

HIS 158C / ANTH 179

**Slavery in the Atlantic World:
Historical and Archaeological Research Methods**

**TuTh 10:00AM-11:45AM
Social Sciences 1 Room 110**



Professor: Greg O'Malley
Office hours: Wednesday 1-3
Office: 220 Stevenson
e-mail: gomalley@ucsc.edu
Phone extension: 9-1426

Professor: J. Cameron Monroe
Office hours: Wednesday 10-12
Office: 321 Soc. Sci. 1
e-mail: jcmunroe@ucsc.edu
Phone extension: 9-3614

This course explores the African Diaspora throughout the Atlantic World that resulted from the transatlantic slave trade, drawing on methodologies from two academic disciplines—history and archaeology. The course will examine key questions about the Diaspora using a wide array of source materials, both written documents and artifacts. What affects did the Atlantic slave trade have on societies within Africa? Who were the captives that populated American slave quarters, and from where in Africa did they originate? What were the living conditions on American plantations? What African cultural elements crossed the ocean with the captives? As the course explores such questions, we will also consider the relative strengths of history and archaeology as approaches to examining the past. What aspects of life can history and archaeology uncover? How can they reinforce or supplement one another? Are they ever in conflict with each other, and if so, what should we do about that?

The format of the class will be a combination of lectures with a lab or discussion section. Each week, one lecture will typically focus on the historical record for a given topic or question, while the other lecture will highlight the archaeological perspective on the same issue. (Some lectures, however, will offer a mix of both history and archaeology.) The lab/section for that week will

ask students to wrestle with the disparate materials of the two disciplines for themselves. In lab/section students will be presented with historical documents or data and archaeological artifacts or data. With this information, students (as individuals, or in mixed groups of history and anthropology majors) will tackle a series of interpretive questions.

IMPORTANT NOTE: This course presumes some background knowledge and coursework in either Atlantic World History or Archaeological Method and Theory. If you have not had any coursework in these fields before, this course is probably **NOT** for you.

Course Requirements

Course requirements include a map quiz, four pop quizzes on material from lectures and readings, 8 lab modules requiring an analysis of historical and/or archaeological data, and a final project that includes both an individual report and a group poster presentation. The map quiz is a simple test to develop geographic literacy for the regions involved in the African Diaspora. The pop quizzes will be basic tests of engagement with assigned readings and attention to course lectures. The weekly modules will require students to apply standard archaeological and historical methods to data and sources provided in class to reach their own conclusions.

For the final research project, all students will collaborate in groups of five on a set of research questions provided by the instructors, using the research methods and sources of data introduced in class. This project will be turned in two parts. First, students will collaboratively produce a poster to be presented in a final poster session during Finals Week. Second, *each* student will write an individual report outlining the project objectives, research methods, and results. This paper should be written in Times New Roman 12-point font, and be between 10-12 double-spaced pages (not including figures, tables). The paper should make use of appropriate primary and secondary sources, and should include a full bibliography (not included in page length). Finally, each student will add an addendum (1-2 pages) assessing the efficacy of the group's collaboration and the contributions of group members. Further details on the posters and papers will be given by the instructors.

Discussion sections for this class will be held in the Anthropology teaching lab (Social Sciences 1, Room 317). Discussion sections will be managed by the course Teaching Assistant. Discussion sections are mandatory and you must enroll in one section to remain in the course. In section, you will be working through structured data sets and exercises. For each module, there will be a set of additional readings indicated. These must be completed before coming to section. Completion of assigned modules will **require** full attendance in section. The discussion section times are as follows:

- Section 1 – Friday, 9:00-10:10 am
- Section 2 – Friday, 10:30-11:40 am
- Section 3 – Friday, 12:00 am – 1:10 pm
- Section 4 – Friday, 1:30-2:40 pm

Grade Breakdown:

Map Quiz	5%
Section Attendance and Participation	10%
8 Modules	25%
4 Pop Quizzes	20%
Final Report	25%
Final Poster	15%

Academic Integrity:

All students enrolled in this course are expected to follow the University's standards of academic integrity. Violation of these standards includes cheating, fabrication, and plagiarism. Academic dishonesty is a major infraction of the University's Code of Conduct and may result in failing the course, formal disciplinary review in your College, and suspension or dismissal from the University. Students in this course are expected to complete their own work, and to avoid plagiarism by proper and appropriate citation of sources (readings, lectures, videos) in all written work. If you need more information on what constitutes plagiarism or on due process in academic dishonesty cases, please contact your instructor/TA or consult UCSC's Academic Integrity Web site

(http://www.ucsc.edu/academics/academic_integrity/undergraduate_students/).

Disabilities / Accommodations:

If you qualify for classroom accommodations because of a disability, please get an Accommodation Authorization from the Disability Resource Center (DRC) and submit it to the instructors in person outside of class (e.g., office hours) within the first two weeks of the quarter. Contact DRC at 459-2089 (voice), 459-4806 (TTY), or <http://drc.ucsc.edu> for more information on the requirements and/or process.

Required Readings:

There is one required book for the class:

- John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1800*

All other required readings (around 50) are available on-line in the Resources folder on eCommons (<https://eCommons.ucsc.edu/>) and are listed by lecture in the Course Schedule (below).

[**Note:** Read assignments **BEFORE** associated lecture and weekly discussion sections]

Additional Resources:

These resources will be particularly useful as you begin to develop your research papers.

- African American Archaeology, History and Cultures Webpage:
 - <http://www.anthro.uiuc.edu/faculty/cfennel/bookmark3.html>
- African-American Archaeology Newsletter
 - <http://www.newsouthassoc.com/newsletters/AfAmNewsletter.html>
- Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database
 - <http://www.slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces>

Course Schedule

UNIT 1: INTRODUCTION TO THE FIELD

Week 1: Course Introduction

Tuesday, March 31st: Introduction to the Course

- Thornton, Introduction and Ch 1

Thursday, April 2nd: Doing African Diaspora Research

- Fennell, Christopher. "Early African America: Archaeological Studies of Significance and Diversity." *Journal of Archaeological Research* 19.1 (2011): 1-49.

Friday, April 5th - Discussion Section: Introduction to Sections

UNIT 2: WEST AFRICA AND THE ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE

Week 2: The Cultural Landscape of Atlantic West Africa

Tuesday, April 7th: West Africa and the Atlantic World: An Introduction

- Thornton Ch 2-3
- John Atkins, *A Voyage to Guinea, Brasil, and the West-Indies...*, 149-176
- Thomas Phillips, "Voyage of the *Hannibal*, 1694," in Donnan, ed. *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade*, 398-410.

Thursday, April 9th: The Enslavement Process and Social Change in the African Interior

- Olaudah Equiano, *Interesting Narrative*, chaps. 1 and 2 [pp.31-61 of Penguin ed.]
- Monroe (2014): "Cities, Slavery, and Rural Ambivalence in Precolonial Dahomey." In *The Archaeology of Slavery*.
- Robertshaw and Duncan (2008): "African Slavery: Archaeology and Decentralized Societies," in *Invisible Citizens: Captives and Their Consequences*, pp. 57-80.

Friday, April 10th - Section: *Lab Module 1* – The Enslavement Process in West Africa

Week 3: Measuring the Trade in West Africa

Tuesday, April 14th: African Trade and the Origins of Capitalism ****Map Quiz****

- Thornton Ch 4
- Barbara Solow, "Capitalism and Slavery in the Exceedingly Long Run," in *British Capitalism and Caribbean Slavery* (Cambridge, 1988), 51-78.

Thursday, April 16th: How European Goods Were Incorporated in Africa

- DeCorse (1998): "The Europeans in West Africa: Culture Contact, Continuity and Change." In *Transformations in Africa*, pp. 219-241.
- Kelly (1997): "The archaeology of African-European interaction: investigating the social roles of trade, traders, and the use of space in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Hueda Kingdom, Republic of Bénin." *World Archaeology* 28(3): 351-369.

- Ogundiran (2002): “Of Small Things Remembered: Beads, Cowries, and Cultural Translations of the Atlantic Experience in Yorubaland.” *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 35:2/3, pp. 427-457.

Friday, April 17th - Discussion Section: *Lab Module 2* – The Social Lives of Trade Goods on the Slave Coast

UNIT 3: THE PLANTATION SOCIAL WORLD

Week 4: The Plantation Complex

Tuesday, April 21st: First Half – Guest Lecture by Mark Horton – Bristol Brass and the African Trade; Second Half – The Origins and Ideology of Plantation Settlement Structure

- Thornton Ch. 5
- Epperson (1999): “Constructing Difference: The Social and Spatial Order of the Chesapeake Plantation.” In *“I, Too, Am America.”*
- Armstrong & Kelly (2000): “Settlement Patterns and the Origins of African Jamaican Society: Seville Plantation, St. Ann’s Bay, Jamaica”

Thursday, April 23rd: The Organization of American Plantations

- Thornton Ch. 6
- Justin Roberts, “Working Between the Lines: Labor and Agriculture on Two Barbadian Sugar Plantations,” *William & Mary Quarterly* 63.3 (2006), 551-586
- Samuel Martin, *An Essay Upon Plantership* [1773], 9-14.

Friday, April 24th - Discussion Section: *Lab Module 3* – Discipline and Management on Slave Plantations

Week 5: The Plantation Landscape From the Bottom Up

Tuesday, April 28th: Mobility, Slave Life, and the Limits of Control

- Harriet Jacobs, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*, chaps 1-7, 10-13
- Anthony E. Kaye, *Joining Places: Slave Neighborhoods in the Old South* (UNC Press, 2007), 21-50.

Thursday, April 30th: Creating Social Space within Slave Communities

- Heath and Bennett (2000): “‘The little Spots allow’d them’: The Archaeological Study of African-American Yards.” *Historical Archaeology* 34(2): 38-55.
- McKee (1992): “The Ideals and Realities Behind the Design and Use of 19th Century Virginia Slave Cabins,” in *The Art and Mystery of Historical Archaeology: Essays in Honor of Jim Deetz*.
- Armstrong & Fleishman (2003): “House-Yard Burials of Enslaved Laborers in Eighteenth-Century Jamaica”

Friday May 1st - Discussion Section: *Lab Module 4* – Spatial Analysis of Slave Quarters: Seville and Montpellier estates, Jamaica

UNIT 4: THE ECONOMICS OF SLAVE LIFE

Week 6: Feeding Plantations

Tuesday, May 5th: Provisioning and Subsistence on Slave Plantations

- Richard Sheridan, “The Crisis of Slave Subsistence in the British West Indies during and after the American Revolution,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd. ser., 33 (1976), 615-641.
- McKee (1999): “Food Supply and Plantation Social Order: An Archaeological Perspective.” In *I, Too, Am America.*”
- Crader (1990): “Slave Diet at Monticello.” *American Antiquity* 55: 690-717.

OPTIONAL RECOMMENDED READING:

- Bowes (2013): “Provisioned, Produced, Procured: Slave Subsistence Strategies And Social Relations At Thomas Jefferson's Poplar Forest.” *Journal of Ethnobiology*, 31(1):89-109.
- Ward, *British West Indian Slavery*, ch. 1, “Establishing the Monoculture”

Thursday, May 7th: Introduction to Final Project Research

Friday, May 8th - Discussion Section: *Lab Module 5* – Provisioning patterns on Plantations

Week 7: Making a Living

Tues, May 12th: Slave Markets and Urban/”Skilled” Slaves

- Philip D. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, pp. 204-254

Thurs, May 14th: Production, Exchange, and Status in Enslaved Communities

- Handler & Wallman (2014): “Production Activities in the Household Economies of Plantation Slaves: Barbados and Martinique, Mid-1600s to Mid-1800s.” *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*.
- Hauser, Mark W (2011): “Routes and Roots of Empire: Pots, Power, and Slavery in the 18th-Century British Caribbean.” *American Anthropologist* 113:3, pp. 431-447.

OPTIONAL RECOMMENDED READING:

- Adams and Boling (1989): “Status and Ceramics for Planters and Slaves on Three Georgia Coastal Plantations.” *Historical Archaeology* Vol. 23(1): 69-96.

Friday, May 15th - Discussion Section: Workshop on Sources and Data for Final Projects

UNIT 5: AFRICAN CULTURE IN THE AMERICAS

Week 8: African Culture in the New World

Tuesday, May 19th: Randomization or Ethnic Enclaves?

- Thornton Ch. 7-8

OPTIONAL RECOMMENDED READING:

- Northup, “Igbo and Myth Igbo: Culture and Ethnicity in the Atlantic World,” *Slavery and Abolition* 21.3 (2000), 1-20

- Chambers, Douglas B. "Ethnicity in the Diaspora: The Slave-Trade and the Creation of African 'Nations' in the Americas," *Slavery and Abolition* 22.3 (2001), 25-39

Thursday, May 21st: Tracing African Culture(s) in the New World?

- Thornton Ch. 9
- Singleton (1998): "Cultural Interaction and African American Identity in Plantation Archaeology," in *Studies in Culture Contact: Interaction, Culture Change and Archaeology*, pp. 172-188.
- 1 additional reading TBA

Friday, May 22nd - Discussion Section: *Lab Module 6* – The Transatlantic Slave Trade Database

Week 9: Cultures of Resistance and Rebellion

Tuesday, May 26th: Slave Rebellion and Revolts

- Thornton Ch. 10
- *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*, chaps. 5-11.

Thursday, May 28th: Archaeologies of Resistance: Maroon Communities

- Agorsah (1994): "Archaeology of Maroon Settlement in Jamaica." In *Maroon Heritage*, edited by E. K. Agorsah, pp. 163-201.
- Orser & Funari (2001): Archaeology and Slave Resistance and Rebellion, *World Archaeology* 33:1, pp. 61-72.

OPTIONAL RECOMMENDED READING:

- Weik (2007): "Allies, Enemies and Kin in the African-Seminole Communities of Florida: Archaeology at Pilaklikaha," in *Archaeology of Atlantic Africa and the Africa Diaspora*, edited by Toyin Falola & Akin Ogundiran.

Friday, May 29th - Discussion Section: *Lab Module 7* – Sub-Floor Pits and the Archaeology of Slave Resistance and Religion.

UNIT 6: REFLECTING ON INTERDISCIPLINARY APPROACHES

Week 10: Course Conclusion

Tuesday, June 2nd: Doing Community Based Historical Archaeological Research; Guest Lecture: David Ingleman, UCSC

- Film: "Kojo's Legacy"

Thurs, June 4th: Reflections on Interdisciplinary Approaches to Slavery in the Atlantic World

- Thornton Ch. 11

Friday, June 6th - Discussion Section: Student Project Workshop!

THURSDAY, JUNE 11TH
8:00-11:00 AM
****Final Project Poster Session****

Module 4:

Social Space in Slave Quarters

In lecture this week we discussed the nature of family life in enslaved communities in the New World. Despite a significant amount of evidence for the active ways that enslaved Africans sought to create communities and a sense of personal well-being, the documentary record is sorely lacking in the details of everyday life in slave quarters. Archaeology is, of course, well suited to documenting the mundane practices that defined everyday life. However, archaeologists aren't so good at studying families. This is because the "family" is a social construct that is largely invisible in the archaeological record. Instead, archaeological research on the everyday tends to focus on a unit of analysis that is easily identifiable: the "**household**." Archaeologists commonly define the household as a group of people who live and work together. Thus a household may include families, in the sense of people related by blood, but a household might also include a range of unrelated individuals. Archaeologists study households because such co-residential social units are defined clearly by walls, hearths, and other architectural features, and can provide a complete and total picture of the social and cultural lives of people in the past.

Despite the meager archaeological remains in slave quarter sites, in recent decades archaeologists have yielded valuable information on the everyday lives of enslaved Africans from such contexts. In this module you will explore household archaeology from one particularly well documented plantation site in Jamaica; the first slave quarter at Seville Plantation. This site was one of two communities of enslaved Africans established at Seville. The site itself dates from approximately 1670-1780, the heyday of the plantation system in the Caribbean. Archaeologist Douglas Armstrong (Syracuse University) excavated Seville in the late 1980s, providing some of the best data on everyday life from a slave quarter in the Caribbean. In this module you will examine artifact patterns across two house sites (House 15 and 16) at Seville, and make inferences about the social uses of space within enslaved Afro-Jamaican community.

Activity 1: Documenting Slave Life

The documentary record contains occasional references to life in slave quarters in the Caribbean. Consider the following two passages and then answer the subsequent questions:

"The houses of the negroes are in general comfortable. They are built with hard wood posts, wattled and plastered, and either roofed with shingles (wood split and dressed into the shape of slates, and used as a substitute for them), or thatched with the top of the sugar cane, or, if at a short distance from the woods, with mountain thatch....The furniture of this dwelling which usually consists of three apartments, is a small table, two or three chairs or stools, a small cupboard, furnished with a few articles of crockery ware, some wooden bowls and calabashes, a water-jar, a wooden mortar for pounding their Indian corn, and various other articles. The beds are seldom more than wooden frames spread with a mat and blankets." - John Stewart *An Account of Jamaica: And Its Inhabitants* (1809:165)

"The Negroes Houses are likewise at a distance from their Masters, and are small, pblong, thatch'd Huts, in which they have all their Moveables or Goods, which are generally a Mat to lie on, a Pot of Earth to boil their Victuals in, either Yams, Plantains, or Potatoes, with a little salt

Mackerel, and a Calabash or two for Cups and Spoons” - Hans Sloane *A Voyage to the Islands Madera, Barbados, Nieves, S. Christophers and and Jamaica* (1707:xlvii-xlviii)

1. What aspects of slave life were visible in the above description? What do you expect is invisible?
2. What evidence for material culture and its use is revealed in this text? What might you presume was missed?

Activity 2: Tracing Patterns of Everyday Life

The documentary record is relatively silent on the everyday rhythms of life within enslaved communities. In this activity you will examine data collected from excavations in the first slave quarter at Seville Plantation in Jamaica. Table 1 provides general descriptions of artifacts found at the site listed by Unit ID. Each Unit ID corresponds to a specific square unit excavated across the site, and labeled accordingly on the maps provided. Examine Table 1 closely and answer the following question:

3. What does the range of materials identified in the slave quarter site tell about the nature of material life at Seville Plantation?

Archaeologists working in slave quarters have noted that most artifacts normally come from yard space rather than the houses themselves, pointing to the yard as a key locus of social activity across slave sites in the Americas. Do the Seville data reflect this pattern? Examine Figure 1, which represents artifact densities from units excavated across Houses 15 and 16.

4. Where is the highest density of artifacts in Houses 15 and 16? Where do most artifacts appear? Inside the house or out in the yard?

Now for a bit of mapping on your own. Using a blank map of Houses 15 and 16, and their respective yards, you will now study the distribution of 1) bottle glass, and 2) tobacco pipes across these houses. On a unique map for each artifact category, shade each unit using the symbology provided in Figure 2. You may also simply write the number of each artifact recovered in the unit square if you are concerned for time. The patterns will be apparent either way. After plotting the 3 categories of data on two respective maps, answer the following questions.

5. Do bottle glass, and tobacco pipes correspond with, or diverge significantly from the overall artifact pattern? Do they concentrate in distinct patterns?
6. What kinds of social activities might the observed distribution of each of these artifacts represent? What can we learn about the nature of everyday activities at the Old village?

Figure 1 – Total Artifact Densities from House 15 & 16, Seville Plantation

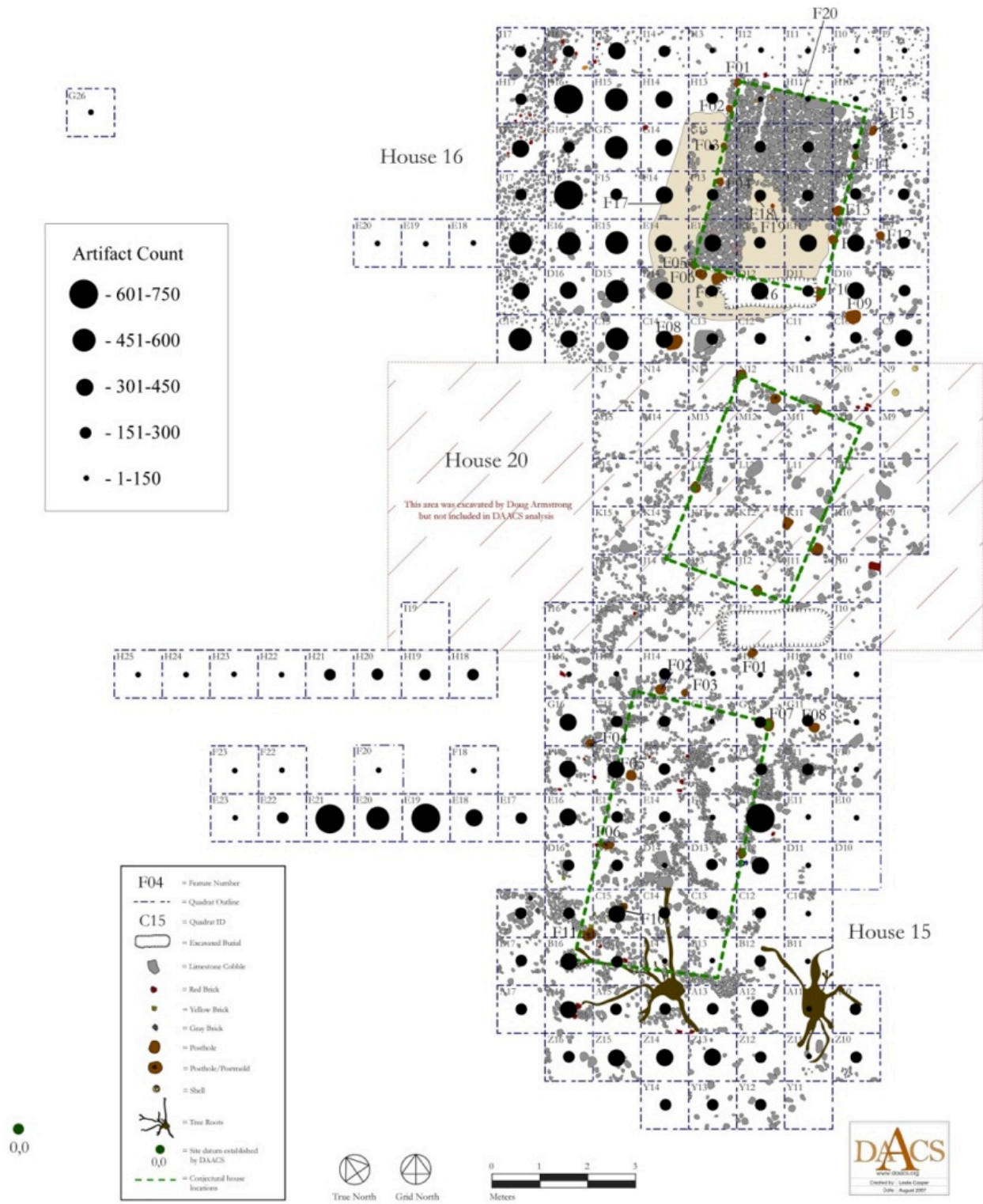
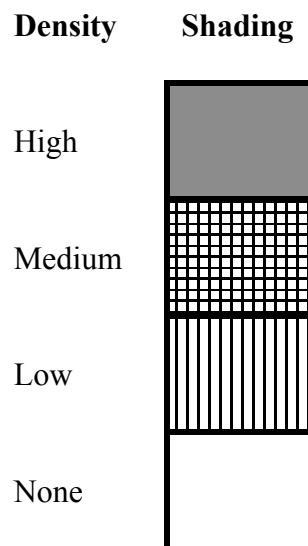


Figure 2 – Shading Scale for Seville Data



Activity 3: Exceptional Objects at Seville Plantation.

In the previous activity you identified broad patterns in the use of space across the slave quarters in the Old Village. In this exercise you will examine the distribution of particularly unique sets of archaeological data, which, though small in numbers, provide a valuable additional window onto the process of community formation in colonial Jamaica. In Table 1, note the small numbers of 1) metal jewelry (rings, pendants, earrings, etc.), 2) gaming pieces (counters and marbles), and 3) eating utensils. On unique maps, plot the occurrence of each of these artifact categories (presence only, not count) using a simple “X”, and answer the following questions.

7. Beads are distributed relatively evenly across both house sites. Does the distribution of metal jewelry match this pattern? Since such bodily adornment is a way of signaling social differentiation, what might the observed pattern suggest about social life at Seville?
8. Gaming pieces and marbles show up at Seville in small numbers. Is there a clear pattern to where they are found? What can this say about past times in the enslaved community?
9. Eating utensils (knives, forks, spoons, etc.) are indicative of very specific activities associated with the preparation and consumption of food. Are there any specific zones at Seville where these materials show up more commonly? What does this suggest about the spatiality of these activities?

Table 1 – Artifact Counts by Unit from Houses 15 and 16, Seville Plantation

House #	Unit ID	Ceramic	Glass	Tobacco Pipe	Beads	Gaming Pieces / Marbles	Jewelry	Button	Utensil	Other	Grand Total
15	A10	33	2	1						9	45
15	A11	12	3							3	18
15	A12	67	9	2					1	17	96
15	A13	17	11	4						12	44
15	A14	42	3	2						11	58
15	A15	38	5	4						8	55
15	A16	78	10	5					1	12	106
15	A17	49	9	3						12	73
15	B11	22	4	3						10	39
15	B12	37	9	5						15	66
15	B13	19	5	3					1	10	38
15	B14	22	5	3					1	7	38
15	B15	59	4	2				1	1	12	79
15	B16	98	3	2					1	14	118
15	B17	61	1	2					1	13	78
15	C11	33	4	1					1	12	51
15	C12	23	6	1					1	12	43
15	C13	21	3	3						5	32
15	C14	30	3	3						11	47
15	C15	62	5	4						16	87
15	C16	55	5	2						12	74
15	C17	46	6	1						10	63
15	D10			1						0	1
15	D11	30	3	3						9	45
15	D12	58	5	4						10	77
15	D13	24	6	4						9	43
15	D14	28	4	3	1					10	46
15	D15	44	7	4						13	68
15	D16	48	2	2				1		12	65
15	E11	22	4							8	34
15	E12	91	6	5		1		1	2	14	120
15	E13		6	3						9	18
15	E14	45	4	4	1				1	13	68
15	E15	37	4	4	2					13	60
15	E16	75	6	3				1		17	102
15	E17	30	5	3				1		11	50
15	E18	71	4	5	1				1	17	99
15	E19	73	7	7	2					19	108

15	E20	60	5	5				1		30	101
15	E21	72	7	6						27	112
15	E22	48		7			1			0	55
15	E23	7		4						0	11
15	F10	13	3	1						9	26
15	F11	41	3	2						11	57
15	F12	43	6	5			1			9	64
15	F13			4						3	7
15	F14	39	4	3						9	55
15	F15	61	6	5				4		14	90
15	F16	41	4	4	1			1	2	15	68
15	F18	4								0	4
15	F20							1		0	1
15	F22			4						0	4
15	F23	21								0	21
15	G10	12	3	1						8	24
15	G11	49	8	1						12	70
15	G12	25	3	3						9	40
15	G13			3						7	10
15	G14	44	5	4				1		15	69
15	G15	39	3	4	1				1	10	58
15	G16	48	7	5						16	76
15	H10	23								0	23
15	H11	17			1					0	18
15	H12	23					1			0	23
15	H13			5						5	10
15	H14	25	6	4						10	45
15	H15	11	5	1						7	24
15	H16	15	4	1	1					7	28
15	H18	30	3	7					1	20	61
15	H19	42		4						0	46
15	H20	46		7						0	53
15	H21	62		2						0	64
15	H22	30		3						0	33
15	H23	31		1						0	32
15	H24	25		6						0	31
15	H25	13		3						0	16
15	Y12	25	2	5						12	44
15	Y13	37	3	4						11	55
15	Y14	49	6	3						15	73
15	Z10	26	3	1				1		7	38

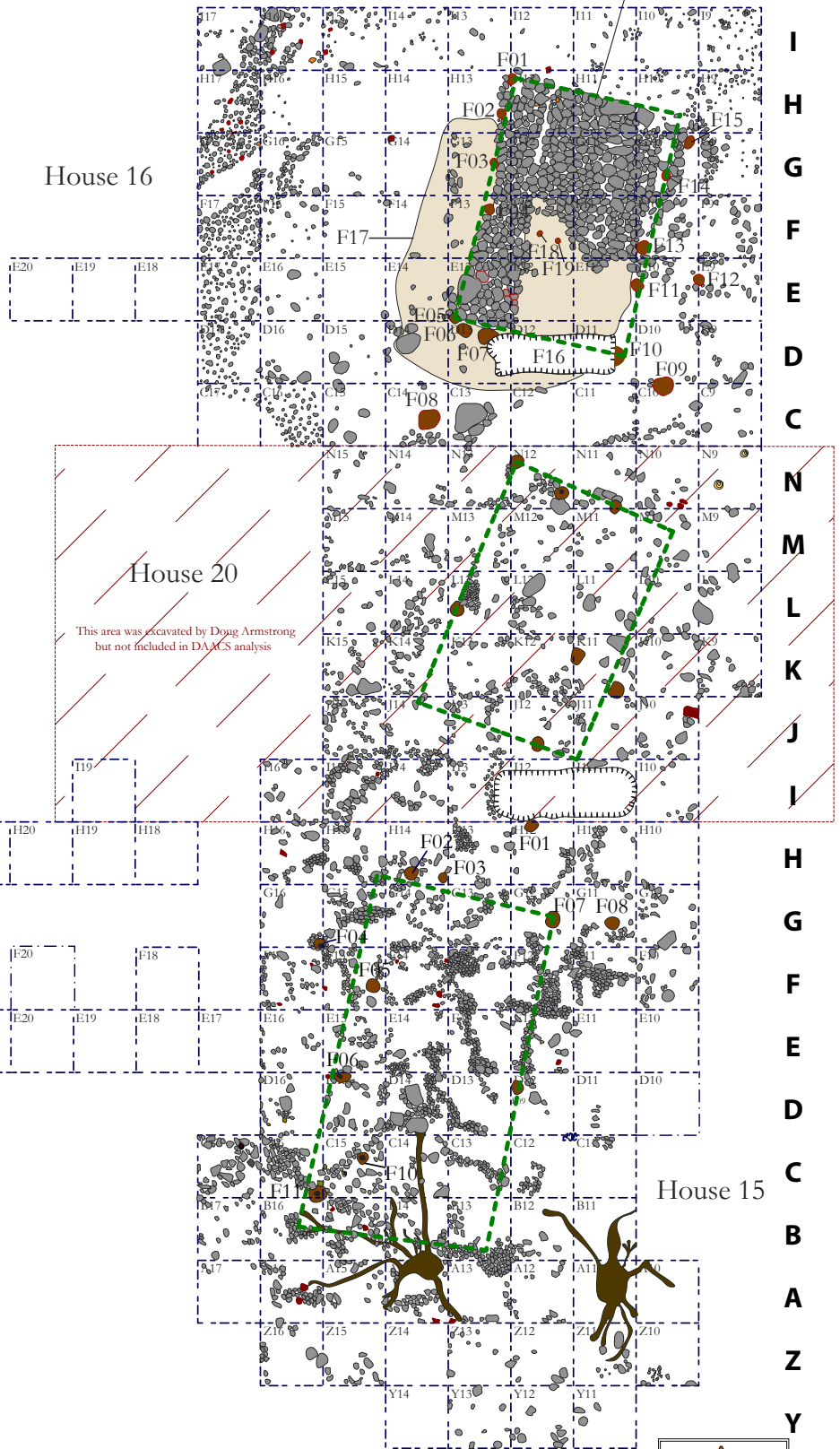
15	Z11	6	4	1						5	16
15	Z12	41	5	2						10	58
15	Z13	61	4	5		1				16	87
15	Z14	75	4	3						13	95
15	Z15	58	4	2				1	1	14	80
15	Z16	47	5	4					1	14	71
16	C10	23	6	5				1		21	56
16	C11	31	5	7	2					13	58
16	C12	30	3	9						11	53
16	C13	39	2	5		1				15	62
16	C14	49	7	5	2					18	81
16	C15	78	5	5			1	1	1	18	109
16	C16	36	3	2						9	50
16	C17	54	5	2			1			9	71
16	C9	51	4	3			1			10	69
16	D10	41	7	5				1	2	14	70
16	D11	40	3	4						16	63
16	D12	54	8	7	1			1	1	18	90
16	D13	59	7	5			1			15	87
16	D14	46	5	4	2				1	15	73
16	D15	62	3	5	1			1		16	88
16	D16	46	5	4						15	70
16	D17	57	3	2					1	8	71
16	D9	41	5	6	1					10	63
16	E10	58	5	7				2		22	94
16	E11	53	4	3	5			1		14	80
16	E12	46	2	4	1					11	64
16	E13	54	7	7	1					19	88
16	E14	41	2	3						12	58
16	E15	60	9	5				2		18	94
16	E16	75	6	3	2				2	17	105
16	E17	62	8	4	2			2		15	93
16	E18	1	6	7						14	28
16	E19	7	3	4				1		9	24
16	E20	1		3		1				2	7
16	E9	30	4	5	3			1	1	17	61
16	F10	38	5	8	1					14	66
16	F11	27	4	6						12	49
16	F12	40	6	6	2			2		15	71
16	F13	30	2	2				2		13	49
16	F14	64	5	6				1		13	89

16	F15	51	5	5				1	8	70	
16	F16	73	5	6	1			2	19	106	
16	F17	35	3	2				3	8	51	
16	F9	29	4	6	1				10	50	
16	G10	2		3					1	6	
16	G11	27	3	2			1		10	43	
16	G12	31	2	2	1		2		13	51	
16	G13	13	2	2					6	23	
16	G14	56	5	7	3		1		18	90	
16	G15	85	5	9	1			1	17	118	
16	G16	26	2	2	1		1		9	41	
16	G17	50	2	3	1			2	11	69	
16	G26	1							0	1	
16	G9	15	3	2			1		5	26	
16	H10	3	1	1					3	8	
16	H11	13	3	3					7	26	
16	H12	18	4	3	1		1		8	35	
16	H13	37	7	4					14	62	
16	H14	51	5	9				1	15	81	
16	H15	85	8	5				1	13	112	
16	H16	100	6	5	1			2	19	133	
16	H17	45	4	4					11	64	
16	H9	4	2	1	2				6	15	
16	I10	11	2	1					4	18	
16	I11	7	2	1				1	7	18	
16	I12	12	3	2					8	25	
16	I13	15	2	1					6	24	
16	I14	31	4	2	1				7	45	
16	I15	46	2	3			1		9	61	
16	I16	29	3	3	2			2	5	44	
16	I17	40	3	2					12	57	
16	I9	18	2	2				1	8	31	
<i>Grand Total</i>		<i>5668</i>	<i>581</i>	<i>527</i>	<i>53</i>			<i>39</i>	<i>44</i>	<i>1582</i>	<i>8507</i>

Houses 15 & 16, Seville Plantation

25 24 23 22 21 20 19 18 17 16 15 14 13 12 11 10 9

G26



F04	= Feature Number
- - -	= Quadrat Outline
C15	= Quadrat ID
[Outline]	= Excavated Burial
[Cobble]	= Limestone Cobble
[Red Brick]	= Red Brick
[Yellow Brick]	= Yellow Brick
[Gray Brick]	= Gray Brick
[Posthole]	= Posthole
[Posthole/Postmold]	= Posthole/Postmold
[Shell]	= Shell
[Tree Roots]	= Tree Roots
0,0	= Site datum established by DAACS
- - -	= Conjectural house locations

0,0



Module 5

Household Archaeology at Jefferson's Monticello¹

Monticello Plantation was the Virginia home of Thomas Jefferson, his family, and scores of enslaved African Americans and their families from about 1770 until Jefferson's death in 1826. Archaeological research at Monticello has concentrated on the areas immediately adjacent to Monticello mansion, the house Jefferson began building in 1770, and on Mulberry Row. Jefferson's enslaved, free, and indentured house servants and craftsmen lived and worked in the small stone, frame, and log buildings on this narrow strip between the southeast side of the Row and Jefferson's vegetable garden. During the ensuing fifty years, structures came and went on Mulberry Row to accommodate the changing needs of Jefferson's architectural projects, his household, and his manufacturing initiatives. One need not look farther than the architectural scale and wealth of Jefferson's Mansion (top) to see social status writ across this historical landscape. However, scholars have recently looked to Mulberry Row to identify subtle status differences within the enslaved African-American community at Monticello. In this exercise, you will use ceramic and faunal data excavated from excavations at these two houses to explore status differences within the community of enslaved laborers at Jefferson's Monticello.

BUILDING L - In 1957, Oriel Pi-Sunyer ran two parallel test trenches along Mulberry Row, locating several structures, including Building I, "a storehouse for nail rod & other iron." In 1981, William Kelso cleared an area of 828 square feet, exposing a 16' X 10' 6" brick (F01) and cobble floor (F03) containing the base of a small forge (F02) and a posthole for an anvil support. The features and objects he recovered hint at diverse activities spanning the 1790s to Jefferson's death in 1826, including tinsmithing, nailrod storage, nail manufacture, and use as a domestic structure.

BUILDING O - In 1981-82, archaeologists under the direction of William Kelso, excavated the Building O site on Monticello's Mulberry Row. The extensive, 1392 square foot excavation exposed the remains of housing for enslaved workers dating to c. 1770-1800, which coincides with occupation of the first Monticello mansion.

Question:

- 1) What sorts of material culture might you use to detect status differences between the enslaved residents of Mulberry Row.

EXERCISE 1 – FAUNAL ANALYSIS

As you learned in lecture this week, subsistence was at the heart of the plantation power structure, and enslaved Africans drew from a range of sources to satisfy their everyday subsistence needs. In this exercise, you will use species distribution and element quality to infer the overall quality of the meals eaten by residents of Buildings O and L, and make some basic inferences about the subsistence networks these slaves engaged in. Table 1 presents the distribution of taxa from Building's O and L. Using this table, calculate the relative percentages of the **MNI** for each taxa and answer the following questions.

- 2) Using the tables provided above, calculate the quantity of each species identified from the corresponding household contexts

¹ Data and text extracted from the *Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery* (www.daacs.org).

- 3) Which are the most common species at both sites. Are there any species that are more common at one or the other? Does this correspond with the ceramic evidence in a way that might suggest status differences?
- 4) Historical sources indicate Jefferson provisioned his slaves with beef, pork, and other domestic animals. What does the presence of wild species say about slave provisioning at Monticello?

Bone element frequency can provide important insights about the overall quality of meals. This is because while certain “high-quality” elements contain a lot of animal flesh (long bones for example), other “low-quality” elements have very little meat but could be cooked in stews to add fat and flavor. Table 2 contains bone element data for the three most common identifiable taxa at Mulberry Row. Using the data in Table 2, calculate the frequency of “High Quality” vs “Low Quality” elements for each taxa at both Buildings O and L. For each taxa, calculate the ratio of High to Low Quality elements and answer the following questions on your handout.

- 5) Which of the elements listed on Table 2 would be considered “High Quality”? “Low Quality”?
- 6) Using the data tables provided, calculate the quantity of each category of element quality from the corresponding household contexts
- 7) Which household was consuming a diet consisting of higher quality elements? What might the meals of each household looked like?

EXERCISE 2 – CERAMIC ANALYSIS

Table 3 reports the distribution of ceramic types from Buildings O and L. Note that a range of types was recovered at both sites. We may use the frequencies of each type to evaluate the nature of social difference at Mulberry Row. Some were costly, and sent symbolic messages about the economic wherewithal of their owners. Others were inexpensive and readily available. The most expensive was porcelain, imported from China, Japan, and eventually England in the late eighteenth century. Pearl Wares and Cream Wares were cheaper imitations of porcelains that decorated the tables of the well to do in Virginia. Thus, although not as costly as porcelain, they still signaled social status. Most of the other categories were quite common and relatively easy to acquire. Thus ceramics can be used as an indicator of social status, or at least access to material culture with a range of levels of symbolic value. Use the Table 1 to calculate the relative percentages of “Porcelain,” “Pearl Ware,” “Cream Ware,” and “Other” on the handout provided, and answer the following questions:

- 8) Using the data tables provided above, calculate the quantity of each type of pottery from the corresponding household contexts
- 9) Porcelains are the most expensive and hard to come by of the ceramics listed, and may be used to infer social status. Given observed archaeological patterns, which of the two contexts may have had higher status residents based upon the ceramic evidence?
- 10) Considering the ceramic, faunal taxonomic, and bone element analysis you have just completed, can we observe subtle differences in social status at Mulberry Row? Explain your answer making reference to your analyses.

Taxa	BUILDING O		BUILDING L	
	NISP	MNI	NISP	MNI
Pig, <i>Sus scrofa</i>	301	9	165	7
Cow, <i>Bos taurus</i>	91	3	94	3
Sheep, <i>Ovis aries</i>	58	5	8	1
Artiodactyl, size 2	182	-	128	-
Ungulate, size 3	55	-	51	-
Opossum, <i>Didelphis virginiana</i>	0	0	6	1
Squirrel, <i>Sciurus carolinensis</i>	11	3	3	1
Cat, <i>Felis domestica</i>	228	1	0	1
Small Carnivore	0	0	3	1
Small mammal	80	-	52	-
Mammal indet.	84	-	116	-
Bird	77	5	35	5
Turtle	1	1	0	0
Fish	5	1	0	0
Total	1173	30	661	20

TABLE 1 – Faunal taxa from Mulberry Row

Element	BUILDING O			BUILDING L		
	Pig	Cow	Sheep	Pig	Cow	Sheep
Cranial Frags	22	11	4	40	20	-
Maxillae	8	-	-	3	-	-
Mandibles	14	9	5	22	3	-
Teeth	84	24	5	49	13	-
Vertebrae	16	11	6	2	20	-
Ribs/Sternum	-	-	-	-	-	-
Scapula/coracoid	-	3	2	1	1	1
Pelvis/sacrum	3	3	-	3	17	-
Humerus	11	2	-	2	-	-
Radius	2	-	4	-	3	2
Ulna	4	2	1	-	-	1
Femur	6	3	5	-	-	-
Tibia	6	1	15	-	6	2
Fibula	5	-	-	-	-	-
Long bone shaft frags	-	-	-	-	-	-
Podials (foot bones)	19	7	10	16	2	-
Metapodials (foot bones)	51	3	-	16	2	-
Phalanges (foot bones)	50	12	-	17	1	-
Total	301	91	57	171	88	6

TABLE 2 – Faunal elements by species

Ceramic Ware Type	Building O	Building L
American Stoneware	14	31
Astbury Type	7	10
Black Basalt	14	2
British Stoneware	12	6
Buckley	1	11
Canary Ware	0	1
Coarse Earthenware, unidentified	18	5
Creamware	115	524
Delftware, Dutch/British	31	5
Fulham Type	7	4
Iberian Ware	3	2
Ironstone/White Granite	2	3
Jackfield Type	4	0
Native American, unidentified	1	0
Pearlware	222	642
Porcelain	343	216
Porcellaneous/English Hard Paste	17	5
Redware	8	14
Refined Earthenware, unidentifiable	36	52
Rosso Antico	5	0
Slipware, North Midlands/Staffordshire	8	0
Staffordshire Brown Stoneware	4	0
Stoneware, unidentifiable	3	0
Tin-Enameled, unidentified	4	0
Turner Type	0	5
Wedgwood Green	7	0
Westerwald/Rhenish	13	1
Whieldon-type Ware	13	2
White Salt Glaze	47	22
Whiteware	47	15
Yellow Ware	2	0
Total	1008	1578

TABLE 3 – Ceramics types from Mulberry Row.

Module 7

Working With DAACS Data

You have now worked through a series of lab modules in which you were asked to examine specific archaeological data sets. These data sets were drawn from West Africa, Virginia, and the Caribbean, and all but the first used data stored on DAACS. In this module, you will work on a data set from the archaeological site you have been assigned as a final group project. As you learned in both readings and lectures, foodways are highly sensitive to cultural heritage. On slave sites in the South and Caribbean, food preparations and consumption practices often reflect a generalized pattern dependent on stews cooked in pots and served in bowls. This pattern is reflected archaeologically in a preponderance of “hollow wares” on slave sites, in contrast to Euro-American sites, which are dominated by “flat wares”.

The following assignment and associated questions asks you to consider spatial and chronological patterns in hollow and flat wares at your specific site. While you may or may not end up using this particular data analysis for your final project, you can use the following workflow to explore the spatial and chronological patterns of any artifact categories available at your site. In the following activity, you must have access to DAACS, so bring your laptop to discussion section Friday. You will perform the following steps in the data analysis process, leading to general interpretations about the nature of foodways over time and space at your site.

- Step 1 – Identifying and Downloading data from appropriate contexts
- Step 2 – Organizing Your Data Into Relevant Categories
- Step 3 – Representing the Data
- Step 4 – Identifying Chronological and Spatial Patterns
- Step 5 – Interpreting Patterns

Step 1 - Identifying and Downloading data from appropriate contexts

First you will determine the appropriate contexts for analysis. In a previous meeting you examined as a group the kinds of contexts that were available for study at your particular site. For your final project, you might find it useful to base your analysis on Quadrat/Unit Ids, Feature Numbers, Feature Group Numbers, or even Phase. Each of these aggregates data at a different level of specificity, and you should explore these possibilities. For this analysis, however, you will focus on “Feature Number.” In DAACS, revisit the site plan for your site in the “Images” tab on DAACS, and answer the following questions.

1. Considering what you have learned in lecture and readings, which kinds of features would be best for recovering everyday domestic activities at your particular site? Which would be inappropriate?
2. Having identified these, which Feature numbers will serve as the basis of your analysis?

Second, download appropriate data for analysis. In DAACS, go to *Query the Database > Artifact Queries*. Click on either Feature Number. Click the check boxes for the site components (ie Utopia II, III, & IV) you will be studying and click “submit”.

In the resulting table visible online, do you see artifact counts for specific features at your site? If so, you are ready to download data. Also, scroll through the data and see if you have “Vessel Category” entries for multiple rows as Hollow and/or Flat. All sites are recorded a bit differently. If these are not listed then you should choose any artifact from the “Form” column as your basis of analysis for this exercise. Right-click (or Command click for Apple users) the link for “Download Data” and save it to your desktop.

Step 2 - Organize Your Data Into Relevant Categories

At this point you will have a file on your desktop with an awful name something like “aq3c-bd8670f197752f2a26b74b6105992f93.tsv”. This is the file you want to open in Excel, but Excel will probably not recognize it from the Desktop. Open Excel, and then try to open the file from within Excel. If Excel will still not recognize the file on your Desktop, rename the file with the tag “.xls” at the end. Excel should be happy now! Pat yourself on the back.

However, examine your table in Excel. The data is not organized in a way that will be conducive to your analysis. You need a summary of all the hollow wares and flat wares from each feature you will study. Additionally, there is a lot of data that you will not need here. So now its time to summarize your data by feature number and remove unrelated features.

First, select all columns in your file. Second, under the *Data* tab, select “PivotTable...”. You should now be in a new sheet with an empty table and the “PivotTable Builder” window open. In the Field Name box of the PivotTable Builder, drag “Feature Number” to the “Row Labels” box. Next drag “Vessel Category” to the “Column Labels” box. Next, drag “TotalCount” to the “Values” box. Do you now have a table with Feature Numbers listed on the left, and Vessel categories listed on the top? If yes, are you done? NO WAY!!!!

Excel is stupid, and always assumes you want a report of the COUNT of all cells reporting relevant data. However, you want an aggregate SUM of all artifacts of each category in each feature. In the “Values” box, click the little “?” next to “Count of”. A new window will open up. Select Summarize by: “Sum”, and click OK.

Create a new sheet, and copy and paste your new table into it. Make sure to use the “Paste As” function, and select “values”. Otherwise you will copy the formatting as well and you don’t want that. Now, systematically delete all the rows pertaining to Features Numbers that are not relevant to your current analysis (determined in step 1).

Step 3 – Representing the Data

Before turning to interpreting patterns over time and space, you need to represent the data in a way that is meaningful and representative. As you have learned in class, artifact counts can be influence by a whole host of factors, from feature size, to duration of use. We want to standardize these across different features to explore broad patterns systematically. For each of your relevant features, calculate the total number of 1) Hollow Wares, 2) Flat wares, and 3) Unidentifiable vessel forms (ignore the “(blank)” in

your table, these refer to other, non-ceramic, artifacts). Now, in a new table in Excel, calculate the percentage of each category. On your module worksheet, enter these values into *TABLE 1* (you must wait until Step 4 to add the MCD and Phase data)

You might consider stopping here. A table reporting a) percentages of each vessel type and b) total numbers of all types is a perfectly acceptable way of representing patterns such as these. However, for your final project you might also consider creating a “100% Stacked Bar” or simple “Pie” chart in Excel, representing the frequencies of each vessel category for each feature under analysis. For large numbers of features, however, numerous pie charts are cumbersome. In such situations I recommend either a table or a bar chart. For this activity the choice is yours. Print out a copy of any charts you produce and turn them in with your module worksheet.

Step 4 - Compare Chronological and Spatial Patterns

Now that you’ve got the basic data analysis completed, it’s time to examine chronological and spatial patterns. First, you must identify whether or not your site is a single or multi-component site. That means essentially determining whether or not the features at your site date to a narrow period of time or were constructed over a longer period of occupation.

Return to DAACS. Under the “Archaeological Sites” tab, select each of the site components you will examine (ie Utopia II, III, & IV). For each site component, click on the “Chronology” link. Below the first table, click on the link called “View detailed phasing query.” Here you will find a table indicating the archaeological “Phase” for each feature, as well as the MCD (mean ceramic date), at your site. For each site/site component, enter the Phase Number for the corresponding features into *TABLE 1* on your module worksheet. You may also enter these into your excel table if you wish to continue to work on this for your final project. Then answer the following questions:

3. Are there multiple phases to your site? How many features date to each phase? Will you get a representative distribution of everyday activities over time by examining the data in this way?

If there are multiple phases and there is strong representation in each phase, you may skip the next step and Question 4. If there are not multiple phases to your site, you are not yet able to look at change over time. You may be able to examine subtle chronological changes within a particular phase, however, which may be of value. To do this, go to the “Query the Database” tab, and select “Mean Ceramic Date Queries”. Choose “Mean Ceramic Date Query 1”, choose your site or site components, choose the “Feature Number” button, and click “Submit”.

You now have a table with the “Mean Ceramic Date”, a statistical prediction of the mid-date of feature use, for each feature at your site, useful for identifying “micro-phases” in your site. Scroll through the table and enter the respective Mean Ceramic Date for each feature in *TABLE 1*. Answer the following question (keep this page open, you will return to it in a moment).

4. Is there micro-chronological change within the single component occupation at your site? Are there enough features from multiple “micro-phases” to look at subtle change over time? If so, think through and explain how representative this sample would be.

Lastly, as you have learned in lecture and in your readings, artifact patterns over space can provide a valuable perspective on social patterns within and between households on archaeological sites. Consider what kinds of spatial patterns the features you have used in your analysis represent, and answer the following question.

Return to DAACS and examine the table you produced in the previous question. Notice that each feature is assigned to a “Feature Group Interpretation”. This is an interpretation by the archaeologists about to which house or structure each feature belongs. Enter the “Feature Group” for the corresponding Feature Number in TABLE 1. Note: for your final project, you may find it useful to use Feature Group as a starting point for your analysis. Answer the following question.

5. Do your features represent spatial patterning within a single household or “Feature Group”? Multiple households or feature groups? Both? Explain.

Step 5 – Interpreting Patterns

You have now successfully completed the basic data analysis steps for this assignment. The final step requires you to make interpretations about slave life at your site or series of site components based on this analysis. You will recall that slave sites typically evince a pattern of dependence on “hollow wares”, a pattern interpreted as the preservation of West African foodways in the plantation world. Answer the following questions.

6. Are there time periods for your site where foodways appear more “West African”? Less? What processes of cultural change might this reflect over time?
7. Are there households at your site that evince a pattern that is more Anglo-American than others? What processes of cultural change might this reflect?

Final Questions:

8. Based on the results of your analysis here, would it have made more sense to aggregate your data at the level of the Feature Group? The Phase? Would this have changed, or accentuated, the clarity of the observed patterns in any way?
9. What other analyses might you do for your assigned site? How would you proceed differently?

Final Project Pro-Tips

- For looking at patterns in change over time, artifact distributions are best represented with a “100% Bar Chart”, in which each column represents data from a specific Phase or features, sorted from earliest to latest (right to left).
- For patterns associated with features or quadrat units over space, try creating a pie chart for each data category, and pasting the chart into an image of the site over the feature.