An Interdisciplinary Approach to the Social Landscape of a Jamaican Sugar Estate, 1754-1828

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Dedication

For Erin, Lillian, Olivia, Natalie, Edward, and Gail, who all in different ways helped inspire me and make this project possible.

Abstract

Archaeological interpretations of domestic household organization have long recognized its role in the construction of social identities and in the furtherance of social goals. While much of the historical archaeology of Jamaica, and indeed the Caribbean more broadly, has focused on exploring spatial and consumption choices of enslaved Africans and African descendants, application of these kinds of analysis at the household level for planters is less widely applied. Yet, as archaeologies of whiteness are beginning to demonstrate, white identities are equally constructed within this same milieu and demand to be interrogated and deconstructed. We might expect this to be particularly true during the period historians have termed the "fall of the planter class" in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, when both the physical and political security of the planter class was under pressure. This project describes evidence recovered from Stewart Castle, a Jamaican sugar plantation great house occupied over the lifetimes of two generations of Stewarts between 1754-1828. By analyzing the spatial and consumptive patterns of planters such as Stewart, it seeks to map the deployment of material strategies and tactics used by this family in furtherance of social goals, namely the maintenance of white supremacy within a changing social order.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Although contemporary society has entered a post-slavery condition, it is clear we still struggle with the effects of white supremacy inculcated during that period. This is due in part to the way the expression of this undercurrent evolves both its framing and material conditions in response to resistance. While historical archaeology has contributed much to this effort in the last four decades by examining the experience of the enslaved and the marginalized, we must now also begin to apply this same examination to the powerful who actively strove to maintain this supremacy. By examining detailed historical examples of the subtle framing and reframing of racial and class-based domination, we can contribute to contemporary recognition of the perpetuation of these processes and resistance to them.

The period 1760-1820 was a critical moment in the history of the contest between enslaved and enslaver in Jamaica. This period aligns with two events that serve as bookends for this study. Tacky's Revolt in 1760 was the last major armed uprising of enslaved laborers in Jamaica. The year of 1823 marked the first legislative attempt in British Parliament to institute emancipation throughout the British colonial Empire. This period thus signals a major shift in resistance tactics from violence to moral and political pressure directed at the slave owning planter class. This project seeks to explicitly test the hypothesis that this shift would have prompted slave owners to deploy changing strategies in response to these new kinds of challenges to racial inequality. The framework for this hypothesis is that all sociopolitical engagement takes place within a social landscape comprised of the embodied practices of daily life.

Landscape of Contestation: Stewart Castle 1760-1820

This project takes as a subject of analysis the Stewart family and their sugar plantation, Stewart Castle Estate, on the north coast of Jamaica in the parish of Trelawny, known as the Stewart's Castle Estate (Fig. 1.1). The estate was developed by two generations of the Stewart family in the Anglo-colonial period in the late-eighteen and early-nineteenth century (Panning 1996). Historian Ira Berlin suggests in slave societies the control of both wealth and state power allowed planters, such as the Stewarts, to use that authority to maintain the racial inequality upon which they built their position (1998: 8-9). Indeed, available documentation of political and military offices indicates James Stewart II played a central role in the affairs of planter society within of Trelawny parish throughout the end of the eighteen century and the beginning of the nineteen century.

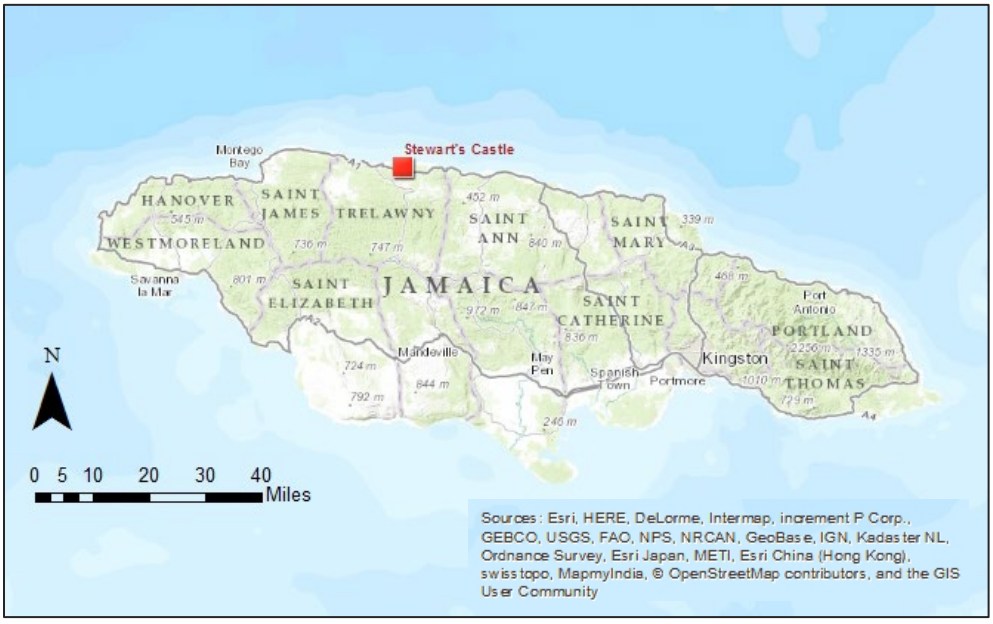


Figure 1.1: Map of Jamaica showing location of Stewart's Castle.

For much of the history of Jamaican society, threats to plantation society were based in the threat of violence. Planters' concerns for security centered on defending against the rebellion of enslaved populations as happened repeatedly throughout the seventeenth and eighteen centuries. The greatest revolt, termed Tacky's Rebellion, of this nature took place in 1760 and was not completely put down for nearly eighteen months (Brown 2008: 129-156). In part, these concerns were tied to the complex relationship between the plantation communities and the Maroon groups of Jamaica. Patterson (1979) traces the origins of the Maroon communities of Jamaica to former slaves who took part in the Spanish guerilla war against the British after their seizure of the island in 1655. These groups were supplemented and expanded by enslaved Africans fleeing the plantations of the coast throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. At various points, from the planters' perspective these groups served as a destabilizing element for the plantation populations of enslaved laborers. Under various pretexts the colonial government of Jamaica fought two wars against various Maroon communities on the island, the First (1725-1739) and Second (1795) Maroon Wars. In the first decades of the nineteenth century, Turner has suggested plantations were increasingly less likely to experience violent uprisings or military conflicts (Turner 1982: 42). This shift has been attributed to a cresting humanitarian movement arising in the British metropole which grew from a new alliance between missionaries and enslaved communities in the West Indies (Turner 1982:102-131; Brown 2008: 157-200; Lambert 2005).

In this conflict, missionaries were to prove the link between metropolitan views on the morality of slavery and the practice of that institution on the ground. As such, they played a central role in the development of demands for the reformation of the slave system. This moral and political pressure was particularly vexing for the planters because it found staunch support among the metropolitan government's colonial policy. Increasingly, creole white planter identities were the subject of attack through colonial policies such as abolition, amelioration, and eventually emancipation (Turner 1982; Lambert 2005). The threat of freedom has been theorized as key moment when social renegotiation would have been most fraught for planters as the very means by which they constructed their "white" identities, the control of black bodies and labor, were inherently called into question (Jordan 1968, Lambert 2005). This project seeks to explicitly test the hypothesis that this shift would have prompted the deployment of new strategic and tactical practices that would produce physical evidence in the social landscape of the plantation system between 1760-1820.

Anthropological Focus: Social Landscapes, Practice, and the Negotiation of Power

In this project, the term social landscape denotes an analytic perspective which attempts to incorporate practice-based approaches to more fully understand the ways agency, temporality, and materiality are deeply interwoven in the negotiation of politicized processes of daily life in the past. A social landscape is comprised of two interrelated and inseparable parts: 1) the *material* and 2) the *representational*. This perspective is deeply entrenched in the work of practice theory, which seeks to provide

an analytical framework which reconciles the materialist interpretations of society based in Marx with the ideational ones that grew from the work of Weber (Ortner 1984).

Practice theory suggests cosmologies, identities, and actions, in short social worlds, are (re)produced through the practices of daily life. Practices serve to create specific ways of perceiving the world and the inherent social possibilities contained within it. How people dress, how they pray, how they eat all serve as a vehicle for structuring their expectations for social norms and interaction. Bourdieu uses the term habitus to denote this process of the production of the social through embodied interaction (1977). Moreover, he suggests the habitus is intricately bound to notions of space and the objects that structure social interactions, for example, the ordering of household space (1970). Other scholars have demonstrated the centrality of the relationship between performativity and materiality in the expression of aspects of identity such as gender (Butler 1993). In both these cases it is important to note, these theories specifically seek to move away from a bifurcation of the meaning making into a mind/body dualism.

Tim Ingold's theorization of the landscape as "the congealed form" of practice over time, is useful way to extend these ideas to broader scales of social interaction (2000: 198). Ingold uses the term "taskscape" to denote the intersection of the landscape, the practical activities entities carry out in the course of daily life, and time. For Ingold, the taskscape "exists not just as activity but as *inter*activity" (199) and is derived from the shared mutual attention given to the performance of an operation (a task or practice) among a network of entities. From any given nexus of embodied engagement with the

world, there is a uniqueness of relationality, governed both in a sense of interactants, locationality and temporality.

Ingold's work is also important for calling to the fore an examination of agency. Along with others, Ingold questions the supremacy of human agency by suggesting that the relationality of the taskscape is itself dependent upon both humans and non-humans whose presence is imbricated within acts of dwelling (Ingold 2000: 199-201). Other scholars go further in suggesting a consideration of a kind of object agency in social interaction (Gell 1998; Latour 2005). These positions represent theoretical extremes, but these scholars do force a consideration that the product of social interactions, in that they are interactivities, cannot be understood as the expression of a singular agentive position, human or otherwise. Rather, this conceptual framework allows for an understanding of practices, and thus landscapes, as the product of relational negotiations of multiple constituencies of social entities. Evaluating the relative role each of those constituencies plays in the production of the shared meaning of interaction leads directly to a consideration of the role of power within practices.

The practice theory of De Certeau (1984) places a key focus on the relationship between the socially powerful and the disenfranchised. De Certeau uses the term strategy to denote the practices of domination deployed by the socially powerful whose goal is to isolate a subject from within its environmental milieu, thus rendering it an object upon which control may be exercised. These less powerful actors, however, "produce through their signifying practices something that might be considered similar to 'wandering lines'…'indirect' or 'errant' trajectories…[which] trace out ruses of other interests and

desires that are neither determined nor captured by the systems in which they develop" (1984: xviii). In contrast to a strategy, a tactic is analogous to an art in this formulation. De Certeau provides a definition of this art of the tactic as "a calculus which cannot count on a 'proper' (a spatial or institutional localization), nor thus on a borderline distinguishing the other as a visible totality. The place of a tactic belongs to the other…a tactic depends on time –it is always on the watch for opportunities that must be seized 'on the wing'" (1984: xix). Importantly then, a tactic is an act which is inherently bound to a strategic occurrence, and which then alters the occasion to suit the consumers purposes though their ability to claim it as a borrowed "time" or "space." Thus, tactics are composed of "vocabularies" of the established dominant discourse and operate with prescribed "syntactical forms." Yet, equally those vocabularies and forms are inherently "poachable" in the service of unintended, and unimagined, desires and goals. Within De Certeau's model, domination and resistance cannot be separated. Tactics and strategies are in a mutually generative process of becoming; and are steeped in history through the iterative developments of new possibilities and responses arising from the negotiation of power through embodied action.

Colonial plantation based societies serve as idealized locations to explore the production of social landscapes as dynamic interactions of strategic and tactical practices steeped in power, temporality and materiality. Mintz and Price have alluded to the inherent complexity of control within slave societies, where the power of the free over the enslaved was complicated by the dependence of the power holders" (1992: 28). This notion of dependency on the labor of the enslaved extends not just to wealth generation

though agricultural production, but even to the level of household operation. Slave labor not only grew the planters' sugar, it also cooked their meals and raised their children. The continuation of these societies thus depended on the constant negotiation of power deployed by planters' strategies and enslaved tactics expressed through the routinized practices that governed the interactions of daily life and thus shaped the landscapes within which these actors dwelt.

Within slave societies, planters deployed their strategies by shaping the social landscape. Materially, planters' wealth, control of labor, and ownership of property enabled them to modify the physical landscape. This power was strongest in the (re)shaping of the planters' own domestic complex, their home. By governing the construction of structures, arranging the location of household activities and allowing or prohibiting access to certain types of people, the planters used space to shape the kinds of social interactions and meanings possible within them. It is important to remember, however, that such strategic shaping of the landscape must have happened in response to the challenges to planters' authority raised during the course of daily practice by enslaved individuals. Thus the physical landscape was a product of both planters' authority and the challenges to such by the enslaved.

Representations of race, or how planters portrayed enslaved/African descendant people through discourse must be seen in the same light. Planters based their authority in discourses such as legal codes, religious practices, and gendered and racialized divisions of labor. All of these were made public through such institutions as the legislature, the courts, churches, and the home. As with the physical landscape, planters had access to

uniquely powerful means of shaping representation, namely the control of the apparatus of state. Yet, the shifting ways planters portrayed their representations of race were inherently bound in a dialectic interaction with the challenges brought by the enslaved to such discourses. Framed in this way, these historical negotiations of power can be read from the way the social landscape was shaped overtime. Furthermore, archaeological and historical investigation provide a means to productively trace such changes over time.

The preceding discussion highlights the deep interrelationship between the landscape and social practices. Moreover, it has suggested that practices are the vehicle through which the negotiation of social power takes place and is ingrained in embodied and iterative ways. These discussions focus our attention on the central role of materials and social life, in the present and the past.

Archaeological Approaches to Materials and Social Life

The role of material culture in human social life has received increasingly urgent attention from diverse theoretical schools of thought within archaeology. At the turn of the century, Schiffer stated "*that virtually all communication and human behavior involve artifacts*" and "both [communication and behavior] mainly consist of people-artifact interactions" (original emphasis) (1999: 5). Even more directly, Schiffer suggests that social action is conducted not by humans utilizing material culture, but rather by human-artifact hybrid "compound interactors" (13). People and things are increasingly seen as "entangled" or enmeshed entities, whose boundaries are increasingly difficult to demarcate (Meskell 2005: 3). More recently and from different theoretical perspective,

Olsen has enjoined archaeology to literally "remember" (or re-member) things in archaeological analysis. Echoing Schiffer to some degree, he contends that it is things that enable the realities of historical episodes of social development and undergirds the fabric of human relations (2010: 5-12). As a science of things, archaeology is positioned to examine the ways specific practices "congealed" in the landscape through the iterative interaction of materials, people, and time in the process of social negotiation of power in the past. I argue the Stewarts' household is a productive nexus from which to explore these processes at work. A brief survey will suggest two particularly productive thematic areas of investigation are the role of spatial and identity practices.

The Household as a Nexus for Social Space and Identity

Archaeology has long focused on the household as an elemental unit of analysis of past social relations, yet this approach has been problematic. Wilk and Rathje defined households as centers of consumption, production, and transmission and suggested that the "household" serve as the central unit in analysis of past behaviors. Yet, defining and analogizing the household, a culturally specific entity, in a diversity of temporal, spatial and cultural contexts has proven difficult (Allison 1999: 2-3). In the historical period, our understanding of "what counts" as a household in both an emic and etic sense is aided by the deployment of the historical record (Beaudry 1984). Even in these contexts, however, a significant "problem" with traditional approaches to the household is their definition as bounded, homogenous units. Households have been framed as socio-economic units which allow for the observation of replicable patterns of consumption and production (South 1977). Alternatively, households were framed within structuralist interpretation as

units that reflected already existing cultural values that ordered the lifeways of their occupants (Deetz 1996; Glassie 1976). While useful, such approaches generally envision the household as an indivisible unit, which reflects the power, status and worldview of a ubiquitous "head of household." As such, these models fail to allow the exploration of the internal dynamics of contested membership that may actually represent the interactivity that defines a household (Allison 1999; Brandon and Barile 2004; Beaudry 2015: 4-5). Rather, practice based approaches to households envision these places as localities that embody plans of action as expressed through the practices and material culture deployed in the negotiation of daily life within a community of membership, whether that membership is willing or not (Beaudry 2015: 4).

Lightfoot provides a particularly useful model for exploring such contexts in a series of investigations at the multiethnic community that formed at Russian trading post of Fort Ross (Lightfoot, et. al. 1998). Fort Ross was a site where multiple populations were brought together through processes of colonialism, and forced to cohabit within the same landscape, and even within the same households. This ethnic pluralism included Russian administrators, native Alaskans (mostly male hunters), and native Californians. Lightfoot's analysis centered on the comparison of spatialized and daily household practices between a native Alaskan "neighborhood", comprised primarily of interethnic households of male Alaskans and female native Californians, with non-pluralistic native patterns within the Fort Ross region and Alaskan contexts. Importantly, this study was facilitated by a multi-scalar contextual approach to the investigation of the community, which highlighted the multiple ways cultural continuities and change where effected

within the social landscape by the variety of actors brought together at Fort Ross. Such analysis demonstrated the negotiation of social identities through the examination of "concordances and anomalies…in the daily practices involving the maintenance of residential space, the organization of trash disposal, the menu and preparation of food, the material culture from domestic contexts, and settlement layout" (1998: 205-206). Broadly, Lightfoot suggests, large scale patterns of spatial organization represented the structuring principles and worldview of the Russian colonizers, thus on a broad spatial scale various neighborhoods were defined and remained discrete within the landscape. At the household scale, however, the interethnic households within the Native Alaskan community displayed patterns of continuity with non-colonial community practices. The Alaskan and native California patterns themselves, however, were subject to negotiation, admixture, and innovation in the performance of habitual practices of household activities. This work highlights the utility of a household approach to moments of social negotiation. It demonstrates both that social identity is a tool for this negotiation and potentially accessible through situating the household within a multi-scalar, contextual analysis that recognizes the power of material culture that is deployed in daily practices. Additionally, it demonstrates that situating the household within a broader community scale facilitates our ability to recognize the broader processes within which such daily practices are structured. Thus the trash midden, or the house yard in this analysis is not just a fixed feature; it also is an embodiment result of social negotiation and reproduction in response to asymmetries of power. Singleton's recent study of an enclosed slave village on a Cuban coffee plantation (2015) offers an example from the Caribbean that illustrates the necessity of this mutli-scalar, contextual approach. Her analysis of the

walled enclosure suggests such singular elements of the landscape necessarily must be interpreted through an examination of broader questions about plantation practices of labor organization, master-slave relations, and societal structures.

This project envisions the household not as a bounded socio-economic unit, but rather as a particular nexus within the social landscape within which a diverse array of human and non-human entities interweave in of acts/tasks/practices of dwelling that constitute the (re)production of social worlds (Lightfoot 1998; see Brandon and Barile 2004: 7-9). As such, a household perspective extends far beyond just the architectural footprint of a set of structures; instead interactivity links the practices of the household to scales of the communities (i.e. plantations) and regions as well (Singleton 2015). The interpretation of the Stewarts' "household" prompts an exploration of broader networks, within which planters and the enslaved circulated as they contested social power. These perspectives suggest key social sites of the negotiation of power can be found in spatial and identity construction practices.

Spatial Practices

This project explicitly builds upon previous work within anthropology and historical archaeology on the role of spatialize practices in the negotiation of power. An illustrative early example is the work of Mark Leone and others on the connection between ideology and spatial control in elite garden plans in colonial Maryland. Leone suggested the deployment of landscape design, particularly the control over perspective within the garden, was a means by which social elites attempted to materialize and naturalize their ideological claims to social control (Leone 1984; Leone and Shackel

1990; Leone, et. al. 2005). Through the practice of construction of the garden grounds, and also of interacting with this design individuals would be subjected to inculcating practices which sought to advance the claims to political and economic status by the emergent capitalists. At heart, Leone suggests, to experience the garden is to be inculcated with the ideology of class. Extending this analysis to a broader scale more akin to settlement analysis, Leone and others have examined the imbrication of ideology in early city planning (Leone, et. al. 1998). Subsequently, Leone's analysis has been critiqued on the grounds that it overstates the uniformity of interpretation such a figured symbol would elicit within a heterogeneous population, where the message may have been "missed," misinterpreted, or assigned alternate meanings (see Hicks 2005 for a review; also Wilkie and Bartoy 2000: 748).

Terrance Epperson has done very similar work, though with a stronger focus on the issue of the construction of racialized difference, in connection to examining the spatial ordering of the plantation landscapes in colonial Virginia (Epperson 1999). Epperson suggests these landscapes where crafted to create different experiences for racialized groups. Inclusionary practices, such as formalized architecture, were aimed at the fellow planters and sought to legitimize socio-economic status both of the group as a whole and of members within it (1999; 2001). In contrast, a landscape of discipline was aimed at enforcing difference with enslaved, black laborers. For example, Epperson suggests the distribution spatial arrangements of structures on some landscapes may have facilitated the surveillance of enslaved individuals by white authority, thus enacting a form of panoptic discipline on the plantation. Alternately, he suggests structures of

enslavement were “erased” from the landscape through screening. In both instances, however, he suggests these practices served to alienate black laborers from the community of whites. This pattern is also one marked by Armstrong during the early phases of occupation at Seville sugar plantation on Jamaica’s north coast (1999, 2011).

Delle has produced a body of work that explores the multiple ways space was related to negotiations of power within colonial Jamaica. Specifically, he analyzed the organization of space at the level of the region, the plantation, and the household scale in a series of works examining Jamaican coffee plantations in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century (1998; 1999; 2000; 2011). Particularly, he focuses on way planters’ constitution of the landscape was an attempt to inculcate a habitus which created and reinforced boundaries of class, race, and gender between and among planters and laborers (2001; 2011). Delle’s work has also attempted to explore the ways African descendants deployed their own spatialize practices to contest continued white usurpation of their labor in the nineteenth century, primarily through marronage, absenteeism and squatting (1998).

The historical archaeology of Jamaican plantations has strong roots in exploring the ways spatialized practices within the household were used by enslaved individuals to resist the dehumanization of the plantation system. Both Armstrong (1991) and Higman (1998) deployed household analysis as the basis of their studies of enslaved communities at Drax Hall and Montpelier plantations respectively. Armstrong subsequently, attempted to use spatialized practices within house yards (the houselot), such as doorway orientation (Armstrong 2011) or the burial of family members within the yard

(Armstrong and Fleischman 2003), to demarcate enslaved resistance and contestation of space though practice at Seville plantation. Importantly, he suggests spatialized practices exhibited variation through time that potentially resulted from the negotiation of power between planters and enslaved laborers. For example, he suggest Seville plantation originally was arranged in a panoptic configuration to ensure view sheds from the main house into enslaved quarters, but that subsequently later laboring populations where able to negotiate the movement of their households to non-visible localities (2011: 91-92).

This brief review makes clear that spatial practices were inherently important to the negotiations of racialized power within the Anglo-Colonial plantation world, and specifically within the slave society of Jamaica. Moreover, it asserts the strength of archaeological inquiry in documenting such practices and their change through time within both the household and plantation community.

Identity Practices

This project also explicitly builds on scholarship that links materiality, identity, and practices to the negotiation of power within contested households or communities. Leone and his collaborators have provided early examples of the use of material culture to formulate identities in the service of negotiating social power within communal landscapes. Leone has been keenly aware of the relationship between materiality of the artifact and its use in the construction of ideology and identities. In a close critique of the Shakertown outdoor museum from the 1980s, Leone contends that the absence of the material basis of Shaker "agrarian industrialism" in favor of a portrayal "peculiarity, bucolic beauty, neatness and isolated oddments" fashions the museum itself into an

ideotechic artifact by veiling the Shaker critique of industrial capitalism (Leone 1981: 308). The museum thus becomes, in Leone's analysis, a conduit for the perpetuation of the ideology of industrial capitalism that conditions and naturalizes the contemporary visitor. Leone identified the deployment of scientific instruments among the emergent colonial elites of Annapolis, Maryland as a similar use of objects to fashion identities that facilitated or naturalized the emergent capitalists' claims to power (1988). Paul Shackel has similarly explored the role of material culture in the disciplining of the modern laborer's identity (1993). These analyses link the deployment of objects in the formation of identities to the negotiation of the naturalization of social power.

Alternate application of practice theories are more explicitly tied to the exploration of the construction of difference. In an example of the prevailing model of identity construction, Wilkie asserts that material objects were used as nuanced and fluid symbols in the negotiation of the variety of identities that individuals used in response to the multitudinous and shifting contexts of interpersonal interactions of the daily life of freed women on a Louisiana plantation (2000: 3-16). The basis of this model of identity construction model is the idea that material "can mediate a variety of meanings, often simultaneously" (Beaudry et. al. 1991: 157).Within this model power is still centrally a concern in the interpretation of the meanings materials possess, but room is opened for contested, multiple and flexible uses of "shared" material in response to the governing social norms within which individuals operate.

Stephen Silliman has used analysis of material practice as a means to explore the linkages between embodied identities, production and political consciousness from the

stance of those resisting the imposition of power (2001). Silliman's case study focused on the archaeological evidence of Native American laborers who were drawn into the labor force of the Rancho Petaluma north of San Francisco. In the decades following 1834, the Mexican government opened the California landscape to "secular colonialization," which expanded the contest of colonialism beyond mission system (2001: 197). In an era where metal and glass were available as means to produce cutting edges, the continuation of "traditional" lithic reduction practices among the community at Rancho Petaluma can be seen to be a materialized rejection of colonial practice and a reaffirmation of native identity in this moment of expanding colonial power (2001: 203). Silliman's work thus seeks to explore the methods by which community's facing the power imbalances of colonialism used differentiation of material practice, and the identities tied to those practices, as a means to assert political agendas in a contested social landscape.

Consumption of mass-produced objects in the formation of identities has formed another major area of archaeological study. Mullins has suggested that such studies are centered on understanding the ways goods are socialized to "confirm, display, accent, mask, and imagine who we are and who we wish to be" (Mullins 2011: 135). In his own early work, Mullins has offered a seminal study in the use of consumption in the formation of identities that serve socio-political purposes. Mullins showed how African Americans pursued a purchasing pattern that mitigated racism in the marketplace and sought to combat contemporary racist images, which suggested consumption was an act of symbolic manipulation in post emancipation Annapolis, Maryland. An analysis of the trash from several Annapolis African American households demonstrates the

overwhelming preference for brand beverage and canned good products (Mullins 1999b: 173–177). The advent and wide availability of brand canned and bottled goods created a de-racialized costumer experience, between the producer and the consumer. Local bulk goods purchases, where selection and prices were set during face-to-face interactions between consumer and supplier did not share in this perceived guarantee of anonymity (Mullins 1999b: 174). Furthermore, Mullins felt the prestige and the quality attached to brands from the earliest period, reinforced an identity of gentility which African Americans sought to project into their broader social interactions (Mullins 1999a: 118–123). This image stood as a direct refutation of racist stereotypes increasingly developed throughout the Jim Crow era (Mullins 1999a: 39). At the same time this work pointed a way forward in for analysis based in the historical use of mass-produced European consumer goods (e.g. ceramics) that characterized "the complicated effects of commodity consumption across lines of difference and probed the ways various groups embraced as well as resisted consumer culture" (Mullins 2011: 141).

The preceding review suggests practices of identity, as expressed both through production and consumption, were centrally important to the negotiation of power in contested colonial and racialized contexts. Moreover, the household and the community have been productive sites for archaeologists to develop evidence of the differential expression and deployment of identity in these negotiations of power.

Explorations of the household have the potential to explore the socially structured choices of past actors as they changed, or not, the arrangements of their material world (spatial and object) in service of social work. This is particularly so if we use practice

based approaches as a framework for understanding the ways material are manipulated within households of mixed social actors, such as the domestic locations of planters.

Methodology

Disentangling complex social processes, such as lay at the root of this project, is dependent on the "cabling" or combination of multiple strains of evidence to root conclusions about past social action in a scientific basis (Wylie 2002). The archaeological recovery of material culture is a central strain of this evidence. But as King points out, a unique advantage of historical archaeology is that contextuality is formed not just through the material record, but also through the documentary one (King 2006: 305). Indeed, the written and archaeological record serve as complementary critical sources for the interrogation of past action (Wilkie 2006).

Multi-scalar and comparative archaeological data are equally important for the construction of contextually sensitive and meaningful interpretation. Data recovery plans at the site included systematic shovel test survey and the excavation of larger 1 x 1 m units to accomplish sampling of intact archaeological features. Sampling techniques will include collections of materials for soil chemical testing and floatation, to recover micro-artifacts and ensure representations of faunal material are not biased by only conducting macro sampling. Assemblages for comparison are available from on-going work conducted by the Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (DAACS), which deploys the same methodologies at the domestic site of the estate's enslaved village.

These methodologies will provide a basis for the evaluation of a nested series of hypothesis that attempt to disentangle the possible ways planters shaped the social landscape of Jamaican plantations, such as Stewarts Castle, in the decades from 1760-1820 in response to the physical and political challenges to their authority in the era of the fall of the planter class.

Research Questions

The data derived from field and archival work will be arrayed to explore the following questions, guided particularly by the multi-scalar and contextual spatial ordering, material culture usage, and habituated landscapes foregrounded by practice base approaches to the household perspective (Lightfoot 1998; Barile and Brandon 2004; Beaudry 2015).

1. *Are there material manifestations of changing practices within the Stewart household and/or landscape that can be tied to specific historical developments in the history of resistance to enslavement? Particularly, are there changes to the architectural and spatial arrangements of the domestic compound?*

This baseline question concerns the nature of change and continuity at the site. In effect this question asks can we observe correlated change in the material and representational aspects of the social landscape with the sociopolitical changes taking place between 1760-1820. To answer this basic question, the site's structure, extent, and chronology must be established. Archaeologically, an STP survey will delineate the site extent and provide a gross approximation of correlations between temporality and space. This method will also provide data concerning potential functional divisions within the site, and whether those "activity areas" move over time. The targeted excavation of

archaeological features will provide a needed sense of chronology at the site, both in terms of construction and of the deposition of material culture associated with the household over time. Architectural survey of the standing structures will be used to supplement this analysis. Documentary data likewise may be developed to refine site chronology.

2. *If changes are identified can these be attributed to particular patterns of changing spatialized practice that hold meaning within the social landscape? Do patterns related to surveillance, security, or segregation change as resistance takes on a political aspect?*

Given the inherent contradiction of power within the planters' domestic unit (Mintz and Price 1992), security within the household might predictably be of great concern to the planter family. As such, one would expect that spaces of production and flows through private spaces would be carefully constructed with an eye towards visibility and access. This patterning of spatial usage can be extended further as well, to potentially examine the channeling of movement through the compound.

Finally, these analyses may be able to speak to the question of segregation of the landscape. Traditionally the plantation was understood to represent a hierarchical landscape (Dunn 1972), but as Jordan (1968) has suggested the immanence of freedom may have restructured such landscapes into more starkly segregated ones as traditional markers of racialized difference were called into question. At Stewart Castle, the most prominent feature of the household is the wall that forms an inner courtyard about the rear of the planter's house. This feature provides a clear demarcation of interior and exterior social space and may provide key insights into the arrangement of social space in such contexts. Which activities, and at which moments in time, where deemed as

appropriate to take place within these walls, and which need be conducted outside? The development of site chronology, identification of activity areas, and the correlation of tasks/household chores to enslaved labor through ethnohistorical comparison will all be necessary to explore this question.

3. *Can changes in patterns of household production and consumption be identified? Do these changes suggest shifts in the construction of difference? Are there identifiable patterns marking white creoles(planter) identity, and how might these shift over two generations?*

Activity areas associated with particular household functions are traditional ways to map the use of material culture and daily practices within households (Beaudry 2015: 3). These may include cooking, the production of household goods, and even cleaning (removal of refuse) within specific areas of the domestic compound. By tracing functional activity areas, archaeological interpretation of the variation of specific habituated patterns may be possible. Changes to the patterning of when, how, and by whom within the household is using these areas of production can be linked to the negotiation of identity and social power (Delle 1998; Lightfoot 1998). Closely related to questions of changing patterns of production and activity areas within the household is the issue of the consumption of those goods. As noted above, the role of consumer choice and patterns of consumption as a means to assert a social message has deep roots in archaeological understandings of identity (Mullins 2011, 1999a, 1999b). While much of the historical archaeology of Jamaica, and indeed the Anglo-Caribbean more broadly, has focused on the social and material conditions that shaped production and consumption

choices of enslaved Africans and African descendants (Bates 2015; Hauser 2008; Reeves 2011), similar studies of planter patterns have not received as much attention.

Exploring this thematic area at Stewarts Castle could be facilitated by an exploration of possible changes in patterns ceramic consumption (Lightfoot 1998; Mullins 1999a; 1999b). Broadly, creolization studies have emphasized the ways that certain practices of consumption from both African and European antecedents admixed within the plantation context (Dunn 1972; Mintz and Price 1992; Heath 1999). Lambert has suggested, for Barbados at least, that the metropolitan attack on the colonial white creole identity of planters prompted increasing attempts by that group to "prove" their Englishness in the early nineteenth century (2005). Historians of Jamaica (Turner 1982; Brown 2008) echo this pattern of metropolitan attacks on creole white identities. While Jamaica and Barbados were two very different places, it may be productive to explore the possibility that material culture was deployed by white creole planters, such as the Stewarts, to signal inclusion and exclusion from communities.

Chapter Structure

The following chapters mark key elements within this broader project. First, in my second chapter, I turn to a more detailed exploration of the social theory undergirding my approach to examining the planter family at Stewart Castle. By focusing on anthropological practice theories, I attempt to highlight the differing perspectives on the issues of agency, materiality, and time offered by schools of thought currently used to inform archaeological interpretation. This review helps underscore my own approach

towards understanding the social landscape of Stewart Castle through both spatial and identity practices as expressed through material culture.

My third chapter turned towards a biography of the Stewart Castle household and estate. Through a fine-toothed exploration of the available documentary records available in a variety of archives I seek to contextualize the ways the events of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century period known as the fall of the planter class played out in relation to this household. Of note I try to trace the differences in plantation production, household composition and social position, and document the relationship of the enslaved community living at Stewart Castle over the course of the two generations of Stewart ownership of the estate. This detailed household biography informs my subsequent interpretations of the changing usage of material culture by the household explored in the following chapters.

Prior to discussing interpretation, however, in my fourth chapter I briefly describe the fieldwork methodologies used to develop data for interpretation at the site. To create the strongest interpretative approaches, I have attempted to use an interdisciplinary approach drawing on architectural and archaeological methods. This third chapter discusses particularly the archaeological methods, shovel test pit survey and stratigraphic unit excavation, chosen to explore both the spatial structure and change in material culture within the household over time.

The following chapter turns to a more detailed exploration of the architectural component of this project. Through a detailed survey of the standing architecture at the site, I document how the site structures changed over time at Stewart Castle. I develop a

proposed phased chronology for the site based on this evidence base and suggest there are three iterations of the landscape each serving different social purposes.

In chapter six, I turn towards an exploration of the artifact assemblage recovered from archaeological excavations at the site. In this chapter I attempt to accomplish several goals. First, by documenting the assemblage, I seek to establish a baseline understanding of what kinds of materials were present in planter households, a project which is still in its infancy in Caribbean contexts, with a few notable exceptions. I also seek to use the survey assemblage to document both the location of activities areas within the household, as well as document changes in those locations over time. I also turn towards an exploration of the stratigraphically excavated portion of the assemblage to document changes in household consumption over time.

In my conclusion, I seek to tie these various strains of evidence together. I document how the Stewarts used tactical and strategic practices to influence the social landscape of Stewart Castle. Furthermore, I detail how these practices changed over time in relation to the changing patterns of challenges to planter authority expressed over the course of the period termed the fall of the planter class.

To summarize, this project seeks to explicitly test the hypothesis that the shift from violent to political resistance to enslavement in Jamaica would have prompted slave owners to deploy changing strategies within a social landscape comprised of the embodied practices of daily life. It seeks to accomplish this through a detailed archaeological, architectural, and historical examination of the Stewart Castle estate in Trelawny parish. Change and continuity in the social landscape will be traced through the

use of multiple lines and scales of evidence and analysis. More specifically, the household, situated as a nexus of practice, is developed as a site with particular potential for the exploration of changing spatial and material culture practices associated with the negotiation of social power.

Through this project, I seek to make several interventions in the current discourse regarding supremacy. First, I contend that as a field it is time for us to turn once again to studying the powerful, in this case a Jamaican resident planter, in order to fully interrogate the construction of particular strategies of white supremacy in the end stages of slavery. In doing so, we can begin to recognize strategies deployed by this group were varied and responded to the circumstances of resistance deployed against them in attempts to reorganize power in the period defined as the "fall of the planter class."

Chapter 2: Practice Theories

> "*The activities of the individual are determined to a great extent by his social environment, but in turn his own activities influence the society in which he lives, and may bring about modifications of its form. Obviously, this problem is one of the most important ones to be taken up in a study of cultural change…*" (Boas 1920: 316).

This chapter provides a theoretical framework for the research and interpretations at Stewart Castle. Given the radical social change that occurred in the Anglo-colonial Caribbean over the period of occupation of Stewart Castle, this project is inherently concerned with understanding how individuals deal with social "change." Therefore, I take seriously Boas's observation that the anthropological study of change must confront the nature of the relationship between individuals and the societies of which they take part, and I suggest that theories of practice represent a useful answer to Boas's "problem."

Practice theory suggests social worlds are (re)produced through the practices, actions and interactions, of daily life. Practices serve to create specific ways of perceiving the world and the inherent social possibilities contained within it. How people dress, how they pray, how they eat all serve as a vehicle for structuring their expectations for social norms and interaction. Yet, concurrently, the very fact that such actions build the social world suggests that change and variation of action redounds as change to the social structure.

Practice theory is not a singular body of thought aside from a general notion that it is "the study of all forms of human action, but from a particular – political – angle"

(Ortner 1984: 149). Instead the term "practice" is perhaps most usefully conceived as a line of inquiry amorphously bounded by a set of generalized themes or questions. How do individuals and social structures interact? How are social structures and individual practices reproduced? What is the role of (un)conscious action in practice? If any measure of conscious action is called for, who/what has agency within these frameworks?

For this reason, the chapter explores the thematic areas of agency/power and the mechanics of social reproduction through comparing three practice theorists: Foucault, Bourdieu and De Certeau. Foucault and Bourdieu are heavily cited in the archaeological and historical literature, and implicitly or explicitly ground most previous practice based approaches with a heavy emphasis on power and class. De Certeau's formulation of practice is explored because in contrast to the two former theorists, his work emphasizes interaction of various social actors and attempts to allude more strongly to the notion of temporality. A final section develops more strongly the themes of temporality and materiality, thus brings the conversation full circle back to the notion of what is a social agent.

Examining Models of Practice

In the mid-1980s, Sherry Ortner offered a review of practice theory that succinctly presented both the benefits and potential problematics of the then emergent, and diverse, theoretical position for the field of anthropology (1984). Ortner contended the greatest benefit of practice theory lay in its potential ability to link the scales of the individual and the social structure. In direct answer to the quotation above, she states that

practice theories grew from an "express and urgent need to understand where 'the system' comes from-how it is produced and reproduced, and how it may have changed in the past or be changed in the future" (146). Secondly, she saw benefit in practice's ability to develop complex and nuanced explorations of asymmetry in social arrangements; both in terms of the relationship between structure and agency and the emphasis on the role of "power" in social (re)production. The following sections explore these issues in reverse order, and then briefly turn towards the thematic of temporality.

Social Power and Agency: Strategies and Tactics

Agency theory has at times been marked out as an arena apart from practice theories, and while this may be the case, practice theories are inherently concerned with the issue of agency. This is particularly the case in examining agency in the context of social power. At the center of any practice theory is an attempt to understand the role of the individual social entity and its relationship of power to the social structure of which it takes part. Practice seeks to break down the discrete boundaries between the individual and the structural such that neither are partible objects of analysis. This does not mean, however, that these terms are not meaningful, or indeed necessary. Rather it is perhaps best to think of the individual and the structural as two poles representing the relative weight of each in the relationship of structuration. To explore this issue further it is perhaps helpful to introduce a metaphorical device. We can then imagine the range of views that encompass theories of practice as represented by the swing of a pendulum between these two poles. On one extreme is the structurally determinant position and at the other end is the unrestrained agentive position. The arc between these two extremes

represents the variety of practice models, and more particularly the general weight given in each to the power of either given polarity.

Particularly due to his later works, Foucault has traditionally been associated most strongly with the structurally determinate side our of pendulum swing. He directly introduces the idea of power into the social relationship through the concept of discipline. Disciplinary practices, through the regulation of space, time and order, have as a goal the "…dissociat[ion of] power from the body" by "on the one hand [turning] it into an 'aptitude', a 'capacity', which it seeks to increase; on the other hand, [reversing] the course of energy, the power that might result from it, and turn[ing] it into a relation of strict subjection" (1977: 138). Evident here is the notion that the individual, imminent to the discipline Foucault posits, is encountering a relationship to which they are completely enthralled. Practices in this case, the organization of hospital and prison spaces, "proper" handwriting, rifle drill, the regimentation of time in the classroom are a product of processes that are outside the individual social entity and which are acting on it. Restricted to a reading of *Discipline and Punish*, one can see the Foucaultian individual as nothing more than a cog in a mechanical representation of society which is being acted on by an external structuring force via these disciplinary practices. Indeed, this sense is seemingly confirmed in the subsequent discussion when he states that discipline is a way "of composing forces in order to obtain an efficient *machine*" (1977: 164).

For Foucault the way this machine is created is through the use of tactics, which he defines as "the art of constructing, with located bodies, coded activities and trained aptitudes, mechanisms in which the product of the various forces is increased by their

calculated combination are no doubt the highest form of disciplinary practice" (1977: 167). Here again the mechanical nature of the individual response to practice appears to be highlighted in that tactical arrangements are made of individuals, but left unstated is who/what orchestrates them. The military analogue continues as he describes how docile bodies thus produced by practices of discipline are merely left with the ability to respond, in an apparently behavioristic sense, to the signals of command (orders) which are received. It is interesting to contrast this perspective with some of Foucault's earlier writings, which seem to dwell much more intensively on the philosophical nature of the relationship between the individual and the objects/forces which comes to discipline them. In discussing the subject-object fold Foucault seems to assert that indeed the source of the relationship of power actually wells up from the individual actor's own recognition of the duality to be found in the other (see Foucault 1971: 318-340). Regardless of the differences that might be seen arising between the philosophical and individual based analysis of Foucault's earlier work and his later historical and societal level analysis, Foucault leaves the impression that tactics are an instrument wielded by external "social" forces, which are detached from the control, and possibly even the conscious recognition of, the individual actor. Power over action, agency, in this model (at least as interpreted from *Discipline and Punish*) is concentrated in external social structures, and the individual social entity is reduced to conditioned response to a series of commands issuing from these structures.

Nevertheless, Foucault's version of practice does introduce the reader effectively to the notion that the individual can be subjected to power which will structure the nature

of their response through the very nature of interactions in the world. Indeed for Foucault these interactions, with institutions in particular, serve to create a world of the possible and the impossible. As such, the lack of resistance in the Foucaultian model can be seen as an account focused on the manner in which social structures perpetuate themselves, by excluding other responses to the stimuli they present.

In some ways, Bourdieu's concept of practice can be read as a contemporaneous refutation of this reduction of human response to social stimuli as analogous to behaviorally conditioned ones. For Bourdieu, human response is not mechanistic; indeed the array of possibilities presented to the individual actor in the course of daily life is so prolific and varied, that a mechanical response is prohibited. Rather, Bourdieu saw the relationship between structure and practice, individual actors' responses to the practicalities of daily life, as a discursive one mediated by the habitus. Defined in Bourdieu's own terms, the habitus is:

> systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is as principles of the generation and structuring of practices and representations which can be objectively "regulated" and "regular" without in any way being the product of obedience to rules, objectively adapted to their goals without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary to attain them and, being all this, collectively orchestrated without being the product of the orchestrating action of a conductor (1972: 72).

Thus the habitus serves as the mediator between the structures which form it and the practical practices which govern the lived experience, and in this mediation is the space for the production of non-mechanical responses. The individual is not conditioned to

respond to commands as in Foucault, but instead it is the "strategy producing principle" which allows agents to cope with unforeseen and ever changing social circumstances with a (72).

It is in this idea of strategy that we can see how Bourdieu ever so slightly shifts the emphasis between structure and actor. The space to choose among options is a meaningful one. It also bears pointing out, however, that just as Bourdieu was concerned with constructing a system in opposition to a mechanical model, he equally sought to ensure that agency was not completely assigned to an independent, individual actor operating in a world of equally individual actors. In one of many restatements of the definition of the habitus, Bourdieu says it is "the durably installed generative principle of *regulated* improvisations" (1972: 78) [emphasis added], thus highlighting the constrictive nature on imaginative response the habitus also plays. In Bourdieu's model, it is important to remember how heavily indebted the habitus is to the structures that constitute a particular material environment (e.g. class). It is the commonality of these shared material conditions of existence (even if not all individuals within a class share every experience) that allow for the homologous formation of a "class habitus," which governs the responses conceivable in any circumstance (81-86). In discussing the relationship between structure, practice and habitus, Bourdieu sums this position up by stating: "Through the habitus, the structure which has produced it governs practice, not by the processes of mechanical determinism, but through the mediation of the orientations and limits it assigns to the habitus's operations of invention" (1972: 95). Thus despite opening room for some agency on the part of singular agents in particular

circumstances, Bourdieu's model still adheres strongly to the power of structure and asserts that individual imagination plays little to no role in the response to social circumstances.

Thinking again on the analogy of the arc of the pendulum swing, De Certeau is likely to be found on the opposite end of the spectrum from Foucault. In his model, power is more evenly divided between structures and individual actors. In De Certeau's model, the social is comprised of producers, those entities with control to arrange and attempt to produce cultural products, and consumers, who are defined by the ways they interact and consume those products. Confoundingly, De Certeau redefines the terms tactics and strategies to explain the relationship of power between producers and consumers. De Certeau defines a strategy as "the calculus of force-relationships which becomes possible when a subject of will and power (a proprietor, an enterprise, a city, a scientific institution) can be isolated from an 'environment.' A strategy assumes a place that can be circumscribed as *proper* and thus serve as the basis for generating relations with an exterior distinct from it (competitors, adversaries, 'clienteles,' 'targets,' or 'objects' of research)" (1984: xix). Strategies are deployed by producers which seek to define and control space and constrain time in order to create an object upon which to affix a relationship of power. In other words, the goal of strategy here is not that different from Foucault's practices of discipline or tactics as he calls them. It is quite obvious, however, that in the sense of power of action, strategies are a sign of agency on the behalf of producers. Given the connection between De Certeau's strategies and Foucault's tactics, which are the province of semi-hidden structural powers, we might usefully see

"producers" as a meaningful response to the issue of "who/what" drives the implementation of disciplinary practices in the latter's work. Producers then are those that have the power to manipulate social structures.

In the examination of consumers, however, the true dissimilarity between Foucault's and De Certeau's models becomes apparent. De Certeau develops the concept of a tactic and uses it to describe the "power" the consumer wields, and also to highlight that practice is not solely constituted by the kind of dominant disciplinary arrangements Foucault discusses. De Certeau holds that some practices are instead imaginative and varied responses by consumers to situations with which they are presented. Of the kinds of practice that he sees deployed in the world he notes "…consumers produce through their signifying practices something that might be considered similar to 'wandering lines'…'indirect' or 'errant' trajectories…[which] although they are composed of vocabularies of established languages […] and although they remain subordinated to the prescribed syntactical forms […], the trajectories trace out ruses of other interests and desires that are neither determined nor captured by the systems in which they develop" (1984: xviii). Just as Bourdieu traced out a small but meaningful opening for variability in response in strategies, De Certeau is here alluding to a need to recognize that the world is not comprised solely of mechanical practices which seek to discipline the bodies of individuals. In fact, there are an array of non-disciplinary practices that are deployed in everyday life which cannot be accounted for under a disciplinary model, because these practices do something else than serving to further turn the power of the body into a force of subjugation. Consumption then is "…*a way of using* imposed systems [constituting]

the resistance to the historical law of a state of affairs and its dogmatic legitimations. A practice of the order constructed by others redistributes its space; it creates at least a certain play in that order, a space for maneuvers of unequal forces and for utopian points of reference" (original emphasis) (1984: 18). Importantly though these are equally not merely practices of direct resistance, rather they are practices of a variety of interests that "turn a trick," that deflect, that "poach," or "rent" space. Put another way these are neither practices that deny the power of producers to shape the social world, nor those that are whole unrestrained in their own freedom to create new relationships. These are the practices of those not able to reshape the structures or counter strategies, but rather those who seek to repurpose opportunities. These kinds of practices are tactics in De Certeau's usage.

In contrast to a strategy, a tactic is analogous to an art in this formulation. De Certeau provides a definition of this art of practice as "a calculus which cannot count on a 'proper' (a spatial or institutional localization), nor thus on a borderline distinguishing the other as a visible totality. The place of a tactic belongs to the other…a tactic depends on time –it is always on the watch for opportunities that must be seized 'on the wing'" (1984: xix). Importantly then, a tactic is an act which is additive to a strategic occurrence and which then alters the occasion to suit the consumers purposes though their ability to claim it as a borrowed "time" or "space." One of the most persuasive and useful illustrations of this concept is De Certeau's account of *la perruque*, or "the wig," which is defined as the way in which workers will disguise their own work as that of their employers by "divert[ing] time from the factory that is free, creative, and precisely not

directed towards profit" (25). In this way the worker is able to assert their own power even in the location or the "heart" of the system to which she might be seen as an abject servant. Furthermore, the goal of this borrowed time is not a simplistic resistance to the imposition of authority, rather it is a creative adaptation to the situation in which the worker is placed and which they use to make meaning for themselves out of practice.

In strategies and tactics, De Certeau constructs a model that focuses much more intently on the ability of various actors to shape the kinds of social institutions and practices which structure the circumstances of daily experience. At the same time, he attempts to retain the power of structure to create and shape the circumstances in which those interactions take place. In this sense, De Certeau's model is based on a constant tripartite discourse between the producers, the consumers and the structure of the social reality they inhabit. In this sense, De Certeau begins the process of defining how practice actually works. He notes that practices occur all the time in society, both as strategies which serve to focus power and domination, but also as subaltern and "unnoticed" actions, some of which can be used in a tactical way to subvert the power of producers.

Returning to the pendulum analogy, it is clear the theories presented here clearly separate on the basis of the location of social power, or level of agency, expressed by individual actors within each system. Foucault provides a compelling study of the way that power is focused and comes to impact and order the very movements of ordinary life, yet his model is clearly the least agentive as well. He seems to suggest individual actors are conditioned to response in a mechanistic sense. Bourdieu attempts to introduce the notion of politics or of agentive action into this model. In contrast to Foucault, Bourdieu

contends that individual actors' choices or practices are confined to a conventionally defined set of responses, but that there are nevertheless a variety of possible recombination of circumstance and response that are possible within any given social context. De Certeau provides the most agentive model examined here. Individual actors are the source of all power. Producers are those able to arrange the institutional material and representational structures of society for their own benefit and appear to have little to no restrictions outside of the materially possible configurations. Consumers, while constrained by the system of strategic practices deployed by producers, also are possessed of a power to imaginatively rearrange such combinations to imbue them with new meaning outside of their original strategic purposes. Increasingly apparent in this discussion is the potential separation of these theories not only via their approach to agency, but to the role of politics, or the conscious processes of social reproduction and reconfiguration within each model.

Structural Reproduction: The Role of Consciousness and Politics

An issue that arises after such a brief exploration of the relative power granted to agents and structures above is the role of (un)consciousness in the exercise of that power, particularly as it pertains the reproduction and/or alteration of structures, dispositions, and practices. In some ways this is an outgrowth of the previous discussion as conscious agency implies with it a certain intentionality on the part of an individual agent to change or conform to circumstances, and unconsciousness would seem to more in line with the simple mechanical reproduction of structural arrangements. Yet, here again, it is most useful to not surrender to a bifurcated model of understanding the role of consciousness

in structural reproduction. It is more useful to explore the ways each operates together to inform the strategic and tactical choices made by agents, while recognizing that a range of relative weight will be granted to one or the other in various formulations.

Foucault's formulation is an interesting study in the complexity of this question. On one hand as we noted above, the project of creating docile bodies has as its very goal the subjugation of the conscious human actor to a system of command predicated on the automatic response to signals for action as if part of a machine (e.g. Rifle drill) (1977: 166). Yet, the means by which this subjugation is achieved is through the hyper articulation of a kind of individuality which separates the body in space, in time and in action (167). Discipline is achieved not through the deflection of the consciousness, but rather through activation of a hyperconsciousness of the individual body in time and space through ever more exhaustive levels of detail. In the same vein though, while an active consciousness is enthralled through discipline, a consciousness of intentionality other than pure reproduction of the system of practice seems to be missing. Thus both an active conscious participation in the practice is stimulated, but seemingly the reproduction of the structural arrangements those practices make possible is conducted at a nearly unconscious level, or at least for practical purposes consciousness of structural reproduction in Foucault's work seems to matter very little.

Indeed, while disciplinary practices may be reproduced for reasons that seem if not self-evident then at least in service of maintaining structural relationships of power, the root cause of such practices is almost one of happenstance in *Discipline and Punish*. Foucault asserts that there is no guiding force consciously, or intentionally creating

disciplinary practice rather they are "a multiplicity of often minor processes, of different origin and scattered location, which overlap, repeat, or imitate one another, support one another, distinguish themselves from one another according to their domain of application, converge and gradually produce the blueprint of a general method," and that "on almost every occasion, they were adopted in response to particular needs…" (138).

One might think that Bourdieu's formulation of practice might open more space for the role of the consciousness, given the role he assigns to strategic choice among the "agents" within his system. But it is important to remember for Bourdieu relations are "never, except in appearance, *individual to individual* relationships…" (1972: 81). Thus for Bourdieu "the agent" as a singular entity capable of the production of independent meaning via interactions with other "agents" does not exist. As he says, "[e]ach agent, wittingly or unwittingly, willy nilly, is a producer and reproducer of objective meaning. Because his actions and works are the product of a *modus operandi* of which he is not the producer and has no conscious mastery, they contain an 'objective intention', as the Scholastics put it, which always outruns his conscious intentions…It is because subjects do not, strictly speaking, know what they are doing that what they do has more meaning than they know" (1972: 79).

Within this quotation we can directly locate the tension practice theories must grapple in terms of structural reproduction, if individuals are to be more than simply conformist parts of a Foucaultian machine, they must make choices that impact the effect of the relationships of power play out on their lives, but how do those decisions become regulated as all evidence points that they are. For Bourdieu, the answer is found in the

habitus of course, but more particularly in the milieu of the doxa which forms the background or "natural" world view within which individuals acquire their habitus mostly during early experiences (167). If the doxa can be described as the background knowledge of the possible that is so immanent to the functioning of the social world an individual takes for granted, Bourdieu is able to insert a nod towards the issue of consciousness through the division of the doxic arena into the spheres of orthodoxy and heterodoxy as brought about through a political crisis (1972: 164). Such a crisis brings the unquestioned doxa into the realm of opinion and politics, thus shattering its state of assumed naturalness or immanence. Orthodoxy and heterodoxy exist in tandem within the sphere of discourse, and represent a conscious response to attempt to restore the natural doxic state of any proposition, through instilling it with the authority of right and wrong beliefs, which "delimits the universe of possible discourse" between "the universe of things that can be stated, and hence thought, and the universe of that which can be taken for granted" (169-170).

The natural question that arises then is: What or who governs the deployment of the orthodoxy/heterodoxy dyad in response to crisis? Bourdieu responds by returning to the image of a class consciousness at work. He asserts that crises are only precipitated by the acquisition by the dominated classes of the "material and symbolic means of rejecting the definition of the real that is imposed on them" by the dominant class. Indeed Bourdieu's account of the process of class conflict as it takes place in daily practice is consistent with a very conscious manipulation of structures which presumably create class habituses. The struggle to dominate is one to establish a "system of

mechanisms…capable of objectively ensuring the reproduction of the established order by its own motion" at which point "the dominant class have only to *let the system they dominate take its own course* in order to exercise their domination; but until such as system exists, they have to work directly, daily, personally, to produce and reproduce conditions of domination which are even then never entirely trustworthy" (190).

In class conflict within Bourdieu's model of practice, the bleeding between conscious and unconscious reproduction can be seen most clearly. While the doxa, which creates the habitus, which in turn governs the array of practical practices available to individuals in daily interactions, is primarily within the sphere of the unconscious, it is able to be penetrated. Conscious redeployment of material and symbolic means is achievable through the production of political crisis, but Bourdieu does restrict this conscious action primarily to the scale of the class, rather than the individual. The result then appears to be that structural elements can change in such a model, but that individuals do not take part in such moments only responding to change in a generational sense due to the process of the imposition of a homogenous habitus formation. Thus change is totally exterior, and "there is no history" as De Certeau states (1984: 57).

As previously established, De Certeau has as a goal the reinsertion of the power of the individual into accounts of practice, and clearly his critique of Bourdieu denotes a dissatisfaction with the notion of a system of change based in external structures inscribing change on individuals. That said, he does seemingly recognize the relevance of a notion of habitus or at least a framework of the government of action in his own work. In discussing the development and deployment of tactics he states, "[i]n order to think

them [individual ruses or devices], one must suppose that to these ways of operating correspond a finite number of procedures (invention is not unlimited and, like improvisations on the piano or on the guitar, it presupposes the knowledge and application of codes), and that they imply a *logic of operation of actions relative to types of situations* [emphasis original]" (1984: 21). So here there is a common logic of action based on the circumstances in which practices occur.

Yet whereas Bourdieu sought to assert that this logic of practice was in fact the product of mostly underlying unconscious principles of the habitus, De Certeau wants to complicate our notion of how such knowledge can be understood. Drawing on Kant he speaks of the deployment of an *art* of practice, which "makes judgment a 'middle term' (*Mittelglied*) between theory and praxis" (1984: 72). Thus judgment occupies the space between "the understanding that knows and the reason that desires," it is "a formal 'composition,' a subjective 'equilibrium' of imagining and understanding" (74). As such it draws together conscious and unconscious knowledge. In turn, arts can be seen as the use of judgment to facilitate the transformation of a given set of circumstances through the addition and balancing of the array of constituent elements, such that the circumstance is transformed yet never destroyed, or perhaps even directly challenged. As De Certeau illustrates, it is like "adding a touch of red to a painting or ochre to a painting, changing it without destroying it" (73). As such, De Certeau faults both Foucault and Bourdieu for articulating models of practice that deal solely with theory or the unconscious, and he instead seeks to develop a model of the art of practice that explicitly deals with lived experiences of time and things.

Temporality and Materiality: The Role of Time and Things in Practice

Central to De Certeau's art of practice is the "occasion," an undefinable instantaneous transformation of circumstance based on the deployment of both conscious and unconscious knowledge. Memory is a key portion of this knowledge and is "composed of many moments and heterogeneous elements" (82). These fragments contain within them the particularities of the time and place of their creation, they are the experiences of past instances and associations. But the art of practice is not merely drawing on past memory, it is also dependent on a sense of calculation determined by memories which "predicts" based on "combining antecedent or possible particularities" (82). It is this combination of the recognition of the circumstances presented in an instant, the assessment of previous encounters similar to it, and the judgment as to what elements can be balanced to transform it that makes the occasion the fusion of conscious and unconscious knowledge.

While time is in some ways collapsed here, as past, present and future potentiality are all articulated in the act of the art, a sense of history is not lost in the same manner as it was in our earlier theorists. Whereas, neither Bourdieu nor Foucault could escape the imminence of the structural circumstances implicit in their systems, De Certeau opens the way for history via the occasion, as it will itself become a memory situated in time and place which will influence future actions. Moreover, De Certeau opens a space for imaginative response (not unbridled of course) that will have a transformative effect on the circumstances of existence. In this manner he is in fact responding to an issue even Bourdieu recognized, yet found irreconcilable with his model. But is this semantics, or

merely an attempt to appeal to the importance often attributed to inventive and transformative response? I think not, as the implication of a system of practice that can truly account for change is profound for its application to the reality of lived politics of time, in other words for the construction of understandings of history.

It is this accounting for time in systems of practice to which I would like to briefly turn at this point. The critical junction that the preceding discussion of conscious and unconscious action has raised, is how do we account for history in practice, or how can we see practice comprising a recognizable history. In some sense this is perhaps a fairly obvious question and answer, history in one meaning is comprised of a constructed account of the various occurrences that are a part of daily intercourse. It is a particularistic chronology of the "things that happen." Yet, in another sense history is not just a purely sequential account of causal occurrences. It is a balancing of invention and convention. It has to provide some notion of how change occurs within worlds that in many ways remain contiguous, or fundamentally recognizable, to their members. Concomitantly, history must be viewed not just as a seriation of events, but as their concatenation. As each occasion occurs, it is situated within a context of material circumstance, power and strategy and tactics. Thus history builds, rather than follows.

One model that seeks to account for the perception of time and its influence in the course of the experiences of the individual is that put forth by Husserl. Gell provides a particularly useful interpretation of this concept in which he uses it to help trace retentions and protentions in the work of the artist's oeuvre; itself a stand in for social use of material (1998: 237-241) (Figure 2.1). This model seeks to explain the sense that an

event is possessed of a tense (pastness, presentness, and futurity) depending on its relation to the point of view of the individual, and that as the point of observation shifts so the event passes through "modifications" (238). An accounting of the means by which this process takes place and the ways the events shift in the perspective of the observer can be seen in Gell's version of Husserl's time consciousness diagram.

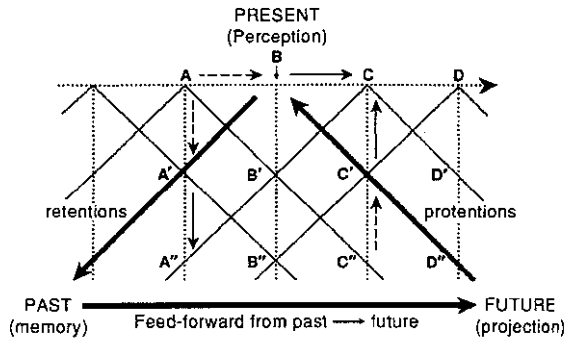


Figure 2.1 Husserl's time consciousness diagram. (Gell 1998: 239)

Most usefully we can observe here how events rise and fall in terms of their perception from the present experience, and how the present experience carries with it both the legacy of the past and the potentiality of the future. As such the model is a useful one for understanding the ways in which events and their meanings pass through a constantly shifting array of perceptions – showing both that the event is always present in a continuity of experience, but that its contextual relationship has changed. In this sense, change and continuity are integrated or inseparable in a continuous flow of perceptions without the need to resort to the kind of radical structural overthrow predicted in such theories as radical Marxism or the work of Gramsci.

Gell's work on the role history, interestingly built upon an examination of artistic oeuvre, lead directly to his engagement with the role of materials in shaping response. While his attempt to provide a theoretical underpinning to his work might suffer in places due to its posthumous editing and publication, it remains a provocative exploration of the issue (1998). Gell argues that indeed things are possessed of an agency, though what exactly he means by that statement at various points is slightly incongruous and vacillates between a standpoint of practical agency (things as vehicles that preserve human/artist intentionality and cast it forward in time and place) and a more zealous symmetrical viewpoint. It is this more practical strain of thought that will be most helpful to the following discussion.

Gell defines agents as those entities "seen as initiating causal sequences of a particular type, this is, events caused by acts of mind or will or intention" thus shaping events in their vicinity. Importantly, however, Gell asserts that this causality is not merely "the concatenation of physical events" (16). The implication of this statement that agents must have some form of intentionality, they must do some social work. Indeed, the primary thrust of much of Gell's argument rests on the dualistic nature with which he views the social interaction. Every interaction is composed of an entity in actor position and an entity in patient position, such that the actor works their effect upon the patient.

If all Gell had produced was this definition and the assertion that things were agents, the utility of exploring his work would be limited. Yet, perhaps as a relic of the posthumous nature of this work, Gell does not seem as zealous as to assert the intentionality of things, without tempering the claim in useful ways. At one point he

demurs in his claims of pure intentionality on the part of agents through the use of the term secondary agents; agents capable of transmitting the intentionality of others. For Gell, in practical purposes the distinction between a secondary thing agent and a primary human agent is largely irrelevant because each is able to place a human subject into the patient position during the course of a social interaction (36).From this base, he goes on to suggest things are perhaps less independent agents than parts of the distributed person (96-154). Thus in one reading of Gell, we can see a very practical approach to the agency of things – so that an agent is that which does the work or is perceived as an agent by those whom it places in the patient position in interaction.

Gell provides a strong case study in this "practical" agency of a thing in a discussion of the idol (116-121). In many ways drawing strongly on the same notions of duality Foucault put forth in *The Order of Things*, Gell asserts that the idol assumes an animacy through the process of the exchange of gazes between the devotee and the idol in the process of worship which creates a sense of an intersubjective shared experience of viewing and thus consciousness. As Gell states, "Eye-contact, mutual looking, is a basic mechanism for intersubjectivity because to look into another's eyes is not just to see the other, but to see the other seeing you…[e]ye contact seems to give direct access to the other minds because the subject sees herself as an object, from the point of view of the other as a subject" (120). Returning to the similarity to Foucault's position, this understanding of the ways in which a thing can create a process of the objectification of the subject is analogous to the notion of how discipline works. The Panopticon is no more than a societal disciplinary idol. While both Foucault and Gell seem not to surrender the

ground that it is indeed the human subject themselves who sublimates the "exchange of gazes" into process of objectification (or placement into the patient position), there is an assertion here that in a practical sense things condition human subjects and thus play a critical role in the creation and maintenance of social action and meaning.

Latour (2005) provides a useful framework for continuing this discussion. For Latour, it matters not if an actor is a human or non-human, the true marker of importance in any account should be whether it transforms or transmits meaning. Indeed, Latour seeks to reposition the discussion from the debate over the actor and the construction of the subject/object divide, which as we have seen dominates the issue of agency in many of these systems. Instead he posits that the world is comprised of hybrid human/non-human actors. This position arises from Latour's perspective that things and humans cannot operate independently of each other and can be instead intractably bound in the production of meaning. More specifically, in a discussion of "agency" or the process by which interaction is made meaningful, Latour proposes a basic distinction between mediators and intermediary. The latter is "what transports meaning or force without transformation" and thus "defining its inputs is enough to define its outputs" (2005: 39). In contrast the former "transform, translate, distort, and modify meaning or the elements they are supposed to carry" and whose "input is never a good predictor of their output" (39). Developing from this idea, Latour uses the term "networks" to define the series of associations which produce meaning through the interaction of mediators each transforming the inputs or work of the other. In this fashion, if a thing and a human are

each mediators in association their output is uniquely conditioned on the fact that each has the ability to transform the received conditions.

Tim Ingold, while not an archaeologist nevertheless serves as a theoretical gadfly to the field, has directly highlighted the importance of relationality for archaeological approaches in terms both of our understanding of what constitutes the actor and our understandings of the landscape, and the of the issue of temporality. On the first point, Ingold offers an interesting critique of the models brought to understanding the individual's personhood, and thereby the nature of the actor. Ingold contrasts a "western" or "built" model to an "Ojibwa" or "dwelling" model of personhood and the world (see Fig. 2) (Ingold 2000). In the western model, the individual identifies the "self with an interior intelligence, the conscious mind, enclosed by its physical container, the body" and therefore "[i]n short the self, as the locus of ideas, plans, memories and feelings, seems to exist as a substantive entity quite independently of where it is and what it does" (2000: 103). In this model then human intention, action and agency then is divorced from the properties of the material world, which are instead purely the "object" through which the agency of the individual is expressed (or not) through the imposition of meaning onto material conditions. Such a model bifurcates the world into that of the mental and the material or the social and the natural, where nature "is what lies 'out there'…[beyond] the intersubjective space marked out by our mental representations" (191). Ingold points here directly to the subject/object, material/ideal duality that is at the heart of the Marx/Weber confrontation. Ingold labels this the "built perspective," where meaning is attached to the natural world.

In contrast, to this built perspective Ingold holds up a dwelling perspective based in the Ojibwa model of personhood (Figure 2.2). In this model, personhood sits at the nexus of the relationality of the self and the environment. There is no segregated self from which meaning flows outwards unto the exterior world.

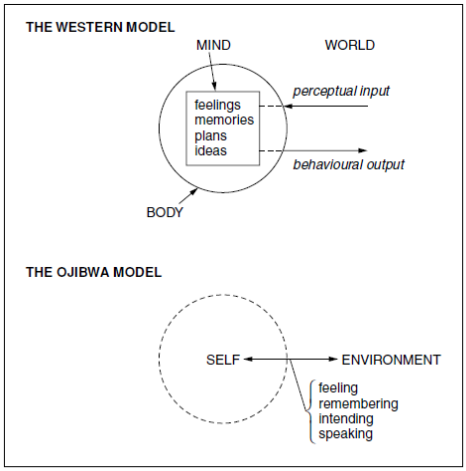


Figure 2.2. Ingold's models of the person (2000: 104).

Thus the landscape, the world within which we dwell, "becomes a part of us, just as we are a part of it" (191). Such a model moves away from a notion of segregated entities fixed within boundaries, and instead points to the importance of the embodiment of a nexus of relationality. Meaning is thus experiential, rather than categorical. The implication for the role of agency is profound. Ingold suggests to us the question of agency is not one purely of volition, but rather is tempered by a vast array of contextuality of action. Whether a stone has agency is less important in this perspective per say, than the very fact that it exists within the network of vast relationships that constitute the embodied experience of a being at any given nexus. The division between the stone and the person is not the point within this model, they are not partible. More

importantly, Ingold highlights for us the fact that the natural and the social should not be divorced, indeed such are also inseparable. For Ingold, there is no natural world upon which a social landscape has been built, there is only the world within which we dwell in places that sit as a nexus of relationships of features, and whose meaning is derived from that unique relational context.

This model holds not only in this geographic sense, but also in terms of time. In this sense, Ingold speaks of the temporality of the taskscape, and indeed draws on Gell's own discussions of time. Just as these geographic nexuses should be understood as not having discrete boundaries, so must we approach the issue of temporality. It is perhaps useful to consider Gell's interpretation of Husserl's diagram in again at this point. The present is not definable apart from its connections to the array of the past and the future. There is no way to discretely "cut out" time such that it stands apart. Rather, for Ingold "the present is not marked off from a past that it has replaced or a future that will, in turn, replace it; it rather gathers the past and future into itself" (196). The taskscape for Ingold is the intersection of the landscape, the practical activities entities carry out in the course of daily life, and time. It "exists not just as activity but as *inter*activity" (199) and is derived from the shared mutual attention given to the performance of an operation (a task or practice) among a network of entities. From any given nexus of embodied engagement with the world (a dwelling) there is a uniqueness of relationality, governed in both a locational and temporal sense.

Translating these ideas of a temporalized taskscape back to the landscape, Ingold suggests the landscape itself is the physical manifestation of the temporalized taskscape.

In essence, the landscape itself is the product of the sociality that accrues from the movement of acts of dwelling by a multitude of agents that interact in the course of performances, both human and non-human (199-200). The landscape is thus the "the congealed form of the taskscape" (198) and always in the process of becoming through the performance of the embodied practices of the interactive entities that take part in tasks of dwelling within it. It is impossible to segregate out one element and assert that it has meaning, or agency, divorced from the relational array of which it takes part. This notion of relationality is central to the importance of Ingold's discussion. At heart, it reflects a similar concern for reconciling our understanding of the relationship between the ideal and the material which is at the center of all practice based approaches. Ingold highlights the way that time, geography and even the individual cannot be segregated, but rather must be seen as a confluence of context. On one hand, this point demonstrates that reading the landscape to offer interpretations of the past is a complex and demands attention to a vast array of relations. At the same time, however, this perspective holds out the hope that meaning is not locked away in dead minds, but may be accessible through the evidence bases available from the past.

The point of the preceding discussion has not been to argue for the conscious agency of material entities, but rather to highlight the fact that things are integrally a part of the social world of human actors. Indeed, things are so embedded that the line between "material" and "personal" world may best be approached as constantly blurred during the actions of daily life through which meaning making happens. The preceding discussion points towards a greater consideration of the role material properties play in the

construction of the social world. Thus in any study that seeks to address interpretations of the meaning of past actions or practices, things must be taken into account even if we need not surrender to a symmetrical positionality regarding agency.

More comprehensively the preceding pages have sought to explore key facets of practice theories, namely agency, power, and the role of material and time. As has been made clear, practice perspectives (of various stripes) can uniquely engage with these issues in ways that may answer Ortner's dream of moving beyond a material/ideal dyad. Such a move is critically important in furthering our ability to understand complex social processes such as the creation and enactment of race through time. The next section will briefly turn to a consideration of race, to contextualize how racialization can be understood to be a practice, ultimately in service of more fully understanding the social actions taking place at sites such as Stewart Castle.

Race: From "Materialism v. Idealism" to Practice

While there is some debate as to whether "race" is purely a concept of the modern world (Smedley and Smedley 2012: 13-15), the usage of the term has been inherently tied to the notion of physical variation of populations that is perceived to represent an inherent and underlying biological difference among people (Smedley and Smedley 2012: 1). The act of assigning individuals to such categories is undertaken through racialization, which many scholars root in the extension of the "othering" of by Western European populations during the ages of exploration and colonialization (Smedley and Smedley 2012: 41-45). The colonial project had at its core the goal of disenfranchising select

racialized populations as part of a program for the accumulation of land, resources, and labor through the assertion of the sovereignty of colonial powers (Stoler 2006: 139-141). Concomitant with this process of racing the "other" was the implicit normalization of the whiteness of European colonial powers, thereby creating whiteness as an unraced category (??). As such, racialization enabled the institutionalization and naturalization of racial categories. The "trick" of racialization was to obfuscate the constructed nature of racial categories behind an ideology of biological differentiation. This process still holds a legacy today, despite long standing evidence produced within biological anthropological literature that proves the vast majority of human genetic variation occurs within geographic populations rather between them (Lewontin 1972). Indeed, there is a great irony inherent in racial categories in that they are, and always have been, inherently illusive and mutable when attempts are made to define them in concrete terms through exclusive traits (Orser 2004). As many scholars have pointed out, the very construction of race has changed over time (Brodkin 1999; Ignatiev 1995; Jacobson 1998), at times through the participation of fields such as anthropology (Baker 1998). Race therefore as a concept has no basis in biology, and must be recognized instead as a purely social construct that was created and changed over time between colonialization and the contemporary moment. Recognizing race as a social construct, however, does not mean it is not "real" in meaningful ways. The implications of racial categorization do have demonstrable effects on populations even within contemporary society. For example, race plays a key role in determining differential impacts on health and poverty (Smedley and Smedley 2012: 331-348), and for the arrest, prosecution, sentencing and incarceration rates for similar crimes (Alexander 2010) among other impacts.

Two schools of thought attempt to articulate the impacts of essentialism and racism have in terms of continuing impacts in social contexts. The idealists generally deploy the idea that race is a social construct to assert that it can be removed from the social milieu merely through the recognition of its artificial nature. Thus racism can be expunged through the "changing of the system of images, words, attitudes, unconscious feelings, scripts, and social teachings by which we convey to one another that certain people are less intelligent, reliable, hardworking, virtuous, and American that others" (Delgado and Stefancic 2012: 21). In other words, racism in the idealist view is a relatively solvable issue, because it is one of identity that is ascribed and changed through shifting perceptions and representations.

In contrast to this viewpoint is the perspective of the realists, notably articulated by a collection of scholars under the rubric of Critical Race Theory (CRT). Racial realism, while predicated on the idea that the basis of race is to be found in social construction rather than biology, holds that race and racism have become ingrained in the institutions and processes that govern social interaction. Therefore, race can and does have very real impacts upon the health, education, and opportunity afforded to individuals assigned to racialized categories. So, while realism holds that race is a construct, it also contends that it is a construct "by which society allocates privilege and status" that accrue material benefits to certain categories of people that redound not only within a single lifetime, but generationally (Delgado and Stefancic 2012: 21). As such for practical purposes it becomes real, and cannot be banished through reflection and recognition, rather only through changing material circumstances. In essence, the realist

position holds that race is a component of the structure of society. The central conflict between idealists and realist then is at core a difference in perceiving race as essentially a representational or material condition. This schismatic view colors not only the contemporary legal debates brought to the fore by CRT, but also can be seen to inform historical narratives of race within the social sciences.

In their seminal review of the intellectual landscape arising from the post war era of the twentieth century, sociologists Omi and Winant identified three primary paradigms governing approaches to racial theory that were based on notions of ethnicity, class or the nation (1994). Each of these three general paradigms found, and continues to find, currency because they offered explanatory power for some portion of the racial phenomena such as identities, politics, and social structures. Yet, Omi and Winant point to the fact that each of these approaches fail because each is unable to account for all of these racial phenomena within a unified theoretical umbrella. Omi and Winant argue the failure of these perspectives arises from the way each obfuscate that "…race has been a *fundamental* axis of social organization…" (original emphasis). Indeed, they suggest any examination of race must take as a presupposition that it is not an epiphenomena of some other broader category which is somehow more fundamental to the structure of society (12-13). As such, they call for a new paradigm.

In foregrounding their own approach, racial formation theory, these authors insist that racial construction must be understood as a historically situated project that links both the material aspects of social structure, as well as, representational aspects. Expressed in their own words, a racial project is "*simultaneously an interpretation,*

representation, or explanation of racial dynamics, and an effort to reorganize and redistribute resources along particular racial lines" and thus such projects "connect what race *means* in particular discursive practice and the ways in which both social structures and everyday experiences are racially *organized*, based on that meaning" (original emphasis) (56). In other words, Omi and Winant suggest race can only be understood as comprising both representational and material aspects of operating within a social environment. This definition of the racial project places it squarely within the milieu of theories of practice that have dominated the discourse of the social sciences since the late 1970s and 1980s. Archaeologists have been quick to recognize the utility of these practice based approaches and demonstrated that they fit extremely well with the evidence base of the archaeological record.

Social Landscape

Within slave societies, planters deployed their strategies by shaping a contested *social landscape of practice.* Here I use this term not in imitation of any particular predecessor, but rather as an attempt to heuristically mark out a space to use practice models to understand the ways individuals negotiated power in daily life. A social landscape is comprised of two interrelated parts 1) the *material settings* that structure social interactions and 2) the *representational discourses* used in those interactions. *Materially*, planters' wealth, control of labor, and ownership of property enabled them to modify the physical landscape. This power was strongest in the shaping of the planters' own domestic complex, their home. By governing the construction of structures, arranging the location of household activities and allowing or prohibiting access to

certain types of people, places and goods planters could use space to shape the kinds of social interactions and meanings possible within them. It is important to remember, however, that such strategic shaping of the landscape must have happened both in response to the challenges to planters' authority raised during the course of daily practice by enslaved individuals, and within a framework where the agency of planters to completely reshape the domestic space would have had limits that recognized the role of black labor and power within the household. Thus the physical landscape was a product of both planters' authority and the challenges to such by the enslaved. *Representations of race*, or how planters portrayed enslaved/African descendant people through social discourses must be seen in the same light. Planters based their authority in discourses such as legal codes, religious practices, and particularly on gendered and racialized divisions of labor. All of these were made public through such institutions as the legislature, the courts, churches, and most immediately in a daily fashion within the home. As with the physical landscape, planters had access to uniquely powerful means of shaping representation, namely the control of the apparatus of state, the church, and the labor and bodies of the enslaved community. Yet, the shifting ways planters portrayed their representations of race were inherently bound in a dialectic interaction with the challenges brought by the enslaved to such discourses.

The following chapters explore the manifestations of these material and representational practices as deployed by two planter generations of the Stewart family in the when the plantocracy faced both physical and political challenges to their control of structures of power within the colonial plantation system. Exploring the arenas of

household architecture, spatial organization of the domestic labor, and consumption of material culture within the household, I seek to explore both the material and representational practices planter deployed over this time in the face of these differing and fluctuating challenges to their social position. First, however, I turn to a brief review of the history of the plantation and communities which constituted this stage of social action.

Chapter 3: The Biography Stewart Castle

The following sections are as complete a reconstruction of the Stewart castle household history possible during the second half of the eighteenth through the beginning of the second quarter of the nineteenth centuries. In this period of time, two generations of Stewart men (James I and James II) were the proprietors of the estate. Within each period of ownership, I explicitly try to document the production of the estate, contextualize the composition of the household itself, delineate the nature of the proprietor's social relationship to the plantation community of enslaved and free laborers, and document connections to the broader local and trans-Atlantic planter community. The following review demonstrates the attitudes, goals, and circumstances of each of these households were different. In this fashion, I attempt to create a household biography to provide depth to the analysis of the household landscape and consumption patterns derived from archaeological and architectural evidence.

Household of James Stewart I

The Stewart family appears to have had interests in Jamaica by at least 1744, when James Stewart I, a Scottish immigrant, patented 300 acres of land near the cockpit in what was then the Parish of St. James. This holding was subsequently doubled ten years later, when Stewart patented an adjoining 300 acres (JNA Patent). Interestingly, also in 1754, Stewart claimed a second patent of 167 acres near the coast several miles west of the Martha Brae River. In this coastal patent, Stewart's acreage was a rectangular strip bounded to the north by the sea, to the west by the holdings of John Stanley and

Edward Morris, the south by those of John Richardson, and east by those of Captain Thomas Clarke (JNA Patent).

In this earliest period between 1744 and 1754, the land records alone fail to indicate the domestic center of the family, whether it was nearer the mountainous interior or the coast. Cartographic evidence helps shed at least some light on this question. Published in 1755, but with survey work completed years earlier in 1749/50, Browne's A New Map of Jamaica provides a glimpse of planter settlements across the island, just as James Stewart I was filing his first patent for coastal land. Notably the Stewart name is neither in the backcountry nor along the coast (Figure 3.1). This may indicate the original 1744 holding was not large enough to warrant inclusion as a seat, or that Stewart was not resident on any of his property. It is likely, however, that either upon patent or shortly thereafter Stewart Castle would have become Stewart's plantation seat and domestic center. Certainly by 1763, when Craskell's Map of the County of Cornwall is published, there was a settlement in the approximate location of the Castle where the Stewart name is found on that map (Figure 3.2). The proximity to the coastal road, shipping and the administrative and commercial center of Martha Brea all suggest the property was acquired as the kind of production and residential core that defined planter seats.

This generation of the Stewart family has left a relatively sparse imprint on the documentary archive, and as such the composition of this early household is difficult to fully ascertain. For example, no records prior to the 1744 land patent in Jamaica have been located which reference James Stewart I. It is unknown whether he emigrated at that time or had been resident in Jamaica prior to the claim on this patent. Nevertheless, some

of the household's life history can be reconstructed from the limited records that occur in the following decades. Ann Stewart had joined the household by at least the early 1760s, if not before, as she is named on the baptismal record of James Stewart II as his mother and the wife of James I. Slightly confusingly, James II was born on January 1st, 1763 but not baptized until eight years later in 1771, when he was the first entry in the registry of the newly created parish of Trelawny (JNA Parish). Records have not been found that indicate other children born to the family in Trelawny parish prior to

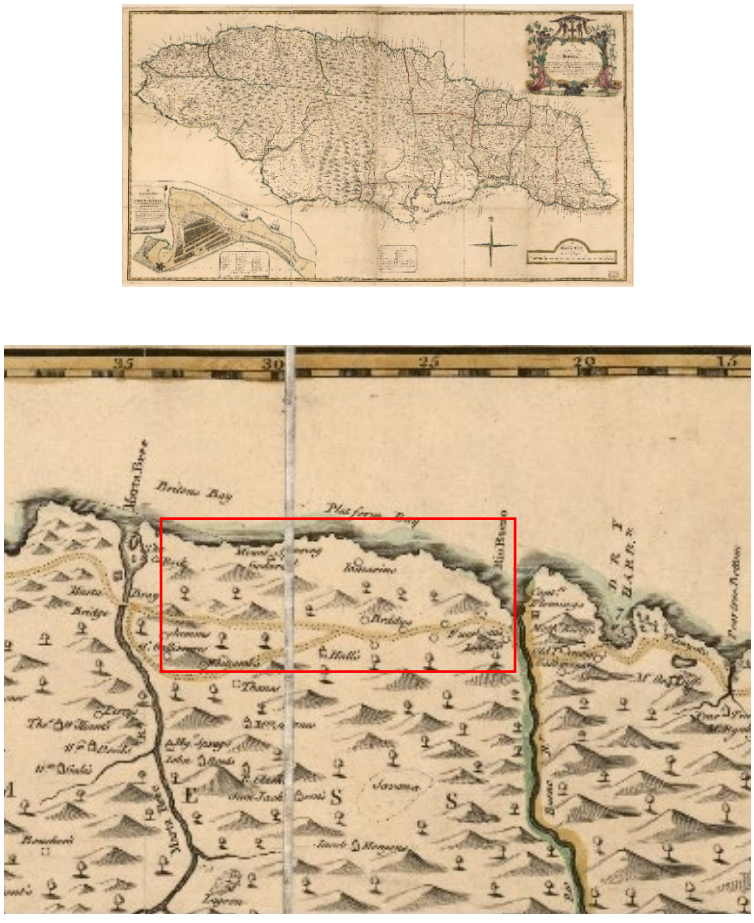
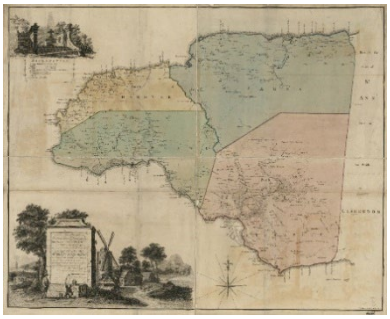


Figure 3.1: Browne's 1755 Map, showing no Stewart property listed



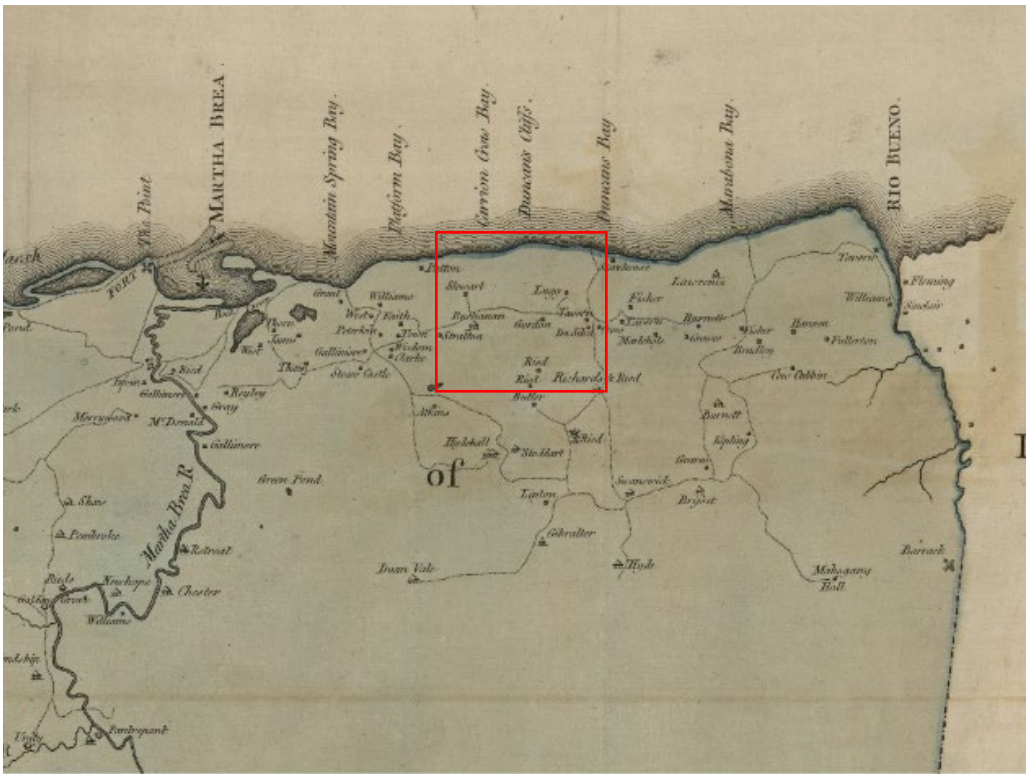


Figure 3.2: Craskell's 1763 Map, showing Stewart name at Castle location.

the birth of James II's own children. It is possible that the family was quite small and had limited networks of biological kinship throughout this period. The Stewart family was, or at least had pretensions of being, of the Galloway Stewarts (Cornwall Chronicle: 23 November 1816). This regional claim may have served as a vehicle to broaden circles of

alliance beyond strictly biological and direct familial connections. If so, it is possible the household drew on larger networks of artificial kinship among their Scottish neighbors. As such, he would have been like many other Scots during this period who sought to establish themselves as planters along the north coast of the island (Dunn 1972; Karras 1992). The prominence of Scottish names found throughout the land patent and parish records of St. James and Trelawny attests to this movement. Moreover, it is apparent that this community of planter settlers maintained strong connections of mutual alliance and support amongst themselves.

Regardless of whether such regional claims to fictive kinship were central to the Stewarts, it is clear that James I did participate broadly in the systems of mutual support that dominated planter societies in the Caribbean. In colonies where sickness and death were so prevalent and kinship bonds so sparse and distant, white planters often drew on each other to serve legal and administrative roles in the affairs of estates. James I was named to such a role in at least one instance, serving as the executor for the estate of fellow St. James planter George Mackey in 1772 (IRO Wills). Likewise, fellow planter Richard Sterling was named as trustee for Stewart Castle upon James I's own death in 1784 (JNA Crop Account). This latter connection would seem to indicate the Stewarts were enmeshed within local political and social circles of power, as Sterling himself was a member of the colonial house of assembly representing the parish of Trelawny.

The white presence on the estate included individuals with no familial connection to the Stewarts. The estate accounts produced at James I's death make clear there were other non-related whites employed on the estate, at least for periods. The original patent

for the 167 acres stated that Stewart was supposed to supply three white men capable of serving in the militia, such mandates were not fulfilled often enough that the assembly passed "deficiency laws," or fees levied on those proprietors who failed to meet the requirement. Nevertheless, estates often employed a variety of white bookkeepers and overseers both to fulfill this requirement, but also to help manage the production of the estate. The Stewart Castle estate was employing at least one white overseer, John Murdock, by 1784 (JNA Crop Account). While the exact tenure of Murdock's employment at Stewart Castle is unknown presently, the fact that subsequent lists of enslaved individuals in the nineteenth century owned by the Stewarts included several children of partial white ancestry bearing the last name of Murdock suggests he was employed on the property in the eighteenth century (Registry 1820). While no records for Murdock have been found, it seems possible he was still at the estate in 1785, as in 1820 a young mulatto women named Sally Murdock and aged 32 was listed as enslaved at Stewart Castle (Registry 1820).

The need for hired white employees would have been even more likely as James II did not reside continuously at Stewart Castle for at least some the years prior to his father's death. James II returned to Britain for a period of schooling during a portion of his adolescence (JHA 1815). Such a practice was common among planter families throughout the Caribbean, which lacked institutions of education throughout this period. It is clear he was present once again on the island by 1781, when he married Elizabeth Christiana Dallas in the parish of St. Andrew (Cardew). The Dallas family had emigrated to Jamaica from Scotland and owned property near Kingston. It is possible James II

retuned to Britain after this date, as years later he testified before the colonial house of assembly that he had returned from his education in England and Scotland nearly three decades prior to 1815 (JHA 1815). Regardless of whether they traveled after the marriage or remained in Jamaica, it is apparent that Elizabeth and James II were known among the local planter community as their first child, James Charles born in 1783, was baptized in the parish of Trelawny (JNA Baptism).

It appears likely that prior to the death of James I, Stewart Castle was not a major sugar plantation, and instead the estate was utilized as a pimento walk. Returning to the 1763 Craskell map, the symbol marking the Stewart property denoted "Ginger, Cotton, Coffee & Pimento Plantations Penns &c." Additionally, the crop account that was required because of the death of James I suggests the property was not turned towards large scale sugar production by the end of his life. In this document, the plantation overseer reported the property produced only eight hogsheads of sugar in that year and 279 bags of pimento (JNA Crop Accounts).

Nevertheless, it is clear James I did engage in efforts to expand the family holdings in the vicinity of the castle during even the earliest period of occupation. For example, in March of 1756 Stewart purchased an adjoining 60 acres of woodland from John and Ann Teasdale for £90 (Cardew). Whether as a pimento walk or later as a possible sugar holding, it is clear Stewart was seeking to expand the economic production of the landscape he controlled on the coastline.

James Stewart I held a community in bondage on the property to produce these crops, but no records have been uncovered regarding the composition of the enslaved

population that presumably labored and lived on the estate. A single newspaper advertisement published in 1781 lists an enslaved man, named Jack, held in the Martha-Brae goal as a runaway and designating him as "to Stewart," and this seems likely to be in reference to James Stewart of Stewart Castle (Cornwall Chronicle: 9 June 1781).

Similarly, the archive is relatively silent on the family's holdings past the boundaries of Stewart Castle estate, aside from the two patents for the 600 acres near the cockpit. Indeed, this back country property may in fact have been sold or otherwise passed out of Stewart ownership by 1792, as a document generated in the legal case of Worthington v. Linden was registered with the court in regards to a land dispute regarding a portion of the original patent (JNL Estate Maps).

James Stewart I was buried in Trelawny on October 2, 1784 (JNA Parish). Despite the absence of an identified will, James II stated himself that he received no other properties aside from Stewart Castle upon his father's death (JHA 1815). The comparative documentary silence of this first generation of ownership is contrasted by a relatively rich record associated with the ownership of James II.

Household of James Stewart II

It is apparent James II inherited the Stewart Castle estate upon his father's death in 1784, and likely would have taken up full ownership by 1785, as suggested by the termination of the crop accounts for the estate in that year. This second generation household illustrates the contradictions of the Jamaican sugar planter experience during the period between ca. 1780-1830, which numerous scholars have termed the period of

the fall of the planter class. James II continued to participate in planter social and political life in ways that appear to demonstrate not only continuity with his father's practices, but also an attempt to expand his own stature within local, colonial, and even trans-Atlantic circles far beyond his father's influence. Despite this growth of influence and apparent social power, the Stewart Castle estate become encumbered in debt, and ultimately passed out of the hands of the Stewart family by the third decade of the nineteenth century.

The size of the familial household appears to have grown dramatically during this second generation of occupancy. At the death of James I, James II and Elizabeth had only one child, James Charles. In the following three decades, they would have at least seven more. Six of the children can be identified through the baptismal and other parish records in Trelawny (JNA Parish).[1] Of these children, two were born and three baptized in England; and indeed, Juliana Gertrude can only be located in the English records (London Baptism; Somerset Baptism). Yet, there is no mistaking the identities of this family members in the British parish records as both parental names are fully listed in the baptismal rolls and James is demarcated as being "of the island of Jamaica." Not all the children lived into adulthood. In addition to the death of the infant Laura in 1797, the reuse of the name James in 1793 is perhaps indicative that the firstborn James Charles had also died by that point in time. Indeed, family genealogical research suggests James Charles died at the age of two (Cardew). Yet, the births of James (1793), Juliana Gertrude (1798) and Sarah Dorthy Matilda (1805) indicate the presence of white children, and

[1] Dates of birth: James Charles May 1, 1783; Henry Dallas November 29, 1784; Eliza November 24, 1787; Georgina Charlotte October 27, 1789; Laura Martha (infant) d. July 22, 1797; Sarah Dorothy Matilda March 1, 1805; Julianna Gertrude ????

indeed infants, in the household continued through the first decade of the nineteenth century.

Interestingly, Sarah Dorthy Matilda, was baptized on April 18, 1809 at the same time as an enslaved "mustee" girl or woman "belonging to the Honorable James Stewart," who was baptized under the name of Julia Stewart Gibbes (JNA Parish). "Mustee" was a racial classification applied to individuals born of white and quadroon (1/4 black) parentage. Such a practice of dual baptism may indicate Julia was to be both a companion and property for Sarah within the household, and indeed may have been close in age to the planter's daughter. Alternatively, Julia Stewart Gibbs may have been the enslaved half-sister of Sarah, as such "illegitimate," mixed children were often brought both into the Church and into service in the planter household by men like Stewart.

Regardless of her parentage, Julia would not have been the only enslaved individual within the immediate household at Stewart Castle. As Mintz and Price have suggested, the planter household was a complex intersection of white power over and dependence on the labor of the enslaved (Mintz and Price 1992). Enslaved women, girls and boys, and men undoubtedly spent the majority of their time within the main house preparing and serving the household's food, dressing its occupants, providing care for the white children, and indeed laboring in production efforts within the house. Stewart himself attests, admittedly backhandedly, to the presence of large numbers of enslaved laborers in the household performing a variety of domestic labor saying, "…it is no uncommon thing to see fifteen or twenty sauntering about a house…" and that "…some

of the females are taught needlework, in which they particularly excell in neatness…" (Stewart 1792: 22).

Just as in his father's occupation, the estate population under James II also likely encompassed hired whites and freedmen. Stewart Castle would have employed overseer, who at least by 1799 resided in a purpose built household closer to the plantation works. Indeed, records from the second decade of the 1800s, demonstrate Stewart Castle had a succession of overseers employed over that period. White bookkeepers or trades men would almost certainly have been employed on the estate as well during the ownership of James II. It is also clear Stewart employed freed people at the estate. Years later in testimony in 1826, Hugh Smith, a mixed race son of Assemblyman Dr. Smith, recounted that he was employed as head carpenter for 3 ½ years on Stewart's Estate (JHA 1826: 649-50).

In the decade following his inheritance of the Trelawny property, Stewart was quickly drawn into the local martial and political sphere of planter society. Security of the colony was a constant concern of the planter class in Jamaica, perhaps further heightened by the state of near perpetual conflict the Anglo-colonial empire was engaged in throughout the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. Of particular concern for Jamaicans would have been the prospect of armed invasion by other European colonial powers, for which the Caribbean had historically served as direct theater of war since the seventeenth century. Additionally, planters were equally concerned about internal rebellion by the enslaved population of the island, as well as, conflict with "runaway" and officially recognized Maroon communities. Of course, these threats were often linked in

the minds of the planter class, particularly in the last decade of the eighteenth century. For example, the 1795 2nd Maroon War was ultimately couched as a conspiracy by the Trelawny Maroons to inspire a broad rebellion among the enslaved population, supposedly timed explicitly to coincide with the departure of British military units from the island to engage French forces in Haiti (Stockdale 1796: xlv-xlvii). As a result, planter society placed a high social value on martial service. Throughout his lifetime, Stewart actively took part in an emphasis on security issues within the colony.

One indication of Stewart's intimate connection the issues of security circulating with the planter class was his long-standing enrollment and progression in the colonial militia. Stewart first appears as an Ensign, the lowest ranking officer, in the Trelawny militia foot regiment in 1790 (Almanac). The 1795 2nd Maroon War, however, was likely a key moment for Stewart in securing both his militia reputation and enhancing his political connections, as the conflict brought him directly to the attention of the fellow Scot and colonial governor Lord Balcarres. The escalation of the conflict was initially adverted by a faction within the Maroon leadership, which called for a conference of mediation with colonial officials, including John Tharp the Custos of Trelawny, Jarvis Gallimore the Colonel of the Trelawny Militia, and the Assemblymen Hodges and Stewart. Stewart himself reported this meeting to the governor and assembly via letter in August of 1795 (Votes 1795).

When the conflict escalated into military violence, Balcarres appointed Stewart to the command of one of three columns of local militia forces meant to attack the Maroons in the backcountry. Indeed, Balcarres appears to have personally promoted Stewart to the

field rank of Lieutenant Colonel of the militia during this campaign and mentioned him by name in his dispatches to the home government (Cardew). Several post war compensation claims made on the colonial legislature included memorials that directly addressed Stewart's role in commanding these forces actively near Trelawny Town in combat with Maroon forces (Votes 1796). As the conflict drew out into a prolonged campaign in the backcountry, Stewart appears to have transitioned to the role of aide to the regular army commander Walpole through the fall of 1795. Stewart was positioned highly enough within the command structure of the British forces that he was a witnessing signatory to the peace treaty eventually signed at the end of 1795.

It is clear Stewart's connections with these high-ranking military and political individuals had direct influence upon his advancement in the coming years. Most obviously, while Stewart's name in the 1796 militia lists appears under the Captains of the Trelawny foot regiment, the title of Lieutenant Colonel is entered next to his name suggesting his field appointment was honored in the official lists. There is less documentary evidence for Stewart's direct actions in the following decades, but his progression of promotion in the militia demonstrates he continued to cultivate this connection with military service and command. By 1805, Stewart was listed under the title of Lieutenant Colonel, and as a full Colonel in the 1808 list. By 1814, Stewart had been promoted to the position of Major General of the Jamaican militia.

In each of these positions, Stewart was involved in the administration and maintenance of the militia forces under his command which required him to travel to various locations throughout the colony (Royal Gazette: 25 September 1816; 28

Septemeber 1816). Indeed, throughout these years, Stewart's position within the militia would have meant his regular circulation within the colony for the attendance and review of militia forces. Stewart's ascendance of the chain of command within the militia can also be read as a measure of his growing political notoriety, as both his initial and subsequent promotions would have been under the purview of the colonial governor.

A similar pattern of advancement can be seen in the lists of political office held by Stewart over the course of his lifetime. As early as 1786 soon after his acquisition of the Stewart Castle property, James II appears as a magistrate for Trelawny (Almanac; Cardew). In addition to entering sphere of local politics in Trelawny, at this early point Stewart may have attempted to position himself within broader Atlantic dialogues on the nature of enslavement and plantation society. In 1792, perhaps aided by connections from his education in England, he authored an apologist tract for plantation slavery entitled *A Brief Account of the Present State of the Negros, in Jamaica* which was published in Bath (Stewart: 1792).

In 1794, Stewart had gained enough notoriety among his enfranchised peers to be returned as a member of the Jamaican House of Assembly, the lower house of the colonial legislature, for Trelawny (JHA 1794). Stewart held this seat for much of his lifetime. In the assembly Stewart served on numerous committees many of which focused on the military and militia matters, the exiled maroons, corruption, and abolition and amelioration. He appears to have enjoyed the support and approbation of his peers, as in his later years both his political enemies and allies would assign to him the moniker of the "Father of the House" (Saint Christopher Advertiser: 25 July 1826). He was often

selected as a member to attend special congress with the council, the equivalent of the upper house, and to present messages to the governor. In this capacity he circulated in the most politically connected social spheres of colonial society. The exact nature of Stewart's political leanings at this time are uncertain, for while he clearly retained the favor of royal representatives in government, he may not have garnered universal favor personally or politically. Lady Nugent, wife of the royal governor, recorded having a breakfast at which Stewart attended at the end of November in 1802. Lady Nugent summarized her perception of Stewart in the brief statement: "I don't like him at all, he seems such a republican" (Nugent 1839: 372).

Regardless of Lady Nugent's dislike for Stewart, his connections to sources of metropolitan governance likely facilitated his rise to political power in the colony. For example, Lord Nugent appointed him to the position of custos of Trelawny parish in 1802. It appears Stewart held this position at least until 1819/20 and again from 1824 until his death in 1828. This appointment may not only reflect Stewart's familiarity within the circles of colonial administration but may also have recognized the leading role he appears to have continued to play at a local level at the close of the eighteenth century.

Stewart positioned himself closely with efforts to modernize the colony at both the local and assembly level. For example, Stewart was intensively involved in the development and implementation of a scheme for the piping of fresh water to Falmouth in the 1790s. He served as president of the Falmouth Water Company at various points in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Moreover, he appears to have actively

played a role in the resolution of communication and transshipment issues that arose between the Company and the Moulton & Bolton steam engine company of Birmingham, which eventually supplied the company with the pumping machinery and the expertise to install it. More broadly, in the nineteenth century Stewart demonstrated he was keenly interested in the economic development of the parish, serving as commissioner of Falmouth Harbor and personally striving to establish an inland market town in the parish, which ultimately bore his name as Stewart Town.

Stewart also was deeply embedded within the colonial system of justice. A later assembly record indicates Stewart was first commissioned as a justice for the assize courts of the County of Cornwall in 1794 (JHA 1810: 312). By 1796 and 1799, he was an Assistant Judge of the Court of Assizes of Trelawny. When he took up the position of custos, he also became the Judge of the Common Pleas for Trelawny. His legal position reached its height when he served on the Supreme Court for the entire colony.

In addition to his connections within the colonial structures of administration and power, it is clear Stewart continued to participate and support the networks of support among Scottish planters locally as his father had in the previous generation. For example, both he and James Galloway, a fellow magistrate and militia officer from the Maroon War, were named co-trustees of the estate of Richard Brodie of St. Ann in 1796. Even in this relationship, however, the local network often extended into a transatlantic one, as Brodie also named his brother, Reverend Alexander Brodie of Fifeshire in Scotland a trustee and guardian.

Similarly, the limited parish records regarding the marriages of two of Stewart's daughters speak to the way the family was continuing to forge connections both locally and within broader imperial circles. In 1807, Georgina Charlotte married a John Campbell, likely scion of the Scottish Campbell family with roots in the vicinity of Falmouth (JNA Parish). The parish records also show that Eliza, her elder sister, married Galliemus DeRaynaud, who was serving as a Captain of the 1st battalion of the 60th Regiment of Foot, by license in December of 1809 (JNA Parish). The resort to license may be related to the fact that Eliza was listed as a widow in the entry, and indeed other sources suggest she had previously married another officer named Henry Campbell, no relationship to the Falmouth Campbells, in 1806 (Panning 1996).

It is clear Stewart was a Jamaican planter with deep ties to the island and that he could not be considered an absentee planter; yet the fluidity of colonial movement, even for such resident planters, meant the family maintained social and physical connections across the Atlantic. Throughout the 1790s, the Stewarts were present in England for several periods of time. These travels seem to have centered on Bath in the early 1790s, as James III and Henry Dallas were both baptized in St. Swithens Walcott parish. By the latter years of that decade the family appears to have centered more in the area of London. For example, Julia Gertrude was baptized in St. George in Hanover Square parish in Westminster in 1798. Indeed, it appears Stewart himself may have been present in London for an extended period at the close of the eighteenth century, perhaps even officially residing in that city.

It appears Stewart's time in England was in service of furthering connections to foster interests in Jamaica. For example, at the end of the 1790s, Stewart appears to have operated as an attorney for the Falmouth Water Company in negotiations with the Boulton and Watt Company of Birmingham. Among the others involved in the correspondence are the London-based merchant firm of Robert Shedden and Sons. Stewart appears to have had strong connections not only to Shedden and Son, but also to London merchants Robert and Hugh ingram. These transatlantic connection between Stewart and London based merchant firms, particularly the Sheddens, had dramatic influence on the history of the Stewart Castle household in the following decades (Cardew).

During this same period of the late eighteenth century through the early nineteenth century, Stewart Castle estate appears to have been transformed by sugar. Physically, it is apparent Stewart acquired more land and concentrated more heavily in sugar production than his father had on the estate. Stewart Castle was also transformed by debt throughout this period, as either overexpansion, mismanagement, or ill health led to a circle of debt that appears to have taken hold over the property for three decades beginning in the 1790s.

By 1799, it is clear that a vast amount of land had been added to the Stewart Castle holding. In that year, the Jamaican surveying firm of Monroe, Stevenson, and Innes completed a plat of the Stewart Castle Estate (Figure 3.3). This document details that the original holding had grown from 167 acres to over 1200 acres, 500 of which was devoted to cane fields, with the balance of productive ground in guinea grass and

provisions (Bates 2015). In addition to detailing of field acreage and type, the plat lays out the extent and location of the plantation's infrastructure at the turn of the century.

Figure 3.3. Monroe, Stevenson, and Innes 1799 plat of Stewart Castle (JNL T.235)

This infrastructure was comprised of both domestic and productive structures. One of the largest features on the plat is the village location that housed the enslaved workforce for the property. Provision grounds to be cultivated by this community were located in the sloped ground to the north of the village. Direct evidence that white employees were housed on the property is observed in the location of the overseer's house located closer to the infrastructure of production that was the sugar works complex. The estate is marked as in possession of two cattle mills for sugar production as well as a substantial boiling house. Finally, located along the coast is the estate wharf. The

configuration of the Great House complex as of that year was also rendered on the plat, corresponding in layout to the still visible ruins in the present day and suggesting that major alternations to the build landscape of the Great House complex were curtailed after 1799.

Additionally, there is clear evidence that Stewart had acquired other properties on the north coast in the period between his father's death and prior to 1810. One of these properties was a sugar plantation named Defiance located in the parish of Trelawny (JNA Crop Accounts). Indeed, Defiance sugarworks appear to be demarcated on the southern half of the 1799 plat document (Figure 3.3). A 1996 image of the document shows a portion of the plat key, which has subsequently been lost, and show Stewart held this second property in 1799 (Figure 3.3). Aside from a statement suggesting the property possessed its own sugar works, at least fifty two acres of cane, and an enslaved workforce, there is little information regarding this property or the individuals enslaved on it. The acquisition of further sugar producing lands, however, suggests that Stewart was actively attempting to expand the productive capabilities of his holdings through the first decade of the nineteenth century.

There is also evidence that Stewart was attempting to diversify his holdings as well. During this same period prior to 1810, he purchased Thickett's Penn in the neighboring parish of St. Ann. While such naming schemes can sometimes belie the production taking place on such properties, penns usually had a stronger productive focus on livestock than cash crops such as sugar (Sheperd 2009).

The acquisition of further property to both expand sugar production and increase the economic diversity of his holdings, no doubt required an outlay of capital by Stewart. This period of expansion appears in part to have been fueled by, or resulted in, a significant relationship of debt between Stewart and London based merchants. The estate is among those listed in an appendix to a document produced by the colonial assembly in 1792, which states it was in the "hands of proprietors" in 1791, as opposed to being classified as either "sold for payment of debts" or "in the hands of mortgages, trustees, or receivers." Documentary evidence clearly demonstrates that Stewart entered into mortgage of the Castle property by 1793. Stewart's creditors at that time were London merchants Robert & Hugh Ingram and Robert & George Shedden. This original mortgage has not been located currently, but is in fact referenced in an addendum dating to 1797, in which Stewart annexed a list of 240 enslaved individuals to the original mortgage (IRO Deeds). The resolution of this debt relationship is largely unknown, as Hugh's death in 1798 presumably lead to the devolution of his Stewart Castle interest to his brother. Indeed, the 1799 plat itself likely arose from a mortgage related documentation, as surveys such as this were often produced either in the sale or mortgaging of properties (Higman 1988).

Whether Stewart entered into a series of mortgages of his property, or if he increasingly mortgaged the land and enslaved community due to an inability to finance his original debts is currently unclear. A document from 1810, however, indicates Stewart's relationship with the Sheddens was continuous through this period. A court document filed in the spring of that year demonstrates possession of Stewart Castle Estate

had passed into the hands of the London merchant firm due to failure to pay debt (JNA Crop Accounts). In the filing, Stewart details that writs of possession had been served on Stewart Castle, as well as, the properties Defiance and Thicketts at the turn of the year. Such writs were issued as a form of securing property by creditors, and usually were the end product of a series of legal maneuvers to reclaim the value of overdue debts. Yet, in the same document, Stewart detailed an arrangement whereby the firm had "given me the direction of the cultivation of said premises" while not abrogating the Shedden's right to appoint another manager at any later date. The exact nature of the Shedden's nearly 20 year relationship to James Stewart II is unclear, but it does seem the two families were intertwined in a much more complex relationship than creditor and delinquent debtor.

Given that the property was in possession of the Sheddens, the sugar and rum production of the estate was subject to recordation in the annual Crop Account books (Table 3.1 and Figure 3.4). The estate appears to have had significant fluctuation of its annual crop returns for the next half a decade, which possibly reflect conditions on the estate for the preceding period and are suggestive of Stewart's inability to alleviate his debt. Indeed, the sharp downturn in 1816 suggests Stewart's management of the property may not have been as effective as he and the Sheddens had hoped in 1810.

In November of 1816, it appears Stewart, or possibly the Shedden's, purchased a stream engine for the estate from the Liverpool firm of Fawcett-Littledales, such a piece of machinery was most likely utilized in the milling processes of production (Maritime Archives). Indeed, mechanization and the development of the means of production on sugar estates was a topic of critical concern for the planter class in the late eighteenth and

early nineteenth century. Stewart himself served on several Assembly committees directed to evaluate and support innovative improvements to the sugar and rum process. The steam engine may provide a tantalizing piece of evidence for Stewart's (possibly Shedden's) attempts to develop greater profit of the estate through further capital investment.

Year	Hogshead (Sugar)	Puncheon (Rum)
1810	269	212.5
1811	359	244
1812	190.5	186
1813	238	202
1814	166	140
1815	318	196
1816	117	N/A

Table 3.1: Sugar and run production 1810-1816

Of course, it was the coopted labor of enslaved Africans that was the primary driver of production at Stewart Castle. Direct documentary traces of the enslaved population for much of the eighteenth-century at Stewart Castle are largely not available. There is a one fragmentary documentary allusion to the enslaved population of the estate in the 1797 addendum to the 1793 mortgage document, referenced above, which states Stewart put up approximately 240 odd enslaved individuals as collateral for his existing debt (Cardew). The only other documentary traces available in this period related to the enslaved population are general discussions of plantation arrangement and labor by Stewart in his own 1792 text and the pictorial representation of a sizable slave village on the property in 1799 (1792 text; 1799 plat).

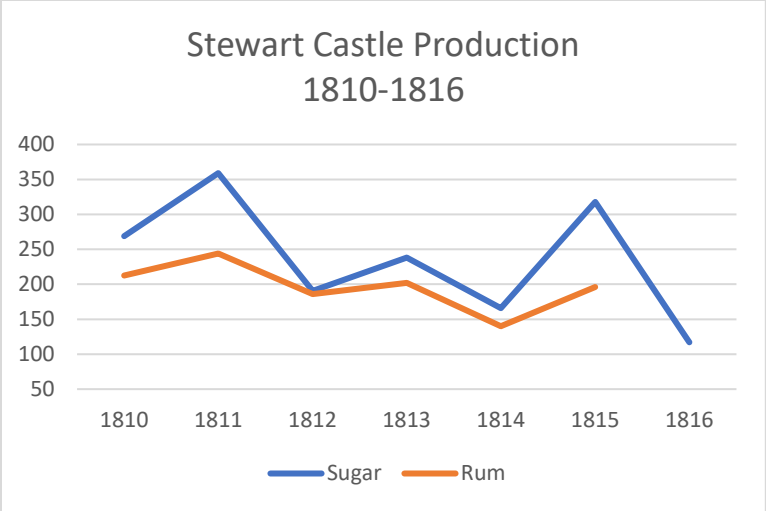


Figure 3.4: Sugar and rum production 1810-1816

Year	Name	Number of Enslaved	Source
1810	Stewart	302	1811 Almanac
1811	Stewart	348	1812 Almanac
1815	Stewart	300	1816 Almanac
1817	Stewart	368	1818 Almanac
1819	Stewart	376	1820 Almanac

Table 3.2: Population enslaved at Stewart Castle from Almanacs

In the years following 1810, however, a rough approximation of the population at least for the first decades of the nineteenth century can be discerned from a variety of documents. The digital transcriptions of the Jamaica Almanack where the populations of both the enslaved and the livestock of plantations were recorded provide a general sense of the population figures for the second decade of the nineteenth century (Table 3.2).

For the following decade a similar source of data can be derived from the Slave Registers for Trelawny (Table 3.3). The passage of the abolition act in 1807 prompted the creation of slave registers among the various colonies as an effort to prevent illicit trading, and ultimately the creation of an office for the Registry of Colonial Slaves in 1819. In Jamaica, parishes were instructed to take in these registers every three years beginning in 1817 from all individuals owning slaves.

Year	Name	Number of Enslaved	Births Since Previous	Deaths Since Previous	Source
1817	Stewart Castle	258			1817 Return
1820	Stewart Castle	296	17	21	1820 Return
1823	Stewart	388	17	24	1823 Return
1826	Stewart	286	21	22	1826 Return

Table 3.3: Population enslaved at Stewart Castle through the 1820s

So called “runaway” advertisements, which were placed into the newspapers upon the physical seizure of enslaved persons who had absented themselves from estates, also provide a very fragmentary glimpse of some of the individuals that would have made up this community. At Stewart castle, advertisements of the 1820’s can be used to interpret evidence about the community a decade earlier. Reading these ads may also begin to suggest some of the relationships among this community, particularly in the second decade of the nineteenth century. During the month of July in 1824, Amelia, a creole

woman, and McFee, an Eboe man, both of Stewart Castle estate are listed as held in the St. Ann's workhouse (Jamaica Journal: 7 August 1824). Using registry records from 1817, there are two men to whom this ad maybe referring. John McFee is identifiable as a man in his thirties, and is African, most importantly his "usual" name is listed as McFee. A second African man with a Christian name of James McFee, but known on the estate as Edwin, was also African and of about the age of 30. In 1823, James McFee appears to have been "transported by sentence of court." The only Amelia who is creole at the estate is a seven year old girl. There is another Amelia (definitely not the former's mother) in the registry, but she is clearly listed as African, though she is much closer in age to McFee also being roughly thirty years old (Registry 1817). It is difficult to say whether these individuals represent a portion of a family unit, a couple, shipmates, or simply a case of coincidence.

These ads also speak to some of the practices of Stewart as an enslaver. Such ads often contained physical evidence of the practices of enslavement practiced within the plantation system which were coming directly under critique by the metropolitan abolitionist and emancipatory movement. For example, an 1823 ad for Joe Hardy references a branding mark on his left shoulder comprised of a "IS [JS], a diamond on top." It is nearly certain the "JS" would stand for James Stewart, and particularly for James II. In a later registry of enslaved individuals at Stewart Castle, Joe Hardy is listed as 20 years of age in 1823. The branding of Joe may have happened during the process of purchase from a trans-Atlantic slave trader. In the ad Joe is listed as a Coromantee and the later registry confirms he is African, and thus would have necessarily been purchased

before 1807, if done so legally. The ad also states that Joe had been in the St. Ann's workhouse previously, and at that time was known by the name of Trial (Royal Gazette: 12 April 1823). It is also possible the branding was used as a measure of control or punishment for a "troublesome" or repeat runaway.

Sammy, a creole man of Stewart Castle, was listed as being present in the Kingston workhouse on July 8, 1816. Sammy's presence in Kingston hints at two points. First, he likely came to be so far from Trelawny due to Stewart's own regular attendance at nearby Spanish Town to fulfill his duties as an Assemblyman. This suggests evidence that enslaved domestics and/or laborer were making the trek with Stewart to the capital (Royal Gazette: 3 August 1816). Sammy's presence in Kingston workhouse may also suggest a conversancy in grand marroonage techniques among the Stewart's enslaved individuals. Kingston would have offered both a densely populated urban environment within which to escape detection, as well as, access to the sea going vessels of the Kingston and Port Royal harbor.

Another instance which may speak to movement and strategies resistance among the enslaved population at Stewart castle occurred in 1816. A series of notices printed in the Cornwall courier, and subsequently reprinted in the Royal Gazette of Kingston, document the events that lead to the end of an enslaved man's life. On the night of July 25th "while the family slept" the paper reported a series of valuables were taken from the house, including silver, clothing, and shoes (Royal Gazette: 3 August 1816). This incident not only highlights the precarious nature of the planter household, but also is important in consideration of the issues of security and surveillance present in the

arrangement of architectural and activity space at Stewart Castle. This theme is more fully explored in the following chapters.

By 1819/20, Stewart had apparently surrendered possession of the property, as well as, the enslaved individuals who labored on the estate. In that same year, Stewart was returned to the colonial house of assembly via election, but again he requested an absence from the house with the intention of taking back up his seat the following year in a letter laid before the speaker and house on October 31. By the opening of the session of October 1821, however, Stewart was still absent and granted leave "under the particular circumstances of the case" (JHA 1821).

Exactly what those circumstances were is not explicitly apparent in the documentary record. Family oral history suggests Stewart placed the interests of the colony above the management of his own estate. Certainly, Stewart never seems to have paid off the debt to the Sheddens recorded in 1810, as the family firm eventually were the receivers of the estate and the enslaved population as noted in the 1820 slave registers.

Regardless of the circumstances, Stewart was absent from the island until at least 1824, when he returned to the colony to take up a reappointment as Custos for Trelawny. No evidence presently available suggests he returned to Stewart Castle at this point, and conjecturally he may have taken up residence in Falmouth in performance of the duties of custos. The last years of Stewart Castle were therefore marked by a transition from a resident to an absentee managed plantation.

This period marks the end of Stewarts at Stewart Castle, but it is worth marking out that following 1824 Stewart himself returned to the island. In fact, his position was such that he was originally put forth by the Duke of Manchester, himself for a position on the governor's council (Manchester Letters). In a series of letters Manchester and Bathurst, the colonial secretary, explicitly discuss Stewart's support of the colonial administration. In turn, they each reference Stewart's qualities as an active and useful politician in the assembly. This post Stewart Castle period of James II's life is a promising arena for future research not the nuanced and potentially complex legislative practices deployed by creole planters particularly in the last decade of James Stewart's lifetime.

Ownership by Robert Shedden and Sons

Eight years prior to the death of James Stewart, the property that bore his family name passed out of his possession through debt to the firm of Robert Shedden and Sons. As the firm's name suggests, this company was a multigenerational conjoining of familial and business ties which was firmly entrenched in the world of transatlantic mercantile endeavor. Under the Shedden's ownership, Stewart Castle entered a phase of absentee ownership that typified many Jamaican estates of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. The Shedden family never resided on the property, instead employing a series of local attorneys as managers of the estate and the enslaved community resident thereat. Briefly touching upon this period completes the examination of the landscape as a center for planter material and representational practice, or lack thereof, through the period of slavery in Jamaica.

As previously mentioned, the Shedden name is first found in connection to the Stewart Castle property in the 1797 addendum to at 1793 mortgage of the property by multiple firms and extended through the 1810 writs of possession in the Shedden's firm was the sole holder of mortgages on the property. It is clear the Stewarts continued to live on the property between 1810 and 1819 as Stewart retained the right of management of the property. But following the 1820 transfer of ownership, the property entered a period of full absentee ownership.

The Sheddens managed the plantation from England through a network of attorneys, overseers, and bookkeepers. Despite this continued presence of hired whites on the property, the Great House itself would likely have remained unoccupied from 1820 onwards, as it does not seem any direct member of the Shedden family took up long term residence at Stewart Castle.

Whereas, the white names associated with the property shifted in 1820, the community of enslaved individuals living on the property appears to have had a greater continuity over the succeeding decade. The tax returns published in the annual Almanac report on the number of enslaved individuals held in bondage on the plantation fairly consistently through the 1820s and for several years in the 1830s before emancipation (Table 3.4).

Year	Name	Number of Enslaved	Source
1820	Shedden, R. and Sons	310	1821 Almanac
1821	Shedden, Robert and Sons	367	1822 Almanac
1822	Shedden, Robert and Sons	291	1823 Almanac
1823	Shedden, Robert and Sons	290	1824 Almanac
1824	Shedden, Robert and Sons	289	1825 Almanac
1825	Shedden, Robert and Sons	286	1826 Almanac
1826	Shedden, Robert and Sons	282	1827 Almanac
1827	Shedden, Robert and Sons	286	1828 Almanac
1828	Shedden, Robert and Sons	281	1829 Almanac
1830	Shedden, Robert and Sons	286	1831 Almanac
1831	Shedden, Robert and Sons	289	1832 Almanac
1832	Shedden, Robert and Sons	290	1833 Almanac
1837	Shedden, Robert and Sons	219	1838 Almanac

Table 3.4: Enslaved population figures for the decades of Shedden ownership.

Registries may provide the most detailed and comprehensive records of the enslaved community at Stewart Castle during the Shedden's ownership. The 1817 Registry for Stewart Castle lists the Sheddens as mortgager in possession and Stewart as owner. As such, the document preserves a snapshot of the enslaved community at transition between Stewart and Shedden ownership. The 1820 register, however, lists the estate as being in the possession of the Sheddens' attorney with the notation that the equity of redemption on the enslaved population had been released by "James Stewart [and] wife" (Register 1820). The Shedden family retained ownership of the estate and the enslaved community thereat through the following years until emancipation. Indeed, upon the death of Robert Shedden, Sr. in 1826, his will enumerated his dispersal of his interests in Stewart Castle to his heirs.

Few references, aside from the previously mentioned runaway ads, can be found to the estate in the period following 1820. Indeed, the one reference in local papers that

was concerned the estate was a reference to the perceived absence of involvement of the enslaved community with the events of the 1831 Baptist War (The Watchman, and Jamaica Free Press: 21 January 1832).

Ultimately, it was members of the Shedden family who filed for compensation claims with the British government in the emancipation period. The government awarded the family and their heirs a total of £6259 8S 10D in 1835 for the 288 enslaved individuals who still resided at Stewart Castle.[2] This wealth was distributed among the surviving heirs of Robert (Sr.). translate commercial wealth into propertied wealth.

To fully explore the social landscape of Stewart Castle as it evolved over the two generations of Stewart ownership, I sought to develop information useful for interpreting both the material and ideational aspects of white planter practice between 1754-1828. The preceding chapter has attempted to document the shifting familial, economic, social, and political goals and attitudes of the Stewart family over two generations. In the next chapter I turn from the documentary archive to the material one, and describe the archaeological methodologies deployed at the site to attempt to tie these two generations to specific material evidence.

[2] https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/15185

Chapter 4: Methods and Archaeological Results

This chapter explores more closely the evaluation and development of information from the site's material archive of the Great House complex itself, from which I sought to recover material evidence in two thematic areas. One area was to explore the structural arrangement and use of physical space and spatialized practices in and around the Stewart household. A second goal of the fieldwork was to develop data on the material patterns of consumption within the planter household. Additionally, I sought to establish a material chronology of the site to examine the social landscape both synchronically and diachronically. Archaeological and architectural methods of documenting sites were deployed to accomplish these multiple goals.

This chapter begins with a brief overview of the physical nature of the site as it existed in 2019 to orientate the reader to the landscape of the site. Following thereafter, I turn to explicitly demarcating the multiple methodologies deployed in this project to develop specific material data to explore the Stewart's domestic social landscape, including surface survey and architectural documentation (most fully expanded upon in the following chapter), subsurface shovel test pit (STP) close interval survey, and stratigraphic excavation of judgmentally placed test units. Within each methodological technique, I also review the results of the testing in terms of establishing the site integrity and chronology. This analysis will facilitate more detailed interpretative analysis to follow in the subsequent chapters.

Physical Site Description:

Trelawney parish, environmentally encompassing coastal plains, rivers, limestone hills, and densely forested uplands, is situated on the north coast of Jamaica. Geologically, the area is underlain by limestone bedrock with silty clays and loams atop. Trelawny's main urban center is the port of Falmouth, and the parish is traversed by the north coast highway (A1) connecting this town with the cities of Montego Bay to the west and Ochos Rios to the east. Located just off this roadway and roughly one kilometer inland from the seashore, the Stewart Castle Great House is owned and maintained by the Jamaican National Heritage Trust (JNHT).

Figure 4.1: 2019 Aerial view of Stewart Castle Great House looking northeast highlighting low density residential development and lightly wooded terrain. (Image courtesy of Dr. Zach Bier)

Currently the JNHT property is largely undeveloped beyond road signage (Figure 4.1). Outside of the JNHT property, much of the land encompassed by the historic Stewart Castle Estate is currently occupied by a low-density housing development. Prior to 2018, there was a marl mining operation that operated on the cliffs above the seafront just north of the Great House site. As a result, access roadways had clearly been cut through segments of the broader historic landscape, including through the village site. The plantation sugar works and the overseer's house appear to have been affected by private land development in the period between 2007 and 2019 as well, which may have impacted the above ground foundations and ruins associated with those buildings.

Figure 4.2: 2019 Aerial view of Stewart Castle Great House looking west highlighting expanded marl roadway and construction clearing. (Image courtesy of Dr. Zach Bier)

Following 2018, the development of a hotel resort complex along the shoreline on the historic plantation has greatly increased the impact of development in the local area (Figure 4.2). Most immediately, it appears the eighteenth-century wharf and store house were impacted by the construction of the resort complex. Further in land, the need for construction and visitor access has greatly increased the size of the roadway and frequency of travel in the area. Nevertheless, the immediate vicinity of the Great House has not been directly impacted by development as of 2020.

The most prominent physical features of the site, however, are the ruins of several of the historic structures that comprised the core of the Stewart's domestic complex. The visible features of structures at the site were all given numeric designations to serve as a common nomenclature while comparing previous generations of exploration at the site (Figure 4.3). The site structures consist of the standing ruins of the Great House (1), the mostly ruined foundational outline of a rectangular structure located inside the walled courtyard to the east of the Great House (2), the standing ruins of a tower to the west of the Great House (3), the ruined foundations of a rectangular dependency north of the Great House (4), and finally the ruined foundations of a small roughly square outbuilding located near the roadway (5). Additionally, there is a roughly rectangular wall which creates a courtyard between structures 1 and 2. As mentioned previously, all of these structures were documented on the 1799 plat of the property drawn by the surveying firm of Monroe, Innis and Stevenson.

Figure 4.3: Structures assigned numbers at Stewart Castle Great House site. (Modification of image courtesy of Dr. Zach Bier)

Additionally, as an examination of the Great House plays a key role in exploring the built architecture and structure of space at the site, the rooms within that building were given unique identifiers as well. These identifiers consist of a three-digit number, where the first digit denotes the floor of the building and the last two digits allow for a sequential numbering of the rooms on each floor. The basement level of the structure consists of a large definitive cellar room, a possible cellar under the southernmost room in the house, and a lower level of the southern tower. There is also a cistern located on the north side of the house. The remaining floors of the house likely consisted of at least eight rooms. With a brief introduction to the site location and the structural features, I

now turn towards exploring the methodologies employed at the site both by myself and from precursor projects from which I am drawing data.

Previous Archaeological Documentation:

The Stewart Castle property was the subject of several archaeological investigations and research prior to the current project. By 1897, J.E. Duerden and Frank Cundall of the Institute of Jamaica reported on the presence of open area sites near Stewart Castle. These sites were referred to as Taino Kitchen Middens and were characterized by shell and indigenous ceramic waretypes and forms. Indeed, by the early twentieth century, the area was apparently known as Indian town (Cundall 1915: 318). This site was revisited as recently as 2004, by researchers from the University of the West Indies when it was described as roughly an acre in size (Conolley 2011: 42). This site of initial archaeological investigation on the Stewart Castle property, however, lays outside the property of the JNHT, and indeed is removed from the core of the historic plantation Great House.

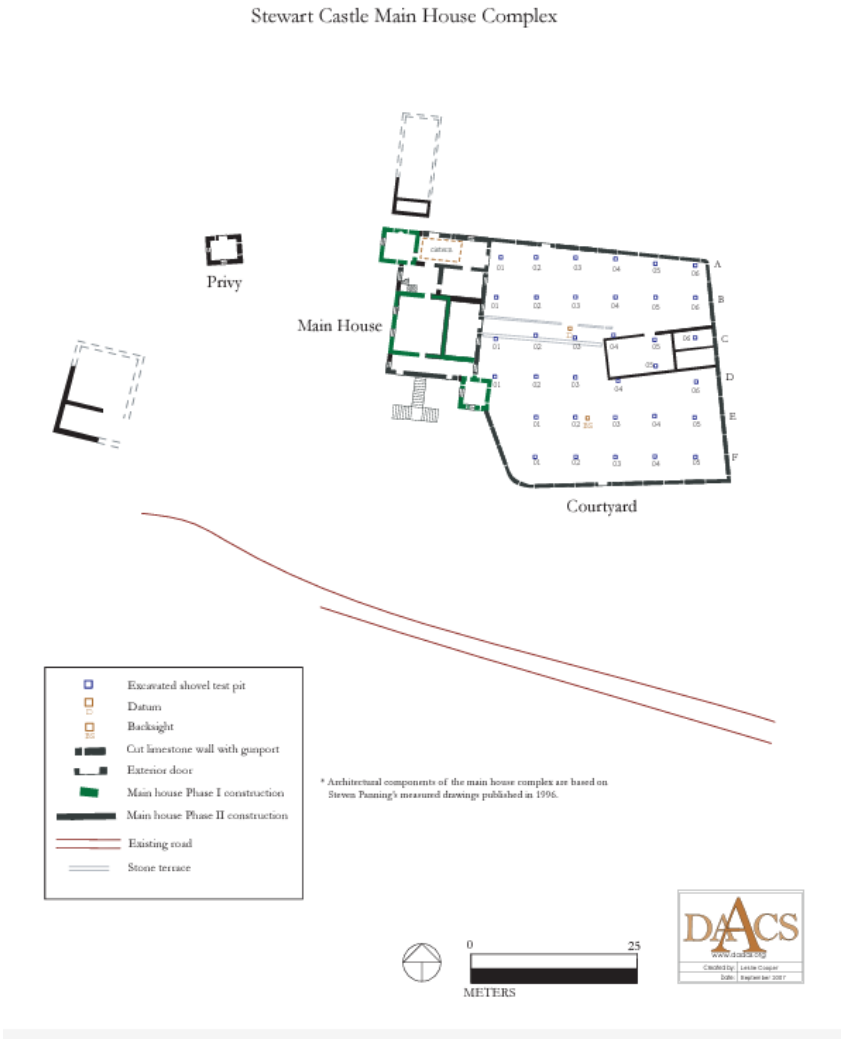


Figure 4.4: Illustration of 2007 DAACS STP survey at "Stewart Castle Main House"

Not until over a century after Duerden and Cundall's investigation of the Tiano site was the historic period plantation itself examined as an archaeological site of interest. In 2007 a partnership of the JNHT, Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery, University of Virginia, and University of the West Indies Mona conducted archaeological investigations of the historic plantation landscape. As part of a broader comparative research program between plantations of the north and south coast, this team

primarily focused on surveying and testing a portion of the village site at Stewart Castle. A small survey was conducted at Great House in order to obtain a dataset for comparative purposes in the analysis of the village material. The survey limits were bound to the interior of the courtyard of the Stewart Castle Great House in 2007 (Figure 4.4).

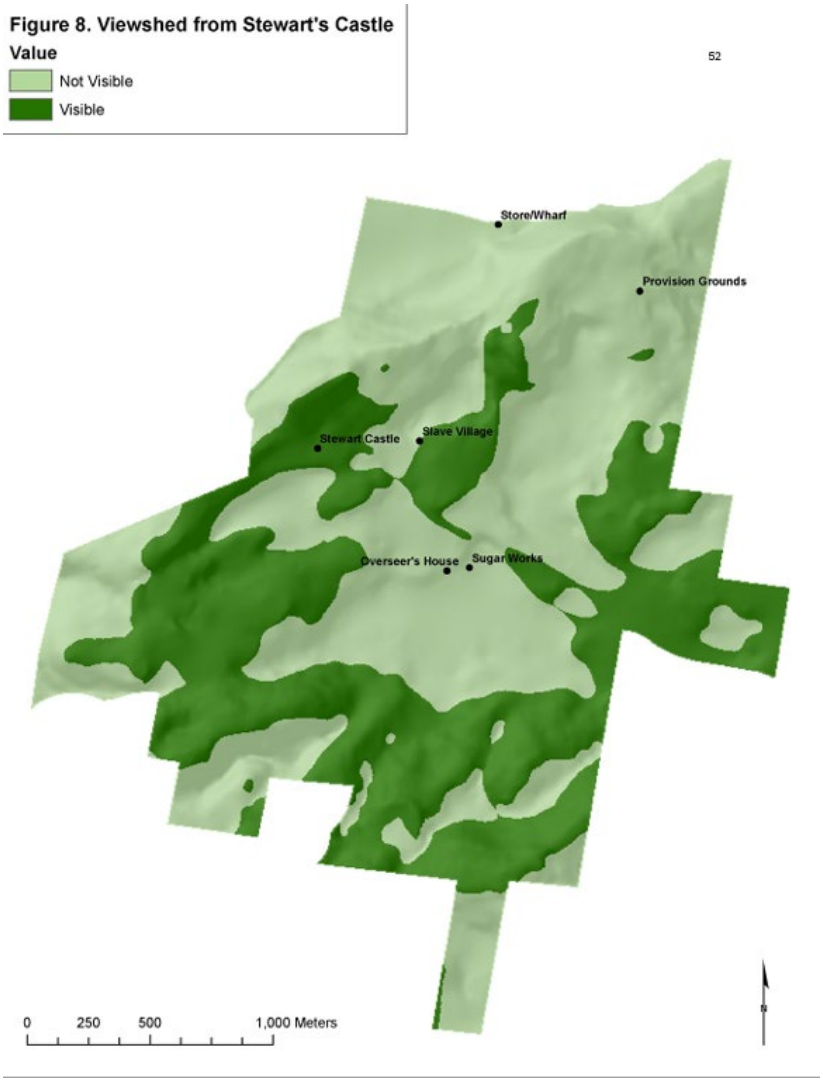


Figure 4.5: Viewshed analysis of Stewart Castle property from Main House (Bates 2004: 52)

More recently, Bates has explored aspects of the broader historic landscape of Stewart Castle in two scholarly projects. In the first (UVa Thesis; articles?), she analyzed the plantation geography using view shed analysis of sight lines with an eye towards engaging broader explorations of panoptic landscapes of surveillance (Leone, epperson , ??). Perhaps most interestingly, this work revealed that for the Stewarts, surveillance of the domestic locations of the enslaved population and the infrastructure of production were evidently not a central concern of plantation spatial organization. Indeed, Bates's viewshed analysis suggests this role of surveillance was delegated to the position of overseer. Bates suggested the Stewarts were more concerned with sight lines to the edge of the property (and perhaps beyond to other properties) (Figure 4.5). Bates subsequently returned to the Stewart Castle village site, and several other comparative collections across the island, in latter projects that explored the role of provision ground access in providing opportunity, access, and power for enslaved communities within local markets (UPenn Dis; Material Worlds chapter). This work primarily concerned an examination of the material culture recovered from the 2007 excavations in the village site at Stewart Castle.

Current Archaeological Methodology:

Two main archaeological methodologies were utilized in the 2016 work at the Stewart Castle Great House. First, the field crew performed a multi-component survey of the area surrounding the Great House which comprised both surface observation and subsurface testing. The surface methodology consisted of a walkover and mapping of the surface of the site, with particular attention to architectural remains and surface artifact

scatters. The subsurface component of the survey used Shovel Test Pits (STPs) as a means to effectively develop data concerning the integrity and distribution of cultural evidence within the site. Upon completion of this work, the field crew also adopted a methodology including the excavation of judgmentally placed test units to obtain data from stratigraphically intact contexts and assess areas of interest identified through the survey work.

All artifacts from the survey and unit excavation were washed, sorted and prepared for transportation by the field crew in Jamaica. An artifact loan agreement was developed with the Jamaica National Heritage Trust that enabled the author to export the material from the 2016 excavations to catalogue and digitally document the collection in the United States. All cataloguing work was conducted within the laboratories of the departments of archaeology at Monticello and Mount Vernon. All context records and artifact data for all seasons of fieldwork at Stewart Castle were entered into the DAACS database using the established protocols for identification and recordation to ensure data comparability within that research project. Additionally, the artifact and context data have been made publicly available through the DAACS website (www.daacs.org) and through the DAACS research consortium platform (www.daacsrc.org).

Survey:

One key component of the archaeological fieldwork methodology at Stewart Castle was the development of a site survey centered on the Great House. The survey demonstrated that while the landscape remained in continual usage to varying degrees into the twenty-first century, the integrity of the eighteen and nineteenth century

components of the archaeological record were intact and useful for interpreting the historical arrangement and usage of the landscape within the survey area. In turn, the analysis of the survey results allows for the interpretation of both the buildings and the interstitial spaces between them as a more complete form of the household perspective with an emphasis on spatialized practices.

Surface Survey:

In 2016, the field crew began by surveying the site through a physical ground surface walkover. The most obvious features on the landscape were the standing ruins of the Great House, as well as, the observable elements of the surrounding dependency structures, which were documented through architectural mapping. Surface observations, however, also demonstrated that the landscape was clearly still in active use in 2016 as both a site of production and consumption.

The most prominent example of this fact was the daily progression of a goat herd through the site as they moved on a grazing rotation. Additional productive uses of the landscape were found along the western edge of the survey area, where tobacco was being grown in a small clearing in the forest growth. In this clearing there was visible charcoal on the surface from slash and burn cultivation of the tree growth. The size of the tobacco plot, however, suggested it was for personal usage or distribution in localized networks, in stark contrast to the historical association between the property and the transatlantic economies of sugar.

The reality of this continued use of the land was materialized directly in other ways as well. It was clear small portions of the site were intermittently being used as a location for the deposition and burning of trash. The artifacts observed suggested the objects disposed of here were consumed both on and off the site. Of particular note was an array of modern materials including concrete blocks, ceramic tiles, and automotive products deposited just to the north of the cleared space along the exterior of the northern courtyard wall of the castle. These materials were recorded in place, but not collected, and it was clear that the deposit did not extend below the ground surface. In addition, a small amount of such modern refuse was also found scattered to the west of the privy. The field crew also photographically documented a surface bottle dump and refuse burning location directly along the western wall of the privy structure.

While these surface features and visible observations speak directly to the continued utilization of the landscape at the site by local populations, evidence was also noted for elements of the eighteenth and nineteenth century landscape. The most obvious evidence was the approach road to the Great House. This roadway rises from the area southeast of the Great House following the topography of the landscape into a turnout/intersection with a northward trace occurring right by structure (storage/carriage). Throughout the east-west section of the road, the edge of the roadway is bounded by a low limestone rubble wall. This feature appears to demarcate the roadway from the agricultural fields to the south, and the Great House area to the north. Indeed in the woodland currently grown up in the fields to the south of the Great House area, the field

crew observed large, rubble built field walls in the landscape which appear to demarcate boundaries similar to the 1799 plat of Stewart Castle.

Within the area defined by the dependencies, architectural elements of importance were also observed during surface survey.[3] In 2007, the main house and privy, and in 2016 the other dependency structures were mapped using an electronic total station. This work enabled me to document the spatial arrangement of the Great House complex's footprint within the archaeological grid system. This work revealed that while previous, non-electronic site mapping appeared to be quite well done, the limitations of tape and compass documentation were evident in the position of the privy and western outbuilding (Panning 1996). The privy and the western dependency structure are more appropriately mapped approximately three meters in a southeasterly direction from the locations previously documented. Additionally, it appears earlier scholars may have inadvertently switched dimensional length and width records for the privy such that it was previously displayed as wider on a roughly east-west axis, rather than the true north to south axis. The correct measurements can be seen in both a 1960 unpublished plan and in the modern survey (Figure 4.6). The current project therefore uses data gathered from modern total station surveys conducted in 2007, 2015, and 2016 as the basis for all locations of structures.

[3] See Chapter 5 previous documentation section for a more complete description of this work.

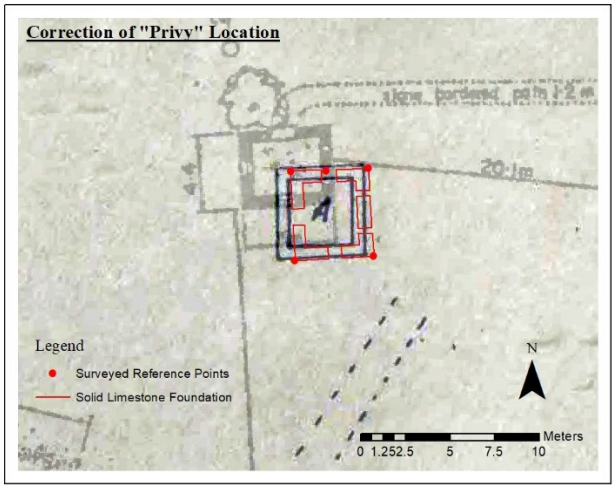


Figure 4.6: Correction for Privy location illustrating modern survey results overlain on 1960 map of site (building marked "A") and Steven Panning's site plan.

In 2019, additional photo documentation of the elevations of the structures was undertaken to complement the horizontal survey. Again, while there is clearly evidence of modern site visitation and continued ruination, the Great House displays excellent integrity for the interpretation of eighteenth and nineteenth century interior spatial arrangements.

Subsurface Survey:

The subsurface results of the survey also clearly demonstrated the integrity of the eighteen and nineteenth century components of the archaeological record. At Stewart Castle, STP excavation was deployed as a stratified sampling methodology to observe both the stratigraphy and artifact frequency across a broad horizontal portion of the

landscape surrounding the Great House and its dependencies. Site survey is at best often relegated to an interpretative backwater, serving merely as a precursory step on the way to area excavations, and whose data receive little further analysis. Yet, STP survey in fact offers to reveal aspects of historic landscapes that are no longer apparent upon surface examination, while still being an efficient use of labor in data collection across a site area. Indeed, such a program of testing strengthens the value of targeted excavation deployed traditionally in household focused approaches by providing broader spatial context for those stratigraphic excavations.

The use of STPs as a methodology has a long history in the field. Often the technique is deployed for site discovery and/or as a regional sampling methodology (Wobst 1983; Nance 1983). In the 1980s, Shott and others suggested the STPs would not be a panacea for the issue of site discovery, and that the parameters of the application of STPs within research designs needed to be adequately defined (Shott 1985, 1989). Others, such as Lightfoot (1986; also Nance and Ball 1986), suggested STP survey, if understood to provide a sample, was readily acceptable to derive regional observations of archaeological site populations. Indeed, STP survey has come to dominate Phase I, or site discovery phases, particularly for historic period sites with high concentrations of associated material culture that are often not impacted by deep burial.

This methodology has recently been adapted to large area STP surveys at slave villages on Jamaica (2007, 2008-2011) and Nevis (2006, 2008) initiated by The Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (DAACS). In these projects, this sampling methodology is applied to known sites. STP data is used to analyze the intra-

site space within the survey area, previously applications have largely focused on "slave villages" comprised of numerous households (Galle et. al. 2009, Bassett 2019).

This project extends the STP survey model to a planter's domestic complex - itself comprised of multiple structures, occupied over multiple generations, and used by diverse social actors – to further the goal of the use of comparative data to develop a more complete understanding of social landscapes of power. Just as regional surveys provide a sampling of the spatial patterning of sites at that scale, here I use STPs as a sampling methodology to establish useful spatial boundaries and for identifying artifact concentrations within the immediate area of the Great House and its dependencies.

At Stewart Castle, STP survey excavations in the summer of 2016 were designed to build upon previous work conducted at the site in 2007. At this earlier date the interior of the castle's courtyard was subjected to a controlled STP survey. A grid based in the UTM system was established at the site, and a total station was used to layout STPs on six-meter centers. Six transacts (A-F) were excavated within the courtyard and STPs were numbered sequentially ascending to the east within each transect. Two additional STPs were excavated to allow for the placement of rebar benchmarks within the site. These were not on grid and were designated as DATUM and BKSIGHT. Finally, the whole section of the property was assigned the monicker of Area 1 to clearly demarcate these STPs from others excavated within the village site in 2007. Thus unique identifiers for each STP were constructed by stringing together the Area designation, the transect letter, and the hole number (e.g. 1-A-006). Each STP consisted of half meter round hole excavated as a single context to bedrock or sterile clay. Sediments from these excavations

were screened through ¼” mesh to recover cultural artifacts. Upon completion of excavation the profiles of each STP were recorded on standardized forms using folding rules and Munsell soil coloration and texture codes.

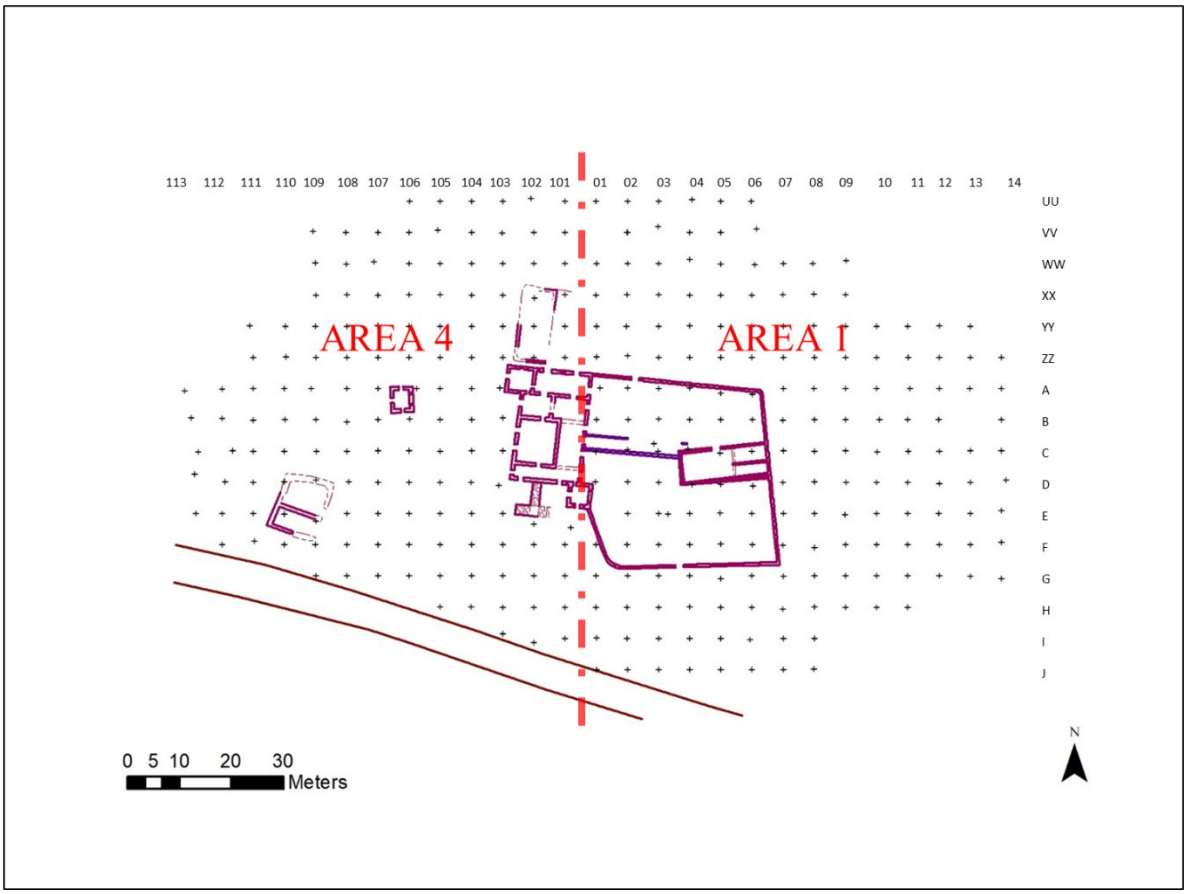


Figure 4.7: Survey areas and STP transects.

In 2016, this excavation and grid system was expanded in all cardinal directions outside the courtyard walls by reusing the original datum and backsight benchmarks (Figure 4.7). This necessitated some modifications to the new STP nomenclature. The original naming conventions were expanded to the south and east of the original six

transects using alphabetically sequential single letter designations and sequential hole numbers in this portion of Area 1. The expansion of the grid to the section of Area 1 to the north of transect A, however, necessitated the use of double letter transect designations. Alphabetic order was maintained here where the transect immediately north of A was ZZ, and the next further north was YY. This allowed for continued expansion of the grid to the north and south in future years. The expansion of the grid to the west was more problematic, as the western most original STP hole had been labeled one. To avoid negative numbers, or another equally problematic solution, the section of the site west of the original base line was designated Area 4. While the transect letters for both Area 1 and Area 4 were matched, such that transect 1-A occurred at the same northing as 4-A, the numbering for sequential holes was modified in Area 4 to avoid excavator confusion in the recording process. Numbers for holes in Area 4 ascended sequentially to the west. Furthermore, the baseline hole number was 101 to avoid mistaken recordation between holes in Area 1 and 4 through transposition. Thus STP 1-A-001 was directly east of STP 4-A-101.

Additionally, the six-meter grid was maintained throughout the site, except where that grid point was incapable of being excavated and offsetting the STP by less than a quarter meter (in any cardinal direction), would enable a subsurface sample to be taken. If the quarter meter radius did not produce a viable alternative, which point of fact only occurred when bedrock was exposed on the ground surface, the STP was recorded, but clearly produced no results. The majority of offset STPs were placed to avoid the location of an excavation directly inside a tree trunk. While in 2007, this same technique was not

required at the Great House, it was employed at the village site which was the focus of that season of field work. In sum, comparable excavation and recording methodology were maintained between 2007 and 2016 field seasons.

As a result, a total of 323 STPs were excavated across the site, of which 255 contained cultural material (Figure 4.8). These STPs bounded a survey area roughly oval shaped and extending 96 m x 162 m around the Great House. A natural site boundary was formed by the presence of the roadway to the south of the Great House complex, which as previously stated likely served as a field marker historically. The eastern site boundary was defined by a sequence of negative STPs along most transects in Area 1. Similarly, negative STPs were encountered along most transects along the northern and west edges of the survey area. Future testing beyond these points may yield further evidence of landscape usage, but the current survey results appear to indicate the majority of the domestic core of the Great House complex were encompassed by the current survey. The interpretation of the spatial analysis resulting from the STP survey will be discussed in the following chapter at greater length.

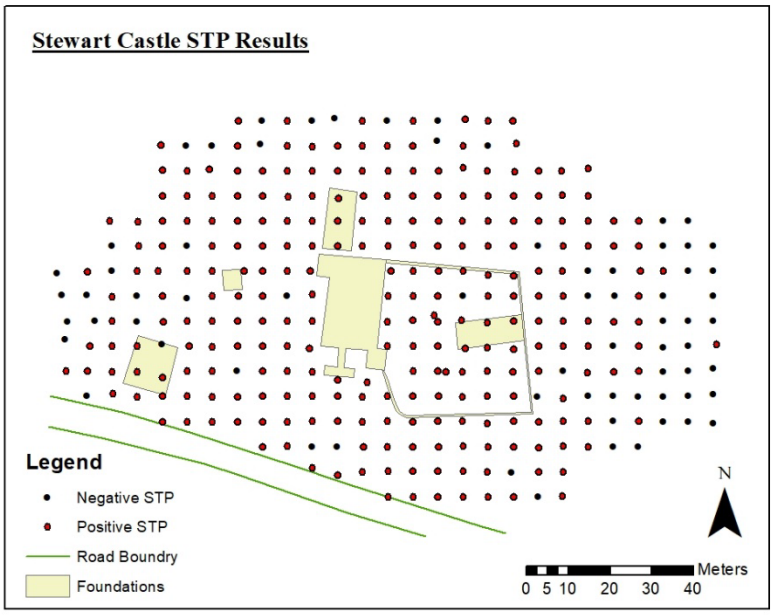


Figure 4.8: Visualization of positive and negative STP locations resulting from 2016 fieldwork at Stewart Castle Great House.

It is clear, however, that the subsurface integrity of the site was excellent throughout the survey area. While there was variation in the STP depth and sedimentation, the profiles of STPs across the site revealed a common profile comprised of a thin naturally weathering topsoil, atop a layer of silty loam that contained the eighteenth and nineteenth century material culture. In turn, the base of most STPs across the site encountered a culturally sterile clay layer or directly exposed bedrock (Figure 4.9).

Figure 4.9: Representative profiles of STPs within the survey areas in 2016.

In summary, the survey results suggest the data gathered are suitable for exploring intrasite spatial variation within a defined domestic core surrounding the Great House. They also indicate there are no large portions of the site which have been adversely impacted by subsurface disturbance. Thew results also helped structure the chose of test unit excavation.

Stratigraphic Testing:

In 2016, the field crew excavated five additional judgmentally placed 1x1 m test units for sampling stratigraphic and architectural features identified within the site through the survey (Figure 4.10). Whereas STP survey was used as a means to understand the evolution of spatial usage between architectural elements at the Great House site, stratigraphic excavation was deployed to develop both a sample of material consumed at the site over its occupancy and as an attempt to refine the sequencing of architectural construction. Three of these units were placed in an adjoining line west to east, and sampled a potential midden feature just north of the main house and located by

the STP survey. Two test units were placed in an adjoining line north to south and were located to explore the architectural relationship between Structure 4 and Structure 1, the Great House.

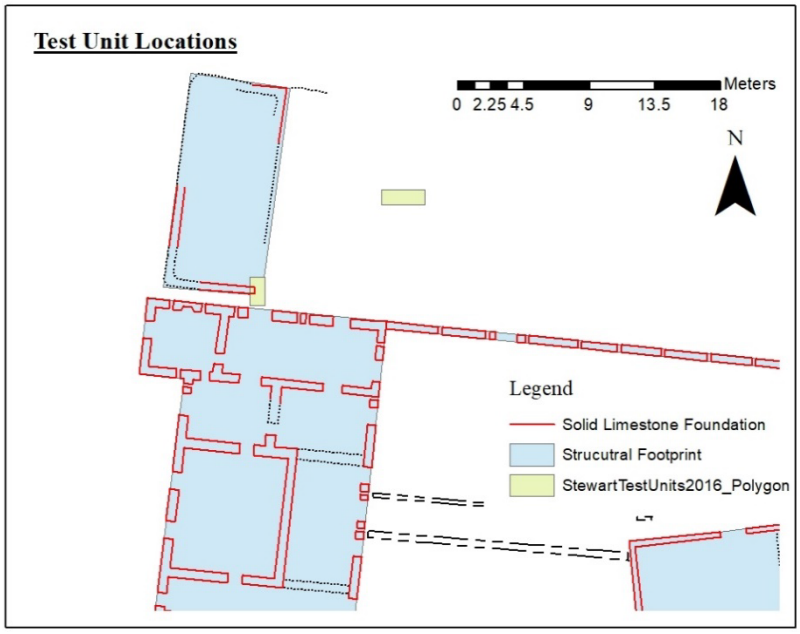


Figure 4.10: 2016 Test Unit locations at Stewart Castle Great House.

The excavation of these units deployed a significantly different methodology. The field crew excavated these larger test units in stratigraphic layers where such were identifiable based on observable criteria of soil color and textural changes until sterile clay subsoil or bedrock was encountered. These layers, or contexts, were named by combing the test unit number in which they were excavated with a sequential letter assigned to each new soil color texture identified vertically within the test unit. For example, the second sediment removed from test unit 003 would receive the letter designation of B, and the archaeological context would be designated as 003B. The

sediment was screened through ¼" mesh screen to recover cultural artifacts, sediment texture and coloration were recorded, and measured maps and profiles were drawn. For those units excavated in the midden, a soil sample from each identified context below the first (as it was unsealed and potentially contaminated by modern actives) was taken for water screening at a later date. Each of these sets of units demonstrated there was subsurface integrity to the materials at the site, and that these did indeed date to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Matrix Construction and Chronology:

Following field recordation and initial artifact cleaning, further stratigraphic analysis focused on the construction of matrices for the two areas of stratigraphic testing. Following the model laid out by Harris these matrices document the relationship between stratified contexts, or groups of related contexts as documented by excavators. Contexts are represented by boxes and the lines connecting them represent their relationships (Harris 1979). This analysis also demonstrates that within stratigraphic excavations, there is the ability to explore change over time based on specific groupings of contexts and portions of the assemblage.

The Midden (TU 002, TU 003, TU 004):

A feature, subsequently identified as a midden, was located initially through STP survey just to the north of the Great House and immediately east of Structure 4. The high numbers of artifacts recovered from STPs 1-XX-001 and 1-YY-001 again were suggestive that this location was a purposely reserved space for disposal of trash. This

concentration of material additionally suggests the accumulation was not sheet refuse in this portion of the site, but rather a specific disposal location. Prior to excavation of test units, this contention was strengthened by the evidence of the profiles from excavated STPs which clearly show layered sediments containing ash (Figure 4.11). Such deposits are suggestive of clearing of cooking and other interior spaces associated with either the main house itself or the associated service buildings.

Figure 4.11: Detail of STP 1-YY-001 illustrating alternating bands of ash and silty loam.

Stratigraphic evidence from the test unit excavation also indicates this was a sealed deposit of refuse (Figure 4.12). The uppermost layer across the line of test units was defined as sediment mixed with limestone cobbles and boulders. These stones were likely related to the collapse/destruction of the walls of the outbuilding directly to the west. Subsequent layers were defined by alternating ash and sandy loams, with the depth of the feature greater on the western edge of the line of test units.

Figure 4.12: F001 upon completion of excavation facing east. Note cut limestone block on left side of image, removed from topsoil layers.

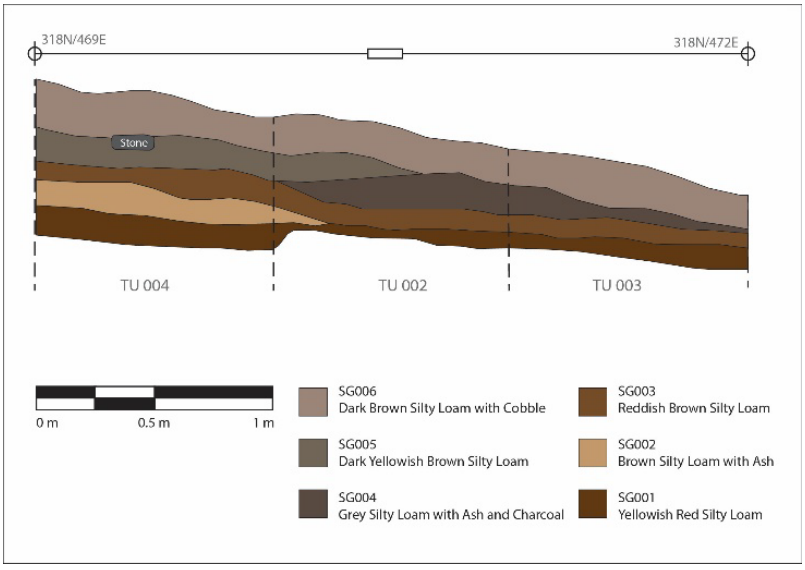


Figure 4.13: North profile of F001 illustrating SG sequencing.

The layers for each test unit excavated in the midden could generally be grouped together into larger stratigraphic groups (SGs) based on both physical correlations between the sediments in adjacent test units and soil color and texture classifications. A SG was only formed when two or more archaeological contexts were correlated through these means. These larger units of stratigraphic analysis enable the development of feature matrices documenting a relative chronology of deposition (Figure 4.13).

SG006 consisted of a dark greyish brown to dark brown silty loam with very high amounts (15-25%) of limestone cobble inclusions, and incorporated contexts 002A, 003A, and 004A thereby extending across all of the test units excavated in this location. Aside from the high quantity of limestone rubble present, there were also numerous pieces of cut and finished stone in this layer. The most likely interpretation of this cut stone is as wall fall from the adjacent [kitchen] structure. In turn, the presence of the wall fall tends to a conclusion that this layer capped the active use of the site by a resident population.

SG005 comprising contexts 002C and 003B was described as a dark yellowish brown silty loam layer with limestone inclusions (15%). Context 003B in particular was recorded as still having “wall debris [and] roofing slate” (Field notes) present within the sediment. This debris may be related to the elements noted in SG001, suggesting this material likely also represents a period when the structures were deteriorating or entering disuse.

SG004 was defined as a grey to greyish brown silty loam with ash, charcoal, and limestone inclusions, and was comprised of contexts 002B and 004B. This layer was

therefore only present in the western half of the excavated trench. The presence of ash in this material, and the lack of evidence of structural fire in the remaining architectural elements at the site, suggest these deposits may be comprised of refuse accumulated in the course of household maintenance. Activities such as trash burning or, more likely, the sweeping of hearths could have produced the charcoal and ashy inclusions noted in these sediments.

SG003 ran the full length of the excavated portion of the midden feature, and consisted of contexts 002D, 003C, and 004C. There is some variability in the description of the sediment across the three units where it is defined as a strong to reddish brown silty loam with the amount of limestone pebble inclusions ranging from 20% to 40%. Additionally, context 004C, the western most context comprising this SG, was noted as also containing approximately 5% charcoal flecking, which may relate to the description of this context as a "thin layer between two grey ash layers" referencing here SG004 and SG002 (Field notes).

SG002 was present only in the western portion of the excavated section of the feature. It primarily consisted of context 004D, which was a descripted as an ashy grey layer transitioning to a brown (7.5YR 5/3) silty loam with limestone pebble (14%) and charcoal inclusions (1%). Upon completing excavation of the trench through the feature, it appeared likely that this SG also extended a short distance into TU 002 based upon an examination of the northern profile of the excavation. This material was not noted in the excavation of that test unit initially, and instead the small portion of it present was removed with context 002[D]. As with SG004, the presence of charcoal and ash in this

sediment appears to suggest a layered deposition of household refuse in this feature excavation. Furthermore, this sediment sequencing confirms the same pattern observed in the profiles of STPs from this area.

SG001 consisted of a yellowish red silty loam to clay interspersed among outcroppings of bedrock at the base of all three test units. It is comprised of contexts 002E, 003D, 004E. The presence of the bedrock and the diminishment of cultural material recovered indicated this layer was a transition to a culturally sterile level. Indeed, in TU004 along the western edge of the trench, this layer was excavated to a greater depth to confirm that there was no further cultural material, and bedrock was completely exposed.

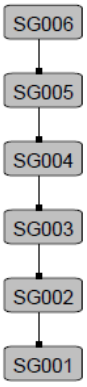


Figure 4.14: Harris Matrix of F001 SGs.

Using these units and the relationships between them as documented in the field notes, a matrix can be developed mapping the depositional history of this location (Figure 4.14) (Harris 1989). With a stratigraphic sequence established, several dating techniques were used to establish temporal sequencing of the identified deposits. Ceramics are excellent temporal markers as they underwent a sustained period of frequent and rapid stylistic change during the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. SGs served as analytical units for terminus post quem (TPQ) and mean ceramic dating (MCD).

TPQ dating is among the simplest measures of providing dates to a stratigraphic sequence. The analysis is predicated on the principle that sediments were formed no earlier than the production dates of artifacts contained within them. In simplest form, if a layer is found to contain a 1961 penny, it is clear that the earliest date at which that layer was formed would be 1961. Of course, it may have been formed at any time thereafter as well. Thus, TPQs provide a date for the earliest possible formation of layers on archaeological sites. This analysis may be problematic, however, if archaeological contexts and soil sedimentation are not perfectly correlated, which is due to factors of unseen or small bioturbations (aka. rodent or root impacts), excavator error, or possible cross contamination of a single artifact from deposits higher in a wall profile are realities in excavation even among the best practitioners. As a result, following the model of DAACS sites, TPQp95 and TPQp90, representing TPQ analysis based on those respective percentages of the collection (Table 4.1).

DAACS Stratigraphic Group	TPQ	TPQp90	TPQp95
SG001	1762	1762	1762
SG002	1775	1775	1775
SG003	1775	1762	1775
SG004	1775	1775	1775
SG005	1794	1775	1775
SG006	1820	1775	1775

Table 4.1: TPQ analysis of F001 by SG at Stewart Castle

As opposed to TPQs, which seek to establish the earliest possible date for the formation of an observed context, MCD techniques attempt to define a "date" that approximates the mean occupation of a site using production dates for ceramics. This date is calculated as the weighted average of the mid-point of the manufacturing range of key ceramic types recovered within an assemblage (South 1977: 217, 236). An additional refinement of this technique, termed the "Best Linear Unbiased Estimate Mean Ceramic Date" (BlueMCD), which attempts to take into account skewing in the MCD calculation due to the extremely long production ranges of ceramic types such as Chinese porcelain or delftware (Nieman and Smith 2005; Galle 2010, 2011). The use of a BlueMCD is in part an attempt to account for a noted MCD lag factor in Caribbean sites, which results in early standard MCD dates (see Wilkie and Farnsworth 2005: 137–138). Regardless of method used, mean ceramic dating of the recovered material for these layers also reveals a clear temporal signature to the stratigraphic sequence (Table 4.2), suggesting this feature was indeed a location for household disposal for a period from at least the late 1770s through the early 1800s.

DAACS Stratigraphic Group	MCD	Blue MCD	Total Sherd Count
SG001	1761	1781	19
SG002	1786	1792	59
SG003	1775	1789	235
SG004	1783	1793	291
SG005	1790	1794	570
SG006	1795	1797	424

Table 4.2: MCD analysis of F001 by SG at Stewart Castle

Mapping this sequencing onto the life history of the Stewart's occupation of the Castle, it seems likely the material recovered from this testing predominately represents the household of James Stewart II, perhaps also incorporating the tail end of the James Stewart I's ownership. This material is therefore useful in exploring the consumptive choices and activities taking place within the Great House in the period as James II gained increasing social notoriety in the period surrounding the turn of the nineteenth century.

A final method of dating regularly applied at historic sites is the use of pipestem dating formulas. First recognized by Harrington (1954), the diameter of pipestem bores, the holes through which smoke passed from the bowl to the mouthpiece, decreased through time and could be measured in 1/64ths of an inch. Harrington used these measurements to develop a technique that produced a range for dating a site. Subsequently, Binford (1962; 1972) developed a statistical method for calculating a singular date based on the frequency of pipe bore diameters present. Pipestem dating of the midden feature is limited by a small sample size (n = 56), thus analysis within each

SG is of limited value. As a result, pipe stem dating was applied to the feature as a single analytic unit, rather than to each SG.

Traditional dating methods clearly demonstrate both that the feature dates to the Stewart family's occupation of the site, and in the case of TPQ and MCD analysis clearly demonstrate the stratigraphic sequence is possessed of temporal significance. Furthermore, it also demonstrates that the material appears to largely date to the period of James II, in the decades between 1780 and 1810.

Exterior Stair (TU 001 and TU 005)

Two further test units were excavated in 2016. TU 001 and TU 005 were located just outside the northern exit from the Great House, where a small stair of two steps lead out of the room housing the cistern. These units were placed in a linear arrangement on a north-south axis, with TU005 closer to the Great House to the south. The units were initially placed to investigate the narrow space between the Great House and Structure (Kitchen), with the possibility of aiding the development of the chronological sequence of construction and possible destruction of that outbuilding in relation to the Great House. Excavations revealed surprisingly that there were architectural elements present in the units.

The contexts for TU 001 and TU 005 could not be effectively grouped into SGs based on the sedimentation of that location. A matrix can still be constructed for that location, however, drawing on the relationships between the individual contexts which

allows for meaningful interpretation of the sequence of deposition in this portion of the landscape.

TU 001 was the more complex of the two units. Context 001A was interpreted as topsoil, which was described as a light brown () silty loam with only 10% inclusions of limestone pebbles and cobbles. Below this layer, excavators identified the upper portion of context 001E, defined as a rubble layer nearly completely comprised of limestone pebble and cobble (95%). They also identified context 001B, a light brown silty loam with 60% limestone pebble cobble, and boulder inclusions, just to the north of 001E. Removal of 001B revealed 001C which had substantially less limestone rubble (30%) and was characterized as a pink or pinkish white silty loam. In turn, the excavation of 001C exposed more of 001E. This sequence would seem to be an accrual of destruction material and fill. Indeed, cut limestone steps and a portion of a cut limestone wall with a clearly finished end abutting the steps were identified below 001E. At the base of the steps and to the north of the wall fragment after removing 001E, excavators noted a possible surface that appeared to consist of lime mortar. A similar hard, smooth surface had been noted six meters west in STP 04-ZZ-102, which also was located just to the north of a segment of the same wall. A small portion of this material in TU001 was removed as context 001D, to help determine if this was indeed a prepared surface or floor. Excavators removed roughly 6 cm of mortar, limestone, and brown silty loam from this portion of the unit and identified the material below as subsoil.

TU 005 was excavated to develop a better understanding of the relationship between the limestone steps and wall found in TU 001 and the stairs exiting from the

Great House just to the south of the original unit. Excavators described context 005A as brown (7.5YR 3/3) silty loam with 85% limestone pebble, cobble and boulder inclusions. Directly sealed by 005A, excavators described context 005B as brown and pinkish grey mottled silty loam with 70% limestone pebble, cobble, and boulder inclusions. While not noted on the field records at the time, it appears a small portion of 001E may have been sealed by 005B along the northern edge of TU 005 based on profiles and plans drawn by the excavators of these units. Regardless, the

Figure 4.15: Southern view of TU001 and TU005 illustrating relationship to staircase into cistern room of Stewart Castle Great House.

Figure 4.16: TU001 and TU005 plan view following excavation detailing uncovered staircase, wall, and possible prepared surface.

excavation of context 005B clearly demonstrated that the stairs visibly exiting the Great House from the cistern room continued uninterrupted as the steps revealed in TU 001 (Figures 4.15 and 4.16).

Given this sequence, a matrix can be developed for these sediments as well (Table 4.3 and Figure 4.17). The matrix may best be interpreted as follows. 001A appears to be a weathering surface of topsoil. Below this is either a singular destruction layer, or possibly a small sequence, represented by contexts 001B, 001C, and 001D, and which due to high proportions of limestone rubble likely also includes contexts 005A and 005B. Context 001E is potentially material that would have been a part of an interior floor, within Structure 4, or an exterior prepared surface between the Great house and Structure 4.

Interpretive Group Name	Contexts
Topsoil	001A
Destruction	001B; 001C; 001D; 005A; 005B
Prepared Surface/Floor	001E

Table 4.3: Table correlating excavated contexts with interpretive groups.

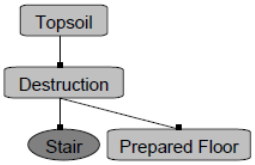


Figure 4.17: Harris matrix of interpretive groups in test units 001 and 005

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The more complex dating techniques discussed in relation to the midden above are not applicable to the contexts excavated on this stairway due to the paucity of ceramics recovered from these contexts as a whole (n= 19). A TPQ analysis does reveal temporal significance to this sequence (Table 4.4). While still acknowledging the problems that this analysis carries, which were detailed above, this analysis indicates the outbuilding was constructed in the last quarter of the eighteenth century and stood at least until early in the second quarter of the nineteenth. Mapping this sequence onto the Stewart family occupation at the site, it seems likely this structure was primarily in use, if not constructed, during the ownership period of James II.

Interpretive Group Name	TPQ	Determining Waretype
Topsoil	1807	Whiteware
Destruction	1835	Bristol Glaze
Prepared Surface/Floor	1775	Pearlware

Table 4.4: TPQ dating of interpretive groupings in test unit 001 and 005.

TU001 and TU005 produced significant architectural features including a cut limestone stairway, a cut limestone wall with a finished end abutting that stair, and a possible prepared floor or exterior surface at the base of the stair and north of the wall. Additionally, while not nearly as rich in ceramic artifacts as the midden excavation, it is clear there is temporal significance to the stratigraphic sequence within these units.

The stratigraphic evidence from these test units contributes directly to our understanding of the chronology of the built landscape at Stewart Castle. As such, it helps place the archaeological work conducted at the site in conversation with the architectural documentation of the standing structures, particularly the Great House. At this point, I turn toward an exploration of the chronology that can be developed from the physical evidence of the site's structures themselves, before returning to analyze the excavated assemblages in detail.

Chapter 5: Architecture at Stewart Castle

When visiting the site, one is immediately struck by the standing ruins found at Stewart Castle; and indeed, the property almost certainly owes its preservation in the twentieth century to the physicality of the Great House. It seems fitting then to interrogate the standing architectural evidence present at Stewart Castle in this the study of the nature of the Stewarts' evolving practices as planters over two generations. Architecture itself serves as both a material and representational practice, serving to further aspirational desires, yet concomitantly bound by practical constraints of economics, geometry, and time.

The ruins at Stewart Castle reveal that the structure was radically reshaped several times between the fixed dates of 1754 and 1799. The former of those two dates marks the patenting of the land by the family, and the latter marks the previously referenced plat of the property which details the Great House and clarifies that little alteration of the architecture occurred after this date. Detailed fieldwork allows us to more fully explore the chronology and iterative nature of this structure and to expose ways the household was freighted with cultural meaning over the course of the site's occupation. These household alterations were not merely stylistic embellishments; each carried with it changes to the nature of the domestic space within the household, as well as its relationship to and access from the broader landscape of the domestic complex.

In the following chapter I first review the published literature on the architectural chronology of Stewart Castle, noting possible interpretations of a three phased or two

phased building campaign by the Stewart's through 1799. I turn then to specific evidence which strongly favors the three phased chronology derived from the current documentation, and I develop an interpretation of the built landscape at the site over those periods with a particular attention to the diagnostic elements of fortification and access to the household.

Ultimately, I argue the iterations of the household at the site indicate a subtle usage of architecture for a variety of material and representational purposes over three phases. While there certainly is an increasing emphasis on control and protection of the household by the year 1799, there are recoverable elements of several previous household configurations, which may speak more to efforts at participating in local iterations of the transatlantic Georgian architectural tradition. Perhaps more than previous research, I also highlight the way that the final phase of construction at Stewart Castle appears to truly have been a reshaping of the practices implemented by the Stewarts, as evidenced by the way the final iteration of the landscape appears to truncate and interrupt the previous plans.

The Great House Complex Historic Description and Previous Documentation:

The plantation of Stewart Castle was the subject of several documentation efforts by amateur and professional scholars since the nineteenth century. Several of these scholars focused on the architectural elements of the site as a particularly well-preserved example of a late eighteenth century fortified house. The current study seeks to build upon these earlier representations and interpretations of the household.

Joseph Kidd (1832):

Scottish landscape artist, Joseph Bartholomew Kidd, toured Jamaica several times in the early nineteenth century, and produced a series of scenes that reflected various urban and rural landscapes. Kidd's 1832 lithograph of Stewart Castle primarily focused on the productive core of the estate, but the Castle is represented in the background of the landscape (Figure 5.1). It is worthwhile evaluating the

Figure 5.1: 1832 lithograph of Stewart Castle Estate with detail of Great House.

image for its potential informational value concerning the architecture of the Castle in the period just after Stewart's death. Most generally the representation of the great house clearly illustrates a semblance of the standing architecture. There is clearly a central core

flanked by the two towers and there is a suggestion of the courtyard wall extending from the rightmost tower in Kidd's image. Yet, few other details appear to have been included in the Kidd image. Indeed, elements such as any still standing dependencies are missing. Since the privy structure must have been standing by the date of Kidd's visit, this absence is one of representation and not necessarily indicative of a destruction date for these outbuildings. Additionally, some of the details of the Great House itself appear to be sketched representations rather than detailed observations. For example, in Kidd's image three window openings appear on the face of the Great House, yet evidence from the standing ruins clearly indicates there were at least four openings on this face of the structure.

Kidd's rendition of the Great House also leaves unclear the nature of its occupation. It is clear from the illustration that the house is within a relatively kempt field, as opposed to the wooded growth surrounding much of the rest of the background. There are no clear indications of roadways, however, and indeed there does appear to be some indication of scrub or tree growth around the house itself. So, it is somewhat unclear whether the representation is meant to denote an abandoned, or at least unoccupied, structure at this point, or if it is simply a product of artistic economy and lack of detail on background objects. Unfortunately, pictorial representation of the Castle itself is largely absent, or at least currently unidentified, for the next hundred years.

Unknown Amateur (1960)

The first measured site plan of the Great house and its dependencies was created by an unnamed amateur archaeologist who completed the map in 1960 while employed

by the Kaiser Company, which donated land the ruins sat upon to the new National Trust in 1961 (Figure 5.2). The draftsperson also included a key that appears to be an interpretation of the many of the rooms' functions, though the source of this information, whether it is from local informants or supposition, is not disclosed.

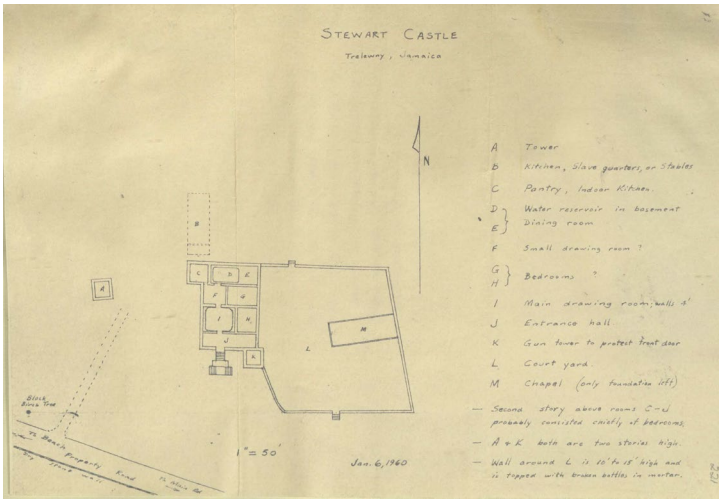

Figure 5.2: Measured site map by unknown amateur archaeologist employed by Kaiser Company (Cardew Archive: 221)

Stephen Panning (1996)

Steven Panning, an amateur Jamaican architectural historian, was the first to seriously consider and record the Stewart Castle Estate as a historic site (1996). Over the course of an article that appeared in two issues of the Jamaican Historical Society Bulletin, Panning provided both a preliminary historical documentation of the property's ownership under the Stewarts' and a detailed measured site plan of the Great House and its dependencies. While some of the details of the site and family history Panning had available to him in 1996 have been clarified or provided greater depth in the current

study, his work recording the structures is quite accurate and provided a useful point of departure for subsequent researchers.

Panning was the first to highlight the 1799 plat drawn by the Jamaican firm of Monroe, Stevenson, and Innes which has already been discussed at length in the previous chapter in relation to the arrangement of the productive landscape of the plantation. Panning, however, primarily focused on the specific section of the plat that demarcates the Great House complex. Using this document, Panning demonstrated the correspondence between the evidence which could be seen above the ground surface with the representation of structures from 1799. This suggested the configuration of the ruins at the site date to at least the late eighteenth century, and that the complex was not drastically altered in general composition following the Stewart occupation.

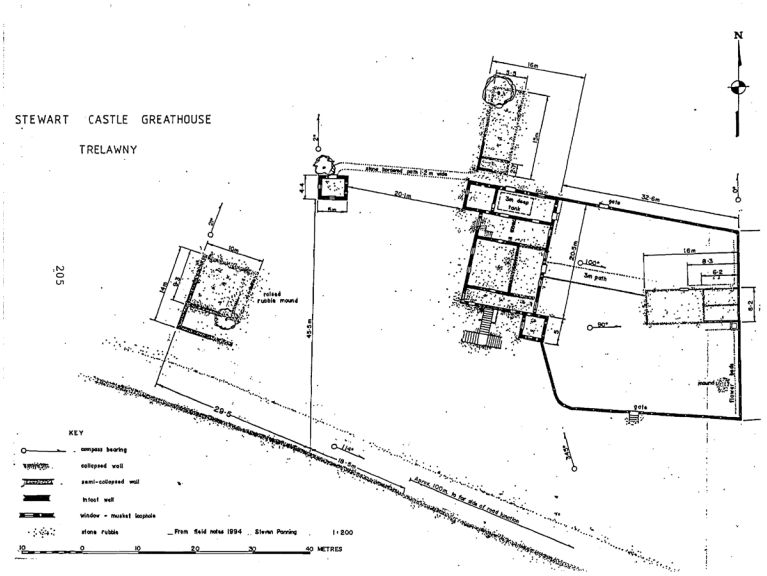

Figure 5.3: Tape and compass measured site map of Stewart Castle Great House complex by Stephen Panning (1996: 205).

Looking specifically at these structures, Panning defined four dependencies, two towers, the walled courtyard, and the Great House itself on this plan of the site. Panning named the dependencies using the functional designators of "kitchen," "washhouse/quarters," "carriage house," and "stable." Some of these functional designators and indeed geographic positioning do not appear to bear up as additional evidence is brought to bear, but nevertheless, Panning's map is extremely useful for the detail he provides about the standing and collapsed structures on the site. Panning's work has been used as a base layer, for much of the subsequent work done at the site (Figure 5.3).

Concerning the Great House itself, Panning's interpretation suggests Stewart Castle was built in three phases. The first consisted of the core central block of the household with a cellar, which Panning suggests may have originally contained a hall and stair configuration on the interior (1996: 202). A second period of construction consisted of the addition of rooms to the north, east, and south side of the central block, the two corner towers, and a main entry stairway on the southern elevation of the household (1996: 202). Panning points to the construction of a cistern and two-story addition to the northern façade of the household in tandem with the courtyard wall as the final period of construction at the site, and offers a presumed date of the second Maroon War (1795) for the completion of the household (1996: 202-203).

While Panning's work represented a critical initial description of the site, there were key issues with some of his interpretations. For example, he asserted the free-

standing tower to the west of the Great House was a kitchen, yet subsequent study clearly showed it was a privy (Chappell 2011). As such, subsequent scholars have revisited the analysis and chronology of the Castle in multiple iterations, though much of what he originally asserted appears to bear out in the current analysis.

Galle (2007; 2011)

In 2007, more detailed architectural examinations of Stewart castle took place, in conjunction with archaeological fieldwork being conducted at the site. This research was incorporated into several synthetic guides to the site authored by Jillian Galle (2007; 2011).

In these pieces, Galle developed a preliminary phased chronology of construction at the site (Figure 5.4). The first phase of construction, presumed to date to shortly after James I patent of the property (1754), was conjectured to include "a cut limestone block house (approximately 28 feet x 24 feet) with a cellar and two detached towers" (Galle 2011: 173). The towers flanked the single room house on the southeast and northwest corners (2007). Galle interpreted a second phase of construction as an effort which "greatly increased the defensive capacity of the Great House complex" (Galle 2011: 173). These modifications included the construction of a 16-inch thick and 8-foot-high limestone courtyard wall with entrances on both the north and south faces. The wall incorporated 36 gun loops along its length and physical evidence suggested it had broken wine bottle glass mortared along the top edges. Several stone features, including a structure built in the courtyard interior and having a shared wall along the eastern courtyard fortification. Several stone paths and possible planting beds or drains along the

edge of the wall were also mapped inside the courtyard at this time (2011: 73). Additional elements presumed to be added in this phase of construction were a large cistern inside the Great House, as well as, a fortified tower to the west of the house. This tower, Panning's "Kitchen," was identified as a privy in this subsequent examination of the site (Chappell 2011; Galle 2007, 2011).

The presence of several masonry rubble features was also noted at this time but were not investigated archaeologically or architecturally. Following Panning, Galle conjecturally interpreted these features as "stables and barns" or other functional outbuildings, similar to analogous plantation complexes (2007).

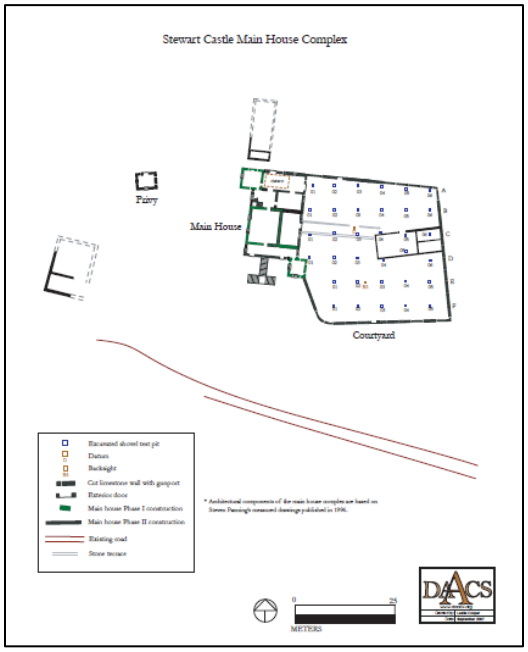

Figure 5.4: Measured site plan and construction chronology as interpreted from DAACS investigations of Stewart Castle Great House (Galle 2011)

Nelson (2016)

The most recent published documentation of a phased site plan for Stewart Castle Great House appeared as a case study within Louis Nelson's *Architecture and Empire in Jamaica* (2016). Nelson's site plan draws both on the earlier documentation by Galle and the DAACS research at the site, but also includes field records conducted by himself and architectural field school students from University of Virginia. As such, Nelson also defines two periods of construction at the site, and due to the nature of his particular interest in the defensive nature of the household generally confines his examination of the site plan to the Great House, the privy, and the courtyard itself (Figure 5.5).

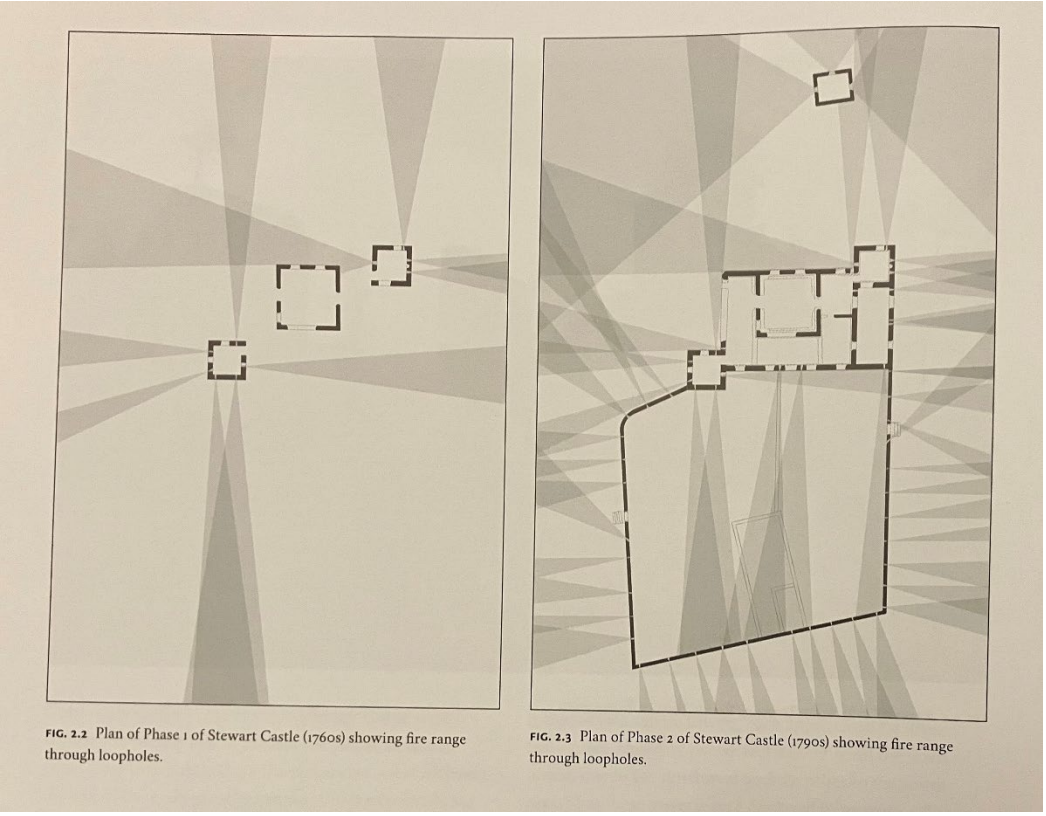

FIG. 2.2 Plan of Phase 1 of Stewart Castle (1760s) showing fire range through loopholes.

FIG. 2.3 Plan of Phase 2 of Stewart Castle (1790s) showing fire range through loopholes.

Figure 5.5: Site plan and construction chronology as interpreted by Louis Nelson and University of Virginia architectural field school students (Nelson 2016).

Nelson's work has done much to reframe our understanding of such fortified houses in the context of eighteenth-century Jamaica, recognizing the physicality of defensive elements in such structures, but also placing them within a context of a broader colonial traditions of architecture. In this sense, Nelson contends these structures served as a material manifestation of planter's symbolic claims on authority and control within the Jamaican plantation landscape. In contrasting the English and Scottish fortified house, Nelson also suggests, however, the particular z-plan layout of Stewart Castle was a means of reinforcing the Scottish identity of the family when it first established the household in Jamaica through drawing on established traditional practice.

Chappell (2017)

Edward Chappell's involvement at Stewart Castle extended from the period approximately 2011. While Chappell collaborated with each of these other scholars in the succeeding years, he did not extensively publish his own materials from the site prior to his passing in 2020. Nevertheless, in a review of Nelson's text in 2017, Chappell does allude to at least one key difference in his own site chronology, "[t]he corner towers with gun slots and other elements…appear to me to be parts of the building's strategic enlargement rather than freestanding portions of the earlier edifice as Nelson suggests, perhaps shortening the duration of defensive construction" (2017: 94).

Unfortunately, this review is Chappell's only published thoughts on the site. In the summer of 2022, due to the generosity of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundations' Department of Historic Architecture and Preservation, Chappell's unpublished notes and reflections on the site were made available to me. These notes reinforced my own independent, if hesitant, interpretations of the site's chronology. In the sections that follow, therefore, I will attempt to be explicitly clear where ideas are drawn from, reinforced by, or diverge from the conclusions drawn by Chapell on his visits to the site.

Current Architectural Survey

The current fieldwork, while not a specialized architectural field documentation of the standing features of the site, did seek to develop the initial insights of these previous scholars in determining both the construction sequence of the Great House, as well as assess the relationship between that building and the dependencies that comprised the domestic complex. As such, the author and field crew mapped the structural outline of buildings using a total station surveying device. Using these data points, the author rectified and consolidated the measured drawings of Panning, the 2007 DAACS field maps, and new data from 2016. In addition to the production of measured plans of the structural footprints, the buildings themselves were documented with photography and video.

To facilitate the architectural description of the standing structure, a labeling scheme to identify discrete spaces within the structure was developed for the Great House. Here the term "space" is used rather than "room" as certain elements of the

structure are still unclear. For example, while there is clearly a cellar in the structure, other spaces are ill defined (without further testing) as to whether they were habitable space or crawl spaces. Similarly, some of the upper spaces of the Great House may have been verandas as opposed to fully enclosed. The nomenclature to designate spaces is comprised of a three-digit spatial designator, where the hundreds integer represents the floor of the structure (0 for basement, 1 for ground floor, etc.) and the tens and singles digits allow for the unique numbering of spaces within each floor. Where applicable, spaces bounded by the same structural walls on sequential floors are given the same tens and singles digit number within their respective floor designator. Particular attention was paid to elements of the architecture which could be used to develop relative chronologies of construction at the site, most notably within the interior of the Great House to explore the historical utilization and division of space within the standing structure. The light and color levels of these photographs were adjusted in Photoshop to facilitate the visualization of these images in post fieldwork processing and interpretation.

Great House: Physical Description

South Rooms: Spaces 002, 102, 202

A large three storied rectangular block runs the full length of the household as it is approached from the plantation roadway. The most prominent, and public, entry to the house was via multi-flight stair along this face of this building (Figure 5.6). The entry stair is shaped in the form of a "T." Two opposing sets of stairs begin at the ground

surface and join at a central landing on the center axis of the house. From the landing a single stair supported by an arced vault leads directly into space 102.

Figure 5.6: Stair along south façade of Stewart Castle (JNHT 2010: 13).

As opposed to the clearly defined full cellar of space 001, space 002 is currently undefined as full or partial cellar. There is clear evidence of interior access to this space through doorways from spaces 001 and 004, and thus it may have provided communication between these spaces, but whether the western end of the space was full height is impossible to determine without further excavation. Functionally, the lack of evidence for a hearth or finishing, suggests the portions of this space that were accessible may have served as a storage location or simply a passageway. In addition to the internal doorways, the space had a single potential exterior entrance on the eastern end. There a cut stone opening indicates a doorway or bulkhead entry may have allowed access between the courtyard and this level of the Great House. Additionally, space 002 has a

pair of window openings along the southern wall which symmetrically frame the exterior southern stair entrance to the Great House. These openings provide visibility and a potential field of fire to the southern stair entrance to the Great House, but they are clearly much larger in dimension than the loopholes found elsewhere within the household. Indeed, they are more comparable to the larger openings found on the lowest level of the southern tower.

The first floor of this block was comprised of a single long room. While the majority of the southern wall and portions of the western wall are no longer intact, there is evidence that a widow was located on the western end of this room, which may have been infilled at some point after construction. While there is no intact evidence of windows on the first floor along the southern façade of the structure, it is clear from remnants of this wall that it was of stone construction and would presumably have had window and a door opening. There is one remaining intact gun loop present on the first floor with a line of sight directly along the western face of the south tower. Finishes within this first floor space may have included tall wood paneling, as there is an absence of intact plaster on the standing walls to a height of about four feet.

The architectural evidence suggests the second floor in this block was a veranda with either windows or an open side facing the south and overlooking the entry stair. Evidence for this arrangement is found in the absence of bonded stonework above the first-floor height in the southern tower. Indeed, the southern tower above this level has cut corner blocks that typify construction of exterior corners reflected in other portions of the Great House. There are only a few intact portions of the western, southern, and

northern walls of space 203, but the evidence from all three suggest the walls of this space were plastered and floorboard and chair rail height trim was present throughout. Taken together these features suggest this space served as a veranda.

With little of the actual southern wall of this space remaining it is difficult to assert with confidence the presence or nature of any balustrading or windows, but it seems likely a form of enclosure would have been present on the southern face of this space. Additionally, there is evidence of at least one window on the western façade of the second story.

On all three floors it is clear this space flowed into the central core of the house (spaces 001, 101, 201) and the southern tower (spaces 004, 104, 204) through doorways, but the lack of ghost framing visible in the northern wall suggest there was a free flow (unframed) connection into the eastern block of the household on the first and second story (spaces 103, 203). This notion is reinforced by Chappell's notes on the structure as well (Chappell 2011, 2014).

Central Rooms: Spaces 001, 101, 201

One of the most prominent features of the extant ruins is a large central block which has three floors (Figure 5.7). This block measures approximately 28 feet by 24 feet, with coursed stone work comprising walls roughly 2 feet thick. These stones are roughly shaped, except at the corners and at framed openings in the walls, where the stone appears to have been more finely squared.

Figure 5.7: Western wall of spaces 001, 101, and 201.

A large full cellar sits at the lowest level of a central block of rooms in the Great House. The walls of the cellar are comprised of mortared limestone block, but appear not the actual foundational footers for the walls of the structure above. Instead these walls are stepped roughly a foot into the interior dimensions of the block, and are likely an applied lining, or veneer. There is a small ledge set into the top of the western, eastern, and northern sides of this cellar, presumably to support flooring joists for the room above. These walls are actually curved in the corners of the cellar. The cellar appears to have had two doorways, one each on the north and south faces of the room, arranged on the centerline of the space and in vertical orientation with the doorways on the upper floors of the block. The northern exit is currently obscured, but may have led to an interior stair in space 106. The southern doorway clearly leads into space 002. The cellar walls do not appear to have been finished in any fashion with plaster. Along the western half of the

cellar there are masonry holes (on the north, south, and western walls) at approximately knee to waist height, possibly to support beams for shelving.

Immediately above the cellar are spaces 101 and 201. The eastern wall of these rooms has collapsed, but the western wall is fully intact, as are portions of the southern and northern walls. Each of these walls sits on a foundational footer that extends roughly 0.5 foot beyond the walls in both the exterior and interior of the building. Within these standing elements, there is clear evidence for at least some of the configuration of the openings into these spaces. On the first floor, doorways are located on the north and south wall which are aligned to provide direct light of sight through the space. Additionally, there are two large window openings along the western wall of the room which are symmetrically spaced in relation to the center of the western wall. These windows are quite large, and originally were constructed with wooden headers. On the second floor, the southern wall is too degraded to provide much evidence of a southern doorway. Along the northern wall, however, there is a door communicating with space 205/206, which is aligned vertically with the doorways on the floors below. Similarly, the western wall of the second story also contains two large window openings in vertical symmetry with their first floor counterparts.

The flooring in these spaces was presumably wood floorboards, supported by joists. As noted above, there is a ledge created in the cellar wall presumably to support these joists for the first floor, the majority of which would have run in an east-west orientation. The second floor joists would also have been aligned in this manner, and were seated directly into the masonry of the western, and presumably the eastern, walls of

space 201. Chappell's notes suggest a large summerbeam would have run on a north-south axis to support these joists.

Each of these above ground spaces was plastered and had elements of trim applied to the walls. Indeed, the ghost marks within the intact plaster provide insight into the different trim applied to the first and second story. It is clear the first floor trim consisted of a base board and a chair rail. The linear rows of wooden nailing blocks inserted into the masonry of the first floor wall are evidence of these elements. The second story, however, appears to have been finished with a more formal wainscoting.

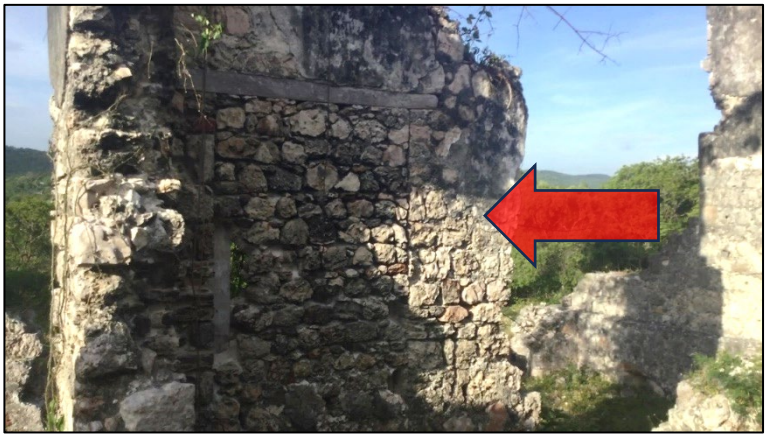

Figure 5.8: Evidence of reconfiguration of space 101 beneath plaster.

A particularly interesting bit of evidence for the alteration of these spaces over time is revealed on the south western wall of spaces 101 and 201. The degradation of the plaster in these locations revealed an infilled window or door opening on the first floor, and a likely window opening on the second floor in this location (Figure 5.8). The layering of the plaster over the infilling suggests this reconfiguration of the space, and

possibly the (re)finishing of the rooms, took place after initial construction, and potentially as part of a broader reconfiguration of the household.

Despite Panning's suggestion that the cellar had loopholes (1996: 202), the present study noted that defensive elements are noticeably absent in the interior and exterior faces of the walls defining this space. Small rectangular openings can be found at the base of the exterior foundation of space 101, but these do not extend into the cellar level of 001, and likely would have been blocked by an addition of masonry in that location. It appears these holes are more likely for drainage or ventilation below the floor of space 101, perhaps suggesting that the full cellar (001) was a later expansion of an initial crawl space.

Indeed, there is only one identifiable loophole in the intact walls of this central block. That loophole is present on the second floor of the central block (space 201) and is found next to the doorway entering into the space to the north (205). Other defensive features present in other locations of the household are also not present within the spaces of 001, 101, and 201. For example, there is no substantive masonry accommodation for a cross bar to secure either the northern or southern doorways in these spaces.

Eastern Façade and Rooms: Spaces 103 and 203

The eastern block of rooms comprising the Great House is distinct from those previously discussed as it appears to have only been comprised of only two stories, lacking a cellar. The northern edge of spaces 103 and 203 are more clearly defined, where the plaster evidence on the exterior wall does suggest framing for a separating wall

or doorway to 105/205. The exact boundaries between this space and spaces 101 and 102 unfortunately remain semi-nebulous. On the southern end of the room evidence is perhaps less clear cut. There is a foundation of stone that cuts east to west in this southeastern portion of the house, but no evidence of framing visible in the plaster. It is possible this footing did not support a wall, but rather contained the cellar in 002. Chappell's fieldnotes also suggest he found this space to be absent of partitions on the first and second floors. Regardless, these spaces on each floor communicated with much of the rest of the house and appear to have been quite permeable by fenestration to the enclosed courtyard laying to the east (Figure 5.9).

Figure 5.9: Eastern façade of Stewart Castle, with central portion illustrating spaces 103 and 203 (Chappell 2023).

The first floor was clearly dominated by a central door opening to the courtyard which was flanked by a symmetrical pair of windows to either side. This symmetry on

the first floor of this space was extended further with the placement of a second window to the south near the junction of spaces 102 and 103. This window was paired with one on the north end of the façade, which actually was placed in space 106, but continued the theme along this first floor facade. This symmetry was extended further, as the doorway itself was also flanked by a pair of angled loopholes. The deteriorated nature of the wall between 103 and 101 makes the identification of the framing of an opening between these spaces difficult. Finishes on the first-floor space appear to be fully plastered walls with baseboard and chair rail of wood based on the extant evidence on the intact walls. The only defensive features within this room appear to be a pair of gun loops in the exterior wall of this space, flanking the central doorway leading to the courtyard.

The second story space of 203 was similar in nature to space 202, and likely served as a veranda. The eastern exterior wall of the space was not comprised of stone, but rather was framed with a large beam running along the top of the stone walls of the first floor. It appears this beam was seated directly into the second story stonework of the southern tower and of space 205. Presumably the floor joists for this space ran east west between this beam and masonry holes opened in the outside of the western wall of space 201. The finishing in this space appears to mirror that of space 201, with wainscoting covering the lower portion of the wall and plaster above based on evidence seen in the extant plaster. The deteriorated nature of the exterior wall on the second level leaves little evidence to conclude the nature of any defensive features to be seen in this space.

Connecting Rooms: 106/206

Figure 5.10: Space106/206 looking north from Space 103 (JNHT 2010: 15)

Immediately north of spaces 103/203, a small rectangular space appears to have served as a separate room connecting the east facings long rooms with the stair hall just to the west on both floors (Figure 5.10). Ghost framing in the plaster demonstrate this room was separated by full walls from the connecting spaces, and that there were baseboards throughout these rooms.

Aside from the presumed doorways in the walls mentioned above, the access to these rooms was relatively sparse, but subsequent modification of the household and the intact plaster layers on the walls of the space make conclusive sequencing difficult. On both stories, a single window was present in the eastern façade of this room, completing a symmetrical fenestration layout with 103. Another single window opening was present along the northern façade of space 106, while immediately above in space 206 there is currently evidence for a doorway. It seems most likely this doorway was an expansion of

an original window opening at this level given the use of a window on the first floor. The present second story doorway opens directly into space 208, while the first floor window merely looks into space 108, without providing direct access. There does not appear to be further evidence of communication out of this space, and it very well may never have had direct communication with the exterior of the household.

These spaces appear to also have limited defensive features. A single possible gun slit is visible on the second story along the northern face of space 206. The presence of the slit here may be evidence that this wall once was an exterior one, as most of the gun slits at Stewart Castle look onto the exterior of the structure rather than the interior. Additionally, there is further evidence that spaces 008, 108, and 208 enclosed formerly exterior walls within an addition (see below).

Stair Rooms: 105/205

Figure 5.11: Space 105 looking west from Space 106 (JNHT 2010: 15)

Directly to the west of spaces 106/206 is a space that clearly contained stairways allowing access between the first and second story of the household, and possibly also contained a stair to the cellar located in space 008 (Figure 5.11). This room appears to have been a hub of access within this side of the house and possibly with the exterior of the household as well. Doors were located on the south wall connecting to space 101, to the east connecting to space 106, and two doors appear to have been located on the north wall of this room. One of these last provided access to space 107 (North Tower), while the second likely was an original exterior doorway. A single window was present in the western wall of space. This same arraignment appears to have been present on the second story as well. The stairs ran along the southern and western walls of the space and appear to have utilized a landing based on ghost framing evidence in the remaining plaster. Finishes in this room appear to have included baseboards and chair railing.

Security in features in this room are perhaps among the most prominent aside from those in the towers of the household. Gun loops are present in space 105 in flanking the window on the western wall, and both doorways on the north wall of the space. Absent is the wall hollow necessary to insert cross bracing behind the doorways on the north side of this room, such as is present in space 108.

Cistern Rooms: Spaces 008, 108, 208

A final three-story block is located on the northern flank of the Great House. The block is comprised completely of limestone construction. A cistern (008), likely originally fed from the structure's roof drainage, is located in the lowest level of this block (Figure 5.12). The interior lining of the cistern is comprised of what appears to be a

hydraulic mortar (Chappell 2014). Presumably the cistern was accessed via a hatch or the removal of floorboards in the room above.

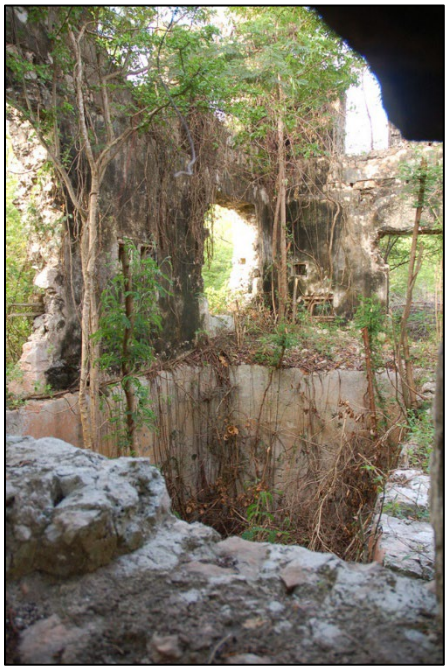

Figure 5.12: Interior view of spaces 008 and 108 highlighting the cistern (DAACS 2023).

The space above the cistern (108) may possibly have been divided into two rooms but the current evidence is too poor to assert this definitely at this point (in contrast see Chappell 2014). This floor communicates on three of four walls with the exterior of the household or with other surrounding interior spaces. On the southern face of the room, a doorway communicates with interior space 103. An exterior facing doorway is positioned directly opposite this door on the northern wall of this room. Indeed, this pair of doors align with a sequence of interior doorways through space 100 and opposite the front door in 103 creating an axis directly from the front to the back of the household. The north

wall also has a single window opening. A second exterior exit is provided by the eastern doorway in this room, which leads directly into the walled courtyard. The western wall, however, is dominated by a window opening theoretically providing communication but not access between 108 and the north tower.

Figure 5.13: Exterior image of east wall of spaces 103 and 203, highlighting the disjunction of alignments of doors and windows.

Space 208 is the least well defined by the present project, in part because the articulation between this space and the north tower was largely inaccessible due to height and intervening intact architecture. Nevertheless, it is clear the floor plan of 208 largely matches the basic layout of 108. The northern wall features three window openings and the eastern a single window rather than the door openings of the floor below. Noticeably these window and door openings along the eastern end of both 208 and 108 do not align

with the rest of the openings in the eastern façade of the household (Figure 5.13). The western wall appears to feature a window, as opposed to a doorway, connecting 208 and the upper floor of the northern tower.

There are clearly defensive features present within this space. Gunports are apparent in the extant stonework flanking the exterior doors of space 108 both into the courtyard and to the north of the house. The construction of this latter doorway is also apparent by the degradation of the wall opening, and reveals supports for a large crossbar, which presumably would have been meant to reinforce the exterior doorway. Addition gunports are present on the west and south walls of at least space 108, with the possibly that matched examples in 108 are covered with intact plaster still on those first floor walls. In space 208, however, it is clear the gunports are actually the exterior faces of those present in spaces 106/206 and 107/207.

North Tower: Spaces 107, 207

The north tower is a two story rectangle with walls two feet thick (Chappell 2011), matching in thickness the surrounding walls which directly connect to this space. As in every other space the walls are comprised of rough limestone laid in courses, though each exterior corner is comprised of more fined shaped square blocks. Most noticeably on the exterior of the tower such shaped blocks define can be seen to extend to the foundation between the tower spaces and the block (008, 108, 208) immediately to the west.

Figure 5.14: Interior of space 107, highlighting hearth and flanking gun loops.

The tower is unique within the household as it has the only two hearths found within the great house (figure 5.14). The hearths themselves are relatively small and seem unlikely to be able to accommodate the demands of cooking for the household. One is located on each floor of the tower. The interiors of these spaces were plastered with baseboard and hearth surrounds installed prior to plastering on both floors.

The tower itself is clearly only accessible from 105 and 205, the stairhall (stairwell?), as no other doorways communicate between the tower and interior or exterior space. With the hearths and doorways located opposite each other on the northern and southern walls, the remaining walls are each dominated by a single window opening. Interestingly, on the east wall these windows would appear to look directly into interior spaces (108 and 208).

The tower prominently features gun loops and defensive features on both floors of the space. Gun loops are present on both sides of the hearth along the northern walls of 107 and 207. Similarly, gun loops are present on each of the other walls within the tower, both the those facing the exterior of the household as well as that facing the interior space of 108 and 208.

South Tower: Spaces 004, 104, 204

The tower is situated such that the north and southeastern corners of the tower are sunk in the hillside, as well as possible courtyard fill, upon which Stewart Castle sits. Space 004 is the lowest level of the southern tower. The southern and eastern faces of this lowest level of the tower each have centrally placed openings which provide direct visibility and ability to fire weaponry cross the curved portion of the courtyard wall and the southern stairway into the Great House. A doorway into space 002 is located on this lowest level as well, providing interior accessibility to and from this space. There is no observable evidence that his space was finished with plaster or trim originally. There is also no current evidence of major seaming between these two spaces, suggesting they were built at the same time.

On the two floors above the basement (space 104 and 204) a similar set of openings is repeated with doorway communicating with spaces 102/202, but there is evidence that these spaces were plastered. Window openings are present in the western and southern faces of the tower, with only pairs of gun loops present on the eastern walls (e.g. those facing into the present courtyard). Gun loops are found on the south, west, and

north walls flanking larger window and door openings, as well as sighted along the exterior walls of the structure.

Great House: Chronological Interpretation

As the review of previous documentation efforts at Stewart Castle highlighted, there has been debate within the published literature regarding the number of phases of construction at Stewart Castle. This study tends to corroborate the interpretation of Panning and the initial observations of Chappell. Those scholars identified at least three phases of construction for the Great House between its 1754 patent by the Stewarts and the drawing of the 1799 plat of the property. Additionally, their interpretation suggests the northern and southern towers at Stewart castle are actually part of the second phase of construction at the Great House. The following section describes the evidence from the 2016-2019 fieldwork which supports this chronology.

Seaming Evidence

Much as archaeology develops relative chronologies via the identification of a stratigraphic sequence within units of analysis, relative architectural sequences of construction can similarly be developed through observation of seam lines where old and new stonework abut as the result of later additions to previously standing structures. A basic relative sequencing of construction of the Great House and courtyard at Stewart Castle can be developed through the documentation of the stonework visible in the standing architecture at the site.

Five seams are visible at Stewart Castle (Figure 5.15). Seams 1 and 2 are visible not only in the upper walls of the ruins, but also visible in the foundational footers of this western wall of the Great House (Figure 5.16). The interior seam location also clearly shows the abuttment of two periods, in this case where the stonework was actively seperating (Figure 5.17). These three seams isolate the central room of the Great House from the rooms surrounding it on the north, east and south sides.

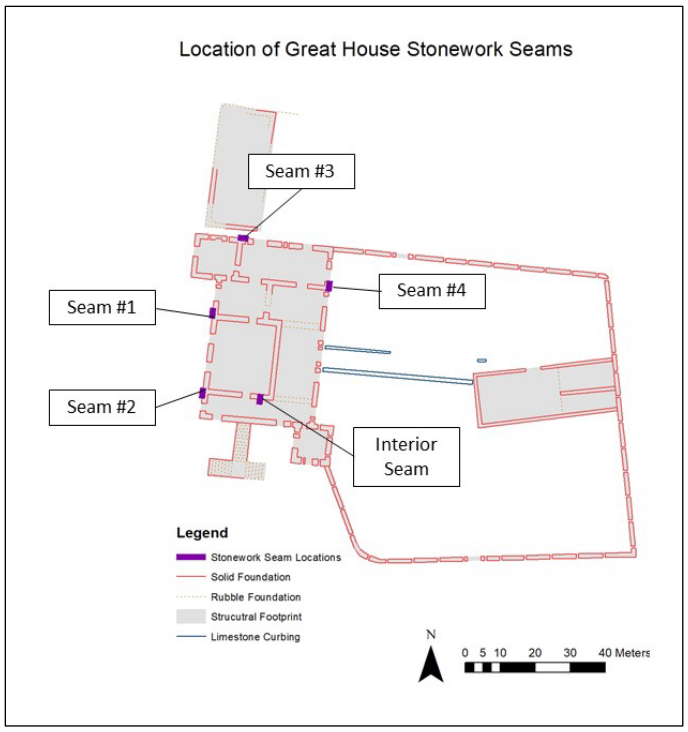

Figure 5.15: Locations and identifiers for stonework seaming at Stewart Castle Great House.

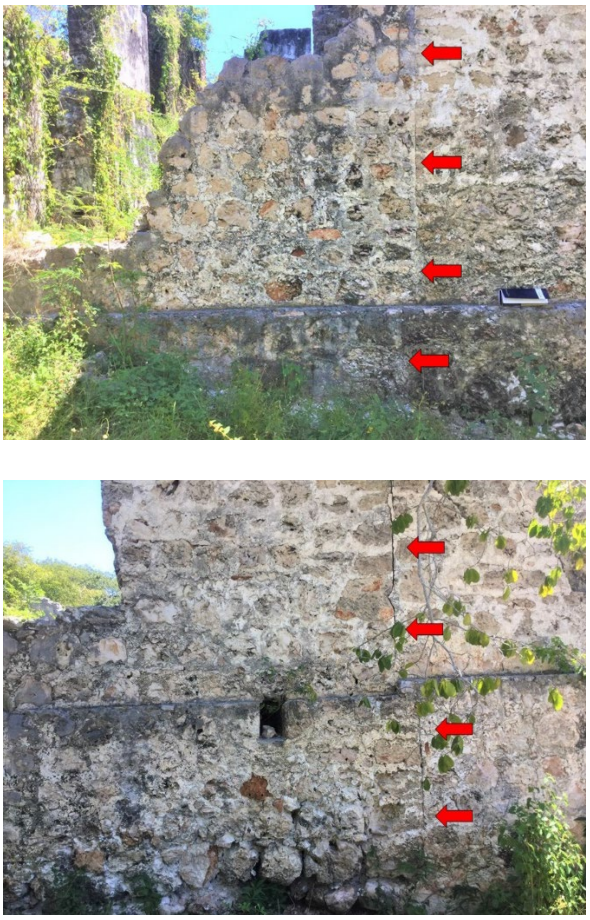

Figure 5.16: Seam #1 (left) and Seam #2 (right) located on western exterior wall of Great House.

Figure 5.17: Interior seam along south wall of central room.

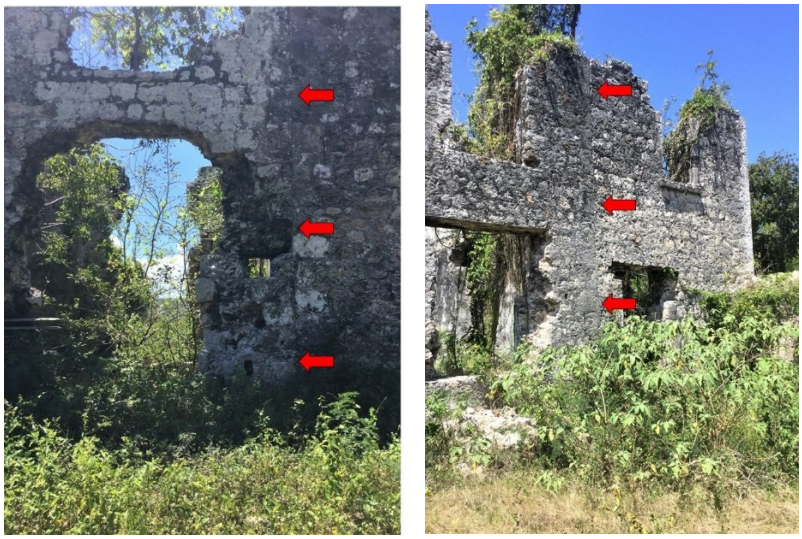

Figure 5.18: Seam #3 (left) and Seam #4 (right) located on northern and eastern exterior walls of Great House.

Two more seams denote a further phase in the chronological sequence of the construction of the Great House. These lines are visible in the stonework connecting the northeastern room of the building to the northern tower and the eastern room along the north and east wall of the house respectively (Figure 5.18). This room contains a cistern dug to the depth of a story below the floor level of this addition.

Just as the presence of seaming has been used here to demarcate periods of construction within the primary domestic structure, the absence of such disjunctions in the stonework may be indicative of contemporaneity of elements within the Great House complex. The lack of seaming between the cistern room addition and the courtyard wall suggests these elements at the site were constructed as part of the same effort. Further evidence of this contemporary construction can be observed in the way that the cut corner stone of the cistern room's wall is only present above the height of the top of the courtyard wall, rather than extending the full height of the structure, again suggesting the corner of this addition was constructed at the same time as the courtyard wall (Figure 5.19).

Following the courtyard wall, it is also clear the Structure 2 is directly bonded into the eastern face of that wall. On the exterior of the eastern wall there are no visible seam lines between the run of the wall and the gabled end of Structure 2.

Conversely, it appears the curved western portions of the courtyard wall are not directly bonded into the masonry of the southern tower of the Great House. Indeed, this junction appears to be defined by another masonry seam, in addition to the awkward angle of the abutment between these two masonry elements. Chappell's initial notes on this relationship directly suggest the shelf that serves as the foundation for the first and second stories of the southern tower can be seen to run behind, and unbonded to, the courtyard wall at this junction. As in the

Figure 5.19: Clear view of absence of of both a seam and cut stone at the junction of the cistern room and the courtyard wall.

seaming visible in the Great House itself, this evidence indicates the corner of the south tower was a standing element when the courtyard wall's terminus was constructed butting against its corner.

The seaming evidence does much to demonstrate clearly multiple construction phases at the Great House. Seams 1, 2, and Interior all indicate a central core comprised of spaces 001, 101, 201 were a free-standing original block onto which was grafted at a later date expansions to the north, east, and south. Additionally, Seams 5 and 4, particularly the latter, show that the addition comprised of spaces 008, 108, 208 was built contemporaneously with the courtyard wall and followed the second phase of expansion. There is the remaining question related to the timing of the construction of the north and south towers, and whether they were built contemporaneously with the first phase or second phase. The seaming evidence is suggestive in these cases (note there are no seams

at the junctions of the towers and phase two elements), but it is worth exploring additional structural evidence to bolster this argument.

Structural Evidence

While independently derived archaeological material evidence such as mortar analysis could strengthen this interpretation in the future, there nevertheless appears to be strong material evidence that indicates the towers were a part of the second phase of construction at Stewart Castle. This conclusion stands in contrast to some of the published literature about Stewart Castle (Galle 2011; Nelson 2016) but does support other scholarship on the site's construction sequence (Panning 1996; Chappell 2017).

Figure 5.20: West façade of south tower demostrating stone courseing and integration of strucutral framing.

Figure 5.21: Interior western face of south tower, demonstrating continuity of baseboard and sill between tower and space 102.

The southern tower most tellingly indicates that it was part of a second phased expansion of the Great House and not a free-standing element. Mostly clearly this evidence can be seen in the stonework itself, as there is no seaming between the tower and the adjacent addition, and indeed the coursing of the stonework between these two elements appears to be consistently continuous. Despite the absence of wooden framing members, further evidence for the contemporaneity of the south tower and the expansion of the household is visible in the gaps in stonework for such wooden elements. The receiving holes for beams supporting the upper story of the southern room addition are visible and clearly part of the construction of the southern tower's western and northern faces (Figure 5.20). The header for the interior doorway on the lowest level of the southern tower also appears to have been integrated into the construction of the masonry in this location, as opposed to being a latter modification of an earlier foundation wall. Finally, the level of the baseboards within the first-floor rooms of both the southern

addition and the south tower are contiguous, again lacking the disjunction seen in other junctions between building phases seen within the household (Figure 5.21).

Figure 5.22: Interior of space 105 looking at entrance to north tower demonstrating lack of seaming and integration of door lintel into stonework.

There are also indications in the north tower suggestive of its own contemporaneous construction with the expansion of the household. For example, the floor level between the north tower and the northern/stair hall addition are without disjunctions and there is no seaming visible in the interior or exterior corners where these rooms meet. Similarly, the header of the doorway on the first floor of the northern tower appears to have been integrated into the masonry of the western wall of the northern/stair hall addition (5.22).

Using this data, it is apparent the building sequence at the Stewart Castle Great House can be divided into at least three phases of construction (Figure 5.23). In fact, the broad strokes of the original building chronology for the Great House suggested by Panning appears to be confirmed by the independent field observations conducted in 2016 and 2019, and by the field observations contained within Ed Chappell's notes.

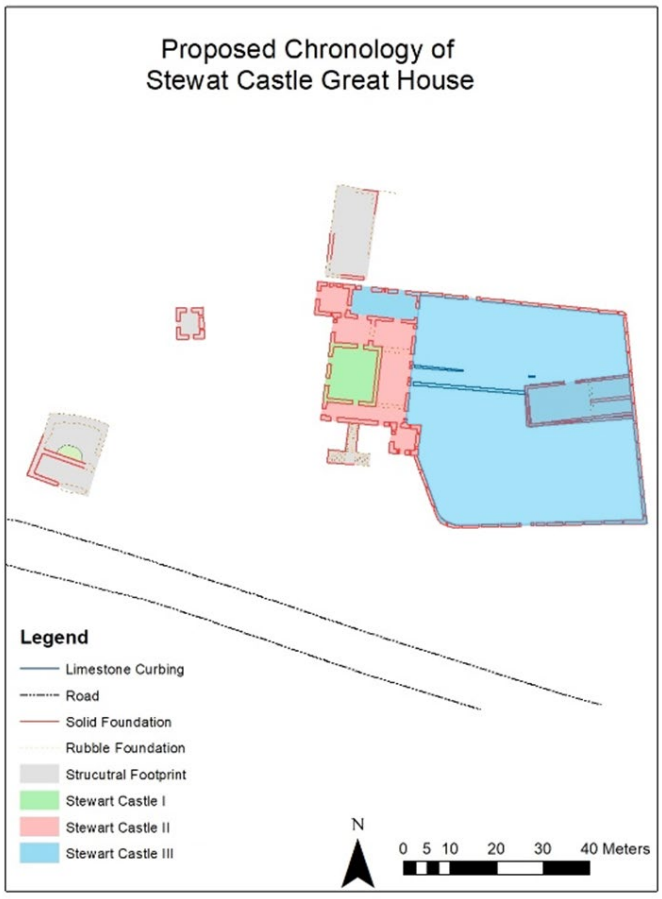

Figure 5.23: Proposed chronology of Stewart Castle

Outbuildings: Chronology and Description

As noted by Panning and Galle, the nature and chronology of the outbuildings at the site have been similarly difficult to fully document in previous studies at the site. In large part this is because the majority of these structures consist of foundational outlines or rubble, with little to no above ground features available for observation. The current project met with some limited success in these regards, but further material analysis of mortar samples and archaeological testing will be necessary to provide definitive data regarding the sequences of construction and functions of these outbuildings. Nevertheless, the detailed survey of the above ground features of these buildings has resulted in a greater control over their spatial relationships and offers tentative indications of some possible temporal and functional possibilities.

By examining the angle of the outbuildings' orientation, we may be able to make conclusions regarding the interrelationships among them and to the Great House. Such angles of orientation are suggestive of chronological groupings of structures, and thus represent one strain of evidence to begin to integrate these outbuildings into our understanding of the development of the Great House complex over time. There appear to be three primary axes of orientation located within the broader Stewart Castle site.

The first axis is established by the main house itself, particularly the western wall of the central core. Naturally, this axis governs the orientation of the additions to the main house as it grew. It also appears to govern the orientation of the dependency, Structure 4, north of the main house and aspects of the courtyard wall. Archaeological

evidence from the test units excavated in the dependency, however, recovered a pearlware sherd below a prepared floor surface in the interior of the structure, and indicates this building was under construction or modification no earlier than 1775.

A second angle of orientation is defined by the orientation of structure 5. This is a unique angle which does not appear to be associated with the other standing structures on the site. It is most likely influenced by the angle of the historic plantation roadway which led from the Great House complex to the plantation wharf and interior roads and may suggest this building functioned in the realm of transportation, such as carriage house, or storage, with a concomitant need for a greater connection to the intra- and inter-plantation transit networks of the area.

Figure 5.24: Aerial view of Stewart Castle highlighting evidence of porch extending from structure 2.

A final angle of orientation at the site is seen in the walls of structures 2 and 3, and also is reflected in the eastern wall of the courtyard. Structure 2 is located within the courtyard walls. It is comprised of a long rectangular foundation, the eastern half of which appears to contain a divided cellar. Along the southern side of structure 2 a narrow stone paving suggests a covered porch may have been present along this side of the building (Figure 5.24). The combination of the cellar and the possible porch are suggestive of a service and/or storage function for this structure in support of the main house.

Figure 5.25: View of courtyard wall east and north wall. (Chappell 2023)

Figure 5.26: Detail of Courtyard east wall connection to structure 2, showing lack of seaming.

In defining periods of construction, a strong case can be made for the association with structure 2 with the final phase of Great House construction. The eastern wall of structure 2 does not appear to have seaming at the junction with the eastern courtyard walls (Figures 5.25 and 5.26). In fact, the stonework where these architectural features meet is very similar to the junction of the courtyard wall with the last phase of the Great House expansion as seen in Spaces 108 and 208. These features include consistent coursing of stonework across the boundary between the courtyard wall and the east wall of structure 2. Additionally, cut stone was used to define the edges of the walls of Structure 2 above the height of the courtyard wall. These features mirror exactly the construction techniques seen in the final addition to the Great House itself. This evidence

clearly indicates Structure 2 dates to the same phase of construction as the courtyard and the cistern rooms of the Great House.

Without additional material evidence derived from the excavation of a builder's trench or compositional analysis of mortar samples, it is likely impossible to definitively associate structure 3 with a particular period of construction. This tower style structure is a privy. Ed Chappell in documenting the architectural elements of the privy suggests it firmly sits in the second or third period of construction based on features such as dimensions of the wall thickness, and the similarity of the gun loop construction seen in the construction of these periods, but he did not hazard a further refinement of the sequence in his original field notes (2014, 2017). Indeed, it must be acknowledged that the Structure 3 and 2 do not share a line of site, being blocked by the Great House itself, and that the orientation of the other three sections of the courtyard wall are set at different angles of orientation dictated by other concerns, such as maintaining the secondary axis perpendicular to the primary axis of the house. Nevertheless, a possible relative dating sequence may be suggested by the shared unique angle of the walls of these structures. If this is the case the fortified privy may date to the third phase of construction at the Great House, the same which saw the construction of the walled courtyard.

Turning from the structures themselves to the physical evidence of courtyard itself also reveals exactly how impactful the introduction of this element to the site was to the landscape of the Great House. The courtyard walls are just over 1.5 feet thick across the entire length of the wall. Within this perimeter the wall is only pierced by numerous gun loops, and two doorways, one along both south and north walls. The interior of the

Figure 5.27: Aerial view of Stewart Castle highlighting evidence of eastern stone walk extending from Great House exterior door and cut by structure 2.

Figure 5.28: STP depth across Stewart Castle survey.

courtyard is generally level, and given the southwest wall is supported by a deep retaining wall, it is apparent some portion of this space was infilled, perhaps in part with material excavated from spaces 008 or 001.

Preserved within the courtyard landscape is scant but clear evidence of a previous landscape prior to the construction of the current courtyard walls. Visible in aerial imagery are the remains of a stone lined pathway oriented to extend directly outward from the eastern exit of the Great House as constructed in Phase II (Figure 5.27). Preliminary evidence derived from the depth at which bedrock was encountered in the courtyard and the area immediately outside the walls suggests this eastern walk may have taken advantage of a naturally high ridge of land running directly to the east of the Great House prior to the landfilling necessary for the creation of the courtyard (Figure 5.28). This in turn suggest the walkway was a part of a broader landscape to the east of the household which was subsequently destroyed or drastically modified during the construction of the courtyard and Phase III of Stewart Castle.

Discussion

Phase I: Simple and Unfortified

Phase one of the Great House appears to have been a rather simple structure. Consisting of a two-story rectangular building of limestone construction, with numerous openings on all sides, and lacking in fortified elements. It seems most probable that the household had doorways to the north and south faces. Subsequent remodeling of the structure in later phases limits the amount that can be stated about the interior

components of this household. Yet, it is clear it was relatively simple, and small in relationship to the subsequent iterations of the household.

Phase II: Expansion, Fortification, and Landscape Integration

Phase II is characterized by a dramatic alteration of the Great House. This includes both the size of the structure and the nature of the architectural elements employed in it. These architectural elements include both the towers and the incorporation of gun loops into the architecture of the household. Previous interpretations of the architectural arrangement of Stewart Castle have rightly focused heavily on the fortified nature of the household, particularly as an expression of anxiety by the Jamaican planter class over the precarious nature of their power, and physical bodies, within a slave society which was within reach of colonial competitors and thus giving rise to perceived threats both internal and external. Lewis Nelson's work coined the phrase "Castles of Fear," to describe the ways such fortified houses were utilized by planters as one such response to these anxieties (2016). Yet, if the preceding analysis is correct there may be a more complex story of the development of architecture at Stewart Castle.

While these defensive elements are a component of the Phase II design, it is also clear they are not implemented without a concern for an overall aesthetic adherence to the symmetrical designs of Georgian architecture. The attention to the detail of the eastern façade is an excellent example of the application of these principles to the architecture of Stewart Castle. In the latter half of the eighteen the century Georgian architecture as expressed in both public and private buildings was one method by which Jamaicans asserted their connection to a transatlantic construction of modern British identity

(Greene 1988). Their participation, however, was influenced by vernacular elements which emphasized the Jamaican variation on the transatlantic tradition (Robertson 2001; Nelson 2016). The verandas seen in Stewart Castle Phase II in both spaces 102/202 and 103/203 are local iterations of this architectural tradition.

Additionally, despite the increased elements of fortification seen in the development of Phase II, it is clear the household was integrated into and connected with a broader landscape. Access directly into the household in Phase II could be gained from three exterior directions from the south, north and east. The placement of the stairs and the proximity to the main road suggest the southern entry was most likely the primary one for arrival of social and business visitors to the Great House. The location of an outbuilding with a possible brick hearth or chimney to the north of the Great House suggests the northern entry was primarily a service entry, which most certainly would have been dominantly used by the enslaved population forced to labor in and supporting the functions of the household. Both of these entryways were dominated by defensive towers in this phase, and likely served much of the symbolic work Nelson ascribes to such fortified houses in Jamaica (2016), reinforcement for visitors and the enslaved population the Stewarts claims to control and power over the landscape.

Yet, the grand nature of the eastern façade of the structure and the walkway extending from the central axis of the household suggests this exit played a role as a social statement and may have served as symbolic centerpiece of the domestic architecture. Viewed from this angle the towers are still prominent but become merely a component of the Georgian façade. Likewise, the façade presents a sense of easy

communication from the household interior to the exterior through the fenestration, the upper veranda, and the walkway leading from the central doorway out into the landscape. Phase II of Stewart Castle accomplishes a much more complex social statement through architecture than merely fortification.

Phase III: Castle of Fear and Control

It seems Phase III of Stewart Castle represents a dramatic shift towards an architecture of defense and/or control and presents a radical disjunction with the phase preceding it. In this last phase, the fortified elements of the household increase dramatically. The northern addition incorporation of the cistern suggests a concern with the protection and control of the household's water supply. Similarly, while gun loops had been present in Phase II, greater efforts were taken to secure doorways with cross beams in Phase III, and the number of exterior gun loops in the northern addition appears to represent a significant increased density in proportion to those used outside of the towers themselves through the rest of the building. Most clearly, the addition of the courtyard wall creates a further layer of defense and possibly also control along the eastern half of the household. If structure 3, the privy, does indeed date to Phase III, it represents a similar fortification of the western side of the Great House.

This fortification signals a clear disjunction between Phase II and Phase III because of the ways the courtyard and northern addition radically reshaped the landscape of the Great House. In addition to creating a closed block on the east of the house, it is important to note service buildings are moved into this space. While it is uncertain if other service buildings were taken out of operation at this time, it is clear structure 2 was

purposely placed inside the closed courtyard, and indeed this arrangement destroyed the previous landscape in this portion of the domestic landscape. In contrast to the communication between the household's interior and the exterior on the eastern façade, which was expressed in Phase II, the courtyard effectively creates a regulated yard with primacy placed on security or surveillance by the main house over connection to the broader landscape. In this fashion, entry to the Great House appears to have been reduced to the southern and northern entrances, both of which were dominated by the towers.

Dating these changes is perhaps more difficult based on the current level of data available from this project. Nevertheless, there is circumstance evidence suggesting that the change from Phase I to II may represent a generational change between James I and James II, and Phase II to III happens in the lifetime of the latter planter. The historical biography of the plantation suggests that Stewart Castle under James I was successful, but not dramatically profitable. Map evidence dating to the period of James I describes the plantation as a pimento walk and crop accounts suggest even at his death, very little sugar was produced on the property. Similarly, James II own accounts of his life suggest his father did not own or invest in further property, with Stewart Castle being the families only holding at James I death. The massive investment in reconfiguring the household between Phases I and II would seem to suggest a major investment of resources, which may or may not have been available to the family at this point in time. As will be suggested soon, we might also think that the resources of the household under James I were redirected into other forms of material culture which may have been in pursuit of advancing the family.

Conversely, James II appears to have made significant efforts at expanding his access to financial resources and productive holdings at least through the beginning of the nineteenth century. The first appears to have been accomplished through both a turn towards concentrated sugar production at Stewart Castle and the utilization of mortgages and loans from British mercantile interests. Following on from this increased access to capital, it is clear Stewart invested in more property for the production of sugar, as well as, diversifying his holdings. For these reasons it seems likely James II had more access to capital, necessary for multiple alterations to the household architecture and spatial structure, than the preceding generation.

In summary, I suggest architecture was used for varying purposes over the course of the household's lifetime. Initially built as a functional, but not imposing planter's seat, Stewart Castle in its earliest phases likely did not have a strong defensive character. If anything, the home was perhaps similar to overseer's residential structures of the period found on other great estates, a form which likely would have been familiar to the first-generation James Stewart who likely rose from the role of overseer to planter himself. Phase II of the household sees a great expansion of the home, and incorporation of features such as galleries, verandas, and fortification features which define Jamaican architecture of the second half of the eighteenth century. Yet, at the same time, these features were implemented in a fashion which paid explicit attention to the notion of symmetries, a feature of Georgian architecture which emphasized the occupant's conversancy with transatlantic styles and identities.

The abandonment of these features in phase III suggests a shift in the purpose of architecture for the remainder of the household's occupancy. The nature of this change certainly seems to be tied to security and/or a greater sense of surveillance, given the incorporation of at least the courtyard wall into the design. If this was for symbolic or functional reasons is perhaps best explored by turning towards an analysis of the activity areas in the vicinity of the household. In order to accomplish this task the next chapter turns towards exploring the assemblage of material culture recovered from excavation at the site, and using this information to interpret changes in spatial practices of household consumption and production.

Chapter 6: The Domestic Economy of a Planter Household

The term "domestic economy" has had a long, and sometimes contested, history in the field of archaeology. Nevertheless, it serves as a useful concept to denote the acts of consumption and production occurring within the confines of a familial or co-resident group, operating as a social unit. These acts can be understood as the physical manifestation of larger strategic choices made in response to pressures brought to bear by structural constraints. Choosing what, when, how and where to consume and produce within the space of the household reflects how that social unit responds to its socio-economic position and the pressure imposed on it from the outside.

In this chapter, I first turn towards a basic description of the assemblage recovered from the excavations at Stewart Castle. In part this section helps address a lacuna in the field during the last three decades. Over this period, there have been few examinations from critical archaeological perspectives of the material culture from Caribbean planter households. This section therefore not only serves to review the quantitative evidence derived from the excavations, but also helps situate types of activities reflected by materials and provides qualitative analysis of temporal variation within the assemblage.

Following the descriptive analysis, I turn to an exploration of the kinds of activities tied to specific artifact forms or distributions that can be derived from the excavations at the great house. While somewhat frustrating in that very specific activity areas prove elusive, I am able to show that space was treated differently across the site. This spatial differentiation is further related to patterns of labor within the household, and these patterns demonstrate change over time.

In my final section, I turn directly to a more in-depth examination of the ceramics recovered from the midden feature at the site to explore trends of change or continuity within the consumption patterns in the household over the lifetime of the midden. I deploy two metrics utilized in previous studies of enslaved household sites in the Caribbean. The first, a ceramic decorative scale factor, allows me to assess the relative investment in the ceramic assemblage within the household over time. Traditionally deployed to evaluate economic investment in social displays among enslaved and freed households, I use this metric in much the same way to evaluate the Stewarts' investment in maintaining a fashionable household over time. Recognizing investment in ceramics may also take the form of quantities, I also apply a second metric called an Abundance Index (AI) which seeks to allow for controlled comparison of acquisition (or discard) rates of artifact classes between different assemblages. In this fashion I explore whether several classes of ceramics within the household are consumed at differing rates over time.

Assemblage Description

Reconstructing household activities from archaeological assemblages has a long history in historic archaeology. While only representing a fraction of the materials used in daily life in the past, due to both sampling and preservation issues, analysis of the individual fragments recovered from excavation is the basis of archaeological knowledge. With thousands of artifacts, however, typological and functional groupings provide a method by which to draw out interpretation. In this project, I follow the early lead of Armstrong's work at Drax Hall plantation in St. Ann's parish in the usage of a modified

functional classification schema derived from Stanley South's methods (Armstrong 1991; South 1977).

At Drax Hall Armstrong divided his assemblage into kitchen, architectural, furniture/arms/personal, tobacco, and other activities groupings. Each of these classes allowed Armstrong to reflect on the kinds of activities and material conditions taking place within the Old Village at Drax Hall through associated materials. For example, kitchen artifacts included ceramics, glass, and utensils to speak to household provisioning and consumption patterns in regard to food, and the architectural grouping allowed him to explore perceived material paucity in village housing. By aggregating artifacts into groupings related to specific areas of research interest, Armstrong was able to provide a midrange link between the recovered artifact data and the research questions he wanted to explore at the household level (1991: 133-134).In the present study, I similarly apply some large groupings as midrange tools to facilitate household analysis, and provide a roadmap for future comparative analysis. Specifically, I divide the Stewart Castle assemblage into five groups each with the ability to speak to material and representational practices deployed by both generations of the Stewarts.

Household Group

The household group speaks to material culture related to the physicality of the household. Architectural, security and furniture artifacts are further subsets of this grouping. While the physical arrangement of the household has been discussed in the preceding chapter, these categories provide a fuller sense of the materiality of the household as it was experienced in the eighteenth and nineteenth century.

Architectural Fragments:

While the standing ruins speak directly to some facets of the nature of the Great House, excavations did reveal aspects that might more fully flesh out the structural elements of the house and dependencies. Foremost among these was the recovery of slate. The presence of attached mortar, and indeed nail holes, on several of the large fragments indicate these likely served as a roofing material some of the site's structures (Figure 6.1). The use of slate as roofing material denotes an increased investment in the household due to the higher cost of these materials. Stone roofing, over wood, may also be seen as a further investment in the security of the household against accidental or purposeful fire.

Figure 6.1: Roof slate fragment demonstrating both mortar and nailing holes.

Brick was much more limited across the site, however, suggesting the household adhered to the local and cost saving tradition of utilizing block in construction. A single

exception as noted previously found in surface observations was a concentration of handmade brick in the northern half of the structure 4, which are perhaps indicative of a chimney fall or hearth base. A single brick bat was recovered from the excavations concentrated in the vicinity of the northern dependency, though well away from the surface concentration.

A small amount of flat, aqua glass comprised a portion of the assemblage recovered from both the STP survey and midden excavations. The majority of this glass was found in close proximity to the Great House, and the presence of a small number of window leads provides evidence of the possibility of some windows at the household over its lifetime were of the casement variety (Figure 6.2). In casement windows, small quarrels, or diamonds, of glass are held together with turned lead strips to create glass panels which are inserted into wooden or metal casements. By the mid-eighteenth century, however, casement windows had largely lost favor to sash windows except in some applications such as for side lights present around entryways. It is also possible the window lead is present at the site not for an architectural function, but instead as a source of scrap lead for use in casting objects such as shot. Regardless of the exact form, it is clear from the glass that at least some of the openings in Stewart Castle were glazed. Though as with the paucity of brick, the low quantities of this material suggest the household adhered to Jamaican creole traditions of building which placed a great emphasis on shuttered openings.

Figure 6.2: Window lead fragment, possibly indicative of casement windows.

Moving from the exterior of the house to the interior, there is evidence that speaks to architectural elements within the household. Plaster, which was defined by presence of either wooden lath impressions or a whitewashing layer on the fragments, was found in both the midden and in STPs across the site (Figure 6.3). This is not surprising given the presence of intact plaster among the standing ruins of the Great House and the privy (structure 3). The recovery of the material in concentrated form from some of the other structures at the site (structure 4), however, suggest plastered interiors were common in service buildings at Stewart Castle.

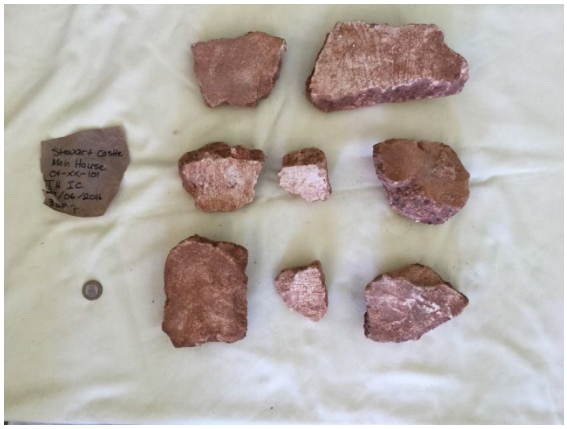

Figure 6.3: Plaster fragments recovered from STPs

Security:

Household security was not just reflected in the spatial design of the landscape, but was also influenced directly by architectural hardware. Excavation within the midden also recovered examples of the door hardware present at Stewart Castle. The largest item included a nearly complete rim lock assembly of brass (Figure 6.4). Rim locks were common methods of securing interior doors in the eighteenth century and were manufactured in iron and brass. A separate door handle consisting of a cast two part knob handle and including the fastener, was also recovered from the midden during STP survey. A bit further afield a brass keyhole escutcheon and cover (Figure 6.5), possibly for usage on an interior door or for a piece of interior furniture, was recovered from near Structure 5 and appears similar to forms widely available in the last decades of the eighteenth century (Barker 1780?). A second brass keyhole cover (Figure 6.6), this one more likely from a padlock, was recovered from a STP closer in front of the Great House and represent a form more common in the nineteenth century even into the period following Stewarts' occupation of the household (Preiss 1972: 86-88). Padlocks of this fashion could be used to temporarily secure not only doorways, but also mobile storage furniture such as trunks and cases. Locks of this nature are likely not representative of securing the household from assault. In contrast to the rifle slits, cross beams at key doorways, and shuttered windows seen in the extant house ruins, these objects likely speak more directly to controlling access inside the structures and to the goods stored within them, rather than denying or barring it completely. Indeed, an eighteenth-century wrought iron key was also recovered from the midden (Figure 6.7).

Figure 6.4: Rim lock

Figure 6.5: Keyhole cover.

Figure 6.6: Nineteenth century brass padlock keyhole cover.

Figure 6.7: Wrought iron key.

Hardware associated with security of both of the household, its outbuildings, and storage containers was extensively produced within Britain and was disseminated throughout colonial networks in the latter half of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Through such small material instruments such as door handles, planters such as Stewart can be seen to be participating within transatlantic networks of consumption and style, while speaking directly to the physical control of interior space within their households.

Furniture:

While relatively sparse, the assemblage from Stewart Castle did contain several objects which may speak to the furnishing of the Great House. Furnishings speak directly to issues of security and consumption in the household. A great deal of furniture, chest, drawers, knife boxes, etc. specifically serve the function of securing household possessions and regulating access to these goods. In this sense furnishing can be quite functional. Yet the quality of furnishings, or the style of the finishes applied to them, also mean this category of material speaks to aspects of household consumption.

Copper alloy upholstery tacks (n=2), as their name suggests, were often used to adhere cloth or leather coverings to chairs or other furnishings. These tacks could also be utilized to decorate more mobile items such as trunks, or even to adorn coffins. The tacks were recovered from STP excavations within the courtyard and along the western face of the Great House. Tacks could also be made of wrought iron, in contrast to copper alloy. Such objects often served much the same purpose as copper tacks, but in a more utilitarian fashion. The iron tacks from Stewart Castle were all of wrought manufacture,

Figure 6.8: Escutcheons recovered from Stewart Castle in the vicinity of the Great House

which is indicative of their likely production in the period before the early nineteenth century. In contrast to the copper alloy tacks, these were only recovered from the western side of the Great House, primarily in the spaces between Structures 1, 3, and 5.

Escutcheons served as decorative mounts for handles and to cover locks on furniture and within the household. Three escutcheons were recovered from the Stewart Castle excavations from the midden or within the courtyard STPs. Two of these objects served as decorative plates to conceal locks on furniture pieces (Figure 6.8). The first is a brass casting comprised of foliate work surrounding a key hole, and recovered with the tacks used to secure it onto the furniture surface. Oriented longitudinally, it seems most likely this piece was used on a furnishing with drawers or perhaps a box or trunk. The second example recovered is likewise a cast brass fragment, again with some foliate design, but this fragment has a latitudinal orientation, suggesting the furnishing would have been something with doors. The final escutcheon was recovered from the midden excavations and was related to the presence of decorative handles on furnishing.

Stylistically these escutcheons appear to represent forms marketed in the late eighteenth century (Barker 1780?).

Personal Artifact Group

Personal artifacts are those which speak to bodily adornment and dress. Objects of adornment are one of the primary means to signal identity within and between social groups (White 2005). At Stewart Castle, this assemblage is heavily weighted towards clothing items, but also includes materials which might be seen as indicative of gender, wealth, or social positionality.

Buttons:

A small assemblage of buttons was recovered from the site (n=17). Buttons traditionally have been defined by criteria of material, manufacture, shank style, and size to determine function and dating (Hinks 1988; White 2005). White's extensive research suggests that throughout most of the period of occupation of Stewart Castle, buttons are generally more commonly associated with male clothing items; as female clothing, apart from riding habits, of the period was fastened with lacings, pins, and eye and hook closures (White 2005: 57).

Ten buttons, all recovered from the midden contexts, were the structural core to textile-covered or two-part metal buttons. Bone button molds, defined by the presence of a single central hole created by a cutting tool during production, were disks cut from animal bone (White 2005: 69; Hinks 1988: 67). For textile covered buttons, the disk was used as the core upon which cloth swatches would then have been stretched. In these cases, the textile was gathered at the rear to serve as a shank to attach the button to items

of clothing. Alternately, the bone disk could serve as the core to a two part metal button most commonly comprised of thin, stamped sheets of copper alloy. These metal button cores, however, were most often beveled along one exterior edge to accommodate the crimping of the metal sections together (White 2005:). The absence of this feature suggests most, if not all, of the bone molds from Stewart Castle were for textile covered buttons. Similarly, two cast copper alloy button rings would have served as a structural core for cloth coverings. Such textile covered buttons were popular throughout the eighteenth century, and would have been used to offset or compliment the textile patterning of clothing such as breeches, waistcoats and even overcoats (White 2005: 65-67). Nine of these objects have measurable diameters, and all fall within the range of breech and waistcoat buttons as defined by White (2005: 57).

The metal buttons (n=6) recovered from the site are all copper alloy. Four of these were flat disc type buttons, and were divided evenly between two sub-types. Two buttons were cast discs with a shank comprised of a cone with wire eye shank. After casting, these would have been lathe finished to remove the casting mold lines from the button back. This style was in common usage throughout the second half of the eighteenth and early-nineteenth century (White 2005: 64; Hughes and Lester 1981: 221). A second type of such flat buttons was manufactured by stamping discs of copper from sheets, and attaching a wire shank by solder to the reverse. Both examples from Stewart Castle have "Alpha" style shanks, also common throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century (Hinks: 1988: 60; Hughes and Lester 1981: 221). One of this style was plated with gilt on the button face. It was the only decorated metal button recovered from the

site. The button also had the largest diameter of those recovered, indicating it was likely for an item of outerwear, such as an overcoat.

Similarly identifiable by function, a stamped copper alloy linked button was also recovered from the site. Such linked buttons served as shirtsleeve buttons meant to secure the cuff closure, similar to modern cuff-links. These buttons were used in the clothing of both genders of the eighteenth and nineteenth century, and have been argued to be the "most personal of personal artifacts" (Cofield 2012). Indeed, the interchangeability of buttons such as these, which could be varied without the need for resewing, combined with the general abundance of variations of design at a range of price points suggest they may have been particularly effective in expressing individual identity (Cofield 2012: 100; Breen 2011: 279). The excavated example from Stewart Castle was oval in shape, and appears to be relatively plain. The lack of a greater sample from the site precludes a more detailed examination of the use of these forms at the site.

Additionally, the face of a domed two-part button made of copper alloy was recovered from the midden area. Buttons of this type were referred to as "shell" in the eighteenth century, not in reference to the material from which they were made, but rather alluding to the way the button face and back were joined. As mentioned above the backings to these kinds of buttons tend to be bone disks. Button faces were produced by stamping rounds from thin copper alloy sheeting, by hand prior to the third quarter of the eighteenth century and via machine generally thereafter. These rounds were then struck into molds to achieve a concave shape, and potentially to form decorative patterning on the face. The face and back were then joined by crimping the edge of the metal into the

bevel on the backing. The diameter of the button face recovered from Stewart castle, the same as for the complete button, was nearly 13 mm. At this size, it is on the smaller size for buttons common on waistcoats, and could also have been a breeches button (White 2005: 57). Little else could be discerned from the fragment, however, aside from the lack of decoration on the intact surface of the face.

Figure 6.9: Stamped copper alloy button (1211-1-D-01-DRS—00013)

Dating slightly later than the Stewart occupation, a copper alloy, flat, one piece, sew through variety was recovered inside the courtyard walls (Figure 6.9). It has an eye comprised of four holes and is stamped along the edge of the face with the text "WARRANTED NOT TO CUT." Similar buttons have been recovered from throughout the Anglo-colonial world including sites in Canada (Barka 1978: 86) and New Zealand (Middleton 2005: 306-307), all of which appear to date to the second quarter of the nineteenth century or later.

The final button recovered from the site was another four hole eye, sew through variety, but this was made of cut or carved shell and measured less than 8mm in diameter.

Additionally, the button was decorated with a faintly cut, six lobed, floral pattern encompassing the eye holes.

Pins:

Four copper alloy straight pins were recovered from excavations in the midden area. The pins recovered from Stewart Castle are hand headed, which would tend to date their usage prior to 1824 when heading machines were first patented in the pin industry and which quickly overtook the traditional manufacturing technique. While these objects typically become lumped with thimbles and scissors in discussions of sewing and domestic labor activities, they equally may be indicative of women's clothing for which straight pins served as the primary closures.

Buckles:

Several buckles were recovered from across the site (n=7). Six of these buckles are wrought iron formed into a single square/rectangular frame. In every case, one of the frame sides serves as the pin upon which the tongue is secured. Cloth, or more likely leather, would likely have then been sewn onto this pin end of the frame with a slit to allow the rotation of the tongue, similar in fashion to modern belt buckles. These examples were classified as "harness/utilitarian, unid" in form due to the factors of size, the lack of decoration, and the straight (e.g. not curved) frames. As the name suggests while these buckles were clearly not utilized for garments or other articles of dress, they cannot be assigned to a more specific function at this point, and very well represent elements of saddlery, harnesses, or baggage.

The lone remaining buckle recovered from the site is a bit enigmatic. The buckle is an incomplete oval shaped frame of iron measuring 38 mm in length. The frame is decorated with openwork throughout. In addition to the frame, both the hook and tongue are present. Based on form and decoration, the buckle appears to be a clothing related item. White discusses the rise of this form of openwork decoration during the eighteenth century, however she concludes that most often such buckles were made of cut steel (2005: ??). A similar iron openwork buckle was recovered from a context at Mount Vernon dating between 1759-1775, so it does appear the material of the frame was not exclusively steel (SGM website). Such frames may have been decorated originally with studs, either composed of polished steel or glass pastes, riveted through the openwork. No studs remain on the Stewart Castle example. At Mount Vernon, this kind of buckle has at various points been classified as a girdle or sword buckle, with widely varying meaning in terms of identities associated with it. While an exact definition of the functional usage of this kind of buckle is difficult, it seems it generally can be assigned to the category of clothing, or at least objects that adorn the body. Nevertheless, the open framework and the possibility of decorative studwork suggest the object was meant for public display and was of finer quality than utilitarian options.

Watch:

One intriguing artifact recovered from test unit excavation between Structure 1 and Structure 4, was a slightly domed colorless glass fragment with a beveled edge (Figure 6.10). This is likely a glass pocket watch face, which would have sat inside the case of the watch and helped protect both the watch dial and movement.

Figure 6.10: Glass watch face.

Parasol/Cane:

Another object which may speak to social positionality is a copper alloy parasol, or possibly a cane, tip (Figure 6.11). Tips such as these capped the end of the parasol rib and helped ensure the integrity of the connection between cloth and structure of the parasol. Parasols could be associated with either gender in the eighteenth century, particularly in Caribbean contexts where they served as sunshades. While not exclusively associated with the freed or planter classes, were certainly common enough to appear in satirical illustrations of West Indian whites at the time (Figure 6.12).

Figure 6.11: Parasol tip.

Figure 6.12: Illustration of West Indian planter excess highlighting parasols.

https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/15812331

Riding:

Several artifacts recovered from the Stewart Castle excavations are clearly related to the use of horses on the estate. Most obviously, excavations of the midden feature resulted in the recovery of a wrought iron horseshoe (1211-004B-DRS—00046). The shoe appears to display evidence consistent with late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century manufacture. These features include branches, or the arms of the shoe, displaying a slightly inward curve; the presence of calkins, or upturned elements, at the end of each branch; and the less than uniform nature of the fullering, the trough cut to accommodate the nailing of the shoe to the hoof. Also, the mid-nineteenth century innovation of the toe-clip, or a raised lip along the "top" front edge of the shoe that is meant to stop the shoe from riding back on the mount's hoof, is absent on the example recovered from Stewart Castle (Noel Hume 1969: 237-239).

The utilization of horses at Stewart Castle by residents is reinforced by the recovery of a snaffle bit (Figure 6.13) from the midden as well (1211-003B-DRS--00002). Comprised of iron, the bit is constructed of two mirrored elements linked in a jointed, and therefore moveable, mouthpiece in the mount's mouth. Each half of the bit had a cheek piece comprised of a bar and a ring to attach to the reins. While slightly later in date, manuals on horsemanship from the nineteenth century suggest snaffle bits such as this may have been used both for driving, carriages and carts, and riding bridle configurations (Battersby 1896: 98).

Figure 6.13: Snaffle bit recovered from the midden at Stewart Castle.

Further reinforcing the centrality of riding horses in planter households, a saddle tree fragment was also recovered from the midden excavations. The tree fragment was comprised of two straps of iron connected by a series of rivets, which would have served as the reinforcing plate of the front end of a wood and leather riding saddle.

More closely associated with the rider than the mount, an iron spur fragment was also recovered from the midden excavations (1211-003A-DRS—00173). This element appears to be an incomplete iron stud, which would have hung from the spur by a loop which is no longer intact. Similar examples are well documented from several sites dating to the eighteenth century in Maryland (Cofield 2014). These studs, in turn, would have anchored leather straps which secured the spurs to the rider's boots. Cofield suggests hanging studs of this nature were prominent through the third quarter of the eighteenth century, and likely were used exclusively for riding/traveling as opposed to daily wear (Cofield 2014).

Travel by horse or carriage would have connected the Stewart Castle household to a broader network of neighboring planters, the markets and courts of Falmouth and Montego Bay. Specifically for James Stewart II, travel may have included his increasing public role locally within Trelawny and at the level of the colony through his legislative membership. It was through these paths of connection that the household was connected to the plantation, the colony, and indeed a transatlantic world of material and representational practices that took on meaning through their enactment in daily life.

Tobacco Pipes Group

The tobacco group is perhaps the most straight forward of the analyzed groupings, consisting solely of tobacco related artifacts. At Stewart Castle this included only tobacco pipes, as other material culture of tobacco usage (ember tongs, tampers, braziers, etc.) were not found in the sample. Tobacco pipes would have been objects accessible to the

entire community living and laboring at the Great House, and would have been objects used during both socialization and work.

In total, 244 fragments of tobacco pipe were recovered from the excavations at Stewart Castle. Of this population nearly all (n=243) were made of the white ball clay which typified British, and other European, manufacture. While pipe bowl form has been shown to vary through time (Oswald 1951, 1975; Atkinson & Oswald 1969), the lack of complete examples hampers a temporal analysis of the bowl forms present at Stewart Castle. Decoration on the bowls, however, is readily apparent even in a fragmented state. Among these recovered pipes about 5% (n=12) were decorated. All decoration was confined to the bowl of the pipe, as opposed to the stem portions; and botanical, anthropomorphic, and geometric motifs predominated.

One partial stem and bowl fragment recovered from the site was of molded red earthenware (1211-4-F-103-DRS—00011). Jamaican red clay pipes were recovered in large quantities from the underwater and terrestrial excavations of the seventeenth century site of Port Royal, and have been supposed to be indicators of a local pipe production tradition (Mayes 1972). Heidkte suggest the pipes from this period were produced locally with methods of handmade manufacture less sophisticated than the mold based British production (Heidtke 1992: 25-66). Indeed, these collections of seventeenth century pipes appear to be defined by the inherent variability of features such as bowl angle, stem length, bore diameter, heel/spur form and markings. On this last point, Heidtke notes that initials, “RG” “TJ” “RS”, were recorded on only three red clay pipes within the study of over 700 examples (Heidtke 1992: 47, 67). The pipe recovered

from Stewart Castle, however, appears to be molded as opposed to handmade, and very clearly has a molded "G" on one side of the spur. Other sites dating to the eighteenth century report the presence of red and brown clay pipes (Armstrong 1992: 206), but no information concerning pipe makers operating within the colony in the eighteenth century has been identified. Nevertheless, it seems likely that pipes such as these likely represent the distribution of goods through internal markets in the colony after the seventeenth century.

General Artifacts Group:

The general artifacts group serves as a catch all categorization for materials which do not fall within the other groups yet are important as indicators of household practice. Being so broad the grouping encompasses diverse activities such as storage and bulk goods evidence, tools of production, healthcare, leisure activities, and arms. This last group has clear implications for the primary research questions of security and defense of the household, but all speak to the kinds of activities which took place within or around the walls of the Castle by a multitude of family, visitors, and enslaved mean women and children.

Storage

Artifacts recovered from the midden and surrounding area also speak unsurprisingly to storage activities taking place in the vicinity of the Great House complex (Figure 6.14). It seems most likely these materials reflect goods consumed by the household, rather than serving as a storage location for either the agricultural product or imported material goods of the broader plantation. Fragments of Tuscan oil jars (1211-

4-WW-102-00001;-00002) were recovered in the vicinity of Structure 4. As the name suggests, these vessels were produced in the northern Italian region for use in the export of olive oil. British merchant and naval interests in the region generally were in the port of Livorno, from which these jars were shipped through British ports to markets across the globe (Blake and Hughes 2017). Such vessels often had a secondary use as storage containers for a variety of dry goods and household supplies, edible and otherwise, both on board transoceanic vessels and in colonial settings. For example, eight large "soap jars" described in 1800 at George Washington's Virginia great house at Mount Vernon were likely these same type of vessel (Detweiler 1982: 167-68). Wrought iron barrel bands (n=4) recovered from the vicinity of the Great House at Stewart Castle (1211-003B-DRS—00001), also directly speak the consumption of goods in the household, as barrels would be a primary packaging for the shipment of goods such as wines, preserved meats and fish, and even dried goods.

Figure 6.14: Storage related artifacts including Tuscan oil jar and barrel band fragments.

Tools of production:

Several tools associated with the labor of production were recovered from the vicinity of the Great House. Objects such as this speak to the broader processes by which planters like the Stewarts usurped black labor to transform the colonial landscape into proto agro-industrial factories.

An axe head was recovered from the midden (1211-003B-DRS--00003). Measuring 195mm by 85mm, the axe head exhibits a consistent thinning to the cutting edge, a slight inward curve on the lower edge of the blade, likely ears and a sizable eye for the attachment of a long handle. The shape of the head and the handle attachment suggest this form is a felling axe, similar to examples listed for sale at the end of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century from British sources (Sheffield List). As the name suggests this type of ax was predominately used for the feeling of trees or land clearance, and the form would not have utility for finer wood working applications, such as cooperage, etc. It may, however, have served as a general use tool in domestic contexts such as Stewart Castle, such as use in the splitting of wood to fuel hearths. Additionally, Moxen notes the utilization of these kinds of axes by carpenters in the construction, and presumably maintenance, of structures. While writing at an admittedly slightly earlier date at the beginning of the eighteenth century, Moxon describes the use of the tool by carpenters "to hew great stuff…to square and bevil [sic] their timbers" (1703: 119). Carpenters' production was often rougher, or more utilitarian, than that of jointers, another category of skilled trades that often did finishing work, and as such they may have used less specialized tools at times. Whether to clear fields, fuel fires, or develop the

physical infrastructure of the plantation, this tool was most likely wielded by an enslaved individual.

Another tool that was certainly wielded by an enslaved member of the Stewart Castle community was an iron hoe that also recovered from the midden excavations (1211-004C-DRS--00134). The hoe had a maximum length of 225mm from blade edge to back of the eye, a 124mm width at the blade edge, and an eye height of 49mm. The hoe has squared shoulders meaning the blade sides are largely straight with a slight flare towards the edge. As Evans suggests, hoes are particularly interesting as a commodity born of the Atlantic world. The cultivation of tobacco, rice and sugar in the Anglo-colonial world lead to the development of niche forms and marketing of hoes by British producers over the course of the eighteenth century (Evans 2012). While there are no typological studies of Jamaican hoes in the late eighteenth century (though see Egloff 1980 for the Chesapeake), the hoe form appears to most closely resemble one listed as a "Crown West India Hoe" in a published list of British made iron goods for sale from the early nineteenth century, with the form likely first coming into use many decades prior (Sheffield List: 188).

A triangular file was also recovered from the excavations. This style of file, as opposed to flatter forms, may speak to the presence of a more diverse set of tools present at the Great House than just the axe and hoe. The triangular shape of the style of file was useful in sharpening smaller angled cutting surfaces, such as saws, or other carpentry or joinery tools. While the presence of these tools is unsurprising on a plantation, given the vast infrastructure necessary to support large scale agricultural production, their presence

and mixture in the domestic refuse at the Great House complex highlights that this kind of labor was often directly observable by the Stewarts.

A class of tool which may represent labor within the household or usage in the landscape are folding knives. A surprising number of these objects were recovered during the excavations in the midden and the vicinity of the Great House (n=3). All are produced of iron and most likely would have had bone handles originally, which was no longer intact on recovery. The size of these knives varies somewhat, but all seem to be of the folding pocket size and could have served as useful implements in a variety of tasks on a daily basis by men and women.

Perhaps more clearly indicative of labor in the domestic context, a thimble recovered from the periphery of the site also speaks to production within the household. Most closely associated with the process of sewing and the production of clothing within domestic households, a thimble such as this recalls Stewart's published statements on the experience of enslaved women forced to labor in plantation houses, "…some of the females are taught needlework, in which they particularly excell in neatness…" (Stewart 1792: 22).

Cloth Seals:

The recovery of lead cloth seals from both the midden and the surrounding area may suggest the stockpiling or utilization of large bales of cloth as a part of the storage activities that took place at Stewart Castle (Figure 6.15). Most commonly, seals like this were attached to bolts of cloth to identify and certify the weavers, dyers, inspectors, and packagers who handled these textiles as they were produced and prepared for export. The

presence of these seals suggests the Stewart household consumed cloth in bulk quantities. Despite fabric impressions on one seal it is impossible to determine the weave of the cloth, precluding an assessment of type of fabric and any attendant interpretation of whether this cloth might have been in use for consumption by the family or the enslaved population.

Figure 6.15: Lead cloth seals.

Weight:

A single cast weight was recovered from Stewart Castle, from a STP located in the space between Structure 1 and Structure 5. The only observable characters on the wight are "Ct," which may stand for a carat measurement. Despite this uncertainty over

the system of measurement, it seems possible scales and weights of this nature may have been used in the Great House in service of both commercial purposes such as weighing coins, or domestic needs such as the preparation of medicinal or edible consumables. Conversely the weight is of the appropriate size that it may have been repurposed for a secondary use as a gaming piece.

Arms

One of the interpretations of the Stewart household, with its glass crowned walls and fortified towers, is that it was an attempt by the family to express power and control through the assertion of an identity centered on militarism. The materials recovered from the excavations at the Great House did contain a small number of objects that may fit into the category of arms, however, they are relatively sparse and show little evidence of use.

The sitewide assemblage included only a single gunflint (Figure 6.16). It was produced by the spall technique, generally attributed to the British rather than French manufacture prior to the last decade of the eighteenth century and possessed of a "D"-shaped heel. The blade edge of the flint had clearly been resharpened during its use life suggesting it was fired. Flints such as these were mounted into a part of the flintlock referred to as the gun cock, which struck the frizzen to produce sparks igniting the charge in the pan below when the trigger was depressed. Such flints were not mounted bare into the cock, however, often being first wrapped in a rectangle of leather or lead from the base to the top over the heel to ensure the flint was well seated in the cock. These wraps were called "dogs." Two possible dogs were recovered from different layers within the midden (Figure 6.17).

Figure 6.16: Gunflint

Figure 6.17: Possible lead dogs.

Little evidence was found for ammunition at the site, however. While no shot was recovered from the site, lead scrap and casting waste could be interpreted as related to shot production. A small amount of casting waste (n=3) and lead scrap (n=9) was recovered from both the midden and an STP immediately outside structure 1. The general lack of arms and definitive munitions at the site was surprising given the architectural elements of the Great House and the complex.

Healthcare:

A small number of artifacts concentrated in the area of the Structure 4 and at the northern exit of the Great House indicative of healthcare activities at the site were recovered from both the STP survey and midden excavations in that area. Pharmaceutical bottle glass (n=12) as the name suggests is primarily associated with the packaging of various ingredients or prepared remedies most often manufactured in Britian. Interestingly, in the midden this class of artifact is only present in SG4 layers and higher. While the first patented medicine, Turlington's Balsam of Life, was established in the mid-eighteenth century, by the late nineteenth century these kinds of products were common throughout Atlantic markets. Such products have been associated in plantation contexts both with self-medication by enslaved individuals, and also with a practice by plantation owners of using cheaper packaged remedies in lieu of hiring physicians for enslaved laborers. Delftware drug jars, straight sided vessels used to hold dried and powdered ingredients, and salve pots, small pedestaled vessels with everted rims usually reserved for holding ointments or cosmetics, were also recovered from both the STP survey in the vicinity of Structure 4 and midden excavations at Stewart Castle (Figure 6.18).

Figure 6.18: Delftware salve pot fragment.

Gaming pieces:

Among the most interesting class of artifacts recovered from the Great House excavations was a series of modified ceramics which are often designated as gaming pieces (Figure 6.19). The gaming pieces are purposely reshaped broken ceramic sherds which are carefully nipped into disc shapes. Frequently made of delftware due to its softer bodies, the discs were also made of harder, but often more highly decorated refined earthenwares as well. While exploring similar artifacts recovered from colonial era California mission contexts, Panich et al have recently highlighted the presence of such discs from a wide range of temporal and cultural contexts (Panich, et. al. 2019). Such discs are firmly represented in Caribbean contexts and have been associated with gaming or divination practices largely among enslaved plantation populations (Armstrong 1990: 138-139; Singleton 2015). Recent work in Dominica has suggested in some cases such gaming pieces were produced as a part of an economic strategy by enslaved households, in addition to potentially being produced on a happenstantial basis locally (Bates, et. al. 2020). Such artifacts, however, were not only confined to the villages of Caribbean plantations and have been found in at least one other Great House in Monserrat (Streible McLean 2015: 331-335).

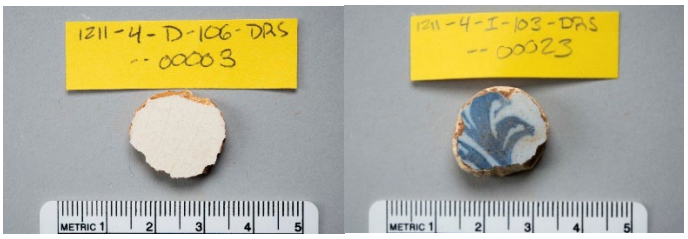

Figure 6.19: Gaming pieces, creamware (left) and delftware (right).

Kitchen Group:

The kitchen group is by far the largest and most intensely analysis functional grouping at most archaeological sites. This group incorporates cooking vessels, utensils, and all the ceramic and glass vessels used in the household. The kitchen group therefore speaks to both consumption on the level of the physical body and that of social signaling.

Cooking:

Elements of cast iron kitchen wares were located throughout the STP survey and the midden excavation. Most identifiable artifacts were elements of cast iron pots (n=16). Most of these are body fragments, nevertheless, one element is more diagnostic as it retains a lug handle commonly produced in the closing decades of the eighteenth century. Such cast iron pots were exported in the thousands from British foundries throughout the colonial world, and are common finds on eighteenth and early nineteenth century archaeological sites. In part this ubiquity is because pots were necessary for a variety of work not only including cooking but also running through a variety of other household tasks such as washing, dyeing, soap making, and producing hot water for cleaning.

While most of the fragments could definitely be associated with the cast iron round bellied pots, an additional handle fragment recovered from a STP in the middle of the midden, appears to represent a pan or skillet form (Figure 6.20). In addition to increasing the diversity of vessel forms present at the great House, the skillet or pan suggests a variety of preparatory techniques that would have been available to produce

food at the Great House. Pots were necessary for a great deal of eighteenth-century cooking, but roasting, frying and sautéing were equally important in the production of elaborate dining expressed in Jamaican Great Houses. Below further ceramic evidence points to the preparation of elaborate meals at Stewart Castle.

Figure 6.20: Cast iron skillet or pan handle.

Utensils:

Despite a relatively large number of cooking, and as will be seen below, serving vessels there were comparatively few artifacts related to utensils at Stewart castle. Two incomplete utensils were recovered from the STP excavations at the Great House site. One fragment was a section of a pewter handle measuring 74 mm in length. By the second half of the eighteenth century, pewter was largely used for the production of spoon forms (????), and certainly would have been of utilitarian usage. The second utensil recovered is the stem portion of a wrought iron three tined fork that displays some balustrading. The squared length opposite the tine end of the fragment demonstrates the object had a spiked tang form, which would have attached the iron portion of the utensil

to an organic handle likely made of bone or ivory. Such elements on the fork indicate it was a higher quality tableware during the late eighteenth century (Dunning 2000: 36).

Glass:

One of the largest material classes within the assemblage at the site was vessel glass (Table 6.1).[4] While wine bottle glass dominated this class, in part likely because of the usage of broken glass to crown the courtyard walls of the Castle, examining the other glass forms present within the assemblage also offers insight into some of the activities taking place within the Great House.

One of the most basic distinctions within the glass category is between leaded and non-leaded glass. In 1676, George Ravenscroft perfected a process by which colorless glass could be produced through the use of lead additives (Jones and Sullivan 1989). The resulting glass was clear and took decoration well. It was, however, more expensive to produce and therefore was largely reserved for the manufacture of glass tableware. The leaded glass vessels from Stewart Castle represent a range of glass tableware forms which speak specifically to dining and drinking activities within the Great House.

Drinking vessels are well represented by several specific forms. Stemware was represented by numerous foot, stem, and bowl elements. Stemwares such as these would

[4] Please note some forms of vessel glass have already been mentioned such as pharmaceutical bottles. This term also excludes all architectural glass and glass element of personal objects already discussed, as well as glass vessels blown by machine, a temporal marker of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, which are the product of more modern bottle dumping at the site.

Glass Material and Form	Fragment Count	Weight
Lead	**429**	**1019.3**
Bottle, Case	3	10
Bottle, unid.	14	16.1
Bottle/Vial, Pharmaceutical	9	6.3
Drinking Glass, unid.	34	28.2
Stemware	52	281.4
Tableware, unid.	105	255.9
Tumbler	13	248.1
Unidentifiable	199	173.3
Non-Lead	**3033**	**16669.83**
Bottle, Case	69	822.7
Bottle, unid.	63	138.5
Bottle, Wine style	2833	15632.63
Bottle/Vial, Pharmaceutical	3	1.4
Drinking Glass, unid.	1	2
Stemware	2	3.7
Tableware, unid.	12	21.3
Unidentifiable	50	47.6
Not Recorded	**6**	**5.9**
Unidentifiable	**3**	**4.6**
Grand Total	**3471**	**17699.63**

Table 6.1: Summary of vessel glass from excavations.

not only have served at the table for the consumption of poured wine, but also would have been a general serving vessel for a variety of alcoholic beverages from ales to punches. While it is clear there is a mix of styles of stemware present in the assemblage from the foot and bowl elements, the styles of stem represent a good impression of the temporal variability within the assemblage. The earliest stem type is an enamel twist, whereby white enamels are introduced in the production of the stem to create a twirled

pattern of usually white lines on the interior of the glass, which was popular in the period ca. 1760-1775. The most prevalent, however, were slightly later straight drawn stems of a very plain nature which were more popular in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Some possible bladed knop stems (n=3) were also recovered which were not popular until the first quarter of the 19th century, and in turn suggest stemware consumption at the site continued into the that century (Noel Hume 1969:190-193). In addition to these stem wares, other drinking vessels such as tumblers and "drinking glass, unid" were recovered from across the site suggesting again a strong emphasis on glassware associated with serving liquids, again likely alcoholic at Stewart Castle. Indeed, it is likely the fragments classified as bottle and case bottle are elements of leaded glass decanters.

Figure 6.21: Cut, leaded glass tableware lid.

Leaded glass also appeared in the assemblage in various serving or specialty vessels, which often could not be identified more specifically and were thus classed under

the term “tableware, unid.” For example, a fragment with a finial decorated with cut facets is likely a covered bowl, or sugar bowl, form (Figure 6.21). Such vessels may indeed have been of use more in tea service than at the dining table, but most of the fragments recovered are so small that more specific functional assignment of the material is nearly impossible. Nevertheless, limited examples such as this lid serve to suggest the household was investing in both glass as well as ceramic vessels for both the table and tea service.

Figure 6.22: Bristol blue glass tableware fragment.

Unsurprisingly, most of the non-leaded glass assemblage was comprised of wine bottle glass, but a few unique fragments of colored glass suggest the Stewart household also invested in non-leaded glass tableware for specific purposes. While very small fragments, there were several blue green colored glass fragments that were listed as either “stemware” or “tableware, unid.” which were the foot and bowl of a vessel. Similar colored glass examples appear as sugar or covered bowls in British glass museums, and which would have adorned a late eighteenth century table. It is also apparent the Stewarts

acquired cobalt blue, hollow glass tablewares (n=2) (Figure 6.22). The Washingtons' owned similar pieces which have been documented and preserved in Mount Vernon's decorative arts collection. The image shows one of these vessels – described as a wash glass. Such vessels were part of genteel dining habits of the eighteenth century and would have been distributed about the dining table and filled with plain or rose water to facilitate the cleaning of fingers and wine glasses throughout the meal. In Washington's records such glass was termed "Bristol Blue" in reference to its presumed origin, and sets were still in the household upon probate following Martha Washington's death in 1802. Such connections again highlight the ways the material culture of the Stewart household signaled a participation in and currency with a transatlantic elite culture of the late eighteenth century.

Ceramics:

Unmodified ceramic sherds made up a large portion of the assemblage recovered from the excavations at Stewart Castle. While some of the forms of these fragments have been discussed above (e.g. Delftware salve pots), it is useful to develop an analysis of the waretypes and forms present within the assemblage to speak to the associated activities these vessels may represent.

Excavations at Stewart Castle resulted in the recovery of 3,501 sherds of a ceramic (Table 6.2). Broken down into the most basic distinction of ceramic material class it can be seen that the vast majority of the assemblage was comprised of refined earthenware types (n=2941), followed in frequency by porcelains (n=291), stonewares (n=173), and finally coarse earthenwares (n=96).

Ceramic Types	Sherd Count
Coarse EW	**96**
Caribbean Coarse Earthenware, hand built	17
Caribbean Coarse Earthenware, unid.	2
Caribbean Coarse Earthenware, wheel thrown	20
Coarse Earthenware, unidentified	10
Iberian Ware	1
Red Agate, coarse	8
Redware	26
Slipware, North Midlands/Staffordshire	12
Porcelain	**291**
Porcelain, Chinese	245
Porcelain, English Bone China	3
Porcelain, English Soft Paste	3
Porcelain, unidentifiable	32
Porcellaneous/Hard Paste	8
Refined EW	**2941**
Canary Ware	1
Cauliflower ware	2
Creamware	1590
Delftware, Dutch/British	105
Pearlware	1145
Red Agate, refined	8
Redware, refined	1
Refined Earthenware, unidentifiable	9
Tin-Enameled, unidentified	23
Wedgwood Green	3
Whieldon-type Ware	5
Whiteware	47
Yellow Ware	2
Stoneware	**173**
Black Basalt	16
Bristol Glaze Stoneware	4
British Brown/Fulham Type	11
British Stoneware	30
Nottingham	1
Refined Stoneware, unidentifiable	4
Stoneware, unidentifiable	1
Westerwald/Rhenish	3
White Salt Glaze	103
Grand Total	**3501**

Table 6.2: Ceramic waretype counts.

An examination of the refined earthenware category clearly demonstrates that the vast majority of the assemblage is dominated by two types of the late eighteenth century, creamware (n=1590) and pearlware (n=1145). Creamware, defined by a pale cream body and clear lead glaze, was first marketed by Wedgewood beginning in 1762, and quickly came to dominate the market for household ceramics in the second half of the eighteenth century. Creamware displaced earlier refined earthenwares such as Wedgewood green (n=3), Whieldon-type (n=5), Cauliflower ware (n=2), as well as earlier white salt glazed stonewares, which will be discussed below. Creamware continued in production through the 1820s, but following the introduction of Wedgewood's china glaze, or pearlware, in 1775, the cost of creamware began to decrease as the newer refined earthenware took over the higher end of the market. Pearlwares constitute the second greatest proportion of the Stewart Castle assemblage (n=1145). As creamware and pearlware co-existed in the marketplace, decoration increasingly became important in defining the style and price of these ceramics, and as such the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century saw a rapid turnover in decorative styles and techniques applied to these ceramics, some of which will be discussed in the sections below. Nevertheless, by the nineteenth century, creamware was almost exclusively sold in cheap minimally decorated utilitarian vessels (e.g. chamberpots, basins, etc.).

Just as creamware had been superseded by pearlware, the latter was in turn ultimately superseded in the decades following 1807 by a refined ceramic featuring a whiter clay body and clearer glaze, termed whiteware. The transition from pearlware to

whiteware was less stark than that between earlier ceramics and creamware, and between creamware and pearlware, however. In part, this is because the ceramic archaeologists define as whiteware represented a refinement of the manufacturing and production techniques of the late eighteenth century pearlwares produced across a wide range of potteries through greater Britain rather than a completely new technological innovation. Nevertheless, whitewares would be common among households consuming ceramics in the period following roughly 1810 in the British colonial markets. At Stewart Castle, whiteware occurs in very small frequencies in comparison to the earlier refined earthenwares (n=47).

One other ceramic type, Defltware (designated as both delftware and tin-glazed earthenware in the current study based on whether glazing was detached from the sherd) was present in any sizable numbers at Stewart Castle (n=105). Delftware is a soft bodied earthenware coated with a tin-oxide and lead glaze which was produced by British potteries from the late-sixteenth century through the first decade of the nineteenth century. When it was first brought to market it was a fashionable alternative to the sparse and expensive Chinese porcelain imports of the seventeenth century, but in the eighteenth-century the introduction of stoneware and refined earthenwares increasingly pushed delftwares out of the market as expense table and teaware forms. Indeed, by the late eighteenth century, delftware production had largely shifted into specific form types such a medical form (drug jars, salve pots, and apothecary containers), utilitarian vessels (chamberpots and basins), and cheap tablewares and punch bowls. Throughout its production period, delftware was largely hand painted in blue in imitation of Chinese

export porcelains, but at various points was also decorated with polychrome decorations. Notably, the later in the eighteenth century the delftware was produced, and the more utilitarian the form, the less decoration was generally applied to vessels.

A small number of late eighteen and early nineteenth century ceramics complete the refined earthenware assemblage recovered from Stewart Castle. Among them refined redwares postdating 1763 (n=9), Canaryware (n=1) a yellow glazed pearlware from the 1790s, and a yellow bodied ceramic unimaginatively named yelloware (n=2) which was not produced until the 1830s. This last waretype is the only ceramic that truly postdates the Stewart occupation at Stewart Castle.

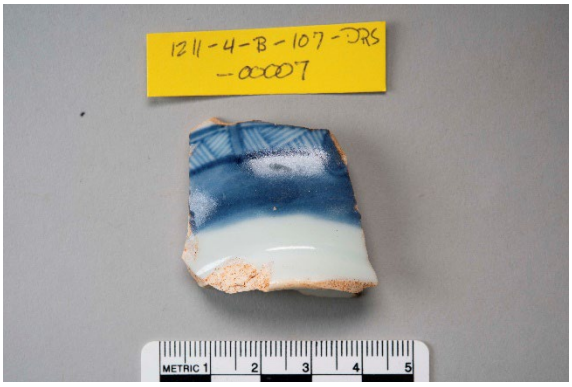

Figure 6.23: Chinese export porcelain fragment.

Turning to the second most frequent material type in the ceramic assemblage, the porcelains (n=291) also demonstrate the materials recovered from the Great house excavations would have been in use during the Stewart's occupation of the Great House. Chinese export porcelains (n=245), popular throughout the long eighteenth century and retaining their value as fashionable goods throughout that time, represent the majority of the porcelain category (Figure 6.23). These ceramics with their long production life,

spanning the seventh, eighteenth and nineteenth century, however, are not as useful in creating discrete temporal periods within the assemblage by dating the material evidence from the excavations.

A small number of English produced porcelains, however, were also present as well and potentially offer a more useful glimpse into periodization of the artifacts. These early English porcelains are termed soft paste for the lower temperatures at which they are fired in comparison to Chinese export porcelain and are defined by a slightly grainer body and dead white body appearance. English potteries only truly began to produce porcelain wares in the mid-eighteenth century, with continued production of these ceramics through the end of the eighteenth century (Owen 2007). While heavily decorated through hand-painting, English soft-paste porcelains are also among the earliest transfer printed wares. These soft paste porcelains transitioned out of production towards the end of the eighteenth century as subsequent developments in the English porcelain industry led to the introduction of bone-china in the 1790s and hard paste porcelain became increasingly available in the early nineteenth century.

Figure 6.24: Fluted and gilt edged English bone china vessel.

Archaeological recognition of English soft paste porcelains has traditionally been complicated due to both valid reasons, the small size of fragments and the decoration present on them, and less complimentary reasons, lack of attention to the detail of archaeological porcelain fragments during analysis (Jellico and Hunter 2007). The current study struggled with the former issues, but at least attempted to grapple with the porcelain fragments by demarcating sherds which displayed grainy paste texture, transfer printing (not present on Chinese export porcelains of the period), and surface color variation. As a result, three sherds of English soft paste porcelain, three of English bone china (Figure 6.24), and nine of continental or English hard paste porcelain were identified within the assemblage. In addition, a further thirty two sherds of porcelain were assigned to a category of "porcelain, unid." This designation is used to distinguish them from Chinese export porcelains, but because of lack of information about pattern or complete decoration, they were not assigned to soft, hard or bone categories of European production. Nevertheless, the transfer patterns of several of these pieces tend to appear like the designs such as Two Temples and Blue Willow which were popular on a variety of ceramics in the last decade of the eighteenth century (Figure 6.25).

Figure 6.25: Transfer printed English porcelain.

Following porcelains, stonewares comprised the next largest group of ceramics recovered at Stewart Castle (n=173). Given the prominence of refined earthenwares in the assemblage, it is perhaps not surprising that the majority of the stoneware assemblage (n=103) is comprised of white salt glazed stoneware, which was the immediate precursor to creamware for much of the second and third quarter of the eighteenth century. White salt glazed stoneware first came to market in the 1720s, but was largely confined to hollow forms. The introduction of plaster of Paris into the Staffordshire potting industry in the 1740s, however, revolutionized the production of White salt glaze ceramics. The plaster enabled the potteries to create quick, efficient, cheap, standardized molds for the pressing of flatwares and the slipcasting of delicate hollowwares in the stoneware clay. This process resulted in an explosion of molded forms of decoration on these ceramics, which quickly became fashionable objects for consumption throughout the Anglo-colonial empire (Figure 6.26).

Figure 6.26: White salt glazed stoneware plate with Barley press molded decoration.

Figure 6.27: Black basalt stoneware, teaware (coffee) lid.

Other more delicate waretypes of stoneware were also recovered from the site which date well into the last quarter of the eighteenth century. For example, black basalt (Figure 6.27) (n=16), which was first developed by Wedgewood in the decade of 1750 but retained popularity through the beginning of the nineteenth century particularly for tea services, and a yellow bodied refined stoneware (n=4), likely representing Wedgewood's caneware which was not produced in salable quantities until 1787 (Hilyard 2005: 137). In contrast, a single sherd Nottingham brown stoneware, which had largely fallen out of favor by 1775, was also recovered from the site. Decoration of these stonewares was largely dependent upon the introduction of the engine turned lathe into the ceramics industry in 1763.

More robust stoneware waretypes, literally those used to form storage vessels and other larger vessels, were found in small quantities at the site. British (n=30) and Fulham type (n=11) stoneware were both produced for the entirety of the eighteenth century, as was the German produced Westerwald (n=3).

The latest stoneware recovered at Stewart Castle was several fragments of Bristol Glazed stoneware bottles (n=4). Dating to the 1830s, these bottles often termed ginger beer bottles, would have postdated the Stewart occupation of the household.

The last category of ceramic recovered from the excavation at the Great House was coarse earthenware (n=96). Of these the majority (n=39) were locally potted Jamaican coarse earthenwares, which were roughly evenly divided between those produced through hand building and those produced by wheel throwing. A variety of redwares (n=34), slipwares produced in the North Midlands or Staffordshire regions (n=12), unidentified coarse earthenwares (n=10), and Iberian storage jar (n=1) completed the assemblage. It is likely all of these waretypes were forms most useful in the preparation and storage of foods and goods within the household.

An examination of the wareypes recovered from the site has offered an opportunity to demarcate a clear sense of temporality of the ceramic assemblage. There are clearly waretypes such as white salt glaze, cauliflower, Wedgewood green, Whieldon-type, Nottingham stoneware, and possibly some of the delftwares which likely would have been among the ceramics first brought to the Stewart castle household upon its establishment in 1754. Indeed, since the creamware at the site could not have been purchased any earlier than 1762 and the pearlware before 1775, there is clearly a preponderance of ceramics from the third and fourth quarter of the eighteenth century that comprise the bulk of the assemblage at Stewart Castle. Finally, there are some wareypes which were exclusively available in the nineteenth century such as whiteware.

More than just temporal information, the ceramic assemblage also contains information regarding the kind of activities the Stewarts choose to undertake through the usage of ceramics within the Great House through an analysis of forms present within the assemblage. Ceramic form is often difficult to assess at the sherd, or fragment, level unless a truly diagnostic element of a vessel is present. Conversely, ascribing all ceramic sherds to an "unidentified" form category results in a flattening of the analytic value of this material class. For example, it is difficult to tell a teabowl from a teacup at the sherd level (the distinction being the presence of a handle on the latter), but it is very easy to distinguish between a teabowl sherd and a plate or chamberpot based on characteristics of the individual sherd such as thickness and curvature. For this reason, the protocols used in this project attempt to account for this knowledge through the usage of mid-level form terms which reflect broad classifications of the functional usage of ceramics in tea service, at the dining table, and as utilitarian wares associated with preparation, storage, and hygiene. These categories also speak directly to the kinds of functions to which ceramics were put to work in eighteenth century households.

Functional Groups	Sherd Count	Percent of Total
Tableware	1639	46.82%
Teaware	194	5.54%
Unidentifiable	1551	44.30%
Utilitarian	117	3.34%
Grand Total	**3501**	**100.00%**

Table 6.3: Ceramic functional groups at Stewart Castle.

Breaking down the recovered sherds in this fashion (Table 6.3) results in a clear preponderance of tablewares at the site, distantly followed by teaware and utilitarian forms, among the approximately half the assemblage for which form information could be assessed.

A detailed discussion of all the forms summarized in the table has limited value in the current project, but nevertheless, a limited discussion of some of these broader categories and a few specific forms may prove useful for subsequent discussions of the household's activities and consumption choices. Dining and drinking were important parts of Jamaican sociality, with social occasions among the planter class often revolving around food and drink. Lady Nugent, wife of the Jamaican governor in the early nineteenth century noted of the Jamaican planters, "for they really eat like cormorants and drink like porpoises" while touring the island and planter's great houses with her husband (Nugent 1839: 196).

Tableware is a term used to encompass ceramic forms which primarily would have been used at the dining table, or in activities associated with eating and drinking directly in relationship to these social occasions (Table 6.4). Eighteenth century dining was extensively regulated, and fine dining of the style for social events would have required table settings comprised of a diversity of wares for both the individual diner and for serving the table. Plates are well represented within the collection, but it is the specialized serving vessels which help to confirm the style of high dining cuisine available within the household. Platters would have been available for the serving of a variety of roasted and sauteed dishes. Fragments of strainers are present within the

assemblage, and while the name conjures images of liquid dishes, these strainers were matched insets for platter dishes upon which meats and fish might be served and held out of their own juices even while sitting on the table during long services (Figure 6.28). Tureens would have held not just soups, but also sauces prepared to accompany these other dishes set on the table. Indeed, several of the "serving vessel, unid." fragments in the site assemblage likely represent elements of tureens, particularly handles, and demonstrate the diversity of waretypes in which this form is present in the assemblage (Figure 6.29).

Vessel Forms	Sherd Count	Percent of Tablewares
Bowl	16	0.98%
Bowl, punch	2	0.12%
Drinking Pot	1	0.06%
Jug	1	0.06%
Mug/Can	19	1.16%
Pitcher/Ewer	2	0.12%
Plate	39	2.38%
Platter	25	1.53%
Serving Dish, unid.	21	1.28%
Strainer	2	0.12%
Tureen	1	0.06%
Unid: Tableware	1510	92.13%
Grand Total	**1639**	**100.00%**

Table 6.4: Tableware vessels at Stewart Castle

Figure 6.28: Pearlware shell edged strainer insert.

Figure 6.29: Chinese porcelain tureen handle.

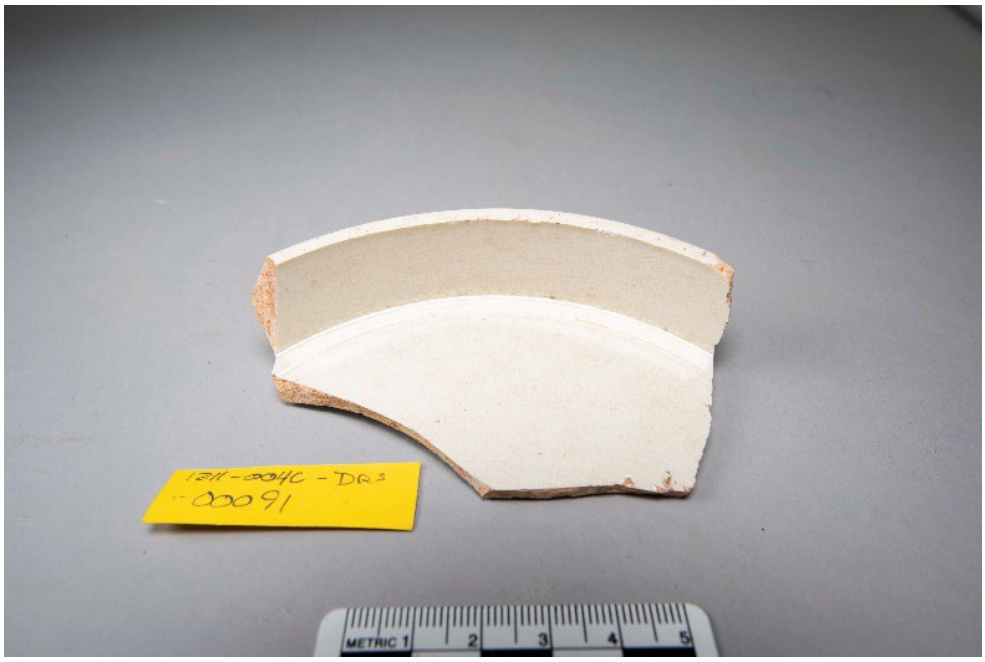

Figure 6.30: Creamware punchbowl base

Drinking alcoholic beverages was also a key part of Jamaican sociability, as has been seen in the discussion of the glass assemblage at Stewart Castle. The household also clearly invested in ceramics associated with drink over its lifetime as well. Evidence for this focus on alcoholic, social drinking can most clearly be seen in the presence of punch bowls within the assemblage (Figure 6.30). The small number of the definitive attribution of punch bowl is the result of the sherd, or fragment, level analysis undertaken in this project. Punch bowls came in a great variety of sizes in the eighteenth century, from gallons to pints, and as such the attribution of the form type was conservatively applied only to those bowl fragments which were deemed to fall outside the range shared by smaller punch bowls and more utilitarian bowl forms for the table. As a result, it seems almost certain that many of the "bowl" forms represented in the assemblage may have been used in drinking. The mugs and cans similarly performed dual roles for the

Figure 6.31: Chinese porcelain saucer.

consumption of alcoholic and non-alcoholic drinks within the household for occasions both of private and public dining. Specific forms in the assemblage were clearly show that all sociality within the household was not expressed through imbibing alcoholic drinks.

Vessel Form	Sherd Count	Percentage of Teawares
Saucer	11	5.67%
Teabowl	5	2.58%
Teapot	4	2.06%
Unid: Teaware	174	89.69%
Grand Total	**194**	**100.00%**

Table 6.5: Teaware vessel form at Stewart Castle.

Tea drinking was a separate event from dining and drinking alcoholic beverages, but was just as central to social interaction in the eighteenth century (Table 6.5). The ceremony of tea preparation, drinking, and cleaning was a proscribed series of events which were familiar across the globe. Water was boiled, usually in a metal kettle, tea leaves were taken from the tea caddy where they were stored and placed into the ceramic teapot. Hot water was poured into the pot and the tea was allowed to steep. Tea was then served to individuals in small handleless cups, called tea bowls, and a strainer may have been used to remove loose tea leaves as it was poured from the pot. Saucers could certainly be used, but equally may not (Figure 6.31). Similarly, cream or sugar could be added to the tea during serving. When a cup of tea was finished a drinker would use a slop or waster bowl to pour out the dregs of the cup, hot kettle water might be used to wash the cup as well, and unless the drinker had signaled they wanted no more to drink, by turning their cup over, the cup would be refilled. Most importantly, the tea ceremony as a social event was generally hosted by women within the household, though both genders partook in the event, and the social interactions at the tea table were an occasion to display civility and manners among social peers.

Vessel Form	Sherd Count	Percent of Utilitarian
Bottle	11	9.40%
Chamberpot	25	21.37%
Drug Jar/Salve Pot	2	1.71%
Gaming Piece	3	2.56%
Jar	1	0.85%
Milk Pan	2	1.71%
Storage Jar	3	2.56%
Unid: Utilitarian	70	59.83%
Grand Total	**117**	**100.00%**

Table 6.6: Utilitarian vessel forms at Stewart Castle.

It is interesting that utilitarian forms are so minimally present at the Great House (Table 6.6). Utilitarian forms as the name suggests were primarily used in activities such as food preparation or storage, and this is reflected in most of the forms within this category: bottles, jars, milkpans, and utilitarian: unid. As such these vessels generally are not heavily used outside the kitchen environment with the exception of chamberpots. While classed as utilitarian in nature, chamberpots were essential for the hygiene and bodily routine of an eighteenth-century household. Placed within the context of a great house, however, they also speak directly to the kind of bodily labor conducted by enslaved domestic workers within the household. Also contained within this category are form types previously discussed such as drug jars and gaming pieces, which likely reflect healthcare and leisure activities within the household respectively.

Spatial Patterning and Evidence of Activity Differentiation

One of the primary avenues pursued by archaeological studies of household domestic economy has traditionally focused on evidence of activity areas (Armstrong 1991; Delle 1998; Bon-Harper 2010; Delle and Fellows 2019; Bassett 2019; Harris 2020). This term denotes specific areas within the broader archaeological site, where acts of production and consumption took place. Examples include acts of craft production, food preparation, and disposal. How historic occupants subdivided and utilized space within the site (or didn't) to conduct these acts produces interpretable patterns within the archaeological record. Thus interpreting spatial organization and utilization is one way to approach the strategies employed by individuals to negotiate social structures in the past.

Spatial distributional analysis of the assemblage recovered from the STP survey provides a means to explore how the activity areas around the Great House were organized and potentially changed over time.

The STP data are particularly well suited to the creation of interpolated prediction maps of artifact distributions at the site. Arrayed as they are in a stratified grid, and spanning the full extent of the household, the STP data allow for high quality predictive modeling of the artifact distributions between the known data points. The following analysis was conducted using ArcGIS 9.3, and specifically the kriging interpolation methods available within the geostatistical tool set.

Initial maps of artifact distributions at the site demonstrate dense artifact concentrations in the vicinity of the midden, and suggest differentiation of space in regards to disposal activities. This mapping combined with the stratigraphic evidence discussed earlier suggests the accumulation is not sheet refuse in this portion of the site, but rather a specific disposal location. Locationally this pattern makes sense within the plantation household context, as the primary disposal activities appear to be concentrated around the potential kitchen represented by structure 4. As the hub of food preparation, cleaning, and household tasks large amounts of refuse and breakage would be expected in such a location. While concentrations can also be observed near most structures, as well as around exits from the household and courtyard, this feature is seen prominently in distribution mapping using total ceramic counts. Similar patterns can be observed in the distribution patterns of wine bottle glass, another proxy artifact class for general refuse in the eighteenth and nineteenth century.

Aside from highlighting a general differentiation of space within the household, these data may also contribute to our understanding of how labor was used to within the landscape. It is interesting to note that some of the lightest ceramic concentrations throughout the site occur within the courtyard, and that the scatter of refuse present at other exits is absent at the household exit with entry into the courtyard itself. Patterning such as this may be indicative of the maintenance or clearing of space within the courtyard to facilitate a variety of activities.

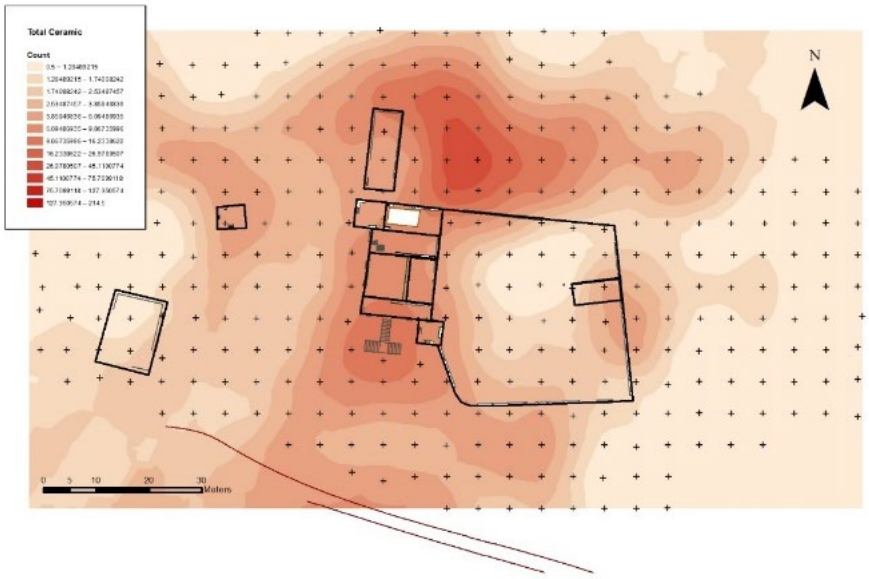

Figure 6.32: Distribution mapping of all ceramic from STPs at Stewart Castle.

Figure 6.33: Distribution mapping of all wine bottle glass from STPs at Stewart Castle.

Figure 6.34: Distribution mapping of all pipe fragments from STPs at Stewart Castle.

An additional artifact class may reinforce the notion that the courtyard space was specifically maintained. While small in number, white clay tobacco pipe stem and bowl fragments show a distinct pattern from the survey data, with concentrations centered on both the northern exit and southern exit from the main house, and fewer fragments near the outbuildings, midden, or courtyard. The presence of these minor concentrations likely speaks to the use of these exits as locations on the periphery of cleared space. However, the lack of material recovered from the house's exit onto the walled courtyard speaks to the differentiation of this space and/or the functions taking place within it.

In summary, it does clearly appear that a pattern of concentrated disposal of refuse and of cleared yard space existed within the Stewart Castle household as it stood in its final iteration of construction. Clearly the household economy was organized in specific fashion, and specifically it is interesting to note that what might be considered traditional "yard" space in comparable studies of enslaved domestic contexts within Jamaica is found at the planters household within the curtained wall of the fortified courtyard.

In previous chapters, I have attempted to demonstrate that the physical arrangement of space at the castle passed through several phases, only the last of which saw the development of the courtyard. I would now turn to an attempt to denote temporal variation in the observed pattern of spatial arrangement of disposal and maintained space.

We can explore this distinction of pattern further by tracing the distribution of temporally sensitive ceramics across the site (Figure 6.35), which may reflect changing use of space and thereby practices and conditions within the household over the course of

two generations. Indeed, if we map out the distributions of early ceramics (wares with production dates before 1762), creamwares (production between 1762-1820), pearlwares (production between 1775-1830), and whitewares (production after 1807) resulting from the survey findings, we do see shifting patterns of disposal at the site. The early ceramics stand out for a concentration in the eastern portion of the site, well away from the midden, and even at a distance from the courtyard wall. This patterning suggests that the household space in this period may not have been fully developed at such an early date in the site's history.

Subsequent ceramics suggest a closer adherence to the final phase site structure. As evidence that the midden and confined yard spaces developed at some point in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, as creamwares and pearlwares both were deposited in great quantities highlighting this spatial patterning. By the early nineteenth century, however, there is potentially a shift in the amount of whiteware being deposited in general, and potentially even the practice of utilizing the midden as the main location of disposal, as concentrations of this waretype can be seen primarily immediately surrounding the house. It is clear from these data that there were temporal shifts in the location of the disposal of refuse within the household.

While these samples are small, distributional analysis of the recovered assemblage from survey indicate changing organization of activity areas and the household economy though spatial practices at the site. Firstly, the analysis clearly shows the segregation of domestic space into maintained yard space and refuse locations. Secondly, it also demonstrates that there were temporal shifts in the discard of similar

types of waste near the house and courtyard. Tentatively, we might conclude the household went from utilizing a wider region for the conduct of household activities along the eastern half of the site in its earliest phases, to a much more confined and tightly regulated series of defined midden and cleared spaces in part defined by the courtyard wall, concluding potentially with a slightly less robust pattern of refuse disposal in the waning years of the household in the early nineteenth century.

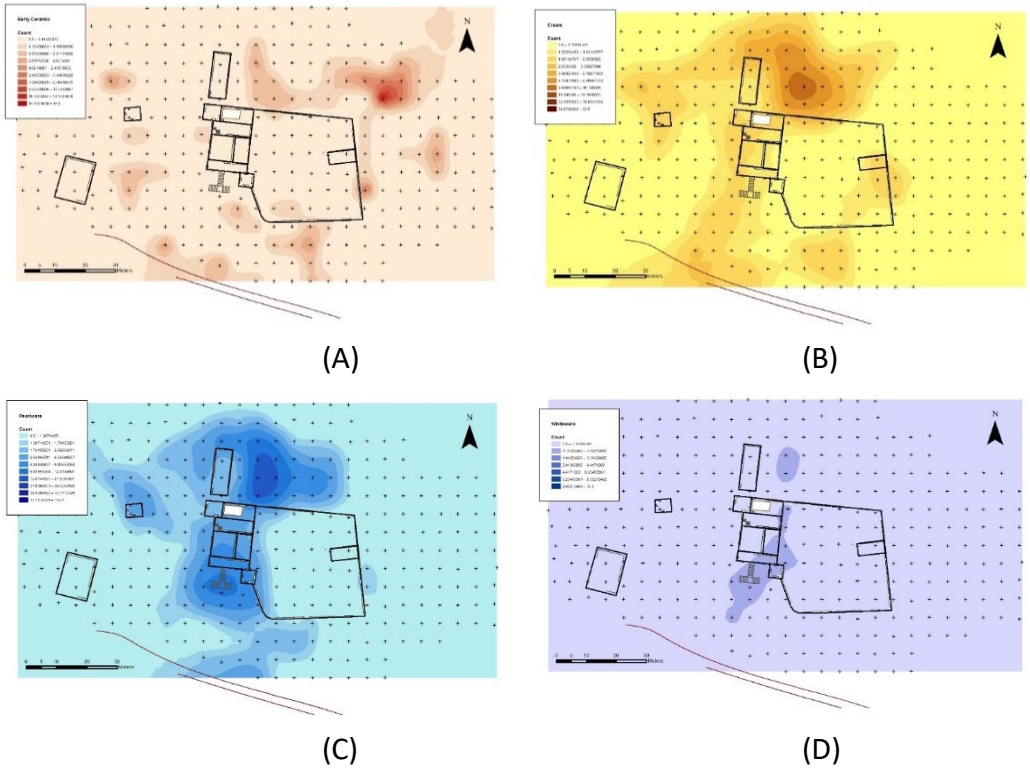

Figure 6.35: Distribution mapping of temporally sensitive ceramics at Stewart Castle.
a) Pre-creamware b) Creamware c) Pearlware d) Whiteware

Representational Uses of Ceramic

Having observed a clear temporal difference in the organization of space over the occupation of Stewart Castle over two generations, it is appropriate to explore whether consumptive patterns within the household changed as well. As the previous review of the complete assemblage from the site highlights, ceramics represent a diverse array of household activities which are linked to both the internal functioning of the household such as food preparation and storage, as well as the integration of the household within broader social networks of peers through participation in activities such as dining/drinking and tea consumption. Moreover, the cresting of the consumer revolution just as planters such as the Stewarts fully developed their plantations along the north coast of Jamaica meant ceramics of this period were freighted with additional social and economic meaning. The purchase of new and fashionable wares would have facilitated the use of style to signal their social and economic position within society. Thus, the wide array of ceramic wares found across the site ceramics indicate social signaling both through representational style and performance. While the preceding analysis has focused on a site wide assemblage, the following section will turn to a more discrete analysis of the midden layers to facilitate an examination of change or continuity in these areas over time within the household.

Ceramic Decoration Patterning from Midden

While not a flawless measure, the frequency and complexity of ceramic decoration has been proved to be a useful means of comparing the relative expense of ceramic assemblages (Miller 1980, 1991). One particular scaling method as applied

previously in the Caribbean has been a decorative class-based scaling calculation (Kelly 1989, Bassett 2019). In this method, different decorative methods are classed into groups designated as undecorated, minimally decorated, hand painted, and transfer printed. Each of these classes represents an increase in the cost of ceramics in the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

By assigning the decorative types recovered from the midden SGs into this system, it is clear the Stewart household increasingly consumed decorative ceramics over time, but with some subtle variation (Table 6.7; Figure 6.36). In particular, we can see the frequency of decorated sherds within the assemblage of each SG appear to be relatively stable from SG001 through SG003, but there are noticable increases in the proportion of decoration in the later SGs, particuarly by SG006. Additonally, within this latter sequence of expansion of decoration, there is a noticable change in the frequency of transfer printed wares over hand painted ones by the household.

Multiplication factor	Decorative Class	Count SG006	Count SG005	Count SG004	Count SG003	Count SG002	Count SG001	Value SG06	Value SG05	Value SG04	Value SG03	Value SG02	Value SG01
3	Hand painted	26	38	41	19	2	0	78	114	123	57	6	0
2	Minimal	54	54	25	19	4	1	108	108	50	38	8	2
4	Transfer printed	165	55	21	1	0	0	660	220	84	4	0	0
1	Undecorated	156	362	157	164	40	11	156	362	157	164	40	11
	Grand Total	401	509	244	203	46	12	1002	804	414	263	54	13
							AVG Value sherd	2.5	1.6	1.7	1.3	1.2	1.1

Table 6.7: Class based decoration analysis.

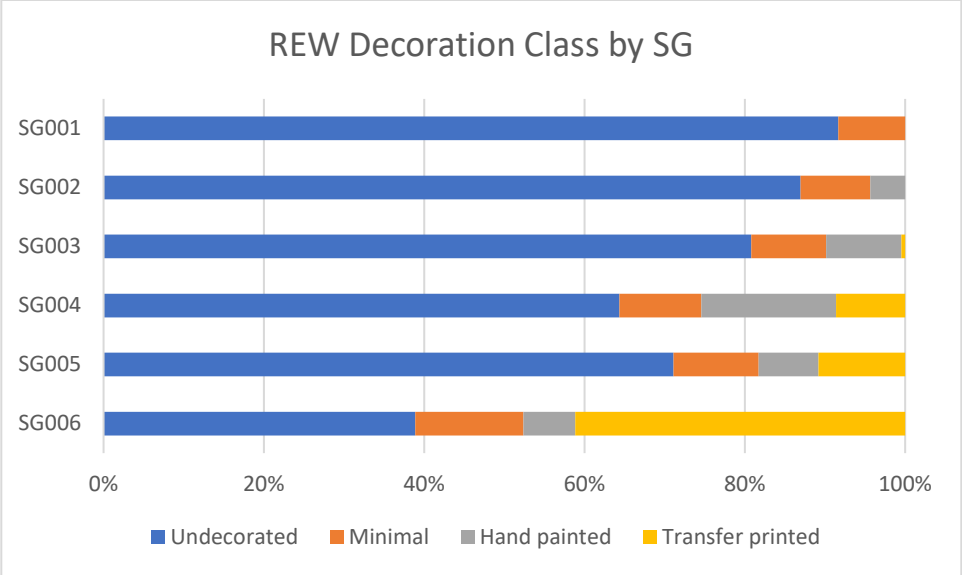

Figure 6.36: Chart of refined earthenware frequency by decorative class.

While relatively simple metric, the class based decorative scaling model can provide "value" estimates for each layer. Values are calculated through the multiplication of a decorative class value (1 through 4) by the sherd count. An average value can then be derived for each SG. As can be seen in the graph the decorative value of the average sherd at Stewart Castle increased dramatically between SG003 and SG006 (Figure 6.37).

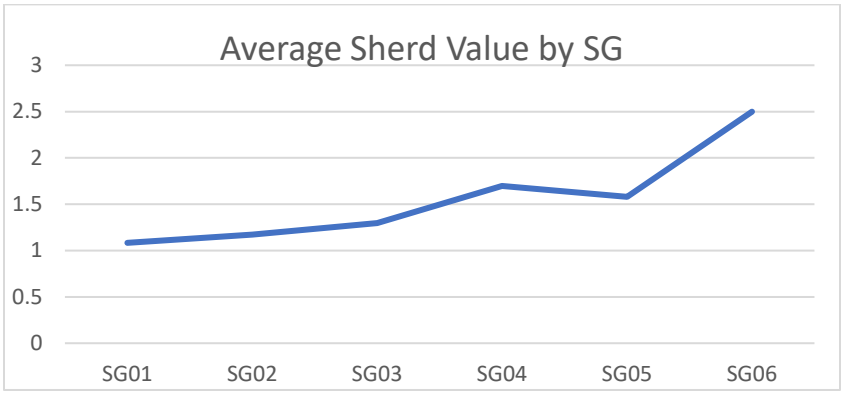

Figure 6.37: Chart of average sherd value by SG.

This pattern of increased investment over time in turn suggests the household placed continual importance attached to the social work such fashionable ceramics could accomplish. While perhaps needing to be tentative in these assertions based on limited testing, mapping these marked moments of increased investment in decorated ceramics onto household history is perhaps suggestive of the work such goods accomplished. For example, SG003 dates to after 1783 based on the presence of transfer printed refined earthenware, and likely reflects some of the first material discarded from the household in the period following the transition between the two generations of Stewart. It is perhaps significant then that there is a noticeable uptick in the prevalence of decorated ceramic frequency in the deposits following this, suggesting James Stewart II had a stronger preference for decorated ceramics. Similarly, the shift from hand painted to transfer decorated wares which occurs between SG003 and SG006 may reflect increasing attention towards staying at the forefront of ceramic decoration trends as represented by the increasing production of transfer printed wares in the early nineteenth century.

Yet, while it seems clear that decorative ceramics increased as a proportion of the assemblages in each of these SGs and that the average cost per sherd similarly appears to have risen over this period, we may not yet have satisfactorily answered the question of whether there was change in investment in ceramics within the household by quantity. In other words, we may not be accounting for the length of time each of these SGs was "available" for deposit, as well as, potentially failing to account for the size of the households depositing these materials. In both of these cases it is possible the later household invested in more highly decorated ceramics with higher average value, but at

the same time drew back on the proportional amount of ceramic consumed within the household.

Abundance Index Patterning from Midden

As a means to measure whether ceramic was consumed in greater quantity over time within the Stewart household, I utilize a metric called an Abundance Index developed by Galle (2006, 2010, 2011, 2017). The index uses the following formula:

$$AI = (Artifact\ Type\ 1) / [(Artifact\ Type\ 1) + (Artifact\ Type\ 2)]$$

The artifact group of interest is the numerator class and it is divided by a denominator comprised of both the class of interest and a second class of artifact for which the discard rate is deemed to be relative base line or constant. Galle's work has demonstrated that wine bottle glass, in the mid-eighteenth through early nineteenth century, is an appropriate denominator class artifact in colonial American (2006, 2010, 2011, 2017) and Caribbean contexts (Bates, Galle, Neiman 2020). Successfully applied, calculated AI values should represent variation in real rates of discard between assemblages.

Plotting the AI values calculated by SG demonstrates that ceramic consumption at Stewart Castle did indeed vary over time (Figure 6.38). Unsurprisingly given how dominant refined earthenwares are within the assemblage as a whole their variation closely matches AI values for all ceramic within the SGs. The overall pattern in these two categories then suggests that there was a marked increase in consumption between SG001 and SG002, followed by a relatively stable level of consumption through SG005. In

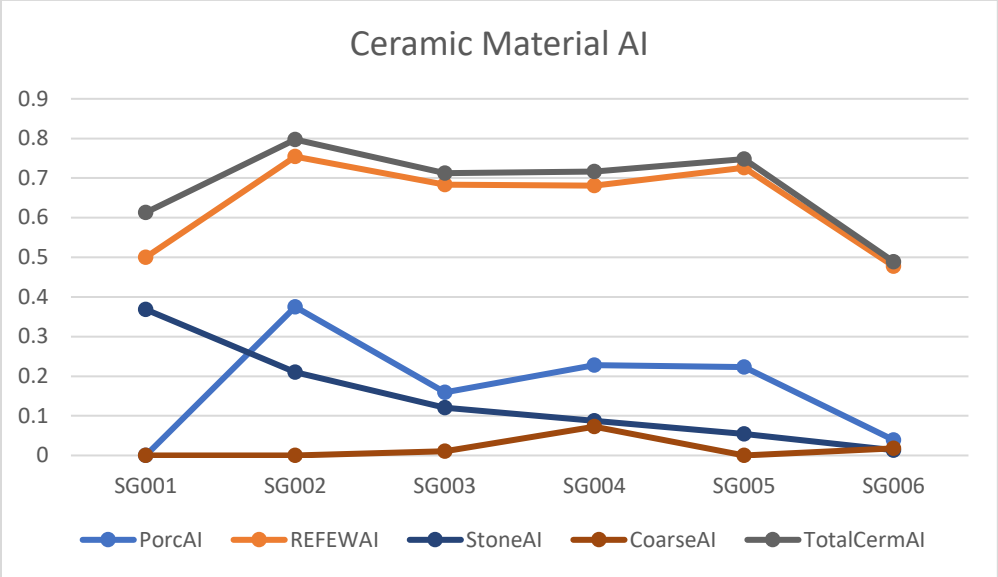

Figure 6.38: Chart of ceramic material abundance index values by SG.

SG006, which was the most highly valued period based on decorative class scaling analysis, we can see a drop off in the rates of ceramic consumption at the site.

While significantly smaller as proportions of the individual assemblages, it is interesting to note the patterns seen in the other ceramic material categories as well. Porcelain, traditionally viewed as a high cost and socially powerful ceramic category, is consumed at its highest levels by SG002 with a dramatic fall off to SG003. It is interesting to note, however, that it does demonstrate a minor increase in SG004 and SG005. A similar bump in consumption of coarse earthenware can be seen in SG004. Conversely, stoneware can be seen to have a constant decline over time falling rapidly off from its high point in SG001. Layering AI values of ceramic form types is helpful in potentially illuminating these variations in material.

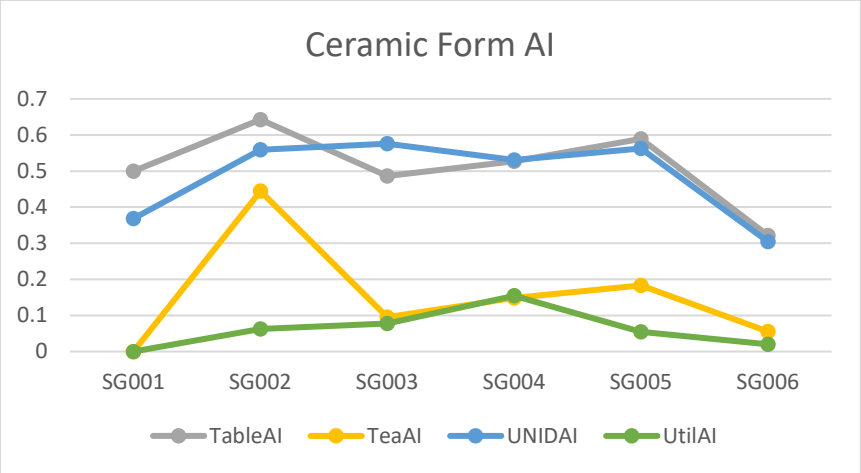

Figure 6.39: Chart of ceramic functional group abundance index values by SG.

Using the broad form categories of tablewares, teawares, utilitarian wares, and unidentified, it is apparent these closely parallel trends seen in ceramic material (Figure 6.39). Tableware is among the most highly consumed ceramics at the site over time, but with a rapid decline in SG006. Similarly, teawares appear to undergo two periods of increasing consumption, between SG001 and SG002 as well as between SG003 and SG005, before declining in consumption by the last SG. Utilitarian ware consumption at the site demonstrates a peak of consumption in SG004.

These results indicate that there was indeed a great deal of variation in the consumption of ceramics within the household over the course of the period reflected by the midden assemblage. Initial interpretation suggests that socially powerful ceramics such as porcelain and teawares were consumed at their highest levels in SG002 indicating a heavy investment in displaying social status in this period. While consumed at lesser rates these ceramics were still apparently important components of household consumption in the period between SG003 and SG005 as their consumption tends to rise

or remain level throughout that period. A similar pattern can be observed in the role of tablewares within the household. It is interesting to note, however, that utilitarian ware consumption rates reach their highest in SG004, which might suggest either an increased need for vessels in aid of food production or for the health and hygiene of a larger household. Regardless, SG006 saw a marked decrease in the consumption of ceramics across all categories suggesting in the latest period the household was unable or chose not to invest in ceramic consumption to levels comparable to earlier periods. Combining these AI values with the analysis of decorative cost per sherd suggests while the household generally consumed lesser quantities of ceramic over time, the Stewarts appear to have selectively invested in more highly decorated, and more expensively decorated, ceramics over the course of the lifetime of the household.

Discussion:

In summary, the preceding chapter explored Stewart Castle as a domestic unit by deploying the same models and approaches which have been applied to investigations of enslaved households in the Caribbean since Armstrong first discussed Drax Hall (1990). Functional grouping analysis has offered a roadmap for the kinds of activities conducted within the household. Among the most relevant evidence is a clear diversity of materials associated with multiple groups of individuals within the household. Perhaps unsurprisingly, recovered artifacts speak directly to multiple genders, multiple ages, and multiple statuses (enslaved and enslaver) within the household. There is also evidence of a diversity of activities associated with the daily lived experience among this heterogenous domestic unit with materials related to healthcare, leisure and games, and

commerce. Particularly relevant for the proposed project, however, are items that speak to a household concern with security and with expressions of identity through style.

The security focused objects clearly reinforced the spatial arrangement of the architecture at Stewart Castle, influencing the flow of people and material within the household and speaking to the violent nature of its defense. Historical evidence from the 1816 robbery of the household suggest these manifestations of surveillance were not complete, and the precarious nature of the positionality of the planter class was always in question even within the Castle's walls. In this sense, while it appears likely the Stewart's attempted to impose strategic practices to foster security, these strategic practices did not go unchallenged in the course of daily life within the home, and the tenuous, if not extremely real, power of the planter class can be seen to be exposed.

Similarly, while occurring earlier than 1816, the development and regulation of yard space may speak to an attempted imposition of strategic practices of spatialized control. Based on temporally sensitive ceramics, it is clear disposal patterns at the site, and therefore the movements of the laborers within the household, became increasingly concentrated in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Similarly, the distribution patterns of waste and pipes, outside the boundary of the courtyard walls, and their absence within, are indicative of an attempt to create a landscape segregated by activity and reflecting areas of labor. Both of these speak to an attempt to watch laboring population more closely, or place them in more defined and less liminal landscapes.

Conversely, there appears to be some evidence which might be interpreted as tactical in the consumption of ceramic within the household over time. In the earliest

period, perhaps reflecting the assemblages present in the household during James I's lifetime, or the very earliest periods of James II ownership, there is a clear preference for the materials that signal wealth and status, Chinese porcelains, and socially geared ceramics, like teawares. At this earliest period in the household's material record therefore, we observe a preference for the consumption of goods which are traditionally associated with displaying and justifying membership through repeated and localized social interaction. It would seem the high number of these goods, particularly as this earliest household is the smallest one by all current accounts, indicate these signals were likely geared towards a local circle of planters. As time goes on, and perhaps not unrelated to James II's own increasing political and social power, these materials become less heavily consumed, though certainly are still important to the household's daily practices. Moreover, while quantities decline, the pattern observed in consumption suggests a doubling down on the costlier, and most stylish, decoration on these smaller number of ceramics. This focus on the newest goods produced in Britian, may indicate a tactical practice on the part of the family to reinforce an identity tied to modern sensibilities. In the representational war of the fall of the planter class, this adherence to modern Britishness may suggest an attempt to alleviate or refute metropolitan attacks on creole planter identity.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

On August 11th, 1824 James Stewart II, newly returned to the colony, took up his seat as judge of the Court of the Quarter Sessions held in Trelawny parish after nearly four years absence from Jamaica. The assembled members of the Grand Jury concluded their service that day by formally addressing the returned Custos. Firstly, they cast their eyes backwards to express their gratitude for, and one suspects to remind him as well of, his long years of service to the community of resident property holders:

> "We, the Grand Jury, on the present occasions, beg leave sincerely to congratulate your Honour on your return to your native Parish, and being again placed at the head of its Magistracy a situation you before so long filled with the greatest honor and credit to yourself and the satisfaction to this community."

But, they then continued their address by casting their eyes forward towards their political present and future, as these white, propertied, Trelawny men saw it:

> "We the more appreciate your Honor's return among us at this critical period, when Gentlemen of your well-tried zeal and ability are so much required in such stations, to counteract the machinations of our inveterate foes in the Mother country, and their secret emissaries in this island" (Jamaica Journal: 14 August 1824)

In this statement, the colonial, white men of the jury were articulating a vision of themselves as besieged and beleaguered by an unremittent assault perpetrated by foes from the "Mother country." This rhetoric demonstrates a gap of representational identity between metropole and colony, and clearly speaks to the growing divide between the two within the colonial discourse of the of the early nineteenth century.

It is clear, however, it was not just colonials who deployed this rhetoric, and indeed this representational space was in part opened through the anti-slavery campaigns of the preceding five decades. A similar rhetorical otherization can clearly be seen in the admonition of the House of Assembly by the royal governor, the Duke of Manchester, just two months later in 1824. The Duke informed the legislature that he had received instructions from the home government to request that the Jamaican assembly take up specific measures for the amelioration of the condition of the island's enslaved population. In this statement the metropolitan interest frames members of the plantocracy in opposition to the principles of humanitarianism and liberalism and suggests such positionality places such actors outsides the bounds of British identity. In his address Manchester communicated:

> "…the serious disappointment which his majesty's government will experience, if, unfortunately for their best interests, as well as for the cause of humanity, the house should reject the substance of the regulations now proposed to them – regulations which have received the unqualified sanction of parliament, and the general approbation of the empire." (JHA 1824: 263)

These paired statements suggest the outlines of the established historiographic narrative that the reality of a gap between metropolitan and "white creole" identity had become cemented in the minds of contemporary actors by the third decade of the nineteenth century. Colonial whites embraced (an)other identity as means to consolidate their socio-political power in the contest over the maintenance of their control over black bodies. Moreover, the metropole increasing sought to erode the political power and positionality of the plantocracy within the colonial administration.

This split was both a product of long term economic and policy changes brought on by the weakened power of the West Indian sugar economies, and the perceived sword of Damocles the practice of slavery represented for the British Empire in the age of revolution. The nearly five decades of conflict beginning with the American War for Independence damaged the economic power of the West Indian colonies and, by disrupting the transatlantic and inter-colonial trade networks, increasing the costs of militarily securing colonial possessions in the Caribbean. Such shifts occasioned both the diminishment of the West Indian lobby's influence over colonial policy, and also hastened the influence of Parliamentary factions which sought to implement policies which attacked both the transatlantic slave trade and the practice of slave ownership on moral and ethical grounds. Leaders such as Wilberforce campaigned to end the slave trade in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, by reviving ethical and religious arguments against the practice of slave holding. Even for those non-Saintly metropolitan policy makers, they were increasingly prioritized resolving conflicting policy within the growing Atlantic Empire in the possession of Britain as the Napoleonic Wars came to a close. This was the political situation to which Stewart himself returned in 1824, but it was merely the culmination of a political challenge to the plantocracy which had been present since the 1780s. In response to these rising political challenges to planter authority in this period termed the fall of the planter class, the material evidence of the Stewart household suggests this planter family deployed numerous and flexible practices over time to secure and maintain their control over power within a society which was undergoing radical reshaping by external social forces.

The architecture of the household clearly demonstrates changes over time in the dynamics of both spatial and representational aspects. We know that the first household at the site was significantly simpler than the ultimate construction. It was a minimalist house form, consisting of a single block, without readily apparent or extensive division of space on the first or second floors. Additionally, while the issue of the privy tower remains unresolved, the original house itself appears to have few to no defensive features, with an absence of loopholes or large cross bars present at the exterior openings. The second iteration of the household is far more complex, greatly expanding both the square footage and the functional divisions of space with a new focus on visible security features. Yet, it is also clear these changes occurred in tandem with an aesthetic focus on creating a symmetrical style for both the household facades and the extension of the household into the landscape through the use of central eastern walkway. While the defensive features of the house are undeniable (towers, gun loops, a cellar) in the second period, it is clear they were deemed insufficient for the purposes of the household by the third phase of construction. Indeed, this final phase of construction saw a radical reconfiguration of the planned landscape at Stewart Castle when the courtyard wall and its attendant service building clearly cut through the previous eastern walk and its associated landscape. That this was not just a periodic shift in style or taste for landscape configuration is supported by the fact that the previous aesthetic of the east and north facades of the house were thrown over for a final household addition with even more formidable security-based features, such as cross barred exterior doorways and interior cisterns for the hording of water.

I suggest what we see here is evidence that the intentionality of the planter class was always tenuous and equally open to interruption by external factors, for while there is a trend whereby the household at Stewart Castle increasingly became more security conscious between 1754 and 1799, this was a not linear or singularly focused process with a singular intentionality. While the second phase of construction at the site did have a focus on the appearance of fortification, this effort was not necessarily at the cost of participating in a form of Georgian style architecture which dominated the sensibility of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century in the colony and within the metropole. While security, or the appearance of security, was a factor in the design and construction of phase 2, it is clear it was not the only, or perhaps even the most important, intention. Indeed, the creole features of phase 2 and the clear emphasize on symmetry suggest the Stewart household was participating in both localized and broader trans- and circum-Atlantic Georgian architectural tradition. In fact, the transition from phase 2 to phase 3 of the structure can be understood to be the stark shift of goal in the household's final iteration rather than a minor continuation of an established trend. The sacrifice of the symmetry of the eastern façade and the severance of the eastern walk and its associated landscape, marks a radical departed from the investment of design established in phase 2, and marks a discontinuity in the use of architecture at the household based solely on the intentionality of the planter residents.

At the same time, preliminary spatial evidence from the yards suggest changes in the architecture were also reflected in changes in the organization of yard space in which household activities took place. It is very clear a more diffuse pattern of deposition

throughout the eastern yard was practiced earliest in the household's history. This pattern shifted with the establishment of the Kitchen (Structure #4) at some point in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, when more concentrated disposal patterns were practiced by utilizing the midden by this outbuilding. The end of the household's lifespan in the first quarter of the nineteenth century saw a possible further contraction of disposal patterns at the site, though it is possible these patterns also reflect a diminishment of the quantity of material within the household and potentially attention to clearing material from the household itself.

This pattern of concentration of household activity areas likely is strongly linked to the pattern observed in the architectural sequence. Just as defensiveness came to supersede the other goals of architecture at the site, the concentration of activity areas may represent a trend towards the imposition of greater control over those activities and presumably the laborers conducting them. This is perhaps best seen in the last phase of Stewart Castle when it is clear the interior of the courtyard space served as a "yard" in the period following the erection of the enclosing wall. It was kept clear of debris which almost certainly was swept or physically removed from this area. Such yard spaces are likely to have accommodated a variety of household work by the enslaved population forced to labor within the Great House during the height of activity in the late eighteenth century. Likewise, the yard itself was intervisible and interconnected to highly trafficked rooms of the Great House, ensuring visibility of the laborers within that space. In general, we can assert the pattern of household activity at the site moved from more widely scattered to increasingly concentrated within defined spaces presumably with a

concomitant increase in the surveillance of these actions by all members of the household, but presumably with a focus on oversight by those with structural positions of power within the household.

Current evidence suggests that in the period between 1754 and 1799 architecture was deemed an important arena for the use of material culture for the household, but that its role as a representational arena may have diminished over this period. Attempting to tie these changes at Stewart Castle to specific historical moments must be somewhat tentative, but while it is difficult to define specific years of these alterations, it seems beyond reasonable to assert that James II was responsible for the alterations of Phase 3, if not also Phase 2, within the household between 1784 and 1799. In this period, Stewart appears to have allowed architectures of security to surmount aesthetic designs of earlier periods, suggesting household architecture was serving a more functional purpose in the latter eighteenth century. The lack of further household modification, while certainly influenced by economic issues, suggests the Phase 3 plan largely answered the needs of domestic organization as established by the planter family throughout the remainder of Stewart's occupation of the household.

Combining our understanding of architectural change and the patterns of activity areas at the site, I assert that in the late eighteenth century/early nineteenth century architecture appears to have been configured to further the surveillance of household labor, and appears to have segregated the landscape into zones of household interior, an closely monitored zone of extra-household space for the conduct of labor, and a broader landscape outside the courtyard wall. There is some irony that this method of household

spatial organization closely mirrors patterns observed in excavations focused on the development of enslaved household patterns in Jamaica. In summary then, the spatialized practices expressed at Stewart Castle over time suggest a successful, or at least tenable, pattern of household organization in the era of the fall of the planter class was one that largely stopped investment in broader shared architectural trends, a Jamaican Georgian style, in favor of segregated, observable, and presumably defensible landscapes.

Just as security and activity areas demonstrate variation in household practice, another key arena for the use of material culture to perform representational practices, household consumption, indicates investment in changing goals over this same period. Most broadly, evidence from the site suggests materials strongly associated with signaling economic success, such as Chinese porcelain, and fostering communal bonds between members of the same social status and class, such as teawares, were most important in the earliest period represented in the midden feature. As pervious scholarship has suggested that tea drinking and the display and use of porcelain are practices deployed by individuals or households seeking to integrate into or reinforce their connections within a social class, this shift away from these goods might suggest a decline in the propensity or need for the household to participate in localized practices of sociality within the home in this period. That this choice was an active one would seem to be confirmed by the relative stability with which the household continued to consume ceramics as whole in the following periods examined, until the last period observed.

The nature of the alternate consumptive choice is difficult to assert with complete confidence. For example, several factors might be at play including the redirection of

resources to other areas of household expenditure, be it physical household expansion or investment in the means of production, or a general decline in the resources available for expenditure on ceramics within the household. Analysis of decoration and cost, however, offer some insight into consumptive choices by the latter period household which suggest there was an active choice made to switch consumptive practices.

While certain categories of ceramics declined in consumption within the household over time generally, proportional investment in decoration and particularly investment in the newest and most expensive forms of decorated ceramics increased over time. The average cost of decorated ceramics within the household greatly increased over the periods examined. Similarly, the increased investment in transfer print decorated ceramics suggests a desire to express currency with trans-Atlantic trends of consumption. Such choices indicate that continuing to signal affiliation with modern metropolitan taste was important in the household.

This study does not seek to refute the existence or vehemence of the representational war between colony and metropole in the period between the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Rather, I hope it helps maps out some of the diversity of responses deployed by members of that colonial white creole plantocracy to hold onto power in the face of new challenges to their authority within that racialize plantation-based society. Indeed, recognizing that both tactical and strategy practices were explored by planters such as the Stewarts hopefully provides a starting point for further investigation and deconstruction into the methods utilized by the powerful within unequal societies in moments of stress and calls for change.

Summary

This project contributes to a broader study of the persistence of white supremacy from the period of slavery through contemporary society. To fully understand the structuring of whiteness and white supremacy, I argue for the need to return to an examination of the powerful. The historical fields have done much over the preceding four decades to illuminate the methods of resistance to supremacy, but comparatively little to disentangle the methodology by which that system sustained itself in the face of a sustained and multidimensional history of resistance. In the period of late-stage slavery, this means turning our analytical gaze once again towards planters.

I argue by focusing on this powerful group of planters, we will be able to disaggregate them as a monolithic group acting in singular concert and add complexity to our understanding of the methods by which they reorganized power in moments of challenge to their position. Mapping out a multiplicity of strategies developed, tested, and employed in this fashion accomplishes two tasks. First it highlights the constructed nature of the perpetuation of supremacy, it is constantly morphing and evolving in response to resistance to it. It also denaturalizes the role of supremacy, by emphasizing that it actively was maintained. Secondly, it opens an understanding of alternate strategies and tactics tested and deployed but perhaps not ultimately pursued within historical circumstances. Again, this highlights the provisional and constructed nature of supremacy, it evolves through active manipulation of strategic and tactical responses by those perpetrating it within society. By providing a sense of historical "otherwise" examples, it also enables

modern society to deconstruct and challenge the contemporary deployment of these same strategies.

Placed within the historical episode of the fall of the planter class, this project has defined a multiplicity of strategies and tactics being deployed by resident, but worldly connected, Jamaican planters such as James Stewart II. These strategies and tactics also reflected the heterogeneous quality of planter attempts at reorganizing power within the context of amelioration. While Stewart on one hand appears to have attempted to exert greater surveillance and control over the laborers and members of the household, at the same time, he appears to have maintained a keen eye towards the material markers of modern and refined taste and political connections emanating from the home country. Stewarts attempts to bend a "modern" sensibility to the benefit of reorganizing and resolidifying planter power within the context of increased liberalization demanded by the home government stand in sharp contrast to alternative strategies employed by the planter contemporaries such as the jury noted at the opening of this chapter. While Stewart's death ends this project at the cusp of Emancipation, the project helps illuminate one method deployed in service of perpetuating supremacy.

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JNA Crop Account – Jamaica National Archives Crop Accounts Trelawny 1B/11/4/12

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