Status and Identity on a Smallholder Caribbean Plantation: An Archaeological Perspective

Brianna Mayer

Honors Thesis in the Department of Anthropology
University of Michigan
April 2016

Abstract

Enslaved people rarely wrote their own stories; instead their lives were most often described in the written records of their masters and overseers. For small plantations and areas with scarce archival records, archaeology provides a crucial window into the daily life of enslaved populations. Yet both small plantations and plantations in the Caribbean are understudied. This research examines the social and economic status of individuals living on a sugar plantation on Great Camanoe in the British Virgin Islands (BVI) during the late-18th to mid-19th centuries – a transitional time in the British plantation economy. By comparing the artifacts in two habitation contexts, a better understanding of how the enslaved and planter negotiated their identities can be gained. Identity is ephemeral and abstract, yet identity produces tangible realities, and these realities have material consequences. On small or poor plantation sites, differences in power are less distinct archaeologically when compared with wealthy plantations, where social hierarchies are clearly defined by differences in living spaces and material possessions. This study examines artifacts found in different contexts to examine how identity was symbolized and negotiated through material culture. Although similar artifacts were found in both structures, differences in the presences and absence of certain types of items indicate the subtle ways in which social status and identity were displayed by the inhabitants of this plantation.

Acknowledgements

I would first like to thank my thesis advisor Dr. John Chenoweth at the University of Michigan in Dearborn, who allowed a student he had never met before into his lab and office to study this collection of artifacts, and for his guidance throughout my thesis project. Without his willingness to answer questions, thoughtful and constructive criticism, unfailing support and access to this collection my project would not have been possible!

Thank you also to my thesis advisor Dr. Robin Beck in Ann Arbor, for always pointing me in the right direction; to this collection, key references, or new ideas. Without your helpful nudges or advice on both analysis and writing I would never have been able to make sense of it all. Thank you to both Dr. Beck, and to my graduate student mentor Travis Williams for reading and editing my countless clumsy first attempts at writing this thesis, and for helping me when I began to feel the inevitable writer's block.

To Dr. Lisa Young, a special thanks for being a constant mentor and role model throughout my college career. From my first archaeology class at the university with you to completing a thesis this year I have always left your office and your classroom feeling extremely motivated and inspired. Your accessibility to students and enthusiasm about archaeology drew me to the major and inspired me to pursue a career in archaeology, and I feel very grateful to have had you as a professor.

I would also like to thank Reese Cook at the St. Eustatius Center for Archaeological Research for giving me my first taste of Caribbean archaeology, and to Dr. Sueann Caulfield and Dr. Rebecca Scott for igniting my intellectual curiosity and desire to study both this region and the tumultuous colonial history it has faced.

To my parents, thank you always for your overwhelming support and willingness to help me achieve whatever goal I may have throughout my college career, and for always fostering whatever passion I develop next. Thank you Beau, for being the most steadfast and optimistic partner I could have ever asked for during the long days and late nights I spent on this project.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Tables

List of Figures

Introduction

Great Britain was one of many empires to dominate the Caribbean region, and plantations formed the basis of the economy in the British Virgin Islands. Yet Britain was one of the earliest European powers to outlaw the international trade in enslaved persons in 1807, and by 1838, slavery was abolished in the British territories. As a result, British Caribbean plantations contrasted greatly with plantations in the antebellum South, and history played out much differently in these two regions. While American plantations have been extensively studied, plantations in the Caribbean have been largely overlooked. Plantations on outlying islands such as Great Camanoe were usually small and relatively poor compared to plantations on the mainland or larger islands. The economic status of the planter and enslaved were most likely fairly similar, yet in spite of this, slavery created a stratified social system defined by race. Therefore, social and legal status differed greatly between the planter and enslaved regardless of economic conditions. It is on these small, poor plantations that power and identity would be negotiated daily. The goal of my research is to provide a better understanding of the material consequences created by differences in social status and racial or religious identity, in order to distinguish between the enslaved and planter on a smallholder plantation where an archival record is absent.

The study of plantation archaeology became important in the field of historical archaeology in the late 20th century and focused primarily on large plantations in the southeastern United States. However, the local historical context and politics of the Caribbean created unique economic and political environments that shaped the cultural landscape of the Western Hemisphere in significant ways. Many islands later became home to creole communities (Armstrong 2003), and conceptions of religious and racial identity adapted to the unique local

context of the Caribbean (Chenoweth 2014). Both racialization and ritualization can be seen archaeologically through an analysis of the material consequences of these processes.

To understand how the enslaved and planters interacted with each other and negotiated their place in society, it is necessary to understand the local conditions and historical context in which each group was living. However, there is little archival evidence to clarify the chronology of the site, the economic production, or the social and legal status of the people who lived on this site. With such limited documentary evidence, archaeological investigation is crucial to gain insight into the world of Caribbean plantations. Only archaeology has the ability to illuminate the lives and identities of those absent from the archival record, especially on small plantations like Great Camanoe, a site which history has forgotten.

The Archaeology of Plantations, Identity, Race and Religion

On many historical sites, archaeologists are able to access documents to learn more about the site. This is especially useful when studying status or identity in a spatially segregated space like a plantation, because an archaeologist can compare the artifacts in known planter contexts with artifacts in known enslaved contexts to distinguish patterns. The following sections discuss archaeology on plantations, and archaeological theory used to distinguish status and identity on historical sites through material culture.

The Archaeology of Plantations

The increase in popularity of historical archaeology as well as the civil rights movement, which spurred scholarship on minority historical narratives in the mid-20th century, gave rise to the study of plantation archaeology. Most plantation archaeology has been conducted in the southeastern United States, with a particular focus on plantations of the "Old South". Many people think of the era just before, during, and after the American Civil War when they think of

slavery or plantations. However, plantations were established throughout the Western World long before the 19th century, and enslaved Africans were sent to the U.S., Caribbean, and Latin American regions only shortly after their colonization by Europeans in the 16th century. While plantations were placed all over the New World, the focus of this study will be the plantation economy of the British Caribbean. The British colonized both the current American South and the West Indies, and while studies of French and Spanish plantations are gaining traction in the field, studies of British colonialism and the American South have dominated the literature thus far. Nevertheless, work done in the American South is applicable in some ways to the British Caribbean.

What exactly *is* a plantation? Charles Orser (1990) defines a plantation as "a tract of land used primarily for agricultural production that has discrete spatial limits, a settlement pattern organized in such a way as to maximize economic production, and at least two classes of people – those who work and those who direct – who maintain a unique set of social relations" (Orser 1990:114). Archaeologists Charles H. Fairbanks and John Ascher produced the earliest studies of plantation archaeology at Kingsley Plantation in Florida, but it was Fairbank's student John Otto who first classified plantations economically and in terms of distinct racial and labor groups rather than simply culturally (Orser 2007). In his archaeological investigation of "Cannon's Point Plantation", Otto clarified three distinct status patterns on the plantation, as seen below in Figure 1:

STATUSES	**SOCIAL GROUPS**		
RACIAL LEGAL	free white planters – free white overseers		unfree black slaves
SOCIAL	planter-managers	overseer-supervisors	slave-laborers
ELITE/SUBORDINATE	elite planters	subordinate overseer – subordinate slaves	

Figure 1. Otto's caste/class model (Orser 2007)

He posited that status is not completely related to the quality of material culture, because there were often similarities in the living conditions between poorer white planters and enslaved people, even though they differed in racial, legal, and social status. Yet overseers at Cannon's Point lived in dwellings that more similarly resembled the planter, a "visible symbol of white racial solidarity" (Otto 1980). Otto's status patterning definitions are complicated when one considers the role of overseers who may also be enslaved, yet maintain a certain amount of power to direct the work of other enslaved people, who often come from similar ethnic or racial backgrounds. His analysis of the plantation also largely ignores the enslaved as bringers of their own unique culture to the plantation system. While Otto relied heavily on archival evidence to determine the status of occupants and thereby interpret status patterning in the artifacts, this evidence may not always be available, especially on smallholding Caribbean sites like the plantation on Great Camanoe. Therefore, artifact patterning must be established without the use of archival evidence to distinguish between planter and enslaved.

Following the early period of plantation archaeology, archaeologists Charles Orser, Terrence Epperson, and Teresa Singleton all specifically addressed race in the study of plantations, including synthetic overviews detailing the trajectory of the field of plantation archaeology and the archaeology of race. An investigation of the archaeology of plantations would be remiss without discussing the archaeology of slavery, and what once was termed "plantation archaeology" is now more often referred to as the "Archaeology of the African Diaspora" (Davidson 2015). Planter and enslaved occupations may also be differentiated without archival evidence by seeking "Africanisms" within an artifact assemblage, and analyzing not just the quality but also the type of artifacts in separate areas of the plantation. These analyses may be

completed through the application of various archaeological theories such as Practice and Consumption theory, which are discussed in the following sections.

The Archaeology of Identity, Race, and Religion

Identity is not a static, inherent part of an individual or group, but rather a mutable and continuous process. Identity is created and reinforced by the daily actions of individuals, as well as the various statuses assigned to them by the society in which they live. The daily actions of individuals have material consequences, which can be studied through archaeology. The differences in quality and function of an individual's belongings can tell us about their status in a society, while other material remains can tell us about how they identified themselves, such as their racial or religious identity. Sue Mullins Moore states that status "can be defined by a number of qualifiers – age, sex, biological relationship, social class, and economic level" and that in general, status is "the sum total of all of the statuses an individual possesses" (Mullins Moore 1985:143). These qualifiers intersect, along with social identifiers such as religion or ethnicity, to form an individual's identity.

"Anything people do", the daily actions that they take and their interaction with the world around them, define "practice" (Chenoweth 2014:96). Practice theory has been applied to sociology, history, and anthropology, and is useful in archaeology to analyze the material consequences of individual action and what these actions, or "practice", can tell us about both individual agency and societal norms. Two "practices" which people engage in that can reflect both the identity and status of an individual are consumption and ritual. Practice and Consumption theories can help archaeologists to understand how individuals identified themselves through what they consumed, while a study of ritualization as a form of practice can help archaeologists to understand the religious beliefs of individuals or groups. These theories are particularly useful when applied to plantation archaeology, since the plantation was home to

groups of people with distinct social, economic, religious and ethnic backgrounds, usually including a European planter and an often diverse enslaved population.

Status and Consumption

Consumption Theory is especially important to the study of emerging capitalistic, colonial, "consumer" societies such as the British Empire, because the basis of these societies is resource extraction and consumption. The act of consuming is not only influenced by structural processes but is also a way for people to display their status or identity. Consumption marks both individual agency and the "unexpressed process of self-definition and collective identification" (Mullins 2011:135). In an analysis of consumer goods owned by an enslaved Bahamian family, Laurie Wilkie demonstrates how Africanisms may be seen in the consumer choices in European goods, rather than merely in the goods enslaved people made for themselves (Wilkie 2000). She specifically focuses on differences in decorative type on ceramics between the African and European populations during this time to show how different styles were selected over others, perhaps to evoke an African aesthetic (Wilkie 2000). Consequently, consumption theories may not only apply to those able to consume through the purchase of goods, but also to those who are able to acquire goods through others. In other words, enslaved people on a plantation could consume without purchase through acquiring goods from the plantation owner, and these goods may have taken on a different meaning or symbolism for the enslaved person than it would have in its original intended use.

Consumption is a way for people to "evoke signs of non-existent realities" (Orser 2007: 66), and "consumption theory" may be used to demonstrate how racial difference is seen archaeologically. However, "archaeologists may find it extremely difficult to separate the material assemblages of the various 'races'" (Orser 2007: 69), and the interplay between racial and class identities may not be separable without documentary evidence. Sue Mullins Moore

analyzed artifact assemblages from three antebellum plantations on St. Simon's island off the coast of Georgia and comparative collections from Kingsley and Cannon's Point plantations, especially ceramics, to show that while different groups of white individuals may have possessed a higher social status, the poorest of them may have had a comparable economic status to enslaved Africans (Mullins Moore 1985). Yet even though white planters may have worked alongside their enslaved people, their status in European society was much higher, and they were still able to afford to purchase other individuals.

Not only was the consumption of European goods essential to the economic and cultural well being of the colonists and profitable for the mother country, consumption of colonial goods produced by enslaved labor was also essential to the colonizer. In the British West Indies, this was especially true for products such as sugar (Sussman 2000). There are many theories explaining why Britain chose to abolish the use of labor that had resulted in such a profitable colonial economy, but Charlotte Sussman proposes that consumer protest and the boycott of colonial goods produced by enslaved labor played a vital part in the passage of abolition. Through discriminatory consumption, she suggests that a consumer base of British women in particular believed that "certain possessions can be both the 'witnesses' of interior qualities, and the 'companions' of virtuous actions", virtuous actions implying morality or immorality, and these women were increasingly viewing slavery as inherently immoral (Sussman 2000: 10). Consumption was therefore vital to defining the colonial relationship between Britain and the Caribbean islands on both ends.

Ritual and Religion on Plantations

Status and identity are not only defined through material wealth, but also through in-group identification and belief systems. Therefore, ritual and religion also provide evidence of status and identity. "Ritualization" is a distinct form of practice defined as "the production of an

unequal difference between ways of acting" (Chenoweth 2011:31); in other words, an action that takes on a specific "ritual" quality (Chenoweth 2011). Ritualized actions hold specific meanings to the actor, which are created by earlier performances as they reinforce them. Religion can be defined in terms of ritualization, "as a group of people engaged in drawing privileged distinctions in ways of acting (ritualization) based on a particular set of citational precedents" or "norms" in the religious practice (Chenoweth 2011:32). Here, ritualization and religion will be applied to the study of concealed objects that may hold a ritual significance. Ritual and religion are usually not differentiated archaeologically, and magic is simply one ritual aspect of religion that is used to obtain a specific goal or outcome (Manning 2014). Both magic and ritual can be thought of as everyday practices that are dependent on the beliefs of a certain group or individual in a specific context at a specific point in time (Manning 2014). Local context is then extremely important to interpreting ritual or magic concealments.

Plantation sites have been used to study material culture that suggests magic or ritual beliefs as archaeologists seek to find evidence of African spiritual beliefs within the African diaspora (Manning 2014). Yet both enslaved Africans and Europeans held religious beliefs and belief in folk magic. Concealed objects were used to protect the home, bring good luck, and guard against witches or evil spirits along with many other purposes. An object has most likely been purposefully concealed if it is found in a unique place, such as the foundation or walls of a building, where it would clearly otherwise not be found. Through studying concealed objects, archaeologists may gain insight into the social interactions on a plantation, by analyzing who may have concealed the objects and for what purpose.

Summary

Plantations have been most frequently studied through large and wealthy antebellum sites, with a clear record of who lived at the site and where they lived. This contextual evidence

is useful, since material assemblages may then be compared to known planter or enslaved contexts in the archival record to distinguish status patterning. In the absence of an archival record, archaeological theories such as Practice Theory and Consumption Theory may be used to distinguish status patterning and determine planter and enslaved contexts. A study of ritualization and concealed objects may also be used, through an analysis of who concealed the objects and why they were concealed, to reveal the identity of those living on the site or the local historical context. Both status and identity are contingent on the local context of a site, which is why it is important to study sites in a wide variety of regions and contexts rather than simply applying status patterning from sites in one region to sites in all regions. Even though assemblages from plantations in the American South are comparable to assemblages from plantations in the Caribbean, the smaller size and economic difference in Caribbean plantations to antebellum plantations and the distinctive history of the Caribbean, as well as a lack of documentary evidence for individual sites, make it a unique place to study plantations.

The History of Plantations in the British Virgin Islands

Nestled between the larger island nations of the Dominican Republic and Haiti and the small cluster of islands that create the Lesser Antilles, the British Virgin Islands ("BVI") are a collection of over 40 islands that remain a territory of their colonial motherland, Great Britain (figure 2). Many other islands in the Lesser Antilles such as St. Eustatius (formerly the Netherlands Antilles) or Montserrat are also territories of their former colonizing nation. With the Greater Antilles and Bahaman Archipelago, these islands create the "West Indies". Both the modern governance and cultural character of these islands attest to the persistence of colonial influence on the islands (Watters 2001), and today they are popular vacation spots for wealthy

European or American tourists. The British Virgin Islands may have first been home to indigenous peoples, as Columbus encountered islanders on St. Croix who called the islands "Ayay" (Chenoweth 2011). Nonetheless, archival records suggest that the islands were mostly uninhabited by European arrival. Pre-Columbian ceramics have been found on many of the islands including Tortola, St. Thomas, and St. Croix (Chenoweth 2011). Pre-Columbian ceramics were also found in the sugar plantation on Great Camanoe suggesting that indigenous people were at one time present, however, these ceramics will not be analyzed in this study.

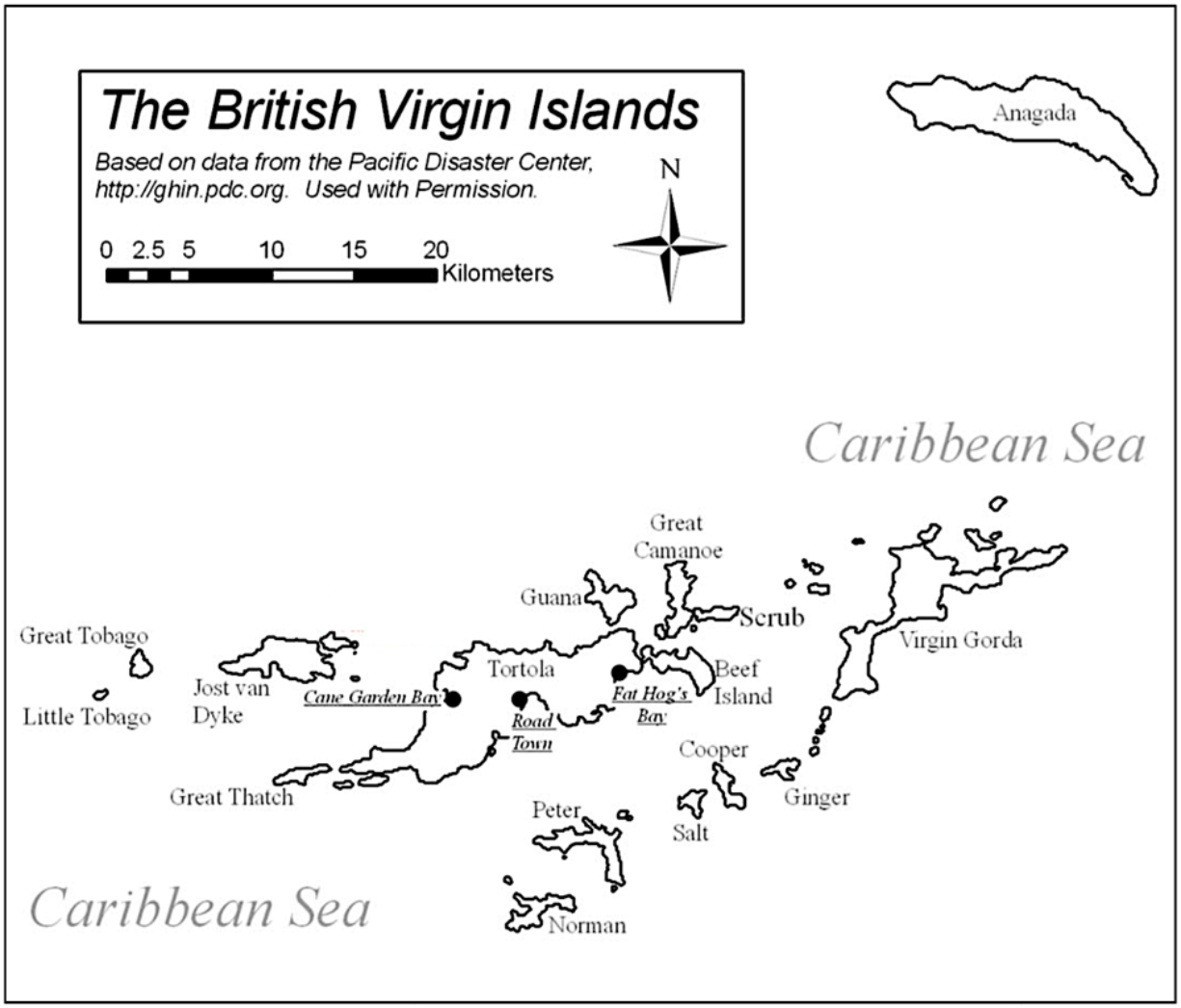

Figure 2. Map of the British Virgin Islands (Chenoweth 2011)

From the first sight of distant land from a European vessel, the Caribbean islands have been highly desired and hotly contested by European powers including the Dutch, French, Spanish, Portuguese, and British. However, the BVI was not valued as highly as other islands and was described in 1820 as "decidedly and in every respect the poorest of all the West India Colonies" (M'Queen 1824:317 cited in Chenoweth 2011). Many islands changed hands between European powers multiple times, some through to the 19th century, but the BVI was settled by the British and remained a British colony relatively early in 1735. Although, the sovereignty of Great Britain on the islands was of little importance, as evidenced by an ignored order in 1686 that the largest island, Tortola, be returned to the Dutch (Dookhan 1975).

A plantation economy was quickly established on the major islands in the BVI such as Tortola and sugar was the primary crop, yet Dookhan states that "these islands generally were not regarded as valuable plantation colonies" (Dookhan 1975:14 cited in Chenoweth 2011). Great Camanoe was settled later than many of the other islands since it is smaller, less easily inhabitable, and contained a few small plantations including the one in this study; but the archival evidence suggests that plantations across the BVI were also relatively small and poor. Likewise, early settlement to the islands is haphazard and in the early to mid-18th century these settlers are described by the Governor as "wild people without order or Government" (UK Calendar of State Papers 1709: 597(i))[1], who "remain there and cultivate the ground for a wretched subsistence" (UK Calendar of State Papers 1724: 260) and in 1755, as former indentured servants who were " 'generally so illiterate' that they would be unable to effectively govern themselves" (Chenoweth 2011:70).

[1] Cited from *Religion, Archaeology, and Social Relations: A Study of the Practice of Quakerism and Caribbean Slavery in the Eighteenth-Century British Virgin Islands*, Chenoweth 2011.

Consequently, planters in the BVI did not run large, wealthy plantations and did not own large populations of enslaved people. As a result, owners often worked alongside their laborers and lived in similar economic conditions. Although the proportion of enslaved people was relatively small in the BVI, slavery drove economic prosperity in the islands. However, because these islands were small, the British government provided limited military protection and enslaved people often attempted to escape (Chenoweth 2011).

Rebellions against enslavement by enslaved people in the 1790s increased after 1807, when Great Britain outlawed the international trade and began freeing enslaved people captured on ships from other empires onto British territories that still held them in bondage. The British Empire abolished slavery in 1833 and fully implemented emancipation by 1838, nearly thirty years before the American Civil War and fifty years before the abolition of slavery in Brazil, causing the early to mid-19th century to be a period of social upheaval and disruption in the plantation system.

These conditions would have threatened existing social hierarchies and conceptions of status and identity, as enslaved people gained the same legal status as their former European masters. The negotiation of status and identity during this tumultuous time, along with the economic repercussions that both economic dependence on enslavement and early abolition had on the Caribbean, cause the BVI and wider British Caribbean region to be a significant place to study plantation life through archaeology.

Archaeology in the BVI

Archaeology in the Caribbean has been dominated by two distinct perspectives, academic research conducted by foreign researchers who typically focus on the historical archaeology of plantations and slavery in the late 17th to early 19th centuries, and research undertaken by local vocational archaeologists (Watters 2001). Non-governmental organizations such as local

historical societies and museums, national trusts, and foreign research institutions such as universities have conducted the majority of archaeological research in the Caribbean. While plantation archaeology has been a focus of many studies in the Caribbean, pre-Columbian archaeology has been the predominant focus of archaeological study in the British Virgin Islands (Chenoweth 2011). As of 2011, the only historic archaeology studies of the British Virgin Islands include the work of Dr. John M. Chenoweth of the University of Michigan, Dearborn (US), Michael Kent of Bristol University (UK), and several scholars at the College of William and Mary, including Norman Barka, Ed Harris, and Mark Kostro (US) (Chenoweth 2011). Little archaeological investigation has been undertaken on smaller islands surrounding the chief inhabited islands of Caribbean territories, so the island of Great Camanoe provides an ideal site to study 19th century life on a small island through archaeology.

The Island of Great Camanoe

Great Camanoe is located off the northeast coast of Tortola, which is the largest island in the British Virgin Islands (figure 3). Great Camanoe is around four miles in length, and is home to a few private residences and a national park. Great Camanoe and the surrounding islands, reefs, and cays are popular tourist destinations for boating and scuba diving. To the left of the island is a smaller island known as “Little Camanoe”, and to the right is “Scrub Island”. Early written records of the islands often group them together.

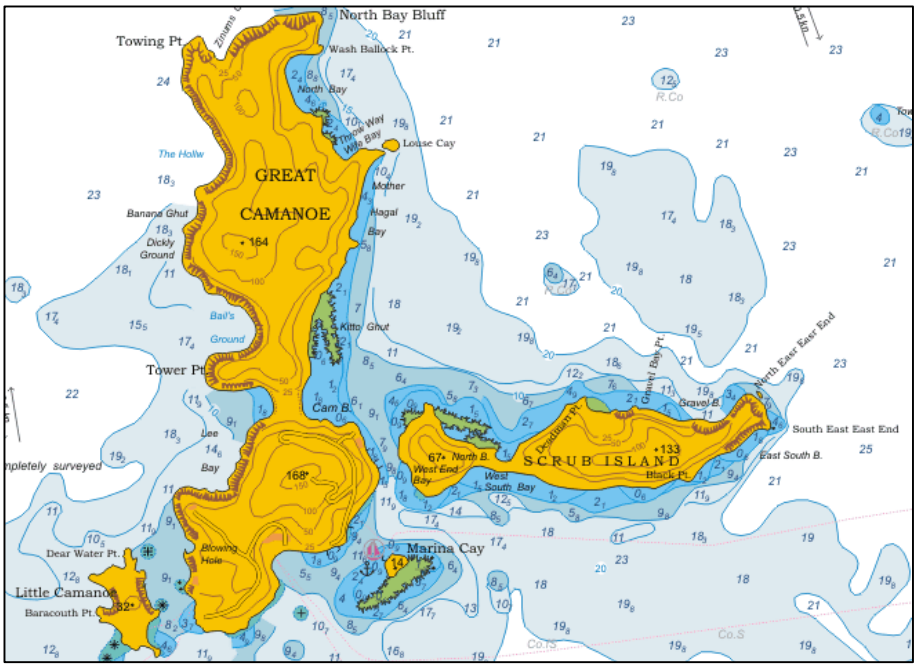

Figure 3. Map of Great Camanoe, Little Camanoe, and Scrub Island

Many of the Caribbean islands are home to communities who can trace their family history back to either the enslaved or freed African peoples who lived there or the first European settlers. Archaeologists are sometimes able to engage with these creole communities to inform their work, creating a sense of heritage and community through archaeological investigation (Armstrong 2003). However, the population of Great Camanoe consists of only a handful of residents who have little community connection to the heritage of the site. Much of the desire to undertake archaeological investigation in the Caribbean stems from foreign-born landowners who have discovered the ruins of sites on their property, as was the case on Great Camanoe.

Archival Evidence

There is limited archival evidence describing the island of Great Camanoe. However, there is some record of when the island was inhabited, what it was used for, and its production and population statistics[2]. A "Captain Walton" first mentions Great Camanoe in a report stating that by 1715 the island was being used for grazing livestock such as cattle and goats (National

[2] All archival evidence researched by Dr. John M. Chenoweth from the UK National Archives, London.

Archives, London, CO 152/10#65). The island was inhabited by 1756, when the census reported 16 white men, 9 white women, 21 white children, and 140 enslaved people on the island (National Archives, London, CO 152/28#BC83). The population statistics from 1756 to 1956 can be seen in Figure 4. By 1740, "Great Caymanus" or "cammana Island" is mentioned in a report by Lieutenant General Fleming noting that Great Camanoe and other surrounding islands "make about 60,000 Cotton and in a few years more will be Capable of making upwards of 400,000" (National Archives, London, CO 153/23#78), although these estimates are most likely optimistic and inflate the actual amount. Production reports for the island list acres to cotton, provisions, and pasture with the rest as "forest" or "barren and scrub" in 1815 and 1823, yet make no mention of sugar production on the island.

Aside from population and production statistics, there is minimal archival evidence suggesting the presence of a pre-emancipation freedperson community on the island. In the early 1800s, a "Mrs. Harrigan, formerly Vanterpool, also emancipated twenty [enslaved people] and gave them land on the island of Great Camanoes" (II. Slave trade. Return to an address of the Honourable House of Commons.... UK Parliamentary Papers 1825(115):122). As seen in Figure 2, some of these freed people are inexplicably omitted from the census. There is also archival evidence of Quakerism on Great Camanoe, and that at least one member of the Tortola Quaker Meeting lived on the island. In 1755 a Mary Vanterpool of Great Camanoe married James Parke, and their wedding was recorded in the records of the Quaker Meeting of Tortola (Tortola Monthly Meeting Minutes, Haverford College Quaker Collection, Film 128). While unlikely, it is possible that the "Mrs. Harrigan, formerly Vanterpool" who freed her enslaved people is the same Mary Vanterpool who married in 1755, or they may have been somehow connected (pers. comm., John M. Chenoweth 2016). Finally, Mary is recorded as living in "one of" the Quaker

plantations on the island, yet this is the only archival evidence to suggest that there was more than one ((Lewisohn 1966: 78).

"Camanis & Scrub Islands"	1756	16 white men, 9 white women, 21 white children, 140 enslaved
Great Camanoe	1815	1 white person, 6 "free colored", 12 enslaved people
Little Camanoe	1815	2 white people, 2 "free colored", 12 enslaved people
Great Camanoe	1823	6 white people, 6 "free colored", 35 enslaved people
Little Camanoe	1823	3 white people, 3 "free colored", 15 enslaved people
Great Camanoe	1835	82 total people
Great Camanoe	1841	65 total people
Great & Little Camanoe	1956	Not included as an inhabited island in the census

Figure 4. Population Statistics for the Camanoe Islands, 1756 to 1956[3]

The archival evidence for the island is therefore sparse, and it is unlikely that the census and production records provide a completely accurate depiction of the island. Chenoweth suggests that the census in the BVI may not have been accurate due to a "tendency to hide wealth from government inquiries, and enslaved people represented the primary wealth of the colony" (Chenoweth 2011: 71). While it may not be possible to discern whether or not Quakers or freedpeople were living on the site, the archival evidence suggests that this is a possibility, and it can be inferred that the enslaved people and planter on the site would have come into contact with freed Africans and Quakers.

There is no archival evidence specifically referencing the archaeologically identified plantation site on the island, which is the focus of this study. The plantation site clearly produced sugar, due to the presence of a sugar works found just north of the site, yet there is no record of sugar production anywhere on the island. There is also no record of the planter family or

[3] Information taken from the Colonial Office Series in the UK National Archives, Kew Gardens and the UK Parlaimentary Papers, Tables of the revenue, population, commerce, &c. of the United Kingdom, and its dependencies. Part XII. 1842. (UK Parliamentary Papers). 1844 (591))

enslaved people on the site. The Great Camanoe plantation site is therefore a site lost to history, highlighting the necessity of archaeological investigation to its study.

The Great Camanoe Plantation Site

The "Great Camanoe" plantation site is located on the southeast end of the island of Great Camanoe. The site is a mid-size plantation, and consists of two large structures, an oven feature, and ruins which have been identified as a sugar boiling works. The building furthest south has been labeled "Structure A", while the building to the north between Structure A and the road has been labeled "Structure F" (figure 5). As evidenced by the ruins of a sugar-boiling works immediately north of the site next to the road, the plantation clearly cultivated and processed sugar. South and west of the plantation, a homestead labeled the "Rowe Site" has been identified as a late 19th century smallholder's farm, and was most likely owned by a free person of African descent, however this site will not be analyzed with the plantation.

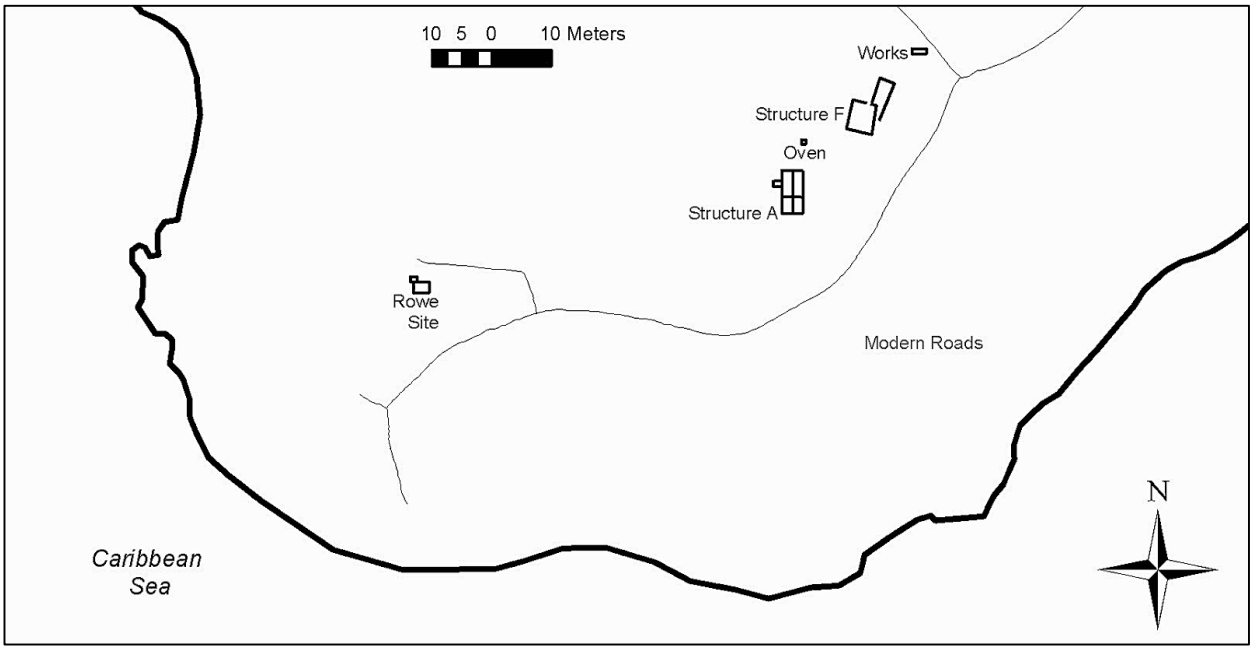

Figure 5. Map of the Plantation Site and Rowe Site on the island of Great Camanoe (personal communication, John M. Chenoweth 2016)

Fieldwork was conducted on Great Camanoe in July of 2013 over the course of ten days, and both Structure A and Structure F were identified and sampled by John Chenoweth and a small volunteer crew of professional archaeologists. An oven feature was identified between the two structures, and was likely in contemporaneous use with both structures based on preliminary dating of visible artifacts found on the surface near the oven and left in situ. Test units of one square meter each were sampled in two rooms of Structure A, while four test units were sampled in Structure F for a total of six units. Unit A1 was sampled from the northeastern room of Structure A along the middle wall, while Unit A2 was sampled from the southeastern room, along the same wall. Structure F was sampled 25% more by area than Structure A, which is accounted for in the analysis. The excavation of the site was small, but yielded a large and diverse sample of artifacts that will be used to identify the chronology of the site and to compare the material culture of the two structures.

Structure A and Structure F

Structure A (figure 6) consists of four rooms and a basement in the northwest room with stairs leading to the main floor, and is the largest structure surveyed on the site. There is an arch under the stairs next to the entrance of the northeastern room, which is open to the basement. This room was covered, and the ceiling created a room above, level with the other three rooms. The building is aligned north south, and is located on the map below the second building, Structure F. Structure A was constructed in two stages. The two largest rooms to the north including test unit A1 were built earlier, and feature gun ports built into the walls. The two smaller rooms to the south, including test unit A2, are an addition to the building. The gun ports are not present in the later stage of construction, and the walls of the addition close off some of the existing gun ports, rendering them unusable. The gun ports suggest the building was constructed during a period of instability or war, such as the early days of the colony when the

islands faced attack from other European nations, during the Seven Year's War, or after a period of worry following the 1798 rebellion, Haitian Revolution, or subsequent rebellions around 1830 in the British Virgin Islands (pers. comm., John M. Chenoweth 2016).

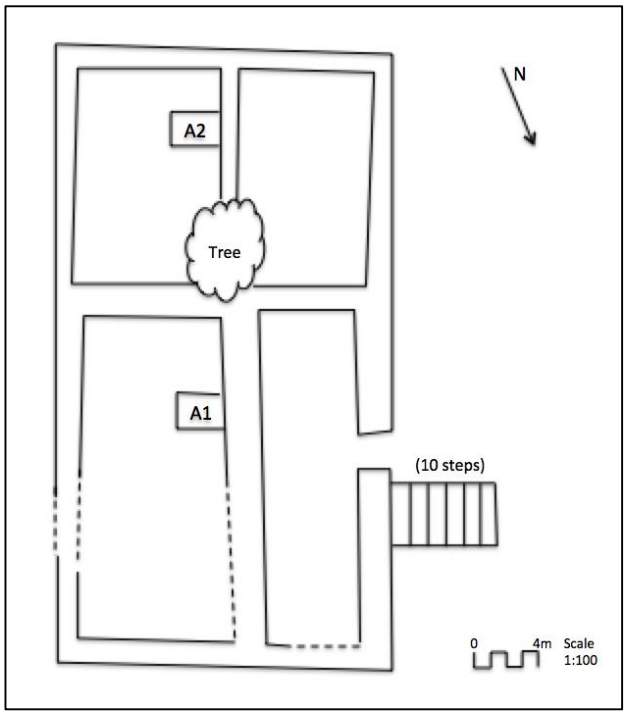

Figure 6. Structure A on the Great Camanoe Site

The second largest structure to the north of Structure A has been labeled Structure F, and consists of two parts – a main room and smaller, trapezoidal room pointing to the north towards the road (figure 7). The two parts are not aligned, and were most likely constructed at different times. The small room has a lower wall, while the large room is constructed with tall, more intact walls. The back wall of the large room near unit F2 also contains an archway that was later closed. There is a water-catchment feature and drain in the southwest corner, which could indicate that the structure was used to distill rum from cane juice, which requires a lot of water. Structure F is also located closest to the sugar works and production areas of the plantation. The building was constructed using posts with wattle-and-daub or thatched walls. The postholes are

recoverable archaeologically, and there are ghost impressions in the mortar on the stone walls of the posts (pers. comm., John M. Chenoweth 2016).

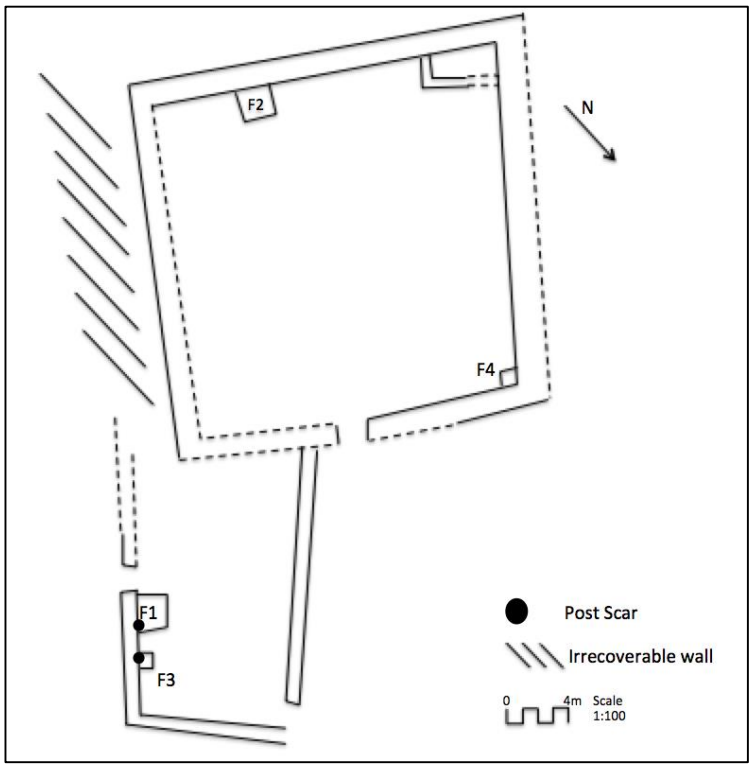

Figure 7. Structure F on the Great Camanoe Site

Architecturally, both Structure A and Structure F show evidence of multiple periods of construction. First, the low walls of the room with units F1 and F3 do not connect with the high walls of the room in Structure F with units F2 and F4. The room with units F2 and F4 is seemingly built over top of the room with units F1 and F3. The back wall near unit F2 also formed an arch at one time which was later closed up (figure 8), indicating a third period of construction. In Structure A, the room with unit A1 and the adjacent room contain gunports (figure 9), while the smaller room with unit A2 and its adjacent room do not contain these gunports and close off the existing ports. The two smaller rooms seem to be an addition to the original structure. These architectural differences show that sections of the site were occupied for varying periods of time.

Figure 8. Closed archway of Structure F

Figure 9. Gunports in Structure A

Dating the Site

The mean production dates of ceramics as well as items with makers' marks or dateable features may be used in conjunction with architecture to date the site. Similar broad patterns in ceramics can be applied to artifact assemblages between the American South, where these

ceramics have been more extensively studied, and the British Caribbean (Lange and Carlson 1985). Consequently, Stanley South's Mean Ceramic Dating (MCD) formula (South 1977) may be applied to date ceramics in the Caribbean (Wilkie 2001), and therefore obtain a relative date for the site and a rough chronology of occupation for the structures. The MCD is the "average production age for a ceramic assemblage based on the frequency and mean production date of each type included" (Chenoweth, Farahani 2015:317). Average production dates are based on ware, decoration, and form. The mean production dates for each ceramic type were taken from George Miller's "Telling Time for Archaeologists" (2001), Stanley South's "Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology" (1977), Ivor Noël Hume's "A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America" (1969) and Majewski and O'Brien's "The Use and Misuse of Nineteenth-Century English and American Ceramics in Archaeological Analysis" (1987). A mean ceramic date was calculated for the structure as a whole, which roughly dated the site to 1733. However, this date is very early. Mean ceramic dates were also produced for both Structure A and Structure F by unit to account for the discrepancy in date between rooms in each of the buildings (table 1).

Table 1. Mean Ceramic Dates for Structures A and F

	Structure A		**Structure F**	
Unit	A1	A2	F2, F4	F1, F3
Mean Ceramic Date	1784	1754	1728	1634

The dates for Structure A are later than the average for the structure as a whole, and Structure A dates to a slightly later time period than Structure F. Units F1 and F3 yield a significantly earlier date than the rest of the site. The MCD formula is imperfect because it is only able to provide the average production date for ceramics rather than a certain date range for

when each structure was occupied, since production ranges for some ceramics are much larger than others and taking the average may skew the dates (Chenoweth, Farahani 2015). Yet it is still used as the standard to date historic archaeological sites. Mean Ceramic Dating is also completely reliant on the classification of ceramics into dateable types based upon visual analysis. Ceramics are dated based upon known production ranges for specific wares, forms and decoration. However, the original form or decoration may not always be present on a sherd, in which case color is often used to distinguish between types; notably, pearlware, creamware, or whitewares, which are the most abundant types on 18th to 19th century plantation sites and this site. These types are differentiated by the color of the glaze, but using color as a method of identification can be subjective (Chenoweth, Farahani 2015). An Imagining Spectrocolorimeter was used to obtain tristimulus values under the CIEL*a*b* system (International Commission on Illumination) to differentiate between the lightness and hue of refined earthenwares and classify them as pearlware, creamware, or whitewares, due to the need for a repeatable method of classification (Chenoweth, Farahani 2015). While these values are not discussed in-depth here, it is important to note that a comparison of these values to human visual analysis highlights the "inherent ambiguity" in identifying these wares based upon color, yet this identification is essential to mean ceramic dating (Chenoweth, Farahani 2015: 317).

To account for the entire range of production of a ceramic type, a newer system of mean ceramic dating called the Best Linear Unbiased Estimator or "BLUE" Mean Ceramic Date (BLUE MCD) is a method of mean ceramic dating developed by Fraser Nieman and Karen Smith (Chenoweth, Farahani 2015) that uses the best linear unbiased estimator or Gauss-Markov statistical theorem to adjust mean ceramic dates. Therefore, ceramics with very long

manufacturing spans do not skew the data as in South's standard Mean Ceramic Dating formula. The BLUE MCD formula is located below:

$$MCD_{BLUE} = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{t} m_i p_i \left(\frac{1}{s_i/6}\right)^2}{\sum_{i=1}^{t} p_i \left(\frac{1}{s_i/6}\right)^2}.$$

The "i" value stands for the type of ceramic, the "m" value is equivalent to the mean production date, the "p" value is equivalent to the count of the ceramic, and the "s" value is equivalent to the span of production. The formula is used for each type of ceramic, and the average of the products for each type produces the BLUE Mean Ceramic Date. The BLUE Mean Ceramic Date for the site as a whole is 1820, which is much later than the standard mean ceramic date dating the site to 1733. The BLUE MCD for the structures are compared to the standard Mean Ceramic Dates in table 2.

Table 2. BLUE MCD Compared to Standard MCD for Structures A and F

	Structure A		**Structure F**	
Unit	A1	A2	F2, F4	F1, F3
BLUE MCD	1826	1831	1809	1804
Mean Ceramic Date	1784	1754	1728	1634

The BLUE Mean Ceramic Date yields dates for each unit that are much closer in range, and much later, than the standard Mean Ceramic Dates. These dates still suggest that structure F was occupied before Structure A, or that the occupants possessed older ceramics than the occupants in Structure A. The BLUE Mean Ceramic Dating also suggests unit A2 was constructed later

than unit A1 instead of earlier, which better matches the architectural evidence for the chronology of construction on the site. These dates also straddle key transitional moments in the British plantation economy – the ban on the international slave trade in 1807 and the the passage of the law abolishing slavery in 1833.

In addition to mean ceramic dating, specific artifacts can reveal dates for the site. Gunflints were found in both units A1 and A2 and were used as "strike-a-lights", or flint used to start a fire by striking it against a piece of metal. These flints are trapezoidal in shape and classified as "prismatic", which were developed in the late 1600s (Chenoweth 2011). All of the flint is well worn and was most likely used over an extended period of time. The gunflint in unit A2-2 is nearly black in color, and the presence of black English flint on an archaeological site dates the context to the year 1790 or later, which is consistent with the mean ceramic date obtained for unit A1 of Structure A (Kenmotsu 2000: 343).

A maker's mark or personal mark of a company or creator on a product can denote a specific year or range of years a product was made. One sherd of pearlware in unit A2 (figure 9) contains a maker's mark for W. Davenport & Co., with an anchor symbol, the letters "ORT" and the number "6" on the right side of the anchor. The first number on the left side of the anchor denotes the decade the ceramic was produced, while the second number to the right of the anchor denotes the year in the decade (figure 10). Therefore, the "6" below Davenport could indicate the year 1806, 1816, 1826, etc. (Godden 1965). These marks were in production between 1793 and 1887, which limits the possible date range for the ceramic. Unit A2 is located in the addition to the structure, indicating that the original structure may have been constructed as early as 1796, or earlier.

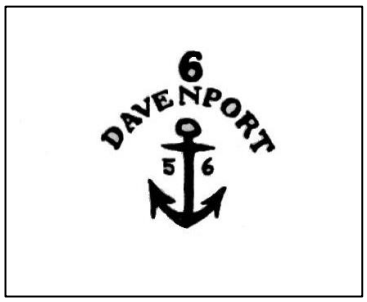

Figure 10. Davenport Maker's Mark sherd and Davenport Symbol[4]

A total of 45 pipe pieces, including 17 pipe bowls and 28 stems, and one intact pipe bowl were recovered from the site. Pipe stem length and bore diameters were recorded using drill bits in known diameters in 64ths of an inch, although this method may not be entirely accurate for refined dating (Chenoweth 2011). Some pipe bowls had evidence of burning, indicating frequent use.

Only two out of the 46 pipe pieces had any markings, and both were located in unit A1 of Structure A. One piece simply has a series of patterned raised dots along the stem. However, the other piece has a molded inscription along the stem (figures 11 and 12). The stem is decorated with vine leaves and the inscription H.HEY/BREMEN, however, it is unlikely that this is a maker's mark, and is instead most likely an advertisement for the H.HEY/BREMEN company. H.HEY/BREMEN is likely an abbreviation for the Hermann Heye Glasfabrik, or Hermann Heye glass company, established in Bremen, Germany in 1819. BREMEN • H. HEYE appears molded onto the base of glass bottles from the 1840s to the 1870s (Lockhart and Serr and Lindsey 2008), indicating that the site dates as late as the mid-19th century.

[4] Image of Davenport Symbol taken from the California Department of Recreation website http://www.parks.ca.gov/?page_id=22465

Figure 11. H. HEYE Inscription on Pipe Stem

Figure 12. BREMEN Inscription on Pipe Stem

Units F1 and F3 contained concealed objects, including grape shot, and ammunition used in cannons. The grape shot may be connected to the presence of gun ports in Structure A, and similar to how these ports were closed by a later addition to the structure, the grape shot is not found in any other context. This corroborates evidence that a specific period of occupation of the site may have been tumultuous or under threat of attack.

Summary

The Great Camanoe Plantation site was a smallholder sugar plantation, and was occupied throughout the 18th to the mid 19th century. The site includes two structures, Structure A and Structure F, which contain contexts with different dates of occupation. Artifacts were recovered from four different contexts in each structure, and Mean Ceramic Dating (MCD) was employed with an analysis of other artifacts and features to obtain relative dates for the site and each context, in order to construct a history of the site and to determine which contexts are roughly contemporaneous. Both structures were most likely used contemporaneously, and the BLUE Mean Ceramic Dating confirmed the architectural evidence for chronology on the site and revealed that Structure F contained older artifacts than Structure A.

While the BLUE Mean Ceramic Dating yields much closer date ranges, due to the differences in dating and architecture between the units in Structure F, units F1 and F3 will be taken out of the following comparison between Structure A and Structure F. The grapeshot in

units F1 and F3 will be discussed separately from this comparison in the interpretive section. All analysis is executed with the goal of comparing the two structures, Structure A and F, to gain a better understanding of status differences between the occupants of the structures.

Comparative Analysis and Results

Four classes of material culture – ceramics, glass, metal, and fauna – are analyzed to examine the functional and status variation at this site. This study is not intended to be an exhaustive analysis of all artifacts on the site; rather, the analysis is completed in order to understand how the structures were used and how they changed over time. Most of the artifacts in Structure A are small finds, such as buttons or clothing hooks or small pieces of ceramics, which would have fallen through the floorboards of the structure in a frequently cleaned space. It is unclear how the artifacts in Structure F became a part of the archaeological record, since there are not many artifacts found in this structure that are small finds or that seem to be refuse from a trash pit.

The socioeconomic status of the inhabitants is examined through comparing the frequency of domestic or luxury items in each context, items that denote power and wealth. Ceramics and glass are indicative of both status and the time in which the site was occupied. Status is investigated within the context of a slave-holding society, in which "ethnic caste (black and white)" largely determined an individual's high or low status (Mullins Moore 1985:143). Kitchen artifacts, especially ceramics, have been shown to be especially indicative of socioeconomic status, and a higher frequency of tableware and flatware indicates higher status (Mullins Moore 1985:150). Kitchen artifacts may also be present in enslaved contexts, but enslaved persons and overseers also commonly received mass-produced goods such as kitchen

artifacts handed down from the planter, as evidenced by wear or an especially old date. Enslaved people may have hand-made colonowares for themselves as well, although there is little evidence for colonowares in the BVI. Many of the artifacts are non-ceramic household or domestic items, and these are analyzed in a section on "metal and domestic artifacts". Finally, shell is also analyzed to better understand status and identity on the site. The shell does not only indicate what people were eating, but also who may have been collecting the food, and for whom. As stated above, only units F2 and F4 of Structure F will be compared to units A1 and A2 of Structure A, since these contexts are more likely contemporaneous.

Lab Work and Cataloging

Dr. John Chenoweth received permission for the artifacts to be transported out of the territory to the University of Michigan, Dearborn campus for analysis by the Department of Culture in the BVI and the landowners. Artifacts were washed, unless washing would cause potential damage. Material from each context was separated into three bags – faunal, iron, and ceramics (including both ceramics and glass). The shell, iron, glass, and ceramics were all cataloged and analyzed in the Dearborn lab, while any animal bone was sent to another lab to be analyzed and will not be discussed in this study.

Though Dr. Chenoweth's students had completed some cataloging of materials following fieldwork, I completed all identification of artifacts and data entry for this study to ensure analytical consistency. Each piece of ceramic and pipe was entered separately, while shell, iron, and glass were grouped by type. The following attributes were recorded for all artifacts: find area, find unit, find locus, identification number, type or class, size category[5], weight, description, and modifications (burned, rolled, worked). "Find locus" refers to the stratigraphic

[5] Size was measured with a sizing chart created by the project, consisting of squares each measuring one centimeter larger on all sides than the last. An artifact was given the size equal to the side of the smallest square it would fit entirely inside when laid flat and viewed from directly overhead (Chenoweth 2011).

level within the unit in which an artifact is found. For example, A2-4 refers to locus 4 in unit A2 in Structure A. For shell, the family and genus/species, and minimum number of individuals (MNI) was recorded. For ceramics, the production range, rim diameter, and color measurements were recorded. An Imaging Spectrocolorimeter was used to compare the ceramic glaze color on refined earthenwares in this assemblage along with a visual analysis as a method to differentiate between pearlware, creamware, or whiteware.

Artifacts Recovered

The following sections contain a comparative analysis of the artifacts recovered from both Structure A and Structure F. The sections are separated by material. A total of 4,047 artifacts were sampled from the site, and these were cataloged in a total of 946 entries. Ceramics and glass are analyzed first followed by an analysis of metal and other domestic artifacts, and faunal remains. A complete catalog of all ceramics, glass, metal and domestic artifacts may be found in Appendix A, while a complete catalog of all faunal remains may be found in Appendix B.

Ceramics and Glass

Ceramic types are well-documented, and can say a lot about the people who lived on a plantation including the time period in which the plantation was occupied and the wealth and status of the occupants. Glass and pipes are also included in the discussion of ceramics. Historical archaeologists divide ceramics into three large categories – earthenwares, stonewares, and porcelain. Earthenwares are further divided into coarse earthenwares including lead-glaze slipwares, refined earthenwares, and tin-glazed wares. These categories are further refined into types categorized by fabric or paste, glaze, and decoration. “Brick” is used to identify unglazed redwares that are not part of a vessel and “Redwares” are a type of lead-glaze slipware, while “Astbury”, “Green-Glazed” or “Whieldon ware” (Noël Hume 1969), “Jackfield”, “Pearlware”,

"Creamware", and "Whiteware" are all types of refined earthenwares. These typologies have specific date ranges of manufacture and known costs, and can be used to date the site or identify the wealth of the owner. To compare the presence of ceramic types between the two structures, all of the identified wares excluding pipes and their frequency in each structure are included in the table below (table 2).

Table 2. Ceramic Types, Ware, and Counts in Structure A and Structure F

	Structure A		Structure F	
Ware	Count	%	Count	%
Astbury	1	0.3	1	0.3
Brick	0	0	0	0
Coarse Earthenware	0	0	6	2.1
Gray-Bodied Earthenware	0	0	1	0.3
Green-Glazed	0	0	1	0.3
Tin-glazed	5	1.7	23	8.0
Jackfield	2	0.7	2	0.7
Redware	15	5.2	3	1.0
Stoneware	8	2.8	6	2.1
Staffordshire Mottled	0	0	4	1.4
Staffordshire Slipware	0	0	0	0
Porcelain	2	0.7	2	0.7
Pearlware	85	29.7	4	1.4
Creamware	34	11.9	35	12.2
Whiteware	26	9.1	1	0.3
Total	**178**	**62.2 %**	**108**	**37.8 %**

The total number of ceramics sampled from the site is much higher in Structure A, at 62.2% compared to 37.8% in Structure F. Pearlware and creamware make up the largest percentage of ceramics in the assemblage, but only 1.4% of the ceramics in Structure F are pearlware and 0.3% are whiteware compared to 29.7% of pearlware and 9.1% of whiteware in Structure A. A larger percentage of the ceramics in Structure F are tin-glazed ware, creamware, and coarse earthenwares, which have much earlier mean production dates. These differences in older compared to newer ceramics may not simply indicate when the site was occupied, but may also

indicate that the inhabitants of Structure F were receiving hand-me-down possessions. Interestingly, both structures contain porcelain; but the number of porcelain sherds is too small for any type of comparison.

Glass may also be used to indicate status. Bottle form and decoration is used to indicate utilitarian or luxury items, but the majority of the glass in this assemblage is too fragmentary to be identified by form. However, some of the glass has been separated between bottles and tableware. Fragments of case bottles and wine bottles were prevalent throughout the site. Clear, thin flat glass resembling window glass was also found, but window glass in the Caribbean is rare, and these pieces are too small to be identified as such. Although, this flat glass may have been pieces of clear case bottles or medicine bottles. Glass was also sorted by color and transparency, and surface features such as wear, patination, and solarization, using the Parks Canada Glass Glossary (Jones and Sullivan 1989). This section will focus on tableware and three bottles identified as medicine bottles found in both Structure A and F.

Tableware refers to "vessels used to serve food and drink, and for glassware used on the dining table, such as tumblers, bowls, and pitchers, and for decorative items such as vases" (Jones and Sullivan 1989). Large pieces of tableware were present in Structure A, yet one highball glass tumbler was also found in Structure F. The tableware piece in Structure A was found in locus A1-5, and formed the upper part of a fluted goblet (figure 13). The other pieces of likely tableware in this context were identified by color, transparency and thickness since the form was unidentifiable, and were found in units A1 and A2.

Figure 13. Fluted Tableglass

Medicine bottles are identified by the color of the glass as well as the flanged lip of the bottle. Two fragments of medicine or extract bottles are present in locus A1-2, and one fragment is present in locus A2-2. Of the two pieces, one is a probable medicine bottle identified by its dark cobalt blue color, however, this type of glass was also used for tableware and cosmetic containers (Jones and Sullivan 1989). The other piece was identified by its patent lip and single ring on the neck, a common form for medicine bottles (Jones and Sullivan 1989). Unfortunately none of the pieces contained makers' marks.

Nearly all of the glass tableware and new ceramics were found in Structure A while Structure F contained only older ceramics. Ceramics in Structure F also had a higher amount of use-wear. The ceramics and glass clearly indicate that the inhabitants of Structure A had access to newer, nicer ceramics and luxury items such as packaged medicine and fancy table glass, while the inhabitants of Structure F were receiving older ceramics or needed to use their ceramics for a longer period of time, and may not have had the opportunity to acquire new ceramics.

Metal and Domestic Artifacts

Most metal on the site consists of iron fragments, including nail fragments or whole nail heads and shafts. Nails may be cut or wrought iron but cut nails are rare on 18th to 19th century Caribbean sites, until the late 1800s (pers. comm., John M. Chenoweth 2016). The head and shaft of hand-wrought iron nails are formed out of a single piece of iron, while the shaft of "cut" nails are cut by a machine, and the nail head is then pounded on to the nail (figure 14). Nails and nail fragments were found throughout the site in both structures.

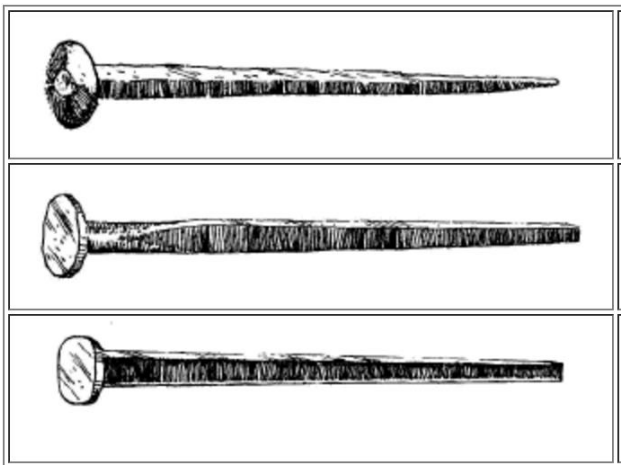

Figure 14. Wrought (top) and Cut (bottom two) Nails

Lead, pewter, and copper-alloy artifacts were also found on the site. Lead scraps might indicate weaponry, however they may have also been re-used to form other items such as fishing weights, and were found in both structures. A square-shaped piece of lead with a hole through the center found in unit A1, level 4, and would have likely been used to weight fishing nets. In the same context, a nearly intact iron spoon with a bone handle was also recovered. A long iron piece resembling a screwdriver was found in unit F4 that may have been an eating utensil, but it is too fragmentary to be identified. Pewter as well as pieces of copper plating were found in Structure A, but these are also too fragmentary to be identified.

A copper-alloy apothecary weight with the engraving for a two scruple measurement in the style of a typical 19th century set (Biggs 1994: 11), probably British (Vangroenweghe and Geldof 1989: plate 43), was found in unit A1. It is likely dated to before 1858, when laws intended to replace the apothecaries measurement system were enacted; while these laws were often ignored and the weights continued in use, those manufactured later typically have the avoirdupois measurements (ounces, pounds) on the other side which are absent from this piece (Vangroenweghe and Geldof 1989: 62-3) (pers. comm., John M. Chenoweth 2016).

Three pieces of furniture hardware were found in units A1 and A2, including a drawer handle and a copper-alloy keyhole cover. The handle is thin and u-shaped with a bulging midsection and bale handles that turn outward at the top, which most closely resembles the "Chippendale" furniture style. This style of hardware was in use by the mid-18th century from 1750 to 1775 (Noël Hume 1969: 229 fig. 5). The keyhole cover is unable to be classified into a type, but its size suggests it was used on a piece of furniture rather than on a door. A copper-alloy screw found in unit A1 and copper-alloy tacks found in units A1 and F2 may have been used on furniture, but are unidentifiable.

Clothing items including copper-alloy hook-and-eye fasteners, bone buttons, and a metal buckle were found in unit A1. Most items in this context are very small, and may have been lost in a frequently cleaned space. Hook-and-eye fasteners were used on articles of clothing such as bodices, and were found throughout A1. A variety of bone buttons were also found in these contexts. The majority of the household and domestic artifacts found on the site, excluding ceramics, are all found in Structure A, and 75% of these are found in unit A1 (table 3).

Table 3. Domestic Artifacts on Great Camanoe

Unit	Level	Type	Count
A1	2	Apothecary Weight	1
	3	Keyhole Cover	1
	3, 4	Writing Slate	2
	4	Bone-handle Utensil	1
	5	Copper-alloy Screw	1
	5	Copper-alloy Buckle?	2
	2, 3, 4	Buttons	7
	2, 4, 5	Copper-alloy Tack	6
	2, 3, 4, 5	Hook-and-eye fastener	5
A2	2, 4	Buttons	2
	2, 4	Gun Flint	2
	2, 4	Chippendale handle	1
F2	2	Copper-alloy Tack	1
F4	8	Utensil?	1
Grand Total			**38**

Conversely, fragments of raw, unworked, milky quartz were only found in Structure F, primarily in units F2 and F4, but a small amount was also recovered from unit F1. A total of 59 fragments of quartz were recovered, none of which had evidence of polishing or human modification (table 4).

Table 4. Frequency of Quartz in Structure F by Unit

Unit	Count
F1	16
F2	24
F4	19
Total	59

Quartz is a naturally occurring stone in the British Virgin Islands (Righter 2002), and should have been easily procured on the island. It is possible that the quartz was intentionally placed on

the site in these contexts, since it does not occur at all in Structure A, but more evidence is needed.

Not only did Structure A contain a higher percentage of newer ceramics and tableglass, Structure A also contained all but two of the entire collection of domestic artifacts found in these contexts of Structure A and Structure F. These items included objects for clothing, furniture, occupation and leisure or education such as the writing slate. These domestic artifacts also consistently date Structure A to a period spanning from the late 18th to mid-19th century, around 1850 which is consistent with the dating previously discussed.

Faunal

Faunal remains, primarily shell, constitute over half of the artifacts recovered at a total of 2,063 shell specimens. A complete catalog of these artifacts can be found in Appendix B. My analysis focuses on the shell, while someone else is currently analyzing animal bones and other faunal remains. These will not be included in this study. Table 5 identifies the forty-four species of shell present on the site, as well as their uses and common names.

Table 5: Shell Identifications and Possible Uses on Great Camanoe (44 Species)

Class	Family	Genus and Species	Uses
Bivalvia	Anomiidae (saltwater clam)	Various Species	---
	Arcidae (ark)	Acar domingensis (white mini ark)	Bait or Secondary food
		Arca zebra (turkey wing ark clam)	Bait or Secondary food
	Cardiidae (cockle)	Various Species	Primary food
	Isognomonidae (purse shell)	Various Species	---
	Lucinidae (saltwater clam)	Codakia orbicularis (tiger lucine)	Primary food
		Ctena orbiculata (dwarf tiger lucine)	Primary food
	Mytilidae (mussel)	Various Species	Primary food
	Ostreidae (edible oyster)	Ostrea edulis (European flat oyster)	Primary food
	Pectinidae (scallop)	Nodipecten nodosus (lion's paw scallop)	---
	Pinnidae (pen shell)	Atrina serrata (saw-tooth pen shell)	---
	Tellinidae (tellins)	Various Species	Secondary food
	Trachycardium (mollusc)	Various Species	---
	Veneridae (saltwater clam)	Venus	Primary food
	Acmaeidae (true limpet)	Various Species	Secondary food
	Cerithiidae (cerith)	Various Species	---
	Columbellidae (dove snail)	Columbella mercatoria	Secondary food
	Cypraeidae (cowrie)	Various Species	Ornamental/Symbolic
	Fasciolariidae (tulip snail)	Leucozonia nassa (chestnut nassa)	Secondary food
	Fissurellidae (keyhole limpet)	Diodora viridula	Secondary food
	Littorinidae (periwinkle)	Littoraria angulifera (mangrove periwinkle)	Bait or Secondary food
		Tectarius muricatus (beaded periwinkle)	Secondary food
	Marginellidae (margin snail)	Various Species	---
	Muricidae (murex snail)	Murex Species (rock snails)	Secondary food
		Ocenebra Species	
Gastropoda		Purpura patula	Purple dye
		Thais Species (dog winkles)	---
	Naticidae (moon snail)	Polinices lacteus	Secondary food
		Nerita Species (nerites)	Secondary food
		Nerita undata	Secondary food
		Nerita versicolor	Secondary food
	Patellidae (true limpet)	Various Species	Bait or Secondary food
	Siphonariidae (false limpet)	Siphonaria pectinata (striped false limpet)	Secondary food
	Strombidae (conch)	Various Species	Primary food
	Triviidae (sea snail)	Trivia quadripunctata ("cowrie")	Ornamental/Symbolic
	Trochidae (top snail)	Cittarium pica (whelk)	Primary food
	Truncatellidae (looping snail)	Truncatella pulchella (beautiful truncatella)	---
	Turbinidae (turban snail)	Astrea tecta (star shell)	Secondary food, Buttons?
		Astrea tuber (star shell)	Secondary food, Buttons?
		Turbo castanea (chestnut turban)	Secondary food
	Vermetidae (worm snail)	Various Species	---
Malacostraca	---	Various Species	Primary food
Maxillopoda	---	Various Species	---
Polyplacophora	Chitonidae (chiton)	Various Species	Primary food

A total of 1,269 shell species, over half of the shell, are edible species. Each species of edible shell is categorized as a primary or secondary food source. Primary food sources are the most desirable, while secondary food sources are less desirable or eaten when other food is scarce. Only the largest secondary food sources would be consumed and some secondary food sources, such as the *Arcidae* species or "Arks" and *Siphonaria pectinata*, were more often used as fishing bait (Chenoweth 2011). The frequency of total edible shell is almost the same in both structures, at 49.8% in Structure A and 50.2% in Structure F (table 6).

Table 6: Ubiquity of Edible Shell in Structures A and F

	Structure A				**Structure F**			
	N	%	MNI	%	N	%	MNI	%
Primary Food								
Cardiidae (cockle)	2	0.6	2	2.9	0	0	0	0
Codakia orbicularis	19	5.5	6	8.7	7	2.0	2	5.7
Ctena orbiculata	1	0.3	1	1.4	0	0	0	0
Mytilidae	1	0.3	1	1.4	0	0	0	0
Ostrea Edulis (oyster)	8	2.3	4	5.8	2	0.6	2	5.7
Veneridae sp.	2	0.6	2	2.9	1	0.3	1	2.9
Strombidae (conch)	1	0.3	1	1.4	4	1.1	1	2.9
Cittarium Pica (whelk)	214	61.7	11	15.9	299	85.4	12	34.3
Malacostraca (crustacean)	1	0.3	1	1.4	0	0	0	0
Chitonidae	3	0.9	3	4.3	26	7.4	9	25.7
Total	252	72.6	32	46.4	339	96.9	27	77.1
Secondary Food								
Arcidae sp.	3	0.9	3	4.3	0	0	0	0
Tellinidae	26	7.5	5	7.2	1	0.3	1	2.9
Acmaeidae	13	3.7	3	4.3	0	0	0	0
Columbella mercatoria	23	6.6	7	10.1	1	0.3	1	2.9
Leucozonia nassa	1	0.3	1	1.4	0	0	0	0
Diodora viridula	3	0.9	1	1.4	0	0	0	0
Littorinidae sp.	5	1.4	5	7.2	2	0.6	2	5.7
Murex sp.	6	1.7	1	1.4	0	0	0	0
Naticidae sp.	1	0.3	1	1.4	0	0	0	0
Patellidae	1	0.3	1	1.4	0	0	0	0
Siphonaria pectinata	8	2.3	4	5.8	7	2.0	4	11.4
Turbinidae sp.	5	1.4	5	7.2	0	0	0	0
Total	95	27.3	37	53.6	11	3.1	8	22.9
Grand Total	**347**	**49.8**	**69**	**66.3**	**350**	**50.2**	**35**	**33.7**

The majority of food source shell found in both Structures A and F at 61.7% and 85.4% respectively, is *Cittarium pica* or West Indian Topshell, also known as "whelk". The second most abundant shell in Structure F is *Chitonidae* or "Chiton", which are usually eaten at the point of collection (Chenoweth 2011). The minimum number of individuals or "MNI" shows the amount of shell that could be identified as "one" shell. The percentage of MNI, rather than fragmentary shell, is much greater at 66.3% in Structure A and 33.7% in Structure F. Whelk is much easier to identify than other species when fragmented due to its coloring and shape, therefore, whelk may be overrepresented overall which may explain the difference in frequency between all shell and MNI shell. Whelk is also a favorite species for hermit crabs that use the shells for their homes, along with *Tectarius muricatus* in the *Littorinidae* family, also known as "periwinkles" (Chenoweth 2011). The intact shells may then have been introduced to the site or moved around on the site by hermit crabs rather than humans.

Structure F retains a slightly higher frequency of shell, but Structure A has a much greater variety of shell. That is, there are more different types of food sources in Structure A than in Structure F. To determine whether one room of Structure A was a specific area for food production (or consumption), the frequencies of edible shell in each unit of Structure A are evaluated (table 7).

Table 7. Frequency of Edible Shell in Units A1 and A2

	Unit A1		**Unit A2**	
	N	MNI	N	MNI
Primary Food	176	14	76	18
Secondary Food	65	22	30	15
Total	241	36	106	33
Total % of Structure A	**69.5%**	**52.2%**	**30.5%**	**47.8%**

Unit A1 has a higher percentage of edible shell, yet with such a small sample size, it is indeterminate whether unit A1 was used as a dining room or kitchen based upon the shell alone.

Summary

The ceramics, glass, and domestic artifacts not only help to more finely date the site, but also show a clear difference in the type of artifacts present or absent from each structure. Structure A contained more ceramics and more domestic artifacts while Structure F contained much less ceramics and domestic artifacts overall and of these, a higher frequency of older ceramics which had evidence of heavy use-wear. Further sampling for a greater body of evidence is needed to determine exactly for what each room was used, but status differences are clear between the two structures on the site.

Interpretations: The Enslaved and Planter on Great Camanoe

The History of the Site

Records describing the island of Great Camanoe indicate that it was inhabited by 1740, and the residents of Great Camanoe may have been some of the first to populate the island. The earlier units in both structure on the site, including the original room of Structure F as well as the earliest original part of Structure A, show that the site was threatened during this time and its residents desired to protect themselves and their property with gun ports and weaponry.

Later, these gun ports were closed and weaponry may not have been necessary, as the site entered a period of relative calm and affluence as an addition was added to Structure A and the residents were able to purchase newer ceramics and other material possessions. Structure F was also expanded upon, yet the inhabitants of this structure were clearly using the same material possessions over an extended period of time since artifacts in these contexts were much older and contained higher use-wear.

The standard mean ceramic dating of the site yielded earlier averages than indicated by the dates of the domestic use items and items with maker's marks, indicating that the inhabitants of the site may have been financially prosperous during the mid 18th century and witnessed a period of decline through the early to mid-19th century, but the BLUE Mean Ceramic Dating somewhat closes this gap. Artifacts such as the H.Heye/Bremen pipe stem and Davenport ceramic sherd found in Structure A indicate that it was being occupied up through the mid-19th century, however most of the ceramics are older, suggesting that the occupants were not able to purchase new items past the mid-18th to early 19th century. The site seems to have been abandoned by the 1850s, as there are no artifacts indicating occupation past this time. New policies implemented by Great Britain concerning slavery throughout this period, beginning with a ban on the international slave trade in 1807 and the abolition of slavery in 1838, may explain why this plantation was experiencing a period of decline. Since the plantation was already small, and would have been economically less prosperous than other larger plantations, the plantation most likely could not survive losing its enslaved labor force.

A Comparison of Structure A and Structure F

Differences in the quality and type of material culture found at the site in two separate occupations revealed stark differences in status of the occupants in each context. A lack of these artifacts in Structure F, such as domestic items or tableware, is also indicative of status. In the following section, these results will be interpreted in the context of the enslaved and planter on Great Camanoe.

Status on the Plantation

An analysis of the variety of artifacts recovered from the site reveal that there is a difference in the frequency of items that denote power and status, and those that are simply utilitarian or indicate lower status, between the two structures. The site is a sugar plantation, so it

can be assumed that a planting family as well as enslaved people lived and worked on this site. Yet an overseer or overseers may have also been present, either free or enslaved. Therefore, a primary question of this analysis is whether the social and legal status of these people can be determined based upon material culture alone.

All but two of the domestic objects are found in Structure A, especially in unit A1 that is the original room of the structure, indicating higher status in this structure. Structure A was then most likely home to a planting family, based upon the size of the house and the presence of items such as bone buttons, hook-and-eye fasteners, and buckles for clothing indicating female inhabitants, although there would have been enslaved women on the plantation as well. The family had fine china such as porcelain, decorated pearlware, and fluted table glass, as well as plain, undecorated ceramics. Pipe bowls and stems were found throughout both structures, but only Structure A contained decorated pipe stems. Structure A also contained a 2 scruple apothecary weight and medicine bottles, items that would probably not have been accessible to enslaved peoples. The furniture hardware, such as the Chippendale handle and keyhole cover were all found in Structure A, while no similar items were present in Structure F. Structure F also contained a much lower frequency of pearlware and whiteware, which are newer ceramics. Instead, the highest frequency of ceramics in Structure F were tin-glazed wares and creamware which are ceramics with earlier manufacturing dates and therefore items that may be considered secondhand, since Structure F was most likely in contemporaneous use with Structure A. Structure F also contains nearly 25% less ceramics overall.

However, Structure F is complicated by the presence of some similar ceramics, including a highball glass tumbler and pieces of writing slate, but these items were found in units F1 and F3 which are an older part of the structure, and most likely not completely contemporaneous

with the period in which the structure was converted into a building for production or to house the enslaved. In this case, the absence of certain items from units F2 and F4 in Structure F show a difference at least in economic status despite the small and relatively poorer nature of the site. Therefore, the people living in Structure F who coexisted with those living in Structure A were most likely of lower social standing than those in Structure A, and it is possible that they were enslaved.

Foodways and Identity

Faunal remains, primarily shell, are used to reveal what people on the site were eating and to identify food production areas. The desirability of certain types of shellfish allow the recovered materials to suggest the scarcity or availability of food, and because there are more primary sources of food on the site than secondary source and a variety of edible shell are found in Structure A, the people living there were most likely not living during a period of food scarcity. Yet shell alone will not provide a complete picture of foodways on the site, and further research on other faunal remains such as animal bone, ethnobotanical remains, and greater sample sizes are needed to understand what ingredients the people on this site were utilizing and what dishes they were serving up. The sample size of shell within Structure A is not large enough to definitively label the rooms containing units A1 or A2 as food production or dining areas. However, the higher frequency of shell in unit A1 can be interpreted with the presence of a fishing weight and eating utensil in the same context, indicating this room was at one time used to process food.

The shell analyzed in this study provides evidence not just for what people were eating, but also for how they were procuring their food, which may indicate social status. All of the edible shell found in this collection can be found in shallow water, and may have been collected by children (Chenoweth 2011:249). Chiton is the second most frequent edible shell found on the

site, and the majority of the chiton is found in Structure F. Historically, chiton is eaten fresh on the site of retrieval while collecting other shell, in which case chiton should not be found at the site. Enslaved people may have collected this chiton and brought it back to the site to prepare food for the planter family as seen on the Lettsom Plantation on Little Jost Van Dyke (Chenoweth 2011:233), yet nearly all of the chiton was found in Structure F rather than Structure A, which based on other artifacts is most likely the planter habitation. However, the chiton was only found in units A2, F1, and F3, and units F1 and F3 also contain domestic items of higher status and have been dated to an older occupation. As stated above, units F1 and F3 were left out of the comparison because they are a part of an older planter occupation, which would align with the patterning found on Little Jost Van Dyke (Chenoweth 2011:249). Structure F contained a slightly higher frequency of shell than Structure A, and this may indicate that enslaved people were utilizing more wild resources than the planter, or preparing food for the planter on site.

Concealed Objects and the Early Occupation of Structure F

Although ceramics and domestic items create a complex picture of status and identity between those may have occupied each structure, concealed objects in the earlier occupation of Structure F that were not included in the comparison of the two structures provide evidence for ritual practice and religious identity on the site. The act of concealing objects in places such as the foundations or corners of houses is indicative of ritual practice, and these objects can be identified as "apotropaic devices" or devices with the ability to ward off evil or bad luck. Iron may have been particularly symbolic in West African religious practices (Manning 2014), yet Europeans including the British and Anglo-Americans also practiced magic and ritual concealment, specifically of iron objects such as horseshoes, knives, nails, or bullets (Manning2014, Hoggard 2004).

Both grape shot and quartz are found in the earlier occupation of Structure F in units F1 and F3, and were located over 15cm below the surface and would have most likely been placed beneath the floor of Structure F at its time of use. Large deposits of iron grape shot were found in the post-holes of Structure F on Great Camanoe, in two test units – units F1 and F3. The grapeshot are quite corroded but several are intact enough to determine their approximate sizes and weights. At least two sizes are reflected; unit F1 contains shot of approximately 27-28mm (1.06- 1.1 inches) in diameter, weighing about 45g (1.6 ounces). Two well-preserved pieces of shot in unit F3 are slightly smaller, at 39g (1.375 ounces) and 23-24mm (0.9-0.95 inches) in diameter (pers. comm., John M. Chenoweth 2016).

Grapeshot are round iron balls that are used as ammunition in cannons. The round balls were assembled in bunches in canvas bags and fired at close range. The term "grape shot" refers to bunches of ammunition that resembled a bunch of grapes, and not the size of the shot, which could range from large to small and was used in both naval and land artillery. While these pieces have been, for convenience, collectively referred to as "grapeshot" their size places them on the line between grape and case shot. Grapeshot was an arrangement of 24-154 balls of between 1.25 ounces and a pound and a half, set around a wooden spindle and secured with rope and canvas covering, such that the whole could be easily moved as a unit (McConnell 1988: 315-319). These were fired in lieu of solid cannon balls, and the separate pieces immediately dispersed in a widening cone of metal, which was very effective against large groups of people at shorter distances. Case or canister shot worked by the same principle, but for a wider area at a shorter distance, since the balls were smaller and were held together by a tin-and-wood can, which would break up upon firing (McConnell 1988: 319). At approximately 1.5 and 1.25 ounces, the examples recovered from Great Camanoe would have been used in smaller caliber guns. For

instance, 12 1.25oz balls were combined into a case for a one-pounder gun, or 1.5oz balls could be fired in a case from 2 or 3-pounders (20 or 30 of them, respectively) (Wilkinson-Latham 1973: 29-30). Shot tended to become somewhat larger over time, and 1.25 ounce shot do not appear on size charts after 1780; even before this, from 1766-1780 they were considered most proper for land use at this small size. (McConnell 1988: 502-505) (pers. comm., John M. Chenoweth 2016).

The deposits of grape shot were only located in Structure F, and none were found in Structure A. Both caches of grape shot were found in postholes between 15 and 26cm below the surface, and would have most likely been located just beneath the floor of the structure. Post-in-ground construction was typical for buildings in this part of the Caribbean during this time, and posts were often removed after a building was abandoned in order to use the wood that would have been scarce on the island to build new structures. After the post is removed, the hole slowly fills up with sediment. The removal of the post means that the artifacts located in the posthole and the surrounding "robbing pit" are disturbed. In unit F1 the robbing pit and posthole were difficult to define separately during excavation, therefore the lowest contexts are labeled level 5&6 and level 6. The grapeshot were probably buried during construction of the building, and disturbed when the post was removed as seen in Figure 15.

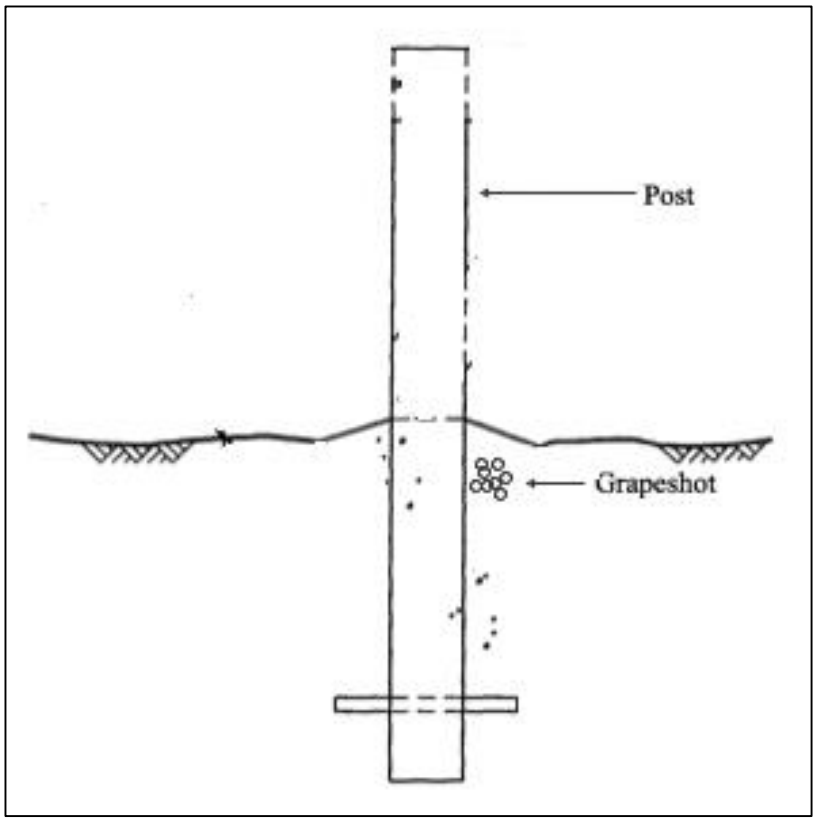

Figure 15. Post-in-hole construction and likely location of grape shot[6]

The grape shot found at Great Camanoe may be uniquely linked to the local context of the Caribbean, in which islands were constantly under the threat of attack by competing European powers or, at this time between 1790 and the 1830s, under the threat of revolts by enslaved people. This is corroborated by the presence of gun ports in Structure A. Evidence of cross-cultural exchange across ethnic or racial boundaries is distinctive in the Caribbean, and there is a possibility that folk ritual beliefs were shared across other racial, religious, or class lines (Manning 2014). Due to the presence of other domestic artifacts in units F1 and F3 that are more characteristic of the planter than the enslaved, and which yield much earlier dates than units F2 and F4, it is more likely that the planting family occupied the part of Structure F with these units. Therefore, grapeshot may have been concealed as an apotropaic device when the

[6] Redrawn from the Organization of American States (OAS) "Caribbean Disaster Mitigation" figure, http://www.oas.org/cdmp/document/codedraw/sectionc.htm

structure was built to protect against attacks either from pirates or even from slave revolts. Further analysis is necessary to explore religious identity and ritual practice during the earlier occupation of this site.

Conclusion

On small plantation sites in outlying islands like Great Camanoe, with no documentary evidence of its existence and little archival evidence discussing the island itself, archaeology is the primary means of understanding the people who lived on this island and how they used material culture to negotiate their identity. Unlike large antebellum plantations in the American South, or sprawling, wealthy Caribbean plantations on larger islands, issues of identity and social status would have been negotiated in daily life on sites like Great Camanoe, where the economic status of the planter may have been closer to the enslaved than to other European planters. Likewise, the Caribbean was often a tumultuous place, frequently attacked by other European powers and a place where enslaved people rebelled against the planters and sometimes succeeded. It was also a place of cultural mixing, and the early abolition of slavery in the British Empire as well as the close nature of the islands fostered a creole culture that developed in many places in the Caribbean post-slavery.

While the Great Camanoe plantation reveals clear evidence of status differences between the two occupied buildings, these differences are complicated by some similarities in ceramics and domestic items, demonstrating that it is difficult to separate planter and enslaved or overseer assemblages without archival evidence. Yet evidence of status differences and differences in dating which align with the evidence of a planting family in both Structure F and Structure A,

show that artifacts may indeed be used to illuminate religious or ethnic origins through the intersection of these identities with social and economic status.

Future Directions

Great Camanoe is an optimal site to study living conditions and status on a smallholder plantation site without archival evidence, but to conclusively determine for what each part of the plantation was used, more extensive excavation and greater sample sizes are needed. Future survey and sampling on the site should also seek to identify the slave quarters on the site, which may then be compared to the two structures analyzed in this study.

To more extensively study plantations in the Caribbean that do not have a written record, archaeologists should seek to establish artifact patterning specific to the Caribbean, similar to patterning that has been established by archaeologists such as Stanley South and Theresa Singleton in the US (Mullins Moore 1985). These patterns can then be analyzed in the context of processes that established them, which are unique to the Caribbean. Plantations like Great Camanoe should be compared to plantations that do have an archival record, and these comparisons may be applied to other small sites in the Caribbean. Archaeologists should not exclusively focus on large, wealthy and well-documented plantations but also small, poor, or forgotten sites to gain a complete picture of slavery and colonial life in the Caribbean.

Final Thoughts: Racial Identity and Critical Race Theory

At this time we cannot conclusively determine the racial identity or ethnic background of the people living on this site. However, it is important to recognize that enslaved African people would have lived, worked, and died on this site like many other plantations across the Western Hemisphere, and this legacy of slavery and colonialism created racial ideologies with lasting repercussions to the present. Critical Race Theory "acknowledges, analyzes, and challenges the fundamental role of the law in the construction of racial difference and the perpetuation of racial

oppression" (Epperson 2004: 101). Many have argued that race is not a viable subject for academic inquiry, yet Epperson cites a critique of this "vulgar anti-essentialism" by critical race theorists who state that while race is not a biological reality, "race is real 'in the sense that there is a dimension and weight to the experience of being 'raced'…a materiality sustained by law" (Epperson 2001 cite Crenshaw et. al 1995, Harrison 1995, Mukhopadhyay and Moses 1997) Succinctly put, "Race may not be real, but racism is" (Epperson 1997). Through this study it is clear that both slavery and legal racialization have a palpable and identifiable materiality. Racialization is the process by which people are "othered", or perceived as inferior based on either physical or social qualities to create an unequal social or legal relationship. Racialization and racism, in turn, do not have a basis in scientific fact – yet it is how people *perceive* "facts" about race that create real, material consequences (Orser 2007). Epperson calls for the need to "construct an African Diaspora archaeology that is simultaneously race-conscious and anti-essentialist" (Epperson 2004). For the archaeological study of race, it is important to recognize that while race is not a factual reality but an ideology, it has real-world, tangible consequences which archaeology may illuminate.

References Cited

Armstrong, Douglas V.
2003 *Creole Transformation from Slavery to Freedom: Historical Archaeology of the East End Community, St. John, Virgin Islands*. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.

Biggs, Norman
1994 *Apothecaries Weights: An Outline Catalogue*. Llanfyllin, Powys: White House Publications.

Chenoweth, J.M., and Farahani, Alan
2015 Color in historical ceramic typologies: A test case in statistical analysis of replicable measurements. In *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports*. pp. 310-319. Elsevier Ltd.

Chenoweth, J. M.
2014 Practicing and preaching Quakerism: Creating a religion of peace on a slavery-era plantation. In *American Anthropologist*, *Vol. 116 No.1*, pp. 94–109.

Chenoweth, J.M.
2011 Religion, Archaeology, and Social Relations: A Study of the Practice of Quakerism and Caribbean Slavery in the Eighteenth-Century British Virgin Islands. Dissertation submitted to University of California, Berkeley.

Epperson, Terrence W.
2004 Critical Race Theory and the Archaeology of the African Diaspora. In *Historical Archaeology Vol. 38 No. 1*, pp. 101-108. Society for Historical Archaeology.

Epperson, Terrence W.
2001 "A Separate House for the Christian Slaves, One for the Negro Slaves": The Archaeology of Race and Identity in Late Seventeenth-Century Virginia. In *Race and the Archaeology of Identity*, edited by Charles Orser, pp. 55-70. Foundations of Archaeological Inquiry Series. The University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.

Epperson, Terrence W.
1990 Race and the Disciplines of the Plantation. In *Historical Archaeology Vol. 24 No. 4, Historical Archaeology on Southern Plantations and Farms*, pp. 29-36. Society for Historical Archaeology.

Davidson, James M.
2015 "A Cluster of Sacred Symbols": Interpreting an Act of Animal Sacrifice at Kingsley Plantation, Fort George Island, Florida (1814–39). In *International Journal of Historical Archaeology Vol. 19*, pp. 76-121. Springer Science.

Godden, Geoffrey A.
1991 *An illustrated encyclopedia of British pottery and porcelain*. p. 189. Revised edition. Crown Publishing, New York.

Noël Hume, Ivor
1969 *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America*. University of Pennsylvania Press. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Jones, Olivia, and Sullivan, Catherine
1989 *The Parks Canada Glass Glossary for the description of containers, tableware, flat glass, and closures*. pp. 9-16, 79-81. Minister of the Environment, Ottawa.

Lockhart, Bill, and Lindsey, Bill, and Serr, Carol
2008 "The Dating Game: Hermann Heye Glasfabrik" . In *Bottles and Extras Vol. 19*, pp. 57-59.

Manning, M. Chris
2014 "Magic, Religion, and Ritual in Historical Archaeology". In *Historical Archaeology Vol. 48 No. 3*, pp. 1-9.

McConnell, David
1988 *British Smooth-Bore Artillery: A Technological Study to Support Identification, Acquisition, Restoration, Reproduction, and Interpretation of Artillery at National Historic Parks in Canada*. Ottowa: Parks Canada.

Mullins, Paul
2011 The Archaeology of Consumption. In the *Annual Review of Anthropology Vol. 40*, pp. 133-144.

Mullins Moore, Sue
1985 Social and Economic Status on the Coastal Plantation: An Archaeological Perspective. In *The Archaeology of Slavery and Plantation Life*, edited by Teresa A. Singleton, pp. 141-158. Academic Press, Inc.

Orser, Charles E.
2007 *The Archaeology of Race and Racialization in Historic America*. pp. 1-71, 179-186. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.

Orser, Charles E.
1990 Archaeological Approaches to New World Plantation Slavery. In *Archaeological Method and Theory, Vol. 2*, pp. 111-154. Springer Publishing.

Otto, John Solomon
1980 Race and Class on Antebellum Plantations. In *Artifacts and status differences: a comparison of ceramics from planter, overseer, and slave sites on an antebellum plantation*, pp. 3-11.

Righter, Elizabeth
2002 *The Tutu Archaeological Village Site: A Multi-disciplinary Case Study in Human Adaptation*. p. 95. Routledge, London.

Sussman, Charlotte
2000 *Consuming Anxieties: Consumer Protest, Gender, and British Slavery, 1713-1833*. Stanford University Press, Stanford, California.

Vangroenweghe, Daniel, and Tillo, Geldof
1989 *Apothecaries' Weights*. Brugge, Belgium: Centre for the Study of Apothecaries' Weights.

Watters, David R.
2001 Historical Archaeology in the British Caribbean. In *Island Lives: Historical Archaeologies of the Caribbean*, edited by Paul Farnsworth, pp. 82–99. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.

Wilkie, Laurie A.
2001 Methodist Intentions and African Sensibilities: The Victory of African Consumerism over Planter Paternalism at a Bahamian Plantation. In *Island Lives: Historical Archaeologies of the Caribbean*, edited by Paul Farnsworth, pp. 272-300. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.

Wilkinson-Latham, Robert
1973 *British Artillery on Land and Sea 1790-1820*. Newton Abbot: David and Charles.

Appendix A

	EU	Locus#	ID	Material	Type/Class	Decoration/Color	Ct.	Size	Wt.(g)	MPD	Form	Diameter
GC	A1	2	1	Iron	Nail		13	6	32.6		Head, wrought	
GC	A1	2	2	Iron	Nail		2	2	1		Head, tacks	
GC	A1	2	3	Iron	Nail		3	4	14.1		Wrought	
GC	A1	2	4	Iron	Nail		21	7	41.1		Shaft, wrought	
GC	A1	2	5	Iron	Nail		3	4	11.4		Shaft, cut?	
GC	A1	2	6	Iron	Fragments		16	3	4			
GC	A1	2	7	Iron	Fragments		19	3	4.8			
GC	A1	2	8	Charcoal	Fragments		3	2	0			
GC	A1	2	9	Mortar	Fragments		3	3	4.3			
GC	A1	2	10	Ceramic	Pipe		1	4	4.9		Bowl	
GC	A1	2	11	Ceramic	Pipe		4	3	1.7		Bowl	
GC	A1	2	12	Ceramic	Pipe		1		0.5		Stem	4/64 bit
GC	A1	2	13	Ceramic	Pipe		1		1.4		Stem	4/64 bit
GC	A1	2	14	Ceramic	Pipe		1		5.2		Stem	4/64 bit
GC	A1	2	15	Ceramic	Pipe	Decorated, Molded, "H.HEY/BREMEN", Botanical (leaves)	1		5		Stem	6/64 bit
GC	A1	2	16	Ceramic	Pearlware	Factory-turned Slipware, black anular banding, rouletting	1	2	1.3	1805	Rim	7%, 8cm
GC	A1	2	17	Ceramic	Pearlware	Factory-turned Slipware, brown anular banding	1	2	1.2	1805	Rim	5%, 8cm
GC	A1	2	18	Ceramic	Pearlware	Factory-turned Slipware, red anular banding	1	4	4.8	1805	Bowl base	6%, 22cm
GC	A1	2	19	Ceramic	Pearlware	Factory-turned Slipware, black anular banding	1	3	1.6	1805	Rim	5%, 16cm
GC	A1	2	20	Ceramic	Whiteware	Plain	1	1	0	1860	Body	
GC	A1	2	21	Ceramic	Porcelain	Handpainted blue pattern on whiteEnglish softpaste underglaze?	1	2	1	1730	Body	
GC	A1	2	22	Ceramic	Pearlware	Plain, bluish-tint	1	2	1	1805	Body	
GC	A1	2	23	Ceramic	Pearlware	Hand-painted blue and white, scallops containing dots	1	1	0.2	1800	Rim	4%, 8cm
GC	A1	2	24	Ceramic	Creamware	Black transfer-printed w/ small dots	1	1	0.2	1790	Body	
GC	A1	2	25	Ceramic	Jackfield	Plain	1	1	0.2	1760	Body	
GC	A1	2	26	Ceramic	Stoneware	English brown? Mottled yellow/gold salt-glaze	2	5	9.2	1733	Body	
GC	A1	2	27	Ceramic	Stoneware	Brown, incised concentric lines, gray slip	2	6	37.5	1733	Body	
GC	A1	2	28	Copper-alloy	Weight	2 Scruple Fragments	1	2	2.4		Apothecary	
GC	A1	2	29	Flint	Gun flint		1	2	1			
GC	A1	2	30	Copper-alloy	Hook-and-eye fastener		1	1	0.3			
GC	A1	2	31	Copper-alloy	Tack		1	1	0.6			
GC	A1	2	32	Bone	Button	Single hole, slanted (?) edge	1	1	0			
GC	A1	2	33	Bone	Button	5 hole, beveled face	1	1	0			
GC	A1	2	34	Bone	Button	Fragement, beveled face	1	2	0			
GC	A1	2	35	Bone	Button	5 hole, beveled face	1	2	0.4			
GC	A1	2	36	Glass	Unidentified	Light green opaque	3	3	1.9			
GC	A1	2	37	Glass	Tableware	White translucent	2	3	1.1		Rim	5%, 10cm
GC	A1	2	38	Glass	Unidentified	Colourless iridescent translucent	4	4	2.8			
GC	A1	2	39	Glass	Unidentified	Blue tint iridescent	2	3	0.7			
GC	A1	2	40	Glass	Unidentified	"Black glass"	6	4	4.8			
GC	A1	2	41	Glass	Unidentified	Clear w/patination	11	6	17.7		Finish w/ some neck	100%, 2cm
GC	A1	2	42	Glass	Unidentified	Dark cobalt blue color w/ patination	1	2	0.7			
GC	A1	3	43	Iron	Nail		7	6	23.1		Head, wrought	
GC	A1	3	44	Iron	Nail		2	2	1.2		Head, wrought	
GC	A1	3	45	Iron	Nail		12	5	17.3		Shaft, wrought	
GC	A1	3	46	Iron	Fragments		1	3	2			
GC	A1	3	47	Iron	Fragments		2	2	0.5			

GC	A1	3	48	Iron	Fragments		2	3	2.7			
GC	A1	3	49	Iron	Fragments		18	3	1.2			
GC	A1	3	50	Mortar	Fragments		2	3	2.2			
GC	A1	3	51	Ceramic	Pipe	Rouletting around top	1		0.7		Bowl	
GC	A1	3	52	Ceramic	Pipe		1		2.2		Stem	4/64 bit
GC	A1	3	53	Ceramic	Pipe		1		0.3		Stem	4/64 bit
GC	A1	3	54	Ceramic	Pearlware	Factory-turned Slipware, black anular banding, rouletting	1	2	1.1	1805	Rim	
GC	A1	3	55	Ceramic	Pearlware	Factory-turned Slipware, brown anular banding	1	2	1.4	1805	Rim	7%, 8cm
GC	A1	3	56	Ceramic	Pearlware	Shell-edged, blue straight impressed lines	1	2	0.7	1805	Rim	
GC	A1	3	57	Ceramic	Pearlware	Shell-edged, light blue impressed lines feathering	1	2	0.7	1805	Body	
GC	A1	3	58	Ceramic	Whiteware	Transferprint, similar to Spode standard blue and white pattern	1	4	6.9	1813	Plate	
GC	A1	3	59	Ceramic	Redware	White slip no glaze	3	6	8.3	1625	Base	
GC	A1	3	60	Slate	Fragments		1	2	0		Writing tablet	
GC	A1	3	61	Copper-alloy	Keyhole plate		1	2	2.9			
GC	A1	3	62	Copper-alloy	Hook-and-eye fastener		1	2	0.4		Hook	
GC	A1	3	63	Bone	Button	5 hole? 4 remaining, beveled face	1	2	0			
GC	A1	3	64	Flint	Gun flint		1	2	1.5			
GC	A1	3	65	Glass	Case Bottle	Green iridescent	2	3	4.1		Corner edge	
GC	A1	3	66	Glass	Case Bottle	Green iridescent (white burn spot)	1	2	0.3			
GC	A1	3	67	Glass	Unidentified	"Black glass"	8	7	29			
GC	A1	3	68	Glass	Unidentified	Colourless iridescent translucent	3	3	1.5			
GC	A1	3	69	Glass	Unidentified	Colourless translucent	1	2	0.3			
GC	A1	3	70	Glass	Unidentified	White translucent	1	2	0.7			
GC	A1	4	71	Iron	Nail		23	9	62		Head, wrought	
GC	A1	4	72	Iron	Nail		3	5	14		Wrought	
GC	A1	4	73	Iron	Nail		32	8	43.9		Shaft, wrought	
GC	A1	4	74	Iron	Fragments		12	5	11.7			
GC	A1	4	75	Iron	Fragments		2	2	0.4			
GC	A1	4	76	Iron	Fragments		1	3	5.7			
GC	A1	4	77	Iron	Fragments		22	6	27.1			
GC	A1	4	78	Iron	Fragments		165	7	17.4			
GC	A1	4	79	Charcoal	Fragments		2	2	0.2			
GC	A1	4	80	Mortar	Fragments		1	1	0.2			
GC	A1	4	81	Lead	Weight		1	3	10.4			
GC	A1	4	82	Lead	Fragments		5	5	22.2			
GC	A1	4	83	Ceramic	Pipe		1	4	3.6		Bowl	
GC	A1	4	84	Ceramic	Pipe		1	3	2		Bowl	
GC	A1	4	85	Ceramic	Pipe		1		2.2		Stem	4/64 bit
GC	A1	4	86	Ceramic	Pipe		1		1.4		Stem	4/64 bit
GC	A1	4	87	Ceramic	Pipe		1		1.3		Stem	4/64 bit
GC	A1	4	88	Ceramic	Pipe	Two raised lines containing raised dots	1		1.5		Stem	5/64 bit
GC	A1	4	89	Ceramic	Stoneware	English brown?	1	4	5.8	1733	Body	
GC	A1	4	90	Ceramic	Stoneware	English brown, pink slip on inside	1	3	5.8	1733	Body	
GC	A1	4	91	Ceramic	Redware	No glaze, outside slip	1	10	49.4	1625	Rim base	8%, 32cm
GC	A1	4	92	Ceramic	Redware	No glaze	3	5	19.5	1625	Body	
GC	A1	4	93	Ceramic	Jackfield	Plain	1	2	0.2	1760	Rim?	
GC	A1	4	94	Ceramic	Pearlware	Shell-edged, light blue straight edge border with incised lines (feathering?)	1	5	12.3	1818	Rim	5%, 24cm
GC	A1	4	95	Ceramic	Pearlware	Shell-edged, blue impressed lines feathering	1	4	6.7	1805	Rim	4%, 14cm
GC	A1	4	96	Ceramic	Pearlware	Shell-edged, dark blue straight impressed lines, slight scallop edge	1	3	4.3	1805	Rim	4%, 24cm
GC	A1	4	97	Ceramic	Pearlware	Shell-edged, blue impressed lines feathering	1	2	1.8	1805	Rim	
GC	A1	4	98	Ceramic	Pearlware	Shell-edged, blue feathering	1	1	0	1805		

GC	A1	4	99	Ceramic	Pearlware	Factory-turned slipware, Anular banding, dark blue border on rim incized	1	4	6.4	1805	Flatware, Rim	7%, 22cm
GC	A1	4	100	Ceramic	Pearlware	Factory-turned slipware, Anular banding dark brown, light green rouletting	1	2	0.8	1805	Rim	6%, 8cm
GC	A1	4	101	Ceramic	Pearlware	Pink large floral print, thick line broad brush, thin pink anular banding on off side	1	4	4.6	1845	Flatware, Rim	
GC	A1	4	102	Ceramic	Pearlware	Dark blue banding w/ bleeding color, raised rim on opposite side	1	3	3.9	1805	Flatware, Rim	
GC	A1	4	103	Ceramic	Tin-enameled	Blue transfer-printed w/ scalloped border design and wreath/flower	1	3	2.6	1701	Rim	
GC	A1	4	104	Ceramic	Whiteware	Light blue botanical w/ other design, design on both sides	1	3	1.4	1865	Body	
GC	A1	4	105	Ceramic	Pearlware	Blue design, rectangle with "x", gate? Raised rim on other side	1	3	2.6	1805		
GC	A1	4	106	Ceramic	Pearlware	Brown/black transfer-printed, triangular design on border, ships on one side (?), botanical on the other	1	3	2	1818	Rim	
GC	A1	4	107	Ceramic	Pearlware	Blue on white, shiny, large column part of building on one side, floral on the other side	1	6	9.3	1805	Body	
GC	A1	4	108	Ceramic	Pearlware	Full dark blue one side, half slightly lighter	1	2	0.7	1805	Body	
GC	A1	4	109	Ceramic	Whiteware	Thin blue geometric designs, curly with steps and a small circle	1	2	0.6	1701	Body	
GC	A1	4	110	Ceramic	Pearlware	"Paris green" banding	1	2	0.6	1805		
GC	A1	4	111	Ceramic	Pearlware	Dark blue transfer print, one leaf/botanical design	1	1	0.4	1818		
GC	A1	4	112	Ceramic	Pearlware	Muted blue with darker blue botanical design	1	1	0.2	1805		
GC	A1	4	113	Ceramic	Pearlware	Sliver of blue on white design remaining	1	3	0.7	1805		
GC	A1	4	114	Ceramic	Pearlware	Tiny sliver of blue left on Fragments, possibly part of ^	1	2	0.3	1805		
GC	A1	4	115	Ceramic	Porcelain	Blue on white, door to house (?) with bushes, pond?	1	4	5.4	1805	Body	
GC	A1	4	116	Ceramic	Pearlware	Plain	1	3	2	1805		
GC	A1	4	117	Ceramic	Whiteware	Plain	1	3	1.8	1860		
GC	A1	4	118	Ceramic	Pearlware	Plain	1	2	1.1	1805		
GC	A1	4	119	Ceramic	Pearlware	Plain	1	3	1.4	1805		
GC	A1	4	120	Ceramic	Pearlware	Plain	11	4	4.6	1805		
GC	A1	4	121	Slate	Fragments		1	2	0.8		Writing tablet	
GC	A1	4	122	Bone	Utensil		1	7	10.5		Spoon, handle	
GC	A1	4	123	Bone	Utensil		3	4	2.3		Spoon, handle	
GC	A1	4	124	Iron	Utensil		1	6	10.2		Spoon	
GC	A1	4	125	Iron	Utensil		38	3	1.6		Spoon	
GC	A1	4	126	Copper-alloy	Hook-and-eye fastener		1	2	0		Eye	
GC	A1	4	127	Copper-alloy	Hook-and-eye fastener		1	2	0.3		Hook	
GC	A1	4	128	Copper-alloy	Tack		1	2	0.9			
GC	A1	4	129	Copper-alloy	Tack		1	2	0.8			
GC	A1	4	130	Copper-alloy	Tack		1	2	0.6			
GC	A1	4	131	Copper-alloy	Tack		1	1	0.7			
GC	A1	4	132	Bone	Button	Beveled face, 5 hole	1	2	0.4			
GC	A1	4	133	Bone	Button	Beveled face	1	2	0.2			
GC	A1	4	134	Flint	Gun flint		1	2	0.3			
GC	A1	4	135	Glass	Unidentified	Patination, gold colored	1	2	0.2			
GC	A1	4	136	Glass	Unidentified	Green	1	2	0.4			
GC	A1	4	137	Glass	Unidentified	Amber	1	2	1.1			
GC	A1	4	138	Glass	Bottle	"Black glass"	1	3	4.2		Finish w/ some neck	
GC	A1	4	139	Glass	Unidentified	"Black glass"	13	8	43.1			
GC	A1	4	140	Glass	Unidentified	Green translucent	17	9	22.8			
GC	A1	4	141	Glass	Bottle	Light olive green opaque	1	2	1.5		Neck?	
GC	A1	4	142	Glass	Unidentified	Cobalt Blue	1	1	0.3			
GC	A1	4	143	Glass	Unidentified	White translucent	4	4	5.4			
GC	A1	4	144	Glass	Unidentified	Colourless translucent	3	3	0.7			
GC	A1	4	145	Glass	Unidentified	Colourless translucent iridescent	7	4	2.1			
GC	A1	4	146	Glass	Unidentified	Blue tint iridescent translucent	1	4	6.5			

GC	A1	5	147	Iron	Nail		9	6	14.4		Head, wrought	
GC	A1	5	148	Iron	Nail		18	6	17.9		Shaft, wrought	
GC	A1	5	149	Iron	Fragments		95	6	10		Wrought	
GC	A1	5	150	Ceramic	Pipe		1	2	0		Bowl	
GC	A1	5	151	Ceramic	Pipe		1		3.4		Stem	4/64 bit
GC	A1	5	152	Ceramic	Pipe		1		1.1		Stem	5/64 bit
GC	A1	5	153	Ceramic	Pipe		1		0.7		Stem	5/64 bit
GC	A1	5	154	Ceramic	Pipe		1		0.9		Stem	4/64 bit
GC	A1	5	155	Ceramic	Redware	Dark red body and glaze	1	3	4.3	1625	Handle	
GC	A1	5	156	Ceramic	Creamware	Plain	1	3	2.5	1791	Rim	7%, 12cm
GC	A1	5	157	Ceramic	Creamware	Shell-edged, blue feathering, scalloped rim	1	3	2	1787	Rim	
GC	A1	5	158	Ceramic	Astbury	With yellow slip	1	2	0.6	1738	Body	
GC	A1	5	159	Ceramic	Pearlware	Factory-turned slipware, Anular banding dark brown with yellow fading under band	1	2	0.9	1844	Rim	7%, 8cm
GC	A1	5	160	Ceramic	Whiteware	Brown/yellowish overglaze swirled design	1	2	1.9	1885	Body	
GC	A1	5	161	Ceramic	Whiteware	Brown/yellowish overglaze design	1	2	0.8	1885	Body	
GC	A1	5	162	Ceramic	Pearlware	End of petals on pink large floral print, thick line broad brush	1	2	0.8	1845	Body	
GC	A1	5	163	Ceramic	Whiteware	Black printed w/ base of vase and flowers depiction	1	3	4	1810	Body	
GC	A1	5	164	Ceramic	Creamware	Factory-turned slipware, pink and light brown blocks with black border and separating white	1	2	0.5	1798	Body	
GC	A1	5	165	Ceramic	Pearlware	Overglaze green, worn away	1	2	1	1805	Body	
GC	A1	5	166	Ceramic	Creamware	Overglaze black, worn away	1	2	1	1791	Body	
GC	A1	5	167	Ceramic	Pearlware	Blue w/ darked blue scalloped border design	1	1	0.2	1805	Rim	
GC	A1	5	168	Ceramic	Tin-enameled	Very light blue handpainting with two thin thatched blue designs	1	2	0.4	1790	Body	
GC	A1	5	169	Ceramic	Tin-enameled	Light blue with darker blue handpainting, Fragments of thick design	1	2	0.7	1701	Body	
GC	A1	5	170	Ceramic	Tin-enameled	Light blue w/ triangular design inside dark blue border	1	1	0	1701	Body	
GC	A1	5	171	Ceramic	Tin-enameled	Light blue w/ dark blue botanical design, dendritic looking on one side, printed sheet pattern	1	2	0.3	1834	Body	
GC	A1	5	172	Ceramic	Creamware	Light blue sponge print on white	1	2	1	1791	Body	
GC	A1	5	173	Ceramic	Creamware	Light blue with seven small white circles bordered with darker blue, peacock?	1	2	0.3	1791	Body	
GC	A1	5	174	Ceramic	Pearlware	Shades of blue sponge print	1	2	0.4	1800	Body	
GC	A1	5	175	Ceramic	Creamware	Blue on white handpainted leaves/flower design	1	2	0.4	1788	Body	
GC	A1	5	176	Ceramic	Whiteware	Blue on white handpainted, flower/tulip design	1	2	0.3	1865	Body	
GC	A1	5	177	Ceramic	Pearlware	Plain	1	3	2.3	1805	Flatware	
GC	A1	5	178	Ceramic	Pearlware	Plain	1	2	0.8	1805	Flatware	
GC	A1	5	179	Ceramic	Pearlware	Plain	1	2	0.7	1805	Body	
GC	A1	5	180	Ceramic	Pearlware	Plain	1	1	0.2	1805	Body	
GC	A1	5	181	Ceramic	Whiteware	Plain	1	2	0.2	1860	Rim	
GC	A1	5	182	Ceramic	Creamware	Plain	1	2	0.7	1791	Body	
GC	A1	5	183	Ceramic	Pearlware	Plain	1	2	0.3	1805	Body	
GC	A1	5	184	Ceramic	Stoneware	Ironstone/"White Granite", white salt-glazed stoneware	1	2	1.8	1857	Body	
GC	A1	5	185	Ceramic	Stoneware	Gray, no slip/glaze	1	2	1.1	1700	Body	
GC	A1	5	186	Copper	Sheet		1	3	1.1			
GC	A1	5	187	Copper-alloy	Buckle?		1	4	10.9		Handle?	
GC	A1	5	188	Copper-alloy	Buckle?		1	3	2.1		Handle?	
GC	A1	5	189	Copper-alloy	Screw		1	3	3.8			
GC	A1	5	190	Copper-alloy	Tack		1	1	0.7		Head	
GC	A1	5	191	Copper-alloy	Hook-and-eye fastener		1	2	0		Eye	
GC	A1	5	192	Flint	Gun flint		1	2	0.7			
GC	A1	5	193	Glass	Unidentified	Green translucent	20	9	38.2			
GC	A1	5	194	Glass	Case Bottle	Green translucent	2	4	3.4			
GC	A1	5	195	Glass	Unidentified	Very worn w/ patination	4	4	2.4			

GC	A1	5	196	Glass	Unidentified	Colourless translucent	2	2	1				
GC	A1	5	197	Glass	Unidentified	Colourless translucent iridescent w/ bluish tint	3	3	1.1				
GC	A1	5	198	Glass	Unidentified	Light green	1	2	0.4				
GC	A1	5	199	Glass	Unidentified	Light green iridescent, covered	1	3	5.1				
GC	A1	5	200	Glass	Unidentified	Colourless opaque/semi translucent	2	3	0.7				
GC	A1	5	201	Glass	Unidentified	Fluted colourless translucent	1	2	1.5		Tableware		
GC	A1	5	202	Glass	Unidentified	Green translucent	1	2	0.3				
GC	A2	1	203	Ceramic	Pearlware	Blue on white, lines dark blue to lighter blue to white, with blue line intersected byt two white vertical lines	1	2	1.4	1805	Body		
GC	A2	1	204	Glass	Unidentified	Green translucent	1	2	0.5				
GC	A2	1	205	Glass	Unidentified	Cobalt Blue, somewhat translucent	1	1	0.3				
GC	A2	2	206	Iron	Nail		1	2	3		Head, wrought		
GC	A2	2	207	Iron	Nail		2	4	5		Shaft, wrought		
GC	A2	2	208	Iron	Unidentified		1	3	3.2				
GC	A2	2	209	Iron	Unidentified		1	4	4.9				
GC	A2	2	210	Iron	Fragments		2	2	0.4				
GC	A2	2	211	Charcoal	Fragments		1	1	0				
GC	A2	2	212	Ceramic	Pipe		1		0.9		Stem		4/64 bit
GC	A2	2	213	Ceramic	Pipe		1	3	1.2		Bowl		
GC	A2	2	214	Ceramic	Pipe		2	2	0.4		Bowl		
GC	A2	2	215	Ceramic	Pearlware	Shell-edged, blue impressed straight lines, scalloped rim	1	3	2.2	1818	Rim		
GC	A2	2	216	Ceramic	Creamware	Printed blue and white, geometric border design, interlocking rectangles containging white circles w/ blue dots inside	1	3	5.5	1818	Body		
GC	A2	2	217	Ceramic	Pearlware	Spongeware, light blue sponging, shiny glaze	1	3	2.6	1800	Body		
GC	A2	2	218	Ceramic	Pearlware	Blue printed, landscape, design on both sides	1	2	1	1818	Body		
GC	A2	2	219	Ceramic	Whiteware	Light blue printed tiny dots form sprig or branch, part of tree/dendritic or etc.	1	3	1.4	1865	Body		
GC	A2	2	220	Ceramic	Pearlware	Handpainted polychrome with dark blue line and yellow-gold flower	1	2	0.8	1805	Body		
GC	A2	2	221	Ceramic	Whiteware	Blue and white, possibly handpainted? Dark blue rim	1	2	0.5	1865	Rim		3%, 10cm
GC	A2	2	222	Ceramic	Pearlware	Sliver of light blue sponge print	1	2	0.9	1800			
GC	A2	2	223	Ceramic	Pearlware	Blue and white brick pattern	1	2	0.4	1818	Body		
GC	A2	2	224	Ceramic	Pearlware	Thin white line border flanked by dots, scalloped design below	1	1	0	1805	Rim		
GC	A2	2	225	Ceramic	Whiteware	Shades of blue and white lines	1	1	0	1860	Body		
GC	A2	2	226	Ceramic	Pearlware	Factory-turned, green glazed on rim, fine, incised	1	1	0	1805			
GC	A2	2	227	Ceramic	Pearlware	Very light green, sponged?	1	1	0	1800	Rim		
GC	A2	2	228	Ceramic	Redware	Dark green glazed	1	2	1.6	1625	Body		
GC	A2	2	229	Ceramic	Whiteware	Plain	1	2	0.9	1860			
GC	A2	2	230	Ceramic	Creamware	Plain	3	3	4	1791	Body		
GC	A2	2	231	Ceramic	Whiteware	Plain	1	2	0.6	1860	Body		
GC	A2	2	232	Ceramic	Whiteware	Plain	1	2	0.5	1860	Rim		10%, 6cm
GC	A2	2	233	Ceramic	Pearlware	Plain	1	1	0	1805	Body		
GC	A2	2	234	Ceramic	Creamware	Plain	1	2	0.4	1791	Rim		
GC	A2	2	235	Ceramic	Whiteware	Plain	3	2	0.7	1860	Body		
GC	A2	2	236	Flint	Gun flint		1	2	2.4				
GC	A2	2	237	Bone	Button	4 whole, beveled with small incised slanted lines	1	1	0				8.16mm
GC	A2	2	238	Glass	Bottle	Green translucent	3	3	3.2				
GC	A2	2	239	Glass	Unidentified	Very light green translucent	2	2	0.3				
GC	A2	2	240	Glass	Unidentified	Colourless translucent	2	2	0.2				
GC	A2	2	241	Glass	Unidentified	Colourless iridescent	1	2	0.3				
GC	A2	2	242	Glass	Unidentified	Colourless iridescent	1	2	0.5		Rim, Tableware		
GC	A2	2	243	Glass	Bottle	Colourless iridescent	3	3	0.9				
GC	A2	2	244	Glass	Bottle	Colourless iridescent	1	3	2.1		Lip/Neck		

GC	A2	2	245	Glass	Unidentified	Light green somewhat opaque	1	2	0.5			
GC	A2	3	246	Iron	Nail		2	4	9.4		Shaft, wrought	
GC	A2	3	247	Iron	Unidentified		6	2	2.2			
GC	A2	3	248	Iron	Unidentified		2	3	2.4			
GC	A2	3	249	Iron	Unidentified		3	4	4.8			
GC	A2	3	250	Iron	Unidentified		1	3	8.7			
GC	A2	3	251	Charcoal	Fragments		1	1	0			
GC	A2	3	252	Mortar	Fragments		1	2	0.7			
GC	A2	3	253	Ceramic	Pipe		1	2	0.6		Bowl	
GC	A2	3	254	Ceramic	Pipe		1		2.4		Stem	4/64 bit
GC	A2	3	255	Ceramic	Pipe		1		1.7		Stem	5/64 bit
GC	A2	3	256	Ceramic	Redware	Plain	1	2	0.8	1625	Body	
GC	A2	3	257	Ceramic	Creamware	Shell-edged, blue impressed lines feathering, scalloped	1	4	5	1824	Rim	
GC	A2	3	258	Ceramic	Pearlware	Shell-edged, light blue straight edge border with incised lines	1	2	1.4	1787	Body	
GC	A2	3	259	Ceramic	Pearlware	Blue and white, white rim w/ border of white circles w/ blue dots inside (see #319) w/diamond pattern background and circle design over	1	4	3.9	1818	Rim	5%, 22cm
GC	A2	3	260	Ceramic	Pearlware	^Same as above design w/different design over - fit together?	1	3	1.9	1818	Rim	
GC	A2	3	261	Ceramic	Pearlware	Flow blue? Or blue added to glaze w/ blue border design of X with two dots above and below in between infinity sign design, flower design on other side	1	3	1.5	1805	Rim	
GC	A2	3	262	Ceramic	Pearlware	Factory-turned slipware, anular banding dark brown/black with yellow band underneath	1	2	0.7	1805	Rim	2%, 10cm
GC	A2	3	263	Ceramic	Pearlware	Blue and white, transfer print border with dark blue curlicue design	1	2	0.5	1818	Body	
GC	A2	3	264	Ceramic	Whiteware	Light blue thin dendritic/branch design (see 323), printed "sheet pattern"	1	1	0	1831	Body	
GC	A2	3	265	Ceramic	Pearlware	Solid dark blue on one side, white rim and back side	1	1	0.3	1805	Rim	
GC	A2	3	266	Ceramic	Pearlware	Blue and white, blue sprig design	1	1	0.2	1805	Body	
GC	A2	3	267	Ceramic	Pearlware	Plain	1	3	4.1	1805	Rim	
GC	A2	3	268	Ceramic	Pearlware	Plain	1	3	1.4	1805	Body	
GC	A2	3	269	Ceramic	Pearlware	Plain	1	2	0.9	1805	Body	
GC	A2	3	270	Ceramic	Creamware	Plain	1	3	1.3	1791	Body	
GC	A2	3	271	Ceramic	Pearlware	Plain	1	2	0.9	1805	Body	
GC	A2	3	272	Ceramic	Creamware	Plain	1	2	0.2	1791	Handle?	
GC	A2	3	273	Ceramic	Pearlware	Plain	1	2	0.3	1805	Body	
GC	A2	3	274	Lead	Fragments		1	3	2.6			
GC	A2	3	275	Copper-alloy	Nail		1	2	1.6		Wrought	
GC	A2	3	276	Copper-alloy	Unidentified		1	1	0.5			
GC	A2	3	277	Glass	Unidentified	Green translucent, raised rim, very thin	1	1	0			
GC	A2	3	278	Glass	Unidentified	Colourless translucent? Very white covered, burned?	1	2	0			
GC	A2	3	279	Glass	Unidentified	Colourless translucent	8	4	1.8			
GC	A2	3	280	Glass	Unidentified	Colourless iridescent	3	2	0.3			
GC	A2	3	281	Glass	Unidentified	Amber? w/ patination	7	4	6.3			
GC	A2	3	282	Glass	Unidentified	Colourless iridescent w/ patination	1	2	0.5			
GC	A2	3	283	Glass	Unidentified	Colourless iridescent	1	2	0.3			
GC	A2	3	284	Glass	Bottle	Colourless translucent, two neck rings molded from bottle (get article)	1	3	0.9		Neck	
GC	A2	3	285	Glass	Unidentified	Colourless translucent, trumpet shaped bowl w/ pressed panels	1	4	5.6		Tableware	
GC	A2	3	286	Glass	Window?	Colourless iridescent, crackled w/ bluish tint	2	3	1		Window?	
GC	A2	4	287	Coral	Coral		2	2	1.2			
GC	A2	4	288	Iron	Nail		2	5	13.1		Shaft, wrought	
GC	A2	4	289	Iron	Nail		1	3	3.6		Head, wrought	
GC	A2	4	290	Iron	Fragments		4	3	3.2			
GC	A2	4	291	Iron	Fragments		1	5	33.1			

GC	A2	4	292	Ceramic	Pipe		1		1		Stem	5/64 bit
GC	A2	4	293	Ceramic	Redware	Plain, no slip or glaze, cheap	5	4	4.9	1625	Body	
GC	A2	4	294	Ceramic	Pearlware	Davenport enclosed in rectangle w/ incised makers mark - part of anchor w/ number "6" indicating year and end of uppercase "ORT" from word davenport	1	2	0.9	1818		
GC	A2	4	295	Ceramic	Creamware	Factory-turned slipware, anular banding two dark brown bands of equal width above a thick light blue band with another dark band beneath	1	3	3.1	1805	Body	
GC	A2	4	296	Ceramic	Creamware	Factory-turned slipware, anular banding dark brown/black with reddish/light brown color underneath, band?	1	2	0.4	1805	Rim	4%, 8cm
GC	A2	4	297	Ceramic	Creamware	Factory-turned slipware, anular banding dark brown/black	1	1	0.2	1805	Body	
GC	A2	4	298	Ceramic	Creamware	Green color engine turned, eight raised white ridges, brown color below	1	3	2.1	1798	Rim	10%, 8cm
GC	A2	4	299	Ceramic	Whiteware	Transfer printed, blue and white dendritic looking pattern, "sheet pattern"	1	3	1.9	1834	Body	
GC	A2	4	300	Ceramic	Creamware	Handpainted polychrome with dark brown brank and three dark green leaves, part of flowers most likely	1	3	1	1788	Body	
GC	A2	4	301	Ceramic	Whiteware	Transfer printed, light blue botanical design, small sprigs/leaves	1	3	1.9	1865	Body	
GC	A2	4	302	Ceramic	Pearlware	Transfer printed, blue and white w/ floral design and scalloped line, "eyelash" looking patter with blue dots below line on other side	1	2	0.8	1807	Body	
GC	A2	4	303	Ceramic	Whiteware	Transfer printed, dark blue and white, rim design with dark blue acordian/ turret line with blue dots in between	1	2	1.7	1807	Rim, Flatware	3%, 20cm
GC	A2	4	304	Ceramic	Pearlware	Handpainted, dark blue band with thin green strokes (stems?)	2	2	0.5	1813	Body	
GC	A2	4	305	Ceramic	Pearlware	Transfer printed, scalloped border, blurry blue, completely blue on other side	1	1	0.2	1807	Rim, Flatware	1.5%, 14cm
GC	A2	4	306	Ceramic	Creamware	Very light blue band that fades into background instead of define line	1	2	0.4	1791	Body	
GC	A2	4	307	Ceramic	Creamware	Solid laurel/moss green color, probably hand painted, one Fragments has white (green band, stroke)	2	2	0.9	1788	Rim	
GC	A2	4	308	Ceramic	Pearlware	Plain	1	3	2.9	1805	Body	
GC	A2	4	309	Ceramic	Whiteware	Plain	1	3	1.2	1860	Body	
GC	A2	4	310	Ceramic	Whiteware	Plain	1	2	0.7	1860	Body	
GC	A2	4	311	Ceramic	Whiteware	Plain	1	2	0.2	1860	Body	
GC	A2	4	312	Ceramic	Creamware	Plain	1	2	1.6	1791	Body	
GC	A2	4	313	Ceramic	Creamware	Plain	1	2	1.3	1791	Body	
GC	A2	4	314	Ceramic	Creamware	Plain	1	2	0.5	1791	Body	
GC	A2	4	315	Ceramic	Creamware	Plain	1	2	0.3	1791	Rim	5%, 8cm
GC	A2	4	316	Ceramic	Creamware	Plain, very small raised ridge	1	2	0.6	1791	Body	
GC	A2	4	317	Ceramic	Creamware	Plain, small raised ridge same as #430, and curves up from ridge	1	2	0.3	1791	Body	
GC	A2	4	318	Ceramic	Creamware	Plain	1	2	0.3	1791	Body	
GC	A2	4	319	Ceramic	Creamware	Plain	1	1	0	1791	Body	
GC	A2	4	320	Ceramic	Creamware	Very dark, "extremely creamy" creamware - darker is earlier?	1	2	0.2	1771	Body	
GC	A2	4	321	Ceramic	Unidentified		1	2	0.2		Body	
GC	A2	4	322	Ceramic	Unidentified	Very burned/black Fragments of ceramic? Pattern of burning in glass, etc.	1	1	0		Body?	
GC	A2	4	323	Copper-alloy	Furniture hardware	Thin, u-shaped with bulging midsection, bale handles that turn outward at the top, Chippendale style	1	6	10.7	1720-1775? (Fig. 4 or 5?)	Handle	
GC	A2	4	324	Flint	Gun flint		1	3	5.1	Early 19th century English		
GC	A2	4	325	Bone	Button	Plain, smooth with raised edge, remains of one button hole visible	1	2	0.2			
GC	A2	4	326	Pewter	Fragments	Pewter disease? Causes disintegration to eventual dust - see Karklins "green book" p. 16	1	2	1.8			
GC	A2	4	327	Bone	Unidentified		3	3	1.7			
GC	A2	4	328	Glass	Unidentified	Colourless, translucent, very clear	7	4	2.8			

GC	A2	4	329	Glass	Unidentified	Colourless translucent iridescent	7	5	4				
GC	A2	4	330	Glass	Unidentified	White opaque	2	2	0.5				
GC	A2	4	331	Glass	Unidentified	Green translucent	5	6	7.6				
GC	A2	4	332	Glass	Unidentified	Colourless transclucent iridescent with similar brown wear	3	3	1.2				
GC	A2	4	333	Glass	Unidentified	Amber translucent	1	2	0.6				
GC	A2	4	334	Glass	Unidentified	Cobalt blue	1	1	0.2				
GC	A2	5	335	Glass	Unidentified	Cobalt blue	1	1	0				
GC	A2	6	336	Iron	Fragments		1	2	0.6				
GC	A2	6	337	Pewter	Fragments	See artifact #441	1	2	1.7				
GC	A2	6	338	Ceramic	Pearlware	Classic mocha could not be more mocha, light brown with dendritic pattern, white band above, dark band above that	1	3	2.4	1818	Body		
GC	A2	6	339	Ceramic	Pearlware	Blue sponge pattern?	1	2	0.3	1800	Body		
GC	A2	6	340	Ceramic	Pearlware	Plain	1	2	0.4	1805	Body		
GC	A2	6	341	Glass	Unidentified	Colourless translucent	1	2	0.3		Rim		
GC	A2	6	342	Glass	Unidentified	Colourless iridescent, pinkish/purple tint, w/ patination	1	2	0.2				
GC	F1	2	343	Iron	Nail		9	4	7.8		Shaft, wrought		
GC	F1	2	344	Iron	Nail		2	3	3.1		Head, wrought		
GC	F1	2	345	Iron	Unidentified		1	2	0.7		Hook?		
GC	F1	2	346	Iron	Unidentified		10	5	8.6				
GC	F1	2	347	Iron	Unidentified		12	3	3.5				
GC	F1	2	348	Mortar	Fragments		2	2	0.8				
GC	F1	2	349	Quartz	Fragments		16	8	73.6				
GC	F1	2	350	Ceramic	Pipe		1		1.9		Stem	4/64 bit	
GC	F1	2	351	Ceramic	Pipe		1		1.1		Stem	6/64 bit	
GC	F1	2	352	Ceramic	Pipe		1		0.8		Stem	4/64 bit	
GC	F1	2	353	Ceramic	Redware	Glazed, dark purplish black glaze (#233? 332?)	1	3	10.6	1625	Body		
GC	F1	2	354	Ceramic	Coarse Earthenware	Lead glaze slipware, dark yellow glaze on one side, rough striatations on other side	2	4	10.5	1733	Body		
GC	F1	2	355	Ceramic	Coarse Earthenware	Lead glaze slipware, mustard yellow glaze both sides, raised decoration, Borderware?	1	2	1.1	1733	Body		
GC	F1	2	356	Ceramic	Coarse Earthenware	Lead glaze slipware, mustard yellow glaze both sides, dark brown/black band	1	2	0.9	1733	Body		
GC	F1	2	357	Ceramic	Coarse Earthenware	Lead glaze slipware, mustard yellow glaze both sides, only partially glazed on one side and slightly raised	1	2	2.2	1733	Body		
GC	F1	2	358	Ceramic	Coarse Earthenware	Lead glaze slipware, mustard yellow glaze both sides	2	2	1.5	1733	Body		
GC	F1	2	359	Ceramic	Staffordshire Slipware	Lead glaze slipware, dark cream glaze with reddish brown horizontal lines	2	2	0.9	1723	Body		
GC	F1	2	360	Ceramic	Staffordshire Slipware	Lead glaze slipware, dark cream glaze with brown/black banding	1	2	1.2	1723	Body		
GC	F1	2	361	Ceramic	Staffordshire Slipware	Lead glaze slipware, dark cream glaze with reddish brown circles on glaze	2	2	0.7	1723	Body		
GC	F1	2	362	Ceramic	Coarse Earthenware	Dark yellow glaze, reddish brown and dark brown/black design	1	3	2.4	1733	Body		
GC	F1	2	363	Ceramic	Redware	Dark yellow glaze with red paste	1	2	0.6	1625	Body		
GC	F1	2	364	Ceramic	Tin-enameled	Pale blue with 3 thin blue bands, top two closer together, third band slightly thicker	1	3	2	1701	Body		
GC	F1	2	365	Ceramic	Tin-enameled	Very pale blue	1	1	0.1	1701	Body		
GC	F1	2	366	Ceramic	Pearlware	Dark blue floral pattern, blue dots/strokes making little flowers	1	3	1.3	1800	Body		
GC	F1	2	367	Ceramic	Pearlware	Dark blue desing, standard willow pattern?	1	2	1.2	1818	Body		
GC	F1	2	368	Ceramic	Creamware	Rolled over hollow rim	1	4	4.3	1791	Rim	11%, 14cm	
GC	F1	2	369	Ceramic	Creamware	Plain	1	2	0.7	1791	Body		
GC	F1	2	370	Ceramic	Creamware	Plain	1	2	0.4	1791	Body		
GC	F1	2	371	Ceramic	Creamware	Plain (darker cream)	1	2	0.3	1791	Body		
GC	F1	2	372	Ceramic	Creamware	Plain	1	2	0.4	1791	Body		
GC	F1	2	373	Ceramic	Creamware	Plain	1	2	0.2	1791	Body		
GC	F1	2	374	Glass	Unidentified	Colourless translucent, slightly iridescent	1	2	0.6		Rim		

GC	F1	2	375	Glass	Unidentified	Green glass, w/ patination worn, flaking off	9	8	27.6			
GC	F1	2	376	Glass	Unidentified	Light gray completely covered w/ patination	5	4	4.3		Body	
GC	F1	3	377	Iron	Nail		3	3	4.4		Shaft, wrought	
GC	F1	3	378	Iron	Unidentified		6	3	3		Fragments	
GC	F1	3	379	Iron	Unidentified		3	2	3.1		Fragments	
GC	F1	3	380	Ceramic	Astbury	Plain reddish brown glaze w/ light red paste	1	2	0.7	1738	Body	
GC	F1	3	381	Ceramic	Stoneware	White salt-glaze stoneware, irregular glaze	1	2	0.7	1740	Body	
GC	F1	3	382	Ceramic	Creamware	Plain	1	2	1.6	1791	Rim	3.5%, 12cm
GC	F1	3	383	Ceramic	Creamware	Plain	1	2	0.5	1791	Body	
GC	F1	3	384	Ceramic	Creamware	Plain	1	2	0.2	1791	Body	
GC	F1	3	385	Ceramic	Creamware	Plain	1	1	0	1791	Body	
GC	F1	3	386	Glass	Unidentified	Colourless translucent	1	1	0.2			
GC	F1	3	387	Glass	Unidentified	Green translucent completely covered w/ patination	1	2	0.5			
GC	F1	3	388	Glass	Unidentified	Unknown, very worn completely covered w/ patination	1	2	0.3			
GC	F1	4	389	Ceramic	Brick	Red dusty brick	1	2	0.5			
GC	F1	4	390	Glass	Unidentified	Unknown, w/ patination of the same type in the rest of GC-F1	1	1	0.3			
GC	F1	5	391	Iron	Unidentified		1	2	0.6		Fragments	
GC	F1	5&6	392	Mortar	Unidentified		11	3	3.2		Fragments	
GC	F1	5&6	393	Iron	Grape shot		1	3	29.6			
GC	F1	5&6	394	Iron	Grape shot		6	4	8.1		Fragments	
GC	F1	5&6	395	Iron	Unidentified		3	3	2.5		Fragments	
GC	F1	5&6	396	Iron	Unidentified		22	4	3.4		Fragments	
GC	F1	5&6	397	Ceramic	Porcelain	Bluish tint	1	2	0.5	1730		
GC	F1	5&6	398	Ceramic	Pearlware	Plain	1	2	0.5	1805		
GC	F1	6	399	Mortar	Fragments		79	6	11.5		Fragments	
GC	F1	6	400	Iron	Grape shot		7	7	209.9			~27mm
GC	F1	6	401	Iron	Grape shot		85	10	84.9		Fragments	
GC	F1	6	402	Iron	Nail		7	4	5.8		Shaft	
GC	F1	6	403	Iron	Unidentified		1	3	2.6			
GC	F1	6	404	Iron	Unidentified		5	3	3.4		Fragments	
GC	F1	6	405	Iron	Unidentified		18	2	2.1		Fragments	
GC	F1	6	406	Ceramic	Creamware	Plain	1	2	0.8	1791	Body	
GC	F1	6	407	Ceramic	Tin-enameled	Plain	1	2	0.3	1701	Body	
GC	F1	6	408	Ceramic	Astbury	Plain, hard glassy black-brown glaze	1	1	0.5	1738	Body	
GC	F2	2	409	Copper-alloy	Nail		1	3	1.7		Shaft and head, wrought	
GC	F2	2	410	Quartz	Fragments		14	6	22.7			
GC	F2	2	411	Ceramic	Pearlware	Plain	1	2	0.5	1805	Body	
GC	F2	2	412	Ceramic	Pearlware	Plain	1	1	0.3	1805	Body	
GC	F2	2	413	Glass	Unidentified	Green glass w/ patination	3	4	5.8		Neck	
GC	F2	2	414	Glass	Unidentified	Colourless iridescent translucent, wavy/fluted pattern with horizontal striations, glass tumbler	1	3	3.2		Cup	
GC	F2	2	415	Glass	Unidentified	Black glass, extremely worn/rolled	1	3	1.9			
GC	F2	3	416	Iron	Unidentified		4	2	1.2			
GC	F2	3	417	Iron	Unidentified		1	1	0.2			
GC	F2	3	418	Quartz	Fragments		3	2	2			
GC	F2	3	419	Ceramic	Pearlware	Plain	1	2	0.8	1805	Rim	5%, 14cm
GC	F2	4	420	Iron	Nail		8	4	3.9		Shaft	
GC	F2	4	421	Mortar	Fragments		2	2	0.3			
GC	F2	4	422	Quartz	Fragments		7	4	7.1			
GC	F2	4	423	Ceramic	Pearlware	Blue w/ darker blue design	1	2	0.7	1805	Body	

GC	F3	2	424	Iron	Unidentified		3	3	3.6			
GC	F3	2	425	Ceramic	Pipe		1	1	0.2		Stem	Unknown
GC	F3	2	426	Ceramic	Pipe		1	1	0.3		Bowl	
GC	F3	2	427	Ceramic	Stoneware	White salt-glaze stoneware/ironstone "white granite", edge of bowl with incised line at inner conjecture and on base	1	4	5.8	1763	Tableware, Rim	6%, 20cm
GC	F3	2	428	Ceramic	Coarse Earthenware	Lead glaze slipware, mustard yellow glaze both sides, raised bump maybe surface decoration	1	2	1	1733		
GC	F3	2	429	Ceramic	Pearlware	Shell-edged, blue feathering, scalloped rim	1	1	0.2	1805	Tableware, Rim	
GC	F3	2	430	Ceramic	Creamware	Plain, scalloped rim	1	3	1.2	1791	Tableware, Rim	
GC	F3	2	431	Ceramic	Pearlware	Plain	1	2	2.1	1805	Body	
GC	F3	2	432	Ceramic	Pearlware	Plain	1	2	1.6	1805	Body	
GC	F3	2	433	Ceramic	Tin-enameled	Plain	1	2	0.7	1701	Body	
GC	F3	2	434	Glass	Unidentified	Colourless translucent, patination almost completely covered	3	3	2.5		Bottle?	
GC	F3	3	435	Iron	Unidentified		6	4	6.6			
GC	F3	3	436	Mortar	Fragments		4	2	1.4			
GC	F3	3	437	Ceramic	Stoneware	White salt-glaze stoneware/ironstone "white granite", edge of bowl with incised line at inner conjecture and on base	1	2	2.1	1763	Tableware, Rim	2%, 20cm
GC	F3	3	438	Ceramic	Tin-enameled	Light blue with dark blue painted spot	1	2	0.2	1701	Body	
GC	F3	3	439	Glass	Unidentified	Gray, visible bulb of percussion	1	1	0			
GC	F3	4	440	Iron	Grape shot		2	5	62.1			~27mm
GC	F3	4	441	Iron	Grape shot		15	5	10.2		Fragments	
GC	F3	4	442	Iron	Nail		1	2	2.1		Shaft and head	
GC	F3	4	443	Iron	Unidentified		5	4	5.4			
GC	F3	4	444	Iron	Unidentified		3	10	43.2			
GC	F3	4	445	Iron	Unidentified		9	3	1.8		Fragments	
GC	F3	4	446	Mortar	Fragments		4	1	0.3			
GC	F3	4	447	Ceramic	Pearlware	Shell-edged, blue feathering incised, scalloped rim	1	3	2.1	1805	Body	
GC	F3	4	448	Ceramic	Pearlware	Shell-edged, blue feathering	1	1	0.2	1805		
GC	F3	4	449	Ceramic	Pearlware	Plain	1	3	2	1805	Rim	3%, 22cm
GC	F3	4	450	Ceramic	Tin-enameled	Plain	1	4	18.7	1701	Bowl	
GC	F3	4	451	Slate	Writing tablet	Incised double lines for straight writing, worn/rolled	1	4	5.8			
GC	F3	4	452	Slate	Writing tablet		3	3	1.1		Fragments	
GC	F3	4	453	Glass	Unidentified	Green/teal glass, iridescent, patination and solarized	1	4	3.7			
GC	F3	4	454	Glass	Unidentified	Clear blue tinted glass, extremely solarized, patination, worn	1	2	0.6			
GC	F3	5	455	Iron	Grape shot		4	5	129.5			~24mm
GC	F3	5	456	Iron	Grape shot		16	5	15.8		Fragments	
GC	F3	5	457	Iron	Nail		4	3	5.3		Shaft, wrought	
GC	F3	5	458	Iron	Unidentified		1	2	1.8			
GC	F3	5	459	Iron	Unidentified		3	2	0.9		Fragments	
GC	F3	5	460	Charcoal	Fragments		2	2	0.2			
GC	F3	5	461	Mortar	Fragments		9	2	1.2			
GC	F3	5	462	Ceramic	Pipe		1	2	0.4		Bowl	
GC	F3	5	463	Ceramic	Brick		3	4	10.5			
GC	F3	5	464	Ceramic	Porcelain	Underglaze light blue with darker blue painted strokes, two stroke bird and flowers/plant	1	5	11.7	1730	Tableware	5%, 28cm
GC	F3	5	465	Ceramic	Pearlware	Plain	1	3	2.6	1805	Body	
GC	F3	5	466	Ceramic	Pearlware	Plain	1	1	0.5	1805	Body	
GC	F3	5	467	Ceramic	Tin-enameled	Plain	1	2	1.2	1701	Body	
GC	F3	5	468	Ceramic	Tin-enameled	Plain	1	2	0.2	1701	Body	
GC	F3	5	469	Glass	Unidentified	Complete patination/solarized, white, glass no longer visible	1	1	0			
GC	F3	7	470	Ceramic	Pearlware	Shell-edged, blue feathering incised, scalloped rim	1	2	0.9	1805	Rim	
GC	F3	7	471	Glass	Unidentified	Covered, extremely solarized, doesn't really look like glass anymore	1	2	0.3			
GC	F4	1	472	Iron	Unidentified		1	1	0.4		Fragments	

GC	F4	1	473	Charcoal	Fragments		1	2	0.4			
GC	F4	1	474	Quartz	Fragments		1	1	0.2			
GC	F4	2	475	Iron	Nail		1	8	17.8		Shaft and head, wrought	
GC	F4	2	476	Iron	Nail		4	3	7.1		Shaft and head, wrought	
GC	F4	2	477	Iron	Nail		17	7	29.1		Shaft, wrought	
GC	F4	2	478	Iron	Unidentified		4	3	3			
GC	F4	2	479	Iron	Unidentified		4	4	4.4		Head, wrought	
GC	F4	2	480	Iron	Unidentified		27	4	5.4		Fragments	
GC	F4	2	481	Mortar	Fragments		2	2	0.6			
GC	F4	2	482	Charcoal	Fragments		29	5	3.3			
GC	F4	2	483	Quartz	Fragments		1	2	0.6			
GC	F4	2	484	Ceramic	Pipe		1	4	4.4		Bowl	
GC	F4	2	485	Ceramic	Pearlware	Standard willow pattern, blue and white, blue flowers above rectangular pattern containing white circles with blue dots in center	1	3	2.9	1818	Tableware, Body	
GC	F4	2	486	Ceramic	Tin-enameled	Light blue enamel with dark blue rim lines and top of flower petals on one side	1	3	5.7	1701	Tableware, Rim	5%, 14cm
GC	F4	2	487	Ceramic	Creamware	Plain	1	2	2.5	1791	Body	
GC	F4	2	488	Ceramic	Creamware	Plain	1	4	3.7	1791	Rim	5%, 12cm
GC	F4	2	489	Ceramic	Creamware	Plain	1	3	3.5	1791	Body	
GC	F4	2	490	Ceramic	Whiteware	Plain	1	2	2.4	1860	Body	
GC	F4	2	491	Ceramic	Pearlware	Plain	1	2	0.2	1805	Body	
GC	F4	2	492	Glass	Bottle	Green opaque, darker olive color	7	8	50.4		Neck, Bottom	
GC	F4	2	493	Glass	Unidentified	Green opaque, lighter sage color	2	3	2.2			
GC	F4	3	494	Iron	Nail		1	4	3.1		Shaft and head, wrought	
GC	F4	3	495	Iron	Nail		1	1	1		Head, wrought	
GC	F4	3	496	Iron	Nail		2	3	1.4		Shaft, wrought	
GC	F4	3	497	Iron	Unidentified		1	2	0.8		Fragments	
GC	F4	3	498	Iron	Unidentified		3	5	12.6		Fragments	
GC	F4	3	499	Iron	Unidentified		13	3	3.9		Fragments	
GC	F4	3	500	Quartz	Fragments		2	2	1.2			
GC	F4	3	501	Mortar	Fragments		1	2	0.9			
GC	F4	3	502	Charcoal	Fragments		5	3	1.7			
GC	F4	3	503	Ceramic	Stoneware	No glaze, light gray inside incised line	1	6	33.7	1700	Body	
GC	F4	3	504	Ceramic	Pearlware	Factory-turned slipware, anular banding w/ light brown and dark brown/black band below	1	2	1	1805	Tableware, Body	
GC	F4	3	505	Ceramic	Pearlware	Chinese looking design, columns and doorway with stairs to river, brick pattern below, bridge at the bottom, waterfall or rocks design on right side	1	4	7.4	1818	Tableware, Body	
GC	F4	3	506	Ceramic	Pearlware	Blue with dark blue/black speckled	1	3	5.5	1805	Tableware, Body	
GC	F4	3	507	Ceramic	Pearlware	White with dark blue thin band right below rim	1	3	1.9	1805	Tableware, Rim	6%, 14cm
GC	F4	3	508	Ceramic	Creamware	Black transfer print, shoulder/collar/hair of figure	1	1	0.2	1790	Body	
GC	F4	3	509	Ceramic	Gray-bodied Earthenware	Dark reddish brown w/mottled luster	1	2	2.1		Body	
GC	F4	3	510	Ceramic	Redware	Gold glaze on one side with brown strokes and dark reddish brown on other side	1	2	2.5	1625	Body	
GC	F4	3	511	Ceramic	Coarse Earthenware	Lead glaze slipware, dark gold/mustard colored glaze	1	1	0.3	1733	Body	
GC	F4	3	512	Ceramic	Pearlware	Plain	1	3	2.1	1805	Body	
GC	F4	3	513	Ceramic	Porcelain	Underglaze Light blue, slight scalloped rim, darker blue rim design following scallop, diamonds and curved lines in between two lines and another line below	1	3	3.2	1730	Tableware, Rim	
GC	F4	3	514	Glass	Bottle	Green translucent	1	4	13.5		Kick-up	
GC	F4	3	515	Glass	Bottle	Thick dark green translucent	2	6	37.5		Kick-up	
GC	F4	3	516	Glass	Unidentified	Thick green translucent, solarized and worn	2	4	13.9			

GC	F4	3	517	Glass	Unidentified	Thin light green opaque, solarized	3	4	4.8			
GC	F4	3	518	Glass	Unidentified	White opaque solarized	1	1	0.2			
GC	F4	4	519	Iron	Nail		1	2	2.3		Head, wrought	
GC	F4	4	520	Iron	Unidentified		1	1	0.3		Shaft?	
GC	F4	4	521	Iron	Unidentified		1	3	1.7			
GC	F4	4	522	Iron	Unidentified		1	2	0.4			
GC	F4	4	523	Lead	Fragments		1	2	1.2			
GC	F4	4	524	Quartz	Fragments		2	2	0.7			
GC	F4	4	525	Charcoal	Fragments		3	1	0			
GC	F4	4	526	Ceramic	Pipe		1		0.8		Stem	5/64 bit
GC	F4	4	527	Ceramic	Tin-enameled	Light blue backdrop with fluorescent yellow oval and thick black scalloped line design	1	3	5.3	1701	Body	
GC	F4	4	528	Ceramic	Tin-enameled	White w/ thick light blue banding	1	3	5.7	1701	Body	
GC	F4	4	529	Ceramic	Coarse Earthenware	Dark brown on one side, dark mustard/gold on other side	1	2	1	1733	Body	
GC	F4	4	530	Ceramic	Coarse Earthenware	Light yellow glaze w/ reddish brown band	1	2	0.6	1733	Body	
GC	F4	4	531	Ceramic	Stoneware	Light gray, ridges on one side	1	3	6.5	1700	Body	
GC	F4	4	532	Ceramic	Tin-enameled	Light blue glaze	2	3	1.4	1701	Body	
GC	F4	4	533	Ceramic	Pearlware	Shell-edged, faint blue feathering, scalloped rim	1	2	0.4	1805	Rim	
GC	F4	4	534	Ceramic	Pearlware	Blue on white rim design, small circles w/ dots in center enclosed in border, above very tiny x pattern	1	1	0.2	1805	Rim	
GC	F4	4	535	Ceramic	Creamware	Plain	1	1	0.4	1791	Body	
GC	F4	4	536	Ceramic	Creamware	Plain	1	1	0.2	1791	Body	
GC	F4	4	537	Ceramic	Pearlware	Plain	1	2	0.3	1805	Body	
GC	F4	4	538	Ceramic	Pearlware	Plain	1	3	1	1805	Body	
GC	F4	4	539	Glass	Bottle	Green, darker olive color, translucent	6	5	10.7			
GC	F4	4	540	Glass	Unidentified	Light olive green opaque	2	2	2.2			
GC	F4	4	541	Glass	Unidentified	Covered in patination/solarized	2	2	0.9			
GC	F4	4	542	Glass	Unidentified	Clear blue tinted glass, translucent	1	2	0			
GC	F4	4	543	Glass	Unidentified	White opaque solarized	1	2	0			
GC	F4	4	544	Glass	Unidentified	Clear to light gray translucent, solarized on one side	1	2	0.2			
GC	F4	5	545	Iron	Nail		1	5	9.5		Head, wrought	
GC	F4	5	546	Iron	Nail		2	3	4.2		Shaft, wrought	
GC	F4	5	547	Iron	Unidentified		3	2	1			
GC	F4	5	548	Iron	Unidentified		10	3	2.3			
GC	F4	5	549	Quartz	Fragments		7	4	10.4			
GC	F4	5	550	Charcoal	Fragments		3	2	0.3			
GC	F4	5	551	Ceramic	Pipe		1		1.1		Stem	6/64 bit
GC	F4	5	552	Ceramic	Pipe		1		0.6		Stem	4/64 bit
GC	F4	5	553	Ceramic	Pipe		1		0.6		Stem	5/64 bit
GC	F4	5	554	Ceramic	Tin-enameled	Very light grayish-purple hued glaze	1	5	8	1701	Body	
GC	F4	5	555	Ceramic	Tin-enameled	Very light grayish-purple hued glaze, polychrome? Three olive green paint strokes	1	3	3	1788	Body	
GC	F4	5	556	Ceramic	Stoneware	White to very light gray, plain	1	2	1.7	1700	Body	
GC	F4	5	557	Ceramic	Redware	Unglaze bright red	1	2	0.4	1625	Body	
GC	F4	5	558	Ceramic	Tin-enameled	Light blue w/ dark blue strokes pained design on one side	1	2	0.9	1701	Body	
GC	F4	5	559	Ceramic	Tin-enameled	Light blue to darker blue ombre on one side	1	1	0.2	1701	Body	
GC	F4	5	560	Ceramic	Jackfield	Plain, very dark/shiny purple black with purplish red paste	1	2	1.4	1760	Body	
GC	F4	5	561	Ceramic	Pearlware	Shell-edged, blue feathering incised, scalloped rim, uneven/not smooth scalloping (date)	1	4	4.8	1805	Tableware, Rim	
GC	F4	5	562	Ceramic	Creamware	Dark brown band - possibly factury turned anular banding	1	1	0.2	1798	Body	
GC	F4	5	563	Ceramic	Creamware	Transfer printed black w/ picture of trees and column	1	2	1	1790	Body	
GC	F4	5	564	Ceramic	Pearlware	Blue with dark blue/black speckled	1	3	0.8	1805	Body	
GC	F4	5	565	Ceramic	Creamware	Plain	1	4	7.1	1791	Tableware, Rim	

GC	F4	5	566	Ceramic	Creamware	Plain	1	3	2.1	1791	Tableware, Rim	3%, 14cm
GC	F4	5	567	Ceramic	Pearlware	Plain	1	2	0.9	1805	Body	
GC	F4	5	568	Ceramic	Creamware	Plain	1	3	2.3	1791	Body	
GC	F4	5	569	Ceramic	Creamware	Plain	1	2	1.1	1791	Body	
GC	F4	5	570	Ceramic	Creamware	Plain	1	1	0.2	1791	Body	
GC	F4	5	571	Ceramic	Creamware	Plain	1	1	0.2	1791	Body	
GC	F4	5	572	Glass	Unidentified	Clear translucent, some patination	2	3	0.3			
GC	F4	5	573	Glass	Unidentified	Very solarized/covered green	5	3	1.4			
GC	F4	6	574	Iron	Nail		1	3	3.7		Head, wrought	
GC	F4	6	575	Iron	Unidentified		1	7	20.1			
GC	F4	6	576	Iron	Unidentified		1	4	14.2			
GC	F4	6	577	Iron	Unidentified		6	4	5.1		Fragments	
GC	F4	6	578	Ceramic	Pipe	Plain no markings w/ spur/heel	1	4	5.5		Stem and Bowl	5/64 bit
GC	F4	6	579	Ceramic	Pipe		1	2	0.3		Bowl	
GC	F4	6	580	Ceramic	Prehistoric	Plain, black	1	4	5.8		Rim	7%, 14cm
GC	F4	6	581	Ceramic	Creamware	Plain	1	11	65.6	1791	Tableware, plate	30%, 14cm
GC	F4	6	582	Ceramic	Astbury	Glossy dark red glaze with light red paste	1	4	13.3	1738	Rim, holloware	15%, 12cm
GC	F4	6	583	Ceramic	Tin-enameled	Faience, very light grayish white on one side, dark brown on the other side	1	3	3.8	1788	Body	
GC	F4	6	584	Ceramic	Tin-enameled	Remnants of glaze left	1	2	1.5	1788	Body	
GC	F4	6	585	Ceramic	Stoneware	White salt-glazed stoneware	1	3	0.9	1763	Body	
GC	F4	6	586	Ceramic	Tin-enameled	Light blue, with dark blue design on one side, handpainted? same as #823,824	1	1	0.4	1701	Body	
GC	F4	6	587	Ceramic	Creamware	Transfer printed black, picture of a man's torso with jacket and undershirt	1	2	0.3	1701	Body	
GC	F4	6	588	Ceramic	Pearlware	Blue on white, band with diamonds/fishcscale design	1	2	0.3	1805	Body	
GC	F4	6	589	Ceramic	Creamware	Plain	1	2	1.3	1791	Rim	
GC	F4	6	590	Ceramic	Creamware	Plain	1	2	0.6	1791	Body	
GC	F4	6	591	Ceramic	Creamware	Plain	1	2	0.2	1791	Body	
GC	F4	6	592	Ceramic	Creamware	Plain	1	2	0.3	1791	Body	
GC	F4	6	593	Ceramic	Creamware	Plain	1	2	0.6	1791	Body	
GC	F4	6	594	Ceramic	Creamware	Plain	1	1	0	1791	Body	
GC	F4	6	595	Ceramic	Pearlware	Plain	1	1	0	1805	Body	
GC	F4	6	596	Glass	Unidentified	Green translucent	2	2	1			
GC	F4	6	597	Glass	Unidentified	Clear somewhat blue tinted, very solarized and patination, milky/discolored	5	3	1.1			
GC	F4	7	598	Iron	Nail		2	3	7.1		Head, wrought	
GC	F4	7	599	Iron	Unidentified		2	4	5.1		Fragments	
GC	F4	7	600	Iron	Unidentified		20	5	4.3			
GC	F4	7	601	Quartz	Fragments		2	3	4.5			
GC	F4	7	602	Ceramic	Staffordshire mottled	Tiger striping or wood like design, rich mahogany brown color (like agate but single toned paste)	1	2	2.3	1730	Body	
GC	F4	7	603	Ceramic	Staffordshire mottled	Tiger striping or wood like design, rich mahogany brown color (like agate but single toned paste)	1	2	1.1	1730	Body	
GC	F4	7	604	Ceramic	Staffordshire mottled	Tiger striping or wood like design, rich mahogany brown color (like agate but single toned paste)	1	1	0.4	1730	Body	
GC	F4	7	605	Ceramic	Staffordshire mottled	Tiger striping or wood like design, rich mahogany brown color (like agate but single toned paste)	1	1	0	1730	Body	
GC	F4	7	606	Ceramic	Coarse Earthenware	Gold/mustard yellow glaze on one side	1	2	1.9	1733	Rim	
GC	F4	7	607	Ceramic	Redware	Red-orange glaze with yellow stripe on one side, unglazed on other side	1	2	1.2	1625	Body	
GC	F4	7	608	Ceramic	Tin-enameled	Light blue with darker blue thin stroked Chinese design	1	3	3.9	1701	Rim	4%, 18cm
GC	F4	7	609	Ceramic	Tin-enameled	Light blue w/ shades of blue design	1	1	0.1	1701	Body	

GC	F4	7	610	Ceramic	Tin-enameled	Very faint blue, plain	1	1	0	1701	Body	
GC	F4	7	611	Ceramic	Jackfield	Folded over rim, glossy dark reddish brown glaze	1	2	1	1760	Rim	5%, 8cm
GC	F4	7	612	Ceramic	Creamware	Plain	1	2	0.6	1791	Body	
GC	F4	7	613	Ceramic	Creamware	Plain	1	2	0.4	1791	Body	
GC	F4	8	614	Iron	Nail		1	3	2.4		Head, wrought	
GC	F4	8	615	Iron	Unidentified		6	4	7.5		Shaft?	
GC	F4	8	616	Iron	Utensil?		1	8	22.2			
GC	F4	8	617	Iron	Unidentified		4	3	2.1			
GC	F4	8	618	Lead	Fragments		1	3	1.5			
GC	F4	8	619	Quartz	Fragments		4	3	6.6			
GC	F4	8	620	Ceramic	Coarse Earthenware	Unglazed on one side, yellow and dark brown half and half on the other side	1	2	1.8	1733	Body	
GC	F4	8	621	Ceramic	Tin-enameled	Plain light gray	1	4	3.8	1701	Body	
GC	F4	8	622	Ceramic	Tin-enameled	Plain light gray w/ stroke of orange and brown/green very thin streak in the middle of the streak	1	4	5.4	1701	Body	
GC	F4	8	623	Ceramic	Stoneware	White salt-glazed stoneware, plain	1	3	1.4	1763	Body	
GC	F4	8	624	Ceramic	Stoneware	White salt-glazed stoneware with blue and incised dark blue line on one side	1	3	1.4	1763	Body	
GC	F4	8	625	Ceramic	Tin-enameled	Plain very light purple gray	1	3	1.9	1701	Body	
GC	F4	8	626	Ceramic	Tin-enameled	Plain very light purple gray	1	3	2.9	1701	Tableware, Rim	
GC	F4	8	627	Ceramic	Tin-enameled	Very light purple gray with light olive green blob on one side, lots of crazing	1	3	2.1	1701	Body	
GC	F4	8	628	Ceramic	Tin-enameled	Very light purple gray w/ some color, tiny bit of glaze remains	1	1	0.2	1701	Body	
GC	F4	8	629	Ceramic	Tin-enameled	Very light purple gray w/ some color, tiny bit of glaze remains	1	1	0.2	1701	Body	
GC	F4	8	630	Ceramic	Creamware	Factury-turned, brown anular banding	1	2	0.3	1798	Body	
GC	F4	8	631	Ceramic	Creamware	Plain with raised fleurs on one side	1	3	3.8	1791	Body	
GC	F4	8	632	Ceramic	Creamware	Plain	1	4	6.6	1791	Rim	4%, 28cm
GC	F4	8	633	Ceramic	Creamware	Plain	1	3	4.6	1791	Rim	
GC	F4	8	634	Ceramic	Creamware	Plain	1	4	5.9	1791	Body	
GC	F4	8	635	Ceramic	Creamware	Plain	1	2	1.3	1791	Body	
GC	F4	8	636	Ceramic	Creamware	Plain	1	2	0.6	1791	Body	
GC	F4	8	637	Ceramic	Creamware	Plain	1	2	0.5	1791	Body	
GC	F4	8	638	Ceramic	Porcelain	Pale blue, darker blue band on rim, very thin orange x's and two thin blue bands below	1	2	0.7	1730	Rim	
GC	F4	8	639	Glass	Unidentified	Green translucent	9	6	13		Bottle	
GC	F4	8	640	Glass	Unidentified	White opaque, completely solarized	1	1	0.1			
GC	F4	Wall Clean	641	Iron	Unidentified		1	4	8			
GC	F4	Wall Clean	642	Iron	Unidentified		2	3	1.2			
GC	F4	Wall Clean	643	Iron	Unidentified		1	2	0.8			
GC	F4	Wall Clean	644	Ceramic	Pipe		1		1.9		Stem	5/64 bit
GC	F4	Wall Clean	645	Ceramic	Green-Glazed	Dark green glaze, looks like a leaf with incised veins and dots, "cauliflower" - Chenoweth	1	5	7.8	1767	Handle?	
GC	F4	Wall Clean	646	Ceramic	Coarse Earthenware	Light yellow glaze with faint blue to green band on one side	1	2	0.7	1733	Body	
GC	F4	Wall Clean	647	Ceramic	Tin-enameled	Very light blue to gray glaze on one side	1	2	0.6	1701	Body	
GC	F4	Wall Clean	648	Ceramic	Pearlware	Dark blue on white, diamond pattern formed by double band white with white dot in center	1	2	0.9	1805	Body	
GC	F4	Wall Clean	649	Ceramic	Pearlware	Dingy white with light green pattern, handpainted?	1	3	4	1805	Body	
GC	F4	Wall Clean	650	Ceramic	Creamware	Plain	1	3	2	1791	Tableware, Rim	5%, 14cm
GC	F4	Wall	651	Ceramic	Creamware	Plain	1	2	1.9	1791	Body	

GC	F4	Clean Wall	652	Ceramic	Creamware	Plain	1	2	0.6	1791	Body
GC	F4	Clean Wall	653	Glass	Unidentified	White opaque, very solarized	1	3	1.8		

Appendix B

Project	EU	Locus#	ID	Material	Type/Class	Family	Genus and Species	Ct.	Size	Wt.(g)	MNI
GC	A1	1	1	Shell	Gastropoda	Trochidae	Cittarium pica	3	7	35.3	1
GC	A1	2	2	Shell	Gastropoda	Trochidae	Cittarium pica	42	9	84.8	0
GC	A1	2	3	Shell	Gastropoda	Columbellidae	Columbella mercatoria	3	3	1.7	3
GC	A1	2	4	Shell	Gastropoda	Turbinidae	Astrea tuber	1	3	3.4	1
GC	A1	2	5	Shell	Gastropoda	Turbinidae	Astrea tecta	1	3	3.6	1
GC	A1	2	6	Shell	Gastropoda	Triviidae	Trivia quadripunctata	1	2	0.8	1
GC	A1	2	7	Shell	Gastropoda	Naticidae	Polinices lacteus	1	2	0.9	1
GC	A1	2	8	Shell	Gastropoda	Acmaeidae	(Unknown)	4	2	0.4	4
GC	A1	2	9	Shell	Gastropoda	Truncatellidae	Truncatella pulchella	1	2	0	1
GC	A1	2	10	Shell	Gastropoda	Cerithiidae	(Unknown)	1	1	0	1
GC	A1	2	11	Shell	Gastropoda	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	1	1	0.2	0
GC	A1	2	12	Shell	Bivalvia	Lucinidae	Codakia orbicularis	5	6	29.5	1 (left)
GC	A1	2	13	Shell	Bivalvia	Isognomonidae	(Unknown)	5	6	4.7	1 (left)
GC	A1	2	14	Shell	Bivalvia	Tellinidae	(Unknown)	2	4	6	1 (right)
GC	A1	2	15	Shell	Bivalvia	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	6	9	29.4	0
GC	A1	2	16	Shell	Bivalvia	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	1	1	0	0
GC	A1	2	17	Shell	Bivalvia	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	4	4	3.8	0
GC	A1	2	18	Shell	Bivalvia	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	5	4	3.9	0
GC	A1	2	19	Shell	Bivalvia	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	2	2	2	0
GC	A1	2	20	Shell	Bivalvia	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	70	8	23.2	0
GC	A1	2	21	Coral	Coral	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	1	2	0.9	0
GC	A1	3	22	Shell	Gastropoda	Trochidae	Cittarium pica	27	9	32	0
GC	A1	3	23	Shell	Gastropoda	Columbellidae	Columbella mercatoria	4	3	3	4
GC	A1	3	24	Shell	Gastropoda	Triviidae	Trivia quadripunctata	1	2	0.4	1
GC	A1	3	25	Shell	Gastropoda	Acmaeidae	(Unknown)	1	1	0	1
GC	A1	3	26	Shell	Gastropoda	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	1	3	4.2	1
GC	A1	3	27	Shell	Gastropoda	Strombidae	(Unknown)	1	5	5.8	1
GC	A1	3	28	Shell	Gastropoda	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	2	2	1.4	0
GC	A1	3	29	Shell	Bivalvia	Tellinidae	(Unknown)	1	3	1.3	1 (left)
GC	A1	3	30	Shell	Bivalvia	Lucinidae	Codakia orbicularis	2	3	1	0
GC	A1	3	31	Shell	Bivalvia	Trachycardium	(Unknown)	2	3	1.1	0
GC	A1	3	32	Shell	Bivalvia	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	6	6	15.8	0
GC	A1	3	33	Shell	Bivalvia	Isognomonidae	(Unknown)	1	3	1.8	0
GC	A1	3	34	Shell	Bivalvia	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	2	2	0.3	0
GC	A1	3	35	Shell	Bivalvia	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	1	2	1.9	0
GC	A1	3	36	Shell	Unidentified	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	5	4	5.3	0
GC	A1	3	37	Shell	Unidentified	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	8	4	2.4	0
GC	A1	4	38	Shell	Gastropoda	Trochidae	Cittarium pica	73	14	147	2
GC	A1	4	39	Shell	Gastropoda	Columbellidae	Columbella mercatoria	9	4	7	9
GC	A1	4	40	Shell	Gastropoda	Acmaeidae	(Unknown)	8	3	1	8
GC	A1	4	41	Shell	Gastropoda	Fissurellidae	Diodora viridula	3	4	5.4	3

GC	A1	4	42	Shell	Gastropoda	Siphonariidae	Siphonaria pectinata	1	2	0.2	1
GC	A1	4	43	Shell	Gastropoda	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	1	2	2.2	1
GC	A1	4	44	Shell	Gastropoda	Littorinidae	(Unknown)	1	1	0	0
GC	A1	4	45	Shell	Gastropoda	Marginellidae	(Unknown)	1	2	1.8	1
GC	A1	4	46	Shell	Gastropoda	Neritidae	(Unknown)	1	3	3.5	1
GC	A1	4	47	Shell	Gastropoda	Cypraeidae	(Unknown)	1	3	3.6	1
GC	A1	4	48	Shell	Gastropoda	Turbinidae	Astrea tecta	1	2	2.1	1
GC	A1	4	49	Shell	Gastropoda	Turbinidae	Turbo castanea	1	2	0	0
GC	A1	4	50	Shell	Gastropoda	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	43	7	19.4	0
GC	A1	4	51	Shell	Bivalvia	Lucinidae	Codakia orbicularis	1	3	2.5	1
GC	A1	4	52	Shell	Bivalvia	Tellinidae	(Unknown)	17	6	8.8	0
GC	A1	4	53	Shell	Bivalvia	Pectinidae	Nodipecten nodosus	3	5	9.2	0
GC	A1	4	54	Shell	Bivalvia	Trachycardium	(Unknown)	2	4	4.1	1 (left)
GC	A1	4	55	Shell	Bivalvia	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	1	5	10.7	0
GC	A1	4	56	Shell	Bivalvia	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	3	4	2.7	0
GC	A1	4	57	Shell	Bivalvia	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	10	5	8.7	0
GC	A1	4	58	Shell	Bivalvia	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	2	4	8.5	0
GC	A1	4	59	Shell	Bivalvia	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	1	3	2.3	1
GC	A1	5	60	Shell	Gastropoda	Trochidae	Cittarium pica	13	9	52.2	1
GC	A1	5	61	Shell	Gastropoda	Columbellidae	Columbella mercatoria	1	2	0.5	0
GC	A1	5	62	Shell	Gastropoda	Fissurellidae	(Unknown)	2	3	0.8	2
GC	A1	5	63	Shell	Gastropoda	Siphonariidae	Siphonaria pectinata	2	2	0.6	2
GC	A1	5	64	Shell	Gastropoda	Vermitidae	(Unknown)	1	1	0.2	0
GC	A1	5	65	Shell	Gastropoda	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	8	4	2.7	0
GC	A1	5	66	Shell	Gastropoda	Turbinidae	Turbo castanea	1	2	0	1
GC	A1	5	67	Shell	Bivalvia	Arcidae	Acar domingensis	1	5	8.3	1
GC	A1	5	68	Shell	Bivalvia	Arcidae	Arca zebra	1	5	5.1	1
GC	A1	5	69	Shell	Bivalvia	Pinnidae	Atrina serrata	3	3	1.3	0
GC	A1	5	70	Shell	Bivalvia	Lucinidae	Codakia orbicularis	5	4	1.7	0
GC	A1	5	71	Shell	Bivalvia	Ostreidae	(Unknown)	1	4	14.4	0
GC	A1	5	72	Shell	Bivalvia	Ostreidae	Ostrea edulis	1	4	22.1	1
GC	A1	5	73	Shell	Bivalvia	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	1	2	0	0
GC	A1	5	74	Shell	Bivalvia	Cardiidae	(Unknown)	1	2	0.4	0
GC	A1	5	75	Shell	Bivalvia	Cardiidae	(Unknown)	1	2	2.4	1
GC	A1	5	76	Shell	Bivalvia	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	2	3	1.2	0
GC	A1	5	77	Shell	Maxillopoda	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	1	1	0.4	0
GC	A1	5	78	Shell	Malacostraca	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	1	2	0.9	0
GC	A2	1	79	Shell	Gastropoda	Trochidae	Cittarium pica	3	4	4.3	0
GC	A2	1	80	Shell	Gastropoda	Fasciolariidae	Leucozonia nassa	1	2	0.5	1
GC	A2	1	81	Shell	Gastropoda	Truncatellidae	Truncatella pulchella	1	2	0	1
GC	A2	1	82	Shell	Gastropoda	Neritidae	(Unknown)	1	2	1.3	1
GC	A2	1	83	Shell	Gastropoda	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	2	2	0.6	0
GC	A2	1	84	Shell	Bivalvia	Trachycardium	(Unknown)	1	2	0.3	0
GC	A2	1	85	Shell	Bivalvia	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	1	2	1.1	0
GC	A2	2	86	Shell	Gastropoda	Trochidae	Cittarium pica	27	9	38.2	1
GC	A2	2	87	Shell	Gastropoda	Truncatellidae	Truncatella pulchella	2	2	0.2	2
GC	A2	2	88	Shell	Gastropoda	Columbellidae	Columbella mercatoria	2	2	2.2	2
GC	A2	2	89	Shell	Gastropoda	Marginellidae	(Unknown)	1	2	2.4	1
GC	A2	2	90	Shell	Gastropoda	Littorinidae	Tectarius muricatus	1	2	1	1
GC	A2	2	91	Shell	Gastropoda	Patellidae	(Unknown)	1	2	0.3	1
GC	A2	2	92	Shell	Gastropoda	Siphonariidae	Siphonaria pectinata	3	2	0.5	3

GC	A2	2	93	Shell	Gastropoda	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	19	7	15.1	0
GC	A2	2	94	Shell	Gastropoda	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	11	4	2.8	0
GC	A2	2	95	Shell	Gastropoda	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	1	3	0.9	0
GC	A2	2	96	Shell	Bivalvia	Trachycardium	(Unknown)	3	3	1.5	0
GC	A2	2	97	Shell	Bivalvia	Lucinidae	Codakia orbicularis	3	2	0.5	0
GC	A2	2	98	Shell	Bivalvia	Veneridae	(Unknown)	1	3	4.4	0
GC	A2	2	99	Shell	Bivalvia	Tellinidae	(Unknown)	5	4	2.7	2
GC	A2	2	100	Shell	Bivalvia	Ostreidae	Ostrea edulis	1	4	9.1	0
GC	A2	2	101	Shell	Bivalvia	Lucinidae	Ctena orbiculata	1	2	0.5	1
GC	A2	2	102	Shell	Bivalvia	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	1	2	1.6	0
GC	A2	2	103	Shell	Bivalvia	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	1	2	0.3	0
GC	A2	2	104	Shell	Bivalvia	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	1	3	2.5	0
GC	A2	3	105	Shell	Gastropoda	Trochidae	Cittarium pica	18	7	23.4	1
GC	A2	3	106	Shell	Gastropoda	Columbellidae	Columbella mercatoria	2	2	1.5	2
GC	A2	3	107	Shell	Gastropoda	Littorinidae	(Unknown)	1	1	0.3	1
GC	A2	3	108	Shell	Gastropoda	Littorinidae	(Unknown)	1	2	0.8	1
GC	A2	3	109	Shell	Gastropoda	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	4	2	1.2	0
GC	A2	3	110	Shell	Bivalvia	Arcidae	Acar domingensis	1	5	9.2	1
GC	A2	3	111	Shell	Bivalvia	Trachycardium	(Unknown)	1	3	2.9	1 (left)
GC	A2	3	112	Shell	Bivalvia	Trachycardium	(Unknown)	1	3	1.1	0
GC	A2	3	113	Shell	Bivalvia	Lucinidae	Codakia orbicularis	3	3	1.3	0
GC	A2	3	114	Shell	Bivalvia	Veneridae	Venus	1	2	0.3	0
GC	A2	3	115	Shell	Bivalvia	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	2	2	0.6	0
GC	A2	3	116	Shell	Bivalvia	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	1	3	1.2	0
GC	A2	3	117	Shell	Bivalvia	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	2	3	2	0
GC	A2	3	118	Shell	Bivalvia	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	14	4	2.9	0
GC	A2	3	119	Shell	Polyplacophora	Chitonidae	(Unknown)	1	2	1.2	1
GC	A2	4	120	Shell	Gastropoda	Trochidae	Cittarium pica	6	3	2.9	1
GC	A2	4	121	Shell	Gastropoda	Littorinidae	(Unknown)	1	1	0.2	1
GC	A2	4	122	Shell	Gastropoda	Columbellidae	Columbella mercatoria	2	2	1.4	2
GC	A2	4	123	Shell	Gastropoda	Muricidae	Thais sp.	1	2	2.6	1
GC	A2	4	124	Shell	Gastropoda	Siphonariidae	Siphonaria pectinata	2	2	0.6	2
GC	A2	4	125	Shell	Gastropoda	Muricidae	Ocenebra sp.	1	2	0.6	0
GC	A2	4	126	Shell	Gastropoda	Muricidae	Murex sp.	6	5	10.4	5
GC	A2	4	127	Shell	Gastropoda	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	7	4	6.1	0
GC	A2	4	128	Shell	Bivalvia	Tellinidae	(Unknown)	1	2	1.1	0
GC	A2	4	129	Shell	Bivalvia	Ostreidae	Ostrea edulis	4	5	29.5	0
GC	A2	4	130	Shell	Bivalvia	Anomiidea	(Unknown)	1	3	2.6	1
GC	A2	4	131	Shell	Bivalvia	Mytilidae	(Unknown)	1	3	0.7	0
GC	A2	4	132	Shell	Bivalvia	Ostreidae	Ostrea edulis	2	3	1.3	2
GC	A2	4	133	Shell	Bivalvia	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	6	4	3.7	0
GC	A2	4	134	Shell	Polyplacophora	Chitonidae	(Unknown)	1	2	0.4	1
GC	A2	4	135	Shell	Polyplacophora	Chitonidae	(Unknown)	1	2	0.5	1
GC	A2	4	136	Coral	Coral	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	2	2	1.2	0
GC	A2	6	137	Shell	Gastropoda	Trochidae	Cittarium pica	1	2	0.3	0
GC	A2	6	138	Shell	Gastropoda	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	1	2	0.3	0
GC	A2	6	139	Shell	Bivalvia	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	1	2	0.2	0
GC	A2	7	140	Shell	Gastropoda	Trochidae	Cittarium pica	1	2	0.5	0
GC	F1	1	141	Shell	Gastropoda	Trochidae	Cittarium pica	1	3	3	0
GC	F1	1	142	Shell	Bivalvia	Trachycardium	(Unknown)	1	3	3.8	0
GC	F1	2	143	Shell	Gastropoda	Trochidae	Cittarium pica	135	18	212.2	8

GC	F1	2	144	Shell	Gastropoda	Muricidae	Purpura patula	1	3	2.1	1
GC	F1	2	145	Shell	Gastropoda	Turbinidae	Astrea tuber	6	7	30.8	3
GC	F1	2	146	Shell	Gastropoda	Turbinidae	Astrea tecta	2	6	28.5	2
GC	F1	2	147	Shell	Gastropoda	Littorinidae	Tectarius muricatus	2	3	2	2
GC	F1	2	148	Shell	Gastropoda	Neritidae	Nerita sp.	1	2	0.8	1
GC	F1	2	149	Shell	Gastropoda	Marginellidae	(Unknown)	1	2	1.5	1
GC	F1	2	150	Shell	Gastropoda	Muricidae	Thais sp.	1	2	1.2	1
GC	F1	2	151	Shell	Gastropoda	Littorinidae	Littorina scabra angulifera	1	2	0.5	1
GC	F1	2	152	Shell	Gastropoda	Siphonariidae	Siphonaria pectinata	2	2	0.4	2
GC	F1	2	153	Shell	Gastropoda	Fissurilidae	(Unknown)	1	2	0.3	1
GC	F1	2	154	Shell	Gastropoda	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	38	7	17.1	0
GC	F1	2	155	Shell	Bivalvia	Ostrea	Ostrea edulis	2	3	4.4	1
GC	F1	2	156	Shell	Bivalvia	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	21	6	8.8	0
GC	F1	2	157	Shell	Bivalvia	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	4	3	1.9	0
GC	F1	2	158	Shell	Bivalvia	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	40	4	1.4	0
GC	F1	2	159	Shell	Polyplacophora	Chitonidae	(Unknown)	12	6	12.3	12
GC	F1	2	160	Shell	Polyplacophora	Chitonidae	(Unknown)	3	3	1.4	3
GC	F1	3	161	Shell	Gastropoda	Trochidae	Cittarium pica	24	12	98.2	5
GC	F1	3	162	Shell	Gastropoda	Littorinidae	Tectarius muricatus	1	2	1	1
GC	F1	3	163	Shell	Gastropoda	Muricidae	(Unknown)	2	3	1.3	0
GC	F1	3	164	Shell	Gastropoda	Siphonariidae	Siphonaria pectinata	1	2	0.2	1
GC	F1	3	165	Shell	Gastropoda	Naticidae	(Unknown)	1	1	0.2	1
GC	F1	3	166	Shell	Gastropoda	Strombidae	Strombus sp.	1	4	3.9	0
GC	F1	3	167	Shell	Gastropoda	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	1	3	4.3	1
GC	F1	3	168	Shell	Gastropoda	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	11	5	6.5	0
GC	F1	3	169	Shell	Bivalvia	Ostreidae	Ostrea edulis	1	3	5.2	0
GC	F1	3	170	Shell	Polyplacophora	Chitonidae	(Unknown)	7	5	6.6	7
GC	F1	4	171	Shell	Gastropoda	Trochidae	Cittarium pica	4	3	1.4	0
GC	F1	5	172	Shell	Gastropoda	Trochidae	Cittarium pica	2	5	15.8	2
GC	F1	5	173	Shell	Gastropoda	Neritidae	Nerita versicolor	1	2	1.2	1
GC	F1	5	174	Shell	Bivalvia	Tellinidae	(Unknown)	1	2	0.3	0
GC	F1	5&6	175	Shell	Gastropoda	Trochidae	Cittarium pica	7	7	35.3	1
GC	F1	5&6	176	Shell	Gastropoda	Siphonariidae	Siphonaria pectinata	1	1	0	1
GC	F1	5&6	177	Shell	Gastropoda	Fissurilidae	(Unknown)	1	2	0.3	1
GC	F1	5&6	178	Shell	Gastropoda	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	3	3	2.4	0
GC	F1	5&6	179	Shell	Polyplacophora	Chitonidae	(Unknown)	1	2	0.5	1
GC	F1	6	180	Shell	Gastropoda	Trochidae	Cittarium pica	28	18+	601.7	28
GC	F1	6	181	Shell	Gastropoda	Trochidae	Cittarium pica	23	8	30.2	0
GC	F1	6	182	Shell	Gastropoda	Neritidae	Nerita versicolor	1	2	0.5	1
GC	F1	6	183	Shell	Gastropoda	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	13	4	3.6	0
GC	F1	6	184	Shell	Polyplacophora	Chitonidae	(Unknown)	17	6	17.9	17
GC	F2	2	185	Shell	Gastropoda	Trochidae	Cittarium pica	22	11	63.2	3
GC	F2	2	186	Shell	Gastropoda	Siphonariidae	Siphonaria pectinata	1	2	0.7	1
GC	F2	2	187	Shell	Gastropoda	Littorinidae	Tectarius muricatus	1	2	1	1
GC	F2	2	188	Shell	Gastropoda	Columbellidae	Columbella mercatoria	1	2	0.7	1
GC	F2	2	189	Shell	Gastropoda	Littorinidae	(Unknown)	1	1	0	1
GC	F2	2	190	Shell	Gastropoda	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	6	3	1	0
GC	F2	3	191	Shell	Gastropoda	Trochidae	Cittarium pica	4	4	2.6	0
GC	F2	3	192	Shell	Gastropoda	Marginellidae	(Unknown)	1	3	3.1	1
GC	F2	3	193	Shell	Gastropoda	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	7	3	0.6	0
GC	F2	5	194	Shell	Gastropoda	Trochidae	Cittarium pica	2	2	1	0

GC	F3	1	195	Shell	Gastropoda	Turbinidae	Astrea tuber	1	3	4.3	1
GC	F3	2	196	Shell	Gastropoda	Trochidae	Cittarium pica	81	16	184.4	7
GC	F3	2	197	Shell	Gastropoda	Littorinidae	Tectarius muricatus	2	2	0.7	2
GC	F3	2	198	Shell	Gastropoda	Muricidae	Thais sp.	1	2	2.9	1
GC	F3	2	199	Shell	Gastropoda	Neritidae	Nerita sp.	1	2	0.9	1
GC	F3	2	200	Shell	Gastropoda	Naticidae	(Unknown)	1	2	0.5	1
GC	F3	2	201	Shell	Gastropoda	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	38	7	16.2	0
GC	F3	2	202	Shell	Polyplacophora	Chitonidae	(Unknown)	6	4	4.4	6
GC	F3	2	203	Shell	Polyplacophora	Chitonidae	(Unknown)	1	2	0.7	1
GC	F3	3	204	Shell	Gastropoda	Trochidae	Cittarium pica	30	12	153.3	6
GC	F3	3	205	Shell	Gastropoda	Littorinidae	Tectarius muricatus	1	2	0.6	1
GC	F3	3	206	Shell	Gastropoda	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	1	2	2.1	1
GC	F3	3	207	Shell	Gastropoda	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	25	7	15.1	0
GC	F3	3	208	Shell	Bivalvia	Tellinidae	(Unknown)	1	2	0.2	0
GC	F3	3	209	Shell	Bivalvia	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	1	2	0.4	0
GC	F3	3	210	Shell	Polyplacophora	Chitonidae	(Unknown)	5	4	3.8	5
GC	F3	4	211	Shell	Gastropoda	Trochidae	Cittarium pica	35	14	185	14
GC	F3	4	212	Shell	Gastropoda	Turbinidae	Astrea tuber	1	3	2.2	0
GC	F3	4	213	Shell	Gastropoda	Strombidae	(Unknown)	1	3	1.7	0
GC	F3	4	214	Shell	Gastropoda	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	13	4	5.6	0
GC	F3	4	215	Shell	Bivalvia	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	1	2	0.7	0
GC	F3	4	216	Shell	Polyplacophora	Chitonidae	(Unknown)	11	5	6.7	11
GC	F3	4	217	Shell	Polyplacophora	Chitonidae	(Unknown)	1	2	1.1	1
GC	F3	5	218	Shell	Gastropoda	Trochidae	Cittarium pica	77	18+	449.7	24
GC	F3	5	219	Shell	Gastropoda	Littorinidae	Tectarius muricatus	1	2	0.8	1
GC	F3	5	220	Shell	Gastropoda	Siphonariidae	Siphonaria pectinata	1	1	0	1
GC	F3	5	221	Shell	Gastropoda	Turbinidae	Astrea tecta	1	3	1.4	0
GC	F3	5	222	Shell	Gastropoda	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	1	2	0.2	1
GC	F3	5	223	Shell	Gastropoda	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	23	5	3.8	0
GC	F3	5	224	Shell	Bivalvia	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	1	1	0.3	0
GC	F3	5	225	Shell	Polyplacophora	Chitonidae	(Unknown)	11	5	10.3	11
GC	F3	5	226	Shell	Polyplacophora	Chitonidae	(Unknown)	3	3	3.3	3
GC	F3	7	227	Shell	Gastropoda	Trochidae	Cittarium pica	11	7	16.4	1
GC	F3	7	228	Shell	Gastropoda	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	1	2	0.3	0
GC	F3	7	229	Shell	Polyplacophora	Chitonidae	(Unknown)	3	3	2	3
GC	F4	1	230	Shell	Gastropoda	Trochidae	Cittarium pica	2	9	183.1	1
GC	F4	1	231	Shell	Gastropoda	Siphonariidae	Siphonaria pectinata	2	3	0.9	2
GC	F4	1	232	Shell	Gastropoda	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	4	4	7.5	0
GC	F4	1	233	Shell	Bivalvia	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	1	1	0.3	0
GC	F4	1	234	Shell	Polyplacophora	Chitonidae	(Unknown)	2	2	0.9	1
GC	F4	2	235	Shell	Gastropoda	Trochidae	Cittarium pica	36	18	343.2	6
GC	F4	2	236	Shell	Gastropoda	Neritidae	(Unknown)	1	3	3	1
GC	F4	2	237	Shell	Gastropoda	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	9	5	22.8	0
GC	F4	2	238	Shell	Bivalvia	Ostreidae	Ostrea edulis	l	5	28.1	1
GC	F4	2	239	Shell	Polyplacophora	Chitonidae	(Unknown)	1	3	2.1	1
GC	F4	3	240	Shell	Gastropoda	Trochidae	Cittarium pica	40	14	155.1	4
GC	F4	3	241	Shell	Gastropoda	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	1	3	5.3	1
GC	F4	3	242	Shell	Gastropoda	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	18	6	17.9	0
GC	F4	3	243	Shell	Bivalvia	Veneridae	(Unknown)	1	5	14.2	0
GC	F4	3	244	Shell	Polyplacophora	Chitonidae	(Unknown)	2	3	5.1	2
GC	F4	3	245	Shell	Polyplacophora	Chitonidae	(Unknown)	1	2	0.9	1

GC	F4	4	246	Shell	Gastropoda	Trochidae	Cittarium pica	24	12	108.8	5
GC	F4	4	247	Shell	Gastropoda	Neritidae	Nerita sp.	1	1	0.4	1
GC	F4	4	248	Shell	Gastropoda	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	1	3	5.9	1
GC	F4	4	249	Shell	Gastropoda	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	13	4	5.1	0
GC	F4	4	250	Shell	Bivalvia	Tellinidae	(Unknown)	1	2	0.4	1
GC	F4	4	251	Shell	Bivalvia	Lucinidae	Codakia orbicularis	2	4	5	0
GC	F4	4	252	Shell	Bivalvia	Lucinidae	(Unknown)	1	2	1	0
GC	F4	4	253	Shell	Bivalvia	Lucinidae	(Unknown)	1	2	0.8	0
GC	F4	4	254	Shell	Bivalvia	Lucinidae	(Unknown)	1	2	0.3	0
GC	F4	4	255	Shell	Bivalvia	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	5	3	0.9	0
GC	F4	5	256	Shell	Gastropoda	Trochidae	Cittarium pica	32	12	87.4	11
GC	F4	5	257	Shell	Gastropoda	Marginellidae	(Unknown)	1	2	0.7	1
GC	F4	5	258	Shell	Gastropoda	Neritidae	Nerita undata	2	3	2.6	1
GC	F4	5	259	Shell	Gastropoda	Siphonariidae	Siphonaria pectinata	2	2	0.5	2
GC	F4	5	260	Shell	Gastropoda	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	1	1	0.2	0
GC	F4	5	261	Shell	Gastropoda	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	12	5	14.4	0
GC	F4	5	262	Shell	Gastropoda	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	2	2	0.2	0
GC	F4	5	263	Shell	Bivalvia	Lucinidae	Codakia orbicularis	5	4	4.4	0
GC	F4	5	264	Shell	Bivalvia	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	6	3	1.8	0
GC	F4	5	265	Shell	Polyplacophora	Chitonidae	(Unknown)	5	4	4.7	5
GC	F4	5	266	Shell	Polyplacophora	Chitonidae	(Unknown)	2	2	1.3	2
GC	F4	6	267	Shell	Gastropoda	Trochidae	Cittarium pica	33	15	182.8	13
GC	F4	6	268	Shell	Gastropoda	Strombidae	(Unknown)	4	8	13.3	0
GC	F4	6	269	Shell	Gastropoda	Siphonariidae	Siphonaria pectinata	2	2	0.4	2
GC	F4	6	270	Shell	Gastropoda	Neritidae	(Unknown)	1	2	0.2	0
GC	F4	6	271	Shell	Gastropoda	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	12	4	4.7	1
GC	F4	6	272	Shell	Bivalvia	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	5	3	1.6	0
GC	F4	6	273	Shell	Polyplacophora	Chitonidae	(Unknown)	2	3	2	2
GC	F4	7	274	Shell	Gastropoda	Trochidae	Cittarium pica	15	11	75	7
GC	F4	7	275	Shell	Gastropoda	Fissurellidae	(Unknown)	2	2	0.7	2
GC	F4	7	276	Shell	Gastropoda	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	1	2	1.1	
GC	F4	7	277	Shell	Gastropoda	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	14	5	8.6	0
GC	F4	7	278	Shell	Bivalvia	Ostreidae	Ostrea edulis	1	3	5.7	0
GC	F4	7	279	Shell	Bivalvia	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	1	2	0.2	0
GC	F4	7	280	Shell	Polyplacophora	Chitonidae	(Unknown)	5	4	3.7	2
GC	F4	7, 3	281	Shell	Unidentified	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	1	2	0.2	0
GC	F4	8	282	Shell	Gastropoda	Trochidae	Cittarium pica	76	18	301.3	10
GC	F4	8	283	Shell	Gastropoda	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	3	3	5.5	0
GC	F4	8	284	Shell	Gastropoda	Neritidae	(Unknown)	1	2	1.3	1
GC	F4	8	285	Shell	Gastropoda	Neritidae	(Unknown)	1	1	0.3	1
GC	F4	8	286	Shell	Gastropoda	Ostreidae	(Unknown)	1	4	4	0
GC	F4	8	287	Shell	Gastropoda	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	2	3	2	0
GC	F4	8	288	Shell	Gastropoda	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	34	7	15.3	0
GC	F4	8	289	Shell	Bivalvia	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	3	4	5.3	0
GC	F4	8	290	Shell	Bivalvia	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	8	4	3.4	0
GC	F4	8	291	Shell	Unidentified	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	53	6	3.5	0
GC	F4	8	292	Shell	Polyplacophora	Chitonidae	(Unknown)	6	4	3.4	6
GC	F4	Wall Clean	293	Shell	Gastropoda	Trochidae	Cittarium pica	13	7	29.6	2
GC	F4	Wall Clean	294	Shell	Gastropoda	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	4	3	1.1	0