtaposition to the Charles Town Maroons who

lived on the margins of the plantation system and with the fear of being reinstated within the plantation labor regime. Essentially, both groups managed to express their cultural identities within their domestic and spiritual realms.

The issue of racial hierarchy was an important factor in this study. The differing activities within the more controlled setting of the plantation stood in stark contrast to the less monitored activities in Maroon communities, and apparently affected the ways in which members of these two groups interacted with each other, and with those outside of their communities. I examine the ways in which Maroons and enslaved interacted geographically, ideologically, and culturally.

Finally, this research was a direct response to the call by Havisser (1999) and others to examine the lifeways of Africans beyond plantation contexts in order to examine the diverse experiences of Africans in the Americas. In reflecting on the dominance of the African experiences on plantations during slavery, Havisser suggested that future research should go beyond simply examining enslaved Africans on plantations to include free individuals not living on plantations, as well as post-emancipation and urban settings. In my focus on enslaved Africans and their relations to autonomous Maroons living off the plantation, but very much on its periphery, I was seeking to understand the variety of ways by which these two groups interacted both socially and ideologically, and the ways these interactions manifested themselves.

Sources of Data

Addressing the complex and varied access to goods by the enslaved population, as well as the varied interactions between the groups within the system of slavery, required the engagement of materials from multiple sources: oral tradition, historical documents, and archaeological remains. In order to set the historical context of both Orange Vale and Charles Town, primary written documents were consulted. These documents include governmental documents such as *Accounts Produce* (“Crop Accounts”), *Returns of Registration of Slaves* (“Slave Returns”), *Index to Inventories* (“Probates”), *Givings-In, Vestry Minutes*, “Slave Court” records, as well as, journals. Juxtaposed against oral tradition, these documents provide a richer understanding of past historical events.

Accounts Produce and *Return of Registration of Slaves* were particularly helpful because they were required by law to be reported on, thereby providing regular accounts in which some changes within the plantation can be viewed. “Accounts Produce” provide almost annual records of the plantation output, as well as details of plantation crops and economic ventures. However, it also provided information on its owners/managers/overseers, interactions with others in the area, as well as valuable information on the enslaved Africans at Orange Vale. Through these volumes, I was able to determine ownership of the plantation over time, changes in crop output, and economic ventures undertaken at the plantation. This information was useful in assessing changes in work schedule that would have affected the lives of the enslaved African population.

“Slave Returns” were particularly useful in providing tri-annual listings and changes in the enslaved African population at Orange Vale between 1817 and 1832. It

provided information on the names, color (Negro, Mulatto, Sambo, and Quadroon), ages, whether African-born or Creole. All of these categories of classification were defined and determined by the white managers/overseers who reported the “slave returns” and/or the clerk recording the returns. It is important to note that by 1829, the “Negro” category was replaced by “Black” but “Mulatto” was maintained.

These returns also provided information on the “increase” and “decrease” in the enslaved population, along with reason for such increases and decreases. Most increases resulted from birth, with a few “purchases.” Some, but not all, births listed the mothers of the children, but never the fathers. Decreases usually resulted from death, sale, runaway, condemned to workhouse, transportation out of the island (in one case, for practicing “obi”), and the most dramatic decrease came in 1829 when 95 individuals were removed from Orange Vale and sent to Low Layton to work. The 1829 returns also provided lists of entire families – minus the fathers – as entire households were sometimes sent over to Low Layton. Other families were split up with some sent over to Low Layton, while others remained at Orange Vale. Such a dramatic change in the population would have affected the lives of all involved, including those who remained at Orange Vale.

I collected oral traditions from descendents of both (Maroons and enslaved Africans) and they were also consulted for cultural knowledge that was not clearly articulated in either the written or archaeological sources. Oral histories and traditions provided a wealth of information on the cultural practices of both the Charles Town Maroons and enslaved Africans living at Orange Vale. Some informants were also

involved at times with the excavation and regular site visits. Constant communication was maintained with informants who contributed in the identification and explanation of certain artifacts and features.

There was a larger number of Maroon informants than there were individuals claiming to “belong” to Orange Vale. This may be because many of the descendents from the enslaved community there have either died, migrated to cities, or “gone a foreign.” However, many older informants have also provided information they knew of people who were from there, while others have provided information that they learned growing up. One informant lived on the plantation with his family as late as 1962 and provided valuable information on the re-interpreted use of various spaces on the site, as well on the material culture at Orange Vale. His cousin also provided valuable information on the location of the village and the layout of the plantation.

Similarly, one older informant who was not a descendent from Orange Vale, but worked on the plantation from the 1940s when Orange Vale the “plantation” became a “pen” that raised pigs. He was particularly resourceful with information on the site and the stories that he heard about particular areas of the site, especially information on the slave hospital and treatment of illnesses. Much of the information about Orange Vale was told in stories of the place, mostly centered around “duppies” and ritual activities, as well as foods prepared “on the hill.” “Duppies” are ghosts or spirits with the ability to travel between the living and dead worlds, and having the power to affect the living. Libations and other acts are often performed to pacify them and prevent them from doing harm.

At first, many informants were skeptical that, as “a foreigner”, I would understand the importance of the non-material world and their spiritual beliefs. But once they realized that I was coming from a similar heritage, they did not even feel the need to translate their stories from Jamaican English into standard English, as they would to most outsiders. On the other hand, there was also information that I was not privy to, given my status as “obroni,”¹ particularly information around some Maroon spiritual practices, but I was also invited to several open social activities and events. More than anything, most informants were very pleased that someone was interested in hearing about “de old time days dem.” They often complained that many of “the youths” are ignorant of their own heritage and culture. At the same time, a few were concerned about outsiders coming in to exploit their knowledge and culture. Their concerns I completely understand, which is why there were some activities that I was privy to that I do not feel it is appropriate to write about directly. However, those activities were particularly helpful in allowing me to better understand certain ritual practices and how it relates to their worldview.

Oral tradition has also highlighted the fact that written documents may not always reflect the reality of many past events. For example, when asked to comment on a recorded payment in 1828 to the Charles Town Maroons for the return of enslaved Africans from that plantation, one informer noted frankly that Maroons and enslaved Africans sometimes ran scams on plantation managers. He claimed that sometimes a family member or close friend of a Maroon would absent her/himself from the plantation to visit relatives in Charles Town. Then, after a few days, the Charlestown Maroons

¹ The traditional, literal definition of “obroni” was “white person,” but now used to refer to strangers. Descriptive terms are often used before the term to distinguish different categories of strangers.

would return them and claim payment, which included payment for the return itself, food, and number of miles traveled in the capture of the runaway. This practice seems possible given the fact that by the late 1820s, Maroons were continually appealing to the colonial government for economic assistance. One informant claimed that Maroons were continually inventing ways of earning money that they could then use to pay for ammunition. Whether that particular instance recorded in the plantation journal for Orange Vale was one such example will never be known, but what this piece of oral information provided was an alternative explanation to the same event.

Finally, archaeological research was conducted at the enslaved village at Orange Vale to get a concrete picture of their material world. At the time of my field research, it was not possible to conduct similar archaeological excavations at the Old Charles Town site because of the logistics involved in the current changes in council members as well as the time involved in bureaucracy and permit issues. However, although no excavations were formally undertaken at the Old Charles Town site, much information was gleaned from descendants on the material culture, architecture, and cultural practices of the people who lived there.

Archaeological evidence was used for Orange Vale only, and not for Charles Town. This prevents a direct comparison of the two communities because of the different sets of data used. However, it was possible to get a good picture of what life might have been like for Maroons through their descendants' oral accounts, myths, and memories. Weaving information from all three sources of data together helped provide much more

nanced interpretations of the material and ideological realms of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Buff Bay.

Scholarly Contribution of this Project

The importance of this project is two-fold. First, it represents an archaeological examination of the living conditions of enslaved Africans at a Jamaican coffee plantation, and secondly, its examination of this enslaved African community relationship to the neighboring Charles Town Maroons is the first to examine the relationship between two such African-descended communities. Located in the hills of Jamaica's Blue Mountain, this research is only the second coffee plantation that has been excavated in Jamaica following Reeves' investigation at Juan de Bolas (1997). Its examination of the work regime and daily living conditions demonstrates the damp and unhealthy conditions under which enslaved Africans at Orange Vale were force to live and work. It discusses the settlement pattern and architectural characteristics of within the enslaved African community in Jamaica's Blue Mountains during slavery.

Through oral history and an origin myth, this research examines how descendents of both groups explain the relationship between their ancestors, as well as their relationship today. It serves as an example of the diverse experiences of African-descended peoples by examining the contradictory, situational, and fluid relations between the two groups over time. In particular, it examines the tension and cooperation among the two communities through their varied interactions, sometimes harmonious, but more often hostile. It demonstrates that while the two communities were constructing

different identities, they were also unified through cultural practices as a means of political identity. Though they often diverged in actions, there remained shared cultural practices and political strategies that tied the two communities together, reflecting their recognition of the potential need of each other.

This research holds the potential to inform on the material culture of enslaved populations living on coffee plantations in Jamaica's Blue Mountains, as well as on the interactions between the enslaved population and the neighboring maroon settlement from the same time period. In addition, the genealogy presented in chapter 4 puts faces on the many faceless enslaved Africans too often generally described as "slaves." Through the documentary and oral history, we get glimpses of their various acts of resistance to their enslavement. Finally, this research will also contribute to the growing body of work from an African-Caribbean setting, as well as informs on the complex relationships between Maroon and enslaved Africans living within the Jamaican landscape over time.

Organization of this Dissertation

This dissertation is organized in two parts that include seven chapters which address major aspects of this project. In this chapter, I have provided the context for the dissertation project by summarizing the relevant archaeological and historical backgrounds, as well as the methodology of this project. Chapter 2 sets the historical context of slavery and the history of coffee in Jamaica. It also sets the historical context of Orange Vale plantation by describing the geographical location, establishment,

owners/managers, and economy of the plantation. Chapter 3 presents information on the enslaved population at Orange Vale, beginning with increases and decreases gleaned from the Slave Returns. It also introduces some of the 54 families I was able to reconstruct, and recorded instances of resistance. Chapter 4 presents the archaeological findings at the enslaved village site. Chapter 5 addresses the relationships between the enslaved African community at Orange Vale and the Charles Town Maroons. It begins by setting the historical context of Charles Town from the time of its establishment in the mid-1700s, as well as their material world, as described by informants. It returns to the origin myth previously discussed and explains the kinship between enslaved Africans and Maroons in Jamaica. In addition, it examines the critical role of spirituality and ideology in resistance movements among both enslaved Africans and Maroons, as well as their position in the Atlantic world. Finally, in an Epilogue, I examine Charles Town and Orange Vale today and how both communities interact with each other and their place within the national Jamaican context.

Chapter 2. Historical Context: History of Slavery in Jamaica

Introduction of Slavery in the Caribbean

Modern, written Caribbean history often begin with the unfortunate landing of Christopher Columbus on a small Bahamian island on 12 October 1492. However, by the time Columbus and his European colleagues accidentally stumbled on the island of Xaymaca, the Taino people were already well settled in small villages throughout the island. Falsely claiming to have “discovered” part of Asia, he named the region “the Indies,” leading to the further corruption to the “West Indies.” Couched in the guise of spreading Christianity, Columbus’s goals to seek riches in gold and to expand the Spanish empire initiated a long history of genocide and exploitation in the Caribbean islands.

Slavery was first introduced to the Caribbean on larger islands like Hispaniola, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Jamaica through the *encomienda* system, a form of slavery forced on the Taino and other indigenous peoples to work in mining gold. In order to overcome the Pope’s claim of concern against enslaving indigenous Caribbean populations, these early European settlers initiated hostilities with Taino populations then justified their imposition of slavery. Columbus and his fellow European settlers’ obsession with acquiring gold and other riches caused them to employ inhumane methods on indigenous populations. Empire building and the search for gold came at enormous human costs, particularly for the indigenous populations who were subjected to the unhealthy working conditions, exposed to new diseases, and violence. The indigenous population was reduced by 90% (Ferguson 1998:30). With the exception of Hispaniola and Cuba, very

little gold was found in these islands as he had anticipated. Those Europeans who remained on the islands resorted to agriculture and grazing, concentrating on commodities that could be shipped back to Spain for sale.

Having very little success in acquiring gold in many of the islands, Spanish settlers turned to ranching, while others introduced a range of crops brought over from Europe for cultivation in the Caribbean islands. Crops like barley, oats, and wheat were not successful, but citrus fruits, bananas, indigo, and tobacco proved suitable crops (Claypole and Robottom 1998:27; Ferguson 1998:33; Watts 2000:145). Williams 1984:25). Above all else, it was sugar that was most successful and became the center of agricultural economy. The first sugar plant arrived in Hispaniola with Columbus in 1493 and, by the mid-1500s, sugar plantations gradually spread throughout the Caribbean. Entire indigenous communities were sometimes forced into slavery and gradually died off as a result of that hardship, diseases, and violence.

As the indigenous population gradually decline, new sources of labor had to be found to work on the plantations. At first, they conducted mass raids on neighboring islands and in Central America, rounding up as many as 200,000 indigenous peoples between 1515 and 1542 and brought to the larger Caribbean islands (Ferguson 1999:41; Finks 1998:6-7; Williams 1984:33. These seized indigenous peoples suffered just as much and they too soon died off. European settlers then turned to European forced labor and by Columbus's third voyage, he had imported some of the first European laborers. Most of these early European laborers were convicts whose death and prison sentences were replaced with shipment to the Caribbean colonies. Others were either raided from

European streets, poor men hoping for a better life, and some were women brought to serve as mates for the colonists. The amount of these white laborers was small and they too died off quickly, providing little solution to the labor problem.

As early as 1501, King Ferdinand authorized the importation of enslaved Africans to provide the necessary labor on Caribbean plantations. By 1517, colonial settlers like Las Casas requested that field slaves be sent Africans, it was rationalized, were not subjects of the Spanish crown and as a result could be considered prisoners of war who could be subjected to slavery (Ferguson 1998:41). From the perspective of the Spanish leaders, this was a viable option because the Portuguese had been involved in the slave trade off the west coast of Africa since the 1450s. Though the supply of enslaved Africans were limited, the first enslaved Africans arrived in the Caribbean via Spain, some serving as servants or companions. However, the supply gradually increased as the demand grew high and by 1518, King Charles signed his first four-year contract or *asiento* to supply the four large Caribbean islands (Hispaniola, Cuba, Jamaica, and Puerto Rico) with 4000 African slaves each year. These early Africans enslaved on the Caribbean islands soon rebelled like their predecessors, but they too were dying off from diseases, violence, and harsh conditions.

One very important difference with the supply of Africans for labor in the Caribbean was that, unlike the indigenous and white laborers, there was the potential for an unlimited supply of laborers (Ferguson 1988:44). The high demand for laborers meant that settlers were willing to pay high prices, particularly in the early period when supply was low. The Portuguese dominated in the raids and held a monopoly during this early

period on the African slave trade. By carrying the raided Africans directly to the Caribbean, the Portuguese eliminated the time it would have taken to stop off in Spain before heading down to the Caribbean. This allowed them to provide more African laborers and sell them at cheaper rates to the sugar-growers and ranchers. By 1700, however, many Caribbean islands were settled by various European nations who were involved in agricultural cultivation, and virtually every European nation was involved in the African slave trade. It is against this backdrop that slavery was introduced in Jamaica and thrived until British emancipation in 1834.

Slavery in Jamaica

Columbus first landed in Jamaica during his second voyage, but it was not until 1509 that the Spanish established a colony at Sevilla la Nueva (St. Ann's Bay), and later in Villa de la Vega (Spanish Town) in 1523. These early Spanish settlers failure to find gold, as well as the depleted enslaved indigenous populations led them to the cultivation of various agriculture crops, like cocoa, indigo, tobacco, dyewoods, ginger, pimento, and a various other spices. By the middle of the sixteenth century, African slaves had were already brought to Jamaica, most of them arrived via Spain and served as personal household servants to the European settlers.

Throughout the sixteenth century, Jamaica's slave population remained small because most of the indigenous population had either died or ran off into the hills, and access to enslaved Africans was expensive and scarce. During that time, Jamaica was not economically attractive to most settlers and many chose to settle on other islands like

Barbados where they cultivated tobacco. By 1611, the average farm or ranch in Jamaica was cultivating diverse crops, and held either two or three black or indigenous slaves and white servants. By the mid-1630s, Barbados lost its dominance in tobacco cultivation to the North American colony of Virginia and many Barbadian planters migrated to Jamaica and seriously started the cultivation of sugar. By 1675, most of Jamaica's European settlers had followed suit and turned from cultivating cocoa and other crops to sugar, which demanded a large labor force. This shift in crop cultivation marked the transition from small farms and ranches manned by white indentured servants and a few African slaves to large sugar estates worked by gangs of enslaved Africans.

Sugar plantations began to pop up all over the Jamaican landscape, but particularly along the southern and the northern parishes of St. Catherine, Clarendon, and St. Mary's. The number of sugar mills in operation on Jamaica went from 57 in 1670 to 419 in 1739, then 1,061 by 1786. In addition, between 1792 and 1799 alone, about 84 new sugar estates were established, most of them in St. Ann, Trelawny, and St. James (Higman 1976). To fill the labor demand, Jamaican settlers soon began the importation of large numbers of enslaved Africans to work on these plantations. This initiated a new complex network of European economy and trade, particularly in the supply and demand of goods and slaves, and every European nation became involved. A new period representing the most extreme period involving the forced movements of people in the history had begun.

As the sugar estates expanded, so too did the number of enslaved Africans imported to labor on them. For example, Jamaica had an estimated European population

of 10,000 and 99,000 enslaved Africans in 1739. However, by 1787, there were about 25,000 Europeans compared to over 210,894 enslaved Africans, a ratio of one European to ten enslaved African (Sherlock and Bennett 1998:93). These mass movements of large numbers of Africans forcibly brought to Jamaica marked a dramatic shift in both the agricultural endeavors, and in the character of Jamaican society. As a result, Jamaica transferred the island from an English settlement to a predominantly black, slave colony and eventually an absentee society.

The fundamental difference with Jamaican slavery compared to previous forms that existed in Africa, Europe, and elsewhere was that this new form was racialized in that it was based solely on the assumed inferiority of blackness. The kinds of enslavement that were practiced prior to this new Atlantic slavery involved mostly prisoners of wars who oftentimes had the potential to earn their freedom or to become integrated into the society of their captors. In addition, no other incident in history has contributed to the mass separation and scattering of families, villages, and tribes in strange lands as this new form.

Hiding behind Christianity, practitioners in this new African slave trade rationalized that in enslaving Africans, they were helping to civilize them. However, the reality was that Africans were enslaved because of racist, Eurocentric notions of European dominance and greed. Stolen and forcibly separated from their homeland and people, endured the horrific experience of the “Middle Passage” as they crossed the Atlantic Ocean, dehumanized as they are sold on auction blocks, then subjected to harsh conditions as they lived and labored on various plantations and urban landscapes. As a

result of the inhumane and harsh working conditions, various diseases/ailments, and poor nutrition, the majority of the enslaved African population lived very short, miserable lives, often dying before their fortieth birthday (Higman 1995:109).

Portuguese initiated the European slave trade on the West African coast, but the growing sugar plantation economy encouraged the trade in slaves. Over time, the slave trade went from being a practice involving solely kidnapping to a system that incorporated bartering with some local Africans (Conniff and Davis 1994:44, Thornton 1998:69). The extent to which Africans were involved in the slave trade has been debated extensively (see Curtin 1975; Thornton 1998;). What is clear is that wealth was made with the cultivation of sugar, a product that was then extremely rare and valuable in Europe. This kept the trade very much alive for centuries. So valuable was the slave trade and the institution of slavery itself that the slave trade was not formally abolished until 1807, followed by legal emancipation in 1834 in Jamaica and the other British colonies. The French did not abolish slavery until 1848, the Dutch in 1863, and the Spanish even more recently in 1880.

History of Coffee in Jamaica

First introduced to Jamaica in 1728, it was not until the 1790s that coffee cultivation expanded to become the second major export crop from Jamaica from then until emancipation in 1834. The 1790s created a favorable climate in which coffee cultivation became a viable monocrop alternative to sugar. The price of coffee had reached an all time high when it became scarce when the Caribbean's main exporter, St.

Domingue, went through a period of political and economic instability resulting in the Haitian Revolution. The number of properties cultivating coffee went from 150 in 1774 to 607 by 1792 and 686 by 1799 (Higman “Jamaican Coffee Plantation” 75; Montieth 2002:260). Production and exports rose from under two million pounds in 1790 to 11 million pounds in 1800 to a high of almost thirty million pounds in 1814.

From the very beginning, Jamaican coffee production was kept in check by a number of factors, including the high import charges to Britain meant to ensure that tea was not replaced by coffee as the breakfast drink of choice; the near dominance of St. Domingue (Haiti) and Grenada as major exporter of coffee; and the dominance of sugar as “king” of mono-crop culture in the British colonies (Higman 1986:73; Ragatz 1928:42).

In the late eighteenth century, however, three major events occurred which caused Jamaican coffee production to increase its prominence in the colonial, global economy. The first of these events occurred in 1783 when the import duty on coffee into Britain was lowered from 1s. 6d. to 6d. per pound (Ragatz 1928:199). This encouraged the production of coffee, particularly as an alternative to the more expensive enterprise of sugar-production. This reduction in the import duty on coffee to Britain removed the protection previously granted to tea and stimulated an increase in coffee production in Jamaica, evidenced in the increase in coffee plantations in Jamaica (Curtain 1990:178; Higman 1986:73, 1988:9; Ragatz 1928:42).

The second factor was the Haitian Revolution, which not only diminished the coffee production in that colony and triggered a series of similar crises in a few of the

other successful coffee-producing colonies² (see Brizan 1998:59-81; Ferguson, J 1999:135-150; Geggus 2001), but also brought French coffee planters, in many cases with their enslaved Africans from St. Domingue who fled the Revolution (Delle 1998:49; Higman 1988:9). In the 1790s, The Haitian Revolution triggered a series of insurrections and other acts of resistance by enslaved Africans and free people of color in other West Indian colonies, as in Grenada where a yearlong resistance effort was put in place by Julien Fedon (see Brizan 1984 and Craton 1982:180-190). Fedon, a “free person of color,” who emigrated from St. Domingue and was a key supporter of Victor Hughes, who had arrived in the Caribbean from France to “proclaim emancipation of blacks” (Ragatz 1928:219). During the 1780s, St. Domingue was the main producer of coffee, while Jamaica was still only producing 2 percent of St. Domingue's output (Drescher 1977:87). However, by the beginning of the Haitian Revolution in 1790, the production of coffee in St. Domingue was virtually non-existent (Delle 1998:51-52; Higman 1986:73-74).

The third factor was that sugar itself was also experiencing its own decline in market price from its peak of 80 shillings per hundredweight in 1795 to 24 shillings in 1830 (Deere 1950; Monteith 1992). Jamaican sugar prices fell steadfastly from their peak at £4 (80 shillings) in 1795 to £1 4s (24 shillings) per hundredweight in 1830. For example, British West Indian sugar exports to Britain declined from 1,934,080 hundredweight in 1775 to 1,300,056 in 1780. Exports of rum, coffee (from 5,483,100 to 2,075,600), and cocoa also saw decline during this period (Williams 1970:227). Sugar

² For a good overview, see Geggus 2001.

plantation managers and owners attempted to rectify the problem of the falling sugar price by increasing production, but that tactic further exacerbated the problem. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, overproduction, coupled with competition from sugar producers in Europe and Asia, caused the dramatic decline and eventual collapse of “king sugar” (Deere 1950; Higman 1988:9). However, by the 1790s, coffee production in Jamaica experienced such a dramatic increase that by the end of the eighteenth century, it had come closest to rivaling sugar as the leading export crop of Jamaica (Higman 1988:9).

Coffee was never able to pass sugar as the main export crop, but it experienced its boom period between 1783 (the year the duty on coffee was reduced), and 1838, (the year of emancipation), with a peak during 1814. The average annual importation of coffee from Jamaica to Britain had been 37,180 pounds between 1763-1767, however, between 1815 and 1819 alone, that number increased to 15,229,960 (Ragatz 1928:42). By 1808, there were 607 coffee plantations in Jamaica (Satchell1990:46) and coffee became a favorite breakfast drink among the common people of Europe and no longer just a luxury (Ragatz 1928:42).

Coffee consistently comprised over 25 percent of Jamaica's export between 1805 and 1830. However, this rapid growth experienced by coffee was short lived and by the early 1820s coffee plantations such as Orange Vale were all experiencing serious decline in production and profit. After its early peak at 1814, the coffee economy stagnated until emancipation, followed by another period of growth after emancipation when small landowners took up its production. In addition, constant soil erosion required that coffee

trees be planted in different locations after only a few years. Along with this ever-increasing production cost, competition from other coffee producing nations led to the early desire to stop producing the crop on its own (see for example, Letter from Alexander Grant to Meek and Green, NLJ/1663R).

Coffee production in Jamaica was always overshadowed by sugar, which was the major reason for its decline. By the 1820s, profits from sugar rebounded and rum, molasses, and other byproducts were becoming more and more profitable enterprises (Higman 1986:95). In addition to the increasing dominance of sugar production, decline in coffee production was also the result of heavy soil erosion, competition from other coffee producing countries, and global political factors concerning slavery (Delle 1998; Higman 1986).

Geography and Climate of Orange Vale

Orange Vale plantation was located approximately 2km west of the Buff Bay River, at the foothills of Jamaica's Blue Mountains with an elevation of about 480m above sea level (Figure 1). Once a part of the parish of St. George, the redefining of the parishes in the late 1880s resulted with Orange Vale being classified as belonging in the parish of Portland (see Figure 2).

Situated near the watershed of the Orange Vale drainage basin, from which it got its name, Orange Vale was bordered on its eastern boundary by the Buff Bay River, a border shared by the neighboring Charles Town Maroons (see Figure 3; Higman 1988:160). The plantation was located in the northeastern part of the island, on the

western side of the Buff Bay River, and gradually rose uphill reaching a peak at 2000 feet above sea level.

Orange Vale can be described as a gradually ascending hill with occasional terraces, with a rich vegetation of logwood, fruit trees, and bamboo. Once part of a rolling stream running into the Buff Bay River, the road leading through the plantation was cobbled with limestone and the occasional sandstone. Because of its location at the foothills of the Blue Mountains, the plantation's loose soil and heavy annual rainfall provide favorable conditions for growing most crops, but particularly coffee. The wet limestone forest of this interior property was dense with a canopy dominated by large, tall trees and was typical of the interior uplands. The trees in the canopy offered shade and more importantly, lumber for building and for sale. It was underneath this canopy of trees that the small coffee trees were planted. Wild orchids, bromeliads, ferns, and other climbing vines attached themselves to trees, creating a dense, rich environment.

With its central mountainous "backbone" running east to west, Jamaica's rich and varied topography historically provided favorable conditions for agricultural crops. The Blue Mountain Peak in the east formed the highest peak at 2256 m above sea level (see Figure 1). In Jamaica, sugar was concentrated in the lowlands and coffee in the mountainous regions, particularly near the northeastern Blue Mountains. Coffee, first introduced to the island in 1728, was found to be best suited to the hilly, wet inlands and so by 1780, numerous coffee plantations were established in and around the Blue Mountain region. Because of its climate and favorable conditions for coffee growing, the

Blue Mountains and their surroundings were the source of most of the coffee successfully grown on the island during the historic period.

In his highly influential manual to potential Jamaican coffee planters, retired émigré from St. Domingue, Pierre-Joseph Laborie advised that the highland interior lands were most proper for the production of coffee. He wrote that:

Upon the whole, personal convenience must be sacrificed; the highest and the remotest lands are preferable, notwithstanding the trouble and fatigue of climbing mountains on horseback, and the expence of having a great number of mules for carriage. (Laborie 1798)

Other agricultural “experts” like Porter (1833:60) added:

...The most favorable situation for a coffee plantation is the side of a hill, exposed to the east, and where the earth is watered by occasional soft rains or refreshed by dews. (Porter 1833:60)

Thus, steep hills of the Blue Mountain region, were best suited for coffee growing because of its cool climate; deep, firm soil, and frequent rains. It is in this setting that Orange Vale plantation was formed.

The Buff Bay area was settled in the historic period by the Charles Town maroons since their original town, Crawford Town, was established during Spanish rule in Jamaica (Agorsah 1994:169; Campbell 1988:168). Coffee production and settlement in the Buff Bay area by Europeans came late because of its hilly, wet, inland topography. Initial settlement by English settlers was concentrated on the southern and southeastern, and western coastal towns of the island, in places like Port Royal, Kingston, Spanish Town, and New Seville. By 1680, the plantation system was well established, with sugar

plantations initially concentrated around coastal towns to make use of the ports and natural waterways. It was not until much later that sugar estates were established further inland as coastal land became scarce.

Establishing Orange Vale

Orange Vale plantation was established in 1780 when John Elmslie, a London merchant, purchased 311 acres of land from John Sanderson (*Index to Grantees* 1781:202). Located in the western section of the parish of St. George's, now part of the north-eastern parish of Portland (see Figure 2), this initial parcel of land was “bounded easterly on Buff Bay River, westerly and northerly on a ‘very high ridge’ and land belonging to ... John Sanderson, and southerly by George Cruickshank.” During the following years, Elmslie accumulated several other neighboring parcels of land so that by 1785, Orange Vale contained over 1230 acres of land.

The earliest known map of Orange Vale – and one of the earliest plans of a coffee plantation in Jamaica – commissioned by Elmslie, was completed in 1791 by Robert Leslie (Figure 4). The plan indicated the acreage planted in “old coffee,” “newer coffee,” “young coffee,” guinea grass pasture, ruinate, common pasture, plantain walk, and “sloppy land.” At the time of this survey in January 1791, Orange Vale was bounded on the north by Buff Bay River Plantation, on the west by “the land belonging to Mr. William Cumming,” on the south by “The Glebe Land,” and on the east by the Buff Bay River and Charles Town Maroons on the other side of the river.

This plan was rather vague in detail for the more interior northern and western boundaries, but clearly showed much of the agricultural and domestic locations to be near the Buff Bay River on its eastern boundary. It was along this river that enslaved Africans at Orange Vale carried the produce to Buff Bay for sale or exchange, and coffee for storage at the Low Layton Estate wharf in Orange Bay. As an alternative, produce can also be carried by road, by crossing the Buff Bay River near Cotton Tree junction, and continuing north towards the town of Buff Bay.

As indicated on Leslie's 1791 plan of the plantation (Figure 4), the main dwelling house and enslaved African village were both located in the flat near the Buff Bay River, at only 250 feet above sea level. The settlement "formed a tight triangle" with the main dwelling houses located on a ridge, the "ruined works" located a short distance from it and the houses for enslaved Africans located a short distance from that, and at the edge of the river. Though indicating the "land of the Charles Town Maroons" and stone wall fences throughout the plantation, this plan was rather vague in details of land usage in the northern and western areas, reflecting the beginning period of settlement. It seemed that during this early settlement period of the plantation, most agricultural and domestic activities seemed to have centered near the Buff Bay River, to take advantage of the available water supply, but cultivation gradually moved westward.

A close analysis of Leslie's plan suggests that the plantation was in the process of establishing itself as a new coffee plantation in 1791. No "provision grounds" were noted anywhere on the map. However, a large region located near the hilly "great mountain" was labeled as "land allotted for Negroe Grounds." This "Negroe Grounds"

appear to be the approximate location in which the later enslaved African village was later established. Did “Negroe grounds” refer to provision grounds for enslaved Africans, or lands occupied by them? As seen in Higman’s *Jamaica Surveyed*, many coffee plantation maps from that time period show both “Negro grounds” and “provision grounds,” (Higman 1988:261-276). In a 1826 plantation journal, a bookkeeper recorded that of the then 1257 acres, only 10 acres were allotted to “provision grounds” and 195 acres to “negro grounds” (Robertson 1980:210). This, combined with the notations of both “provision” and “negro” grounds seem to suggest that the “provision” grounds may indicate the space specifically set aside for provisions for use primarily at the overseer’s house, while “negro” grounds represent the spaces used in the production of crops for use by enslaved Africans.

Table 1. Land Use at Orange Vale 1791 and 1826

	1791	1826
Coffee	c.38	200
Negro Grounds	n/a	195
Provision Grounds	n/a	10
Common Pasture	c. 167	140
Guinea Grass	c. 86	33
Ruinates	c. 16	479
Woodland	“uncertained”	200

Source: Leslie’s 1791 Plan of Orange Vale; Robertson’s reference to Orange Vale’s Journal

According to the 1791 plan, in addition to the seven acres of planted in “old coffee,” over thirty acres were already planted in “newer,” “younger” coffee; seventeen acres planted in “new guinea grass;” and an additional one hundred acres were considered “fit for guinea grass.” In addition, the Accounts Produce records for 1793, two years after this survey, further suggests this early period of establishment. In that

year, Orange Vale is recorded as producing 5500 pounds of coffee, a small amount, but likely for a beginning coffee plantation.

Sometime after the turn of the nineteenth century – possibly after ownership was transferred to Donaldson in 1802 – there was a shift in the initial settlement structures at Orange Vale. Around this time, the main dwelling house, works, and enslaved village were relocated further uphill into the interior, to its current location. This may reflect the constant shift in location of coffee planting as the soil eroded over time. In their new location, the Buff Bay River, still an important means of transporting goods to larger towns for sale, exchange, and export, it no longer served as the central water source for enslaved Africans living at Orange Vale. Instead, it seems that they relied on water from several springs and streams that ran through the property and down into the Buff Bay River.

Owners of Orange Vale

Orange Vale Plantation, located at foothills of Jamaica’s Blue Mountain, was established when John Elmslie, a London merchant, purchased 311 acres of land from John Sanderson (*Index to Grantees* 1781:202). This initial parcel of land, located in the parish of St. George, was described as being bounded easterly on Buff Bay River, westerly and northerly on a “very high ridge,” and southerly by land belonging to George Cruckshank (*Index to Grantees* 15/1/1781).

Elmslie, an absentee owner, expanded this initial parcel of land in a series of purchases from his neighbors through his lawyers in Jamaica so that by 1798, Orange

Vale covered over 1230 acres (*Index to Grantees* 1798:241). He also made several purchases of enslaved Africans to work on Orange Vale. For example, a 1790 indenture indicated that “a slave named Joe” was sold to Elmslie by Thomas Gregg for work on Orange Vale (*Index to Grantees* 1790, 382:12). Historical records indicate that in addition to the land itself, Elmslie acquired the enslaved African population attached to the land parcels he purchased (*Index to Grantees*, 1780, 1786, 1799).

During this period, it was common practice to acquire the “piece or parcel of land, slaves, cattle, stock, and premises...all houses, pacificos, erections, and buildings...all ways, paths, passages, waters, wells, and wells of waters, rivers, ponds, fishing places, and cocoon” (*Index to Grantees* 1799:241). In other words, the buyer received all the property and natural features physically on the parcel of land one purchased, including enslaved Africans already attached to the land. For example, in 1798 when Elmslie mortgaged Orange Vale to Pierre Marie Jacques Quartre Bouf Dessource, a French immigrant in Jamaica, he provided him with the 93 enslaved Africans and 188 animals on the plantation (*Index to Grantees* 1799).

Under Elmslie’s ownership, it seems that the estate was initially involved in selling sugar (*Accounts Produce* 1B/11/4: 1780). It is unclear whether this sugar was actually produced at Orange Vale, but instead could have either been produced on the plantation, or more likely the remains from its previous owners, or even from another plantation. It seems likely that this sugar was produced at Orange Vale, especially given the fact that there were two structures labeled “ruined works” near the old settlement on Leslie’s 1791 plan. On the other hand, this “ruined works” could have been a remnant

from when that portion of the plantation was a part of another settlement. With the exception of 1780, the year in which Orange Vale was acquired by Elmslie, no Accounts Produce was recorded for Orange Vale until 1793. By that year, the main commercial / agricultural activities had switched to the production of coffee and on selling of livestock (*Accounts Produce* 1B/11/4: 1793).

Elmslie remained the legal, though absentee, owner of Orange Vale until 1798 when he sold the plantation to Pierre Mary Jacques Quartre Bouf Dessource, a French émigré from St. Domingue. Dessource then mortgaged the property to a Kingston planter George Churchill from 1799 to 1800. It is not known what commercial/agricultural activity the plantation was engaged in during Dessource's and Churchill's ownership because no accounts produce were reported for Orange Vale during that period. In 1800, Churchill defaulted on a loan from the financial firm of Donaldson, Forbes, Grant, and Stewart and proceedings began to turn over the plantation to that firm.

Alexander Donaldson, one of the partners in this firm in turn bought out ownership of Orange Vale from his partners Alexander Forbes, Alexander Grant, and George Stewart, each partner receiving £7741.17.11 (*Index to Grantees* 1802). Donaldson's ownership became official in 1802 when Dessource, who had returned to St. Domingue, returned to hand over the deed of Orange Vale. During Donaldson's and his heirs' ownership, coffee production was the primary agricultural activity at Orange Vale until 1849. Jobbing, or the hiring out of enslaved Africans, was the second means of accumulating money for the plantation beginning around 1814 until emancipation.

Ownership essentially remained in the hands of Donaldson and later his “heirs” after his death until 1861 when it was sold to Miss Margaret Gordon McPherson Grant. After his death, Orange Vale and Donaldson’s other properties in Jamaica remained tied up in a series of legal suits and counter-suits by his “heirs”, attorneys, and creditors. In 1861, the High Court of Chancery ordered that Donaldson’s properties be sold “to the highest bidder” and the proceeds go towards paying off his creditors. The highest bidder turned out to be the Scottish sister of one of his executors, Alexander Grant. By that time, Orange Vale was economically unsuccessful, and she too continued the tradition of being an absentee owner. In 1866, after her death, Orange Vale was split in two equal parcels of land and sold to James Welsh and Bragg. In subsequent years, the Welsh family bought out several smaller parcels from Bragg who sold off small plots to various buyers, many of them former slaves from the plantation. Over time, Orange Vale plantation was divided in small plots to various descendents within the Welsh / Gordon family.

Table 2: Orange Vale Owners

1780 – 1798	John Elmslie
1798 – 1799	Pierre Mary Quartre Bouf Dessource
1799 – 1800	George Churchill
1800 – 1802	Pierre Mary Quartre Bouf Dessource
1802 – 1807	Alexander Donaldson
1807 – 1861	“Heirs” of Alexander Donaldson
1861 – 1866	Margaret Gordon McPherson Grant
1866 –	James Welsh, G. W. Bragg
1888 --	B. G. Jumpp, and others

Source: Accounts Produce, Jamaica Almanack, Handbook of Jamaica

Alexander Donaldson

The last will and testament of Alexander Donaldson was the source of a series of events that determined the ownership of the property after his death (*Index to Grantees* 1807, 77:183; C33/721:393). His will, filed on December 14, 1805, named his nephews by his two sisters Anna and Mary as heirs to his Jamaican estates and named nine of his friends and colleagues as his executors and trustees. His trustees in London were William Grant, John Lord Newark, George Glenny, David Baillie, Alexander Grant, and in Jamaica, John Campbell, John Meek, Joseph Green and James Walker, esquires.

A lawyer and man of business himself, Donaldson's aim in naming his friends and former partners in business as executors and trustees to his estate was to help expand the wealth of his heirs by managing his estates on their behalf. Not only had Donaldson underestimated his debts and overestimated his wealth, but he apparently had not contemplated the later economic failures involved in maintaining profitable plantations. More importantly, Donaldson could not have predicted how these many people involved in managing and laying claim to several indebted, failing estates would turn on each other in a series of suits and counter suits after his death.

Little is known about Donaldson's personal life before his acquisition of Orange Vale. Beginning in 1786, he appeared as a party in several indentures, many with his then partner Alexander Thomson, all related to business in the acquisition of land and enslaved Africans (*Index to Grantees* 1786, 1788, 1792, 1794, 1798, 1799, 1800, 1801, 1802). Originally from England, Donaldson moved to Jamaica sometime around mid-1780s and set up a legal and financial firm in Jamaica, along with his London partner

Alexander Thomson. The firm basically provided financial backing for individuals interested in borrowing funds to finance their various ventures, usually acquiring loans to purchase property in Jamaica. By 1794, a third partner, Alexander Forbes, joined the firm, which then became Donaldson, Thomson, and Forbes.

Information on Donaldson's life can be traced through his tax records from the late 1790s through the early 1800s. In 1797, Donaldson resided in a rented space on Hanover Street in Kingston and owned "1 cattle and 2 wheels" and it seems that his place of business, listed as "trade and stock," was located on Port Royal Street in Kingston (*Kingston Vestry Minutes* 1797, 2/6/7). His business remained at the same location, but Donaldson changed his residence and accumulated more property. By 1799 he owned a house on North Street, 8 enslaved Africans, two 2-wheel carriages, and four 4-wheel carriages (*Kingston Vestry Minutes* 1799).

Around 1798, the firm of Donaldson, Thomson, and Forbes was no more, but was now a partner in another legal/financial firm with Alexander Forbes, George Stewart, and Alexander Grant. The firm of Donaldson, Forbes, Stewart, and Grant were a very successful business at the time and it was with this group that Donaldson acquired Orange Vale and a number of other properties in Jamaica. Donaldson's firm conducted a series of successful business deals that can be that further increased his wealth and by 1802, it appears that he was no longer a part of the firm. However, it seems that he remained in the same place of business and was the sole owner of a wharf on Port Royal Street that he rented to a firm consisting of his former partners (*Kingston Vestry Minutes*

1802). The firm of “Forbes, Grant, Stewart, and Henry” and later, “Grant, Meek, and Stewart,” had 17 enslaved Africans and paid £200 in rent to Donaldson.

By the time of his death in March 1807, Donaldson had accumulated a vast amount of property throughout Jamaica. In the parish of Trelawny, he had two very prosperous sugar plantations, Bryan Castle and Brampton Bryan, both once owned by the Ellis family and visited by Lady Nugent in 1802. In St. Thomas-in-the-East, he owned Stoakes Hall and Hampton Court plantations; Low Layton Estate, Fairfield Plantation, and Orange Vale Plantation in St. George; a general store and “victualling office” in Port Royal; a house with tracts of land in Kingston; and held a mortgage on Nonsuch and Unity Estates in St. Mary’s parish (*Inventories* 1808, 1B/11/3 #110:2-66).

At the time that he wrote his will in 1805, Donaldson wrote to his partner, Thomson, estimating his assets to be £318,861.16.8 and his debts to amount to £275,196.2.9, leaving a surplus of £43,665.13.11. Realizing that there was an error in Donaldson’s calculations, he wrote back to his partner asking for a correct account of his financial affairs. In response, Donaldson adjusted his figures and concluded that his assets, including projected income up to 1810, amounted to £459,015.17.2, while he assessed his debts to be £436,329.13.4, leaving a surplus of £22,686.3.10. However, when the inventory was completed of Donaldson’s estate in 1808, it recorded his worth at £67,647, 5 shillings, and 10 pence, with an estimated debt amount of £32,532, 10 shillings, and 2 pence.

Following either set of figures, Donaldson’s heirs would have inherited anywhere from £35,000 to £43,000, either a substantial amount in 1807. However, Donaldson’s

debts were grossly underestimated and he owed a great deal of money to many of his former partners and friends, including Thomson. Donaldson, it appeared, was still partnered with Thomson in London, who provided financial backing for many of his business ventures in Jamaica during his death, as well as covered most of the debt that his estate accrued in legal bills after his death. When Thomson died on 19th November 1818, his executor and one of Donaldson's own, Alexander Grant, wrote to Donaldson's Jamaican trustees, John Meek and Joseph Green, notifying them that Donaldson owed Thomson's estate £237,961.19.5!

By the time that Grant wrote this letter in 1819, several suits were already filed against Donaldson's estate and executors, beginning in 1808 when a suit was filed against his executors/trustees by his heirs (*Chancery Court Order Book* 1808, #613:238). Donaldson's nephews – Alexander Donaldson Cameron, John Alexander Cameron, Robert Annstruther, and John Annstruther – filed suit hoping to collect their inheritance. According to the will, Donaldson's instructed his executors and trustees to give annual allowances to his nephews and his mother, Janet Donaldson, with a continual investment of the remaining monies.

Besides overestimating his worth and underestimating his debts, Donaldson was mistaken in assuming that his Jamaican estates would continue to be prosperous with a continual flow of money coming into his estate. In fact, based on his successes in 1805 and following the current market price of his crops, Donaldson provided gross projections of money he hoped his estates should acquire by 1810. Further, one of Donaldson's trustees in Jamaica, John Meek, continued to be defiant to Grant's

suggestions to sell Donaldson's estates in order to pay off some of his debts, and continued to follow Donaldson's unrealistic projections. In his letter, Grant wrote:

...Mr. Donaldson, when he created these trusts, had a completely erroneous idea, both of the extent of his debts, and the capabilities of his estates for discharging them; and therefore what was founded thereon, cannot be maintained to the prejudice of his creditors; and that the produce of Mr. Donaldson's estates, even at Mr. Meek's rate of estimating it, is totally inadequate to pay the debts. ... Enough however is proved ... to shew the erroneous calculations upon which the plan of working the estates to pay the debts, was originally founded, and that no argument in favor of a perseverance in that plan can rest upon the wishes, desire, or directions of the testator, since it is evident that Mr. Donaldson was influenced by false notions, both of the extent of his debts, and the capabilities of his properties to liquidate them (Letter by Alexander Grant to Joseph Green and John Meek 1819:5-6)

Grant continued to write letters to Meek and Green trying to convince them to sell the estates, but Green resisted. As a result, Grant filed suit on behalf of Thomson against Green and against Donaldson's estate. What followed was a series of suits and counter-suits where it seems that almost everyone was suing everyone else involved in Donaldson's estate. Heirs sued trustees, trustees sued each other and the heirs, and a big legal mess continued in the High Court of Chancery that did not get fully resolved until 1861.

Donaldson financial downfall, it turned out, was only one typical example of many who invested in ventures at Jamaican estates. But what of Donaldson's personal life? Though limited and vague, Donaldson's will provided the most information on his personal life. He was one of three children by then widow Janet Donaldson, along with his two sisters Mary and Anna. Mary Donaldson married David Annstruther and they

had two children, Robert and John. Anna married Peter Cameron and also had two sons, John Alexander and Alexander Donaldson, named after his uncle. His will provided an annual income of £1000 to his mother in four equal sums each year. His nephews, all minors at the time of his death, were due to receive £500 annually when they were under 21 years of age, and £3000 thereafter. Why had Donaldson not married or had children of his own? More importantly, why did he request a speedy “private and discreet” funeral? Whatever his rationale and circumstances may have been, Donaldson kept people talking about him long after his death.

Managers and Overseers

Throughout its history as a coffee plantation, Orange Vale was owned by individuals external to the world of the plantation. They lived either overseas or elsewhere in Jamaica, usually the city of Kingston. From its establishment in 1780 until 1866, Orange Vale was operated in absentia by Elmslie, Dessource, Churchill, and Donaldson. Elmslie never resided in Jamaica, Churchill resided in Kingston, and both Dessource and Donaldson held partial residence in Jamaica, but that time was spent in residence in Kingston. Dessource and Donaldson alternated residence in Kingston and overseas where they held business interests, Dessource in St. Domingue and Donaldson in London. It was on one such trip that Donaldson died on board a ship in 1807 en route to London.

The managers and attorneys for the these absentee owners managed the business of Orange Vale and lived far away from the plantation, but visited occasionally. Some of

them, such as William Hossack (1844 to 1858), held their positions for decades, others only a few months. One attorney, former friend, and executor of Alexander Donaldson was Alexander Grant who was involved with the London management of Orange Vale from the time of Donaldson's death in 1807, but particularly active from 1819 to 1854. With the exception of Thomas Kirkpatrick (1817 to 1828) and Henry Philip Silvera (1853 to 1858), overseers rarely lasted as long, while lower level supervisory staff like bookkeepers experienced and even greater turnover.

In addition, there were a number of other white employees who were more transitory serving various tasks. These transitory employees also served to "save deficiency" on the plantation. This means that they satisfied the law passed in the British Caribbean that required at least one white, male person for every 50-100 enslaved African residing on each settlement. These white males were required to reside on the plantation, be in the employ of the owner, and were given a musket, bayonet, and other related paraphernalia (*Laws of Jamaica 1798*).

It is unclear when this law was first enacted, but it seemed to have been particularly emphasized during the late 1790s, and revised almost annually. The emphasis of this law during the period of the late 1790s and early 1800s was during the time of the Haitian Revolution in neighboring St. Domingue. The British colonial government in Jamaica wanted to make sure that a similar revolution by the enslaved and free African-descended peoples in Haiti did not happen in Jamaica. In a similar vein, additional laws were passed in Jamaica to limit the movement of African-descended

peoples from Haiti within the island. One such law enacted in 1798 and edited in 1814 stated:

“... all negroes or people of color from the island of Saint Domingo, found on shore here, without a special licence from the governor, or the person executing for the time being the functions of governor, shall be deemed and taken to be persons of a dangerous description, and, on conviction under any law respecting persons of dangerous description, shall be transported for life...” (Laws of Jamaica 1814:267-268)

In addition, owners, managers, or overseers were required to attend the quarterly vestries and give in an account of the people on the plantation. If there was a deficiency in the ratio of white to slave proportion, then that plantation would be fined. Givings-in records exist for Orange Vale from 1821 to 1836 and indicate that these workers were shared by Orange Vale and Low Layton Estate, Donaldson’s other plantation nearby (*Givings-In* 2/12/5).

From 1821 until 1825, there were at least four and at most six white males listed as “saving deficiency.” From 1826 until 1828, there were three to five white males, and from 1829 until 1836, only two and occasionally three white males were recorded as residing on Orange Vale. This later reduction in the amount of white males living on Orange Vale reflects the removal in 1829 of 95 enslaved Africans from Orange Vale to work on Low Layton Estate, another of Donaldson’s estate nearby that was operated as a sister plantation to Orange Vale.

The absentee ownership of Orange Vale required careful local management both by attorneys in Kingston and overseers and bookkeepers residing at the plantation. The changing ownership of Orange Vale is reflected in its overseers and managers, particularly after Donaldson’s death in 1807. There was a constant turnover of white

overseers and bookkeepers at Orange Vale. The names of the individuals who submitted Accounts Produce for the plantation are known for most years, but the status of the individual is not always clear. Most of the overseers reporting the Accounts Produce signed their names, with few exceptions like John Anderson (1814-1816) who seemed to have been illiterate, making a mark on the Accounts Produce and signed by either James McDonald or the Vestry clerk, R. G. Kirkland.

Information is limited for the initial running of the plantation during the 1780s and early 1790s. However, available data suggests that during ownership by Elmslie, Orange Vale was managed by Andrew Sutherland, who served as overseer from 1796 until 1798, right around the time that ownership was handed over to Dessource. No data is available for the transitional period when Dessource and Churchill owned the property. Under Donaldson's ownership while he was alive, William Clark was overseer of Orange Vale from 1803 until 1809, just after Donaldson's death.

After his death in 1807, as management of Donaldson's estate changed among his trustees, they installed their own overseers at the plantation. There are no Account Produce records available regarding the management of the plantation for the period after his death from 1810 to 1814. John Anderson served as overseer from 1814 until 1815, a period in which Donaldson's estates were managed jointly by his Jamaican trustees. Anderson was followed by overseer Thomas Kirkpatrick, who served the longest term in the day-to-day running of Orange Vale from 1815 until 1827.

Beginning in 1817, the High Court of Chancery took over the legal running of Donaldson's estates in Jamaica, ordering new management and the selling of

Donaldson's properties in order pay off his creditors. By 1817, there were significant disagreements among Donaldson's trustees on the running of his properties. His trustees in London, headed by Alexander Grant, insisted that the properties be sold to pay off Donaldson's debts. On the other hand, Donaldson's Jamaican trustees, headed by Joseph Green, delayed orders by the High Court of Chancery to sell off the properties.

After Donaldson's death, one of his London executors and friend, Alexander Grant continuously wrote letters to Donaldson's attorneys in Kingston, John Meek and Joseph Green. These letters written by Grant were bound together and published in *Letters and Documents Relating to the Affairs of the Late Alexander Donaldson and the Firm of Donaldson and Thomson*. Grant suggested that in order to pay off Donaldson's debts that were continuously increasing with interest, they should sell of his most valuable properties in Jamaica, Brampton Bryan and Bryan Castle in Trelawny; gradually abandon the ones that are creating debt, like Orange Vale, and putting more labor into those with potential like Low Layton. By 1815, Donaldson's heirs and executors were facing several suits and mounting debts from his creditors. In a letter to Meek and Green dated 1 February 1819, Grant suggested removing about one hundred enslaved Africans from Orange Vale to Low Layton.

...the best course will be to sell the two Trelawny, and Stoakes Hall Estates, as well as the Kingston property, immediately, in order to raise a fund for liquidating the most urgent claims. The Nonsuch and Unity Estates, I hope, may soon be brought to a sale under the separate suit regarding those estates, which has been revived, and now in progress. ...it is proposed to continue working Low Layton; and, ... I fear we cannot look to Orange Vale, for any means of reducing the debt. I therefore strongly recommend to your consideration the removal of one hundred of the most effective Negroes from that estate, to be permanently attached to Low Layton: with that

additional strength, I hope the latter estate may be made the means of clearing off the incumbrances [sic] which will remain after the sale of Mr. Donaldson's other estates, and that we shall ultimately have the happiness and pleasure of handing over something to his Heir and Legatees of our Testator. (1819:2)

During the early 1820s, in addition to suits by Donaldson's creditors, there were a series of suits by many of his trustees and attorneys, some of whom he was also indebted to, against his other trustees in Jamaica (PRO:C33; *Chancery Court Records* 1A/3). There were so many suits pending around Donaldson's estates both in the Jamaica and in London, with rulings from each affecting the others. These suits included a suit by Donaldson's heirs against his trustees (Althuser vs. Grant et al.) with a counter suit (Grant vs. Donaldson et al); one by one of his Kingston trustees against another of his Kingston trustees (Meek vs. Green), one by his Kingston trustee against his London trustee (Meek vs. Grant) with a counter-suit (Grant vs. Meek), and many others (*Chancery Court Records* 1A/3 v. 557). These suits did not usually mention the enslaved Africans living on these plantations, but the few that did only mentioned them as a monolithic group that represented monetary collateral.

Donaldson's trustees in London argued that his trustees in Jamaica were refusing to sell the properties because they were benefiting financially when kept Donaldson's properties under their management. By 1827, the High Court of Chancery again ordered a change in management of Donaldson's Jamaican properties and appointed William Lambie and George McLeash / McLeish as trustees, and Robert Sproull as manager. Sproull, in turn hired James Wright who served as overseer of Orange Vale from 1827 until 1833. Alexander Grant, one of Donaldson's original executors, remained the

recipient of the coffee shipped from Orange Vale for sale in London. In 1833, Edward Mapother replaced James Wright as overseer and remained in that position until at least 1837.

By 1840, in addition to Alexander Grant in London, Robert Sproull was sole manager in Jamaica of both Orange Vale and Donaldson's neighboring property Low Layton Estate. Sproull, it seems, lived on Donaldson's other plantation nearby, Low Layton from at least March 1825 until March 1836 (Return of *Givings-In* 2/12/5, 1825-1836). He remained in this position as manager of both estates from 1840 until the middle of 1843 when William Hosack and Edward Mais were appointed as co-managers. Both Hosack and Mais remained in this position until 1846, when Mais was dropped and Hosack continued as manager until 1858. During this period, Alexander Grant continued as the legal representative in London and shipments continued to him until his death in 1854.

From 1840 until early 1850s, Orange Vale had a series of overseers who served relatively short terms in the day-to-day management of the plantation. Edward Mapother was the overseer from 1833 until at least 1836. It is unclear who was in charge during 1836, but Tom Nash took over from 1840 to 1842. The overseers for the remainder of the plantation's history were: Donald Lachland (1842 to 1844), Arthur McGawn (1844 to 1846), Thomas Burgess (1846 to 1847), Frederick Eaton (1847 to 1850), Henry Mason (1850 to 1851), and James Gibson (1851 to 1852). In 1852, when the ownership shifted from "heirs of Donaldson" to Margaret Gordon McPherson Grant, Henry Philip Silvera took over as overseer and served until 1858. There is a gap in reporting for the period

between 1858 and 1860, but in 1860, John Sinclair took over, serving only one year. The last overseer reported was John Stone who served from 1862 to 1863.

After the death of Alexander Grant, the High Court of Chancery demanded that the properties be sold and Donaldson's debts paid off as best as possible. By 1861 when Orange Vale was sold to Grant's sister, Margaret Gordon McPherson Grant, James Stewart was appointed as attorney and John Sinclair as overseer to run the property. Stewart remained McPherson Grant's attorney during the period of her ownership but John Sinclair was soon replaced by John Stone as overseer. No Account Produce records exist for Orange Vale after 1863, but an 1866 deed indicates that Orange Vale was then split in half and sold to resident planters Welsh and Bragg.

The settlement remained in the hands of descendants of the Welsh and Bragg families. Initially split and sold equally to these two families at about 608 acres each, but by 1888, Bragg had already sold 193 acres to B. G. Jumpp et al (Department of Surveys Map, Portland Parish 1888). In subsequent years, it seems that the Welsh family (Welsh and Gordons) acquired even more land from the Bragg family (*List of Properties*, 1882). In 1920, "Conahan & Bragg" owned a total of 323 acres, while James' son, Herbert Welsh increased his family's holdings to 710 acres (*List of Properties 50 Acres and Upwards*, 1920). Finally, by 1938, F. W. Bragg is listed as owning 285 acres, while Herbert Welsh continue to hold at 710 acres (*List of Properties*, 1938). The remaining acres seem to have been leased out to renters or sold in very small lots. Interestingly, though Welsh held two and one half times the number of acres as Bragg, Bragg's lot was valued at £820, while the Welsh lot was valued a little bit higher at £1000.

Despite the changes in ownership and management of Orange Vale, throughout slavery, its owners and management staff remained exclusively white males. During that time, the continual changes in the ownership and management of Orange Vale mattered relatively little for the life of enslaved Africans on the plantation who remained enslaved or dependent to varying degrees on its owners and managers. The owners, managers, and overseers introduced a wide range of external factors, from climate to the political, to do their best to directly control the political economy of their resources. On the other hand, changes in the mode of production and labor implications were more significant in determining the labor demanded from its laborers.

Economic Activities of Orange Vale: Orange Vale in Documents

In general, following Higman's classification of economic activities (1995:26-30, 243-244), Orange Vale went from a coffee-livestock economy in 1785 – 1793) to one of coffee-labor-livestock throughout the pre-emancipation. What this means is that Orange Vale went from a settlement that concentrated on economic activities of growing coffee and raising livestock for sale, to one in which they continued to grow coffee and raise livestock, but added the “sale” of labor of the enslaved peoples to neighboring settlements or for work on the road.

There were only three brief periods in which Orange Vale listed coffee as the only monocrop economic activity (1803 – 1805, 1807 – 1808, and 1812 – 1813), but until 1849, coffee remained the main crop cultivated. By emancipation and after the removal of 95 enslaved Africans to Low Layton Estate in 1829, coffee production at Orange Vale

dropped dramatically and management continued to seek money in a variety of ways. In addition, towards emancipation, the plantation sold logwood and scrap iron (from around the plantation and probably from the old sugar works near the Buff Bay River) in the late 1820s (Accounts Produce 1828, 1830, 1831), collected rent starting in 1840, sold lime from its kiln beginning in 1846, and even the furnishings from the overseers house in 1849. Two entries were made, suggesting the household furnishings were sold at separate times. The first entry, dated 24 March 1849, vaguely mentioned that there was a “public sale of the materials of the old Great House” (*Crop Accounts* 1849, v.92, f.219). The second entry, supposedly entered three weeks *earlier*, on 28 February 1849, listed the sale of some items to Low Layton Estate (*Crop Accounts* 1849, v.93, f138b).

Table 3. List of Items Sold From Orange Vale to Low Layton in 1849

1 mahogany Bedstead
1 common bedstead
3 hair mattresses
2 bolsters
2 pillows

Beginning in 1850, there was no mass scale production of coffee at Orange Vale and the focus of agricultural activity had shifted to rearing and selling livestock to neighboring planters or butchers until 1863 (Accounts Produce 1850 – 1863). By 1856, pimento was recorded, along with the continued sale of lime, and continued to be cultivated for sale until 1863. However, livestock remained the important activity at

Orange Vale so that by 1862, the property was no longer classified as a “plantation,” but as a “pen” (*Accounts Produce* 1862:xx).³

In general, changes in the choices of crop and economic output at Orange Vale often reflected the changes in its ownership and management, as well as in the broader economic climate in the British and European world. Further, production during slavery centered around producing coffee for export, unlike the trend after emancipation when most commercial activity focused on producing for local consumption.

Coffee Production

The earliest production records for Orange Vale indicates the sale of 20 tierces⁴ of sugar and 19 puncheons (1828 gallons) of rum sugar and rum in 1780, the year in which the plantation was established (*Accounts Produce* 1785). It is doubtful that sugar was actually produced at Orange Vale by its new management given the time it takes to grow and harvest sugar. In addition, sugar production in this mountainous region is unlikely given the unsuitable climatic and geographic conditions needed for sugar production. More likely, the sugar sold from that plantation could have either been the remains from its previous owners or even from produced at another plantation. Except for this one case, no mention is made in any other record of sugar or its by-products of rum and molasses being produced at Orange Vale.

³ “Plantation” defined as “properties cultivating coffee, pimento, ginger, cotton, arrowroot and other minor staples” and “Pen” are defined as a “breeding farm” for horses, mules, steers, (i.e. oxen), etc. (Higman 1995b:31)

⁴ The standard measurement of coffee, which, according to Higman’s analyses, averaged about 850 pounds with an average value in 1832 of £38 each. There is a range with minimum and maximum weights of 736 and 890 pounds respectively (Higman 1995b:236).

However, with its cool climate and location high up in the hills away from the coast, Orange Vale was better suited to produce coffee rather than sugar. By the early 1790s, cultivation in coffee was the main economic activity at Orange Vale, representing the widespread establishment of coffee plantation in the area. Starting around 1780, there was a very rapid growth in the establishment of coffee plantations particularly near the Blue Mountains located in the eastern parishes of St. George and Portland. This rapid expansion in coffee cultivation resulted from several factors, including a 1783 reduction of British import duty on colonial coffee growing need for fertile land to produce crops for export, as well as the growing political conflict in the neighboring island of St. Domingue, once the leading coffee exporter in the Caribbean (Higman 1995a:21). In addition, economic enterprises were significantly influenced by the significant influx of French émigrés in the region who set up coffee plantations. During the early 1790s, Jamaica experienced a large wave of French planters from St. Domingue who encouraged Jamaican estate owners to produce coffee for export.

Coffee production in eastern Jamaica peaked in 1814, as reflected in Orange Vale who in that year had its highest production of 209 tierces of coffee (Higman 1986:74; Accounts Produce 1814). However, by that time, many coffee plantations had already been abandoned and even more were abandoned in 1815 when a severe storm washed away soil, works, and houses. Between 1805 until 1815, 78 coffee plantations were abandoned or sold (Higman 1986:74; Furness 1965:10). From 1810 until emancipation, newspapers in both Jamaica and London were filled with advertisements for the sale of coffee plantations in the eastern parishes (for example, *Royal Gazette*, *Jamaica Gazette*,

and *Jamaica Watchman*). By 1815, the western region of the island, centered around the newly formed parish of Manchester, was being settled into coffee cultivation. Simultaneously, most of coffee plantations in the eastern parishes were being abandoned, sold, or involved in alternative agricultural ventures.

The period of 1805 to 1815 represented a series of high peaks, with the highest output of 209 tierces in 1814-1815 (*Accounts Produce* 1814-15: xx). Though its output decreased rapidly, coffee remained the second most important export crop in all of Jamaica and the main agricultural crop at Orange Vale from its establishment until 1849, when coffee was completely abandoned. Orange Vale experienced its most productive years from 1805 until 1815, after which it experienced a dramatic decline. Coffee production peaked at Orange Vale during 1813 to 1814, reflecting a peak throughout the island. That year, Orange Vale produced an impressive 209 tierces of coffee or 111,408 net pounds of coffee. Four shipments of coffee were shipped to London: 100 tierces (36,866 pounds) in April 1814; 30 tierces (18,469 pounds) in June; and two additional shipments later on that year in amounts of 73 tierces (52417) and 2 tierces (1419 pounds). A remaining 206 net pounds were sold to Low Layton Estate. That year, labor accounted for only £15 for work done on the highway.

Table 4. Annual Average Value of Exports (£ Currency, 1832 prices)

Period	Coffee	Sugar	Rum	Molasses
1800-04	818,551	2,351,149	618,549	1,647
1805-09	1,209,942	2,564,307	738,889	1,789
1810-14	1,077,466	2,111,870	650,932	976
1815-19	884,140	2,322,436	657,810	1,036
1820-24	954,433	2,251,355	555,646	1,637
1825-20	999,801	1,944,692	498,598	1,495
1830-34	748,624	1,985,984	483,831	1,904

Source: Higman 1995b:213

Coffee Cultivation and Work Regime

Orange Vale's work regime followed the typical gang-based schedule as most coffee plantations in Jamaica. Once a plantation space was set up and the land prepared for planting, the critical act of planting coffee trees at the highest elevations were undertaken almost immediately upon settlement (Laborie 1798:27). Coffee was best grown in temperate climates with a mean annual temperature of 70 degrees and at higher altitudes. It required rainfall and shade from larger trees that not only served to check soil erosion and furnish nutriment to the soil, but also sped up the growth of the crops. It was also common practice to grow crops between the rows of coffee beans which served as additional food and shade trees. In Jamaica, these conditions were best met in the northeastern Blue Mountains, and to a lesser extent in west-central Jamaica (Higman 1986, 1988). With its volcanic rock mixture of decomposed mold and an average temperature of five to ten degrees cooler than in the lowlands, these cooler climate was the context in which enslaved Africans at Orange Vale had to acclimate themselves to.

At Orange Vale, enslaved Africans planted other crops such as corn, beans, bananas, and root crops such as yams in their provision grounds to provide food for their consumption and for trade. Once planted, coffee trees grew relatively quickly, flowering and producing coffee for harvest within three to four years of planting (Higman 1976; Laborie 1798). The cultivation of coffee required very specific conditions to obtain quality beans (Laborie 1798; Monteith 1992; Thurber 1884; Ukers 1935). The basic principles of the allocation of work on coffee plantations were similar to those on sugar plantations, based on a gang system performing specific tasks. The structure of coffee

cultivation was not as rigid as the strict adherence on sugar estates and was primarily based on tasks performed by gangs, with the most intense period being harvesting between September and November (Higman 1976:23, 189). However, it involved tedious tasks that were performed in very damp and unhealthy conditions.

The cycle of coffee corresponded with the hot and dry climate in Jamaica. Once planted, the coffee plant needed to be maintained with weeding and pruning of the plant to make sure that the tops are cut off so that the trees do not grow too tall (Laborie 1798; Thurber 1884). Keeping the plant relatively short was intended to prevent the breaking off of top branches during picking. Pruning, weeding, and general maintenance took place throughout the dry season, beginning in January, immediately after the Christmas holiday and continuing until September when the picking and processing begin again. Enslaved Africans of all ages, gender, or status were expected to participate in the tasks of maintaining the plants as they enter another cycle. These tasks involved tillage, weeding, mulching, manuring, pruning, and treating for pests (Laborie 1798; Higman 1986).

Beginning usually in September and continuing until November, enslaved Africans at Orange Vale were involved in the most demanding tasks of coffee picking and processing. During this period, the ripened coffee beans had to be picked because if left on the trees too long then they would spoil and become useless. Once sprouted, coffee beans ripened quite rapidly, particularly if there are heavy rains which tended to ripen them faster. The small berries were hand-picked, making sure to avoid picking unripe berries and collected into baskets or shoulder bags (Labories 1798; Thurber 1884;

Ukers 1935). During the historic period, once picked, the coffee was taken to the works to be processed immediately for shipment to British markets.

The processing of coffee was quite tedious and reflected in the layout of the plantation (see Figure 5; Delle 1998:120-150; Higman 1986, 1988). Once picked coffee went through the “wet” or “washed” method whereby it was soaked in cisterns or tanks filled with water. A continual flow of water was kept in the cisterns during which time defective beans, green berries, twigs, leaves, and other unwanted objects that floated to the top were removed. The beans were then removed to a grater mill that was turned by enslaved African hands and powered by animals. This pulping process removes the skin and outer pulp of the berry. After pulping, the now exposed beans were returned to the cistern for removal of the scum or leftover gummy skins that were still attached to the bean. The washed coffee was then spread thinly on drying platforms or barbecues to dry, continually raked and turned over for even exposure of all sides of the beans (Laborie 1798; Thurber 1884).

Once all the beans are dried, they were then taken to the storehouse where they hulled in which the thin membrane-like covering around the bean was peeled off by a wooden grander whell turned around a masonry trough, one of which still remained intact at Orange Vale. These hullers rub the beans between a revolving inner cyclinder and in the process the beans are “polished.” Once hulled, the beans were winnowed by hand in flat baskets to remove defective beans or unwanted particles. The cleaned beans were then separated and bagged in various categories based on size and quality for shipment to markets (Laborie 1798; Thurber 1884). Throughout its coffee-producing period, the

majority of the coffee produced at Orange Vale were shipped to London and Bristol for sale, with less quality beans sold to neighboring plantations (*RRC* 1800-1847).

These tedious tasks were all performed by enslaved Africans at Orange Vale for every year of its involvement in coffee production, leaving them very little time to take care of their own needs. Work for enslaved Africans was never done and they were expected to take up other tasks when harvesting and processing slowed down. During that “slow” time, enslaved Africans at Orange Vale were also involved in other tasks both around the plantation in repairing and building, as well as off the plantation where they were hired out to work on other properties (*Return of Registration of Crops* 1780-1834; *Vestry Minutes* 1807-1832).

“Jobbing”: Hiring Out

Owners and managers of Jamaican plantations sold the services of their enslaved Africans in a variety of ways. The most common forms were jobbing as field laborers or road workers on a daily or piece-work basis; as tradesmen at a daily rate of 3s 9d 5s or yearly rates, usually at £30; and domestics, usually at annual rates (Higman 1995b:41). The majority of enslaved Africans rented out in such labor performed agricultural field labor on neighboring plantations or worked on the public roads. Most of the owners / managers who engaged in such economic venture were from large enough holdings that had enough laborers to spare away from work on their properties. For example, in the case of Orange Vale, there was a significant increase in the number of enslaved Africans “jobbed out” after 1814, when there was a severe decline in the coffee production throughout the island.

The drop in the price of coffee, as well as the eroding soil on the coffee plantations forced owners to seek either more planting ground or alternative ways of acquiring money (Higman 1986; 1995b:41). In his investigation of changes in size of Jamaican coffee plantations, Higman found that during the decade of 1810-1819, there was an increase in the acreage of land for cultivating coffee from an average of 100 to 110 acres. Simultaneously, these coffee plantations also showed a dramatic increase in the average acreage cultivating pimento and guinea grass (Higman 1986:79).

At Orange Vale, the money-making venture of selling labor of enslaved Africans was first recorded in the period for 1805-1806, made a brief appearance again in 1812-1813, then became a permanent, profitable venture from 1813 until emancipation (*Accounts Produce* xx to xx). Enslaved Africans were usually hired out by the day, or in a few cases, annually with skilled laborers who earned more money for the benefit of the plantation. Early “jobbing” from Orange Vale involved renting out some of its enslaved African population like skilled laborers, mostly masons and carpenters, for specific tasks; field laborers to clear fields and ruinate, dig cane holes, or a variety of other tasks; and the most enduring work involved jobbing out for work on the public highways or roads being built in the parish that lasted from 1805 until 1832 (*Accounts Produce* xx, xx, xx).

The majority of those jobbed out went to work on neighboring plantations, particularly on Orange Vale’s “sister” Low Layton Estate that was also owned by Donaldson and managed by his representatives. The two plantations were located relatively close by in the same parish of St. George and were managed as part of a whole, particularly after Donaldson’s death. Both white employees and enslaved Africans

moved and were moved between the two properties interchangeably, as indicated in the deficiency reports.

A significant amount were also jobbed out to work on the “highways” built to provide access to the interior of the island, from as early as 1802 until at least 1837 (*Vestry Minutes, St. George*). Teams of enslaved Africans and livestock from various plantations in the Buff Bay area were jobbed out to work on portions of the road, and sometimes supervised by bookkeepers from their plantations. In an entry dated 21st May, 1802, the Vestry Minutes recorded that “Waywarden” William Clark, the overseer, was paid £63.5.0 for the labor of 169 enslaved Africans and 83 “stocks” (*Vestry Minutes, St. George, no. 11*). This team of enslaved Africans from Orange Vale apparently worked on the road “from the Court House to the intersection of the road leading to Mrs. Dice.” Numerous other payments were made to the plantation managers over time.

Labor at Orange Vale became a very important means of providing additional cash for its owners and managers, particularly after the decline of coffee after 1814 (see Table 15). Often times it was the only means of cash coming onto the plantation because they did not receive cash from the coffee produced and shipped to London. Jobbed enslaved African labor earned the plantation cash and became particularly important during the periods when coffee began its decline, earning a reported £1262 during 1816 - 1817 (*Accounts Produce 1816*). After emancipation, plantation managers essentially replaced jobbing with collection of rent from former enslaved Africans, but it never brought in the significant amounts of cash earned from jobbing.

Livestock

Of the three main economic activities practiced at Orange Vale during slavery (coffee, labor, and livestock), the sale of livestock was the one endeavor that was consistent and lasted from the plantation's establishment in 1780 until at least 1863. Coffee production took a few years to start up and ended by 1849, while the hiring out of enslaved African labor came to a halt by the time of emancipation in 1834. It seems that during the 1790s, livestock supplemented the income of the plantation owners and managers. For example, in 1797 17 cows, steers, and heifers were sold, including two heifers to the Charles Town maroons, then in 1798, 38 more were sold (Accounts Produce 1797, 1798). What is clear is that selling by selling mostly "steers, cows, heifers, calves, mules," and the occasional horse or two, Orange Vale maintained an income that relied exclusively on the local, regional economy in the Buff Bay area, independent of the world market.

During the period in which givings-in were required, it seems that the plantation consistently had a substantial number of livestock on hand and those were usually listed in the "givings-in" each year and printed annually in *Jamaica Almanack*. The first known record of the number of livestock at Orange Vale was in 1798, when the plantation changed ownership from Elmslie to Dessource, the plantation was recorded as having 188 livestock (Index to Grantees 1800:xx). It seems that some of that livestock were sold off because by 1816, only 73 were recorded. The amount of stock remained under 100 through most of the 1820s until 1829 when it reached 149 (*Jamaica Almanack*

1829:xx). From then on, the number of livestock on Orange Vale remained well over 100.

It appears that no livestock were sold during the time of Donaldson's ownership while he was alive (1802-1807), but by 1808, 12 steers were sold. No animals were sold again until 1814 when a single horse was sold and one year later, 8 additional horses and asses were sold. From that time on, the plantation sold a few animals, mostly steers, with a significant sale in 1818 of 14 "steers and horse" (Accounts Produce 1818:xx). Despite bringing in a substantial amount of cash to the plantation, selling livestock was never as valuable as the hiring out enslaved Africans until just before emancipation. The most profitable livestock sale was in 1829 when 27 steers, heifers, mules, mares, and cows were sold to neighboring estates, including Low Layton, and the local butchery, bringing in a record £711 (Accounts Produce 1827:xx). 1829 was also the year in which 95 enslaved Africans were removed from Orange Vale to work on Low Layton Estate, following a ruling by the High Court of Chancery.

After 1829, there was a period of mass sale of livestock, possibly to conform to the general plan by the managers to gradually abandon Orange Vale and concentrate work on Low Layton Estate. In 1830, the plantation sold 50 mules, steers, heifers, horses, and mares; 20 in 1832; 22 in 1835; 20 in 1836, and a record high amount of 88 in 1837. They continued to gradually sell off livestock each year throughout the 1840s, 1850s, and 1860s, including 18 in 1841 and 19 in 1842. By the 1849 when the plantation was virtually abandoned by the majority of the white workers and the newly freed laborers, even more were sold. In 1851, 23 were sold, plus 35 in 1852, 20 in 1853, 29 in

1856, and 24 in 1857. By the time Miss Margaret Gordon McPherson Grant came into ownership of the plantation in 1861, Orange Vale had been in the business of selling so much livestock that by 1862 it was classified as a pen (Accounts Produce 1862:xx). In that year, 33 were sold and an additional 26 in 1863.

One interesting observation to note is that between 1850 and 1863, reasons were given for selling off some animals that all centered around “accidents,” most of which were sold either to the plantation laborers or to the local butchery. These rationales include: 1850’s “accidentally injured and sole;” 1852 “broke her back and sold” and “choked on a pear seed;” 1855 “steer broke her leg;” 1857 “steer killed by accident and cut up and sold;” and the popular “an old cow broke her neck” in both 1862 and 1863 (Accounts Produce 1850-1863).

Post-Emancipation: Pimento, Lime, and Rent

By 1828, Orange Vale had turned to a variety of other sources of income utilizing the natural resources on the plantation when they sold £150 worth of logwood, mostly cedar planks (Accounts Produce 1828, 1830). Coffee remained the main crop for export until 1849, but around 1845 livestock and other agricultural activities accounted for a significant percentage of income to the plantation. Overall, Orange Vale followed the universal coffee production trend: rising between 1805 to 1814, decreasing sharply in 1815, then fluctuating into the 1820s, experiencing a brief peak around 1841, and ultimately hitting a low of 2 tierces (5 barrels or 290 lbs) in 1845 (see Table 5).

In general, coffee production at Orange Vale responded to changes in market price, the increasing unwillingness and unavailability of enslaved African labor, and the increasingly costly price of maintaining such an economic venture. On the other hand, the production of livestock was much less dependent on changing metropolitan prices and by the mid-1840s, livestock increased in importance as coffee production decreased. Along with the collection of rent, livestock became the main economic activity at Orange Vale after 1849, with the occasional selling off of logwood, lime, iron, furnishings, and much later, pimento.

A more intriguing entry was the sale of domestic furniture in 1849, the year that coffee production ended. During that year, Orange Vale sold off several furniture pieces to its sister estate, Low Layton Estate, including “1 mahogany bedstead, ... 1 common bedstead, ... 3 hair mattresses, ... 2 bolsters, ... 2 pillows” for a total of £8.8 (Accounts Produce 1849:138b). In this year, many of Orange Vale’s white supervisory staff had moved to Low Layton to concentrate on work there. This furniture would have been put to use at Low Layton, where cultivation in sugar continued, with the help from some former Orange Vale laborers who had moved to Low Layton for employment.

Table 5. Crop Combinations, 1832

Crop Combination	Number of Properties	Number of Enslaved Africans	Enslaved Africans per Holding	% Produce Exported
Sugar	527	117,670	223.28	78.40
Coffee	176	22,562	128.19	69.52
Coffee-labor	15	1,513	100.86	42.00
Coffee-livestock	11	1,885	171.36	50.84
Coffee-pimento	4	354	88.50	11.31
Livestock	56	5,529	98.73	1.03
Livestock-labor	34	4,205	123.67	0.46
Labor (jobbing)	25	1,338	53.52	1.24
Pimento	15	1,286	85.80	30.89
Livestock-pimento	11	1,263	114.81	16.57
Sugar-pimento	4	682	170.50	63.63
Pimento-livestock-labor	4	532	133.00	17.61
Livestock-dyewoods	4	412	103.00	8.34
Wharfage	6	148	24.66	0.00
Total	960	167,858	174.84	71.61

Source: Higman 1995b:13

Rent

No longer having free enslaved African labor to exploit in the production of agricultural crop and to hire out, managers and owners of coffee plantations like Orange Vale found alternative means of acquiring money. The collection of rent from former enslaved Africans who continued to reside and usually work on the plantation was an attempt to replace the money the plantation once received jobbing out. The amount collected from rent did not come near the amount once received from jobbing out

enslaved African for labor. In fact, the amount collected in rent at Orange Vale was varied dramatically and might have reflected the movement of people off the plantation after emancipation. For example, the amount collected in rent in 1840, immediately following the apprenticeship period was a high of over £89, followed by £6 the following year, £10 in 1842, then up to £40 in 1843. This erratic amount in rent continued throughout the 1850s. In 1850, over £48 was collected, then only £2 in 1853, then £23 in 1855, and finally a very low £1 in 1863 (Accounts Produce 1845-1863).

Lime

Lime, produced in kilns throughout Orange Vale, was another means of income for the plantation. Having a rich deposit of limestone on the plantation and the resources to burn the lime, there has always been a constant supply of lime available for use in building and cementing structures at the plantation. With Orange Vale no longer producing coffee on a grand scale, any surplus of lime would have been sold to neighboring estates for building purposes. In 1846, the plantation sold 3 barrels of sifted and 8 barrels unsifted lime for just over £3. Over the next few years, Orange Vale continued to sell lime to neighboring estates and plantations. For example, in 1849, Orange Vale sold 18 hogshead of lime to Low Layton; in 1854, another 6 hogshead to Low Layton Estate with an additional 2 hogshead to neighboring Kildare Estate; and 4 hogshead to Woodstock Estate in 1856 (Accounts Produce 1846, 1849, 1854) . Throughout the post-emancipation period, lime continued to be sold for income from Orange Vale.

Pimento

Pimento or allspice, seemed a logical choice of crop to cultivate at Orange Vale after emancipation. Pimento had always been produced in the island as part of a wider combination of crops since the eighteenth century and did not require as much attention as sugar and coffee (Brathwaite 1971:155, 160-161; Patterson 1969:161-162). With a reduced labor force, whose labor was no longer legally free, and the favorable climatic conditions of heavy precipitation, managers at Orange Vale switched to producing pimento. Producing pimento was less demanding than other crops, requiring only that the vegetation around pimento plants be cut and the occasional brushing of the pimento walks. In addition, the harvesting of pimento was similar to that of coffee and needing the same infrastructure as that of coffee and already in place at Orange Vale. Like coffee, the pimento berries were picked, spread on barbecues to dry, fanned, then bagged for shipment.

Pimento production at Orange Vale was first recorded in 1856, noting that “3 bags pimento omitted in 1855 crop” (Accounts Produce 1856). 1855 was a particularly bad year economically for the plantation, taking in a total of £28. Of that amount £23 was collected in rent and £5 from selling a steer with a broken leg to the plantation laborers (Accounts Produce 1855). The plantation went on to produce five bags (290 lbs) in 1857, eight bags (464 lbs) in 1860, 12 bags (696 lbs) each year in 1862 and 1863, and all shipped to London.⁵ By 1882 when Orange Vale’s new owners, Bragg and Welsh, became resident planters, pimento cultivation continued to be an important crop, along

⁵ Standard weight conversion for pimento used here follows Higman.

with the sale of wood and provisions. (Return of Properties 1882:6). During that year, 102 acres of James Welch's 610 acres of the plantation was put to use in "pimento and common pasture," 41 acres in "ground provisions," and 467 in "wood and ruinate." The other, Sarah Bragg and others, put 56 acres to "common pasture and pimento," 11 in "ground provisions," and 538 acres "wood and ruinate." By 1920, the plantation was involved in cocoa and banana cultivation, along with the sale of wood (*List of Properties* 1920:11).

Chapter 3. Archaeological Findings

Introduction

In attempting to understand the daily living conditions of enslaved Africans at Orange Vale, archaeological excavations were taken at two areas in their village (see Figure 6). The living conditions and material culture at Orange vale inform on cultural practices, settlement patterns, architectural details, and the material reality of the enslaved people living within the village. Having some autonomy on the layout of their community and building from their cultural knowledge, the archaeology can inform on how enslaved people built their houses using the resources available to them. It can also inform on possible trade with others, as well as approximate the occupation period of the site.

Archaeological Methods

Archaeological investigations were undertaken within small areas in village areas 1 and 2 (see Figures 6 and 7), located near the eastern side of the works complex (see Figure 5). Because of its peripheral location, Orange Vale represents a good choice for examining the enslaved village, despite the minimal amount of disturbance. It is one of the few historic coffee plantations that has not been completely razed for modern planting, though some village areas were destroyed.

Site identification was the first step of the archaeological process. Simple walking surveys were conducted, and once probable house areas were identified, two possible areas were selected for excavations. Excavations were undertaken in village

area 1 first because it appeared to be one of the flatter areas on which houses were built. Because of the uncertainty in the layout of the houses in area 1, grids consisting of 2 x 2 meter squares were set up and a scatter of selected squares were selected for excavation. On average, three to four teams of two individuals worked on each unit, taking turns with excavating and sifting.

Excavations were conducted using Marshalltown trowels, paintbrushes, and small hand brooms. Initially, excavated dirt was sifted in 1/8 inch wire mesh screens, but later in 1/4 inch screen. This became necessary after the constant rains produced the damp, clumpy soil that barely made it through the smaller screens. In order to recover artifacts, the damp soil was searched while in the screen, then sifted. Recovered artifacts were placed in separate bags, one for each unit and level excavated. A total of 54 units were excavated, 39 in village area 1 and 15 in village area 2.

Once artifacts were collected from the field, they were then washed (except for the metal, that were brushed, though many of them were wet from the rains), then sorted and bagged by type of ceramic, glass, metal, and other groupings. The provenience information was written on each bag to allow for reconstruction of groupings that were excavated from the same context. The artifacts were then analyzed and photographed for documentation purposes.

Identifying the Site

It is important to note that there were practical difficulties in effectively deciphering with complete certainty the layout of the village areas. First, there was no

existing historic map or plan that depicts the layout of the place. Secondly, there was some re-planting in some areas that destroyed some sections of the village. On the positive side, with the exception of village area 3 located on a ridge and now replanted with coffee, the enslaved village has remained much less disturbed when compared to others located at flat, lower altitudes.

This minimal disturbance resulted primarily because of the plantation's location in the highlands, with little access. Even those adventurous individuals who venture up to the site do not know the location of the village, as it is not readily visible on the surface as the massive stone structures still standing at the works and overseer's house complex. As a result, there has been little human disturbance to the village areas, unlike the works and overseer's house complex where large amounts of material, particularly iron and medicinal bottles, were removed.

At Orange Vale, the village sites remained relatively undisturbed, except for a few small coffee trees shaded by taller cocoa trees, probably planted sometime in the late 1800s. The site was identifiable, not so much by surface artifacts, but by the aging fruit and shading trees planted throughout the area. Once the area was cleared of the thick, bushy overgrowth, evidence of numerous large stones suggesting possible house foundations became visible. Surface surveys were carried out throughout the immediate vicinity in and around the village, overseer's house, and works complex. The excavations carried out were confined mostly to village area 1 and later to village area 2, located on small leveled areas or minor terraces.

In order to reconstruct the settlement pattern and layout at Orange Vale, it is necessary to visualize a circa 1800 landscape newly built and made up of new houses mostly of wattle and daub walls and thatched roofs. These houses would have been made by enslaved Africans themselves, mostly from bamboo wattles and scattered throughout freshly cleared vegetation and gardens. By 1827, when 95 enslaved Africans were moved from Orange Vale plantation to Low Layton Estate, some of these houses would have been abandoned and most would have been at various stages of decay, some inhabitable, others dilapidated but still occupied. This would have also been a time when individuals and families remaining on the plantation might have taken advantage of the newly freed homes by either moving into them or making use of its building materials.

At the time of full emancipation in 1838, these houses would have been in great need of repair, at the very least. Then by the time of the plantation's final abandonment around 1850, these houses would have melted to the ground, as a result of decay from constant rains and cool temperatures. Any houses still occupied at Orange Vale by the newly freed Africans would have most likely been recently rebuilt using either the same bamboo materials as before or from more substantial material, such as boards from trees that surrounded them or materials like tarpaulins from the abandoned works complex.

After 1838, Orange Vale was gradually abandoned by the newly freed Africans once tied to the plantation, often to join family members living elsewhere or to seek employment in less isolated areas. By the 1840s when the coffee works was no longer in operation and the demand for field labor was significantly reduced, the village probably felt like a ghost town with more houses than people. The few who remained were most

likely older individuals, those who wished to remain to work on their provision grounds as their sole means of food and income, as well as the few employed to maintain the plantation.

Those still employed by the plantation managers were most likely involved in final coffee processing of the remaining crops at hand, as well as those caring for animals. Oral and archaeological evidence suggests that at least one house in village 2 (structure D in Figure 9) was occupied as late as the 1950s (Brown, Personal Communication 2003). Other parts of the plantation were also occupied recently, in particular, the Welch family house located on a leveled terrace on the opposite side of the road that bordered the village. In addition, the overseer's house was occupied by Ms. Stella Welch until around 1960.

By the turn of the 20th century, when the last of the people left or died, any remaining housing structures in the village would have collapsed at a very rapid rate because of the impermeable construction material and erosion from constant rains. These houses and certainly the buildings were robbed of construction material and artifacts. By the time this archaeological investigation was undertaken, the only remaining above-ground evidence were the occasional protruding large stones and/or stone clusters that representing house foundations, as well as the regularly shaped stones from the village stone walls. More obvious indicators of a village buried beneath the ground were the presence of various fruit trees in concentrated areas, including ackee, oranges, grapefruit, breadfruit, mangoes, and coconut. In addition, yam vines wrapped around tall trees

indicate past kitchen gardens; crotons⁶ indicate fences or yard flowers; and calabash trees that provided utensils to the village occupants (Rashford 1988).

Scattered across the Orange Vale village site were bush-covered stone clusters, a few in the shape of semi-circular “heaps” of varying sizes from three to five feet wide⁷, all suggestive of building foundations. It is difficult to determine with certainty the original size of these heaps because many of them have scattered, shifted, and are generally irregularly shaped. It seems that these heaps were created with whatever materials (stones, brick, etc.) were available. Excavation of a sample of them demonstrated that these features were indeed building foundations. These stone cluster features consisted mostly of limestone, some with evidence of cutting or stone chips, and several showing indication of cementing by lime mortar.

The heap-like features might have been formed by the erosion of the stones and settlement of the buildup of soil on top of or beside the stones. The ability to identify these surface features as building foundations was important in confirming the location of the site first identified through oral accounts. However, the haphazard, non-regular layout of the features made it impossible to identify with certainty the true layout of the village without excavating the entire village site (see Figure 10). Thus, the resulting map (Figure 11) suggesting the layout of each area were based on the limited excavated areas, as well as logical references based on the locations of stone foundations and the surface levels of the terrain.

⁶ Crotons, a member of the spurge family, Euphorbiaceae, plant. It has traditionally served many functions in Jamaica, and the rest of the Caribbean, including as decoration in gardens and yards, as fence markers, and, as grave decoration and markers (Rashford 1988). In abandoned sites, like Orange Vale, they indicate former house areas, as well as indicate location of burials.

In addition, the map resulting from this investigation provide only a partial picture of the layout of the village at Orange Vale. Most obvious is the fact that this map is restricted to those houses with stone foundations, omitting those that were probably built primarily on stilts without stone supports or other less permeable material. Houses made entirely with wattle and daub and without stone foundation left few easily observed traces in the modern landscape and attempts to identify them archaeologically proved futile. Identifying discrete house areas were particularly difficult in village area 1, having a more haphazard scatter of stone foundations. Inferences were made much easier in village area 2 where there was clear, minor terracing that would have limited the size of the houses and the direction in which they could be laid logically out. In addition, shovel testing was conducted throughout the village areas, according to random sampling.

Although this testing and excavation identified whether there was significant domestic activity, or represented a floor beneath a house, it was difficult to connect individual features to create a pattern or reveal the outline of complete structures without excavating large areas. In addition, it seems that the taller stone cluster features throughout the site probably represent the support for wooden support stilts driven in the rocky ground. The stoniness of the site resulting in sharpened posts being secured by simply driving them into the soil and surrounding them with the superficial supporting stone foundation. The clayey soil is often no more than a foot deep with a thicker layer of limestone. These soil conditions meant that any post holes driven in the ground often hit bedrock before passing through a subsoil of a different color to that of the topsoil.

Although the complete range of houses at Orange Vale cannot be identified archaeologically, the maps of stone features visible on the surface were of great interest (Figures 9 and 11). A few of these foundations may have represented “kitchens,” but most probably represented houses in which people slept. It is likely that the majority of these houses were standing at the time of emancipation in 1834, at varying stages of decay. This study was the first archaeological work at the site and conducted during the rainy season which did not make for the best conditions in which to excavate. I could not be exhaustive and focused on small areas of the site, leaving the remainder for future study.

Land Use

With the exception of Robert Leslie’s 1791 plan of Orange Vale, no known maps exist that give further detail on the internal layout of the plantation. A thorough search of the Surveys Department in Kingston proved fruitless, as they too had budget cuts that did not allow for the proper indexing of land. There were some notations of individual land plots, but little information of the entire plantation as a whole. In addition, laws passed sometime around the middle of the twentieth century made it illegal for an entire land mass like Orange Vale to be given out, and to only allow individual plots based on ownership.

The Jamaica National Archive has a large 1888 parish land map of Portland, St. George’s District showing the location of Orange Vale in relation to its neighboring estates (see Figure 3). This was an important find because it showed the extent of Orange

Vale in the nineteenth century, before it was dramatically changed from the carving out of land plots. One descendent member of the plantation remembered that there was a map circulating around in his family. We contacted the last individual known to have had it, but he could not recall what happened to it. We were able to reconstruct some areas of the site from the ruins, particularly the works and great-house areas (see Figure 5). GPS did not work at the site because of the heavy tree cover, (though some local assistants suggested the cause to be duppies) so we resorted to the old-fashioned way of mapping.

Buildings: The Works and Overseer's House

The layout of the plantation is one of a tight settlement with the “great-house,” “works,”⁸ and the village complex in relatively close proximity to each other. During the time of its operation, the “works” would have been the center of activity away from the fields. Upon entering the settlement, the enslaved African village would be the first area encountered, though somewhat hidden behind a limestone boulder wall. On the immediate right is village area 2, with village area 1 further uphill. Both village areas can be accessed using a small footpath leading up to the village entrance, with possible non-formal entrances into the village at other locations. Following the village road up to the top of the hill and past village area 1, the road diverts into two opposite directions. A right turn that leads to the village cemetery is located further in, past several other possible village areas. At the ends of the cemetery are two very large and old trees.

⁸ The “works” is the factory-style production area where the coffee was processed after picking. It involved a series of steps

Near the entrance of this village road is a large structure “A” (29’ x 18’6”), with a smaller structure “B” (16’ x 16’) nearby. There were two entrances, one each on the longer sides, and evidence of a window on one of the two shorter sides. It seems that this was only a one-story structure, with thick walls that measured 21.65 inches (55cm). Oral history was unclear on what this structure was, there were no surface artifacts, and shovel tests did not yield any artifacts. It could have been a house for a white employee, but no evidence exists to support this theory. From this structure, there are several internal paths that leads directly to the works without having to use the main plantation road.

Following the main road further uphill, the road served as a divider between the overseer’s dwelling on the left and the works complex on the right, at a lower level below the road. The overseer’s dwelling or “great-house” is the first in sight. Represented in structure “C,” it was a large, two-storied structure with the bottom level made with massive stone slabs. According to oral history, the top floor was made with wood, and it appears that from any second floor window, one can get a very clear view of the immediate area. The top floor no longer exists, but there is a stone staircase in the rear of the building. It was a rectangular building measuring 45’7” x 29,’ with an entrance room jutting out in the front that measured 11’4”x 29.’ The ground floor is split into two sections, the front being one long room measuring 36’8” x 15. The back of the building consists of three rooms, with doors that connect into each other. The two outer room measures about 11’5”x8’9” each, while the middle room measures 14’x8’9.”

Just behind the overseer’s house was a smaller square structure “D” that measured 16’ on each side. The walls have collapsed into the structure, but it appears that this

might have served as a kitchen, or some other kind of outhouse. Test excavation inside of this structure yielded a wealth of ceramic and glass fragments that seem to have spanned a lengthy period from the early nineteenth century. These artifacts were useful for comparisons with ceramics and glass found in the village. Also behind the overseer's dwelling was a circular well "E" measuring 6'3" in diameter, and its top was lined with red bricks.

A few feet from the overseer's dwelling was another large structure "F," that measured 50'8"x45. One informant has identified a feature inside of the building as an old-fashioned bakery, but others suggest that it might have also served as a hospital for sick enslaved Africans.

Crossing over to the other side of the road, there are two staircases made from stone slabs leading down into the works, one to the barbeques and another to the grater mill house⁹ and cistern.¹⁰ The layout of the works represents the sequence in the process of preparing coffee for market. On the left is the aqueduct "G" whose water source was a nearby spring that was diverted to carry water to the works. The aqueduct directs water underneath the grater mill house "H" (23'8"x28'8'), into the cisterns "I" (25'10"x32'3"), and then back underneath the vast drying barbecues "J". The barbecues occupied the most space covering most of the central, flat area in the middle of the works.

Once the coffee is washed in the cisterns, it is then placed on the flat barbecue platforms for drying. Once dried, it is then taken to the coffee store, structure "K"

⁹ The Grater Mill House housed the grater mill through which the coffee would pass to remove the pulp from around the bean.

¹⁰ The Cistern consisted of two attached basins filled with water in which coffee beans are washed and soaked before drying.

(82'6"x38'2") where it is bagged and stored for shipping. Like the overseer's dwelling, the coffee store was also two stories high, with a wooden upper floor. The bottom consisted of three large rooms of equal size at about 22'x22.' All of these structures, steps, and barbecues were made up of large slabs and chunks of cut limestone, held together by lime cement.

Enslaved African Village Space

The location and area of the plantation villages were usually decided by plantation managers or owners, based on their agricultural land-use needs and natural terrain. More importantly, plantation managers and owners demonstrated a definite necessity to monitor the enslaved African population both at work and while in their villages. This need for the surveillance of enslaved Africans is evidenced in the presence of a "spy glass" at the overseer's house (Inventory 1B/11/3 #110). On mountainous coffee plantations like Orange Vale, the hilly terrain often defined where the village areas would be located. At Orange Vale, the enslaved "village" was located around the periphery of the works complex, at several relatively leveled areas within the hilly terrain, as seen in Figure 5. This village represents the movement of the village—great house—works complex, located near the Buff Bay River seen on Leslie's 1791 plan, to a higher elevation sometime around 1800.

It appears that the houses within the village were organized so as to take advantage of the leveled areas. It seems that two village areas were located on relatively flat, terrain spaces, and these were the location of this research. A third village area,

located at a steep, high ridge above the works complex, probably included houses that were built on less leveled areas and involved the use of stilts and/or stones to level them. This third area has been heavily disturbed with subsequent coffee planting in recent years, to take advantage of the high elevation favored for coffee planting. The two semi-leveled areas were located one above the other in a terraced manner, and connected with a stone wall running along the northern periphery of village area 2 and the southern periphery of village area 1 (see Figure 12).

Houses built within each village area would have been very close to take advantage of the limited flat spaces available and were built in a random, unordered manner. In addition, there were individual enslaved Africans, such as watchmen, living in isolated huts throughout the plantation, as well as, those who performed domestic functions at or near the overseer's house. In this respect, it seems that the village did not occupy a single unitary site, typical of large plantations in Jamaica. However, the three identified village areas represented nucleated settlements within the broader plantation landscape, though not at all resembling the symmetrical, ideal layout suggested by Laborie and others.

Village Layout

It is difficult to determine the actual size of the house structures in both village areas 1 and 2. The stone scatter that served as foundation supports were very ambiguous, making it difficult to decipher which sets belonged together, particularly in village area 1 (see Figures 8, 9, and 10). The stones were too scattered and vague to determine where

one house structure might have ended or another began. What is clear, though, is that these houses were built very close to each other with very little space between them.

In village area 2, however, the relatively undisturbed space maintained much more integrity of the stone clusters. This area also had the advantage of being a series of terraced levels, which allows for deciphering of structures that were on the same the same level. Following these very general assessments at the site, minimum approximate surface measurements were taken in village area 2 relative to the placement of foundation stones and the terrain of the physical landscape.

It must be noted, however, that these measurements are by no means final until full-scale excavations are undertaken on the entire site areas. These measurements represent the minimum dimensions because we do not know how far past the foundation stones the actual house structure extended. This uncertainty resulted from the impermeability of the materials used in constructed the house, and they would have either decomposed or became undistinguishable on the ground.

Based on these assessments, seven potential house structures were deciphered, six of which were measured to the minimum dimensions, and one was measured only on one side, as the other side had eroded off the remaining sides into a gulley (see Figure 9). Given the artifact distribution, six (structures a, b, c, e, f, and g) were houses either without kitchens, or with minimal kitchen facilities, with the seventh structure (d) serving as a central, communal cooking area. It is possible that this seventh structure also served as a residence to enslaved individual(s), but it appears to have been the central site for food preparation and consumption. Its central location on a relatively flat, leveled

surface, the extensive number of kitchen artifacts, as well as the excavated tri-stone hearths, suggest that this structure might have been the domestic and social center of, at least this part of the village (village area 2).

Structure a, located closest to village area 1 and furthest west in village area 2 measured approximately 15 x 24 feet. Structure b, directly east of structure a, measured 15 x 19 feet, and possibly two rooms, evidenced from differing soil texture. Structure c, located north of structure b and south of the internal village wall, had minimum measurements of 14 x 18 feet. Structure d and the immediate area around it, was located in a relatively flat area and had minimum dimensions of 10 x 17 feet. The dimensions of structure e were 14 x 16 feet, but could have been larger if the southeastern side was on wooden stilts. Structure f measured 12 x 18 feet, while the northern side of structure g measured 20 feet and the other walls uncertain because of erosion into the gully.

Village Walls and Fences

This “separate” space is evidenced by a large stone wall around the periphery of village which run along the main plantation road, as well as barbed-wire and plant fence that run along the secondary road leading to the village, separating it from the works complex. This large wall was made up primarily of large limestone boulders, some showing evidence of cutting, neatly stacked upon each other. This boulder wall was most likely built during the pre-emancipation period because it exhibits similar cuts to those found in stones around the “great-house” and “works” complex, both that built at the time of settlement of the site.

In addition, it seems logical that it would have been built during slavery because by the time of emancipation, there was a general plan to abandon Orange Vale, and many of the enslaved Africans at Orange Vale had already been sent to work and live at Low Layton in 1829. There is further division along the village side of the wall of a ravine running along the wall, seeming to originate from the works complex to drain the water from the coffee production. It is unclear when the barbed-wire fence along the village road was erected, but it is clear that there was a definite fence marked by the reinforced croton fence.

It is difficult to tell just how high the original wall stood because many of the boulders had fallen into the gulley below. However, it seems that this outer village boulder wall stood on an embankment above Village Area 2 and together was at least five feet tall. It run along the main plantation road and should not be confused with a second stone wall within the village itself, connecting the two leveled village areas and made from smaller stones. There were also several foot paths, whose routes can still be seen, running within the village areas and others leading to the works complex.

Village area 1 was enclosed on three sides by stone walls, along the north, south, and the northern part of the western walls. The eastern wall overlooking a shallow ravine and facing village area 2, however, seemed to have not been walled off, and in fact had footpaths between the two village areas. The northern part of the west wall seemed to have been walled off, but middle and southwestern parts facing the works complex appear to have been fenced off with croton and other prickly plants.

In addition, the northern and western walls separate village area 1 from the village roads, while the southern wall separates it from the main plantation road (see Figure 5). Village area 2 was bounded on its southern edge by the ravine and parallel stone wall, along the main plantation road. Its northern edge was bounded by the internal stone wall running from village area 2 to village area 1. The eastern edge currently does not show evidence of a formal wall, but may have had large stones above a high slope. The western wall was a slope that connects to village area 1. The most important wall, along the southern edge of the village, had the largest stones, and appears to have been two to three feet wide.

The entire system of pathways that ran throughout the village connecting the house areas cannot be completely reconstructed, but the main village route, running from the main plantation road along the western wall of village area 1 is clearly visible, some more pronounced than others. This road is lined with limestone slabs and is about 6-7 feet wide and forms a T-shape, continuing west above the mills complex and west above the northern boundary of village 1 towards the village cemetery. It served as the main route within the village, with other paths branching off from this central roadway to connect the scattered house and houseyards in the three residential areas. None of these paths or village road would have been indicated on historic maps, however, it seems that the main village road and informal paths flowed towards the plantation productive areas, particularly the works complex.

Most interestingly, the permanent stone wall running along the northern edge of village area 1 and continuing on along the southern edge of village area 1, demonstrates

the desire or need to establish boundaries within the village areas. Whether this was created on the initiative of the enslaved themselves or by order of the plantation managers is difficult to decipher, but it is likely that the enslaved themselves attempted to create and define individual or family rights to certain spaces and resources. It is clear from contemporary reports that white visitors and managers had little knowledge and input of the internal layout of the village. For example, Roehampton's John Baillie noted that plantation owners and managers would never attempt to enter the enslaved housing because they "held the property of the Negro in his house so sacred" (Parliamentary Papers, 1832:127).

Similarly, William Taylor observed that it was possible to travel great distances in Jamaica without walking through a village because "...you dare not trespass upon ... any men's houses." After emancipation, stricter laws were also implemented forbidding plantation managers and owners from entering the homes of African laborers, unless to provide care for the sick (Holland House Papers [Ms. 51816, British Library] 1836:f.119). Thus, it seems that the village was the area in which enslaved Africans had the most control and autonomy within the plantation landscape.

Village Architecture

The basic, but all important characteristic of the village at Orange Vale during slavery was that enslaved Africans lived in individual, free-standing houses, contrary to the barrack-like houses suggested by Laborie (1798) and others for an ideal plantation layout (see Figure 13). This characteristic of individual houses was typical of Jamaican

plantations in general, but particularly practical within the hilly terrain in which Orange Vale was situated (Columbian Magazine 3 1797:249-51; Higman 1988:243-60).

The plantation managers would have likely been involved in the selection of the village site, as well as perhaps providing a few building resources in the form of tools and nails, where used. In addition, plantation managers also may have arranged for carpenters and other skilled workers to assist in the building of the houses. However, the actual selection of the house site and the building of the house would have been conducted by the enslaved peoples themselves, with the help of community members.

Nestled beneath tall shaded and various fruit trees, these village houses were almost certainly constructed using materials from the dense forest in the immediate area, mostly organic materials that guaranteed the need for continual repair over time. Orange Vale was located in an area with an abundance of materials such as bamboo, wood trees, and an unlimited supply of limestone and sandstone. This use of natural resources to build houses reflected the general pattern found at similar sites across the Jamaican landscapes, including those found by Armstrong at Drax Hall and by Higman at Montpelier (Armstrong 1994; Higman 1998).

House Types at Orange Vale

Based on oral history and archaeological evidence, the typical village house at Orange Vale seems to have been made up of wattle and daub walls and thatched roofs. Later, particularly after emancipation, wattle and daub houses may have been gradually replaced by board walls. Additionally, the floor was probably made up of wood or board

floor over a layer of limestone, supported by either posts driven into the shallow ground, in turn supported by stones or by large stones leveled by smaller flat limestone.

Some houses in village area 2 may have also had stones as foundation support for entire sides, rather than mere corner supports, as seen in the modern versions (Figures 14 and 15). There was probably one or several shaped sandstones in front of each entrance where the house was raised from the ground or thresholds in the form of a long limestone in flat areas, built closer to the ground. A few nails were also found which could have been used in the fastening of the door to posts.

In the absence of concrete structural evidence, the building construction of these houses and what they were like must be derived from the few construction-related artifacts and other sources. Oral accounts by local residents who remember the building techniques used in the houses many of them grew up in during the early to mid-twentieth century confirms the descriptions given in written historical accounts. Numerous historical accounts describe the building techniques involved wattle and daub construction as well as accounts from individuals who have seen these houses (Columbia Magazine 1797:249-51; Parliamentary Papers 1832:127 [House of Lords, p. 1390]; Lewis 1834:110; Laborie 1798:xx).

The most succinct and comprehensive description was written in Columbia Magazine in 1797, discussing a range of topics, including settling a mountain, country

building, construction, walls, roof, floors and doors, furniture, kitchen utensils, lights (fires and lamps), fences, and “earth boiling”¹¹ (Columbia Magazine 1797:249-51).

In discussing “country building” or settling in a mountainous area, the anonymous author suggested although “...the first appearance of this settlement affords a comfortless prospect; but the mountaineers soon acquire almost every article requisite. Instead of lamenting the want of things not obtained, they make use of many artifices to attain their purposes.” The author then goes into detail laying out the steps of a wattle and daub, thatched house. In building a wattle and daub, thatched house, the most common task sequence was to build the house frame, thatch the roof, then wattle the walls. The discussion began with a description of constructing such as house. First, the author describes the construction of the house frame:

...the largest posts with forks are used for the middle and end supporters of the house; the shorter serve for the paza posts, frame of the house, and flooring joists; the ends of the pieces which are to be sunk in the earth, being by many builders first burnt to prevent the wood from rotting. ... Where nails cannot be procured in plenty, a notch is cut in the top of each post to receive the wall-plates ... the beams which cross the wall-plates are held in their proper position by notches at the end where they lap over. A ridge pole is placed in the forks of the uprights at the ends and middle of the fabrick. The rafters are small sticks, which are flatten'd at the upper ends and connected in pairs by wooden pins. The laths are still less and bound to the rafters by strong withes, which the wood afford of various sizes in great abundance.

³ Practice of cooking by digging a hole in the ground and lining it with leaves, then placing fire on top of it.

The next phase, roofing, was conducted using thatch. According to the author:

Any species of the palm serves to thatch; the best of which are the leaves of the tree so called from the use to which it is applied. The leaves are twisted or plaited to the strong stem on which they grow, and the whole branch laid on the laths and fastened by withes, bending the ends which are on the ridge of the house down to the opposite side of the roof, in such a manner as affords no admittance for the rain to penetrate. Several coats or strata of this covering are laid on, until the roof is deemed sufficiently thick to carry off the water, which in the rainy season fall with great violence.

The palm referred to here is commonly known as Long Thatch (*Calyptronoma occidentalis*) which occur in damp woodland environments, the leaves having a length of 9-12 feet. The leaves were densely plaited down the side of the bone, then laid out on a sloping roof, allowing rain water to drain off. A secondary broad-leaf palm, commonly called river-palmetto, was also used, as well as cane trash, guinea grass, and even plantain/banana leaves (Higman 1998:156). It was very important to insure that the thatch was laid out on a steep roof in order to allow rain to run off quickly and easily. Many historic maps emphasized these steep roofs by tent-like depictions (see several examples in Higman 1988). In addition, William Berryman's c.1810 drawings of enslaved Africans' houses depict these hitched roofs which seem to overshadow the rest of the house itself, much like the houses of indigenous Caribbean groups (see Higman 1998:158).

The next stage of the construction was the wattling of the walls. For this task, explained the author:

Some employ small round sticks, rough from the woods; others cleave blocks of timber for the purpose. Between every two posts in the wall, a small stick is placed perpendicularly and another nailed on each side of every post. The wattles are placed alternately, both ends of one bending inward, the next in a contrary direction. The interstices among the wattles are filled with clay and earth, into which some fibres of dried plantain leaves are rubbed to render the same more cohesive; and both the surfaces of the wall plastered smoothly with the same composition; the whole is white washed when the mountain affords lime stone and the owner will be at the trouble to burn it; otherwise the surface is left its natural colour, a pale reddish yellow, red, or grey, as the loam employed in plastering happens.

Finally, the anonymous writer of the *Columbia Magazine* article discussed the floor of the house by stating that “The floors are, ... no other than the native soil. Where marl is used the earth becomes a firm terrace, is tolerable even, and will bear washing.”

Almost all of the materials needed for wattle and daub building construction were readily available in abundance within the boundaries of the Orange Vale property. Bamboo and timbers of all sizes were readily available and withes (“wis”) could be found in a variety of vines that draped from the trees. The clayey subsoil and a variety of other soil from the once-riverbeds were also readily accessible. Materials used to strengthen the plaster, such as wood ashes, plantain fibers, and lime mortar, were easily obtained on the plantation. In addition, white wash made from soft limestone could have been accessed from the kilns known to have existed on the plantation. Lime kilns were in relatively constant use at Orange vale, particularly in the early phases of building construction, involved in the making of temper lime for mortar and whitewashing

buildings. After emancipation, lime, produced from kilns at Orange Vale, were sold to neighboring plantations (1B/11/4, Crop Accounts 1846 – 1856).

House Walls

According to oral history, house walls were most likely built using wattles made from bamboos or small reeds found in abundance throughout the plantation, and plastered or “daubed” on the interior and exterior with a clay mixture. However, some might have even been made of or repaired with board, and at times, the two may have co-existed. It seems unlikely that board would have been used a great deal in the earlier years, given the time, tools, and skills it would have required to cut and shape the wood into boards.

Board houses may have been built at Orange Vale during the later period of its settlement, particularly after emancipation when lumber was being processed for sale to neighboring plantations. It is certainly possible that these board houses might have been constructed because there were skilled carpenters, and they had the necessary tools capable of providing the boards for house-building, including several saws, planes, hammers, and squares (1B/x/x). Sawpits might have been set up in the woods near the residence, and we saw evidence of several modern ones found near the village.

However, to date, archaeological evidence does not suggest that boards were used to make walls because the nail distribution recovered tended to be concentrated in particular locations identified as possible entrances, suggesting wood doors. Bamboo was probably the easiest choice of wall material during the initial settlement for several reasons, including the fact that most of the plantation labor would have been directed at

building the new works complex and the overseer's dwelling house. Additionally, bamboo was much easier to work with and did not require special skills or tools to cut into strips. The organic bamboo wattle and daub construction was more likely gradually replaced much later, particularly after emancipation, with worked materials like boards.

An abundance of lumber trees in the immediate vicinity ensured enough supply for the skeletal frame of each house. Most, if not all, of the houses in the enslaved village were probably made using similar wattle and daub techniques described in the *Columbia Magazine*. No visible wall construction material was evidenced in the archaeological record, though changes in soil color and a packed texture encountered in some areas could have been daub that had melted back into the ground. All of this evidence suggests that the houses were indeed made up of these organic materials. However, there was no evidence that these houses would have been made from other, more permanent materials, such as stones in the "Spanish wall" method, in which flat stones replace the reed or bamboo wattles, and was daubed in a similar fashion.

Additionally, the "Spanish walled" method would have required further labor and tools in acquiring appropriate stone sizes with which to build the walls. Furthermore, the wattle and daub method using reeds or bamboo strips would have been more desirable in this particularly rainy environment in which the water could more easily erode the daub between stones causing the entire walls to collapse. The wattled reeds or bamboo strips, on the other hand, would have held the daub in place better than free standing stone within the clay, and even in the event of daub erosion, the wattles would have remained in place and continue to provide some protection and shelter.

Roofs

At least some – if not all -- of the roofs on houses at Orange Vale enslaved village may have consisted of guinea grass or even plantain/banana leaves, very thickly laid out on top of a steep roof. Though they may not have been the best options, guinea grass, plantain and banana leaves, were available in abundance throughout the plantation from the very beginning of its settlement. Some palm was probably available, but not in great quantities on the property. More than likely, numerous layers of guinea grass would have been used in constructing the house roof, making a virtually impermeable roof, even in heavy rains. However, the constant heavy rains that fell in the Orange Vale region would have required that these thatched roofs undergo frequent repairs every few years.

Floor

The foundation of the typical house identified in the Orange Vale village did not entirely fit into the earthen floor described in the *Columbia Magazine* or those found on other village sites in Jamaica (see Armstrong 1994:xx and Higman 1998:xx). At Orange Vale, it seems that the ground chosen for building a house was first laid down with a layer of limestone, many of which were probably waster chips from larger cut stones used elsewhere in the construction of the works complex and overseer's house. Secondly, supporting foundations were set in place in the form of post holes which were supported by limestone, and the occasional red brick, clustered around it (see Figure 16), or large free- standing stones that were leveled at the top by placing flat limestone on the top. The frame was then placed on the stone/post foundation and further leveled in place by placing more flat stones between the skeletal frame and the posts. Some of the stones

found in these stone clusters also showed evidence of lime mortar indicating attempts to cement the stones in place.

Once the skeletal structure was set in place, then the walls would have been wattled and plastered with clay, followed by the placement of wood or board along the base of the structural frame. It is possible that the foundation of some of the houses may have been filled up to the structural frame base with stones. More likely, though, the base woods or boards would have been laid down and secured into place, either through notching, or with the use of withes, and even in some cases with nails.

Boards, or at least some wood, on the house floor seems likely for a variety of reasons. First, for houses built on sloped land, the stones served to level the house wall bases, as well as slow down erosion of soil around the house when the heavy rains came. Secondly, the cold, persistently wet climate of the regions made it more desirable than the use of plain dirt floors typical of those found in village houses in flatter, dry environments. A plain dirt floor would have endured continual erosion from the heavy rains that were common in the mountainous regions. In addition, dirt floors would have been particularly damp and cold to sleep on, even with the use of mats or some other form of “bedding.”

According to Higman (1998:160), there was a preference to build wattle and daub houses on solid foundations. He also argued that most floors with solid stone foundations around its perimeter probably had earth or marl floors. This seems common on most enslaved sites in flat areas in Jamaica, but the few house areas excavated at Orange Vale did not indicate evidence of marl or a deliberately packed floor. However, house area 3

in village area 2, seemed to have made use of the natural hard, rocky ground and it is possible that it might have been used as the house floor. The architectural feature of a supporting base that also serve to prevent water from settling around the base of the house, would have been similar to that depicted in drawings by William Berryman, circa. 1810 (seen in Higman 1998:158-159). One foundation showed a house with a foundation made up of a stone and brick supporting foundation, while the other depicted a house with a wooden “skirt” around its base.

Further, traditional house building techniques still practiced today in the area demonstrate the practice of raising the house floor off the ground with the use of stones (see Figures 14 and 15). Stones served functional purposes by leveling the house and provide foundational support. Some modern examples have also evolved to use stone foundations for decorative purposes. Figure 14 maintains the general style of stone supporting foundation, while Figure 15 built in the early 1960s, incorporated a more metropolitan style, common at that time. Figure 14 represents a traditional style, but with the used of processed wood instead of the traditional wattle and daub walls. According or oral history, the house featured in Figure 14 was designed by an historic architect who intentionally incorporated popular elements of Caribbean architecture over time, including the stone foundation, verandah, and hitched galvanized roof. However, the stone foundation at the base of the front verandah in this house served a more decorative purpose, rather than the practical function it had in the past.

During the time we were conducting our research at Orange Vale, we were fortunate to have found a similar house in the process of being built on Orange Vale,

close to the Buff Bay River (see Figures 17 and 18). A local resident on the property said that he had assisted in the building of the house and explained that the techniques were from “ole time days.” The house measured approximately 9 x 9 feet and, according to our informant, there will be one entrance/door on one side and a single window on the other three sides. The house, he said, would be used by its builder as a temporary resident during coffee-picking season. Having this temporary house will allow him to maximize the time he will spend picking coffee by beginning very early, before dawn, and remain late.

Entrances

There were three interesting features that were common to most of the houses at Orange Vale, which helped identify entrances. The first was the presence of long, relatively thin limestone located just on the inside of entrances, serving like a door sill. This limestone was first encountered in one excavated house area, then later identified at other excavated house areas. In addition, several others were partially visible above-ground in unexcavated areas, after the areas were cleared. These long limestone seem to represent thresholds, marking the divide between exterior and interior space.

The second characteristic of most entrances at Orange Vale was rectangular, shaped sandstones, which apparently served as steps into the house (see Figures 19 and 20). These shaped sandstones were intentionally shaped on three sides to form “steps” leading into most houses. Many of these were partially visible on the surface before excavation, while others were revealed during excavations. Most entrances had one such

step, except for house area 2 in village 1, which had several of these step-like structures at one of its entrance. These sandstone features were probably chosen over other stones, such as the prevalent limestone, for its grainy, silty characteristic. Such a texture on an entrance step would have prevented individuals from slipping, as well as served as a final place to “wipe” one’s feet before entering into the house. This was particularly important given the wet, muddy earth in the houseyard.

Finally, in the limited areas excavated, seven horseshoes or partial horseshoes were found at what appeared to be entrances, usually located near the features identified as sandstone steps (see Figure 24). These horseshoes potentially give clues to the ideology of inhabitants of the village. Local informants immediately recognized and identified these horseshoes as symbols to prevent “duppies” or ghosts from entering their homes. Several field assistants and community members describe how the “ole people them” would place these horseshoes on the interior of the house, near each entrance door. Within the community, there is a common belief that Orange Vale had a population of duppies, those who lived, died, and were buried “on the hill,” as the plantation is commonly called. The general belief is that if a horseshoe is placed near the entrance of the door, then the duppies would not enter their homes to haunt them at night. I was also told that some old people today continue this practice in some rural areas.

I do not know whether the use of horseshoes for specific purposes were also practiced in traditional African contexts, but it does have a long history of use as good luck charms in Europe and in the early North American colonies (Webster’s Dictionary 1998). Made from the combination of rock and fire, horseshoes were believed to hold

special powers in many European cultures, including the English, and were often nailed to entrance doors. Its U, arched, or crescent shapes, as well as the typical seven holes of the horseshoe, all are considered symbols of good luck.

The use of horseshoes in Orange Vale's enslaved village may have represented a creolized use beyond as good luck charms, but for a very African-Jamaican idea of protection against "duppies" or spirits. Enslaved Africans seem to have adapted the English use of horseshoes for good luck for their own purposes of protection against roaming spirits. Considering the fact that enslaved Africans were forbidden by law from owning horses, it is very profound to find that so many were recovered in the relatively small area that was excavated.

The approximate location of some entrances at Orange Vale can be inferred by the sandstone "steps," thresholds, and/or thresholds, however, the actual placement, size, numbers, and type of doors remain uncertain and problematic. Even more difficult is determining the location and size of windows. In addition to these features and horseshoe associated with entrances, 3 bent wires believed to serve the function of locks, were recovered from house area 3 in village 2. Local informants have identified them as informal locks that were used to keep doors closed and animals out, rather than an attempt to prevent others from entering.

Kitchens

Enclosed by walls or fences, the houses of the Orange Vale village would have likely had associated minor, dependent structures, including kitchens or cooking areas,

bath areas, and small animal pens. Because of the limited “flat” space, in general, a cooking area would have been very basic and functional. Most residents in the village probably cooked underneath a small lean-to, covered structure close the house or supported by a house wall, similar to one reconstructed at Seville Estate in Jamaica. Larger, covered structures could also have existed, perhaps shared by households or kin in different houses.

However, given the limited space available for house-building, this larger structure seems unlikely at Orange Vale. Others too might have cooked over a fire in the open, but that too seems unlikely given the rainy climate. A still further possibility for a cooking area would have involved some kind of raised platform or even a flat stone. Like doors and windows, it is difficult to determine exactly where kitchens were located, as well as its shape and dimensions. However, its general location can be determined based on concentrations of kitchen-related artifacts and features, such as charcoal, “firesides,” ceramics, and pot fragments.

More than likely, this “kitchen” would have been made using the same materials as those used for constructing dwelling houses, ranging in structure from simple to relatively elaborate. It could have been constructed using semi-permanent techniques as those used on constructing dwellings, or even something as simple as tree branches draped over forked sticks, as in the reconstructed example at Seville. The main reasons for constructing the cooking area outside of the dwelling house was to prevent fires from starting in the house, as well as to reduce smokiness and heat in the home. Plus, the tradition of cooking and food preparation, like most other domestic chores, were

conducted in the yard, just outside the dwelling house, used mainly for sleeping, shelter, and storage.

Such a structure would have included some kind of hearth area, most likely plain fires made from wood, over which pots would have been placed for cooking. Archaeological evidence in the form of tri-pod iron pot fragments and charcoal concentration support this theory, particularly prevalent in village area 1. Additionally, according to oral tradition, root crops (yams, eddoes, dasheens, etc.) and salted codfish were roasted directly in the fire. This tradition continues today with roasted yam and saltfish (dry salted cod) remaining a favorite dish in Jamaica.

Others seem to have cooked on “firesides” or hearths made up of three stones placed close together, over which flat-bottomed pot/pan would have sat (see Figure 21). Figure 21 shows one example of this fireside from village area 2. In conjunction with flat-bottom, iron pot fragments found near this fireside, as well as this fireside’s location close to the surface, it appears that this cooking area in village area 2 would have been at a later time. Similar firesides are still in use today and are often favored over gas or electric stoves for cooking certain foods, such as pepperpots and roasting yams.

Houseyards

There may have also been various types of associated features, such as drainage racks, built from tree branches. However, like the kitchens, these features are very hard to find archaeologically because of the general difficulty of identifying postmolds. Occupying a total of about half an acre, houses in village areas 1 and 2 would have had very limited space in which to have substantial kitchen gardens. Houses would have

been built very close to each other, leaving very limited space in the yard to perform necessary domestic chores, such as cooking. There might have been one or two small corners close to the house that would have been used to grow a few herbs and vegetables. In most cases, chores would most likely have been conducted on a simple built stand or directly on the ground, just outside the house, as seen in Berryman's drawings (Higman 1988:158-159).

Chores, like clothes washing and bathing, would most likely have been done at the spring, which flowed no more than 200 meters away from the village areas. As an alternative, some individuals might have also used a small area in the back of their houses for quick "wash-ups." Similarly, the keeping of animals in pens at night would probably have been confined to areas nearby, rather than in the immediate houseyard area. In addition, it is more likely that herbs, medicines, fruits, and spices would have been planted in just about any area not heavily trafficked, such as on the sloped edges of the village areas. At Orange Vale, kitchen gardens might have also been maintained in fields not immediately in the flat village house areas because of the lack of available space. If this was the case, then the absence of a kitchen garden in the house yard differed from the use of space in villages located in larger, flat areas.

Thus, the house unit consisted of the actual house itself, as well as its surrounding yard, and in the context of village area 2, it appears to have been a single shared space among several households. The importance of the shared houseyard in village area 2 is its function as the central, most fluid location within the house unit. The house itself was used for storage of possessions, shelter, and for sleeping. The vast majority of domestic

chores and socialization took place in the yard. The yard, then served as a space for multiple functions as kitchen, washing area, socialization, and other functions for its enslaved African inhabitants.

Possessions

The houses of enslaved Africans at Orange Vale provided shelter, as well as a place for sleeping and socialization. These houses also provide shelter for the material possessions “owned” and used by their occupants. The houses in the enslaved village, provision grounds, peripheral kitchen gardens, animals, and movable material objects maintained and used by the enslaved African population at Orange Vale were important sites for the autonomous production of commodities for consumption or exchange. These were also the spaces that enslaved Africans themselves considered their own, or at the very least, attached customary property rights to.

Enslaved Africans, themselves property, did not legally own anything, including those items provided for their use by their owners or even their children. However, they – and some owners and managers -- clearly perceived some kind of customary rights to things like their homes and provision grounds. This is evident in Jamaica where the enslaved spaces, and particularly the village dwellings, were generally considered off-limits to plantation managers. The exception was in cases of emergencies, like attending to the sick or tracking criminals. This is also evident in the fact that many plantation owners in the island sold provision ground plots and a few sold them the land and houses they occupied.

The vast majority of materials that enslaved Africans at Orange Vale interacted with were made from organic materials, most of which do not preserve well in the ground and thus were not present in the archaeological record. This includes a wide range of items from furniture and utensils made from wood, calabashes, baskets, woven bags, traps, and clothing. The dominance of these materials in a typical enslaved African household at Orange Vale reflected the world in which they lived, one where they used skill and creativity to make use of natural resources available to them. These organic materials, however, were supplemented with some imported European and locally made non-organic materials. These non-organic materials were the items that would be present in the archaeological record.

Artifacts

The recovered artifacts from the enslaved African Village at Orange Vale plantation represents material manifestations of some of the materials used in the past by the people who lived in the village. Analysis of these materials required substantial knowledge in the history, manufacture, technology, and general use of the artifact groups that are preserved in the ground. On the outset it must be noted that, in general, the majority of household materials used by enslaved Africans were made from organic materials that do not preserve well.

Most of these perishable, organic materials were either made on the plantation, using natural materials from trees and plants, or traded or bought in local markets. Given the relatively isolated location of Orange Vale, it is most likely that the majority of these organic household goods were made on the plantation by skilled enslaved individuals in

the village. These would include things like sleeping mats plaited from palm, woven baskets, wooden bowls and utensils, calabashes made from gourds, woven or knitted cloth, and a variety of other organically-based materials.

The materials that best survive in the ground such as glass, ceramics, and metals, were usually goods that were obtained from the owner's or overseer's dwelling and recycled in the village. Usually, the presence of these items can be used to estimate the date of occupation and the context in which they were recovered also give clues to their usage and disposal. These more durable artifacts were usually of European origin and written historical records were kept on their origin, manufacturing techniques, sale, shipment, and distribution. Numerous items for household use and general plantation supplies were shipped to Orange Vale from various British ports, such as London, Glasgow, and Bristol (*Crop Accounts*, 110). Among those were also items supplied to the enslaved population, including tools and oznaburg cloth¹² as was noted in journal entries dated between 1826 to 1831 (Robertson, G. 1980:204).

The village at Orange Vale, in general, had a relatively short period of occupation, particularly that of village area 1. Given this short occupation history, as well as the uniformity of the soil, artifacts excavated from village areas 1 and 2 came from two to three arbitrary levels. Based on the presence and absence of some artifacts, village 1 seems to have been occupied earlier and for a shorter period of time. Both must have been occupied at the same time. However, village 1 seems to have been abandoned

¹² Oznaburg [osnaburg] was a popular type of coarse, grey linen cloth allocated to enslaved Africans during their annual clothing allowance. It was named after the small town in northern Germany where the cloth was first made (Higman 1998:230)

earlier, either by 1827 when 95 enslaved Africans were moved to Low Layton Estate, several miles away or by the time of emancipation and the apprenticeship period (1834-1838).

Village 2, however, seems to have been occupied for a much longer period, well into the later half of the nineteenth century. With few exceptions, most of the artifacts were manufactured during a period that spanned the entire period of the occupation of the village areas. Though there may have been gaps in manufacturing, use, and disposal time, there were a few pieces that can be identified positively, such as the English ceramics and nail types.

In describing the artifacts, it was necessary to analyze them in various categories and groups in an attempt to look for patterns within broader material type categories. The artifact descriptions that follow are grouped under general headings to allow for description of functionally similar artifacts, followed by a summary of the artifacts. One problem encountered in the description and classification of artifacts involves various levels of decay and decomposition, thus making it often impossible to positively identify many artifacts. This is particularly true with the metal artifacts from Orange Vale, exacerbated by the damp environmental conditions and soil.

The spatial locations and associations of the artifacts were analyzed in attempts to identify the location of house areas, kitchens, and possible associated house structures/features. Comparisons were made of most artifact types from house areas in the two village areas. In general, there were too few comparable artifacts to make any meaningful comparisons above the presence or absence level in the various house areas.

Comparisons to sites from similar location were limited because of a lack of published material, and the lack of organized comparable collections.

To my knowledge, with the exception of Matthew Reeves' work at Juan de Bolas Coffee Plantation, St. Catherine (1997), no archaeological excavations have been conducted on coffee plantations. Individuals from the Jamaica National Heritage Trust generously offered insights on the material culture of various sites encountered on enslaved African sites on the island. In addition, located on the coast near west of St. Andrews, the geographical conditions at Juan de Bolas would have been somewhat different from those at the foothills of the Blue Mountains in northeastern St. George. However, examining his findings was useful in determining task oriented coffee production systems, and the material culture from these plantations.

Table 6. Artifact Types and Count

Artifact Material	Village Area 1	Village Area 2	Village Areas 1 & 2
	<i>Wt / Ct</i>	<i>Wt / Ct</i>	<i>WT / Ct</i>
<i>Ceramics</i>	112g / 13	1492g / 130	1604g / 143
<i>Glass</i>	2824g / 500	4338g / 430	7662g / 930
<i>Metal</i>	9450g / --	4130g / --	13,580g / --
<i>Bone</i>	-- / 0	-- / 5	-- / 5
<i>Slate</i>	-- / 4	-- / 1	-- / 5
<i>Tobacco Pipe</i>	-- / 0	46 / 2	46 / 2

Ceramics

Ceramics was the third most common artifact type found, after glass and metal. A total of only 140 fragments of ceramics, including locally-produced yabbas, were recovered from both village areas. Of these, 97 fragments (69.28%) were imported

European ceramics, with the remaining 43 fragments (30.7%) being locally made, low-fired yabbas. Village area 2 yielded most of the ceramic, including all 43 yabba fragments, while village area 1 yielded only 13 fragments (9.28%) of European ceramics, mostly salt-glazed stoneware (see Table 7).

Table 7: Imported European and Locally-Produced Yabba Ceramics

Village Area	Ceramic Total (ct)	Euro Total (ct)	Yabba Total (ct)	Stoneware (ct)	Creamware (ct)	Pearlware (ct)	Whiteware (ct)
1	13	100%	0%	69.2%	15.3%	15.3%	0%
2	127	66.1%	33.8%	4.7%	40.9%	15.7%	3.1%
1 & 2	140	69.28%	30.7%	10.7%	35%	17.8%	4.28%

Imported European Ceramics

The imported European ceramics all seem to be of British manufacture and included 54 creamware (55.6%), 22 pearlware (22.68%), 15 stoneware (15.46%), and 4 whiteware (4.12%) fragments. In general, ceramic types can be used to date occupation sites, however, this is problematic and filled with numerous limitations. One main problem associated with using ceramics to date this enslaved village site is the problem of delay in acquisition. In general, there was a delay from the time of manufacture in Britain to its shipment, often sitting at British docks for months, then the long journey by sea, followed by another delay period between the Jamaican docks to the rural plantation site.

In addition, it seems that ceramics were not a staple allocated to the general enslaved population, but often the cast-offs from the overseer's kitchen. This delay in arrival to the plantation, coupled with the delay in acquisition by the enslaved population, could mean a considerable time from its date of manufacture. Related to this lag time is the extended periods in which certain types of ceramics are produced, never quite ending abruptly, but gradually phased out. Further, determining whom in the village received these ceramic wares, and how they were acquired prove even more difficult.

Secondly, like glass, ceramics survive because of its physical qualities, while material goods made from organic materials, such as the calabash, do not. The calabash, having significant meanings in most West and Central African cultures, also served many functions in the Caribbean slave context, particularly as bowls, cups, spoons, and water containers. Because of its organic material, calabashes and gourds were not represented in the Orange Vale enslaved village context. This endurance of certain materials and the decomposition of others, skews the data in interpreting food types consumed, especially given the fact that that such material were used in abundance for various utilitarian functions. Several calabash trees exist in and near the village site, suggesting that organic utensils were used in conjunction with ceramics, and calabashes are long-lived trees.

A third difficulty with this particular ceramic assemblage is the difficulty in identifying many small fragments. For example, very small fragments of white bodied earthenwares were found that were often difficult to distinguish whether they were pearlware or whiteware. The larger the ceramic fragment, the more decoration of manufacturing technique is discernable, making it easier to identify the ceramic type and

form. Unfortunately, most of the ceramic fragments recovered were unidentifiable body fragments, few giving clues as to the form and allowing for analysis of possible use. In general, classifying ceramics were determined by analyzing a combination of the body fabric, glaze type, decoration motif and color. In cases where fragments were too small to determine whether they were pearlware or whiteware, these were classified as whiteware. This, of course, has the potential to skew the occupation date, but at worst, it dates the site later given the fact that pearlware were in peak production earlier than whitewares.

Despite these difficulties, European ceramics can indicate broad dates of occupations, when analyzed in conjunction with other artifacts and context. Creamware ceramics was the dominant type of ceramics recovered from Orange Vale, with a count of 49, made up almost 50.5 % of European ceramics and 35% of all ceramics found. This is followed by pearlware with a count of 25 or 25.77% of European ceramics and 17.85% of all ceramics. Salt-glazed stoneware followed with 15 fragments or 15.46% of European ceramics and 10.7% of all ceramics. Finally, whiteware, with a count of only 6 fragments, made up 6.18% of European ceramics and 4.28% of all ceramics found.

Following the median manufacture date for these ceramic types suggested by South, Hume, and others, the ceramics fit generally with the known occupation period of the time (Hume 1976:xx, South 1977:xx). The ceramic distribution by type appears to follow the progression of the phasing out of stoneware (median date of 1753), the dominance of creamware (median date of 1791), the brief popularity of pearlware (median date of 1810), and the beginning of the mass production of whiteware around

1820. Given this distribution of ceramic types, it seems that creamware and pearlware alone make up more than 75% of the imported European ceramics, suggesting a median date roughly around 1800. However, taking into consideration the lag time of acquisition of ceramics on the plantation's village, as well as the long production period, it seems to suggest an estimated median occupation date of about 1818.

Interestingly, many of the ceramic fragments excavated had some kind of decoration in the form of hand-painted or transfer-printed motifs. Most of the decorated pearlware had these designs in cobalt blue, transfer-print and hand-painted both represented. The most popular ones seem to be early willow pattern, geometric, and floral motifs. Creamwares were mostly decorated with hand-painted designs, which is unusual. Early creamware fragments, found mostly in village area 1, were of a deeper yellow hue and plain, while those from village area 2 exhibited the later less-yellow color with a range of transfer-printed and hand-painted designs. One interesting plate fragment had a star and geometric motif border. Blue was the most dominant color, particularly for the pearlware, but also present in whitewares, and a few fragments were pinkish-red, green, purple, and brown.

The two village areas cannot be easily broken into specific periods of settlement, but an idea of change over time can be discerned from the very presence and absence of ceramic flatware. Village area 1 had very little ceramics compared to village area 2, where there seem to have been an abundance of flatware. In addition, the dominance of flatware in creamware (with a median ceramic date of c.1791) and later pearlware (c.1810) can be attributed to their purchase at the initial movement of the settlement to its

present location, sometime around 1800. Most of the ceramics would probably have been purchased then, used at the overseer's house, and then reused in the enslaved village over time.

By 1820, the atmosphere at Orange Vale was one in transition, experiencing unbelievable economic lows, resulting from the debt of Donaldson's estate, as well as the declining coffee economy. As early as 1819, only tools to upkeep the crops already planted and foodstuffs were considered necessary. Letters written between Donaldson's London and Kingston lawyers suggest that they would no longer be able to provide the amount of "unnecessary" household goods to Donaldson's Jamaican plantations, particularly given the fact that they were planning to sell Orange Vale (NLJ 1663R). Thus, any new ceramics that would have been purchased later would probably have been few – because of economic constraints – and those would have remained in the overseer's house context.

Most of the ceramic fragments found were very small, making it difficult to identify their vessel forms. However, the few that were clearly identifiable suggest mostly flatware or plates, followed by hollowware in the form of bowls or basins. The few ceramics found in village area 1 were mostly salt-glazed stoneware, and probably remnants of jugs. Village area 2 yielded the majority of the ceramics and most of the flatware fragments. This flatware included bases with foot and flatware rims, suggesting plate forms, as well as larger fragments that suggest platter forms. Most of these forms matched fragments found in the overseer's kitchen context, suggesting that they were originally parts of sets used in the overseer's house. This high number of flatware

ceramics in village area 2, found mostly in later contexts, probably indicates later acquisition of plates and other ceramics. These flatware, however, would have been supplemented with unlimited calabashes and gourds, as well as with locally produced yabbas.

The later acquisition of plates into the enslaved village would have most likely been anywhere from around 1810, just after acknowledgment was made of Donaldson's debt, through the 1820s and continuing until after emancipation. Having a majority of ceramic creamware plates within a later occupation context reflects reuse over time. The mixture of disposed fragments made from creamware, pearlware, whitewares, and later French-style wire nails, appears to suggest a shift to more usage of plates over time. At the same time, it is also possible that there was a heavy dependence on calabash bowls and cups (particularly in the earlier years of the settlement of Orange Vale).

Bowls and other hollowware, however, may not have necessarily reduced in usage as the use of plates increased, but it is possible that organic hollowwares like calabashes may have also been used. Most of the yabbas found, however, were large enough to suggest that they were serving dishes or tureens with handles. This supports oral history that most foods were consumed in calabashes by hand, similar to most traditional West African cultural custom.

Enslaved people, it seemed, made use of whatever materials they had access to. Most of the imported European ceramics found in the enslaved village at Orange Vale were remnants of sets from the overseer's house, as evidenced in large sherds with the same pattern found in the overseer's kitchen context.

Locally-Produced “Yabbas”

- *“Me gat the dip-dip yah Tayma pass de yabah wid de yam”*
(Bennett 1983)

Yabba, yaba, yabah, yaba, is the term derived from the Ghanaian Twi *ayawa* meaning “earthen vessel, dish” (Cassidy and Le Page 2002:483). In the Jamaican context it refers to “a native-made heavy earthenware vessel of any size (quite small bowls up to cooking pots holding several gallons); sometimes the clay material itself” (Cassidy and Le Page 2002:483). In an archaeological context at Orange Vale, these locally-produced African-Jamaican wares were usually large sherds that seem to have been predominantly bowls or pots, generally red-brown in color, and made by the coil technique. These yabbas were described in numerous contemporary historical documents, and continue to be produced today following these same general techniques (Sanguinetti 1889:50).

Locally-produced ceramics made by enslaved Africans have been found on most enslaved African sites in the Americas (see Armstrong 1994; Ebanks 1984; Ferguson, L. 1992; Higman 1998; Mathewson 1972; Olwig 1990). However, it must be noted that there was no uniformity in the ways in which these locally-made ceramics were made and used. A broader comparison with sites from South Carolina, Nevis, Montserrat, and Antigua suggest variety in manufacturing techniques and use. Working at the enslaved village at Drax Hall Estate, Armstrong found that these ceramic forms were similar to those found in contemporaneous West African archaeological contexts. Armstrong concluded that those at Drax Hall represent “adaptive syncretism evolved from generalized African forms and manufacturing techniques” (Armstrong 1994:150).

According to Armstrong, yabba manufacture in Jamaica was common before 1770, declined gradually with the availability of cheaply available imported European ceramics, but returned to dominate after emancipation. In the case of Orange Vale, yabbas made up 30.7% of all ceramics found, all excavated from village area 2. I would even suggest that enslaved Africans at Orange Vale would have probably been producing or acquiring these locally-produced yabbas even before emancipation, given their dwindling access to imported European ceramics. This supports the theory that village area 2 was settled for a longer period of time and for a much later time than village area 1. Though this may have been the case at Orange Vale and other sites, it must be noted that the number of examples studied in Jamaica are too small to make sweeping theories.

Seen in Figure 22, the vessel fragments identified as yabbas at Orange Vale are the reddish-brown color described by Armstrong and those found by Higman at Montpelier (Armstrong 1994:151, Higman 1998:226). One of the most intriguing pieces was a red chunk with indentations for the second, third, and thumb fingers (Figure 23). The abrupt break on one end of the fragment suggested that it may have been a handle to a vessel. The short handle suggests that this was probably a serving vessel that most likely had a second similar handle on the opposite end of the vessel. This unglazed fragment was made from the common reddish brown clay and a brown core was visible at the break.

A second fragment, also appear to have been the joint of a handle on the body of a vessel, close to the rim. This vessel was probably a standing jug or pot with a complete handle that connected from one side of the vessel, arched above the vessel, and then

connected to the body of the vessel on the other side. This fragment had a brown core, but the body itself was reddish-brown with a yellow tinted glaze on both the interior and exterior of the vessel. The glaze on the exterior of the vessel seems to be heavier than on the interior, resulting from either more glaze being applied to the exterior during its manufacture or the gradual rubbing off of the interior glaze during use and washing. This second fragment was probably much older than the first and seem to imitate the imported “Spanish jars” used for storage of water and other liquids.

Nine distinct types of yabbas were found, all with brown cores (see Table xx). The two most popular types with 11 fragments of each were: 1) a somewhat smooth, red-brown body, unglazed interior and exterior, with a brown core, and 2) a red painted interior and exterior over a brown clay, with the paint worn off considerably on the exterior. The third type with 9 fragments exhibited a rough, red-brown, unglazed body. The fourth type had 5 fragments and has a smooth, unglazed red-brown exterior with a yellow glazed interior. The fifth type had 4 fragments, unglazed, red-brown body, with a smooth exterior and rough interior.

The remaining four types had only one fragment each and had the following characteristics: 1) the red-brown handle base fragment with a yellow-tinted glaze on both the interior and exterior; 2) a light red-brown body with a clear interior glaze; 3) a light brown interior with a red-brown exterior and no glaze; and 4) a large, crude fragment exhibiting a brown color, rough on both sides; this last type is somewhat similar to the red-painted body, but exhibits no evidence of paint.

It is unclear whether any of these were produced on the plantation itself, or purchased from markets or neighbors. It is unlikely that most of the red-bodied vessels were produced on the site because Orange Vale lacked the appropriate clay color used for making this color yabba. However, it is entirely possible that the red painted ones with the brown clay base were made at Orange Vale. It was not difficult to acquire these yabbas because, as contemporary artist Belisario's print suggest, they were popular items made, sold, and traded by enslaved individuals throughout Jamaica's period of slavery (see Higman 1998:226).

Whether these yabbas were purchased or made, it seemed that they were mostly large vessels used for serving, cooking, or storage. In particular, the rather large red-painted fragments with worn exterior suggest a wide-rimmed vessel that might have been used for cooking or serving. The presence of relatively large fragments and absence of smaller hollowware indicate that smaller individual hollow dishes would have been in the form of organic materials such as calabashes, wood, and bamboo that were available in abundance at the site.

Armstrong's study at Drax Hall also found yabbas, which constituted 61.4 percent of coarse earthenware and 11 percent of all ceramics (Armstrong 1994:153). There was lead glaze on the interior of one-third of the yabbas, indicating to him that enslaved Africans who made these yabbas borrowed the glazing from European style ceramic wares. Armstrong concluded that the process of lead-glazing these low-fired yabbas may have contributed to illnesses, such as "dry belly," caused by lethal doses of lead in cooking pots. He did not, however, give details on the varieties of yabbas recovered.

Glass

Storage: Bottles, Lips, and Kick-ups

Found in more units than any other artifact type, bottle glass dominated the archaeological finds at both village areas at Orange Vale. The majority of the glass recovered were green in color, with a few amber fragments. One dramatic difference in glass type found in the two village areas was the dominance of thicker, green glass found in village area 1 than in village area 2, further suggesting an earlier occupation period. Village area 2, however, produced more complete bottles.

Three types of glass vessels were represented: wine and beer, pharmaceutical, and drinking glass. There was a dominance of unidentifiable body fragments, though fragments from virtually every part of the bottle were also found, including the base, body, shoulder, and lip. Interestingly, in both village areas 1 and 2, there seems to have been a pattern of disposing partially broken bottles among stone heaps. In village area 1, most broken bottle fragments were found in stone heaps at tree roots, while in village area 2, they were disposed off within the loose stones in the internal village stonewall or in foundational stone heaps.

Table 8. Total Distinguishable Glass

	Lip	Base	Medicinal	Glassware
Village 1	9	9	0	0
Village 2	9	13	2	1

Note: Figures based on clearly identifiable characteristics

The majority of the bottles found were fragments of the round, dark green bottle with a bulged or rounded heel, a domed kick-up, and applied rounded lip and string rim. The dark green color suggest that these bottles began as containers for wine or beer, while the few small rectangular bottles started off as pharmaceutical containers. A total of 22 identifiable lip fragments and 17 bases from the green wine/beer bottles were recovered (see Table xx). Most were either rounded side or flattened side, with an average bore diameters of 0.8 in (2 cm) and 0.7 (1.8 cm) respectively. In addition, a handful of rectangular, round, and oval bottles were also found in contexts associated with later occupation of the site.

Like the ceramics, these glass bottles probably represent secondary use as containers for liquids. Most of these bottles were probably used for storing water, oil, locally brewed and distilled products such as alcoholic beverages, and they were often reused after they are emptied. More than likely, locally produced rum was the common contents in these containers. Rum was often purchased from Low Layton Estate for use at Orange Vale, many times given to enslaved individuals as rewards or bonus, particularly during the busy harvesting season (*Crop Accounts* 1847).

Medicinal Bottle Glass

Two light green, medicinal bottles were found in village area 2. According to oral history, Orange Vale had its own “medical kit” which contained numerous liquid and powdered medicines for various ailments. It was common practice for plantation owners and managers to purchase these medicines in bulk, along with small bottles in which to

dispense them to enslaved individuals when needed (*Inventory xx*). According to oral history, as late as the 1950s, many of these medicinal bottles were still at the overseer's house where they were kept in a first floor room. Since then, most of those bottles were removed from the plantation site, along with iron building materials.

The first of these bottles were found between a heap of foundation stones in village area 2. It was a small, circular bottle, clear in color with a light green tint, and a wide mouth, that probably was sealed with a cork stopper. It had a total length of 1.9 in (4.8 cm), with diameters of 0.85 inches (2.1 cm) at the mouth, and 1.2 inches (3.1 cm) at its base. On the bottom of the base, there were raised markings "No. 15," probably indicating a standard size of the bottle. The bottle itself was rather broad with a short neck (0.35 in / 1 cm), and probably a bead flanged lip.

The second medicinal bottle, also found in another stone heap in village area 2, was similarly clear with a light green tint. This bottle, however, was rectangular and had markings on all four sides. The raised markings of on the four sides of the bottle were: "BENJAMIN'S BLOOD & LIVER PILLS," "CHEMIST KINGSTON," "P A BENJAMIN," "JAMAICA." It has a total length of 2.3 inches (5.9 cm), with two sides having widths of 1.08 inch (2.7 cm), and the other two sides measuring 0.9 inch (2.1 cm) in width. This bottle, like the other medicinal bottle, also had a longer body (1.8 in / 4.7 cm) compared to its short neck (0.5 in / 1.2 cm). The lip was also a bead flanged and probably covered with a cork stopper. It is unlikely that this bottle was actually produced in Jamaica, but perhaps manufactured in Britain for a chemist in Kingston. The chemist

in Kingston might then have sold them either in bulk along, with bulk medicines, to plantation managers/owners or sold individually, filled with medicines.

Several additional glass bottles were also found in a later occupation context. Two such bottles were a Dettol antiseptic bottle, with an external string rim, and an rectangular elixir bottle with raised markings “S B LEONARDI & CO. NEW ROCHELLE NEW YORK.” The Dettol bottle also had the letter “D” within a diamond shape on its bottom, a practice of patent which dates between 1842-1883, while the Leonardi elixir bottle dates in the late 1800s.

Glassware

A stem fragment of a drinking glass was found between stones of the internal village wall in village area 2, along with several large fragments of broken bottle glass. Though the top of the bowl is broken off, the shape seems to have been conical in shape, with a raised decorative pattern. The pattern seems to involve a series of different decorative patterns in layers. It includes incised vertical lines near the top of the stem, followed by a second layer of ovals punctuated by small teardrops. It has a stem (1.8 in / 4.25 cm) bisected by a bladed knob, indicating that the glass was made in two parts, joined together at the knob. The bladed knob stem suggests an early nineteenth-century manufacture date, about 1800-1820. The circular foot is a flanged style, with bubble inclusions, and has a diameter of 2.5 inches (5.7 cm). There is also a rough, circular pontil scar at the bottom, a practice common in the first half of the nineteenth century when a blow pipe was used as a pontil rod (Jones 1986; Spillman 1983:16).

This glass was most likely a drinking wine glass, similar in decoration to a fragment found at the overseer's house kitchen dump site. Very little glassware of this type is found on enslaved African village sites because it is a relatively expensive category of artifacts. It is likely that this glass was probably passed on from the overseer's house context to an enslaved individual living in the village. Just how this glass was used in the village and by whom, will remain unknown. However, it is likely that it was used for drinking, particularly given its disposal with several broken wine bottles within the stones of the wall. Included among these bottles was dark green wine/beer bottle with a very deep mamelon kick-up (2 in / 5.1 cm) and a base diameter of 2.6 inches (6.7 cm).

Metal

Utensils and Pots

Nine fragments of bulbous iron "Dutch" pot fragments, 1 iron skillet, 5 spoon fragments, and 2 knife fragments were recovered from Orange Vale's village context. In addition, an additional 4 fragments could also be cast iron pot fragments, village area 1, as well as several unidentifiable metal fragments that could have represented pot fragments. Village area 1 yielded 4 body fragments and 2 feet from the tri-pod, cauldron-like, "Dutch" pot(s). One foot fragment was a short stump, indicating that the pot was probably manufactured in the late eighteenth century (Hume 1969:177). The short stumps evolved from the earlier versions which had longer "feet." The longer foot was meant to settle the bulbous pots, but the shorter foot was meant to hang over a fire and not necessarily to stand on it. The second fragment seems to also be a foot fragment, but

because of its breakage, it can also be part of the handle through which a metal rod handle might have threaded.

From village area 2, 3 similar fragments of these Dutch pots and 1 fragment of a flat-bottom iron skillet. All 3 Dutch pot fragments were rather large and showed evidence of the “ribs” which ran horizontally on the pots. Two of these pot fragments were body fragments and one was a rim fragment, which was found a heavy metal loop that could have been part of its handle. A second wire fragment was also found with another pot fragment and could have also been a part of the handle. The fourth pot fragment was also a large fragment of a later style of flat-bottom skillet, made from a thinner metal.

The dominance of these cauldron-type pots over frying pans and skillets could indicate a preference for boiled and stewed foods. The types of foods that would have been soups and stews cooked would have probably consisted of the vegetables grown in their gardens and provision grounds, and a small amount of salted fish or pork. One example of such soups, still cooked today, is that of the “pepperpot,” which consisted of okra, callaloo, yams, plantains, coco yams (eddo), peppers, and a salted meat. “Pot” was a common term used to describe “spoon meat” in the Jamaican slave population (Columbia Magazine 1797:107-108). Thus, when the individual told his companion that he had his “dip-dip” and to “pass de yam,” he informed us on the type of food he was consuming: a boiled starchy yam eaten with a liquid “dip” (Bennett 1983)

Another boiled dish in the enslaved African diet was the foo-foo, made by pounding yams and plantains in a wooden mortar and pestle, and eaten with a soup. Even

this soup – foo-foo dish (or similar starch-soup combination) was traditionally eaten with the bare hand, as is commonly eaten today in many African cultures. Small portions of the starchy paste would be torn off, dipped in the soup and eaten, with the bare hands. Roasted foods were also popular diet options, such as yams and eddoes, roasted directly in coal or firewood. Yams and plantains were staple foods in the diet of the residents in Orange Vale’s enslaved village. Roasted yam and salt-fish, as well as yam/dumpling/plantain/banana, ackee, and salt-fish remain popular and is the national dish of Jamaica.

Five fragments of cooking spoon handles were found, all from village area 2. In addition, one knife fragment was found in village area 1. Two fragments of cooking spoon handles were very heavily corroded and broke into smaller fragments during removal. Two of the five fragments were handle ends, one with a hole and the other with an indented back. All of the spoon handle fragments were found in different levels of the same unit (II1), along with 3 cast-iron pot body fragments, and one possible metal rod handle fragment. The remaining utensils from village area 2 have also come from one unit (LL2).

Six small fragments of knives were found, three of these fragments showing signs of mending. The mended knife fragment found in village area 1, measured 3.5 in (9 cm) in length and 0.75 inch (2 cm) in width. The remaining three small fragments resembled the mended fragment, both with evidence of a rivet hole. All three fragments also had a width of 0.75 inch (2 cm), and were found with two dutch iron pot fragments, indicating a kitchen area.

No forks or individual spoons were found. According to oral history and custom, this is not surprising and may be due to the fact that most foods were eaten by hand or with utensils made from organic materials. It was not unusual that no forks were found, given the general low numbers found in similar enslaved contexts in Jamaica. Forks, it seems, were “the most European of all of the eating utensils and the least essential” (Higman 1998:221). It is possible that some of the unidentifiable metal strip fragments represent knives, but they are too heavily corroded to determine for certain. In general, utensils, and particularly personal utensils, were not very common given the fact that most foods, including foo-foo with soup, were generally eaten using one’s hand. Kitchen utensils that are likely to be found archaeologically include iron pots and serving utensils, such as “pot-spoons.”

According to oral histories, the majority of “kitchen utensils” at Orange Vale’s – and Jamaica’s other plantations – were made almost entirely of local, natural (organic) materials, such as wood and calabash (gourds). The rapid decomposition of these materials is one of the main reasons why only small amounts of kitchen utensils are found on sites like Orange Vale’s enslaved village. For example, calabashes served multiple functions as bowls, cups, and dippers.

Similarly, “pot-spoons,” used for cooking, were made from wood, and bamboo joints were used to make drinking cups. Cooking itself was often conducted with the most basic of resources. The most prevalent being the three stones laid out to form a hearth; or holes dug in the ground, lined and covered with banana or plantain leaves, and then topped with fire to boil food; and even holes dug in the ground on a to make ovens

(Anonymous 1797:151-152). These practices left little or no trace in the archaeological record.

A Small Side Note...

Some of these practices of cooking making use of the natural landscape continue today, particularly by farmers who work out in their distant grounds. According to some of the field assistants on this project, they often go to work very far up into the mountains and often do not like to weigh themselves down as they hike uphill, so they carry as little utensils as possible. They carry their ever-present cutlass to serve numerous functions as knife, digging and clearing tool, and sometimes even the same function as a spoon. They carry food supplies like salt-fish (salted cod fish) and water, or a container to carry and/or store water, but no pots. According to them, as long as they were in the bush and had matches or a lighter, then they would have food because they would be able to dig up some yam or ‘coco,’ or cut down some bananas or plantains. Having meat, though, seems to be an even better treat.

They describe the process of cooking in the ground in which they would dig shallow holes and line it with banana or plantain leaves to form a pot in which to cook. They claim to always have access to a source of water (Jamaica’s motto is “Land of wood and water”), so they can cook with. The same banana leaves, formed into make-shift serving plates on which to eat. If they were pressed for time, they would often just make

a fire and bury yams into the fire and roast it, along with the salt-fish, if they had any available. That is then often washed down with “coconut waata” or jellies.

While we were out in the field, they wanted to demonstrate cooking in a hole, but the constant rains made that impossible. Despite the rains, however, we constantly maintained a fire that we covered with tarp or banana leaves and roasted yams in it many days. One change I brought to the common “shove in de fire” method they practiced was the introduction of the foil. After that, no one wanted to roast yams without first wrapping it in aluminum foil. Apparently, the yams roasted in the foil retained more water and were a lot more moist than roasting directly in the fire.

Thus, it seems that in addition to using the natural resources, enslaved Africans also had varying access to imported utensils, most often imported from England. Most of these were usually acquired from the “great-house” or overseer’s house context, as was the case at Orange Vale. These imported wares include European ceramics, glass, and metal and often end up in the village, either given by the owners/managers, or by other means. Of these, the only utensils given as part of the required annual rations were iron cooking pots and knives. In 1831, for example, several pots and knives were allotted to many of the enslaved population, along with agricultural tools (Robertson, G. 1980). It was typical for most enslaved individuals to be given a single knife.

Similarly, Higman found that most individuals in the enslaved population at Montpelier Estate received “Negro knives,” while pots were given only to adults over the age of 18 (Higman 1998:217-218). He found that there was a gender bias in the distribution of pots among the enslaved population, with three times as many women

receiving pots compared to men. In addition, it seems that the individuals who received pots correlated to one female in given households, or solitary male individuals who lived alone. One pot was given to the most-able bodied woman in a household, usually those responsible for the task of cooking. According to Higman, most of the iron pots purchased at Montpelier were of 4-gallon capacity, however, it was not possible to determine if those were the ones allocated to the enslaved population.

On the other hand, Armstrong's work at Drax Hall yielded only one iron pot fragment, which he concluded was a result of "retention of tableware items" in this early eighteenth-century context (Armstrong 1994:202).

Tools

Most of the tools identified archaeologically were generally made of metal. Agricultural tools are common on most eighteenth and nineteenth-century plantation sites throughout the Caribbean, given their focus on the monocrop agricultural activities. With few exceptions, most of these tools were usually meant for work in the fields and works in the harvesting and processing of these crops, a few specific to the type of crop. Other tools served multiple functions on numerous sites, irrespective of crop type, particularly the bill, cutlass, and hoe (Phillipo 1843:90-91; Higman 1998:211). Armstrong found "tools for cane cutting, a hoe blade, an axe, three machete fragments, and three three-sided files" (Armstrong 1994:191), while Higman found 7 hoe heads, 7 cutlass/bill, 5 files (Higman 1998:213-214). At Orange Vale, and other coffee plantations, agricultural tools would have most likely included hoes, rakes, machettes, ax, and pruning knives.

The enslaved population at Orange Vale made a secondary use of some of these tools, along with others made from organic material.

Machetes

Interestingly, machetes were the most common tool used for a variety of tasks by both men and women. In fact, Higman, found that at Montpelier, the majority of bills (a variety of cutlass used for cutting cane) were given to women (Higman 1998:212). Though these tools were used in performing plantation labor tasks, they were not locked up at the end of the day, allowing the enslaved population to use them in and around their houses, gardens, and grounds.

A few tools were found at the enslaved Village at Orange Vale. Among them were 4 fragments of the staple cutlass or machete, 4 sharpening files, 2 hoe fragments, 2 spade/fork handle, and 2 fragments that once were parts of forks. All of these may have had primary uses in the production and processing of coffee. However, it is likely that most of these, particularly the cutlass and file, were individually-owned and used by their enslaved owners in their daily, personal chores, such as in food production in their own gardens and grounds. In fact, most individuals had personal tools that they carried with them throughout their day, going from home at dawn to work, then back home again in the evenings. According to oral histories, it is impossible to think of any individual living at the plantation without their own machete. Even today, most farmers in the community claim to never leave home without their machete and file.

The most common tool type found was the cutlass or machete. The cutlass, a tool with a long, narrow blade was widely used in a variety of tasks, including planting and weeding, harvesting crops, cutting timber, butchering meat, and as a weapon. Four machete fragments were found, 3 from village area 1 and 1 from village area 2. One of the fragments found in village area 1 was a metal body fragment (4.6 cm long), while 2 fragments were the metal handles with holes in which the wooden handles were attached to the blade. One of the two handle fragments had one hole and measured 8.5 cm long and 3.7 cm wide.

The second handle fragment included a curved head and measured 4.9 cm long, 2.8 cm wide at the blade, and 3 cm at the curved end of the handle. Two additional metal fragments were also found in the same context, and were probably part of the same cutlass. The fourth fragment, found in village area 2, had the curved head with two holes. It measured 8.8 cm long, 3.4 cm wide at blade, and 4.3 cm wide at the curve at the end of the handle.

Files

Four files were recovered, all in village area 2, used for sharpening the edges of tools. Three of these were almost complete with blade and tapered handles, while the fourth was a partial blade. Three were triangular (three-sided) files with rat tail handles and the fourth a flat file, all of which would have had wood handles placed over metal handles. Two triangular files were found in the same house area. The first triangular file had a total length of 15.9 cm, handle length of 4.8 cm, and the blade measurement of 11.7

x 1.1 cm. The second triangular file measured a total of 12.7 cm long, a handle length of 2.5 cm, and the blade measured 10.2 x 0.8 cm. The third, and only flat file, had a total length of 22 cm, handle length of 6.5 cm, and blade measurements of 15.8 x 2.5 cm.

The last file was incomplete and the handle missing, the fragment measured only 8.4 cm. This was an unusual convex shaped, two sides of the blade of equal sides, and the other two unequal to any other. The thickest side of the blade had a width of 1.2 cm, the thinnest 0.6 cm, and the two equal sides had a width of 1.1. All of these files were probably used for sharpening tools, particularly machetes, hoes, knives, and spades. Interestingly, Higman found that there was a file for every cutlass. Of course, this association is not necessarily directly related, but this pattern seemed to have been repeated at Orange Vale.

Hoes

Two hoes were recovered at Orange Vale, one each from each village area. Village 1 yielded a fragment of a hoe, a broken hole in which a wooden handle would have been placed. The hole is broken at the area where the blade would have joined with the hole. Made of wrought iron, the hole had an approximate interior diameter of 4.3 cm, and an exterior diameter of 7.5 cm. A second complete hoe was recovered in village area 2. The blade had a length of 14 cm and a maximum width at the tip of 16 cm. The hole had an interior diameter of 5.5 cm and an exterior diameter of 6 cm.

Two prong fragments from an agricultural fork were found, all from village area 1. Forks, like spades, were typical tools used in the planting and harvesting of crops.

Made of wrought iron, the prongs measured 7.8 x 0.8 x 0.8 cm (3.05 x 0.25 x 0.25 in) and 12.3 x 0.7 x 0.6 cm (4.85 x 0.26 x 0.25 in). These forks were probably used for digging soil for planting and building, particularly in their gardens and provision grounds.

Finally, also found in village area 2 was one metal handle, usually associated with spades and forks. It measured 7.35 in (18 cm) in length, 4.5 in (11.5 cm) at its widest part, 1 in (2.5 cm) at the fork, and a diameter of 1.65 in (3.3 cm) at the point where a wooden handle would have attached the fork prong to the metal handle. Found in level one, just below the surface, this handle was most likely used by the latest residents at the site.

Building Hardware

The houses in the enslaved African village at Orange Vale were of simple construction, made of wattle and daub, and probably some of wood. It is likely that they were made with wooden floors, each having at least one door and window. Metal building hardware was kept to a minimum: a few nails and rivets for joining wood; pintles and hinges for hanging doors and shutters; and, locks and latches for securing the doors.

Of the identifiable metal, nails were the most common artifacts in this group. It must also be reiterated that all of these metal artifacts could have been substituted with organic alternatives, such as vine withes or notches cut directed in the wood for nails, and leather for hinges. Thus, the general absence of or small numbers of metal building

hardware, (or any other artifact group), can be attributed to the use of organic, perishable material.

If any generalization can be made about building hardware at Orange Vale, it is that there was a lack of uniformity in the types of materials used in building houses, employing few nails and instead using more organic materials. These vernacular, folk houses often employed few nails and the nails recovered represented a range of varieties that represent changes in technology. From circa 1790 to 1830, it was common practice to make use of materials available on hand when build historic houses, often combining early hand-made nails with machine cut nails, and spikes (Edwards and Wells 1993:20).

Most tools and nails used at Orange Vale were imported from England and were very expensive to purchase and ship to these distant sites. Often, these materials, such as the spikes found at Orange Vale, often represented secondary use, originally used in buildings at the works and/or overseer's house. Interestingly, most of the construction hardware recovered, including nails, hinge, and spikes were found mostly in level 1, about 5-10 cm below surface. Having no evidence of burning, these hardware most likely fell to the ground when the buildings decomposed and collapsed to the ground.

Nails

Nails were, by far, the most identifiable metal building hardware recovered at Orange Vale. A total of 85 nails were recovered, 60 deriving from village area 1 and 25 from village area 2. Only about thirty percent of those were complete or semi-complete nails with heads and shaft, and the remaining seventy percent were fragments of nails.

Over 94 percent (80) were rectangular cut nails, and the remaining 6 percent (5) being round wire nails. Twelve nails were bent and showed evidence of clinching, 9 excavated from village area 1 and 3 from village area 2.

The cut nails, popular from 1790 to 1840 (Hume 1969:253; Edwards and Wells 1993:10), were produced by cutting a blank off the end of a long plate of iron, against its grade. A cut nail resemble a very elongated triangle with a truncated point, the blank being wider at the intersection where the head meets and narrower at the tip. During the manufacturing process, the wide end of the nail strip was mechanically held and then headed by hand (Edwards and Wells 1993:11). Village area 1 had only cut nails, varying in size from large spikes (nails over three inches), to small nails.

Early round, wire nails, also called French nails, were first produced around 1820 (Hume 1969:253; Edwards and Wells 1993:13), made from iron wire which required expensive relatively purified (slagless) iron. Though it was cheaper to ship wire nails than the heavier cut nails, wire nails were unable to compete with the superior quality of cut nails for many years until the late 1800s. Despite the heavier cost to ship cut nails, they remained the nail type of choice because of its sturdy texture, its ability to withstand bending, and the relative cheaper cost in production. It was not until the late 1800s when technological advancements in nail manufacture, particularly after 1887 when the price of steel dropped, that wire nails were commercially mass-produced. By 1900, the superior cut nails became virtually obsolete (Edwards and Wells 1993:13). All five of the wire nails were recovered from village area 2.

In general, the nails found were made of iron, exhibited rectangular shafts, in-line grain, either chisel or sharp points, and 2 sides tapered (cut nails). Except for the larger, flat spikes, the majority of the nails recovered from the village were of small to medium lengths. About half of these had round, domed heads and the other half were rectangular, slightly domed and flat on one side of the head that could have served as brads that were used in finishing work. All of these characteristics were in heavy use between 1791 and 1836. Many of the nails were corroded, but in better condition than one would have expected, probably owing to its thickness. The thinner metal materials showed greater corrosion, many too fragile to sustain handling.

The fact that village area 1 yielded only the earlier cut nails and none of the later wire nails probably indicate that the occupation at village 1 was settled earlier or that houses in village area 2 may have been repaired during a later period of the site's occupation, using wire nails. The latter theory seems more logical given that village area 2 was probably occupied later than village area 1. It is likely that the location of village area 2 was favored by those who remained on the plantation during the later period of its occupation for several reasons. These include the fact that village area 2 was located at a lower elevation, somewhat hidden from direct view behind the higher village area 1, and at a further distance from the overseer's house and works complex, as well as its closer proximity to the spring that ran through the plantation. This would have provided a lot more privacy from the watchful eye of "buckra" (MR 290), who, with the aid of a "spy glass" (*Inventories* 1807), had an easier view of village area 1 from his second-floor window.

Spikes

Of the nails recovered, 12 large nails or spikes were recovered, all from village area 1. Of these, 4 were complete with heads and had lengths of 3 inches. In addition, an additional 3 metal fragments were probably medium-sized spikes that had been clinched, in which the nails' exposed points were hammered flat against the wood or back into the wood to prevent them from loosening. Except for one squared, cut nail, these spikes were generally flat and appear to have marks that indicate that the heads were forged by hand. Further, they appear to have been cut *with* the grain of the metal, so the nails remain strong and flexible, allowing for easy, sharp bending without fear of breakage. Earlier nails were cut *against* the grain and lacked flexibility when clinched.

Analyses of spike and other nail types can be used to determine approximate dates of sites (see Hume 1969 and Edwards and Wells 1993). This, though, is not without problems given the delay in use of nails in building construction. However, analyzed in conjunction with other contextual material and information, they can be helpful. Based on Edwards and Wells' (1993) classification, most of the spikes fit into either types 1/2f (1789-1791), exhibiting mostly ovoid-rectangular heads, with a few square heads. Interestingly, none of the spikes or larger nails were found in village area 2. Village area 2 had a mostly small cut or wire nails, with a two medium-sized cut nails. The irregular lengths, head widths, and thickness of these spikes indicate that these spikes were much older than the wire nails found in later contexts of village area 2. More than likely, these

spikes probably served as staples at corners that held the house structures secure and probably dates around the late 1790s to early 1800s.

Hinges, Bolts, Washers, Hasps, and Door Hooks

Only one butterfly hinge was found in village area 1. The narrowest part of the hinge is at the pin. The two sides flare out like the wings of a butterfly, and the vertical length of the side measure 4.8 inches (12 cm) and 1.6 inch (4cm) wide; the middle rib had a width of 0.65 inch (1.7cm). The hinge had one remaining hole and was probably nailed or screwed to shutters or doors that swung open. It was a partial hinge with only side of the hinge with the middle “rib” still attached and is heavily corroded. It came from level 1, most likely joining the archaeological record after the collapse of the building after it was abandoned. This is significant because its heavy weight and large size indicate that it was used on either a door or window that was probably made from board or wood.

Two large, whole bolts were recovered, both from village area 1. One of the bolts, measuring 4.6 inches (11.75 cm) in length, had a diameter of 0.65 inches (1.7 cm) at its point. The head was circular and domed with a diameter of 1.2 inches. This first bolt was found along with two squared nuts, neither of which fits around the bolt, indicating the use of a variety of bolt sizes. The second bolt was found had a length of 4.25 inches (10.75 cm) with attached around its shaft. It had a point diameter of 1 inch (2.5 cm) and a circular, domed head with a diameter of 1.7 inch (4.75 cm). These hemispherical-head bolts were made from round rods. Both were made from two-piece

construction with the shank welded onto a preformed hemispherical head. The threads were not visible, making it difficult to identify them.

One single circular, donut-shaped washer was found in village area 1 and had a diameter of 1.1 inch (2.7 cm). It is irregular in thickness and symmetry between the outside and bore rims. Found near an entrance, it was probably used in the construction of a door. Three round, metal rods bent to form a u-shape were found. According to oral history, this was an informal “lock” used to keep doors closed and keep animals out. Found close to the surface, these rods were made from a light steel metal and was from the later occupation at the site.

One fragment of a slit strap hasp was found in village area 1. The slit of this hasp was cut to form a rectangular eye and measures 0.75 x 0.25 in (1.8 x 0.6 cm). The eye is the area where a matching hook will enter when the door/window is closed, then some kind of “lock” will be placed through the hook. This suggests that inhabitants of this house was able to lock a door or window. It is probable that this hasp was used on a door as it was found near an entrance, along with a fragment of horseshoe that were apparently hung near doors.

Clothing and Adornment

No buttons were found either, and this was partially due to the limited areas excavated, as well as the unusual weather conditions under which excavations took place. Because of the constant rains in the area, the soil was often soaked and instead of sifting the soil, oftentimes, we were forced to search clumps of dirt. This technique, though

efficient in locating sizable pieces of artifacts, it was possible to miss smaller objects such as buttons and beads. However, two buckles and one scissor handle were found in village area 2.

The two buckles found were of different sizes, both with a simple, square design with slight rounded corners. It is difficult to determine definitively how these were used given the fact that many buckles could have served several specific functions. This is particularly true in the context of an enslaved African village where it was common to re-use in ways that were often entirely different from its original use. For example, a buckle that might have been made for a shoe, could easily have later served as a clasp on a belt, or even a door strap. One buckle has a single tongue that measured 1.3 inch (3.3 cm) looped over one side of the frame, which measured 1.4 inch (3.4 cm) in length and 1.2 inch (2.6 cm) wide. The second buckle, also squared, was missing its tongue and broken off at one short side, and partially at the two long sides. Based on the one remaining complete side, the width of the buckle was 0.9 inch (2.3 cm) and probably a little over 1.25 inch (3 cm) long.

The scissor handle found was very brittle and heavily corroded. It exhibited a simple, somewhat triangular, slightly curved shape. It measures 2.9 inch (7.5 cm) at the longest, outer side, 2.5 inch (6.5 cm) at the second inner side, and 0.8 inch (2 cm) at the third and shortest side. This scissors was most likely used in the sewing and mending of clothes. Although it is impossible to determine who used this particular scissors, there were individuals who frequently made use of such tools.

At Orange Vale, and virtually every plantation in Jamaica, it was common practice for plantation owners and managers to provide raw cloth to enslaved Africans to sew their own clothing. In a journal entry dated 1831, three women in the village, aged between 20 and 49, were listed as being “washerwomen” who also served as seamstresses in sewing and mending clothes (Robertson, G. 1980:208). Such an item would have been valued and kept over long periods of time, hence its late disposal context in level 1. This type of scissors is very difficult to date and does not fit into any of the types classified by Hume (1969).

Weapons

A single musket ball was recovered in village area 1. Measuring 0.75 inch (2 cm) in diameter, there is a range of theories as how the musket came to be in the village area. It is difficult to tell if the musket ball was fired, but if it was, who owned the weapon from which this ball was fired? Who or what was it fired at? Was it fired at all? It could be that the musket was used to hunt birds, but exactly who was the hunter? It is possible that the ball was probably a keepsake for someone in the village. Or, found in close proximity to green wine and beer bottles, it is also possible that the shot served a practical household employed in cleaning the interior bottoms of wine and beer bottles, a practice common in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Jones 1986:21-22).

Horse Hardware

Finally, the most fascinating metal artifact find was the horseshoe. A total of 9 whole and partial horseshoes were found in Orange Vale's village, all found at locations identified as entrances, with associated sandstone "steps." Of those, 4 were completely whole and the 3 were about half of a horseshoe, broken at the toe or arch, and 2 were about a quarter fragment. Three whole and 1 half horseshoes were found in village area 1, while village area 2 yielded 1 whole, 2 half, and 2 quarter horseshoes (see Table xxx). It was difficult to determine exactly which types these were, based on Ivor Noel Hume's classification (1969).

Table 9. Horseshoes

Vill. Area	Distance Between Heel	Thick-ness of Shoe	Surface Width (branch)	# of Holes (L x W)	Shoe Type	Whole / Frag
1	1.8 in (4.7 cm)	0.3 in (0.7 cm)	1.8 cm	7 (11.6 x 9.5 cm)	5 or 6? c. 1750 - 1800	Whole
2	1.85 in (3.9 cm)	0.2 in (0.5 cm)	1.9 cm	? 9.3 x 8.5 cm	6 or 7? c. 1800 - 1862	Whole
1	--	0.3 in (0.6 cm)	0.7 in (1.7 cm)	--	--	Frag ½
2	--	0.2 in (0.4 cm)	0.75 in (2 cm)	--	--	Frag ½
2	--	0.2 in (0.4 cm)	0.75 in (2 cm)	--	--	Frag ½
2	--	0.35 in (0.8 cm)	0.8 in (2.1 cm)	--	--	Frag ¼
1	2.15 in (5.5 cm)	0.35 in (0.9 cm)	0.9 in (2.35 cm)	7 (11.1 x 11.1 cm)	6? c. 1800	Whole
1	1.75 in (4.5 cm)	0.25 in (0.7 cm)	0.81 in (2.2 cm)	7 (12 x 11 cm)	6? c. 1800	Whole
2	--	0.32 in (1 cm)	0.8 in (2.1 cm)	--	--	Frag ¼

At Orange Vale, and apparently throughout rural Jamaica's older population, there is a commonly held belief that nailing horseshoes on the interior of the house, just above entrance doors, protects inhabitants from roaming "duppies" or ghosts. The belief is that in a setting like Orange Vale where duppies are believed to roam both during the day and at night, the horseshoe protects the household from unwanted visits by those duppies who might wish to harm them. This belief and practice continues today in some rural areas, particularly by the "ole-timers."

The U-shaped piece of iron, nailed to a horse's hoof, has traditionally served as a shoe in protecting a horse's hoof against rocks, pebbles, and hard, uneven surfaces. However, horseshoes have come to serve ideological functions, representing good luck throughout history and in literature in Europe and the Americas. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, people in Europe and the Americas often nailed horseshoes to houses and as charms on jewelry.

In addition, the symbolic belief in horseshoe as a good luck charm has been written in several literary classics, including: Mark Twain's *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1884), Mark Twain's *Pudd'n 'head Wilson* (1894), O. Henry's *The Four Million* (1906), and even in Gaston Leroux's *The Phantom of the Opera* (1911). All of these make reference of the horseshoe being a good luck charm, in which characters take action or state their belief in its ability to bring positive luck.

That horseshoes served more than a functional used as protection for the hooves of horses, but also as good luck charms are clear. However, what is not so clear is the origin of the belief in them as *protective* charms, and further, its origin and significance

to the enslaved people living at Orange Vale. One popular theory suggested by local oral tradition is that the origin was tied to the belief in the magical powers of iron. Iron was considered lucky because it represented the unity of rock and fire, two of the basic elements throughout history. The products of blacksmiths and other iron makers were considered to have supernatural powers. In a similar way, metal were important material in many traditional African religions, often related to specific patrons and gods, such as the Yoruba god of iron, Ogun, whose Fon name is Gu, and called Papa Ogun in Haiti (Thompson, R. 1983:166).

The horseshoe, in particular, had a basic shape of either a crescent, an arch, or a cup, all of which were long considered lucky. The crescent is a mood symbol that was believed to have properties of luck in many cultures and religions in Africa and the Mediterranean. Similarly, the typical number of seven nail holes in most horseshoes was considered lucky in some traditions. All of these “lucky” properties made the horseshoe a symbol of good luck, often nailed to doors of houses and barns. In regards to its resemblance to a cup, in the British Isles, the horseshoe, with the open end up is said to gather luck. The resulting belief is that the horseshoe itself was a cup filled with luck and, thus, should be nailed on doors with the open end pointing down so that the luck could pour down on those entering the houses.

Bone, Slate, Tobacco Pipes

Bone

Only 5 bone fragments were found, all from village area 2. Three of the four fragments were animal joints, one showing obvious cut marks and two exhibit indentations that appear to be teeth marks. The fourth fragment was part of a goat's hoof showing two toes with evidence of cutmarks, while the fifth fragment was a miscellaneous piece. The largest fragment weighed 38 grams and measured 3.3 inches (8.4 cm). The remaining three fragments were much smaller and weighed a total of 20 grams. This number is quite small for several reasons, mainly the fact that only a small area was excavated.

In addition, it is not surprising, given the fact that the enslaved people at Orange Vale had limited access to fresh meat, consuming mostly imported salted codfish or herring added to pepperpots (Jamaica Almanack 1800, 1807, 1810). This was particularly true in the early years of settlement when most of their energies would have been directed at coffee production. In addition, the bone sample is small because domestic animals might have dragged off discarded bones from the yard or the consumers themselves might have thrown them further away from the yard to prevent animals from coming into the yard space.

Tobacco Pipes

Two white kaolin tobacco pipe fragments were excavated, both from village area 2. One was a pipe stem fragment that measured 1.75 inches (4.5 cm) long, had a bore diameter of about 4/64 of an inch, and 0.38 inch (1 cm) in. The other fragment was a pipe bowl fragment with a “D” on the outside, and there was evidence of burning on the interior of the bowl fragment. The fragment was too small to see if there was a heel, foot, or other decoration, that might give indication of date of manufacture.

Slate

Five slate fragments were excavated, four from village area 1 and 1 from village area 2. Two fragments found in village area 1 were unworked slate chunks, one measuring about 0.55 in (1.5 cm) and the other 0.56 inch (1.6 cm) in depth. The third fragment from village area 1 was just a very thin sliver, with no distinguishing characteristics, except for the fact that it was found with ceramics and glass in a kitchen area. The fourth fragment was a flat fragment about 2.38 in (6.1 cm) long, 0.3 cm (3.4 cm) wide, and a depth of 0.13 in (0.35 cm). This fragment was had a cross-hatch pattern on both sides, one side having a slightly larger box design than the other.

The fifth fragment, and the only slate fragment found in village area 2, is similar to the fourth fragment found in village area 1, exhibiting a cross-hatch pattern on both sides. The cross-hatch pattern appear to have been incised by hand and resulted in uneven boxes in the pattern. All of these slate fragments were found in close proximity to kitchen contexts along with metal, glass, and ceramic fragments.

Diet and Culture, Foods and Beliefs

Stomach disorders appear to have been the most common class of cause of ailments among the enslaved African population at Orange Vale. These stomach ailments were related in some way to nutrition-poor diets and unhealthy conditions, both caused by their condition of enslavement. The poor nutrition and diet that typified the enslaved African population resulted from their limited access to a variety of foods rich in vitamins and minerals. This poor diet was a result of lack of both access and availability of foods in early nineteenth-century rural Jamaica.

This lack of availability of and access to nutritious foods seems to have been further impacted by ideological beliefs about certain foods, particularly relating to very young children. According to oral tradition, some foods were considered taboo to children, often believed to cause certain permanent physical and mental conditions, and it was believed that some might even cause death. To begin with, many people believed that a baby should not be fed solid foods before she/he was one year old because if they ate the same foods as the adult population, then they would get “big bellies” when they become adults.

In a similar vein, it was believed that babies should not eat any animal with feathers, such as chickens, because it would make children talkative, and eggs would make them “cluck” like hens. There was also the belief that the starchy foods, a diet upon which enslaved Africans at Orange Vale relied, would slow the speech development of a growing child. In addition, protein-rich peas soup, was believed to give babies “sour

stomach.” At the same time, there were also the general beliefs that goat’s milk would make a child have a large forehead, and cow’s milk was “too heavy” for babies.

This, of course, begs the question, if parents and care-givers acted on these beliefs, what did babies at places like Orange Vale consume? Most adults at Orange Vale themselves lacked adequate nutrition, but acting on these beliefs would have dramatically limited the diet of a young, developing child. Even if babies were fed some the starchy tubers, roots, and fruits, they would have been severely lacking in protein-rich foods that stimulated their growth and development. Equally lacking would have been a liquid-only diet for a growing child because it would not provide enough protein, calories, and energy needed for proper growth.

Working hand-in-hand with the beliefs of the negative effects of food was the equally common practice of herbal treatments. The basic, popular practice of doing “wash out” has been at the foundation of many cures. The healing of many ailments was believed to begin with a general cleansing of the internal body, and this continues to be practiced today. This was usually done with the consumption of brews made from one or more ingredients made from leaves, roots, and/or barks. During the period of cleansing, heavy foods were avoided and limited to thin soups, porridge, and “bush tea.” In addition to the “wash out,” a variety of brews were consumed for a variety of specific purposes, such as Irish moss to provide strength and enhance sexual stamina.

Discussion: African Influences

Based on the archaeological findings, this site has approximate occupation dates of around 1800 and continuing through to the mid-nineteenth century. However, village area 2 appears to have been occupied for a longer period of time than village area 1, as late as the early part of the twentieth century. On the other hand, Village area 1 seems to have been abandoned well before emancipation in 1834, most likely after the removal of 95 enslaved Africans to Low Layton plantation in 1829.

The archaeological investigation revealed that the living conditions at Orange Vale were miserable at best. Not only did they have to contend with the cold and constant rains that often resulted in illnesses, there were the ever present mosquitoes associated with such a damp climate, and it seems the tedious work tasks left them very little time for themselves. Though creatively prepared, they consumed a monotonous diet of root crops, bananas, and other provisions, with access insufficient access to a variety of protein-rich meats. Based on their health complaints and ailments, they suffered from the harsh working and living conditions, further exacerbated by a nutritionally-poor diet.

Though there were constraints and limitations, African influences were evident in both the creolized foodways and settlement patterns at Orange Vale. Their settlement was limited to the space chosen by their white enslavers, as well as by the terrain, but enslaved peoples continued to build their houses in the ways they knew. They had enough control to design their small spaces with a communal yard that formed a very important part of their domestic lives. The houses built resulted from a combination of

the technological knowledge of the enslaved Africans and the natural materials available in their immediate vicinity.

Similarly, the foods eaten by enslaved Africans at Orange Vale were most likely a combination of foods they grew, along with those weekly rations they were given by the plantation management. According to oral traditions, the majority of foods possibly consumed by the enslaved people who lived at Orange Vale would have consisted mostly of foods they grew themselves on the plantation, supplemented with some kind of pickled or dried fish. Based on the trees at the site, foods grown at Orange Vale were bananas, callaloo, gungo peas, breadfruit, okra, yams, plantains, and a wide variety of fruits, such as mangoes, grapefruit, oranges, and jackfruit.

Most foods would have been in the form of boiled starchy foods or a stew of a combination of vegetables and meat. Typical meats imported into the island for distribution to enslaved peoples were salted beef; pickled pork (cheeks, tongues; tails); smoked, dried herring herrings; and salted codfish (*Votes of Assembly Jamaica* 1800). In addition, these imported meats would have been supplemented with wild animals caught in traps, as well as crayfish from the nearby springs. Because of the rigid work schedule imposed on them, there was very little time in which enslaved peoples could have hunted for wild animals. As a result, they would have relied more on traps set in “the bush” to catch small animals like opossum, rats, and even birds caught on gummy traps. Birds were also caught with the use of slingshots. Orange Vale is well known for its bird species and today some local residents hunt birds at the site with guns.

All of these foods represented a combination of resources and cultural knowledge from several continents. Foods such as yams and okra were of African origin; cassava were introduced in Jamaica by the indigenous peoples who migrated from South America; breadfruit originated from Indonesia; and the pickled meats were imported from Europe and North America. The ways in which enslaved Africans cooked these foods would have been informed by their cultural knowledge and preference, but using the resources available to them.

As a result, the foods they ate represented their own creolized foods that were informed by their cultural knowledge and preference in preparation and consumption, though using whatever natural resources were available (Franklin 2001:92; Yentsch 1994:210-211; 1995). Thus, foods such as “run-down” which incorporates breadfruit, callaloo, and meat in one pot; or “pepperpot” which is a stew of vegetables and meat cooked in one pot; or pea-soup that is made up of “gungo” peas or red beans, also cooked in one pot. These foods represented a very important meeting of different cultures and resources.

Who were the people who were forced to work at Orange Vale and live in the village houses? What relationship did they have with their Maroon neighbors in Charles Town? These and other questions will be addressed in the forthcoming chapters.

Chapter 4: Enslaved Africans at Orange Vale

Prelude: “Just Another Coffee-Picking Day”

It is early Friday morning as Diana (alias Ann Woodsworth) rolled off her burlap-covered straw bed and hated to have to leave her rough, woolen blanket. As she made her way out of the bedroom, into the hall, she was careful not to step on mother, Beckie Jane Jacquet or her four siblings, older brother Henry, younger brothers Jasper and Sommerset, and younger sister, Penny. As she walked to hall in the dark, she kicked a basket filled with provisions. She had forgotten that she had put it there the night before, after getting back from yet another day of coffee-picking.

As Diana made her way to the wooden door, Diana could hear the heavy rains fall on the thatched roof of their house and felt the occasional drop of rain fall on her head and face. She pushed opened the door and stepped onto the squared sandstone just in front of the house. Even the chickens kept by Old Prue were trying their best to stay warm and dry by huddling in small heaps in their coops. She bent over to retrieve the chipped, cream-colored ceramic basin she had leaned up against the side of the house last night. She then grabbed one of the kitchen knife and a calabash from the wooden draining stand and went back inside.

She made her way back to the three stone fireplace to restart two separate fires: one within the three stones, and another on the side of the stones. She then took water from the large monkey jar in the corner of the room, dipped water out with a small calabash. She filled a large dutch pot $\frac{3}{4}$ full in which to cook the provisions, and a smaller yabba pot about $\frac{3}{4}$ full for the usual morning bush tea. She settled one pot over the three stones and the other near it. She walked over to a large basket in the corner and pulled out some yellow yams, bananas, and eddoes and sat on a wooden stool near the fire to peel the provisions. Served with some bush tea, the boiled provisions will have to do for breakfast because it was quick and that was all they had. By now, she could hear the rest of her family rustling around inside the sleeping room, as well as her neighbors stirring in and around their houses. Her mother and siblings walked out into the hall, all dressed in their tattered shirts, rolled-up pants, and worn hats. Diana began to dish out their breakfast into seven calabash bowls, making sure to leave a plate for their neighbor, Old Sommerset, who will soon arrive at the door carrying his ever-present machete for another day of coffee picking.

Of course, we will never know with complete certainty how Diana and her family and neighbors lived, nor what they thought of their condition of enslavement. However, through the use of diverse sources of materials including, oral histories and tradition, written historical documents, and archaeology, we can piece together a more encompassing picture of their daily lives. The use of oral historical accounts encourages a more emic perspective, thereby allowing for local descriptions and knowledge, as well as local participation by members of descendent communities. Their vernacular knowledge brings meaning to the historical and archaeological records to give a clearer picture of the lives of enslaved Africans in a village at one plantation and their relationships with others in the broader community of Africans in Buff Bay, Jamaica.

Enslaved Africans at Orange Vale

We will probably never know who really occupied what houses at the site, but the people who lived and worked there survived well enough so that several generations of families lived there, many of whom were born and died at Orange Vale. The archaeological material excavated from Orange Vale, discussed in the previous chapter, were the materials that the enslaved Africans at the site interacted with on a daily basis. But who were they? How did they relate to each other, and how did they react to their enslavement? This chapter discusses population change within the enslaved African village, as well as presents two- and three-generation families who lived there. Though sketchy, the information on the enslaved population at Orange Vale presented here puts faces to the blank “slaves” often referred to in similar studies. Th will be discussed in this chapter.

Theirs was a very diverse community of individuals who seemed to have resisted their enslavement through various forms of resistance, from refusing to work to chronic running away (*RRS, Vestry Minutes, Givings-In*). Though they had been viewed as property to be owned for life by their white enslavers, they created a community that allowed them to establish their own creolized culture and multiple identities within the plantation landscape. Genealogical reconstructions of some families allow us to at least get a glimpse of the people who lived and worked at Orange Vale, and who had complex relationships with their “kin” living at Charles Town nearby.

The most valued of all property during slavery, enslaved Africans were considered a very good investment by plantation owners and managers, particularly after

the slave trade was abolished by Great Britain in 1807. Not only could enslaved Africans perform the required back-breaking labor on the plantation, but it was believed that they were self-reproductive and would continually replenish the population. No other form of property could have performed both productive and reproductive functions, both increasing the wealth of their owners. In all of the required submissions (or “givings-in” as they were commonly called) in official documents, the number and/or value of “slaves” were always the first given, indicating the wealth of their owners.

In addition, this practice was also followed in published works such as in the annual *Jamaica Almanack*. For example, in Donaldson’s inventory taken after his death in 1807, the names and value of each enslaved African on each property were listed first, followed by a list of the number and value of the livestock, and material goods on the plantation. Table 10 lists the number of enslaved Africans on each of Donaldson’s Jamaican properties. Orange Vale was listed as having a total of 260 enslaved Africans valued at £25,480, the second most valuable slave population after Low Layton Estate. In his letter twelve years later, Alexander Grant placed an estimated value on Orange Vale’s 240 enslaved African population at £24,000, over two-thirds the amount of the plantation’s total value.

Throughout its history, there was relatively little permanent movement of enslaved Africans in and out of Orange Vale, except for deaths and temporary hiring out for work on Low Layton and other plantations nearby. By emancipation in 1834, there were 160 enslaved Africans at Orange Vale. In general, the enslaved African population at Orange Vale gradually increased from the time of its settlement around 1780 until

1829 when 95 enslaved individuals were removed to Donaldson's other plantation, Low Layton Estate, also located in St. George's near Orange Bay (Jamaica Almanack 1829).

By the close of the eighteenth century when the plantation changed ownership from Elmslie to Dessource in 1798, there was a total of 93 enslaved Africans, 40 females and 53 males (Grantees 466:241). By 1800 when the plantation was leased to Churchill, the indenture listed a total of 132 enslaved Africans, 66 each female and male (Grantees 269:243). Later that same year when Donaldson became the owner of the plantation, a total of 183 enslaved Africans, showing an increase of over 50 individuals.

This increase in the enslaved African population most likely resulted in Donaldson purchasing additional individuals to seriously undertake coffee production (Grantees 479:158). By the time of Donaldson's death in 1807, there was a total of 260 enslaved Africans at Orange Vale alone, an increase of 77 individuals since he came into ownership of the plantation.

Throughout the initial period of its settlement in the late 1700s, the enslaved African population remained just under 100 (Index to Grantees 1799 # 466:241). When the initial parcel of land that later formed Orange Vale plantation was first purchased by John Elmslie in 1780, there seem to have been no enslaved Africans belonging to the property. However, as Elmslie expanded the property in a series of purchases of additional, adjoining land from his neighbors, enslaved Africans were also included in the sale of some of these land parcels (Index to Grantees 1781 #309, 1783 #314, 1784 #325, 1786 #339). In 1800, while under mortgage to Churchill, Orange Vale had 132 enslaved

Africans, but later on that same year, that number had a dramatic increase to 183 (Index to Grantees 1800 #269, #279).

Between 1800 and Britain's abolition of the slave trade in 1807, the slave population at Orange Vale experienced a significant increase. This was the period in which Donaldson acquired several additional plantations and enslaved Africans in Jamaica, including Low Layton Estate (1799) and Fairfield Plantation (1800) both in the parish of St. George (Index to Grantees 1800 # 475:157, # 479:102). This growth in the slave population was possible because enslaved Africans still were readily available from shipments in the Atlantic slave trade.

In 1807 Donaldson died and his inventory generated a list of his properties, including the names and value of the enslaved Africans he owned. According to Donaldson's inventory, Orange Vale had an enslaved population of 260, valued at £25,480 (Index to Inventories 1807 #110). This represents an increase of 73 enslaved individuals since the plantation came into his possession. It seems that, like his increase in personal property and business acquisition in Kingston and Port Royal, Donaldson acquired several enslaved Africans to work on his plantations.

Table 10. Summary of Enslaved Population at Orange Vale, 1798-1836

Year	Female	Male	Total	Source
1798	40	53	93	(Grantees 466:241)
1800	66	66	132	(Grantees 269:243)
1807	124	136	260	(Inventory)
1811	--	--	684 +	(Ja. Almanack)
1816	--	--	249	(JA)
1817	122	118	240	(RRS)
1818	--	--	244	(JA)
1819	--	--	242	(JA)
1820	122	121	243	(RRS)
1821	--	--	245	(JA)
1822	--	--	251	(JA)
1823	134	127	261	(JA & RRS)
1824	--	--	261	(JA)
1825	--	--	266	(JA)
1826	142	134	266 / 268 ++	(JA & RRS)
1827	--	--	278	(JA)
1828	--	--	270	(JA)
1829	81	79	263 / 160 +++	(JA & RRS)
1831	--	--	161	(JA)
1832	--	--	158	(JA & RRS)
1833	--	--	159	(JA)
1834	80	80	160	(JA)

1836 -- -- 124 apprentices
(JA)

(Sources: Return of Registration of Slaves, Jamaica Almanack, T71/717 Compensation Certificate, Index to Grantees, Givings-In)

4/80 #7 = Book, 1833-34, St. George (Quit Rent, Land, Road, Poll, Parish, County Tax)

T71/717 No. 164: Compensation Certificate 30/9/1834

1B/11/3 No. 110: Index to Inventory

RRS: 1817, 1820, 1823, 1826, 1829, 1832

JA: annual from 1816 (givings-in begin 1811)

*1811, combined total from Orange Vale, Low Layton, and Fairfield

“Increase” and “Decrease” in the Enslaved African Population

Change in the slave population at Orange Vale cannot be traced in detail between 1807 and 1816, when the population of Orange Vale was first recorded in *Jamaica Almanack* at 249. After that year, Jamaican law required that decreases and increases in

the slave population be recorded tri-annually, beginning in 1817 and following in 1820, 1823, 1826, 1829, and 1832 (see Table 11).

Table 11. Summary of Return of Registration of Slaves, 1817 - 1832

Year	OV Female	OV Male	OV Total	Total Increase	Total Decrease
1817	122	118	240	--	--
1820	122	121	243	21	18
1823	134	127	261	[18]	10
1826	142	134	276	31	16
1829	81	79	160	12	128
1832	--	--	158	12	14

Source: Return of Registration of Slaves 1817-1832

By 1817 when the first registered returns were recorded, Orange Vale reported a further decline in the population to 240 (Return of Registration of Slaves 1817, # 21:207). According to succeeding returns, the average total decrease in the population was 18.8 and the average total increase was 37.2. The average total decrease in this case is a bit skewed because it represents the unusual mass movement of 95 individuals from the plantation to Low Layton Estate. Specifically, the average recorded deaths at Orange Vale were 17.4, the average births 20.4, with an overall growth of three births at each return.

This increase of three is above the 1832 national average which recorded an annual loss in the numbers of the enslaved African population on large plantations of – 8.6 per 1000 and an average gain of 1.8 on coffee plantations (Higman 1995:123; 1998:38). These figures are all flawed because they do not always include the unknown proportion of infants who died at birth or before the returns were recorded. In his

research of 1829-1832 returns, Higman found a relationship between crop type and natural increase. For example, plantations involved in sugar production experienced the greatest loss at -12.4, while livestock-pimento plantations recorded the greatest increase of 11.6. Sugar plantation's loss was greatest among its jobbing gangs, those laborers who were hired out for work on neighboring sugar plantations, usually performing extremely difficult tasks (Higman 1995:122).

Born in Africa

What was it like for the African-born enslaved population to experience freedom when it finally came? They began their lives free in Africa, were enslaved in the Americas, and then freed again. The African-born population by the time of emancipation was quite few, with many of them dead by the mid-1820s. When the first returns were taken in 1817, Orange Vale had 110 African-born individuals (53 females, 57 males), representing over 45 percent of the enslaved population. By 1832, 43 (20 females, 23 males) had been reported as having died; 18 (6 females, 12 males) were sent to Low Layton Plantation; 49 year old Richard Gray was sentenced to the Buff Bay workhouse for life for being "a notorious runaway in 1829;" and in 1826, 43 year old Henry Turner Burke was reported as having been convicted of practicing obeah and transported off the island (RRS 1817, 1820, 1823, 1826, 1829, and 1832). By analyzing the recorded deaths at the plantation, it appears that by 1832, Orange was estimated to have a maximum of 47 African-born individuals. This number would more than likely decrease even further between 1832 and emancipation. Thus, it seems that by the time

emancipation went into effect in 1834, the majority of African-born individuals at Orange Vale would have either died or in their old age.

Though the African-born individuals would have gradually died by the time of emancipation, they certainly would have passed on their cultural values and practices to their children and others over which they had some influence. Many of the households at Orange Vale would have had African-born women who were either full or partial heads of household, and these African-born women and men would have had considerable influence over the beliefs and actions of their children. As we will see in the case of Frances Sterling and Henry William Grant, parents were instrumental in teaching their children how to behave, as well as shaping their ideological beliefs. As the teachers in the socialization of their children, as was seen in the case of Frances Sterling (Whitey 1834) that many of them would have passed on their knowledge of life in freedom and cultural beliefs and practices from their homeland.

At Orange Vale, as on most plantations in Jamaica, enslaved African laborers lived in a village settlement close to the coffee works and within sight of the overseer's house. After emancipation, this community was referred to as "the village" or, "the old slave village." Although the village was not visible on the landscape surface, local residents had a general idea from oral traditions of where "the old slave village" was located. Located on semi-leveled terraces within the steep, hilly landscape, the village was home to as many as 278 enslaved Africans by 1827, the year in with the highest known number of enslaved African population.

Changing Places: Movement of Peoples

There was virtually little movement in and out of the plantation except for one recorded “runaway” in 1820; one “transported” in 1826; one purchased, one “sentenced to the workhouse,” and 95 “removal to Low Layton” in 1829; and, one purchase and one manumitted in 1832. This relative stability in the enslaved African population allows for the possibility to trace the history of some individuals, including the offspring of enslaved women. With the exception of the mass removal of people from Orange Vale to Low Layton in 1829, only three other individuals were permanently moved out of the plantation village community during the entire .

The two individuals who were transported and sentenced to the workhouse were both classified as being “African” and the one manumitted was born on the island. In 1829, Richard Gray, a 49 year old “African” was sentenced to the Buff Bay workhouse for life as a result of being “a notorious runaway” (RRS 1829). Three years earlier, Henry Turner Burke was transported and classified as a 43-year-old “African” who was “convicted of practicing obi.” Burke’s case indicates the practice of some traditional African ideological and religious practices, particularly by those born in Africa. In addition, there are also recorded reports by magistrates of enslaved peoples from Orange Vale practicing “obeah” during burials (*Jamaica House of Assembly Votes* 1807:25).

A significant year for the enslaved African population at Orange Vale was 1829. It was the year the 95 people were moved to their community village at Orange Vale to relocate at Low Layton Estate (Return of Registration of Slaves 1829). It seems that the majority of the people who were moved consisted of family groups. In some cases,

multiple generations of families were completely relocated, as was the case for Juline alias Harriot Stretch and Nancy alias Margaret Adams.

In 1829, Harriot Stretch, her daughter Magdelina alias Sally Gordon and all six of Sally's living children (John Maulsby, Neptune, Juline or July, Emma, Lydia, and twins Emma and Sarah) were all relocated to Low Layton. Margaret Adams, three of her six children (Sally Helena Dyce, Christmas Elizabeth Montagnac, and Chloe Nailor), along with six of her grandchildren (Rosannah, Rebecca, Eliza Pink, Amelia, Charity, and Elisa) were all removed to Low Layton, less than five miles away.

On the other hand, the majority of those removed reflected a separation of many families, as was the case of Sue alias Margaret Phillips and Sylvia alias Mary Henry. Margaret Phillips, who was relocated to Low Layton, was forced to leave her three young children (Benjamin Baker, Sarah, and Lydia) behind at Orange Vale, while Sylvia Mary Henry and her daughter, Nancy Grant were removed, but her two other children (Flora and Peter Pierce) remained behind. It is unclear where the adult men fit into these family groups, but women and their children can be traced. For those removed to Low Layton, a few of the women can be further traced if they bore children between 1829 and 1832.

With the removal of these 95 individuals, 160 enslaved Africans remained at Orange Vale in 1829. In Jamaica, no returns were reported after 1832, but the population remained relatively stable between 1829 until emancipation in 1834, with a range between 158 to 161 individuals (*Jamaica Almanack* 1829-1833; *Compensation* 1834). By 1836, there was a further decrease in the number of apprentices at Orange Vale to 124, a loss of almost 40 individuals in only two years (*Jamaica Almanack* 1836).

Health at Orange Vale

Throughout the Americas, the harsh conditions associated with enslavement played a critical role in the health of enslaved Africans. This, of course, was compounded by the fact that most diseases did not have effective treatments and often resulted in death. For example, a condition that might be considered minor by modern standards and easily cured, such as a cut, were quite serious in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century rural Jamaican contexts. Much of the illnesses and deaths seem to have resulted from conditions within which enslaved Africans were expected to labor. Most importantly, in the context of Orange Vale, death and illnesses appear to have resulted from lack of proper nutrition, the cold and damp weather, as well as the general harsh conditions associated with enslavement and forced labor. Most of the diseases/conditions listed for these hospitalized enslaved Africans were related to a combination of these factors.

Referring to a plantation journal from Orange Vale that recorded the daily running of the plantation between 1826 and 1828, Glory Robertson noted patterns in the amount of enslaved Africans recorded as being in the plantation hospital (Robertson, G. 1980). She found that there was a direct correlation between the number of individuals hospitalized to the weather, as well as with the cycle of coffee production. In general, during the early, dry months of the year from January to May, there was an average of 20-25 individuals in each month. From June to October, the rainy season, and also the harvesting and coffee-picking period, there was an increase to 30-36 individuals. The number decreased in the month of November when the rainy season and coffee-picking

generally end, but again increasing around and immediately after Christmas to over 40 individuals.

November would have been the period in which all Jamaicans would have prepared for the Christmas holiday. Though the majority of Africans came from a cultural and religious background that was different from Christianity, they did get that holiday off, and it was also the time in which they were allocated annual rations, such as cloth for making clothing, utensils, and time for repair of their houses. It may need no explanation why there were so many illnesses directly after Christmas beyond the need for extended rest from hard labor.

Common ailments were fever, consumption (tuberculosis), swollen feet, sores, dropsy, fits (seizures caused by fever), pain in various parts of their bodies, lack of proper medical care, lack of shoes, resulting from the harsh conditions under which they lived and worked. These were all associated with wet, damp, harsh conditions and climate in which any small condition can become infected and worsen if not properly cared for. In 1828, Orange Vale records one child aged between one and four years to have died from “fits,” and two additional children from “debility” (polio).

Two additional men, aged 27 and 56, died from consumption (tuberculosis) as a result of a weakened immune system caused by their poor living conditions. In order to combat consumption, it is recommended that patients relocate to healthy climates (fresh air) and have access to good nutrition. A few additional conditions, such as venereal diseases, toothache, and cancer also reflected the poor health prevention and care that was available in the context of late-eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Jamaica.

By far the most common complaint of stomach pains was inextricably tied to a lack of nutrition resulting from poor diet. Enslaved Africans were very creative and made the best they could out of the resources that were available to them. However, a monotonous diet of stews made from vegetables and starchy tubers lacked proteins, and a series of other important vitamins and minerals. “Bellyaches” and “pain in stomach” seem to have been common complaints and often the cause of death.

It is unclear what the specific ailment might have been for these individuals, but it was serious enough to cause the death of many individuals, particularly the very young and old people. For example, in 1828, several individuals at Orange Vale were in the plantation hospital for “bellyaches,” and “pain in stomach,” eventually blamed for the death of some individuals. There was one 54-year-old woman who died from “bellyache,” two other women from being “bloated,” and one child (aged between 1-4) died from “pain in stomach.”

Gender, Age, and Occupation at Orange Vale

At Orange Vale, the male - female ratio of the enslaved African population was almost equal, but the female enslaved Africans composed of a slight majority over the male population after 1817 (see Table 11). As the male population declined after 1817, there was also a correlation with a decline in the African-born group, reflecting the pattern of a higher ratio of males transferred in the Atlantic slave trade (Higman 1995a, 1998:38).

The occupations at Orange Vale were typical of most plantations in late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century Jamaica, including those working in the

agricultural crop production and domestic workers. The formal occupations within the plantation complex often revolved around the production of the agricultural monocrop practiced within each, as well as jobs that maintained the production of that crop. Many of the people at Orange Vale probably performed multiple tasks, both within the plantation economic functions, as well as within their village community. However, whenever they were written about by Europeans, they were only distinguished by the tasks they performed in the agricultural production of the plantation.

The only distinguishing factors of enslaved individuals were those who were “head people” and/or “skilled” individuals. The appointment of head people and determination of skilled individuals were done by the European managers, who valued only the tasks performed in the economic advancement of the plantation. These European overseers and managers had differing values from enslaved Africans and may not be privy to the other functions performed by individuals within the village.

The vast majority of enslaved Africans at Orange Vale belonged in a field gang. This group included three “field gangs”: the “great”, “second,” and “third” gangs, composed of more women than men. In general, the “great” gang was considered to be the “most physically fit” with the majority between an age range between late teens to about 40. This group was composed almost equally of both sexes, though there was a tendency to have a little more women than men, as was the case of Orange Vale in 1826 when there was 22 women and 18 men (Robertson, G. 1980:206-207). The second gang was made up of individuals in two age groups: 10-19 and 40-49. Like the “great” gang, both sexes were represented, though women generally outnumbered men, as at Orange

Vale where women outnumbered men 10 to 5. Finally, the third gang was usually made up of young children under the age of 10 years or a little older and older individuals of both sexes. This last gang performed tasks that were considered less strenuous in comparison to the other two gangs. In 1826, Orange Vale there were 5 females and 14 males, some of which served as “cattleboys” (Robertson, G. 1980:206-207)

In 1831, 32 out of the 55 enslaved Africans in the “great” and second gangs were women. The domestic positions were also dominated by women, with 17 out of the individuals classified in domestic functions being women. Interestingly, three year later when the compensation request was made for Orange Vale, only nine domestic jobs were reported, while the field groups increased by ten from 55 to 65. Though women made up a larger percentage of the field gangs, no woman was listed as head field person, or “tradesmen.” This implies that women were constantly under the domination of men while at work, and the very name “tradesmen” seems clear enough about the intention of those defining the categories and jobs.

Within the skilled category, there were seven men: three masons, three carpenters, and one cooper. Interestingly, two of the three masons were listed as being between the ages of 10 and 19, and one between 20 and 29, while all three of the carpenters were between the ages of 20-29. This young group may or may not have represented the norm, but at Orange Vale, it also reinforces the fact that many of the older, experienced individuals were sent to Orange Vale two years earlier. In addition, there were four “cattlemen” and 14 children (aged 8-9) who were classified as “third gang and cattle boys.” These many individuals devoted to cattle-raising suggests that the

plantation was already devoting a fair amount of time and enslaved labor to alternative forms of capital. There were other males, considered weak and “non-productive,” including five “weakly” watchmen, four “invalids,” and fourteen children under five.

The women too, though not classified as “skilled” by their enslavers, served very crucial functions within the plantation system as a whole, but like the enslaved men, also within their village. In 1831, there were a total of 37 women exclusively performing field work, including all three gangs. There were four cooks, one specifically for the overseer, and one each of the remaining three for the three gangs. According to oral history, Orange Vale was one of the many plantations in which lunch was cooked for the entire plantation by a handful of individuals. Breakfast and dinner, however, were usually the responsibility of individuals, families, and groups.

There were three washerwomen responsible for washing overseer’s and other white bookkeepers’ clothing; one responsible for the “fowlhouse,” and a midwife. In addition, there were women who were unable to work both temporarily and permanently, including three women who had just given birth and were nursing; six “invalids,” all between 40 to over 60 years old; and an additional five females between the ages of 1 to 29 “at the overseer’s house.” Many of the individuals from the latter groups would have been expected to perform multiple functions, particularly helping out with coffee-picking during harvesting time. Finally, there was one woman classified as “superannuated, having 6 children.” If the construction of the returns were correct and taking into consideration that some women died while others were sent to Low Layton, then there should have been two additional one women who should have qualified as exempt from

hard labor. It is possible that the two women over 60 years old and classified as “invalids” were the other two.

By the time of emancipation, the enslaved people at Orange Vale were classified within the two groups of field and domestic workers. According to the report filed in September of 1834, over seventy-five percent (109 out of 160) of all individuals were classified as “praedial attached,” meaning that they were tied to agricultural production of the fields (Robertson, G. 1980). Nine individuals were classified as domestic workers, 22 children, and 8 “non-effective” or aged.

Table 12. Compensation Certificate for Orange Vale, 1834

	Males	Females	Total	Value
Praedial attached				
Head people	5	0	5	380
Tradesmen	5	0	5	400
Inferior tradesmen	2	0	2	100
Field labourers	29	36	65	4095
Inferior field lab.	21	23	44	1320
Praedial unattached	0	0	0	0
Non-praedial				
Head tradesmen	0	0	0	0
Inferior tradesmen	0	0	0	0
Head people employed on wharfs, shipping, or other avocations	0	0	0	0
Inferior people of the same descriptions	0	0	0	0
Head domestic servants	0	1	1	70
Inferior domestics	2	6	8	300
Children under six years	12	10	22	264
Aged, diseased, or otherwise Non-effective	4	4	8	96
Total	80	80	160	£7025

Source: PRO, (CO 137)

Thus, it seems that in the over 50-plus years of occupation during slavery, the population of the enslaved African village at Orange Vale grew to several, varied, and sometimes interrelated families and individuals. From an early population of 93 individuals in 1798, the enslaved community dramatically grew to 260 by 1807. There was some unexplained decline during the teen years that might have reflected the lean years in the production and success of coffee production. This period was also the time when many enslaved Africans at Orange Vale were hired out to work on neighboring plantations, and it is entirely possible that many of these remained at the sites in which they were jobbing. Alternatively, there could have been a decline that resulted from an even poorer diet, or an increase in deaths with less increase in new births. We can only speculate as to why the population experienced a decline after 1807, but what is known is that by 1816, there was a population of 249 at Orange Vale.

From 1816 and continuing through the 1820s, the enslaved African population at Orange Vale gradually increased, peaking at an all time high of 278 in 1827. During this period, there was a higher number of births than deaths during the years in which returns were recorded, with net gains of 3 in 1820, 19 in 1823, and 16 in 1826 (see Table x). During the years in which the triennial returns became law (1817, 1820, 1823, 1826, 1829, and 1832), all but one return year (1823) illustrated that there were more male births than there were female, and this trend seemed to have continued until at least 1832. Beginning in the 1829 returns, there was a decline in the total population resulting from death. In addition to the removal of 95 enslaved Africans to Low Layton plantation in

1829, there was an additional net decline of 21 in the population, resulting from 11 births and 32 deaths.

It appears that the decline that began after 1827 continued, though not dramatically, until emancipation. The remaining population in 1829 of 160 remained around that number with 161 in 1831, 158 in 1832, 159 in 1833, and back to 160 by the end of 1833 on the eve of emancipation (4/80 #7). After emancipation, however, and during the time of apprenticeship, there was a pattern of very dramatic decline throughout the post-emancipation period. By the end of 1835, when most apprentices were expected to remain on the sites in which they were enslaved, it seems there were only 124 individuals at Orange Vale (Jamaica Almanack 1836).

However, the compensation certificate for Orange Vale, which was filed in September, 1834, lists a total of 164 enslaved Africans (PRO:T71/717 No. 164). Depending on the time in which the various counts were taken, this number could be accurate. However, it would not be surprising to find that the number was inaccurate, given the many different scenarios that could have caused the discrepancy. On the one hand, the number might have been estimated by the lawyers representing the plantation, many of whom remained in Kingston rather than make actual visits to the sites they represented. In a similar vein, there could have been a deliberate reporting of an incorrect number of individuals, given the monetary compensation given to the “owners” of enslaved African peoples after emancipation.

Examination of the rents collected from the former enslaved people still living and possibly working at Orange Vale give clues to the number of individuals who might

have lived at the site (see Table 13). A basic mapping of the reported amount of rents collected suggest a roller-coaster pattern of payment amount (Figure 24). Peaking in the first payment in 1840, this could have resulted from several factors. Some likely rationale include either deliberate or accidental error in the reporting of rents collected by the overseers and managers; refusal/inability to pay rent by those residing at the plantation; or there might have been a movement of people back and forth between Orange Vale and other locations with Orange Vale serving as temporary residence for some individuals/families.

Table 13. Rent Collected After Emancipation, 1840-1863

Year	Rent
1840	£89.16.8
1841	£6
1842	£10.13.0
1843a	£10.11.6
1843b	£40.0.6
1844	£24.12.0
1845	£37.14.0
1846	£19.16.0
1848	£39.5.0
1849a	£86.6.0
1849b	£72.5.9
1850	£48.15.10½
1851	£10.16.0
1853	£2.19.0
1854	£2.5.6
1855	£23.11.10½
1856	£14.19.9
1857	£13.16.9
1860	--
1862	--
1863	£1

Source: Accounts Produce

Initial rents collected in 1840 amounted to almost £90, followed by the most dramatic change just one year later with payment of about £6. Perhaps this dramatic change reflected the time in which rents were collected. At this early, uncertain time, it is possible that the managers and overseers would have collected rents in advance, and this £90 would have included some rent for 1841 as well. At the same time, the dramatic change could have reflected a dramatic movement of formerly enslaved Africans from Orange Vale to other locations for work and/or residence, particularly with the hope of reuniting with family members and other kin relatives living elsewhere.

The most dramatic change in rents collected was reflected in a steady growth after 1846, peaking in 1849 with over £83, followed by an equally steady decline by to around £10 in 1851, and a mere £2 in 1853. This period could have reflected the temporal work available during that time at Orange Vale in the making of lime from limestone, as well as the furnishings from the great-house. Lime production would have necessitated workers to live on the plantation, which would have accounted for the similar increase in rents a few years later.

Alternatively, changes in the plantation management could have also accounted for the changes in payments. It is entirely possible that the dramatic increase in rents collected between late 1848 and early 1850 resulted from the hiring of Frederick Eaton as overseer. After Eaton left, the rents collected were dramatically decreased. This last theory, however, seems unlikely, and the dramatic decrease was most likely the result of the majority of the remaining Africans abandoning Orange Vale for opportunities closer to the lower-lying areas. By the time full ownership of the plantation passed to Margaret

Gordon McPherson Grant in the mid-1850s, Orange Vale had gone from being a “plantation” to an animal “pen.” The last crop account entry for Orange Vale in 1863 suggested that the few individuals who remained at Orange Vale may have been those who worked as pen-keepers, and paid rent of only £1.

Families and Resistance at Orange Vale

Using information from the Slave Returns, I was able to reconstruct 54 sets of units reportedly having biological ties, or biological families. Of these, 43 were two-generation with only 11 representing three-generational biological families. It must be stated in the onset, that biological families include only those individuals present at Orange Vale, excluding individuals who might be dead or living elsewhere, outside of their village. It should also be noted that familial relations between individuals upon which these reconstructions were based were defined by those reporting or recording the returns, and may not necessarily reflect the reality of how the enslaved Africans at Orange Vale defined and perceived real or biological kinship relations. It is commonly known that enslaved Africans conceived of their “families” in broad terms, which often included individuals that were fictive kin, rather than biologically linked. I will only discuss the eleven three-generation families, and selected two-generation biological families. For a complete viewing of the entire 54 families.

Particularly lacking in these family reconstructions were identifications of fathers. Paternity was never really recorded in the returns, though mothers were listed in reference to their children. This, of course limits the view on extended families and children of men, which could have altered the structure of the “families” reconstructed

here. Who were the fathers of the many children born at Orange Vale? Who were the mates to the women having these children? This silence on paternity also limits the discussion on whether the enslaved Africans at Orange Vale followed matrifocal or matrilineal characteristics. It also limits the visualization of the lives of the men who lived there. It must also be noted that the information given, including the dates, ages, names, and relations were all defined, reported, and recorded by Europeans and may not be accurate in time or to the enslaved Africans themselves.

Finally, the reconstruction of these families were based on the continuity in names and/or ages listed for individuals. Most enslaved Africans at Orange Vale seem to have had multiple names, at least one of which was the “official” names imposed on them by their enslavers. Whether enslaved Africans actually used these names amongst themselves is not known, but it is also possible that they also had alternative names they use in “non-official” i.e. “non-white” contexts. In many cases, the spelling of names varied, reflecting the variety of clerks and/or overseers who reported and recorded them. It was relatively easy to decipher some of the various spellings, but others were not as clear because several individuals often had the same name. Because Orange Vale remained relatively stable in terms of influxes into and out of the enslaved population, the families that follow were generally easy to decipher. However, it would have been much richer if fathers and partners were listed.

Three Generations at Orange Vale

Chloe Elizabeth McCredy and Family

Of the eleven three-generation families, all but one listed the oldest female as African-born. The one family with the eldest woman not born in Africa (and presumably born in Jamaica), was Chloe Elizabeth McCredy, who had at least nine children (three daughters and six sons), and two grand children. With nine children, Chloe had the largest number of living children of any woman at Orange Vale, and was suppose to be “exempt” from “hard labor.” Interestingly, the first six of Chloe’s children were listed as Mulatto born respectively in 1803, 1805, twins in 1807, 1813, and 1816. At some point after 1816, Chloe changed partner(s) – or at least the race of her partner(s) – and had her last three children, all clearly stated as “Negro” (RRS 1820, 1823, 1826).

It must also be noted that only the first four of her children are inferred to carry her last name of McCredy, while the fifth child had a last name of “Anderson,” and the last four having no last name mentioned at all. Just who were the white and black fathers of these children will probably remain a mystery. What is clear, however, is that Chloe changed the race of her partner(s) and, in so doing, had children who probably had different status in the Jamaican colonial society because of their different paternity. Her eldest child, Mather, gave birth to two “Quadroon” daughters in 1821 and 1826, indicating that she had African partner(s).

Listed as being “Creole,” it is very possible that Chloe could have been born in either Africa or in the Americas, given the common mistakes (both intentional and unintentional) made by those Europeans reporting and recording the returns. If she was

born in the Americas, and possibly in Jamaica, her birth would have coincided approximately with the date of the establishment of Orange Vale. However, it is also possible that she was actually born in Africa, but not known by the reporter/recorder. Similarly, here true origin might have been intentionally misreported to disguise the fact that her European male partner(s) were involved in sexual relations with an African-born woman.

Grace and Family

Of the remaining ten three-generation families, “Grace” is listed as the oldest, reportedly born around 1762. It is possible that she was one of the two “Grace” listed on Donaldson’s death inventory in 1807, but that can not be assessed for certain (Inventory 1808). Grace had two sons, Robert Adam Gilmore and Ralph, born around 1797 and 1800 respectively. In a rare case, Robert Adam Gilmore was listed along with his son(?) Robert Gilmore as both being transferred to Low Layton Plantation in 1829. It is unclear whether Robert Adam Gilmore was father to Robert Gilmore, but it is likely given that the list of individuals removed from Orange Vale to Low Layton in 1829 appear to have been listed in household by sex, with all the males within a single household listed together. Grace was reported as having died around 1823 in the 1826 returns. No information is known about her other son, Ralph, except that he remained at Orange Vale while his brother was sent to Low Layton in 1829.

Queen alias Barbary Clark and Family

Queen appears to have had one of the largest families on the plantation, and she too was probably one of the two “Queen” listings in Donaldson’s inventory. Reportedly born in Africa sometime around 1767, she had six daughters and no sons. Her children were Fanny Ann Gilles, Quaseba alias Sarah Anderson, Rosannah alias Eliza(beth) Shadwick, Jessy alias Catherine Hosack, and Mary alias Jane McCarty, born in 1791, 1793, 1795, 1802, and 1803 respectively. Of her six daughters, only Rosannah and Jessy were listed as having children of their own. Jessy had two sons (David b. 1819 and Isaac b. 1821) and one daughter (Fanny b. 1826). Jessy’s older sister, Rosannah, had two children of her own. At age 16, she had a mulatto daughter Asiattes alias Charlotte Mantagnac, and a son, Thomas was born in 1818, the year in which Jessy died. Who was Asiattes’ white father? Was Rosannah raped by him? Did Rosannah die from complications resulting from childbirth with Thomas? What was it like for Queen to have her daughter precede her in death, when she herself died later in 1826? The answers to these questions, sadly, will remain unknown.

“Ebo Daphne(y)” and Family

Reportedly born in Africa sometime around 1767, was “Ebo Daphne(y)” from the Ebo cultural group? Daphne(y) had only one child listed: a daughter named Sally alias Agnes Stretch. Sally was listed as being “Creole” and born some time around 1787. Sally, in turn, had only one child: a son, London, alias Henry Pierce, who was born in 1812. Sally died in 1818, sixteen years before we learn in Magistrate Frederick Whitey’s diary that London was charged with his friends, James Harty and Charles Woolfreys (son

of Peggy McCarty), for “neglect of duty, insolence, loss of time and exciting the negroes to rebel” (MR 481).

At 22 years old in 1834, London and his friends were participating in mass, organized resistance to continue to work on the plantation with no change in their conditions after they were supposedly granted their freedom. His case demonstrates that enslaved people were organizing around various groupings to resist continued enslavement. He was punished with 48 lashes and 14 days hard labor. His friend, Charles received 36 lashes and 14 days hard labor, while James received 24 lashes and 10 days hard labor. London’s harsh punishment over his friends meant that he had committed the worst crime against his intended enslavers. No mention was made of Daphne(y)’s death. Did Daphne(y) raise London after Sally died? Was she proud of his actions in resisting enslavement? Were Peggy McCarty and/or Sally and Peggy related or good friends?

Cynthia alias Diana Henry and Family

Cynthia is reported to have been African-born around 1770. She had only one child: a daughter, Kitty Eliza Catanack, born around 1792. Kitty herself had three children, two daughters (Sukie b. 1815 and Mimmy b. 1821), and one son, Tommy born in 1824. Cynthia is reported to have died in 1819 at the age of 49. What was life like for 27 year old Kitty to have a four-year-old daughter and her mother dead in 1819? Did she have a permanent mate? If so, who was he? They remained at Orange Vale until emancipation, but little else is known about this family.

Nancy alias Margaret Adams and Family

Nancy, like Queen, had a large biological family – probably the largest – at Orange Vale. Reportedly born in Africa around 1770, Nancy had five known children: four daughters (Sally Helena Dyce b. 1795, Christmas Elizabeth Montagnac b. 1797, and Kitty alias Chloe Nailor b. either 1802 or 1793) and one son, (Ned b. 1810). Her three daughters had a total of ten children of their own, producing eight granddaughters and two grandsons for Nancy. Sally had two sons (Jack b. 1818 and Abraham Tait b. 1823) and two daughters (Rosanna b. 1821 and Rebecca b. 1827); Christmas had three daughters (Punchey b. 1821, d. 1825, Penny b. 1824; and Eliza Pink b. 1825); and, Kitty also had three daughters (Amelia b. 1820, Charity b. 1823, and Elsie b. 1825).

What was it like for Christmas to have lost her 3-year-old daughter Punchey in the same year that she had her youngest child, Eliza? With the exception of her daughter Betty, Nancy and all her children and grandchildren were sent to Low Layton in 1829. What happened to Betty? Did she die before 1808, or did she remain at Orange Vale with a relative or friend or mate? Yet another alternative could be that Betty remained at Orange Vale to serve as a domestic worker in the overseer's dwelling. In the same vein, what was life like for Betty's entire family to leave her behind while they were forced to relocate to Low Layton.

Juline alias Harriot Stretch and Family

Juline alias Harriot Stretch was reported to have been African-born around 1770, and was probably the “Julien” listed in Donaldson’s inventory taken in 1807. She had two children: a daughter (Magdelina alias Sally Gordon, b. 1796) and a son (Cudjoe b. 1804). Sally, in turn, had six children of her own, qualifying her to be one of the few “exempt” from hard labor. She had three daughters and three sons, including two sets of twins. Her sons were John Maulsby was born in 1819, followed by Neptune – a twin with his sister Lydia – born in 1822, then Juline [July] who was born in 1825. Her daughters included Lydia (twin with Neptune b. 1822), and twin sisters Emma and Sarah born in 1827. Sadly, two of Sally’s children, John and Neptune both died some time around 1829. What was the cause of their deaths? How did the family deal with losing their children at such young ages?

It is not clear who the mate(s) and father(s) were to Magedlina and her children, but Magistrate Whitey’s journal suggested that James Woofries was a possible mate to Sally. Was he the father of at least some of Sally’s children? In 1829, Juline, Sally, and all of Sally’s children were sent to work and live at Low Layton plantation. Juline’s son, Cudjoe, however, seem to have remained at Orange Vale. Did he remain with his own family? If so, who were they?

Leman and Family

Leman, born in Africa around 1770, and was most likely the “Leman” listed in Donaldson’s death inventory. With seven children, she was one of the eight women who had more than six living children. She had three sons and four daughters, including one

set of twin daughters. Her sons were Tommy alias John Tait (b. 1797), Harris (b. 1806), Campbell (b. 1816). Her daughters included twins Margaret Nelly Gray and Mary (b. 1800), Nanny (b. 1802), and Fanny (b. 1810). Interestingly, only her twin daughters had children during the period in which “slave returns” were made. Coincidentally, both Margaret and Mary had daughters born in 1819. In addition to her daughter, Molly, born in 1819, Margaret had a son, Tweedo (b. 1822) and a second daughter, Dido (b. 1925). In addition to her daughter, Frances born in 1819, Mary had a son, Gustavus (b. 1824). Interestingly, only Margaret and her daughter, Dido were sent to work and live at Low Layton, leaving her two other young children, Molly and Dido behind at Orange Vale. Why was she chosen to go to Low Layton? Did her mate go to Low Layton as well?

Beckie alias Jane Jacquet and Family

Like the other women discussed thus far, Beckie was also reportedly born in Africa some time around 1772. She had five children: two daughters (Diana alias Ann Woodsworth b. 1799 and Penny alias Jessy Wilson b. 1804), and three sons, Henry alias William Grant (a “sambo” b. 1797, Jasper alias James Anderson b. 1800, and Sommerset b. 1802). The family suffered the deaths of Jasper in 1818 and Penny in 1821. Diana had four children: two daughters, Bella and Patience, born in 1820 and 1822 respectively; and two sons, Trouble and Joe born in 1826 and 1828 respectively. In 1829 Diana and two of her four children were sent to work and live at Low Layton. Diana’s seven-year-old daughter Patience and three-year-old son Trouble went to Low Layton with her, while her nine-year-old daughter Bella and one-year-old son Joe remained at Orange Vale.

With Diana gone to Low Layton and two of her own children dead, Beckie would have had her 27-year-old son Sommerset and Henry at Orange Vale with her. It is also possible that Frances and Maria Hart might have shared the same house or yard with Beckie and her family. Henry's father was definitely different than the rest of Beckie's children. Who was he? Did Beckie's children live with her? Did Diana's young son Joe stay behind and cared for by Beckie? How did Frances cope without having her child and extended family with her?

We also learn from Magistrate Whitey's diary that Henry was linked with Frances Sterling, a "mulatto," and he might have been the father to her daughter. Maria Hart, a "quadroon." It is highly possible that he was the father to Maria Hart because he himself was a "sambo" and Frances was a "mulatto," and a union between the two would have produced a "quadroon." We only get a dribble of information from a court complaint against Frances. In yet another case of resistance by the enslaved Africans at Orange Vale, Magistrate Whitey reported that on Tuesday 12th August, 1834, just twelve days after Emancipation went into effect, Francis [sic] Sterling was brought up on charges by E. D. Maypothor, the overseer at Orange Vale. She was charged with "general insolence and bad conduct and otherwise refusing to do what she was ordered and teaching her daughter to disobey all orders she might receive." Whitey further noted that William Grant gave her the same bad advice.

In Frances' case, we see a family and another case of group resistance. In addition, it demonstrates the central role of women in the socialization of children, as well as women's roles in acts of resistance. This period immediately after the declaration

of emancipation would have also been a very confusing time for all. But what is certainly clear is that the newly “freed” Africans at Orange Vale recognized that for them to be truly free, they should not have to follow the same orders that were given to them when they were enslaved, and they boldly refused to work. As punishment, Whitey ordered Frances to 14 days hard labour. What happened after that, we will probably never know. What is clear is that white enslavers and the colonial government were all committed to maintaining power through the continuous use of court-ordered violence.

Zamie alias Cecelia Clarke and Family

Zamie, supposedly born in Africa some time around 1772, and she was probably one of the two “Celia” listed in Donaldson’s death inventory. Zamie is recorded as having three daughters, but no sons. Her daughters were: Sarah alias Harriet Wordsworth (b. 1799), Phoebe alias Margaret Grant (b. 1802), Montagnac [sp] (b. 1810). Montagnac was childless and died in 1825. Both Sarah and Phoebe had two sons each, but no daughters. Sarah’s sons were Bryan Kennedy, a mulatto (b. 1823) and William McCready (b. 1826). Phoebe’s sons Stewart (b. 1823) and Prince (b. 1826) both went with her to Low Layton in 1829. Beckie, Sarah, and Sarah’s sons remained at Orange Vale.

Sally alias Ann Murray

Sally is more than likely one of four “Sally” individuals listed in Donaldson’s death inventory (E. Sally, C. Sally, Ebo Sally, Cormantee [sic] Sally). The youngest of the ten African-born women who heads up three generation at Orange Vale, she is

reported to have been born around 1777. With seven children, she was also one of the few with more than six children. She had two daughters and five sons. Her sons were Peter Saltwater Creole (b. 1798), twin sons: Douglas and Primas (b. 1816), Princess (b. 1818), and Joe (b. 1819). Her two daughters were Rosey alias Sophy Duncan (b. 1800) and Nelly (b. 1806). Only Rosey alias Sophy Duncan is reported to have children, two daughters Emily(b. 1818) and Eleanor (b. 1823), and a son, March Richard Jenkin (b. 1825).

1819 was a sad year in which both Sally and her son Princess died before he turned one year old in 1819. Did Sally die giving birth to Joe? Given her relatively old age for that time, it is possible that she did die giving birth to her last child. Who were the mates of Sally's sons? Did they have children of their own? Rosey alias Sophy Duncan was the only one in Sally's family to be sent to Low Layton, and like many other women, with her young children left behind at Orange Vale.

Two-Generation Families

Mimmy alias Peggy McClarty and Family

Mimmy, a Creole born around 1782, had six children, qualifying her for exemption of "hard labor." She had five sons (Billy b. 1811, Charles Campbell b. 1814, Jacob b. 1813, George Woolfries b. 1826, and Aaron b. 1827) and only one daughter, Cybele aka Sybelle Taylor b. 1821. In 1828, she and five of her children were sent to Low Layton plantation, but her eldest child, Billy, was left behind. At some time in 1834, Charles returned to Orange Vale. In December of 1834, he, along with his two

friends “Henry Pearse” alias London, and James Harty were charged for “neglect of duty, insolence, loss of time, and exciting the negroes to rebel” (MR 481).

They were found guilty and sentenced to various numbers of lashes and days in “hard labor” as punishment. Charles was sentenced to 36 lashes and 14 days hard labor. When and why did Charles return to Orange Vale after emancipation? Did his mother and siblings return with him? He clearly did not return to work on the plantation, but perhaps was hoping to reestablish familial and friendship links, or, to take advantage of lands they all thought would be allocated to formerly enslaved Africans at Orange Vale now that emancipation had been declared.

Prue alias Eleanor Bell and Family

Prue was one of the few African-born women still alive by 1820. She was reportedly born sometime around 1782 and had five children. She had one daughter (Prudence b. 1813) and four sons (Cudjoe Bull b. 1803, Duke b. 1807, Kenip b. 1816, and George b. 1822). Prue did not live to experience freedom, but died at age 40 in 1822. How did she die? Did she die giving birth to her last child, George? Who took care of her baby after she died? In 1828, it is reported that George was sent to Low Layton Plantation, but all of the other members of Prue’s family remained behind at Orange Vale. Who did George live with when he went to Low Layton? Did he go to Low Layton with his father or some other relative? Not much else is known about her son, George was reported as being sent to Low Layton plantation.

Chloe Sarah Clarke and Family

Recorded as born in Africa some time around 1780, Chloe was one of the youngest African-born individuals at Orange Vale. She comes through in the written historical record as quite an interesting individual. She had seven children, three daughters and four sons. Her sons were Clarke alias Thomas Manhartz (b. 1806), [Aime?] Grant (b. 1808), [John] Meek (b. 1810), and James Moore (b. 1820); and her daughters were Nancy (b. 1812), Ann Jacquett (b. 1813), and Lettice Bell (b. 1816). None of her children were reported to have children of their own, but that may be because her eldest children were males (in which case their children would not be normally reported) and her daughters were very young. With the exception of her eldest daughter, Nancy, Chloe and all of her children were sent to Low Layton in 1828. In that year, Nancy would have been about 17 years old, but who did she live with after her entire family were forced to leave her behind?

In 1834, we encounter Chloe again, not once, but twice in Magistrate Whitey's diary for refusing to work at Low Layton. On August 9 of that year, Magistrate Whitey reported on his visit to Low Layton and his encounter with Chloe. He reported that "Sarah Clark an old woman...brought before me for general bad conduct and neglect of duty." As punishment, Whitey claimed that he "gave her a good talking to and told her to return to her duty on account of her old age." If the records can be believed, Chloe would have been 54 years old in 1834, but in a Jamaican plantation context of 1834, 54 would have seemed ancient given the fact that many enslaved Africans died before they turn 40 years of age.

Four months later, Chloe was once again brought up on the same charges. She was once again charged with refusing to work, plus the loss of time. Chloe and many of the formerly enslaved Africans appear to have been very dissatisfied with the “freedom” they were supposed to have been granted. Though their status had changed on paper, the people at Orange Vale, Low Layton, and elsewhere in Jamaica, quickly recognized that very little had changed. This deep dissatisfaction continued well into the post-emancipation period, particularly around the issue of land grants and payments for work. As a result, we find that Magistrate Whitey had to make several visits to various plantations in the area in order to read and explain the “new” laws to the people. He made one such visit to Orange Vale on October 2nd and found them so dissatisfied that he had to threaten them by telling them that “if they didn’t comply with the acts, they would have to answer for it.”

Mimba alias Kitty McClery and Family

Mimba, a creole, was born around 1795 and had three children. She had the first of three children when she was barely 20 years old. They were one daughter (Dorothy b. 1822) and two sons (James Walsh, a mulatto b. 1815 and William Lambie b. 1825). None of the members of her family were sent to Low Layton plantation, however, we do see James Walsh charged, like so many other African-descended peoples at Orange Vale and elsewhere, with refusing to work. On August 3, 1834, just three days after the emancipation act went into effect, Whitey reports his very first case from Orange Vale: James Walsh. James, Whitey claimed, was brought up before him by his overseer for

“neglect of duty and disobedience of orders ... I admonished him to be more attentive in future and ordered him to return to his master which he promised to do ... this being his first offence.” Interestingly, James’ case suggests that people of all perceived colors were resisting the continuation of their subjugation. No other additional information is known about the family.

Esther Gray and Family

A Creole born around 1792, Esther had four children: three daughters and one son. Her daughters were Mary Burrowes alias Judy (b. 1817), Frances (b. 1820), and Quasheba (b. 1822), and her only son, Barnes (1823). Esther was reported as a runaway in January 1827, but it seems that she either returned or was returned to Orange Vale. In the 1829 “slave returns,” she and her four children were reported as being sent to work and live at Low Layton in 1829 (*RRS* 1829). By the time she ran away in 1827, she would have been about 35 years old, and her last child and only son, Barnes, would have been less than four years old.

Elsie alias Peggy Gilmore [Gilmour] and Family

Peggy, a Creole born some time around 1801, had three children, two daughters and one son. Her eldest was her son Mingo (b. 1821) followed by Polly (b. 1823) and Hannah (b. 1826). Neither Peggy or any of her children were sent to work and live at Low Layton.

Juno Jannet Kirkpatrick and Family

African-born (b. 1880) Juno had seven children, three daughters and four sons. Her sons were: Hamlet alias James Patterson (b. 1805), Will (b. 1807), Thomas (b. 1810), John Baker (b. 1817). Her daughters were: Nelly (b. 1808), Sally (b. 1813), and Nancy (b. 1821). Sadly, two of her daughters died young: Sally in 1819 at c. age 6, and Nancy in 1830 at c. age 9. No additional information is known for Juno's family.

The lack of information on families like Peggy Gilmore's and Juno Kirkpatrick's was very common. They existed only as statistics. Numerous other families, both biological and imagined, lived, worked, and died at Orange Vale, and are too numerous to mention here. By far, the most neglected group were the single individuals who existed in the records only at their births (if born at Orange Vale) or deaths. The vast majority of these individuals were male. This is not surprising given the fact that enslaved African men were not listed as fathers to their children or mates to women. Due to this fact, it is uncertain which individuals they had familial or kinship ties with.

Similarly, if women did not give birth to children at Orange Vale, or if their children did not live at the plantation with them, or they themselves were children to women at Orange Vale, then they too were often silenced. These individuals existed in the documentary records as isolated individuals who lived and died. Then there were those who were mentioned only once, at the time of the initial returns in 1817. These individuals remained a one-time statistic because they either did not die, did not commit a "crime" to the knowledge of his enslavers, remained "constant" at Orange Vale, or were not women who had children long enough to survive the count for the returns.

Resistance at Orange Vale

Resistance was not divorced from slavery and was a common, active reaction to oppression. Throughout the Americas, acts of resistance were the norm, rather than unusual occurrences, performed at the individual and group levels (Agorsah 1994:1; Zips 1999:23; Beckles 2000:275). At Orange Vale, resistance to enslavement was a constant practice and reflected most overtly in the historical documents through references of runaways and refusal to work, particularly directly after the declaration of emancipation in 1834. According to the Laws of Jamaica, a runaway was defined as an individual absent from their “property” for more than ten days, or more than eight miles from their “property” without a ticket (Laws of Jamaica 1797).

The first known historical account of acts of running away at Orange Vale was documented in 1817 in the first “return of registration of slaves.” In the list of enslaved Africans “belonging” to Orange Vale, overseer Thomas Kirkpatrick reports that an enslaved African male named “Barron” had “runaway since 1802” (RRS 1817). Apparently “Barron” had no intention of returning because by 1821, the Givings-in for Orange Vale for that year reports that “Barron” had runaway “since 1804.” The discrepancy in the year of his absence from the plantation is very common because most dates and ages, as well as all things relating to enslaved Africans were often estimated. “Barron” is reported in three of the four quarters of that year (March, June, and December) and then he was never mentioned again in the Givings-in.

Did the lack of his mention mean that he was eventually captured or maybe he returned on his own? The lack of a mention of him as a runaway in the historical record does not necessarily mean that he was no longer a runaway. In fact, he was not mentioned as a runaway during the September quarter during that year that we know he was gone. Also, during that September quarter, there was a new runaway, Gordon alias R. Gray, reported absent as of September 15 (JNA 2/12 #5 – *Givings-In*). It seems that only new runaways are reported, and as 1821 was the first year Orange Vale was reporting, they had to report Barron as a runaway.

Further, it seems that “Barron” might have returned or brought back to Orange Vale at some time after 1817. The 1823 “slave returns” list a 40-year-old African named “Barron” as being dead. It is entirely possible that he was the same individual, who had remained a runaway for over 15 years. Two individuals were reported in the “slave returns” in 1823 that were not reported in the *Givings-in*. According to overseer Thomas Kirkpatrick, two African males named “Cudjoe” and “Fortune,” both reported to be 51 years old, had run away from Orange Vale.

In addition to Barron and Gordon, the *Givings-In* reported several additional runaways throughout the 1820s. There appears to have been a quiet period in terms of long-term runaways. However, by September 1825, “Betsy” was reported as being a runaway since the last *Givings-in* in June of that year. Where did Betsy go? How long did she remain a runaway or did she return at some later time? Less than two years later, Orange Vale experienced the its largest known number of runaways in a single year. In March of 1827, four enslaved Africans were reported to have runaway. Rich Gray ran

away on January 15th, Esther Gray on January 20th, Ann Gibson and Kitty McClery on March 2nd.

Was “Rich Gray” the same individual as “Gordon alias R. Gray”? Was Rich and/or Gordon R. Gray related to Esther Gray who ran away just five days after Rich? In June of that 1827, just six months after the four individuals ran away, there was a report of two runaways, “Robert Gray” and “Esther Manhartz,” runaway since January of that year. Though the names had changed from “Rich Gray” and “Esther Gray” to “Robert Gray” and “Esther Manharz,” these two individuals probably represented the same two individuals reported as runaways in the January Givings-In.

Regardless of the relationships between all the individual with the last name of Gray, it seems that both Esther Gray and Richard Gray either returned or was returned to Orange Vale because they both re-appear in the 1829 “slave returns.” “Richard Gray” was reported as being a “notorious runaway” who was sentenced to the Buff Bay workhouse for life. Similarly, Esther was reported as being one of the individuals sent to work and live at Low Layton in 1829 (RRS 1829). She was listed as a Creole born around 1792 and had four children: three daughters and one son. Her daughters were Mary Burrowes alias Judy (b. 1817), Frances (b. 1820), and Quasheba (b. 1822). By the time she ran away in 1827, she would have been about 35 years old, and her last child and only son, Barnes, would have been only four years old.

Exactly one year later in 1828, there were two individuals listed as runaways. “Jessy Tait” ran away on May 8th and “Robert Gordon” went missing a month later on June 9th. Neither of these individuals were mentioned again as runaways in subsequent

Givings-in, however, the “slave returns” of 1829 reported Jessy Tait as having died at the age of 20. No additional information is known about how she died. Was her death related to her condition as an enslaved African on the run? Did she return or was she returned to Orange Vale before her death?

On the other hand, Robert Gordon was reported in the 1829 “slave returns” for both Orange Vale and Low Layton, as it seems he was one of the individuals sent from Orange Vale to Low Layton. Though given in the same year, the ages reported for Robert did not correlate, with returns from Orange Vale listing his age as 25 and the returns from Low Layton reporting his age as 21. Either way, it seems that he either returned on his own or was returned to Orange Vale some time after he was reported as a runaway.

No other runaways were listed in the Givings-in after 1828. However, the Givings-in suggest that directly after emancipation went into effect on August 1, 1834, many enslaved Africans at Orange Vale left the plantation. In June of that year, it was reported that 161 enslaved individuals were at Orange Vale. However, by September, just one month after emancipation went into effect, there were 138. Where did the twenty-three individuals go? It also seems that at least some of them returned during the month of December, perhaps to spend the holiday season with their families and friends they left behind. However, the increase in numbers in December was only temporary because by the time of the next return in March 1835, the number of African peoples at Orange Vale had dropped to 136. From then on, the African population at Orange Vale gradually declined.

Return to locations where family and friends still resided was not unusual, and in fact, there were a few individuals who were originally enslaved at Orange Vale and sent to Low Layton in 1829 who returned to Orange Vale after emancipation. We know of two of those individuals from Magistrate Whitey's diary, when they were charged with offences against the plantation. Charles Campbell was sent to Low Layton in 1829, along with his mother (Mimmy alias Peggy McClarty) and most of his siblings, but was charged at Orange Vale in 1834 for insolence, along with James McClarty and Charles Woolfreys [Woolfries].

Similarly, African-born Edward Massey, sent to Low Layton in 1829, was also complained of in 1834 by Orange Vale's overseer, Maypothor, for "thieving the milk from the cows thereby the young stock died for the want of nourishment." Edward Massey was sentenced to 48 lashes because according to Magistrate Whitey, "he being an old offender and a very bad character." Emancipation may have been declared, but much had not changed for the enslaved Africans who lived at Orange Vale.

Runaways were also mentioned in an 1828 plantation journal kept by the plantation overseer and bookkeepers. From September 15th to 18th of that year, payments were recorded as being made to the Charles Town Maroons for returning runaways. Apparently, they returned nine runaways, but no names were mentioned. One additional runaway, James Woolfries, was returned, and like the other nine runaways, was "taken up and sent to Low Layton" (Robertson, G. 1980:205). James Woolfries [Woolfrys] was an interesting character and may have been a mate to Mimmy alias Peggy McClarty. If he was, in fact linked to her, then his family had a long history of open defiance through

running away. It was Peggy's son, Charles Campbell [aka Charles Woolfreys?] who incited the other Africans at Orange Vale to refuse to work in August 1834. In any case, the 1829 "slave returns" from both Orange Vale and Low Layton confirmed that James Woolfries was sent to Low Layton. One last note on Low Layton, according to oral history within the Buff Bay area, Low Layton was known as the place nobody wanted to go. Apparently, it was one of those places where the overseer and management were extremely harsh to enslaved peoples.

Table 14. Runaways from Orange Vale

	# of Whites	Runaways	Enslaved African Population
Mar 1821	5	Barron since 1804	251 / 98
Jun 1821	4	Barron since 1804	254/104
Sept 1821	4	Gordon alias R Gray 15/sept	253 / 96
Dec 1821	6	Barron since 1804	253 / 89
Sept 1825	4	Betsy since ? [sic]	275 / 88
Mar 1827	3	Rich Gray -15 th jan Esther Gray -20 th Jan Ann Gibson -2 nd mar Kitty McClery - 2 nd mar	270 / 100
Jun 1827	3	Robert Gray - jan Esther Manhars [sp?] – jan	268 / 110
June 1828	5	Jessy Tait - 8 th may Robert Gordon – 9 th June	260 / 124

Source: *Givings-in 1821-36 (2/12/5 St. Geo)*

Community

In the case of the Orange Vale community, time and again individuals left the place for some time, but then often returned to the place in which they had family and friends. This was true even in the initial period after emancipation. For example, both Charles Campbell and Edward Massey were sent to live and work at Low Layton Estate in 1829, but were back at Orange Vale days after emancipation was declared in August 1834. There might have been more returnees, since it is only because these two

individuals were brought up on charges for committing “offences” that we know they had returned.

In general, people at Orange Vale formed and maintained relationships amongst themselves. However, it does not necessarily follow that they held the same fondness for the place they lived and were enslaved. More than anything, those who felt some attachment to Orange Vale, enough so that they even returned after emancipation, probably did so because of the other people who lived there.

I use the term ‘community’ here in a loose descriptive way, following M.G. Smith (1956), to mean “the social relations based on regular face-to-face association between persons” to examine the community at Orange Vale. Sometimes this community would be bounded within a given physical space, but other times not, but more abstract. At the risk of sounding functionalist and unlike Smith, I use this term with the notion that it allows for individual, family, and other group level agency, rather than suggesting that the entire community always agreed on action. This also recognizes that there were times of disagreements and conflicts within the community.

However, given the traditional African ideal of community and cooperation towards a goal, and compounded by the fact that they were all enslaved because of their race, it seems very likely that the enslaved African community would have worked towards freedom from their common enslavement. Many of the enslaved Africans in late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century Jamaica were either born in Africa or raised by Africans who would have transmitted the benefits of communal, cooperative actions.

This was evidenced in the layout of village area two, that seemed to have had multiple households sharing a common cooking space (see Figure 9).

There might have been moments when individuals may have taken advantage of opportunities to run away, but they could not ever feel secure enough without the constant fear that they would be captured and returned to slavery. Based on their constant day-to-day acts of resistance, as well as mass rebellions, they may have recognized that there must be a dramatic overturn of the system of slavery itself, and that could only come about with the cooperation and mass uprising by all peoples of African descent, as with the Haitian Revolution (James 2000; Beckles 2000).

Even the autonomous Maroons recognized that, though they achieved their autonomy, there would be no hope to be fully free and live completely without fear, and that this could only be achieved through cooperation of all (Beckles 2000; Campbell, M. 1988:251). At the same time, there was also the constant recognition of the situational decisions made by individuals that did not encourage complete trust between the two groups (Campbell, M. 1988; Edwards 1796; Zips 1999:109,190). Maroons, like Charles Town and Scott's Hall clearly disagreed with the way in which their original community, Crawford Town, was being run and thus splintered and formed their own communities (Campbell, M. 1988:165; Zips 1999:57; *JAJ* 1756).

Unlike Smith, however, I am not suggesting a functionalist view of a monolithic, homogenous idea of community, but one that recognizes that within the colonial Jamaican landscape there were multiple "communities," many overlapping and interacting with each other. For example, the community of enslaved Africans at Orange

Vale's village represented one of many communities within the plantation space (united around e.g. family, household, village "yard" compound, etc.), but this same village community was also part of a larger community of African-descended peoples in Jamaica. This larger community would, in turn, have include Orange Vale's enslaved peoples, Maroons, enslaved Africans from other plantations and cities, as well as with free Africans. In addition, the use of community here allows for the flexibility of traditional African thought and action, changing to fit changing contexts and circumstances.

Conclusion

The enslaved African community at Orange Vale represented one of many units around which they organized, and at times, it was the level at which they interacted with the Charles Town Maroons. In addition, they would have interacted with them on individual and familial levels, but most often under hostile conditions such as when Charles Town Maroon hunting parties return the individuals who ran away. Their relationship would have been very fluid and situational because there were a few occasions on which they interacted that was beneficial to both sides, such as in celebrations or funerals. There were probably more times, though, in which the Charles Town Maroons would have served antagonistic policing roles on behalf of white enslavers and the colonial government. What happened when their worlds collided? How do they relate to each other today, and how do descendents explain the contradictory relationship? The relationship between the two groups will be the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter 5. Maroon and Enslaved African Relations: Charles Town and Orange Vale

Historical and Geographical Context of Charles Town: Settin' Up House

Located just acres away from the enslaved village community at Orange Vale, the Charles Town Maroon community was created after a split from original Crawford Town, located along Buff Bay River, after an internal conflict that resulted in the burning of Crawford Town in 1754 (Campbell, M. 1988:168-169). Like Charles Town, Scotts Hall was a second Maroon community that was formed from that split from Crawford Town. In March of that same year, Jamaica's Governor Knowles sought to buy a parcel of land 146 acres in the parish of St. George to build "New Crawford Town," the original name of the Charles Town settlement.¹³

During this post-treaty period, Charles Town Maroons were supposedly 'guaranteed' land grants, as set down in the 1739 Maroon treaty with British colonial government. In the following years, the Charles Town Maroons experienced a long series of land ownership and border disputes with neighboring plantations that were just beginning to settle in the area. Prior to this period, the Buff Bay area was mostly inhabited by Maroons, with most of the white-owned estates in lower-lying, coastal areas. With the introduction of coffee production in this higher elevation surrounding the Blue Mountains, came enterprising white landowners eager to set up shop on as much land as possible.

¹³ It was not until 1832 that the community was referred to as "Charles Town," named after yet another European government official (Campbell, M. 1988:187)

To add to the confusion, the British colonial government apparently did not pay for the land on which this newly-separated group of Maroons were to settle (Campbell, M. 1988:169). In the following years, written historical records were filled with complaints made by the Maroons of Charles Town, regarding ownership of the land that they were supposedly granted. In November, 1757, the Assembly paid £292 for 146 acres to Dally Woodsoon, a minor, who owned the title to the land (JAJ, Vol. 4, November 18, 1757).

Three years later, in 1770, the Assembly found that that same parcel of land was once again sold to a white planter, John Henderson in 1765, containing 333½ acres, of which, 206½ were occupied by the Charles Town Maroons (JAJ 6, October 30, 31, November 1, 1770). As a result, in December of 1770, the assembly paid for the 206½ occupied by the Charles Town Maroons, for an additional £412 at -40/per acre (JAJ, December 19, 1775). Then a note on a survey document conducted some time after 1794, stated that the Charles Town Maroons were officially recorded as being granted 670 acres of “King’s Land” or “Crown Land” in 1775, (NLJ – uncatalogued – n,d, “Notes on Survey Diagram of Charles Town” by William Frazer, survey ordered on May 6, 1794). This same survey also indicated that part of Charles Town consisted of 173 acres, 94 acres of which belonged to a neighboring property, Kidair [Kildare] Estate, land, the note continued, that the Charles Town Maroons were not willing to give up because their provisions were planted on these grounds.

These land ownership and border disputes caused tension with their white neighbors. From the point of view of Charles Town Maroons, they saw this as an

encroachment onto their communally-held lands, on which they hunted and trapped animals for food, as well as the site on which their domesticated animals roamed and grazed. Following their general African-derived cultural principles, the Charles Town Maroons viewed their physical environment as open to their use, free to hunt, graze, and settle in clusters to form new communities, regardless of surveyors' lines and borders.

The physical space that the Charles Town Maroons had “occupied,” was the same vast space that they had interacted with while they were still a part of Crawford Town, and long before the arrival of Europeans into the area. They had very intimate knowledge of the land, plant, and animal life, all of which were crucial for their existence in a hostile political environment. It was the treaties, particularly the one in 1739, which required surveys of Maroon lands. Land issues have always been a source of conflict for all Maroon communities in Jamaica, and continue to be so for those in Charles Town, even today (Campbell, M. 1988:187; Robinson 1994:xx; Harris 1999:37). It is within this context that Orange Vale coffee plantation was established, in 1780.

Resistance and Black Anti-Slavery Ideology in the British Caribbean

Regardless of their legal and social status, being Black or of African descent in any Caribbean context during slavery automatically meant hardship and the continual strive for freedom and autonomy. Examining the differences in living conditions and social relationships between the enslaved African community at Orange Vale coffee plantation and the Charles Town Maroons provides an opportunity to explore the variety of ways in which these two groups coped.

According to Beckles (2000:869), the relationship between the two African-descended groups took on broad characteristics at different periods in Jamaica's history, following major historical events and circumstances. Beckles identified three basic periods of resistance during the formal period of slavery. The first stage, 1500-1750, was characterized by early period of plantation construction and development. The second period, 1750-1800, represents the period in which the plantation system was mature and there was a declining dependence on the importation of enslaved Africans. The third stage, 1800-1834, represents a period of "general crisis" in plantation slavery, linked to the impact of the Haitian Revolution, as well as to larger anti-slavery movement throughout the Atlantic world.

At the same time, historians have argued that there were corresponding responses to each of these phases by all sectors – Black and White, free and unfree, male and female, rich and poor, creole and non-creole - within the context of slavery in the Caribbean (Beckles 2000; Geggus 2001:x; Genovese 1979:32). All these categories being guided by racist Eurocentric ideology of the intellectual inferiority of African peoples, based on an imagined graduated scale with African-descended peoples constituting the very bottom of the societal and political totem pole. Regardless of the many other social categories of classification, the overarching determinant is always ideology based on race, the basis for which the whole system of slavery was based. It was not simply the economic need for labor, but because whites (Europeans) believed in their superior superiority over Blacks (Africans).

Within each of these phases, three types/levels of resistance to enslavement were identified. The first, day-to-day acts of resistance, include individual and/or group behavior generally aimed at undermining the efficiency of the plantation system, such as feigning illnesses, breaking tools, slowing down work. The most common and subtle, this first type of resistance was designed to speed up the process of eventual ending of conditions of enslavement, and not necessarily to immediately overthrow the system. The second, large scale unsuccessful plots of revolts and rebellions, characterized by collective organization, aimed at immediate changes. This second type was probably the least reported, but seems like it would be the most attempted (Beckles 2000:869; Conniff and Davis 1994:135-136).

The third type, “successful” rebellions that effect dramatic change in status from enslaved to free, ranged from long-term, permanent maroonage to the success of the revolution in St. Domingue, resulting in the establishment of the first free Black Republic of Haiti. This third type is considered the most successful and most advanced acts of rebellion. But was it? These classifications were all based on subjective analyses and equally subjective definitions of “success.” In addition, they also seem to structured and rigid in their attempt to classify both temporally and analytically.

However, regardless of their shortcomings, these broad classifications do emphasize the fact that virtually every generation of enslaved Africans fought some type of “psychological” or physical warfare with their enslavers. Whether it be an enslaved woman who lashed out at white overseer with the only weapon she was always equipped with: a sharp tongue, in “back talk” against “buckra,” or, the chronic run-away man who

always absented himself from the plantation. In other words, despite their enslavement with all its material and socio-legal oppression, enslaved Africans were political activists demonstrating their intellect at deciphering the weaknesses of the slave system (Beckles 2000; James 1963).

Further, acknowledging active political thought amongst enslaved Africans should place them front and center in the anti-slavery movement, rather than at the peripheral or secondary to the European and North American emancipationists, as was common among past historians. Enslaved Africans in Jamaica, and throughout the Americas, certainly had knowledge of the happenings in the Atlantic world, and used that knowledge as opportunities to further their own causes (Campbell, M. 1988:155; Conniff and Davis 1994:177; Sidbury 1997:538; Trouillot 1995). Though information may have been scant or crude at times, they would have certainly heard of the success of enslaved Africans in St. Domingue, particularly when many French enslavers migrated to Jamaica, often with their own enslaved people in tow.

In typical paternalistic style, English abolitionists viewed themselves as the decisive forces in the anti-slavery cause (Blackburn 1988:90; Genevose 1979:5-6). However, they too held racist ideology in the implied lack of ability of enslaved Africans to attain freedom on their own terms. Once again, African-descended peoples, in general, continued to be conceived as naïve children to be liberated from enslavement from outside forces. Though European abolitionists and missionaries hoped for freedom of enslaved Africans, it was always entrenched within the notion that even “freed” Africans were economically and politically dependent on Europeans (Beckles 2000:874; Conniff

and Davis 1994:176-179). Further, European abolitionist thought was inherently racist in its belief of Black intellectual inferiority, in which emancipation from a physical enslaved status did not exempt them from European power, dominance, and values.

Essentially, European abolitionists did not conceive emancipation in terms of liberation from European ideology, exemplified in their assumption that newly “freed” Africans would accept European cultural values, such as language, dress, and religion (Beckles 2000:874). Even the language used to describe the success of the revolution in St. Domingue was couched in racist language, described as the result of ‘brutish savagery.’ Further, it was only after Toussaint’s acceptance of European language and all its cultural baggage, that he was somewhat ideologically “accepted” by abolitionists (Dubois 2004:210; James 1963). Thus, European abolitionists reproduced the Eurocentric, racist ideology of white enslavers when it came to the existence of an ‘intellectual mind’ of all Africans, both enslaved and emancipated.

I would argue that the anti-slavery movement regarding African enslavement in the Caribbean, had its core within the Caribbean Africans themselves. This recognition have been suggested by several Marxist historians, such as C. L. R. James (1963) and Richard Hart (2002), in what has been termed ‘on the ground’ struggle, giving credit and agency to enslaved Africans in the Caribbean. St. Domingue may have been the only “successful” case in which Black independence was achieved, but it was only a matter of time before others followed (Beckles 2000:876; Geggus 1987). The fact of the matter is that the system of slavery would not have been efficiently and successfully maintained for much longer with such anti-enslavement sentiment rampant among the enslaved. On

closer examination, by the time of emancipation in the British Caribbean colonies in 1834, the plantation system, in general, was already experiencing dramatic structural and economic decline. It was that anti-slavery sentiment among African-descended peoples that unified all of the colonies in the region, and eventually caused the collapse of the system of slavery (Beckles 2000:877; Fick 2000:977).

In addition, not only did they have the intellect to assert their own political ideals, but they were also aware that emancipation must be followed by political power and autonomy (Beckles 2000:874; Conniff and Davis 1994:177; Sidbury 1997). In other words, even though they would be emancipated from enslavement, the very existence of the system of slavery hindered them from the ultimate freedom that included political power to construct their own societies. This crucial recognition of the importance of political power by newly emancipated Africans is evidenced in the continued struggles for political power, such as the 1865 riot led by Paul Bogle, through Jamaica's independence in 1962 (Carnegie 1970; Hamilton, B. 2003:352-56). This, too, contradicts historians, such as Sidney Mintz and Douglas Hall (1970), who suggested that emancipated Africans were only interested in some sort of economic and socially "peasant" culture, rather than full political participation and control.

In the Jamaican context of slavery, historians have also attempted to categorize the white British colonial government responses to the general atmosphere within the island, during each of the three historical phases mentioned above (Campbell, M. 1988:253). Mavis Campbell (1988:253) suggested that between 1655-1739 (roughly corresponding to Beckles' first phase, 1500-1750), there was a feeling of "embarrassment

and helplessness” on the part of the white colonial government and planters. During her second phase (corresponding to Beckles’ second phase, 1750-1800), white colonial government’s response was characterized by “condescending, urbane protectiveness.”

By the 1790s, (corresponding with Beckles’ third phase, 1800-1834), she regards the white colonial government’s response as one of “cavalier disregard and arrogant control.” In actuality, any and all of these neat, clear-cut characterizations can fit into any and all of the periods these historians insist on demarcating. The fact of the matter is that these characterizations cannot always fit into these crystallized categories because rationale and historical circumstances in which behavior occurred were a lot more fluid. So, too, were the responses of African-descended peoples living within the system of slavery.

Thus, in attempting to understand the experiences and struggles, as well as the complex relationship that existed between enslaved Africans, one must not view these diverse African-descended peoples as having existed in an atheoretical world, devoid of political concepts and ideas for alternative socio-political system (Beckles 2000:877; Hart 2002). In particular, the anti-slavery activities of enslaved Africans constituted one of the main characteristics held in common with their Maroon neighbors. Though they may have had differing ideas of what type of society they wished to develop and live in, they all were going to begin with their freedom and political autonomy. Further, these ‘on the ground’ resistance must be viewed as the core that shaped the anti-slavery and anti-colonial movements, with the European action representing part of the final episode of the movement. This anti-slavery activities formed the fundamental ideological core of all

enslaved Africans, and African-descended peoples in general, in which the enslaved were constantly letting their enslavers know that they wanted to be free and were willing to achieve that freedom by any means necessary (Beckles 2000; Fick 2000; James 1963).

Interactions Between Orange Vale and Charles Town

In the context of Buff Bay, Jamaica, interactions between the residents at Orange Vale's village and Charles Town were diverse, including economic, cultural, social, and political interactions that were all situational and fluid. More times than not, the relationship was contentious and quite hostile, though it is often recalled by both groups as being more positive than it really was. According to oral history, there was regular exchange of ground provision, craft materials, wild meat, and traditional medicines and treatments between the two groups. Oral history recounts a rich internal exchange between the Charles Town Maroons and other enslaved villages in the area, much of which was likely undertaken outside of the knowledge of the white managers at Orange Vale. At the same time, there were also numerous accounts of Charles Town residents serving as hunters of runaways for payment by the plantation management such as those at Orange Vale (Robertson, G. 1980:205; *Vestry Minutes* 1830, 1832). For example, in 1828 payment in the amount of over £19 was paid to a party of Charles Town Maroons "for bringing back runaways" (Robertson, G. 1980:205).

There were intermarriages between the two groups, particularly between women from Orange Vale and men from Charles Town (*JNA* 1B/11/8/12 #15), as well as enslaved individuals who at times lived at Orange Vale (*VOAJ* 1799, 1807). It was also

reported that individual members of families lived within each community, thus individuals who were part of the Charles Town Maroons had relatives living at Orange Vale. In addition, individuals from each community maintained relationships based on fictive kinship and friendships.

The most unifying element was the religious and healing connections between the two groups. Sharing similar “African”-based ideology, oral history report regular contact between the two groups, though it is reported that they met in secret. According to oral history, individuals from the Charles Town Maroons were respected for their expertise in spirituality and in healing through the use of herbs. The cultural practices related to events such as death, generally referred to by whites as “obeah” or “obi” were said to be revered among both groups, but deemed illegal by laws imposed by the British Government, but continued to be practiced in both communities (*RRS 1826:217b*). The Charles Town Maroon community had more freedom and opportunity to practice it within their community because of their isolation away from the watchful eyes of whites. Despite these practices being deemed illegal by law with the threat of death of transportation (*Acts of Jamaica 1799*) and their close proximity to whites, the practice continued within Orange Vale’s village community. In 1826, Henry Turner Burke from Orange Vale was transported off the island after being “convicted of practicing obeah” (*RRS 1826:217b*).

By far the most prominent historic relationship between the two groups was the policing role played by the Charles Town Maroons when they hunted and returned enslaved Africans back to Orange Vale. Various hunting “parties” from Charles Town

Maroons were often paid in cash based on the days and distance traveled for their services in hunting runaways and returning runaways to their respective plantations, including Orange Vale (Robertson, G. 1980:205; *Vestry Minutes* 1830, 1832). For example, in 1828, a hunting party of Charles Town Maroons was paid for returning nine runaways to Orange Vale (Robertson, G. 1980). They were paid a premium for each runaway plus two days worth of rations, “mile money,” and travel money to transport those runaways to Low Layton plantation, a place locally famous for its extremely harsh treatment of enslaved Africans deemed “troublesome.” Tension between the two groups also resulted from Charles Town Maroons’ claim of “blood ties” to the British and “special status” within the colonial social hierarchy (Zips 1999:122). This “special status” resulted from the Maroon treaty with the British colonial government in 1739 which allowed them to remain autonomous as a self-governing sub-state within Jamaica, as well as their negotiated exemption from taxes and policing.

This kind of contentious relationship was often underplayed by descendent Maroons. They acknowledge the hunting and return of runaways, but provide alternative motives for their activities. Attempts to mask the real economic and political motives of their ancestors’ participation in the policing of enslaved Africans, and by extension their support in the maintenance of slavery, appears to result from their need to conform to their “hero” status in Jamaica. Several informants explained that they and their ancestors are viewed as freedom fighters against the system of slavery and they did not seem to want that image tainted with continued reminders of their roles in returning their enslaved “kin” back to their respective plantations.

Material Ties that Bind?

Oral history among descendants of both communities have tended to present very positive assessments of the relationship between themselves and between their ancestors. Yet, close observation of their interactions today suggest a more complex relationship that were not always as positive as they describe. The analysis of their relationship here is based on their interpretations of past and current events.

If one followed Beckles' periods of settlement, the Orange Vale – Charles Town environment was established in the post-1739 treaty period, fitting into his second period of 'mature plantation.' However, this model does not necessarily fit here, given the fact that Orange Vale was not quite "mature," and was, in fact, in the "process of being born." But, in this post-treaty period, it does suggest idea that Maroons were not as "isolated" as in the pre-treaty period. In fact, one of the "ole heads" in Charles Town today has noted that this "openness" was one of the main criticisms of their ancestors by other Maroon groups. This period was, of course, the time in which the 1739 treaty required that white government officials reside within each Maroon town. However, according to oral tradition, this "openness" was not as "real" as one may have seen on the surface, and suggested that, although whites were present, there were "alotta tings hidden in fronta they eyez."

When it was first settled, the domestic and works complex of Orange Vale was located near the Buff Bay River, directly across from the Charles Town Settlement (see map in Figure 108). There were definite interactions between Maroons from Charles Town and enslaved Africans on the Orange Vale plantation. Charles Town is now a

village settlement this is composed of a mixture of descendents of both the Charles Town Maroons and enslaved Africans from Orange Vale and other neighboring plantations, as well as, “outsiders” from other parishes. When asked of interactions between the two groups (Maroons and enslaved), current inhabitants of Charles Town tell linkages in the form of genealogical and mythological stories. Several Maroon informants have stated that they had some ancestral “relative” who “lived” on Orange Vale. They never quite tell the tale of what their particular roles were, while on the plantation, but all they knew was that they “had people there.”

Two Maroon informants acknowledge that at least one of their great-great-grandmothers lived on Orange Vale as late as the late-1800s. Several also noted that they and some of their ancestors worked intermittently at Orange Vale. One claimed to have had a grandfather who worked there who was “in charge a de animals dem,” a reference to the period after emancipation when Orange Vale became a pen. Another told of picking coffee with his mother and grandmother during the coffee-picking season, much like some do today. Others also acknowledge working provision grounds in the hills at Orange Vale. Of these latter group, a few had recently rented or bought plots, but most inherited the land from their parents. While speaking with a Maroon family in Charles Town, a young grandchild of one of my informants said that he was unaware of the fact that he had people who came from the plantation. This young man claim that in all of his educational years, up to his university days at UWI (the University of the West Indies), he was always taught the traditional view of the negative relationship between enslaved Africans and Maroons.

Descendents generally cite links (both historical and modern) between themselves as being based on their common experiences and geographical setting, but most importantly, a wide variety of common African-derived cultural elements, some of which were non-material. These common cultural elements informed the ways in which they shaped their material world, though the extent to which they controlled their cultural knowledge were constrained by a number of factors, location, access to resources, time, but, most importantly, by their varying lack of freedom to do so. In general, their geographical location yielded similar resources, yet the ways in which they used them were quite varied. Maroons at Charles Town had different access to and control over these resources due their different legal status and as a result interacted with their material in different ways. At the same time, informants explain that, much like themselves today, their ancestors in both groups recognized that they had similarities that their common African-derived¹⁴ cultural knowledge, particularly around ideology and Maroon knowledge of herbal healing.

Settlement Pattern

What became clear from the oral histories and archaeological investigations, was that the linkages between Maroons and enslaved Africans were in the form of both material and non-material cultural elements, but more predominantly in the latter. Enslaved Africans at Orange Vale did not necessarily have a choice in where their village would be located, given the restraints imposed upon them by their white enslavers, as

¹⁴ (I do not mean to conflate the very rich, diverse ethnicities and cultural practices originating from the African continent. However, I do want to point out that most African cultural practices were more similar to each other than one to an European one)

well as the limited leveled spaces that were available at the site. On the other hand, Maroons in Charles Town made that decision based on choice, landscape, need, particularly for military reasons. The original Charles Town settlement was often described as being “far, far, far up inna dem hills.” Others claim that the original Charles Town Maroons lived in caves. It is possible that these reports could all have been true, given the common practice of changing settlement locations over time (Agorsah 1994:169). In addition, there was also the common practice for small groups to branch off and form their own enclaves, separate from the main settlements.

One of the difficulties in attempting to identify patterns in both Maroon enslaved African settlements has been the underlying assumption that there was some kind of regularity in their behavior. Based on archaeological and ethnographic research (Agorsah 1994, 1999; Bonner 1974), such regularity did not exist within the Charles Town Maroon community. If any pattern existed, it was more likely that there was no pattern in the anthropological sense of the term. For the Charles Town Maroons, this was particularly true. There seem to have been a certain, deliberate fluidity in settlement practices, as well as the equally common practice of Maroons to destroy their settlements upon abandonment (Agorsah 1999). This is further complicated by the fact that most of these settlement clusters have virtually all been disturbed from subsequent grazing and planting. Today, most of the Charles Town residents have abandoned these distant settlements as residential sites and have settled in the low-lands along the Buff Bay River. The distant sites have both remained communal or became family-owned plots, and are used mostly for planting provisions for sale and consumption.

Housing

Both the Charles Town Maroons and enslaved Africans on Orange Vale built their homes in similar fashion, using similar building techniques and resources that were available in their common environment, as well as, from similar African-derived cultural memory. Based on the archaeological investigations at Orange Vale and the oral histories of the Charles Town Maroons, it seems that both groups settled in clusters or “yards based on “familial” (both real and imagined kin) or friendship ties. They built their small homes from the same materials of bamboo and/or sticks with mud, using the wattle and daub technique, with thatched roofs, and conducted most of their domestic chores in the physical space around their homes.

One informant recalled living in one such house as late as the early 1960s with great excitement, nostalgia, and pride. He described a small, two-room house, made from bamboo “wattles” and mud, in which he, his parents, and three brothers lived. He also stated with even more pride, the feeling of admiration he encountered from his friends, when in 1962, his family moved into a two-bedroom, *concrete* house, covered in tin galvanize, located directly across from *the* most envied house in the village. This new house came complete with living room, but no kitchen. He concluded that his mother, the head school-teacher in the village’s school and a very well respected individual in the community, had “lifted” them up from their humble beginnings. His father, he said, was too sick to work and died shortly after they moved into their new home.

Though they had moved from their thatched house, they continued to perform most chores outside in the yard of their new home. Interestingly, over the years, they have added one additional bedroom, a dining room, indoor plumbing, a bathroom, and a kitchen, yet the three-stone “fireside” remains outside to this day and he cooks most of his meals outside on it or on a coal-pot. Besides the fact that he had a gas stove in the kitchen, he claimed that food cooked on both the coal pot and fireside tasted better than those cooked on the costly gas stove. Through lack of proper maintenance over the years, this once-prosperous house has now become an eyesore in the midst of all the large, technologically equipped houses built all around it, including his brother’s built just yards away.

Foodways

Foodways is arguably the most *physical* means of deciphering linkages between Maroons and enslaved Africans. Cooking was one of the most important socializing domestic functions performed in the houseyards within both communities. First, it was a required chore that was performed virtually every day, mostly by the women, except for task of jerking pig in Maroon communities that seem to have been conducted exclusively by men. Secondly, the “fireside” was the one space where individuals from each generation would congregate to either help in the preparation for food, or wait for to consume the food.

Older informants remember their mothers and aunts cooking in large yabbas and iron pots, described similar to that of the “dutch” iron pots found at Orange Vale. Many

were quick to identify the fragments excavated from the village site at Orange Vale as being similar to those their ancestors cooked in. Seeing and identifying these fragments, along with other artifacts recovered at Orange Vale, seem to have eased the skepticism that some had expressed at the onset of the archaeological excavations. Initially, they did not quite understand why this “likkle brown gal” from foreign wanted to “dig up de ground up inna de ‘illz.” By the end of the project, many of them excitedly brought in old, broken materials they found in various places.

The foods cooked and consumed in both communities were also similar in content and preparation. The staple food appears to have consisted of a starchy base, such as yam, banana, or plantain, with garden vegetables like tomatoes, cabbage, and cucumbers. A little meat was added, when available, most likely dried or pickled salt-fish, smoked herring, or the occasional fresh meat of chicken, beef, or pork. One informant recalled that even when he was a “small boy,” his aunt did most of the cooking and there were many meals without meat. Most times, when meat was cooked, it would have been small portions, sometimes just enough to flavor the pot. Another recalled that his mother would get up very early, usually Sundays, and she would spend hours pounding plantain to make a meal of starchy base with soup.

Material Goods

With the exception of weapons in the form of guns and related paraphernalia that were accessible only to some Maroons, both Maroons and non-Maroons seem to have had similar access to daily goods. Located in a similar landscape, the species of plants

and animals would have also been similar, and used similar ways. Most importantly, it must be noted that, within both communities, the majority of the materials used on a daily basis were probably made from organic materials found in the surrounding landscape. These material goods do not generally preserve well in the ground, and, an absence of more durable materials, (e.g. ceramic, glass, metal) can indicate a great dependence on these organic materials. In the case of Orange Vale, as in most Jamaican plantation village setting, it appears that both organic and European manufactured goods were in use simultaneously, at varying degrees over time.

These organic material goods often served multiple functions, for example, calabashes made from gourds served as serving dishes, cups, dippers, storage, and as instruments. Most were probably simply made, and created for utilitarian purposes through improvisation by their makers and users. For example, the dry fibers around the shell of a coconut were used, and continue to be used, as a readily available scrubber for dishes and pots, particularly when a small amount of fire ash is added. Similarly, piece of banana tree leaf could have been fashioned for use as a temporary cup, plate, shelter from rain, and when dried, could be twisted to form a kata.¹⁵ These organic materials would have been in abundance throughout the area; or vine-like wis that grew in abundance served a similar function as nails, serving as joiners in building construction; as latches for doors and windows; as handles to containers and carrier bags; and even as belts.

¹⁵ Kata or cotta: a circular pad traditionally made of plantain or banana leaf, and later with cloth, placed on the head to protect it and steady a load (Cassidy and Page 1980:123).

Within both communities, there appeared to have been similar inorganic material goods, in the form of ceramic, glass, and metal. These inorganic material goods were of both European and local manufacture and would have probably been acquired on an individual, familial, or household level through allowances, negotiations, exchange, gifts, theft, or individually made by their users. Both communities had artisans who were capable of manufacturing utilitarian goods based on cultural technological knowledge passed on and transformed in their particular temporal and historical context. For example, archaeological evidence from Orange Vale and oral tradition from Charles Town suggest that there the locally-made “yabbas” were a staple in both communities.

Yabbas were used mostly for storage of water, much like the earlier ‘Spanish jars,’ as well as for cooking, and individual serving dishes. In addition, archaeological and ethnographic research conducted at other Maroon and enslaved sites in Jamaica, (Agorsah 1999, Boucher 1992), suggest that artisans skilled with knowledge of metallurgy and forging would have created or altered already existing metal objects for specific needs. One such example was archaeological evidence from Nanny Town (Agorsah 1994, Edwards 1994:160), indicating that Maroons from that community adapted the British “Brown Bess” flintlock musket, by shortening the barrel, for their own needs.

On plantations, similar artifacts include items that were used in a variety of contexts, including during work for the plantation, hunting, farming, as well as in their individual domestic spaces (Armstrong 1994; Higman 1998; Reeves 1997). For example, tools in the form of the ever-present machete or cutlass, have historically been the one

item that served multiple functions, as agricultural tool for clearing and cutting, kitchen utensil (e.g. butcher knife), building tool, and as a weapon. Found at most plantation village sites, the machete is of great significance because of its double-sided nature as tool in aiding the efficiency of the economic enterprise of the plantation, but also served as a weapon by which enslaved Africans can inflict bodily harm on their enslavers. According to oral tradition among the Charles Town Maroons, it is the very same object that was a valuable tool during their attacks on “buckra.”

Bottles

Special mention should be made here of the ever-present glass bottle, most often green European wine and pharmaceutical bottles. Archaeological evidence from other Jamaican Maroon and enslaved African sites (Agorsah 1994, Bonner 1974), as well as oral tradition, indicate the predominance of bottles in both contexts. It seems that these bottles were used for a wide variety of reasons, often constituting re-use for different purposes than originally intended by their European manufacturers. The most obvious has been their original use as storage for liquids, usually alcoholic beverages, as was found in great abundance at the enslaved village at Drax Hall, which Armstrong (1994) interpreted as the equivalent of a local village pub. However, there seems to have been significantly more re-use with glass bottles.

Like most other materials, bottles were introduced into their communities in a variety of ways, equally varying in content, if any. Oral tradition suggests that once these bottles were introduced into their communities, they were used to store locally-produced

liquids, including rum, water, honey, and, most prevalently, “bush tea.” This bush tea included a variety of herbs collected and prepared by “special people” for “special purposes.” Alcohol was such an integral part of life that it appears that there were multiple stores in Charles Town. In 1831 Maroon William Carmichael Cockburn was granted a “license for retailing spirituous liquor” and ten years later, denial Ball was license for retailing coffee, sugar, and liquor (*Vestry Minutes* 1831, 1841).

Even today, white rum bottles continue to be used in a similar fashion, often serving specialized ritual functions at various events and ceremonies. Almost always, it was noted by both men and women, that the bottles mostly served to store and carry rum that was used for both recreational and ritual use. Every single informant, descendents of both communities, have all stated that the “wite rum bakkle” was the one “ting yu tek” to any social function, serving dual functions of social drink, but also to pour libations to the ancestors and “duppies dem.” Today, white rum has become the all-purpose item in most homes. It can be drunk, used in baking, “sapped” on the head to heal headaches, “break” fevers, as well as serve as the one most popular liquid used in libations.

The one artifact type yielded from excavations at the Orange Vale village site that fascinated my informants the most was the horseshoes. “Wey dey from?” they asked. After I explained that they were found near what looked like entrances to enslaved houses, one ole head touched his fingertips together, pursed his lips, and simply said “mmm.” He was not surprised that we found horseshoes, nor by the relatively high numbers found in such a small space excavated. Like the field assistants, everyone seemed to know exactly what they were used for. Considering the fact that there were

laws enacted to forbid enslaved peoples from owning and riding horses, this could confuse anyone, but not the people of Charles Town. They all knew. They were to protect the inhabitants from “dem duppy dem.”

Virtually everyone knew of someone who had used it. One claimed that “me granmadda ‘ad one a dem inna she yaad ... said to keep duppy out.” Others had aunts, parents, neighbors who continue to use them, though their use has reduced, mostly because “yu cyan fine dem ... dem haad to fine now.” The ole head said that the “slave dem had to ‘ave something fee-sikal to protek dem ... we, Maroons, we gat it natral.” His further explained the belief that there are “both good an’ bad duppy,” and enslaved individuals may not have had the knowledge of “dealing” with the bad ones, an ability, he claimed, that all Maroons had. Further, it has been suggested that by some that there were accompanying rituals involved in transferring protective powers onto the horseshoe itself, by either individuals within the enslaved community itself or by a Maroon specialist.

Abeng

On the other hand, there are some special elements of material culture credited specifically to Maroon culture in general, also present in Charles Town. These may not necessarily make their presence within an enslaved community such as at Orange Vale impossible, but the ways in which they are used sometimes differ. The material goods specific to most Maroon cultures are often related to rituals and festivities. Oral tradition

in Charles Town suggests that the central, physical item that defines their Maroon status is the abeng.

Made from a cow's horn, the abeng has served multiple functions -- as musical instrument, warning signal, and a calling instrument, capable of "talkin' dat special talk" -- in a variety of settings (Cassidy and Page 1980:2). The abeng, able to communicate over great distances, was -- and continues to be -- used at every Maroon function, including funerals, weddings, festivals, at township meetings.

Bridging Gaps: Leadership and Spirituality

The discussion of the cultural beliefs surrounding the use of a horseshoe for protection leads to the spiritual ideology of both Maroons and enslaved Africans, and their relationship with the dead. By far, the most characteristic feature of the relationship between the Charles Town Maroons and enslaved Africans at Orange Vale was its fluidity, best exemplified in socio-cultural factors (religion, family structure, marriage, language, art, music, celebrations, etc.), rather in a physical sense. As a result, the relationship between the Charles Town Maroons and enslaved Africans on Orange Vale appears just as "noisy," as the seemingly un-patterned ways in which Charles Town Maroons created and abandoned their settlements and crops. It is in these socio-cultural elements that one can see the nature of the relationship between the two groups, particularly in their spiritual and political realms.

A great deal of research has been conducted on the social structures of various communities throughout the Americas (Agorsah 1992, 1993, 1994; Beckles 1986; Bilby

1979, 1984, 1987; Bilby and N'Diaye 1992; Brathwaite 1977, 1994; Campbell, M. 1977, 1988, 1992, Carey 1970; Fouchard 1981; Gottlieb 2000; Harris 1992, 1994; Dunham 1946; Price 1973; Zips 1999). Most have focused primarily on the ways these social “structures” have played out in Maroon communities. But how do these social factors relate to the enslaved communities, still tied to plantations? I am not suggesting that I have all the answers to these issues, but I am interested in looking at how some of these factors play out between the two communities at Charles Town and at Orange Vale.

Descendants of Orange Vale’s enslaved population respected their Maroon “cousins” in Charles Town – and this seem to apply throughout Jamaica – most for their leadership/political and spiritual/healing abilities. It was often difficult to separate these categories because they all have become so intertwined, blending and/or working all at the same time. Even here there are some seeming contradictions because, a close analyses of the oral tradition suggests that the very things that enslaved peoples seem to have admired Maroons for, were the very same things that they resented them for, at various times. Yet, these are the very same things that both Charles Town Maroons and the descendants of Orange Vale’s enslaved population agree are the things that bind them together, always citing their common African-derive origin and culture, always in the form of the myth of Nanny and Seseku.

One thing that was immediately apparent in the both the oral tradition and current relations between the two groups was their respect for spirituality and all its related rituals. At the heart of such ideology is the belief in and acceptance of two worlds: one practical, and one supernatural, the latter consisting primarily of ancestors and the dead.

The basic premise stems from a belief in the living spirits of the dead, generally called “duppies.” This belief in spirits emphasizes the commonly held respect of the dead and veneration for ancestors, the ability for these duppies to affect the present, as well as the acceptance of the many rituals associated with the spirit world. Spirit possession and the pouring of libations seem common-place and accepted by both groups. As in many African-derived religions, no one bats an eyebrow when individuals become possessed with a spirit, and without fail, there are always equally well-known ways of dealing with these spirits in ways that do not offend or disrespect.

There has been considerable secrecy surrounding much of the rituals around Maroon religion, spirituality, healing activities, as well as around their knowledge of the past. Many of these rituals and knowledge-sharing were performed by “specialists” or “knowers” who, according to oral tradition, get their special “powers” and permission from their ancestors. As has been the experience for many researchers of Maroon culture and history, there was a certain limit to just how much information they pass on (Bilby 1984; Zips 1999). That is understandable, given that Maroons in general clearly understand that “knowledge is power” and they have experienced first-hand just how knowledge of their practices and beliefs have often been used against them throughout history.

There seem to have been a definite intertwining of spirituality, religion, and healing among both of these African-descended groups. Oral tradition, from both groups seems to suggest that, traditionally, religion, spirituality, and healing have all been incorporated into everyday behavior, and not necessarily in anthropologically structured

ways. For example, traditional African-derived religions were not practiced only on one particular day and time, but rather was a lived experience that permeated all elements of daily life. Thus, it is not uncommon to have rituals representing each performed at the same time. Placed in the historical context of Jamaican slavery, these practices were often “secretly” held or “hidden in plain sight.” Further, there seems to have been – and continues to be -- a very clear acceptance by both groups that these practices were best performed by Maroons, who are continually sought out for their abilities to protect, guide, and heal.

It is very well known that both Maroons and enslaved Africans throughout the Americas were very knowledgeable in the identification, preparation, and uses of various plants (Armstrong 1994; Bennett 2003b; Edwards-Ingram 2001; Robertson 1980). However, most seem to agree this knowledge has not been passed on to urban spaces and among the young. In the rural places, such as in Charles Town, these traditional, herbal medicines continue to be the most popular means of healing. “There’s bush for ev’ryting,” is a common saying in the area. However, the key is to know what to use, how to prepare, as well as how and when to administer them (Bennett 2003a). The importance of herbs in this community has made its way even into everyday lexicon, as in one incident when two women engaged in an argument said that “she drink bush fur me fever,” meaning that the other woman was “minding” her business too much.

Equally important is the respect that all Jamaicans have for Maroons in regard to their leadership and military skills during their long history for freedom and socio-political autonomy. Today, non-Maroons in Charles Town, and perhaps throughout

Jamaica, have come to realize that the culture and cultural skills that went into marronage should be respected and their achievements acknowledged. This respect has been more and more articulated in the reverence for Grandee Nanny and participation by non-Maroons in many Maroon celebrations.

In an historical context, Orange Vale's enslaved community -- and their descendents -- seems to have respected the adaptations of African-derived culture in Jamaica that allowed Maroons to achieve their freedom and autonomy. After all, it was their common cultural traditions that linked them and their common African origins that bound them in the same European-constructed racial category that caused them to have a common enemy. Non-Maroons, in Charles Town and elsewhere in Jamaica, claim to have a general respect for the most important achievement of all: freedom. Today, it is that respect for the military skills and "successful" resistance that enable non-Maroons to participate with great pride in some aspects of Maroon culture, as well as adapt some of its elements as part of the national culture. This co-opting of some Maroon elements into the national Jamaican culture is best epitomized in Nanny, cited by her relationship to Seseku.

“Nancy’ ‘im a come in aal shape, size, an’ culla’’: Scratchin’ de Surface

Up until now, the oral histories seemed to have presented a very positive picture of the relationship between the two groups. Why did descendents present such a an overly-positive view of the relationship between their ancestors and themselves? In fact, it seems that they down play the negative, and often hostile relationship between the two

groups over time. So, what about that “rift” that supposedly existed between the two groups? Numerous researchers and historians have all commented on the complex relationship between enslaved Africans and Maroons in Jamaica, (Agorsah 1994; Bilby 1984; Brathwaite 1994; Campbell, M. 1988), some concluding that there was a clear contradiction of collaboration or “rift,” while others suggest that there was a simultaneous collaborative and antagonistic relationship.

A closer examination of the complex relationship between the two groups clearly indicate that these imagined boundaries between Maroons and enslaved Africans, were fluid throughout Jamaica’s history, and continue to be so even today. This seems particularly true between those at Charles Town and Orange Vale. In general, I found that most individuals in Charles Town today have less to say about that, but tongues get loose once the seal on the Wray and Nephew white rum is broken and the obligatory libations are made. Apparently, there continues to be resentment on the part of descendents of enslaved Africans who believe that Maroons continue to benefit from having “sold out” to the British with their treaties. Maroons descendents, too were resentful of what they believed was the “backstabbing” and “cowardess” of enslaved Africans.

These negative feelings are usually kept in check and not very obvious on the surface, it seems that for most people in Charles Town, this “rift” seem insignificant and was often brushed away as “buckra propaganda,” often citing their kinship in the myth of Nanny and Seseku as evidence for their dismissal. However, some within the community have attempted to address the issue by providing rationale for what they knew happened,

based on their oral traditions. Just as the situation was complex for their ancestors, so to were the explanations, all explanations seeming to come in the form of myth or ‘nancy story. First, everyone noted that “dem olden days” were “confusing times.” One Maroon claimed that “after a time, yu cyan truss nobodee,” and constantly referenced the participation of some enslaved Africans in “bringing news fi buckra.”

The most common explanation passed on to the Maroons of Charles Town was that some of their “cousins” on Orange Vale and other neighboring plantations “changed.” They acknowledged that it probably was not all enslaved peoples who assisted “buckra,” but the Maroons could not know who was friend or foe. After telling an anancy story in which the trickster represented an enslaved “spy fi buckra,” one informant concluded that “‘nancy’ ‘im a come in aal shape, size, an’ culla.” Another tried to explain that the “disagreements” came about because the 1739 treaty required Maroons to return runaways, and also that the Charles Town Maroons had “jes get de lan situation strayt.”

He continued, that despite these restraints imposed by the treaty, his people did in fact take up runaways, but they were mostly “visiting.” He further explained that the situation was such that there was distrust of the enslaved people, whom the Maroons viewed were “used to” life on the plantation. But as his Maroon people were never enslaved (his version of the Nanny-Seseku myth had Nanny running off into the hills immediately after arriving in Jamaica), they were used to living their own way. For him, the enslaved Africans on Orange Vale had been tainted somehow while living on the

plantation. His explanation concluded, once again referencing the myth of the two sisters by saying that Seseku and “her pikni dem too coward.”

On the issue of returning runaways, one respected elder Maroon suggested that his people did, in fact return runaways, but not always. He said that there were some runaways that needed to be returned. He further elaborated that his people served a policing function in the hills and that they did not want runaways wandering around, just in case they came upon their settlements. These new runaways, he said, often could not be trusted or would have caused trouble for them too by encouraging whites to hunt down the runaways themselves, increasing the possibility that their settlements would be discovered. In so doing, they felt that their Maroon people had control of the bush.

There were also times when they “tek in de odd” runaway. Another story tell of a common trick played on buckra in which Maroon friends and relatives living on the neighboring plantations would absent themselves to visit Charles Town, then the Maroons would return them and collect the payment. In returning “runaways,” they secure their position as free enough to control the hills, while “teking” buckra’s money.

By far, the one explanation given the most by individuals claiming to have some “deep” knowledge is that the Maroons needed to keep some kind of distance to the enslaved folk on plantations, in order to maintain the secrecy needed to help free them. They reasoned that their ancestral goals were to maintain physical separation, in order to achieve freedom for the entire enslaved population forced to endure the rigid constraints imposed by the system of slavery. In other words, they saw themselves as leaders in the quest for freedom, fighting to get their relatives, both real and mythological, free. The

enslaved were confined to the plantation and needed to have the Maroons, “outside” to help get them free. He further suggested that there were some contact between the two groups, and that these were often very secret meetings with specific individuals.

One of the more interesting explanations seem to suggest that the general distrust that the Charles Town Maroons held for enslaved Africans was further confused when white French planters migrated from St. Domingue began settling in the area beginning in the late-1780s. Why? It was reasoned that most of these migrants brought some of their enslaved Africans with them. Here, he explained, were new groups of people introduced to the region, and the Maroons were not quite sure how they should deal with them. He said that the Maroons were confused because they felt the same sorrow for the enslavement of yet more “kin,” but they also recognized that these new enslaved people were added numbers to help from the “inside.”

On the other side, this was the topic of discussion where many non-Maroons talked less than usual. Some claimed that they had never really thought about what the relationship might have been like. Almost all remember their parents and grandparents talking about “de olden days” on the plantation. Many did not understand why and how Maroons became to be free, except from the myth that explained that “dey fight.” There certainly was a feeling among descendents of enslaved Africans from Orange Vale that the Maroons were lucky, having the freedom to live up in the hills without being bound to plantation labor. It was clear that they admired the Maroons for their achievements as freedom-fighters, but a certain kind of resentment came through in their speech and body

language. Many believed that the Maroons achieved their freedom because they were guided by “supernatural” abilities that protected them.

Others simply said that “dat’s ‘ow ee go.” Many, it seemed, did not think about the relationship between Maroons and enslaved Africans before that time. They just know that that was how “tings stay.” Still others suggested that their people fought in their own ways, as in the case of one woman who told the story of her “mother’s granny” who constantly absented herself from Orange Vale. This same woman, she said, was one of the first who “ran down dat ‘ill” when England “grant them free,” while simultaneously acknowledging that Maroons helped free them.

Relations today are cordial, with many intermarriage between the two groups, and non-Maroons certainly respect Maroon knowledge of plants and healing capabilities, but certain criticism and fear of supernatural abilities persist. However, underneath the surface, both hold resentment of the other: Maroons in Charles Town believe non-Maroons were and are still jealous of their “special status,” history, culture, and herbal knowledge, while non-Maroons resent Maroons exemption from taxes and secret knowledge. Maroons also suggest that some of the non-Maroons are ungrateful, often pointing to the fact that non-Maroons steal from their fields or neglect to even say “mawning.” So it seems that remnants of those same complexity of feelings of simultaneous resentment and respect continue today. In the end, though, both members of both groups were always quick to point out that they were still “related,” stating that like a real family, disagreements sometimes “crop up,” but they remain connected.

Discussion: Orange Vale and Charles Town in the Atlantic World

The complex, dynamic relationships and interactions between the Charles Town and enslaved Africans at Orange Vale, in the Buff Bay, Jamaica demonstrates the many tensions involved throughout the Americas during slavery. However, there was one overarching element that was common in most of the slave-based colonies was: on one hand, there were various white European enslavers, armed with guns and racist ideologies, fighting each other to gain and control economic wealth at the expense of Africans. On the other hand were enslaved Africans from various African ethnic and cultural groups, resisting in various ways to be free from oppression, and live free, autonomous lives that allowed them to practice their own terms.

In a similar vein, the one common resultant of this black-white context that bound all African-descended peoples, regardless of geographical origin or locale, plantation-based economy, or status was resistance to slavery. In other words, resistance cannot be divorced from the slavery or any other form of oppression, and the former always resulted in the latter. Throughout the Americas, this resistance to enslavement and oppression was epitomized in Maroons and, arguable to a greater extent, the Haitian Revolution, both serving as examples to opposition to enslavement. Marronage and the Haitian Revolution, however, do not negate the many other ways in which enslaved Africans resisted their oppression, but instead, served as two of the most overt, visible acts reflecting the basic human need to refuse subjugation and oppression. Clearly, all people want to be free and to survive, but in the case of the enslaved Africans in Jamaica,

survival itself was far from assured (let alone freedom), and effective resistance was literally a life or death proposition.

In the historical Caribbean context, this basic, fundamental human need for freedom to live autonomous lives was further thrown into sharp contrast by differences in race and culture. It was quite obvious: those working in the cane fields under the hot American sun, in caves and salt ponds, or in domestic spaces were always Black, while the bank-rolling, whip-cracking individuals who benefited from their exploitation, were almost always white buckra.

Maroons stood in the way of the economic success of plantation-based enterprise, served as a direct threat through raids, and represented a model of freedom to the enslaved Africans who were forced to work on plantations. From the privileged perspective of plantation owners, managers, financiers, and consumers, they represented a lot more than a nuisance. As a viable alternative to enslavement, Maroons represented a constant threat to the system of slavery from the very beginning, but even more so after the Haitian Revolution.

Epilogue

“From One Belly,” But “We Dee-frent, Dee-frent”: Maroon and Non-Maroon Relationship Today

The relationship between Jamaica’s Maroons and enslaved Africans has been one rife with contradictions from the establishment of the very first Maroon community. This often described on one hand as a “rift” resulting from Maroon alliances with the British colonial government, and, on the other as kin originating from a similar African background. On the one hand, Maroons were historically viewed as both allies of enslaved Africans when they harbored those who attempted to escape plantation slavery, while simultaneously antagonistic towards them when they signed treaties in the eighteenth century with the colonial British government to hunt down and return runaways to their owners.

This contradictory relationship between Maroons and enslaved Africans, often called a “duality of identity” has been discussed by numerous researchers including Brathwaite (1994), Bilby (1984, 1994), Zips (1999), and Mavis Campbell (1988). No examination of Jamaica’s recent history, or more specifically, Maroons or slavery in Jamaica, or even contemporary identity and culture in Jamaica can exclude a discussion of the relationship between these two groups. In a similar vein, neither can such an discussion exclude an examination of the importance of oral tradition and ideology, particularly the relationship between ancestors – both historically real or imagined – and

living descendents today of both groups often referenced in their origin myth discussed above.

It is clear that the complex, fluid, and situational relationships that existed between enslaved Africans and Maroons during slavery continue in the present. The tensions caused by the varied alignment to whites and the British colonial government still exists between the two groups, mostly submerged in quiet resentment, according to one member of the current Charles Town Maroon council. He suggested that resentment and jealousy on the part of non-Maroon Jamaicans resulted from their jealousy of Maroon's history as freedom fighters, their knowledge of plants and spiritual powers, as well as their cultural forms manifested in dance, song, drumming, and language. However, because of their common race and general African ancestry Maroons -- once enslaved themselves -- shared a similar historical experience of racial oppression that often threatened their fragile autonomy within the periphery of the plantation landscape.

Today, as in the past, personal relationships between the two groups continue to be situational and are carried on at the individual basis with intermarriage common among them. Relations between the two groups are generally cordial, but there are occasional conflicts that arise. Except in instances of rituals during celebrations and cultural events are differences in ethnicity verbalized, and it is only when pressed that Maroons express the age-old belief that enslaved Africans and their descendents were jealous of their "special" status. Maroons generally believe that non-Maroons were and continue to be jealous of their achievement of freedom; their "special" relationship with the colonial British government, resulting from several peace treaties Maroons signed

with the colonial government; and for their spiritual powers and knowledge of bush medicines.

In today's context, these contradictory relations are manifested in a variety of ways and at various cultural events, many of which I have witnessed myself while conducting my field research in Charles Town and in other parts of Jamaica. In a similar vein, Bilby argued that:

Because the historical split between the Maroons and all other Afro-Jamaicans has left an enduring, though subtle, mark on contemporary social relations, the imagery of this mythological tradition, and the complex of attitudes and emotions surrounding it, retain much of their force in the present-day eastern Maroon communities and the surrounding areas. They remain as living testimony to the historical process of dual ethnogenesis that created in Jamaica two peoples from what otherwise might have been one; and at the same time, even as they commemorate the painful breach between their ancestors, they furnish present-day Maroons and their neighbors with the symbolic means temporarily to heal it. (1984:11)

At the same time, there was also a negative element of their views of each other. Maroons view non-Maroon Africans as being weak with reference to their ancestors' enslavement. Some Maroons claim that non-Maroons are not "trong" ("s" being eliminated in many words in the Jamaican vernacular language) enough to survive hardships today because their ancestors were not strong enough to fight for their freedom.

Further, Maroons themselves continue to reference their "special status" resulting from their relationship with the British because of the benefits that came with, such as the maintenance of their autonomy within Jamaica. Of particular tension are issues relating to land grants to the Maroons by the British government and Maroon exemption from paying tax. That special relationship was tested after emancipation and independence

when Maroons no longer had the political backing of the British government. However, they have been able to use their “special status” held under British rule to negotiate their continued independence from the national Jamaican government.

In a similar way, descendents of enslaved Africans hold equally negative views of Maroons, particularly relating to issues around spirituality and obeah. They are often. For example, “peculiar” behavior of older Maroon men in the village are often explained with “im obeahman,” suggesting Maroon preoccupation with obeah and “roots,” possessing special powers of entering their neighbors’ home at night. These views of Maroons by non-Maroons often portray Maroons as somehow backwards or ill-equipped for the modern world.

In reality, however, many Maroons actually are the ones who travel out of Charles Town, often on trips overseas to visit their families or to participate in cultural events. In addition, many also have prominent careers with the government, while others have lived and worked in the United States, Canada, and England. Maroon response to these comments is to brush it off as jealousy. They maintain that non-Maroons have always been and will always be jealous of their heroism in the past, as well as their traditional healing abilities.

Today, there is a clear distinction between Maroons and non-Maroon Jamaicans, mirroring the feeling of separation that existed during the period of enslavement. For example, while I was living in the village, elder Maroons constantly stressed differences in abilities and characters of Maroons from non-Maroons. On one occasion, Maroon

parentage was credited for a very young child's ability to endure the cold river water during a late night ceremony.

At the end of my research, I was told that most members in the village initially did not believe that I would have endured the long, arduous trips to the Orange Vale plantation site up in the hills where I had planned to excavate, particularly since I was an "obroni" or non-Maroon. Add to that that I was female, "likkle," "brown," and "from foreign," and there might have even been bets that I would have been likely to be "washed down de river" if a good, strong rain came. They were particularly confused that I knew some of the twi-derived words, still used by Maroons when communicating with each other. Thus, it seems that the same situational "wait and see" method of assessing individual trustworthiness between members of the African-descended groups continues today, and this would have been even more important in the hostile context of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Buff Bay.

Although many cultural events are open to everyone, there were many closed to "outsiders" or non-Maroons. There was definitely a feeling of secrecy around many rituals involve in some ceremonies that were guarded. Some researchers have noted that oral historians, in particular, were very guarded with their information on their past history, but I found that once the initial ice was broken of having a new individual in the village, people were very free and open with their knowledge of Maroon culture and life on plantations. Most, particularly the older people, were very eager to talk about what life was like for them, both in their own experiences during their youth or from stories

their parents and grandparents told them. My “chats” often resulted in valuable information of house types and material culture of early 1900s Maroon households.

Thus, we see that today, both Maroon and non-Maroon Jamaicans continue to exhibit multiple identities, as well as a contradictory relationship between the two groups. In general, Maroons and non-Maroons seem to co-exist peacefully, though resentment on both sides reside not too far below the surface this cordial existence. Those residents of Charles Town who identify as Maroon, do so with such pride, but they also identify as Jamaican, African, and even “British subjects.” Maroon identity continues to be viewed with pride among Maroons themselves. However, they continue to be both revered and resented by non-Maroons. Maroons are respected by non-Maroons for their cultural practices, such as their knowledge in herbal healing and the rituals relating to ideological activities like funerals. Maroons are revered as freedom fighters, survivors, and an important part of Jamaican cultural identity.

In fact, many Jamaicans claim some kind of Maroon heritage – some real, many imagined -- in particular circumstances, when convenient. Almost everyone, it seems, has a “granfadder on me madder side” or some other relative who is of Maroon heritage. This was true too for some individuals in Charles Town who do not always claim Maroon identity themselves. They clearly seem to respect Maroon cultural events and participate in them quite freely.

Highlighting the importance of oral tradition, descendants from both communities continue to use the origin myth of Nanny and Seseku to simultaneously link and, for the Maroons to distinguish themselves from each other. The myth continues serve similar

political motivations that allow all Jamaicans to adopt, though situational, an identity of Maroons and freedom fighters. Maroons too have done their own share of co-opting, by adopting Orange Vale as part of Maroon land. Maroons reasoned that they roamed the land on which Orange Vale is located long before the land was sold established as a coffee plantation.

Thus, it seems that even as their ancestors used many similar material goods in similar ways, built homes that resembled each other's, or ate similar types of foods, their communities developed under very complex circumstances into two diverging cultures, while at the same time, maintain a kinship that both separated and united them. For them, the origin myth could be used to provide proof of both their shared blackness, as well as for their differences. The tensions that existed in the past continue to exist in the present, but so too are their continued sharing and kinship. Their complex relationships were derived from cultures originally forged from similar African origins under, similar complex American circumstances during slavery. Their continued reference to their origin myth continues to reflect their contradictory, fluid relationship that simultaneously binds and differentiates them today and in their past. Most importantly, the complex and fluid relationship between these two African-descended groups firmly places them in their place in the very diverse experiences within the African Diaspora.

Figures

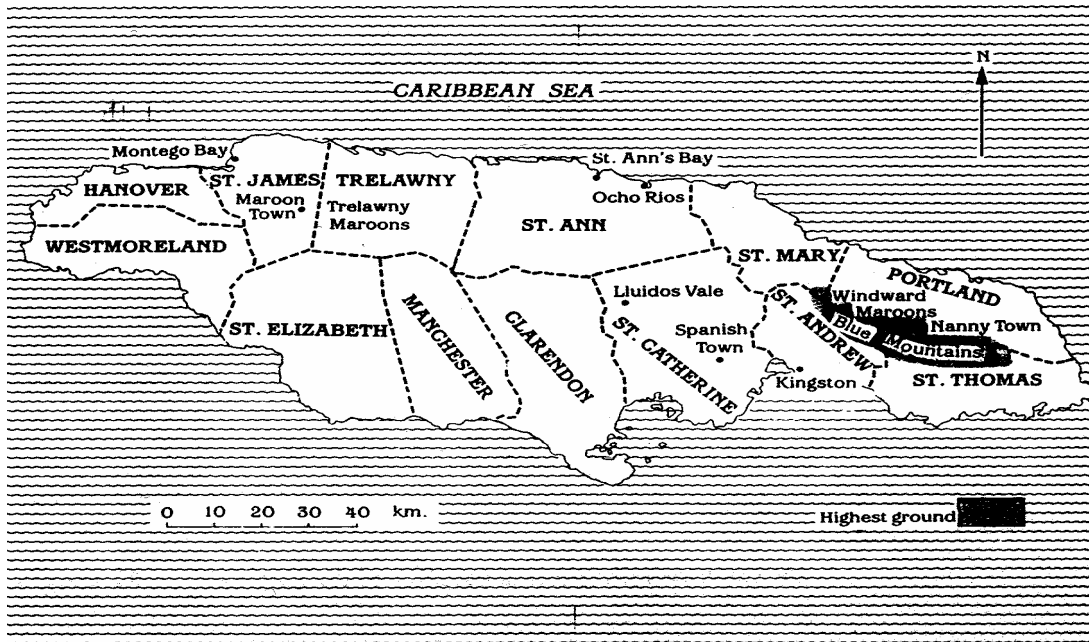


Figure 1: Map of Jamaica

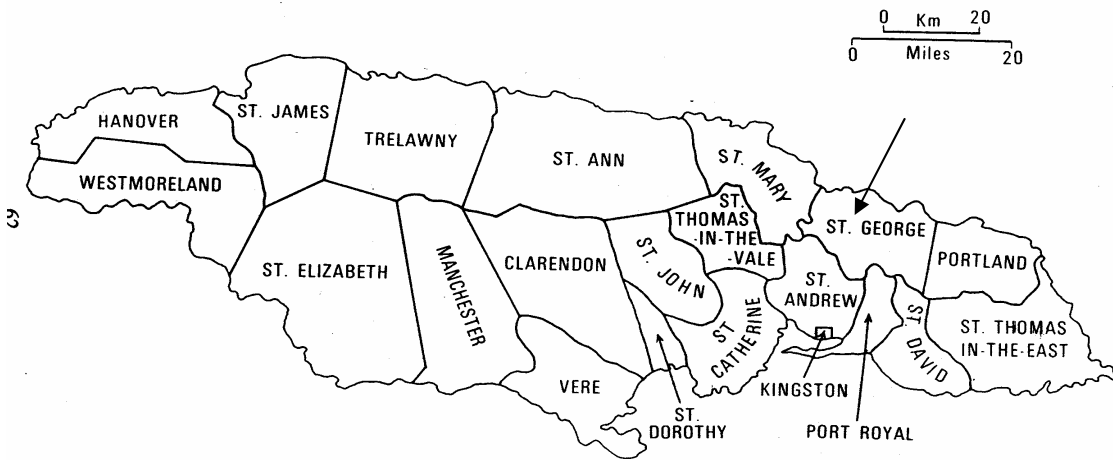


Figure 2: Map of Jamaica with St. George Parish

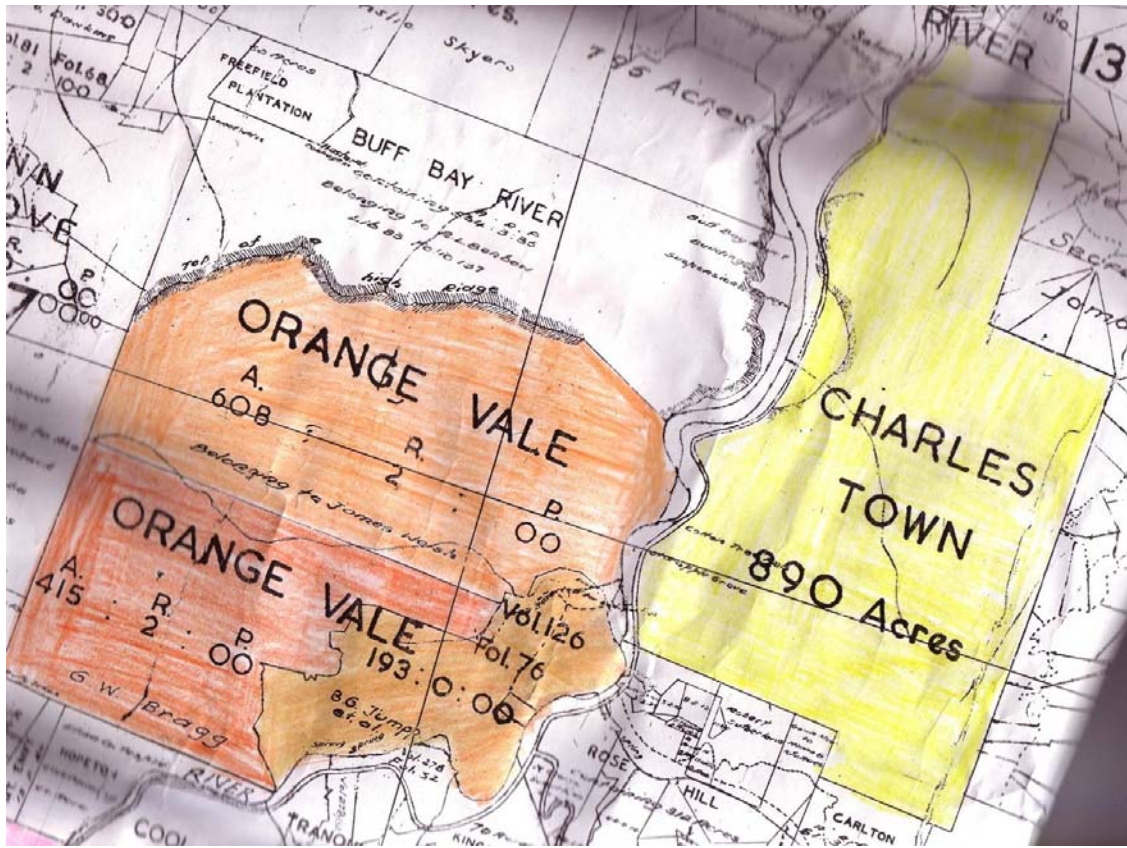


Figure 3: Orange Vale and Charles Town, 1888

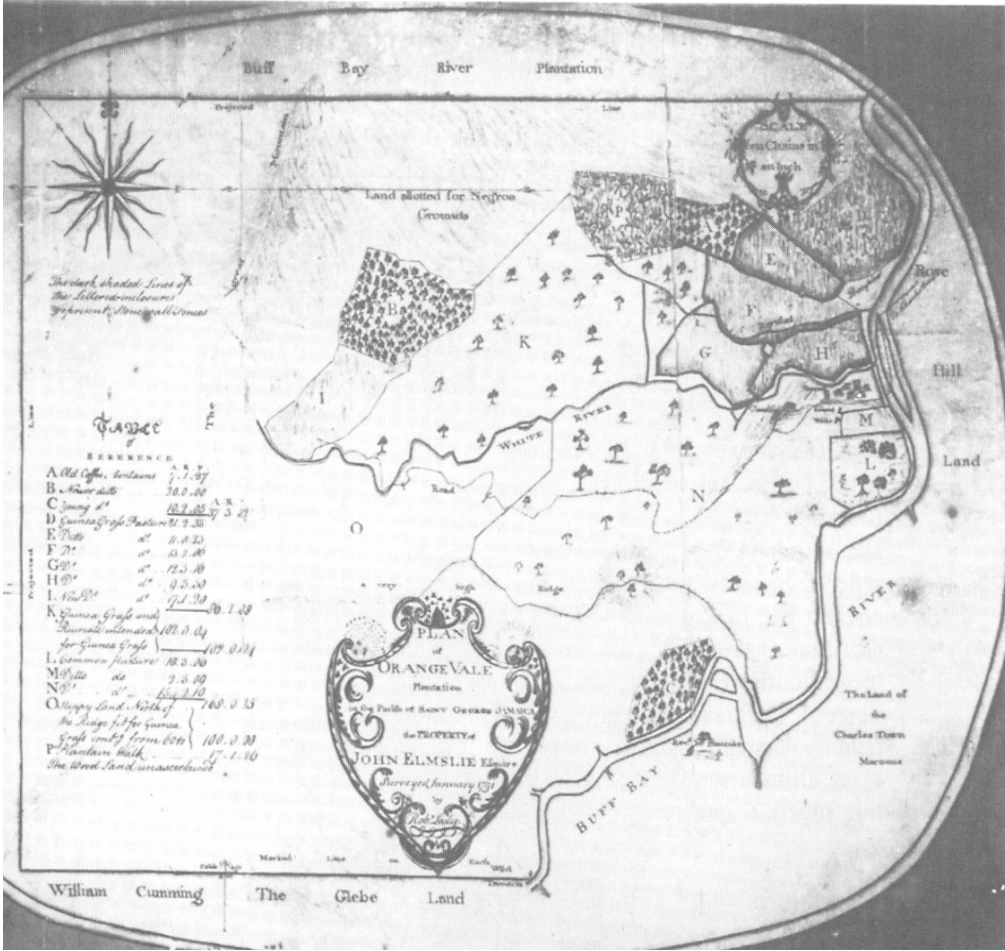
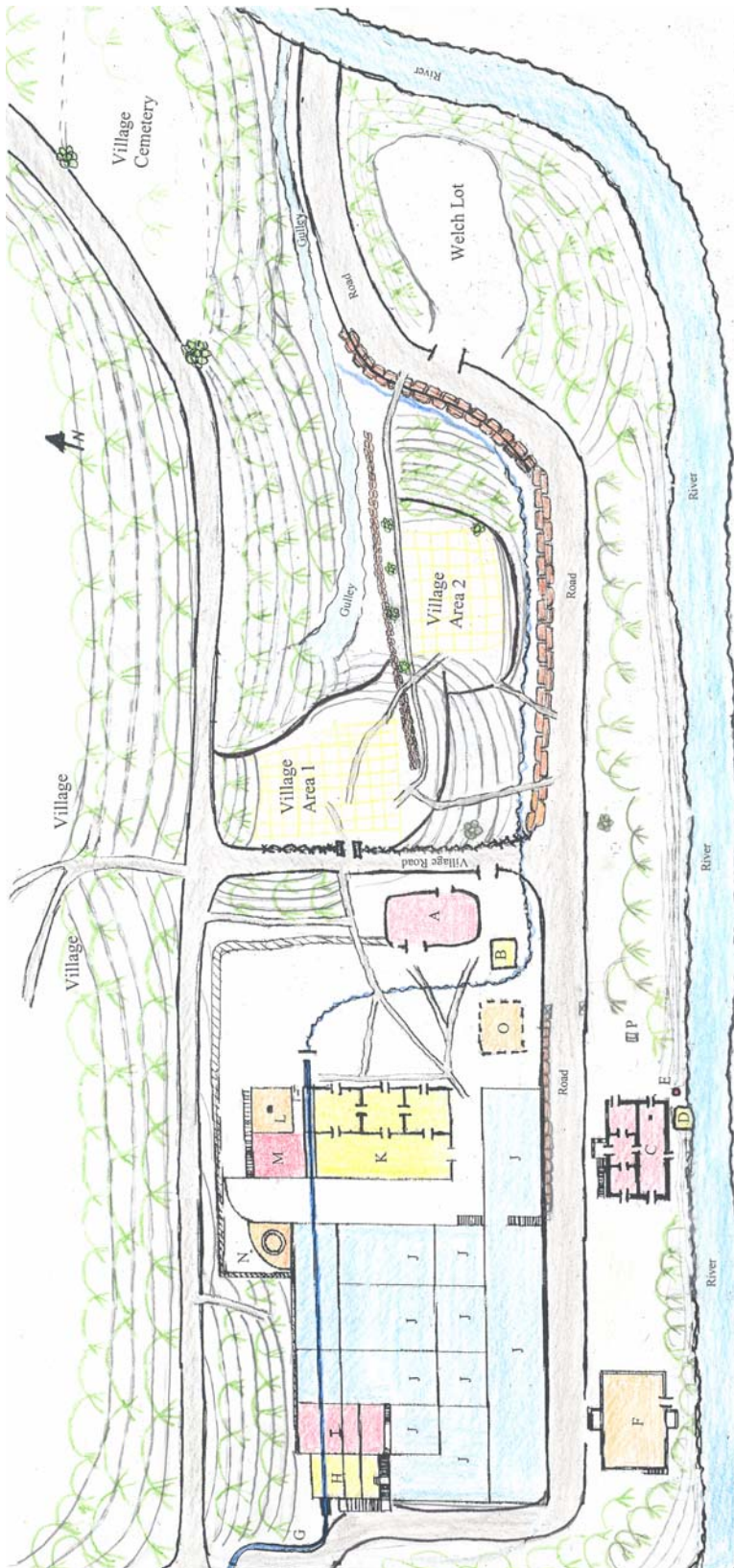


Figure 4: Plan of Orange Vale by Robert Leslie, 1791



- A = unknown structure west of village entrance
- B = small unknown structure behind 'A'
- C = Overseer's Dwelling / "great house"
- D = Small structure behind 'C' (overseer's house)
- E = well behind 'C' (overseer's house)
- F = unknown building (hospital?) west of 'C' (overseer's house)
- G = Aqueduct
- H = Grater Mill House
- I = Cistern
- J = Barbecues
- K = Coffee Store
- L = Water Wheel
- M = Mill House
- N = Animal Peeling Mill
- O = unknown structure

Figure 5: Layout of Orange Vale

Note: Not Drawn to Scale

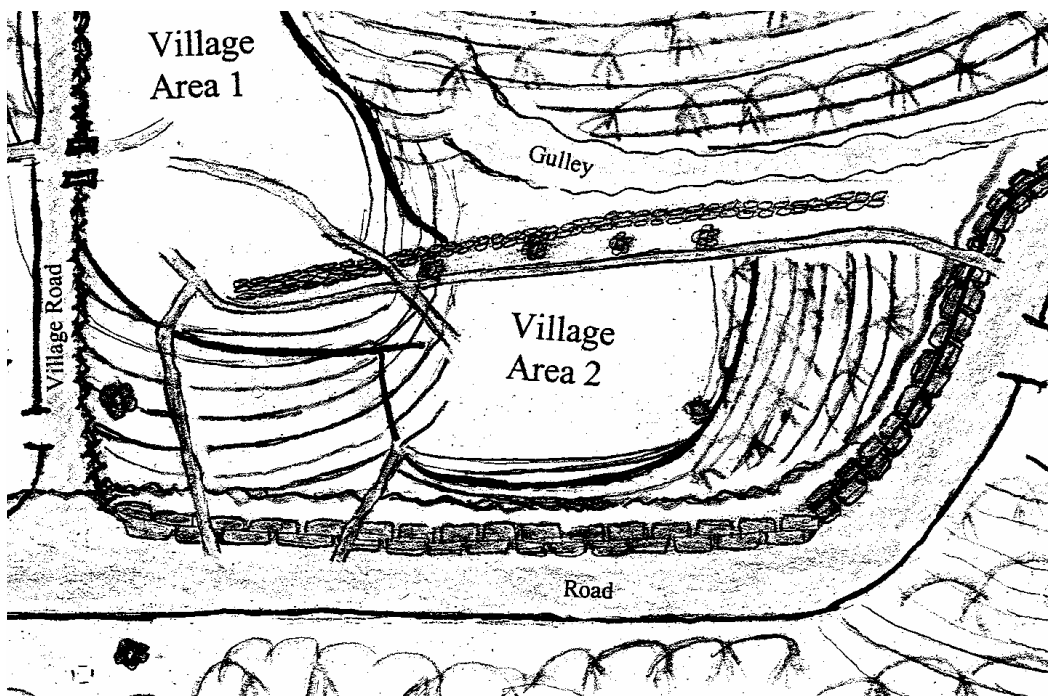


Figure 6: Village Areas 1 and 2, Orange Vale

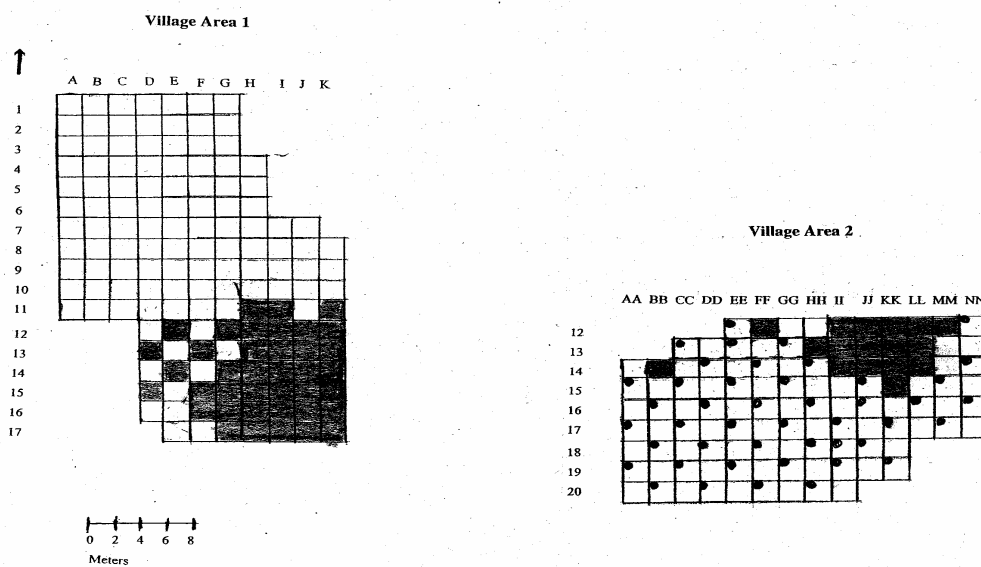


Figure 7: Excavated Areas in Village Areas in Village Areas 1 and 2



Figure 8: Village Area 2, stone cluster

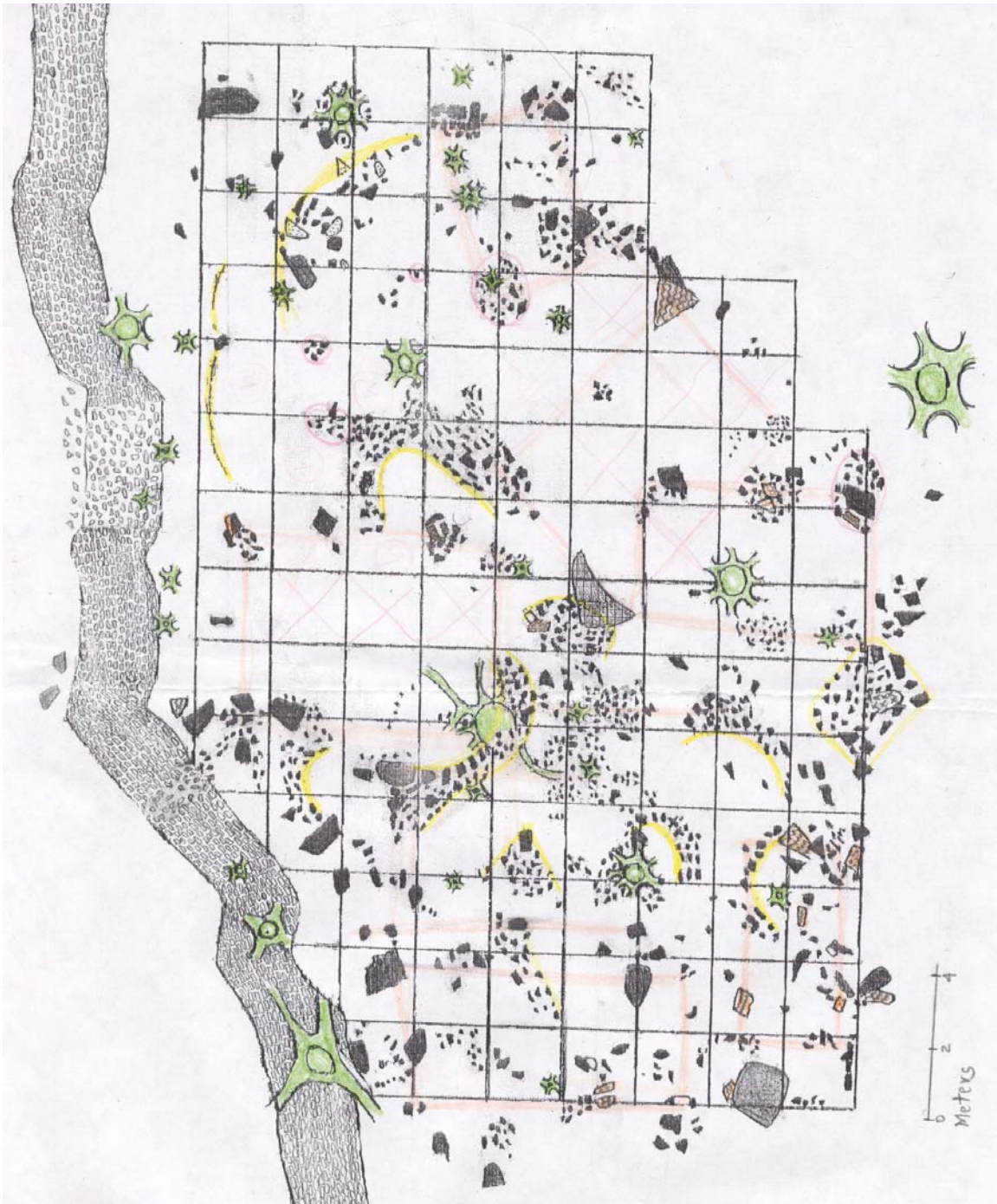


Figure 9: Village Area 2



Figure 10: Stone Scatter in Village Area 1

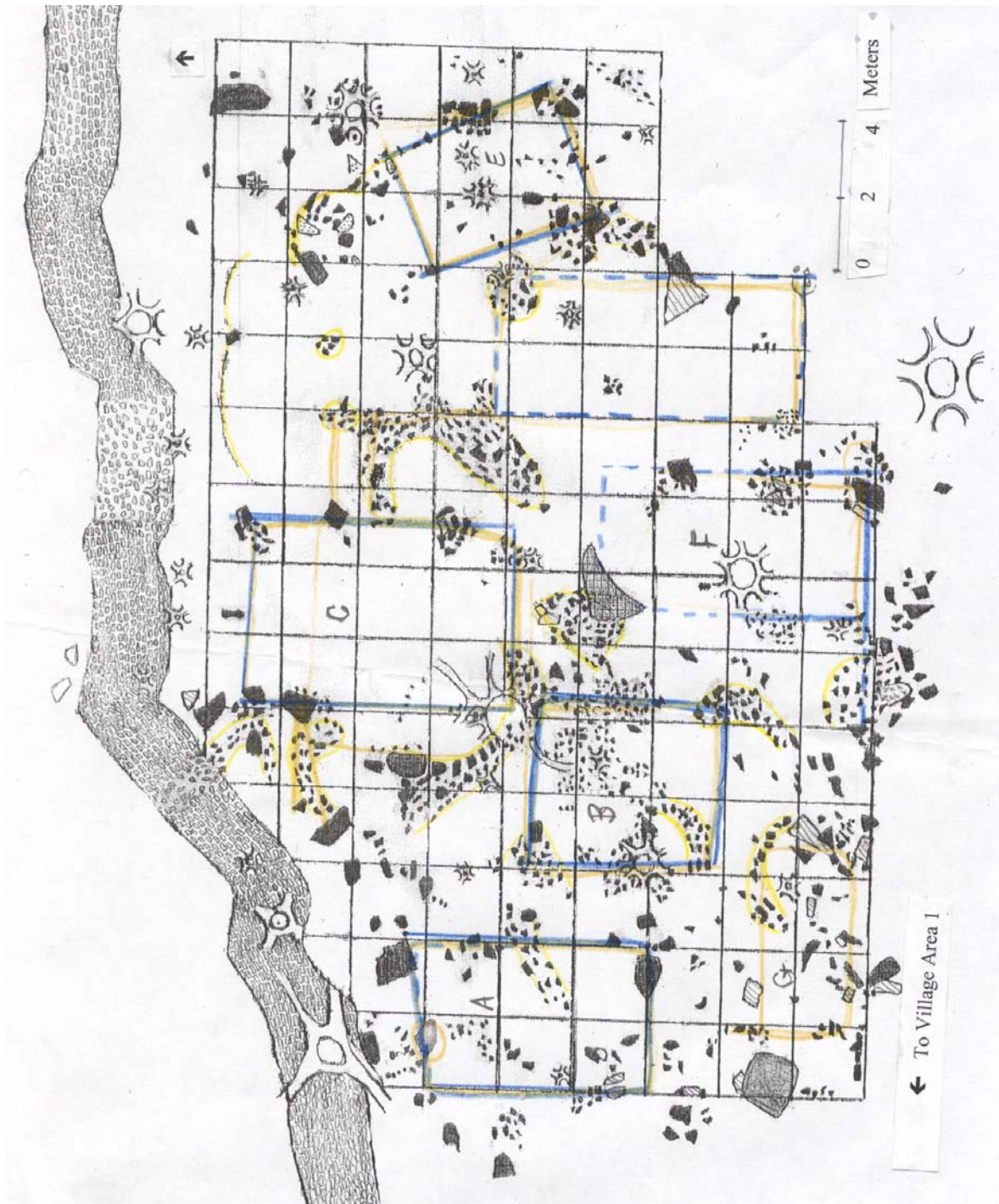


Figure 11: Village Area 2 with Possible House Outline



Figure 12: Stone Heaps in Village Area 2

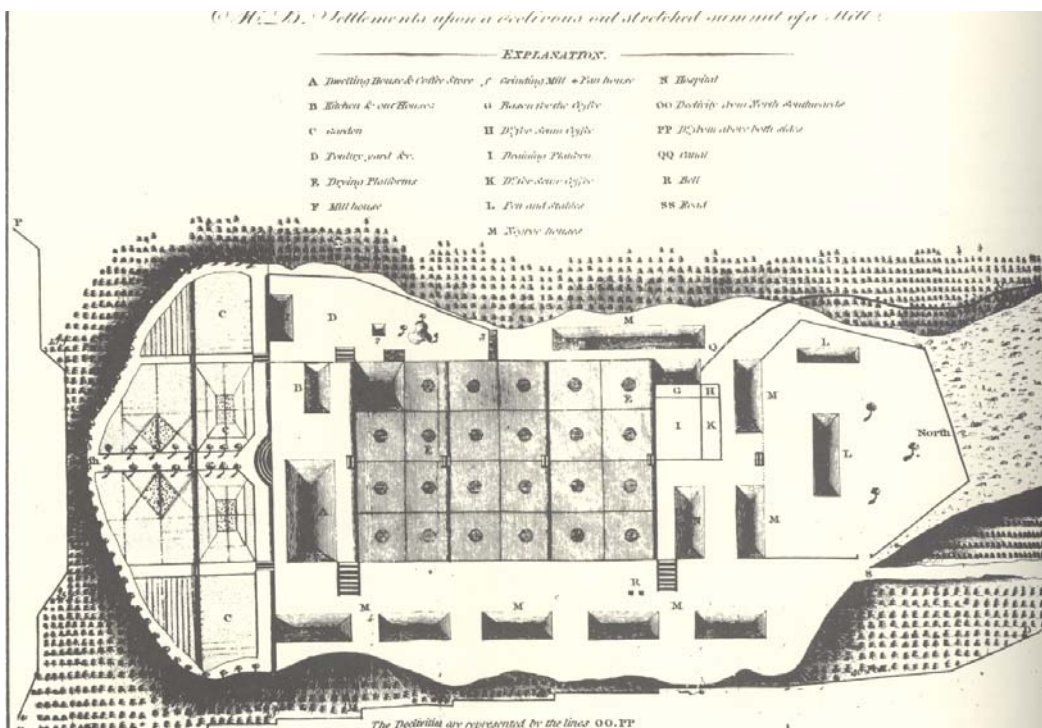


Figure 13: "Ideal" Layout of a Coffee Settlement on a Hill, by Laborie (1798)



Figure 14: Modern House with Functional Stone Foundation



Figure 15: Modern House with Decorative Stone Foundation



Figure 16: Stone Cluster Feature



Figure 17: Construction of a Traditional Style House



Figure 18: Close-up of Stone Foundation on Traditional Style House



Figure 19: Sandstone Steps



Figure 20: Sandstone Steps



Figure 21: Three Stone Cooking Hearth



Figure 22: Yabba Fragments



Figure 23: Yabba with Finger Impression



Figure 24: Horseshoe

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