

Heather Hatch. ARRRCHAEOLOGY: INVESTIGATING PIRACY IN THE
ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD (Under the direction of Charles R. Ewen),
Department of History, May 2006.

The underdeveloped potential of archaeology to examine piracy in the terrestrial archaeological record is examined in this thesis. It presents a historical context for the Golden Age of piracy of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and also examines historical material to highlight some terrestrial pirate activities. This historical approach is used as the basis for presenting a model for investigating piracy in the archaeological record.

This thesis analyzes the material culture from one archaeological site with known pirate associations, the *Barcadares* logwood cutting camp in Belize, by assigning artifacts to functional groups in order to highlight behavioral patterns. Other methods for directly and indirectly investigating piracy in the archaeological record are also examined. Finally, the analytical model presented along with the *Barcadares* material is tested by comparing the pirate assemblage to materials recovered from two contemporaneous sites from colonial Nevis.

Several potential markers of pirate behavior visible in the archaeological record are presented, including low diversity of ceramic types and wares, relatively high percentages of tobacco pipe fragments in the material assemblage, high percentages of imports, and the presence of high status wares in areas where they might not be expected.

ARRRCHAEOLOGY:
INVESTIGATING PIRACY
IN THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD

A Thesis

Presented to the Faculty of the Program in Maritime Studies
in the Department of History
East Carolina University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts in History

by

Heather Hatch

April 2006

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to the memory of my mother, Shirley Blanche Mellish.

31.08.52 – 22.04.04

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank my friends and family, near and far, for their support, assistance, and encouragement with this project. I am also extremely indebted to all the wonderfully patient members of my thesis committee, Larry Babits, Wade Dudley, and Carl Swanson, and to my thesis director, Charlie Ewen.

Thanks also to:

Dr. Daniel Finamore, Russell W. Knight Curator of Maritime Art and History at the Peabody Essex Museum, for answering questions and providing encouragement for investigating the material from his 1996 Ph.D dissertation from Boston University.

Dr. J. David McBride of the Kentucky Archaeological Survey, for answering queries and providing advanced access to his article.

Dr. Marco Meniketti of Michigan Technological Institute and Executive Director of the Isles Institute for Advanced Interdisciplinary Caribbean Archaeology, for providing information from his 1997 and 2002-2003 research on Nevis, answering questions, and providing encouragement for my project.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Pirates are a fascinating social group. Since the early eighteenth-century publication of *A General History of the Pyrates*, they have held the public imagination captive.¹ Their strong place in popular culture, however, means scholars have often dismissed the notion of studying piracy as a serious academic topic. Although some historians have given piracy due consideration, including Marcus Rediker, Robert Ritchie, and David Cordingly, archaeological work on the subject is less abundant.² A single volume was sufficient to bring together a summary of all archaeological research on the topic to date: *X Marks the Spot: the Archaeology of Piracy*, edited by Russell Skowronek and Charles Ewen and published in early 2006. Archaeology, therefore, has a virtually untapped potential to contribute more to understanding both this period and these people.

Most archaeological studies of piracy to date focus on shipwrecks. Two of four vessels identified at least tentatively as pirate wrecks, the *Whydah* and the Beaufort Inlet Wreck (possibly the *Queen Anne's Revenge*), are surrounded with controversy based on

¹ *A General History of the Pyrates*, 1726, ed. Manuel Shonhorn (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 1999). Although Shonhorn credited Daniel Defoe with the authorship of the *General History*, subsequent scholarship has seriously challenged this attribution [see Philip Furbank and W. Owens, *The Canonization of Daniel Defoe* (London: Yale University Press, 1988)]. The book was originally authored under the name Captain Charles Johnson, and all subsequent references to this text will pertain to this edition, but will be attributed as Johnson.

² See Marcus Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchant Seamen, Pirates, and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700-1750*, Canto Edition (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1987), Rediker, *Villains of All Nations: Atlantic Pirates in the Golden Age*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 2004), Robert Ritchie, *Captain Kidd and the War against the Pirates*, (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1986), David Cordingly, *Under the Black Flag: The Romance and the Reality of Life Among the Pirates*, (San Diego: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1995).

the ethics of their initial discovery and in the case of the Beaufort Inlet Wreck, the identity of the vessel itself.³ Little information is available on the two other wrecks, the *Speaker* and the *Fiery Dragon*, though both are included in *X Marks the Spot*.⁴ Donny Hamilton suggested that another vessel used by pirates, the *Ranger*, may be located in the waters of Port Royal, Jamaica, but research is needed to confirm the identification and explain the vessel's presence.⁵ None of these wrecks have yet been used to make significant contributions to the broader understanding of pirate life. The same is true of the even fewer investigations of terrestrial pirate sites, once again demonstrating the undeveloped potential of archaeological contributions.

The purpose of this thesis is to help illuminate possible avenues of inquiry for examining piracy in the archaeological record, focusing on terrestrial sites. Discerning patterns in the material culture of piracy has the potential to help identify sites of pirate activity unknown from the historic record alone. This thesis aims to establish a model based on a combination of historical and archaeological resources from which further work can be pursued.

The historical record provides insight into piracy's place in the broader context of international development during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The attitudes of governments and colonists towards piracy determined the opportunities

³ See Bradley Rodgers, Nathan Richards, and Wayne Lusardi, "'Ruling Theories Linger': Questioning the Identity of the Beaufort Inlet Shipwreck," *International Journal of Underwater Archaeology* 34(1) (2005): 24-27; Ricardo J Elia, "The Ethics of Collaboration: Archaeologists and the *Whydah* Project," *Historical Archaeology* 34(4) (1992):51-72.

⁴ Patrick Lisé, "Pirates in the Indian Ocean: Mauritius and the Pirate Ship *Speaker*," in Russell T. Skowronek and Charles Ewen, eds., *X Marks the Spot: the Archaeology of Piracy*, (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006), and John de Bry, "Christopher Condent's *Fiery Dragon*: Investigating an Early Eighteenth Century Pirate Shipwreck off the Coast of Madagascar," in *Ibid*.

⁵ Donny Hamilton, "Pirates and Merchants: Port Royal, Jamaica," in Skowronek and Ewen (eds), *X Marks the Spot*, 23-25.

pirates had for interacting with society. This thesis focuses on the "Golden Age" of piracy – a period when attitudes towards piracy became increasingly negative, and pirates found fewer allies and safe harbors. The model presented here is designed to examine sites of pirate activity from this period.

Other significant contributions to this model from the historical record are the identification of terrestrial pirate activities and the establishment of a distinct pirate subculture in the period of the "Golden Age." Understanding pirate activities on shore means understanding what traces of piracy are likely to turn up in the archaeological record. Likewise, when patterns of behavior visible in the archaeological record match historical descriptions of pirate activities, it becomes possible for researchers to make appropriate associations. Identifying a pirate subculture is much more difficult, and more important. Though pirates clearly comported themselves differently from other members of society, it is less clear that their behaviors and beliefs were different from those of other maritime groups.

Once the historical context is established, pirate activities delimited, and pirate identity established, archaeological investigations of terrestrial pirate sites can provide material to discern a pattern of piratical activity from material culture analysis. At this time, there are few excavated "Golden Age" pirate sites, and it is not possible to project such a pattern. Instead, this thesis suggests an analytical model that can be used to build one, derived from Stanley South's work with the Carolina and Frontier Artifact Patterns.

South's model divides artifacts into groups based on function to illuminate behavioral patterns.⁶

The categories presented here highlight pirate behavior known from the historical record. Although only one pirate site, the *Barcadares* logwood cutting camp in Belize, is currently available for this analysis, researchers can apply these categories to assemblages from pirate sites excavated in the future to expand and enhance the proposed model.⁷ Once more data are available, future researchers will be able to use this model and resulting pattern to test for piratical presence at sites that lack historical documentation.

One site cannot represent the full range of terrestrial pirate activities. Although there are no other known pirate sites from the "Golden Age," some earlier pirate sites provide information about other ways that piracy can be examined archaeologically. Where historical data is available to connect sites with later piracy or to demonstrate that sites represent similar behavior, conclusions about archaeological markers of piracy are possible. Examining these sites in conjunction with the historical record demonstrates ways to examine piracy both directly and indirectly. These methods are incorporated into the model for investigating piracy in the archaeological record.

A final way to test for archaeologically visible pirate behaviors is to compare pirate sites with other sites from the "Golden Age" that have no piratical associations. Comparison highlights ways in which pirate behavior varied from the behavior of other

⁶ Stanley South, *Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology* (New York: Academic Press, 1977), 31, 83-85.

⁷ Daniel Finamore, "Sailors and Slaves on the Wood-Cutting Frontier: Archaeology of the British Bay Settlement, Belize" (Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1994).

colonists. This approach tests assertions made based on piratical material alone and can also reveal other important differences. The ideal site for this kind of comparison would be one with strong associations with maritime subculture. Unfortunately, no such site was available for this analysis.

The model presented in this thesis for investigating piracy in the archaeological record has several components. It temporally defines the period of study, the "Golden Age" of piracy of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and provides a broader historical context. It defines terrestrial pirate activities known from the historical record and argues for a pirate identity distinct from broader eighteenth-century culture and distinguishable from maritime subculture. It applies an analytical model for examining material culture, and tests this by comparing material from pirate and non pirate sites. Additionally, it examines other ways in which piracy can be detected archaeologically.

The format of this thesis is as follows:

Chapter 2 provides the historical context for this research. The "Golden Age" of Piracy lasted from approximately 1680 through 1730, but has its roots in the era of the Buccaneers. Throughout this period, piracy evolved from state sponsored attacks by private vessels against national enemies to independent outlaws with few loyalties attacking ships of all nations, with crews joined tenuously together by a shared subculture. By the end of the "Golden Age," governments faced internal pressures to end piracy and exerted more effort by enforcing anti-piracy laws, issuing pardons, and increasing naval patrols.

Chapter 3 discusses pirate life on shore. Historical records provide information of the types of activities pirates engaged in while ashore, and thereby information about the kinds of pirate sites that may exist in the archaeological record. Additionally, this chapter investigates the nature of pirates as a subset of maritime culture, as viewed by their contemporaries.

Chapter 4 examines the *Barcadares* site that Daniel Finamore investigated as part of his PhD research for Boston University. The piratical affiliations of the site are more firmly established, and the material culture is analyzed using an adaptation of South's artifact categories. The ceramic assemblage receives more detailed attention and is categorized by ware type and vessel form.

Chapter 5 looks at the potential for identifying pirate sites in the archaeological record either directly or indirectly based on material culture and historical data. Several sites, including Roatan Island in the Bay of Honduras, Port Royal, Jamaica, and the site of 43-53 Narrow Street in Limehouse, London, in combination with their historical contexts demonstrate other ways in which piracy is evident in the archaeological record.

Chapter 6 presents a test of the model for investigating pirate sites archaeologically. Two sites from Nevis contemporaneous with the *Barcadares* and analyzed according to the same model provide comparative material that demonstrates its capacity for discerning piratical behaviors from artifact analysis. This comparison also highlights other potential markers of the pirate pattern.

Chapter 7 concludes this thesis. It summarizes the ideas and results from the previous chapters, and reiterates the components of the complete model for investigating piracy archaeologically.

CHAPTER TWO

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF GOLDEN AGE PIRACY

It was December 26, 1718. Five men, among them Colonel Edward Moseley, the leader of the popular party in the North Carolina assembly, approached the house of Deputy-Secretary John Lovick at Sandy Point. They were angry, and they were after information. They kept control of the office for twenty-four hours, pouring through the council records and other public papers. The next day, a larger crowd proceeded to Lovick's house. This time it was the governor, Charles Eden, with the provost-marshal, Chief Justice Frederick Jones, and a gaggle of lesser politicians and accumulated curious spectators. Authorities arrested Moseley's gang (Maurice, Thomas, and Joseph Moore, with Thomas Lutten and Henry Clayton) and led them from the house. As he was led away, Moseley singled out Jones and addressed the judge with words meant for all ears:

I wonder that you should be concerned in so foolish and frivolous a business, but 'tis like their proceedings and they will be ashamed of it. They could easily procure armed men to come and disturb quiet and honest men, but could not raise them to destroy Teach. But instead of that, he was suffered to go on in his villainies, and my commitment is illegal. It is like the commands of a German prince.¹

Moseley referred to the sham trial of Colonial Secretary Tobias Knight. Knight was accused of being an accessory to piracy by a Virginia court, but found innocent by North Carolina's colonial council. North Carolina was one of the last colonies to harbor

¹ *Crown v. Moseley and Moore* (N.C. Gen. Ct. 1719) in William L. Saunders, ed., *Colonial Records of North Carolina* (New York: AMS Press, Inc, 1968), 2:359-360. Hereafter CRNC.

pirates in the early eighteenth century, as the era known as the "Golden Age of Piracy" drew to a close.

During this period, European pirates preying on the North American and African coasts were at their peak, both in terms of their numbers and the losses they inflicted on merchant vessels. In 1700, the English government introduced new legislation for trying pirates. By the end of the 1720's, people's attitudes had changed, and the laws were more strictly enforced within the colonies. This change in attitude did not progress at the same pace throughout British America and roughly coincided with the stabilization of local economies and the increasing control exerted by the crown. Piracy was a detriment to the development of long-term trade, and as trade became more important, both local and home governments took stronger measures to eradicate the scourges of the seas.

Piracy in this era was born from the conflicts between Spain and other European states over control of New World territory. England opened the floodgates by encouraging men such as Sir Francis Drake to prey on the Spanish in the late 1500's. Some of these earliest sea-robbers were legally licensed privateers, but others were simply pirates who earned the tacit support of their home government by targeting only enemy nations. As the seventeenth century progressed, weak colonial governments in the Caribbean employed an international brotherhood of disaffected sailors and settlers, known as buccaneers, to raid enemy shipping and settlements.

The chronicle of Henry Morgan's attacks on Panama by Alexander Exquemelin, a Dutch (or possibly French or Flemish) buccaneer under his command, provides an

illustrative example from this era.² Sir Thomas Modyford, then governor of Jamaica, commissioned Morgan's attack on Panama in 1670, but not legally. England and Spain had just signed a treaty of peace, and Modyford lacked authority to grant commissions. The English government briefly arrested both Morgan and the governor, but later released them to new positions in Jamaica. Morgan was knighted and became lieutenant governor in 1674.

He returned to the Caribbean in 1676, but by this date the English no longer employed buccaneers to fight New World battles. There are two reasons for this. First, in the treaty of 1670, Spain recognized Jamaica as a legitimate English possession. The second, more complicated, issue concerned the internal politics of the colony itself. Buccaneer interests had long competed with planters for control of the colony. Modyford had endorsed both factions, and the buccaneers financially recompensed him for his support. Sir Thomas Lynch, who replaced Modyford when he was recalled, placed his full support behind the planters, and with good reason. He saw that encouraging plantations and agricultural development along with peaceful (but illegal) trade with the Spanish colonies would better benefit the island in the long run.³ Struggles between the two factions continued through the next two decades, but by 1688 it was clear that the big planters maintained the upper hand. Buccaneers operating from Jamaica now had two options if they wished to continue their way of life. They could take commissions from other governments, or they could turn to piracy.

² Jack Beeching, "Introduction," in Alexander O. Exquemelin, *The Buccaneers of America*, trans. Alexis Brown (Mineola, N.Y.: Dover, 2000), 18.

³ Richard Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1972), 154-156.

The English law on piracy in this period came from two 150 year old statutes enacted during the reign of Henry VIII. These statutes of 1535 and 1536 were passed to facilitate convicting pirates. Previously, pirates could only be tried under civil law, and it was difficult to secure a death penalty. Now, special commissions could be formed to try offenders using common law procedures, but outside of that court system. The statutes mentioned pirates in their preamble, but not in their substantive text, which referred specifically to “all Treasons, Felonies, Robberies, Murthers and Confederacies hereafter to be committed in or upon the Sea, or in any other haven, River, Creek or Place where the Admiral or Admirals have or pretend to have Power, Authority or Jurisdiction....”⁴ The king granted commissions to specific people, usually admirals and their deputies, who could then try those crimes as though they had taken place on land. The statutes were unclear as to what the exact jurisdiction of the admiralty included, especially when it came to trying foreigners or crimes committed on the high seas.⁵

The legal conception of piracy in the seventeenth century was confused, but the Admiralty primarily used the term in reference to legitimacy and property rights. Pirates were those who seized goods, without a legitimate commission, to which they had no title claim. This question of legitimacy arose in the case of privateers, and international relations often dictated how it would be answered.⁶ The term piracy was also linked to the concept of treason. This meant that pirates were those who rejected loyalty to the English government, which in turn implied that they had, at some point, loyalty to reject.

⁴ 28 Henry VIII c. 15 (1536), in Alfred P. Rubin, *The Law of Piracy* (Newport, R.I.: Naval War College Press, 1988), 358-361.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 36-38.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 67-68

Once again, jurisdiction was unclear. It was also unclear how the law applied to Englishmen who carried foreign commissions, or to legal English privateers who exceeded the bounds of their commissions.⁷

Jamaica's colonial government passed *An Act for Restraining and Punishing Privateers and Pirates* in 1681 – no coincidence that this was the same year Lynch returned to power as governor. The act made it illegal for the colonists to harbor or trade with pirates, and it banned English privateers from carrying foreign commissions. Morgan was still lieutenant governor at this point and boasted proudly of his efforts to suppress piracy under this act, even in the face of accusations of the opposite. In a letter to Sir Leoline Jenkins, the secretary of state, he wrote:

I have put to death, imprisoned, and transported to the Spaniard for execution all English and Spanish pirates that I could get within the power of this Government. I wrote a full account some weeks back to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, and have since received thanks from several Spanish Governors in the Main for exerting so much care and vigilance in the suppression of privateers.⁸

This clearly reflects the change in attitude of the governments, in England and Jamaica itself, towards pirates and illegally commissioned privateers.

In 1684, Lynch sent a report to the crown concerning the depredations of pirates throughout the colonies. The king issued a memorandum that a copy of the law enacted in Jamaica should be sent to all other American colonies with instructions that it should

⁷Ibid., 73, 77-78.

⁸Henry Morgan to Leoline Jenkins, Apr. 9, 1681, J. H. Fortescue, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies*, (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1896), 10: 28-29, no. 73. Hereafter *CSPCS*.

be passed and enforced.⁹ At this time, the colonies were self-governed and created their own laws. Henry VIII's statutes did not apply, and pirates could not be tried unless the colonies created their own anti-piracy laws.

William, earl of Craven, Palatine and one of the Lords Proprietors of Carolina received the king's memo. It instructed that the law should be published and executed promptly in that colony. The king wanted to ensure that England remained a neutral power in the conflicts of other nations.¹⁰ At this point, the Carolinas were already notorious for harboring pirates. They were not the only colony to do so, but they serve as an illustrative example in this case.

Apart from the king's message, Craven also received a letter from the Board of Trade in May 1684, with an excerpt from Lynch's report, on the subject of pirates in Carolina. The Board's letter included an admonition that "care must be taken to prevent the entertaining of privateers and pirates in the future."¹¹ Craven replied immediately in his colony's defense. He explained that the pirate the Carolinians were alleged to have harbored was a privateer with a French commission, and that this had happened because the Jamaican act was unknown in those parts. The only other incident he knew of involved a true pirate, with no commission, who was seized when he came into port, and "...himself and two more of the most guilty of his Company hung in Chains at the Entrance of the port, and there hang this day for an Example to others...." He added that they had since received the orders to pass a law similar to Jamaica's, "so that I humbly

⁹ Jenkins to William, earl of Craven, March 24, 1683/4, Alexander. S. Salley, ed., *Records in the British Public Records Office Relating to South Carolina 1663-1710* (Columbia, S.C.: Crowson-Stone Printing Co., 1928-1947), 1: 272-273. Hereafter BPRO-SC.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Secretary of the Board of Trade to William, earl of Craven, May 21, 1684, in BPRO-SC, 1: 283.

conceive [Your Lordships] will hear no more [complaints] that privateers are received in Carolina....”¹²

This French privateer was not the last sea raider to go free in Carolina, and the Jamaican law was neither promptly passed nor enforced. The Lords Proprietors wrote the colony in April and June of the same year urging the council and assembly to pass a similar act. They sent additional letters in March and September 1685, the last of which urged that “of this you are not to faile, as you will answer to ye Contrary.”¹³ The Lords Proprietors could finally write about their pleasure in hearing that their will had been carried out in April 1686. The Proprietors, nevertheless, had to reinforce their position:

And we strictly require you not to suffer any Privateers or Pyrates to be [received] into any of ye Ports of your Government, And if any come into [the ports,] that you use your utmost endeavour to seize them [and] try them according to ye said Act[;] And if any of ye inhabitants of Carolina shall hold correspondence or trade with them[, etc,] contrary to ye said Law[,] that you cause them to be Indicted, [and] tryed as ye said Act directs and appoints.¹⁴

Further exchanges between the Lords Proprietors and the colonial government detail the steps, forward and backward, that the colonies took for dealing with the pirate problem. Fearful that Charles Town was an exposed harbor and weak against potential pirate attacks, the colonial assembly encouraged the appointment of Captain Robert Quarry as the governor of that town.¹⁵ Quarry, who became the colonial secretary as well, was a poor choice, because he soon joined a faction of powerful landowners called the Goose Creek Men. This group consisted primarily of migrant planters from Barbados

¹²Craven to Board of Trade, 1684, BPRO-SC, 1: 284-285.

¹³Lords Proprietors of Carolina to Joseph Morton and Deputies, Sept. 10, 1685, BPRO-SC, 2: 90-91.

¹⁴Lords Proprietors of Carolina to Morton, Apr. 26, 1686, BPRO-SC, 1: 129-130.

¹⁵ Lords Proprietors to Colonial Government, June 3, 1684, BPRO-SC, 2: 287-288.

who uprooted their sometimes sizeable households of servants and slaves to gain positions of power and influence in the fledgling colony. They settled in the Goose Creek area north of Charles Town, and dominated the South Carolina political scene from 1670 until the second decade of the eighteenth century.¹⁶ The Goose Creek Men followed an agenda that often brought them into conflict with the Lords Proprietors, especially on the issue of the illicit Native American slave trade. To protect their interest, the faction resisted attempts to create a constitutional government in the colony and engaged in other activities that undermined the Proprietors' vision of the colony when it furthered their cause.¹⁷

Quarry proved himself completely unworthy of the trust placed in him in 1685/6, barely one year after his appointment. Reports arrived in England that Quarry was dealing with pirates. He offered an implausible sounding cover-story, and the Proprietors ordered the rest of the council to investigate.¹⁸ They never acquired conclusive proof, but the rumors of his associations with pirates and privateers persisted. In 1686, the Lords Proprietors appointed one their members' brother, James Colleton, governor, and directed him to remove Quarry because of these rumors and accounts that he was not fulfilling his other duties.¹⁹

¹⁶ Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 112-116.

¹⁷ L. H. Roper, *Conceiving Carolina: Proprietors, Planters and Plots, 1662-1729* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 6-9.

¹⁸ Lords Proprietors to Morton, Benjamin Blake, Paul Grimbal, Andrew Percival, and Bernard Schenkingh, Feb. 13, 1685/6, BPRO-SC, 2: 121-124. Quarry claimed a French privateer had plundered the ship after it had been trading with the Spanish, and had afterwards met with an English privateer who gave them £15 to come into South Carolina and repair.

¹⁹ Lords Proprietors to James Colleton, Sept. 16, 1686, BPRO-SC, 2: 167.

Quarry was not the only South Carolina government official accused of dealing with pirates in this period. In March 1686/7, the Proprietors instructed Colleton to investigate Joseph Morton, the man he replaced as governor, for allowing two privateers to come into port with a Spanish prize against the king's command. They also accused another council member and Goose Creek Man, John Boon, of helping to conceal and convey stolen goods before the pirates' ship had even been admitted into port, and gave evidence of several other occurrences of Quarry conspiring with pirates. The Proprietors clearly felt that they needed someone they could trust managing their interests, and James Colleton seemed an excellent choice. They also ordered that Bernard Schenkingh, who had been removed from council under suspicious circumstances, be readmitted if there was no good reason found for his original discharge. Schenkingh was strongly opposed to the harboring of pirates and privateers, as well as the illegal trading of Native American slaves carried out by the Goose Creek Men. Local politics and his opposition to this powerful group probably resulted in his initial expulsion.²⁰ The Proprietors also gave Colleton some blank depositions to empower other men who shared their interests and beliefs.²¹

Another letter to Colleton, written the same day, again examined the topic of piracy and corruption in the government and added more on the subject of Boon. His association with two pirates, Chapman and Holloway, was proved earlier and he was removed from the council for it. The South Carolina assembly had reselected him for the duty, and the Proprietors were very displeased. They told Colleton to inform the

²⁰ Roper, *Conceiving Carolina*, 88.

²¹ Lords Proprietors to Colleton, Mar. 3, 1686/7, BPRO-SC, 2: 177-183.

assembly that it was not an acceptable practice, “[a]nd that we are very Sorry to find soe great a Proneness in the parliament of Carolina to choose into places of trust Men Guilty of such high misdemeanors.”²²

The problems continued, and several more letters were sent reinforcing the need to enforce the law passed for restraining and punishing privateers and pirates. Though they praised the governor’s own efforts in this regard, the Proprietors were clearly dissatisfied with the general state of things in the colony. Quarry was not actually removed from his secretarial post until the Proprietors sent another letter in October 1687 replacing him with the more trustworthy Paul Grimal. ²³ Grimal, like Schenkingh, opposed the Goose Creek Men, and helped support the new governor against this troublesome faction.²⁴ His instructions included strong encouragements to use his power to end the harboring of pirates and privateers. This letter also gives fresh insight into the main reason the Proprietors were so interested in seizing pirates: they wanted their share of the goods.²⁵

Once again, property rights were the heart of the matter. Stolen goods were a quick road to profit for everyone, and even opponents of piracy wanted a cut. The profits were high for the pirates and the corrupt officials who sold their merchandise at discounted prices to the locals, but if the merchandise was recovered and the Proprietors could prove their title, they would do the selling and reap the profits. The king always received a share from seized goods as well. The colonists also benefited – buying pirate

²² Lords Proprietors to Colleton, Mar. 3, 1686/7, BPRO-SC, 2: 184-188.

²³ Lords Proprietors to Colleton, Oct. 10, 1687, BPRO-SC, 2: 221-228.

²⁴ Roper, *Conceiving Carolina*, 89.

²⁵ Lords Proprietors to Grimal, Oct. 17, 1687, BPRO-SC, 2: 246-247.

goods allowed them to obtain materials restricted by the Navigation Acts more cheaply because they could avoid paying various taxes and duties. Purchasing stolen or seized goods saved them money.

Profit from seized goods was not the Lords Proprietors' sole motivation for eliminating piracy. They faced pressure from the English government to keep their colony honest. They were interested in promoting long term growth, and piracy interfered with the creation of a mercantile trade relationship between their American possessions and England. For the Carolinians, harboring and encouraging pirates supplied their immediate needs, their desires for profit, and, in some cases, their desire to oppose the colony's owners.

Another factor in the Carolina situation, in addition to the lure of profits from piracy, was the difficulty of enforcing the laws. In a letter to Craven, James II explained a scheme commonly enacted in the colonies: pirates seized on land or ashore were tried immediately with no opportunity to build a case against them. With no evidence gathered, "the most notorious Pirates have[,] as it is well known, either by facility or partiality of Juries[,] been acquitted of the crimes whereby they stood accused, and soe permitted with their Ships and Confederates to continue their accustomed Piracyes...."²⁶

The king instructed that pirates and their accomplices should be seized and held in custody until he revealed his royal pleasure in each case. In addition to these measures, James commissioned Sir Robert Holmes to carry a royal proclamation pardoning any pirates who presented themselves to Holmes. Of course, as Sir Robert made his rounds,

²⁶ James II to Craven, Oct. 13, 1687, BPRO-SC, 2: 241-243.

the colonial governors were to be sure to entrust to him all of the king's share of pirate goods seized.²⁷

Later that year, the Glorious Revolution swept James from his throne and England and its colonies into King William's War. The governments issued legitimate privateering commissions. Piracy did not disappear, but there are fewer mentions of it during the war years. The home government had more pressing concerns, and the colonies benefitted quietly from legally and illegally seized goods. Colonists fitted out pirate vessels in their home ports and supplied them in distant places such as Madagascar. Frederick Philipse, a New York merchant, traded for pirate goods and slaves through Adam Baldrige on Saint Marie's Island off the east coast of Madagascar. Baldrige, himself a retired buccaneer, worked for Philipse from 1691 to 1697. He was neither the first nor the last of that merchant's agents.²⁸ The governor of New York at the time, Benjamin Fletcher, was a notorious patron and protector of pirates. Piracy flourished in the colony and provided a boost to the lagging war-time economy.²⁹ Fletcher was recalled from office in 1695, but not because of his piratical associations.³⁰ Richard Coote, the earl of Bellomont, replaced him; by then Bellomont was already deeply involved in the grandest pirate scandal of the age.

While the war raged in Europe, a strong European pirate presence developed in the Indian Ocean. The pirates preyed on local as well as European shipping, with the Islamic pilgrim fleet presenting an especially alluring target. A pirate known as Henry

²⁷ James II to Craven, Jan 22, 1687/8, BPRO-SC, 2: 250-252.

²⁸ Ritchie, *Captain Kidd*, 113-116.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 37-38.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 50

Avery captured two lucrative prizes in a single cruise with an informally mustered fleet. His second capture, the *Ganj-i-Sawai*, belonged to the Great Moghul. The seizures caused a diplomatic crisis for the English East India Company, because the local rulers blamed the piracies on the English and held the Company accountable.³¹

Back in England, Captain William Kidd, a New York Scot, received the king's commission for taking pirates in order to protect the Indian Ocean trade. Bellomont was Kidd's direct patron, and other powerful members of the Junto, the Whig leaders who then controlled the English government, were silent investors in the enterprise. Historian Robert Ritchie has traced Kidd's voyage and his dealings with these powerful men.³² The captain found no pirates to seize, and through ill-luck as much as ill-intent, turned to piracy himself to turn a profit for himself and the investors. Pressure from the East India Company and a change in the balance of power in London caused the Junto to take a strong stand against pirates, and Kidd in particular. Ritchie describes Kidd as a transitional figure.³³ As trade networks expanded and the state grew stronger, pirates lost their support from both the government and merchants. The war against piracy truly began at the turn of the century and it was primarily fought in the colonies.³⁴

The pressure to stamp out piracy at this time came from the government and was felt most strongly in the royal colonies – those directly controlled by the state and administered by royally appointed governors. This included Bellomont's domains: New

³¹ Ibid., 137.

³² A different interpretation of Kidd and his motives is presented in a more recent popular history book, Richard Zacks, *The Pirate Hunter: The True Story of Captain Kidd*, (New York: Theia, 2002), but Ritchie's arguments are more persuasive.

³³ Ritchie, *Captain Kidd*, 2.

³⁴ Ibid., 233-235.

York, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts Bay. In June 1699, the earl received a letter from William Beeston, governor of the royal colony of Jamaica. Beeston wrote,

Your northern party have of late years wholly taken of the prejudices and scandal of privateers and pirates this island lay under, for we have had none of it a long time, and indeed 'tis a great pity they should be connived at anywhere, they being a vermin in a commonweal, and ought to be dangled up like polecats and weasels in a warren[.] I am therefore please[d] to hear your Excellency is so zealous in the detecting of them.³⁵

The state assumed more control over the colonies under its direction, and the state was not interested in promoting piracy.

These efforts did not bear immediate results. There were internal oppositions to the new policy. In 1698, the Board of Trade wrote the proprietors and governors of the each American colony, complaining again about the harboring of pirates. The Board emphasized that such behavior not only reflected poorly on England in the realm of international politics, but that it was bad for trade. Once again, the Board circulated copies of the Jamaican act of 1681 for suppressing and punishing pirates, requiring governors to pressure their assemblies into passing and enforcing the act.³⁶ In 1698, Bellomont published a proclamation declaring that pirates and those who assisted them would not be tolerated in his domain, and that citizens should cooperate in the interest of protecting trade.³⁷ He likewise presented a bill to the New York assembly for the punishment of pirates, but this was not well received. He wrote the Board of Trade that "it would not go down with the Council, especially the clause that declares piracy felony and punishable with death, and that the Judge of the Admiralty shall sit as one of the

³⁵ Beeston to Bellomont, June 7, 1699, Cecil Headlam, ed., CSPCS, 17: 277-278, no. 505..

³⁶ Board of Trade to Lords Proprietors, Mar. 21, 1698, BPRO-SC, 3: 24-25.

³⁷ Bellomont, *A Proclamation* (New York, 1698).

Judges on the trials of pirates.”³⁸ In fact, the council produced a previously approved bill which stated explicitly that pirates could not be punished with death. This led to an argument between Bellomont and his council over the question of bringing the colonial laws in line with those of England.³⁹

In 1700, Parliament passed a new statute, *An Act for the more Effectual Suppression of Piracy*, to resolve the legal issue. The act's preamble explained the need for the new law: pirates active in remote parts of the world could not be properly tried and punished under the statute of 1536. The act repeated the text of the earlier law but added that now pirates “may be examined, inquired of, tried, heard and determined, and adjudged, according to the Directions of this Act, in any Place at Sea, or upon the Land, in any of his Majesty’s Islands, Plantations, Colonies, Dominions, Forts or Factories....”⁴⁰ The act still required admiralty judges specially commissioned by the king, but it applied the idea of piracy as a felony, punishable by death, throughout the English controlled world. It also cleared up some of the murky jurisdictional questions of the earlier statute. Pirates could now be tried legally in all the colonies.

The new law was an attempt to further cement control of the colonies into the hands of the English government, which held the power to appoint the officials who could preside over pirate trials. Additionally, the statute of 1700 contained a threat to those English territories not directly controlled by the crown or its officers: “And be it hereby further declared and enacted, That if any of the Governors in the said Plantations,

³⁸ Bellomont to Board of Trade, Aug. 28, 1699, Cecil Headlam, ed., CSPCS, 17: 413, no. 746.

³⁹ Ibid., 413-414, no. 746.

⁴⁰ 11 & 12 William III c. 7 (1700), in Rubin, *Law of Piracy*, p. 362.

or any Person or Persons in Authority there, shall refuse to yield Obedience to this Act, such refusal is hereby declared to be a Forfeiture of all and every Charters granted for the Government or Propriety of such Plantation.”⁴¹ It was not an entirely empty threat. The Board of Trade collected reports on the state of the proprietary colonies from their colonial correspondents, including Edward Randolph.

Randolph opposed the idea of proprietary governments, and in South Carolina, he proved a natural ally of the Goose Creek Men.⁴² His attitude was reflected in a passage from a letter to the board sent in July 1700, in which he claimed that “if the country were put under His [Majesty’s] Immediate Government this would soon be ye most thriving plantation upon the Continent.”⁴³ Randolph listed several occasions in his report on which past governors and officials entertained pirates, as well as other offenses including involvement in the Native American slave trade.⁴⁴ Although dealing with pirates and selling natives were both practices promoted by proprietary opponents in the colony, including the Goose Creek faction, they still reflected poorly on the Lords Proprietors themselves.

The result of this investigation was a bill presented in Parliament called *An Act for Reuniting to the Crown the Government of Several Colonies and Plantations in America*. The bill declared all colonial charters void on the grounds that they were against the best interests of trade and of the colonists themselves. Piracy was among the key issues

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Roper, *Conceiving Carolina*, 122.

⁴³ Edward Randolph to Board of Trade, July 30, 1700, BPRO-SC, 4: 189-190.

⁴⁴ Randolph, *Articles of High Crimes and Misdemeanors charged upon the Governors in the Severall Proprieties on the Continent of America and Islands adjacent*, presented to the Board of Trade, 1700/1, BPRO-SC, 5: 5.

listed.⁴⁵ The bill was never passed, however, thanks partly to the campaigning of Quaker lobbyists who feared what state control would mean for their religious liberties in Pennsylvania and Rhode Island. Pennsylvania proprietor William Penn gathered support in his colony and with London Quaker groups who wrote letters to numerous potential supporters and succeeded in delaying any resolution of the bill in the House of Lords. The accession of Queen Anne to the throne of England in March 1702 and the formation of a new ministry checked the power of the Board of Trade sufficiently that the issue was dropped.⁴⁶ Queen Anne's reign brought with it more pressing national concerns.

England was once again swept into war in 1702. Piracy did not disappear during this period, but it did decline. The colonial governments now had the power to deal effectively with pirates in their own domains, and the royal colonies, at least, had the will to enforce the new laws. Even after the end of the War of Spanish Succession, piracy did not resurge immediately. The post war economy was strong enough to employ seamen and discourage them from turning pirate. Enough imported goods were in circulation to meet the demands for a few years, reducing the need to rely on illegal channels of trade and theft. By 1715, the economy deteriorated, however, and piracy was on the rise again.⁴⁷

In 1716, Alexander Spotswood, lieutenant governor of Virginia, wrote the Board of Trade reporting a nest of pirates in the proprietary colony of the Bahama Islands. Spotswood had an old commission from William III to appoint admiralty officers in

⁴⁵ *An Act for Reuniting to the Crown the Government of Several Colonies and Plantations in America*, Apr. 8, 1702, BPRO-SC, 5: 72-79.

⁴⁶ Ian K. Steele, *Politics of Colonial Policy: The Board of Trade in Colonial Administration 1696-1720* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 72-73.

⁴⁷ Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea*, 282.

Virginia. He used this as a pretext and claimed that as he was the nearest of the royal governors, it was within his jurisdiction to investigate the state of that colony.

Spotswood recommended that a government be set up at New Providence Island immediately and that a man of war be sent to patrol the area.⁴⁸ This was not the last time that he interfered in a proprietary colony's pirate problem.

Spotswood was not the only one to write the board to complain about the pirate stronghold at New Providence, and the British government opened negotiations with the Proprietors to take over the colony. On September 3, 1717, Secretary of State Joseph Addison wrote the Board of Trade to reveal a three pronged solution to the pirate problem. First, the king would send naval ships to patrol the infested waters, as Spotswood and others has recommended. Second, the crown would issue a royal proclamation of pardon. Third, Captain Woodes Rogers would be appointed royal governor of the islands.⁴⁹

The board sent out the warrants to pardon pirates to the various colonial governors in August 1718.⁵⁰ The pardons gave pirates the opportunity to return to society without suffering any negative consequences for their past actions. Edward Teach, also known as Blackbeard, was one of the pirates to accept the act of grace. He was initially offered the pardon in South Carolina, but refused it there. Instead, he took his ships north, until he wrecked his flagship, the *Queen Anne's Revenge*, at Topsail Inlet

⁴⁸ Spotswood to the Board of Trade, July 3, 1716, in R. A. Brock, ed., *The Official Letters of Alexander Spotswood, Lieutenant Governor of the Colony of Virginia, 1710-1722*, vol. 2 (Richmond: Virginia Historical Society, 1885), 169-172. Hereafter *Spotswood's Letters*.

⁴⁹ Addison to the Board of Trade, Sept. 3, 1717, Cecil Headlam ed., CSPCS 30: 24, no. 64.

⁵⁰ *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantation Preserved in the Public Record Office*, Aug. 21, 1719, Klaus Reprint (Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus-Thompson Organization Limited, 1969), 4: 425. Hereafter *Board of Trade Journal*.

(now Beaufort Inlet). He and his remaining crew accepted the pardon from North Carolina's Governor Eden instead.⁵¹ The intent of the pardons was to turn pirates on to a new path permanently. Some, like Teach, saw it as an opportunity to have their slates wiped clean, so they could relax and enjoy the comforts of society and colonial civilization before they set out again.

A short while after he took up residence in the colony, Teach brought a French ship, full of sugar, into port. Eden condemned it as salvage, accepting Teach's word that the ship was abandoned when he found it. It was a lie. Teach stored some of the plundered sugar in a barn belonging to Tobias Knight, the colonial secretary.⁵² Apart from this piracy, Teach plundered some smaller local vessels, such as William Bell's periauger.⁵³ The North Carolina government did nothing, but the acts did not go unnoticed. Certain local residents, Edward Moseley among them, turned to a more sympathetic source for aid: Virginia.⁵⁴

Spotswood once again accepted a mantle of responsibility for destroying pirates where his jurisdiction was questionable. He mounted a successful expedition to seize the pirates. Teach was killed in the ensuing battle, and the other pirates tried and condemned in a Virginia admiralty court. The court collected several depositions against Tobias Knight, naming him as an accessory to piracy. These were supplementary to the most damning piece of evidence: the letter found among Teach's papers. It tenuously

⁵¹ Spotswood to Carteret, Feb. 14, 1718/19, *Spotswood's Letters*, 273.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *North Carolina Council Journal*, May 27, 1719, CRNC, 2: 341-342.

⁵⁴ Spotswood to Carteret, Feb. 14, 1718/19, *Spotswood's Letters*, 273.

implicated the governor as a friend of Teach's, and was signed "your real friend and servant, T. Knight."⁵⁵

A month after Teach's death, Moseley and his allies broke into John Lovick's house, searching for records relating to the colony's dealings with the pirates. The council had denied them access to public records, and they decided to force the issue. The scene opening this chapter related the events of their arrest, and Moseley's frustration with the situation, as repeated at the trial. They were found guilty, and the court awarded Moseley the harshest sentence: the court fined him one hundred pounds and barred him from holding public office for three years.⁵⁶ Previously, he had sat on the council and served as surveyor general.

Tobias Knight defended himself before the Grand Council of North Carolina. It dismissed the charges, and he was never taken to court. The council dismissed the depositions taken against him at the Virginia admiralty trial, as the testimonies came from four black men condemned for piracy. The deponents were thus doubly unreliable. Their skin color invalidated their testimony, and, according to Knight's own defense, the men in question were trying to protect themselves from the noose. Knight also noted that the white deponent claimed that Teach had sent Knight a present, but that he had never received it. Clearly, he claimed, he was innocent.⁵⁷

No one involved in the scandal, save Teach and his pirates, was strongly punished, but the events reflect the changing attitudes towards piracy in the colony at this

⁵⁵ *North Carolina Council Journal*, May 27, 1719, CRNC, 2: 343-344.

⁵⁶ *North Carolina versus Edward Moseley and Maurice Moore*, CRNC, 2: 368.

⁵⁷ Knight to Eden and Council, May 27, 1719, CRNC, 2: 345.

time. The top levels of government were corrupt, but unlike the earlier incidents in South Carolina, the pressure to stamp out piracy came from inside the colony. In a letter to Lord Carteret, then Palatine of the Carolina colonies, Spotswood explained that North Carolina residents had appealed to him for help against the pirates.⁵⁸ Moseley's reaction, as well as his slander against Eden, also reflects hostility to pirates. The attitude of the people had changed. The Lords Proprietors themselves were helpless, and Spotswood, as a representative of the crown, was pleased to intervene.

The attitudes to piracy changed elsewhere, as well. In December 1718, barely a month after Spotswood's force found and killed Teach in North Carolina, the governor and council of South Carolina wrote the Board of Trade, complaining of pirate attacks and describing the efforts the colony had taken to suppress them.⁵⁹ Pirate Charles Vane plundered several ships off Charles Town Harbor in October 1718. Colonel William Rhett, after hearing the pirates were currently careening their vessels in the mouth of the Cape Fear River, undertook an expedition to seek out and destroy them on his own initiative. The pirates Rhett found were not those expected: instead of Vane, he captured the crew of Stede Bonnet and brought them back to Charles Town for trial and execution.⁶⁰ Although as receiver general Rhett was an agent of the Lords Proprietors, he undertook this venture of his own initiative and the South Carolina council reported it to the Board of Trade, not the Proprietors.⁶¹ Pirates were an internal concern, and pressure to deal with them now flowed the other way – from the colony to the government. Many

⁵⁸ Spotswood to Carteret, Feb. 14, 1718/9, *Spotswood's Letters*, 273.

⁵⁹ Robert Johnson and Council of South Carolina to Board of Trade, Dec. 12, 1718, Cecil Headlam, ed., *CSPCS*, 30: 404-405, no. 787.

⁶⁰ Robert Johnson and Council of South Carolina to Board of Trade, Oct. 21, 1718, *BPRO-SC*, 7: 164-166.

⁶¹ Roper, *Conceiving Carolina*, 142, 146.

colonies, including South Carolina, requested more efficient naval patrols and sent reports of the pirates they tried and executed.⁶² The Board of Trade arranged for commissions for the East India Company and Royal African Company to seize pirates in Indian and African waters in early 1721.⁶³ In the spirit of cooperation in suppressing piracy, the board agreed in 1728 that additional admiralty personnel should be included in the commissions as well.⁶⁴

The power and stability of the local government influenced attitudes towards piracy during the "Golden Age." In Jamaica, the most prosperous of the early English colonies, efforts to suppress piracy began with the end of the age of the buccaneers in the 1670's. The American colonies resisted government pressure to suppress piracy until the mid 1690's. The effects of piracy on trade caused the government to take more direct control in the royal colonies. A new law passed in 1700 extended the jurisdiction of the English laws for dealing with pirates, and empowered colonial governors. In the weakly governed proprietary colony of the Bahamas, pirates ran rampant, and were only suppressed when the colony came under royal control. Similarly, in North Carolina, the lieutenant governor of Virginia intervened in the local pirate problem. The colonists themselves became hostile to pirates as their trade grew and the proprietary government was unable to relieve them.

The story of piracy is more than the contextual tale of a criminal institution, however. The men (and some women) who were themselves pirates were not simply

⁶² Robert Johnson and Council of South Carolina to Board of Trade, Dec. 12, 1718, BPRO-SC, 7: 167-168.

⁶³ *Board of Trade Journal*, Jan. 3, 1720/1, 4: 240.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, Nov. 14, 1728., 5: 434.

actors in an evolving political drama: they turned to piracy for reasons of their own and interacted with each other and with society on terms they actively negotiated. The next chapter explores different elements of pirate life on shore and examines broader questions about the nature of pirate community.

CHAPTER THREE

PIRATE LIFE ASHORE

Piracy, by definition, was a maritime occupation. Pirates typically operated from ships on the seas. We know more about their shipboard lives because the activities that made them pirates took place at sea, thus, these activities have proved more attractive to researchers. This focus on their marine lifeways overlooks the fact that pirates did not live or operate exclusively on the water. Pirates went ashore for many different reasons, and understanding the interactions that took place on land is important to create a complete picture of pirate life. Additionally, this knowledge is an asset for finding and interpreting sites of pirate activity in the archaeological record. This chapter is an examination of pirates ashore, and their interactions with a primarily shore-dwelling society. It also examines the nature of group identity among pirates.

Early eighteenth-century piracy evolved from the preceding buccaneering era. When England no longer needed the easily mobilized, heavily armed, dedicated fighting force that the buccaneers represented, the government stopped tolerating their activities and lifestyle. Many former buccaneers turned to piracy directly, abandoning their previous patriotic ties. Scholars have paid some attention to the exploits of famous buccaneers on land, as in the case of Henry Morgan's siege of Panama, but generally, their actions ashore remain equally obscure to those of later sea-rovers.¹

¹ See for example Peter K. Kemp and Christopher Lloyd, *The Brethren of the Coast: The British and French Buccaneers in the South Seas* (London: Heineman, 1960).

Pirates participated in many land-based activities. Most pirates had been sailors before they turned to lives of crime, but before they took to the sea – legitimately or otherwise – they lived some kind of life as landmen. Buccaneers and some "Golden Age" pirates attacked and captured significant land targets. Ship maintenance and provisioning also forced pirates communities ashore. Offloading stolen property often required them to interact with land-based European, colonial, and indigenous societies. As the eighteenth century progressed into its second decade, stricter policing of the waterways and enforcement of the anti-piracy laws drew the "Golden Age" to a close. More and more pirates who did not give up their outlaw life faced their final days in jail, and their final moments on a land-based gallows. Considering each of these aspects of pirate life ashore helps round out our understanding of the overall pirate experience.

Pirate Origins

The two most famous books of pirate biography remain Alexander Exquemelin's *Buccaneers of America* and Charles Johnson's *A General History of the Pirates*.² Both of these texts provide explanations of the early lives of some of the individuals who they document. Exquemelin describes the lives of the French buccaneers on Hispaniola and Tortuga from personal experience, as he lived among them for several years. Rather than dwelling on specific individuals in his opening chapters, he provides a general description of the basic social division of the area into hunters, buccaneers, and planters, and the relationships between these three groups. Men first came to the French

² Alexander O. Exquemelin, *The Buccaneers of America*, trans. Alexis Brown (Mineola, N.Y.: Dover, 2000); *A General History of the Pyrates*, 1726, ed. Manuel Shonhorn (Mineola, N.Y.: Dover Publications, 1999), hereafter Johnson, *General History*.

settlements as indentured servants and were generally sold to planters or hunters. Once their term of service ended, they decided which of the three groups they would join. Most young men turned to buccaneering or hunting over planting because it was less labor intensive.³

Exquemelin originally came to the Caribbean as a servant indentured to the French West India Company. He and the other servants who sailed with him were sold upon arrival in Tortuga. He was resold, and his new master offered to sell him his freedom in exchange for 150 pieces of eight (a profit of 80 pieces of eight for his master), to be paid back at a later date. With no property and a significant debt, Exquemelin enlisted with the buccaneers straightaway.⁴ He did not describe his own duties as a servant, but he described the hunters' and planters' lifestyle in great detail.

The picture he painted of their lives was one of great isolation and independence. Hunters spent up to two full years at a time living in the woods in groups of five or six, plus servants. They specialized in killing either wild cattle (for the hides) or pigs (for the meat). They sold products of the hunts from the beaches to passing ships or exchanged with the planters for tobacco. When the hunters returned to town, they spent all their profits indulging in the multiplicity of vices offered in the backwater of civilization. French planters on Hispaniola and Tortuga concentrated on producing tobacco for market, but produced cassava bread from manioc for their personal subsistence as well. This crop, along with meat purchased from the hunters, allowed the planters to maintain

³ Exquemelin, *The Buccaneers of America*, 34, 53, 59.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 34.

their self-sufficiency.⁵ The context of hunting and planting that Exquemelin provides is important because it explains the background of many Frenchmen who became buccaneers.

Later pirates were a less cohesive group. For the miniscule fraction whose early lives are mentioned in sources like Johnson, little can be corroborated. Still, brief consideration of these stories is appropriate here. Many, such as Captains Howell Davis and Philip Roche, were "bred to the sea" in families already deeply attached to undefined maritime pursuits. Some had more specific heritage: Thomas Howard's father was a Thames waterman. Pirates also came from more diverse backgrounds. Some, like Edward Low and Walter Kennedy, had criminal pasts. Others were raised in more honest families and with more traditional occupations. Sawyers, carpenters, inn-keepers, and shepherds all went on to more infamous careers. Most were sailors long before they turned pirate, and some, like Samuel Burgess, had successful careers as privateers or buccaneers.⁶

William Kidd's life is the best researched, but he was not a typical pirate. He certainly never admitted committing any piracies. Kidd received a letter of marque from King William III in 1696 with the aid of powerful patrons who invested in him as an opportunity for profit. Once he arrived in the Indian Ocean, he quarreled with his crew, and by choice or coercion, plundered vessels beyond the scope of his commission. He returned home to New York to discover that the English government had branded him a pirate, and that his political patrons no longer had the power or inclination to protect

⁵ *Ibid.*, 54-55, 58-61.

⁶ Johnson, *General History*, 166, 208, 318, 341, 372, 472, 487, 497, 506.

anything but their own fortunes and reputations. He was arrested, tried in London, convicted, and executed.⁷

Kidd, a Scot, came from a background of Caribbean buccaneering, but he married a rich widow, Sarah Bradley Cox Ort, and settled in New York in 1691. The couple had two daughters by the time Kidd left for London to seek a commission. Kidd was involved in local politics and trade, and secured patronage from important local officials by supporting their personal power plays.⁸

Kidd was not the only pirate known to have either family or social standing in his community. Major Stede Bonnet was a Barbadian planter and militiaman. Johnson alleged that he turned to piracy because of a "Disorder in his Mind, which had been but too visible in him, some Time before this wicked Undertaking; and which is said to have been occasioned by some Discomforts he found in a married State."⁹ Bonnet was a gentleman with no seafaring experience, who purchased rather than plundered his first pirate vessel. Like Kidd, he is an atypical example, but marriage itself was not alien to the experience of more representative pirates.

Edward Low was born in Westminster and went to sea with his brother for several years before finding work in a rigging house in Boston.¹⁰ It was probably during this period that he married and fathered a child. Philip Ashton, a young mariner from Marblehead captured and impressed by Low in 1722, narrated an account of his

⁷ Robert Ritchie, *Captain Kidd and the War against the Pirates*, (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1986) does an excellent job of placing Kidd's life and exploits within the changing political and economic context of the end of the seventeenth century.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 31, 33-36 .

⁹ Johnson, *General History*, 95.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 318-319.

experience with the crew, discussing his attempts to escape and his months of isolation on the island of Roatan in the Bay of Honduras once he succeeded. He explained that Low's wife died shortly before he turned to piracy, and that the captain's young child still lived in Boston. Ashton did not relate, if he even knew, in whose care the child remained, but postulated that it was because of his personal experience of loss that Low did not accept married men into his crew. The captain's distress at being separated from his progeny was, ironically, greatest while he was sober.¹¹

Johnson's account of Low's life does not mention any family apart from his brother, and associates Low with another short-term profession before he turned to piracy: cutting logwood in the Bay of Honduras.¹² Regardless of whether Low himself actually ever participated in this trade, there was a strong link between the logwood cutters and pirates. By the late seventeenth century, many buccaneers turned to logwood cutting as an alternative to returning to the fold of civilized society. The logwood camps garnered the reputation of being "a fertile nursery of British buccaneers."¹³ When Philip Ashton encountered logwood cutters, or baymen, on Roatan Island after escaping from Low, the only difference he could discern between the pirates and the baymen was that the latter were not at that time involved in anything illicit. He considered them bad company. When pirates found the encampment, one of the log cutters was quick to enlist.¹⁴

¹¹ John Barnard, *Ashton's Memorial: An History of the Strange Adventures and Signal Deliverances of Mr. Philip Ashton* (Boston: Samuel Gerrish, 1725), 1, 3.

¹² Johnson, *General History*, 319.

¹³ Gilbert M. Joseph, "John Coxon and the Role of Buccaneering in the Settlement of the Yucatán Colonial Frontier," *Terrae Incognitae* 12 (1980): 74; Kemp and Lloyd, *Brethren of the Coast*, 38.

¹⁴ Barnard, *Ashton's Memorial*, 32, 34-35.

Captain Nathaniel Uring visited the *Barcadares* logwood camp on the Belize River in 1719 and commented that, "[t]he Wood-Cutters are generally a rude drunken Crew, some of which have been Pirates, and most of them Sailors; their chief delight is in drinking; and when they broach a Quarter Cask or a Hogshead of wine, they seldom stir from it while there is a Drop left[.]"¹⁵

Unsurprisingly, the cutters accomplished most of their work when there was no strong drink available. Uring had nothing positive to say about his sojourn at the logwood camp. He commented on their uncouth language, stating that there was "little else to be heard but Blasphemy, Cursing and Swearing."¹⁶

Uring also provided a good description of the settlement, the practice of logging, and the cutters' subsistence. Men slept on raised platforms made of sticks covered with leaves and canvas. Pavilions of oznabrig, a canvas-like linen fabric, covered the platforms to keep out the mosquitoes and other biting insects. The main settlement was on the high ground overlooking the Belize river and out of the flood zone. Men rafted down the river when they had news of incoming ships, trading for liquor, food, small arms and ammunition, axes, adzes, other logging equipment, shoes, and oznabrig for clothing and housing. They supplemented purchased provisions with wild game such as green turtles, manatees, ducks, fish, and iguana eggs. They often mixed the latter into punch. When they worked, usually in the dry times of the year, the loggers staked out tree stands individually. They built and lived in small huts near their stands. They cut

¹⁵ Nathaniel Uring, *The Voyages and Travels of Captain Nathaniel Uring*, Alfred Dewar, ed., Seafarer's Library Reprint (London: Cassell and Company Ltd, 1928), 241.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 241-243.

the trees into logs immediately, removed the outer bark and sap, and left them in piles. During the rainy season, the baymen returned with small boats that they loaded with wood to transport to the camp for sale.¹⁷

Pirate Land Attacks

Pirates are best known for attacking and plundering seagoing vessels, but they certainly felt no obligations to confine their crimes to the high seas. The Spanish had previously fortified their settlements in response to attacks by earlier pirates such as Drake.¹⁸ The buccaneers commanded by Henry Morgan sacked several important Spanish cities in the New World, including Portobello and Panama. Attacking these cities required strategy and planning. Reaching Panama demanded a long march through the jungle. To achieve this, the buccaneers ensured that their backs were guarded. They accomplished this by seizing additional Spanish strongholds along their chosen route, including the fort on St. Catalina. During the attack on Panama, someone set the city on fire. Morgan claimed that it was the Spanish governor, but Exquemelin, who was present, blamed Morgan.¹⁹

Morgan's attacks are only the most famous of the buccaneers' land exploits.

François L'Olonnais's attacks on Maracaibo and other smaller Spanish settlements, and

¹⁷ Ibid., 124-125, 241-243.

¹⁸ Paul Hoffman provides an in depth examination of Spanish military response to early pirate raids in the New World colonies in *The Spanish Crown and the Defense of the Caribbean, 1535-1585: Precedent, Patrimonialism and Royal Parsimony* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University, 1980), see pages 51-58, 96-100, 122-126, 152-169, 202, 206. See also Russell Skowronek and Charles Ewen, "Identifying the Victims of Piracy in the Spanish Caribbean," in Russell Skowronek and Charles Ewen, eds., *X Marks the Spot: the Archaeology of Piracy* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006), 255-258.

¹⁹ For Morgan's official report, see Henry Morgan, "A True Account and Relation of this my Last Expedition Against the Spaniards," Noel Sainsbury, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies* (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1896), 7: 201-203, no. 504. Hereafter CSPCS. Exquemelin's account of the operation is in *Buccaneers of America*, 198-199.

the depredations of Bartholomew Sharp, John Coxon, and others on Pacific settlements are a few examples of the exploits of other buccaneer leaders.²⁰ A contingent of French and Dutch pirates captured Vera Cruz in 1683 by landing and seizing the two defensive forts during the night. They plundered churches, convents, and private homes, and ransomed the main church and the lives of 6000 prisoners for even more gold and silver.²¹ Later pirates were not as bold as these earlier marauders, and attacked land objectives less frequently. The increase in fortifications in the Caribbean since the sixteenth century noted in Chapter 2 may have proven an effective deterrent.

Howell Davis is the eighteenth-century pirate best known for attacking forts on land. He took most by treachery and surprise rather than by military assaults. His usual tactic was to insinuate himself into the good graces of the local officials so that he could make an assessment of the fort's defenses. This ploy worked at Gambia Castle, where he secured an invitation to a private meeting or dinner, while his crew wandered on their own and distracted the guards and soldiers. Davis gave a pre-arranged signal when everything was in place, and took the surprised governor captive. His men encountered little resistance securing the fort. An earlier effort at St. Iago failed because the dress and comportment of Davis and his men gave away their true nature. The crew resorted to a stealthy night attack to secure that fort instead. At Gambia, the pirates disguised themselves by dressing like typical sailors.²²

²⁰ Exquemelin, *Buccaneers of America*, 97, 106, 114; Kemp and Lloyd, *Brethren of the Coast*, 39, 42, 48-50.

²¹ Thomas Lynch to Leoline Jenkins, July 26, 1683, J. H. Fontescue, ed., CSPCS (1898), 11: 456-459, no. 1163.

²² Johnson, *General History*, 170-173.

Davis attempted a similar strategy at the Isle of Princes. Johnson claimed that the pirates' façade duped the local governor, but William Snelgrave, captain of a slaving vessel who made Davis's acquaintance after being captured by another pirate crew, explained the situation differently. The Portuguese recognized the pirates for what they were by their excess in purchasing goods and provisions, but the governor willingly went along with the pretence until he thought the pirates' presence might threaten his reputation. He coordinated an ambush in which Davis was killed. According to Johnson, a black Portuguese crewmember betrayed Davis once he overheard the plans to capture and ransom the governor. In retaliation for his death, Davis's crew stormed the fort, burned it, and threw all the cannon into the sea. Both accounts agree that the pirates were unsuccessful in bombarding and burning the associated town, but Snelgrave mentioned nothing about the attack on the fort.²³

Other pirates used cunning strategies to capture prize vessels from the shore. This usually involved luring the captain and a large part of the crew ashore, where they were captured and used as hostages. Pirate Captain Halsey used this ploy to trick Captain James Miller of the *Neptune* into coming ashore at Madagascar for wood and water. Sometimes, the pirates themselves were attacked when they ventured on land. The Arab governor of Zanzibar seized Thomas White and some of his crew when they came ashore to trade for provisions. Pirates cornered in the town tried to fight their way back to their ship and escaped only when the men left aboard sent a longboat to rescue them.²⁴

²³ Ibid., 192-193; William Snelgrave, *A New Account of Some Parts of Guinea and the Slave Trade*, 1734, New Impression (London: Frank Cass and Co, 1971), 281-284.

²⁴ Johnson, *General History*, 460-470, 479.

Other "Golden Age" pirates were involved in more organized land-based martial engagements. Pirates based in Madagascar often involved themselves in local warfare to gain support from native allies, secure trade and tribute, and protect their own territory. Nathaniel North is a good example. In exchange for slaves and cattle, he sent small groups of his own men armed with European firearms to lead black armies against the enemy of his trading partner.²⁵

Pirates and Society

Piracy was not a subsistence activity. It did pirates very little good to hoard their stolen merchandise. They operated on the fringes of economic society; they broke many rules, but they could not escape it. When they wanted or needed to trade, they often came ashore. This was easier for the earlier buccaneers, as local authorities legitimized their activities with commissions, or overlooked pirate operations completely. Plunder was profit, and always found a market. Goods sold at low prices by buccaneers hurt the local merchants. Buyers were unwilling to spend more money on legally imported merchandise.²⁶ The buccaneers did not limit themselves to trading with Europeans, however. They also traded with friendly native peoples for both provisions and commodities such as hides, tallow, turtle shell, and logwood for resale in the colonial market.²⁷

²⁵ Ibid., 527-529. For an examination of the effect of pirate settlements on Madagascar on local politics and society, see Mervyn Brown, *Madagascar Rediscovered: A History From Early Times to Independence* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1979), 80-95.

²⁶ Don Pedro, Letter, October 18, 1679, J. H. Fortescue, ed., CSPCS (1896), 10: 428-429, no. 1498.

²⁷ Thomas Modyford to the duke of Albemarle, November 30, 1669, Noel Sainsbury, ed., CSPCS (1889), 7: 46, no. 129.

Sometimes trade with native groups involved more than just the exchange of goods. The native people at Cabo Gracias a Dios (on the coast of Nicaragua) were extremely friendly, and buccaneers acquired female companionship for the duration of their stay by presenting a girl's father with a knife and axe. The women belonged to the buccaneers as long as the pirates remained in the village, and looked after most of their men's basic needs. Husbands sometimes sent their wives to the rovers to access the European goods the buccaneers gave the girls as presents. Intermarriage was common and ensured that a man always had the same woman when he returned to visit. Natives regularly shipped with the buccaneers for several years at a time. They were excellent hunters, and the pirates usually put them in charge of acquiring provisions. Linguistic ties also bound the two groups, as natives and buccaneers learned each others' languages.²⁸

Buccaneers on land had a reputation for drunkenness, largess, and violence; the stereotype was not far off the mark. They spent money and plunder very freely, especially in taverns and brothels. The owners of such establishments also sold goods and services to the buccaneers on credit, and the laws in Jamaica allowed them to sell debtors as servants to recuperate losses.²⁹ Buccaneers were so inclined to drink that the night before Henry Morgan's expedition left for Panama, inn-keepers caught serving liquor to members of the fleet were arrested.³⁰

²⁸ Exquemelin, *Buccaneers of America*, 220-225.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 82, 104.

³⁰ Minutes of the Council of Jamaica, May 31, 1671, Noel Sainsbury, ed., CSPCS (1889), 7: 220-221, no. 543.

Adam Baldrige was a retired buccaneer sent to Madagascar to establish a trading base by New York merchant Frederick Phillipse. Baldrige built a house, and later an armed fortification, on Saint Marie's Island. There, he took advantage of the local slave trade and trafficked with the pirates operating in the area. Between 1690 and 1697, Phillipse sent several ships to supply Baldrige with goods in exchange for slaves and stolen booty. Both Baldrige and the local black population traded with pirates, providing them with cattle and provisions. Pirates stayed at Baldrige's encampment as well, trading on their own account with incoming ships. In effect, the outpost on Saint Marie's was a small pirate trading community. Baldrige returned to New York in 1697 after the native population revolted against mistreatment by the pirates, but Phillipse simply replaced him with Edward Welsh.³¹

Until 1718, when Woodes Rogers sailed into Nassau as the new governor, the Bahamas were another pirate haven. Most inhabitants willingly traded with and supported the pirates, even if they were not themselves sea-robbers. Rogers described the inhabitants as extremely lazy and blamed them for the poor condition of the fort. For his council he swore in "a few that were the least encouragers of trading with [pirates]," which was the best he could manage.³² Unfortunately, there is not much detailed information about the nature of the settlement in that period.

As the eighteenth century progressed, pirates had a harder time trading their merchandise and procuring provisions. They pretended to be legitimate traders, but this

³¹ Ritchie, *Captain Kidd*, 113-115; Deposition of Adam Baldrige in J. Franklin Jameson, ed., *Privateering and Piracy in the Colonial Period: Illustrative Documents* (New York: Macmillan, 1923), 18-187.

³² Woodes Rogers to the Board of Trade, October 31, 1718, Cecil Headlam, ed., *CSPCS* (1930), 30: 372-381, no. 737.

was often only a pretence adopted to allow both sides to profit. Part of the negotiations to open trade might include dining with the governor or other local official at his house. This was also important when dealing with native rulers to ensure good relations and favorable terms for trading.³³

Sometimes, local governors extended hospitality beyond dinners. North Carolina was already notorious as a pirate nest before Governor Charles Eden pardoned Edward Teach's crew in 1718 and welcomed them into the community at Bath. When Henry Avery's crew broke up, some came to Carolina to spend money and refit before beginning a new voyage. Some may even have settled there permanently. For Teach and those of his crew who remained in Bath, accepting the royal pardon was only a ruse. The pirates continued their depredations, both locally and in international waters. Meanwhile, the colonial secretary, Tobias Knight, provided storage space for stolen goods.³⁴ Virginia Lieutenant Governor Alexander Spotswood claimed the rogues planned to build a fort at Ocracoke Inlet as a base for their piracies.³⁵

Pirates also traded with native populations in Africa and the Caribbean. They traded goods for provisions, much as they did with small European outposts. Sometimes they stayed at native villages for long periods, or even settled there, becoming integrated into the communities or forming their own. On Madagascar, pirates like Nathaniel North involved themselves in local power struggles and carved political territories of their

³³ Johnson, *General History*, 361, 371, 524, 601; Snelgrave, *A New Account of the Slave Trade*, 239.

³⁴ North Carolina Council Journal, May 27, 1719, in William L. Saunders, ed., *Colonial Records of North Carolina* (New York: AMS Press, 1968), 2: 341-474.

³⁵ Spotswood to the Board of Trade, December 22, 1718, Cecil Headlam, ed., *CSPCS* (1930), 30: 425-434, no. 800.

own.³⁶ Pirates also sought companionship from the natives, but some women needed to be wooed rather than purchased or rented. Snelgrave recounts one example of three pirate captains dressing to impress the local girls onshore at Sierra Leone, and other pirate accounts contain similar anecdotes.³⁷

Temporary Pirate Camps

More often than not, pirates had to find their own safe harbors away from civilization. Even during the buccaneering period, ships often stopped at uninhabited islands to careen, water, and hunt for fresh provisions. They dragged their ships on land to careen them, and pitched tents to house their equipment on shore. The men slept either in the tents or outside under the stars. These temporary camps provided a base of operations for hunting and for small scale marauding using canoes. Prisoners taken from prizes or seized from among the local turtlers tended to most of the basic needs of the camp. These unwilling servants sometimes stayed with the buccaneer crews for up to five years.³⁸

Subsistence activities were an important function of the camps. Buccaneers apparently considered most of the local wildlife edible, but they especially enjoyed turtles, which were caught in nets. They also hunted other game, such as boar, cattle, badgers, monkeys, and pheasants and scavenged fruit and vegetables from unattended

³⁶ Johnson, *General History*, 58, 131, 133, 215, 218, 322, 482, 526.

³⁷ Snelgrave, *A New Account of the Slave Trade*, 255-256; Johnson, *General History*, 149.

³⁸ Exquemelin, *Buccaneers of America*, 109, 141, 215-216,

Spanish plantations. For entertainment, the buccaneers practiced their shooting and tended their weapons.³⁹

Later pirates followed a similar pattern. Phillip Ashton described a scene from the 1720's that would have been familiar to buccaneers almost fifty years earlier. Low's crew put in to careen two of their sloops at Roatan Island in the Bay of Honduras. The captain and some of his men constructed small huts on the shore of a nearby cay and entertained themselves with drinking, carousing, and target practice for five days while the ships were careened on Roatan.⁴⁰ This was common practice for "Golden Age" pirates. While Low had another vessel present in which to keep his goods, most pirates unloaded their stores on shore, protected from the elements under temporary tents jury-rigged from the sails. Careening and associated reveling lasted anywhere from four days to a month, and the supply of liquor sometimes determined the length of stay. These sojourns allowed pirate crews to perform necessary maintenance on their vessels and gather supplies. Being ashore also gave them access to fresh water and game. Fresh game was no good aboard ship: unless they had some means to preserve meat, it spoiled too quickly to use.⁴¹

Careening left pirates vulnerable to attack, and they chose isolated locations to perform this necessary maintenance. Caribbean islands uninhabited by European settlers, the many inlets on the Outer Banks of North Carolina, and remote African rivers were favored places. Often, they picked places where larger ships could not follow, or where

³⁹ Ibid., 72, 75, 175.

⁴⁰ Barnard, *Ashton's Memorial*, 15-16.

⁴¹ Johnson, *General History*, 57, 145, 148, 237, 313, 315, 461, 474, 489, 517.

the geography provided natural defenses.⁴² Sometimes the landscape alone was not enough for this purpose. Pirates captured merchant James Basse near Puerto Rico in 1697. Basse's captors detained him and the rest of the crew while they careened on a small key near the eastern end of Hispaniola. On this occasion, the pirates built a fort where they mounted cannons from Basse's vessel. The prisoners suffered gross abuses, including being shut into water casks at night to prevent their escape.⁴³ Samuel Bellamy followed a similar pattern when he careened in Maine. He forced his prisoners to construct huts and defensive earthworks on both sides of the Machias River before cleaning his ship. Cannon mounted in the embrasures commanded the entrance to the river.⁴⁴

Pirate Trials and Executions

As the "Golden Age" of piracy drew to a close, more and more pirates ended their careers on land – at the end of a rope. The buccaneers only had to worry about being captured and executed by their nation's enemies, but governments developed and enforced strict anti-piracy laws in the eighteenth century. Courts usually found pirates guilty, but if a man could produce witnesses that agreed he was forced to join the crew and had never willingly participated in any acts of piracy, he might be acquitted. In England, incarcerated pirates were held at Marshalsea, the admiralty's prison. Once convicted, pirates faced public execution. If the government felt an example to other

⁴² Ibid., 65.

⁴³ James Basse to the Board of Trade, July 26, 1697, Alexander. S. Salley, ed., *Records in the British Public Records Office Relating to South Carolina 1663-1710* (Columbia, S.C.: Crowson-Stone Printing Co., 1928-1947), 3: 207-213.

⁴⁴ Johnson, *General History*, 590.

sailors was necessary, the bodies were hung in chains. While in prison, ministers visited the pirates to take confessions and convince them to repent their sins. They generally achieved their goals, and the pirates went to their deaths praying, bewailing their sinful lives, and warning others not to follow in their footsteps.⁴⁵

Some pirates abandoned the life rather than run the risk of dying for their crimes. When buccaneering ceased to be an acceptable practice, those who did not turn to piracy directly turned to other ways of life. Some, as previously mentioned, became logwood cutters. Others turned to trade and planting.⁴⁶ Piracy was never legal, but as trade in the colonies began to stabilize, pirates had a more difficult time finding markets for their goods. Piracy became more dangerous and less profitable. Most pirates in the Bahamas took the pardon offered in the king's name when Governor Rogers arrived. He quickly reformed Nassau. Former pirates joined the newly formed militia and worked (never very hard) for high wages cutting wood to rebuild the fort and erect houses.⁴⁷

Pirate Community and Group Identity

All of these activities are examples of how buccaneers and pirates acted together and organized themselves, as well as how they interacted with both the broader European culture to which they belonged and indigenous societies across the globe. They did not spend all their time at sea chasing and plundering prizes. Sometimes, they plundered forts and cities. They came ashore in port to make contacts necessary for selling their

⁴⁵ For a published account of a ministerial consultation with pirates, including their comportment at execution, see Cotton Mather, *The Vial Poured Out Upon the Sea: A Remarkable Relation of Certain Pirates Brought unto a Tragical and Untimely End* (Boston: N. Belknap, 1726).

⁴⁶ Modyford to the duke of Albemarle, Noel Sainsbury, ed., CSPCS, 7: 46, no. 131.

⁴⁷ Rogers to the Board of Trade, October 31, 1718, Cecil Headlam, ed., CSPCS (1930), 30: 372-381, no. 737; Johnson, *General History*, 617.

stolen goods, and to socialize with local women. Sometimes, pirates settled into these communities, or formed their own, carving personal territories complete with subjects, allies, and enemies. Independent buccaneers and outlaw pirates often lived off the land, camping in makeshift tents and hunting the local wildlife while they performed necessary maintenance on their vessels. They occasionally built earthwork barricades for their protection in case a pirate-hunting man of war happened along and caught them by surprise. When the buccaneers faced the decision of turning pirate or trying a legitimate trade some sailed to the Bay of Campeachy to cut logwood, perpetuating a society that continued to produce sea rovers. Many later pirates met their ends on land, dangling from a hangman's noose, while others tried (or pretended) to settle in the bosom of society.

This examination of the range of pirate activities ashore complements other studies of pirate life by illuminating this overlooked aspect. Although high-seas robberies legally defined piracy, and thus pirates, they represented only one aspect of pirate activities, and are not enough on their own to distinguish pirates as a cohesive social group. A complete understanding of buccaneer and pirate community is only possible by considering the activities of these groups on land and at sea, and the intersection of these environments.

The term community suggests a group identity: that the pirates understood themselves to be members of a group that was distinct from, or at least a distinct subset of, broader European culture. The excerpts of pirate shore life related in this chapter demonstrate ways in which pirates acted in concert to accomplish common goals, as well

as giving examples of common values, customs, and even forms of material culture, including dress. The real question is not whether pirates were different from European culture, but whether a pirate sub-culture, and thus a pirate identity, can be disentangled from the broader net of maritime sub-culture.

Historian Marcus Rediker argued for the distinctiveness of pirates based on their social organization, rules and customs, use of shared symbols, and interconnected community and communitarian urge. Viewing pirates from a Marxist perspective, he presented them as anti-authoritarian social bandits. He saw in pirates the ultimate expression of common maritime values, especially egalitarianism.⁴⁸ He emphasized the democratic nature of the selection of captains and other officers, contrasting this with the imposed rigid hierarchy of both the Royal Navy and privately owned merchant vessels. He also noted that this was similar to the method of selecting officers in Cromwell's New Model Army, and as many of the soldiers who participated in the initial conquest of Jamaica in 1655 turned to buccaneering, this may in fact be a direct link.⁴⁹ Rediker recognized this method of selecting officers as an important social custom for the pirates.

William Snelgrave reported on how pirates selected captains, noting the different qualities sought by the crews. Thomas Cocklyn, who commanded the crew who captured Snelgrave's vessel, was selected for his baser instincts: cruelty and ignorance. The captains Snelgrave encountered while held captive had different leadership styles. Cocklyn was an overbearing brute, but Howell Davis was depicted as the picture of the

⁴⁸ Marcus Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchant Seamen, Pirates, and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700-1750*, Canto Edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 261, 275, 278.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 262. Richard Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-171* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1972), 153.

gallant pirate captain. Davis clearly impressed Snelgrave, who tried to excuse the pirate captain's choice of career by claiming he turned pirate unwillingly.⁵⁰

Whether or not pirates actually represented the level of egalitarianism Rediker claims, the distinctiveness of the custom of election in a maritime setting distinguishes pirates from the broader sub-culture. Pirates' organization, though relatively fluid, still linked them to maritime society: they chose captains differently and limited their power, but still turned to the same system and terminology for their hierarchy. Snelgrave noted that "[b]esides the Captain and Quarter-Master, the Pirates had all other Officers as is usual on board Men of War."⁵¹ Rediker even argues that the pirate system directly reflected widespread maritime values.⁵² The influence of the maritime world on pirates was, unsurprisingly, very strong.

This influence is evident in other aspects of pirate group expression as well, such as the use of customized flags. The use of flags in the maritime environment conveyed very specific messages in terms of identity and association. Proper ship's flags were those flown from the masthead, and other "flags" had specific names and purposes. The ensign was intended to signify national affiliation. The *General History of the Pirates*, as well as other sources from the "Golden Age," report pirates flying black flags and ensigns, sometimes embellished with a range of symbols invoking death, violence, and time.⁵³ Captain J. Evans wrote Johnson a correction for the second edition of his text

⁵⁰ Snelgrave, *A New Account of Some Parts of Guinea*, 199, 284.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 200.

⁵² Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea*, 261.

⁵³ For a list of sources for various crews flying under piratical flags, see footnote 77 in *ibid.*, 278-279.

describing his experience at being plundered by the crew of pirate Captain Martel. He described Martel's use of flags during the encounter in detail:

As soon as the Pyrate got into our Wake, she wore, and made all the Sail she could, by which Means she soon came up with us (for she was clean, and we foul) and clewing up her Sprit-Sail, fir'd a Gun with Shot, and at the same time let fly her Jack, Ensign and Pendant, in which was the Figure of a Man, with a Sword in his hand, and an Hour-Glass before him, with a Death's Head and Bones. In the Jack and Pendant were only the Head and Cross Bones.⁵⁴

Although many flags shared common motifs, there was no unified convention for flag use or symbolism among pirates. Use of flags by legitimate vessels was highly regulated. Even private warships had to follow very strict rules about what kinds of flags they should fly. Although luring potential prizes with false flags was a generally accepted *ruse de guerre*, actually attacking under false flags was another matter. Pirates generally followed this pattern as well. They hoisted their own flags before they sprang their traps, as Martel did when attacking Evans.

Dress was another commonly stated symbolic expression of group identity among pirates. The description of Howell Davis's exploits earlier in this chapter provides a telling example. The pirates failed to dupe a potential target into believing them to be a trading vessel because their manner of dress betrayed them. Although there are no descriptive details, this incident reveals that the pirates' manner of dress was not that expected of merchant mariners. William Snelgrave's account suggests that the pirates did not think much of the merchant captain's style, either. When pirate Francis Kennedy stole and wore Snelgrave's clothes, he had to throw them overboard soon afterwards: his

⁵⁴ Johnson, *A General History of the Pirates*, 68.

fellows ruined them by dousing him with several buckets of French wine after seeing him so attired. The implication is that the other pirates thought that Kennedy was putting on airs, or that at least they did not appreciate him distinguishing himself through his choice of clothing.⁵⁵

Snelgrave's experience allowed him the opportunity to observe the interactions between pirate crews first hand. Cocklyn, Snelgrave's captor, cooperated with Davis and LaBouse, captains of two other pirate crews who chanced to encounter each other at sea, while the three crews were operating from the mouth of the Sierra Leone River. Tensions existed between the crews because of the differences in Cocklyn's and Davis's leadership styles. Snelgrave claimed that Cocklyn's crew resented Davis, and by extension his crew, because the pirate captain was too gentlemanly for their tastes. The crew had chosen Cocklyn as their captain precisely because he did not embody any refined qualities, and so proved an excellent counterpoint to their previous captain, Moody, who had marooned them without any of their due plunder.⁵⁶ Nevertheless, the captains spent a great deal of time in each others' company, dining regularly together and with the captains of their prizes and some of the local merchants.

Snelgrave reported the pirates entering into action together, socializing, and participating in communal activities such as the sale of prize goods before the mast. These were three independent crews who happened to be in the same place at the same time, but they recognized their common purpose, values, and customs.⁵⁷ There were

⁵⁵ Snelgrave, *A New Account of Some Parts of Guinea*, 236-237.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 196-199.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 246-247, 276-277.

nevertheless observable differences, for example in the qualities the crews sought in their leaders. The arrangements between the crews required some formal agreements as well. When Snelgrave was captured, Davis's crew had not formally entered into an alliance with the others. When one of the younger pirates of his crew tried to join in the plundering aboard the merchant's vessel, he was nearly killed for it. Davis took offense at this, insisting that he should have been informed of the protocol breach, and also that he should be the one in charge of punishing his crew.⁵⁸

Rediker used Snelgrave's account to support his argument that pirates consciously opposed cruel captains and oppressive institutions by exacting revenge where they could.⁵⁹ The merchant included several relevant incidents in his account, including the questioning of his crew by the pirates to determine whether or not he was a cruel captain, and thus the appropriate way to deal with him.⁶⁰

Historian Timothy Sullivan has taken this a step further in his doctoral dissertation and suggests that pirates were actually a counter-cultural movement with continuity from the fifteenth century. He has used the term counterculture to describe active and expressive rebellion against a prevailing social group.⁶¹ In some ways, Sullivan's work is an expansion of Rediker's ideas. He uses the same graphic format for demonstrating links between pirate crews and their backers from 1550 through 1715. Although there is no overlap between Sullivan's figures and Rediker's diagram of the connections between Anglo-American pirate crews from 1714-1727, Sullivan still argues

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 228-229.

⁵⁹ Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea*, 271-273.

⁶⁰ Snelgrave, *A New Account of Some Parts of Guinea*, 207-209.

⁶¹ Timothy Sullivan, "The Devil's Brethren: Origins and Nature of Pirate Counterculture, 1600-1730" (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Arlington, 2003), 3-4.

for a cultural connection to the later "Golden Age." He believes that the counterculture of the eighteenth century developed from the interactions between privateer captains and their backers, indigenous populations mixed with free blacks and maroons, and a combination of dispossessed and disillusioned European hunters, planters, and indentured servants.⁶² The main flaw of Sullivan's work is that it accepts Rediker's separation of pirates from the broader maritime sub-culture in the eighteenth century without question, and then projects this back into an era where it cannot be as easily established.

The truth behind this assumption is difficult to ascertain, but one way of investigating it is to examine the attitude of other mariners towards pirates. Uring, Snelgrave, and Ashton all commented on "Golden Age" pirate habits, attitudes, and customs atypical of their own experiences as mariners. Ashton was a young man when he was captured, and his seagoing experience was primarily with the local fishery in Marblehead, Massachusetts. At this time, Marblehead was a small village that relied on merchants from Boston, Salem, and European ports to transport their goods. The locals had contact with deep water sailors, but they did not make international trading voyages themselves, and so had fewer connections to international maritime culture.⁶³ Both Uring and Snelgrave were mature sea captains with years of maritime experience. Uring's father had been a mariner in his youth and first sent his son to sea at the age of fourteen. Uring served before the mast before he worked his way up to a master's berth.⁶⁴ Snelgrave's narrative focuses primarily on his experiences trading for slaves in Africa,

⁶² Ibid., 62.

⁶³ Daniel Vickers with Vincent Walsh, *Young Men and the Sea: Yankee Seafarers in the Age of Sail*, (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2005), 70.

⁶⁴ Uring, *Voyages and Travels*, 1-3, 75.

with the account of his capture by pirates appended as a disconnected account at the end of his book (though he claims it was written earlier). Nevertheless, it is clear he was an experienced captain, deeply involved in maritime culture.

Ashton's account may be considered especially biased because it was published in conjunction with a sermon by pastor John Barnard of Marblehead, to reinforce the power of God to protect His people (specifically, the Puritans of New England). Barnard interviewed Ashton extensively to produce the account, and Aston reviewed the manuscript and authorized the pastor to append his name.⁶⁵ Both Uring and Snelgrave claim only to have published their accounts at the behest of friends. Uring intended his account to stand as a counterpoint to the more typical exaggerated travel narratives of his day.⁶⁶ Snelgrave's book was targeted at the London merchant community, and in his preface he named specific witnesses who could corroborate his tales, including James Bleau, the man who served as surgeon when pirates captured their vessel in Sierra Leone.⁶⁷ Nevertheless, neither author can be considered an unbiased observer of the pirate communities with which they interacted.

Their bias is itself significant. Even if the characteristics they remark upon were exaggerated, this still indicates that as mariners, they felt it was important to draw lines between themselves and the pirates. They perceived pirates as a group that was different, and they wanted others to share that perception of difference. This indicates that mariners, at least, did not consider pirates to belong directly to their sub-culture. While

⁶⁵ Daniel Williams, "Of Providence and Pirates: Philip Ashton's Narrative Struggle for Salvation," *Early American Literature* 24 (1989): 170-171.

⁶⁶ Uring, *Voyages and Travels*, xxxiv.

⁶⁷ Snelgrave, *A New Account of India*, Preface and Introduction.

records of trials and executions provide some insight into pirate perceptions of their distinctiveness, these examples are few. Additional manifestations of these differences may be observable in the archaeological record. The following chapter examines the assemblage recovered from the Barcadares site in Belize for patterns that may indicate pirate activity and as such, an observable pirate sub-culture and identity.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE *BARCADARES* SITE AND THE ANALYTICAL PIRATE MODEL

Too few excavated sites with known "Golden Age" piratical components exist to create a statistically reliable pattern for analyzing and predicting land-based pirate group behavior. Re-analyzing a single site, the *Barcadares*, serves instead to suggest a model for comparison with future excavations. This site is ideal because it has strong links to pirates demonstrated through historical resources. Organization of the material culture assemblage into groups informed by historical accounts of known pirate behaviors forms the basis of this analysis. The model presented in this chapter is intended as an initial step towards defining an archaeologically visible pattern of terrestrial pirate activity in the archaeological record. Future work on terrestrial sites with piratical components can contribute to the work initiated here to further to an understanding of pirate lifeways derived from the archaeological record. Some patterns observed at this site that may form part of a pirate pattern include the unexpected presence of high-quality tablewares such as porcelain, imported foreign wares, and a high percentage of tobacco pipe remains in comparison to other English colonial sites.

The Site

The *Barcadares* site, excavated in 1992 by Daniel Finamore as part of his Ph.D. research at Boston University, is located on the Belize River, Belize.¹ Finamore's work

¹ Daniel Finamore, "Sailors and Slaves on the Wood-Cutting Frontier: Archaeology of the British Bay Settlement, Belize" (Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1994).

traces the development of the logging industry in the Bay of Honduras from gangs of rebels illegally cutting Spanish logwood for sale in the British black market to a legitimate British slave owning society exploiting the rich mahogany resources of the region. The *Barcadares* site falls firmly into that earlier category. Finamore found the site based on descriptions and maps from *The Voyages and Travels of Captain Nathaniel Uring*, an autobiographical account published in 1726. He relocated it by comparing the historical map of the river with a modern topographical map and tracing the parallel course of northward and southward meanders. It was not as far up-river as Uring claimed (twenty-two miles as opposed to forty-two). Grace Bank, a modern village, is on the higher north bank and is one of the last areas of the river to flood. The eighteenth-century settlement spread along both banks. A waterfall just upstream of the site obstructed navigation farther up the river in the historic period. Location out of the flood zone, ease of navigation, and proximity to large stands of logwood made the site geographically ideal for a logging encampment.²

Finamore's team excavated thirty-five 50 cm² test units along a two kilometer stretch of the north bank, and twenty-three units along the south. They placed units along the north bank cutting through the village in house yards or cattle pasture. The north-side units provided the densest concentration of archaeological remains, although units along high ground set back from the river on the south side also produced many artifacts including ceramics, glass, pipe fragments, and metal. In the second phase of the investigations, excavators placed ten 1 m² units along the north bank. Five contiguous

² Ibid., 136, 143-144.

units were located inside a modern garden on a high strip of land close to the modern road between Grace Bank and Davis Bank village to the south. Two other units were close by in the same garden, running along the same ridge, and a third was located along the same line but outside the garden. The final two were placed across the road in a private yard (Figure 4.1).³ Stratigraphy across the site was fairly consistent with three culture bearing layers. Site excavation was according to natural layers, although excavators made a division in the second, artifact intensive, layer while excavating. The team found no complete features but recovered the partial remains of open air hearths that resulted from the hardening of natural clay in the soil when exposed to fire. The nature and location of the site, the construction of the road and modern village, and natural processes of erosion have impacted the site and limited the likely number of preserved artifacts.⁴

Excavators encountered no structural remains and few construction elements. Uring described the sleeping arrangements at the Barcadares as similar to the pavilions of other logwood cutters on the coast. These were platforms of sticks constructed on crutches and raised about four feet off the ground. Taller poles (about eight feet high) were set at each corner and supported a covering that hung over the sides of the platform. The baymen could tuck any of the overhanging covering into their bedding, effectively sealing themselves inside raised tents. The coverings were made of oznabrig, a common type of coarse linen cloth. Uring elsewhere described this as the logwood cutter's most

³ Ibid., 144-145.

⁴ Ibid., 144, 148.

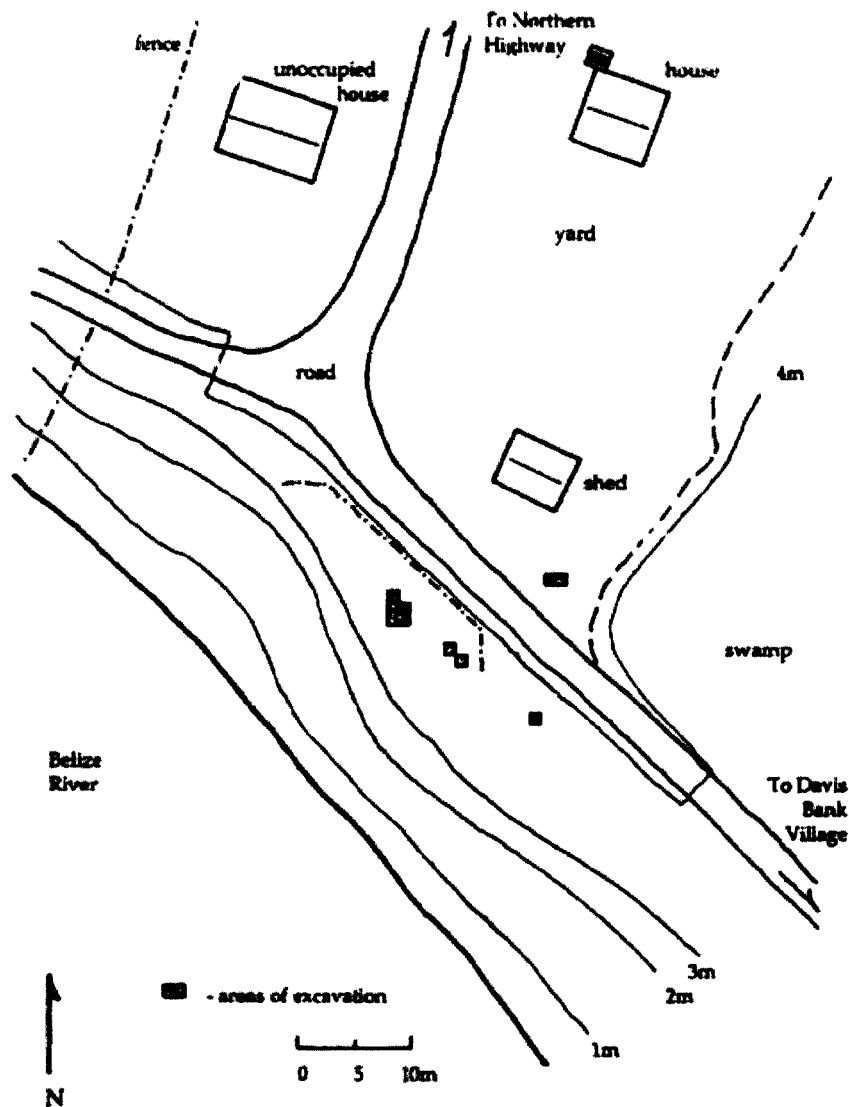


Figure 4.1 – Barcadares Site Map (from Finamore, "Sailors and Slaves," 146).

demanded material, from which they made almost all their clothes.⁵ This manner of construction is unlikely to leave many traces, although Finamore believes these pavilions

⁵ Nathaniel Uring, *The Voyages and Travels of Captain Nathaniel Uring, 1726*, Alfred Dewar, ed., Seafarer's Library Reprint (London: Cassell and Company Ltd, 1928), 124, 242-243.

were nailed together and thus account for the high number of medium-sized construction nails retrieved from the site.⁶

Finamore's Analysis and Interpretation

Material	Quantity	% of total
Bones	20	1.65
Botanicals	16	1.32
Ceramic	250	20.61
Pipes	337	27.79
Clay	120	9.89
Glass	260	21.43
metal	185	15.25
Plastic	16	1.32
Stone	9	0.74
Total %	1217	100.00

Source: Finamore, "Sailors and Slaves," 269-278.

The pipe stems from the site offered a good sample for dating. Binford's formula for dating a site assemblage according to the reduction in pipe stem bore diameter over time attributes to the site a median date of occupation of 1734 – somewhat later than the occupational range of 1680 to 1730 projected by Finamore elsewhere. Finamore dates the site to the late seventeenth to early eighteenth centuries based on the high numbers of probably English-manufactured Rhenish-type stonewares and tin-oxide glazed earthenwares, as well as the absence of later ceramic types such as creamwares and pearlwares. He believes the site to be the earliest notable European settlement on the logwood coast, as Uring notes no other settlements.⁷

⁶ Finamore, "Sailors and Slaves," 208-210.

⁷ Ibid., 148, 200, 204.

Finamore organizes his data according to material type. The most significant materials for analyzing the Barcadares assemblage are ceramics, pipes, and glass. Pipes are the most numerous, and he views the high percentage as a reflection of actual density of occupation – the actual number of people present. The pipe bowls fall generally into his perceived occupational range of 1680-1730, and represent pipes of primarily Dutch manufacture.⁸

The ceramics recovered from the site are notable. Excavators recovered five sherds of Chinese porcelain, comprising 1.98 percent of the ceramic assemblage, from four non-contiguous units at this remote site. Some were hand painted, and one was inscribed with a maker's mark on the outside of the piece. This marks it as being an especially fine, and generally expensive, porcelain type. The most common ceramic ware type recovered was delftware, for which Finamore proposes an English origin.⁹

Twelve grey stoneware sherds represent a single Westerwald-style porringer, a type uncommon to New World sites and dating to the second or third quarter of the eighteenth century.¹⁰ Apart from the porringer, bowls are the dominant identifiable form. Finamore argues that the dominance of these forms represents the baymen's communal food preparation and consumption.¹¹ Five sherds of stoneware jugs represent the only other identifiable ceramic form present in any number. These, along with a single tea or coffee pot and glass bottles, are the only drinking vessels present at the site. The

⁸ Ibid, 200-205.

⁹ Ibid., 172, 187.

¹⁰ Ivor Noel Hume, *A Guide to Colonial Artifacts of North America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1969), 284.

¹¹ Finamore, "Sailors and Slaves," 168-169; Finamore, "A Mariner's Utopia: Pirates and Logwood in the Bay of Honduras," in Russell Skowronek and Charles Ewen, eds, *X Marks the Spot: the Archaeology of Piracy*, (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006), 73.

Table 4.2 – Barcadares Ceramic Assemblage by Ware

Ware	Quantity	% of total
cream ware	1	0.40
tin-oxide ware (delft)	221	87.70
grey salt-glazed stoneware	6	2.38
other salt-glazed stoneware*	12	4.76
Porcelain	5	1.98
Pearlware	1	0.40
Prehistoric	1	0.40
redware	3	1.19
white stoneware	2	0.79
Total	252	100.00

*Finamore's original table lists only two sherds in this category, but comparison with his catalogue data indicates that this is likely a typo, and the number should be twelve. This change accounts for the slight difference in percentages of ware types between this thesis and Finamore, "Sailors and Slaves," 171, 187 and Daniel Finamore, "A Mariner's Utopia: Pirates and Logwood in the Bay of Honduras," in Skowronek and Ewen, *X Marks the Spot*, 75.

Source: Finamore, "Sailors and Slaves," 171.

Table 4.3 – Barcadares Ceramic Assemblage by Vessel Form

Form	Number of identifiable vessels	% of total
bowl	19	67.86
jug	5	17.86
porringer	1	3.57
plate	1	3.57
saucer	1	3.57
tea/coffee pot	1	3.57
Total	28	100.00

Source: Finamore, "Sailors and Slaves," 171.

assemblage of dark green bottle glass, however, consists of only eighty-nine sherds, or 7.31 percent of the total site assemblage.¹² Uring specifically mentions that the baymen drank liquor from hogsheads and quarter-casks.¹³ If the casks were fastened with wooden hoops, they would not leave traces in the archaeological record. With so much drinking

¹² Finamore, "Sailors and Slaves", 193.

¹³ Uring, *Voyages and Travels*, 241.

going on, it is strange that there are no tumblers, mugs, or cups represented in either the ceramic or glass assemblage.

Finamore's interpretation of the social situation at the *Barcadares* site hinges on the porcelain recovered. Although it represents less than 2 percent of the ceramic assemblage, its presence still stands out as an anomaly in a remote backwoods logging camp. Finamore interprets the use of porcelain by the *Barcadares* logwood cutters as resistance to the social values of consumerism and class-based materialism. He believes they went out of their way to acquire material items such as porcelain that would have been considered above their social station in order to flaunt their independence from society, while at the same time marking their adherence to social values of accumulation and exhibition of wealth.¹⁴

Site Context and History

Finamore never explicitly claims that the *Barcadares* logwood cutters were pirates in his dissertation, but he does link them together by emphasizing that the mariners who settled in these camps identified themselves culturally with their fellow sailors rather than through ethnic, national, or other land-based affiliations. He also mentions the links between the baymen and pirates noted both by Uring and Philip Ashton.¹⁵ The preceding chapters of this text explore these links in greater detail, and present a stronger argument for the existence of cultural and membership links between these groups. Uring's description of the baymen notes that "[t]he Wood-Cutters are

¹⁴ Finamore, "Sailors and Slaves," 188-189; Finamore, "A Mariner's Utopia," 76, 78.

¹⁵ Finamore, "Sailors and Slaves," 66-67; Finamore, "A Mariner's Utopia," 68-69.

generally a rude drunken Crew, some of which have been Pirates and most of them Sailors...."¹⁶ Similarly, Ashton did not find any significant differences in behavior between them and the pirates he had escaped. He was glad for human companionship and the comforts they were able to offer him, "But after all, they were Bad Company, and there was but little difference between them and the Pirates, as to their Common Conversations."¹⁷ Apart from Uring and Ashton's observations, other pirates are known to have spent time in the logwood camps. According to the *General History of the Pirates*, Edward Low, the pirate who originally captured Ashton in 1722, turned to piracy directly because of his association with the logwood trade. Low, whose anti-authoritarian tendencies are well established by this point in Johnson's narrative, shipped aboard a sloop en-route to the Bay of Honduras. Low's job was both cutting the wood and ferrying it to the sloop. When the sloop's captain ordered the boat's crew to miss dinner to fetch an extra load of wood, Low led a mutiny. After killing one unfortunate sailor, Low and twelve others absconded with the boat to become pirates.¹⁸ Whether or not this story is factually accurate (and much of the *General History* can be corroborated by other historical accounts), it both demonstrates and reinforces the links – actual or perceived – between pirates and the logwood trade.

Confirmation of these links is essential to this study. Actual pirates participated in the logwood camp communities. Additionally, their contemporaries perceived pirates and logwood cutters as participating in a common culture (or sub-culture) that had

¹⁶ Uring, *Voyages and Travels*, 241.

¹⁷ John Barnard, *Ashton's Memorial: An History of the Strange Adventures and Signal Deliverances of Mr. Philip Ashton* (Boston: Samuel Gerrish, 1725), 32.

¹⁸ *A General History of the Pyrates*, 1726, ed. Manuel Shonhorn (Mineola, N.Y.: Dover Publications, 1999), 319. Hereafter Johnson, *General History*.

different identifiable traits from the culture of other deep-sea sailors and maritime groups, such as the coastal fisheries with which Ashton was familiar. Both of these statements support the idea that it is possible to draw conclusions about pirate lifeways from examining logwood camp sites, including the *Barcadares*.

Developing a Model of Pirate Activity

Re-analyzing the data from this site has two aims:

1. To test for other behaviors that might be represented by the assemblage that can aid in understanding the social dynamics of the logwood cutters, and by extension, other members of their subculture.
2. To provide a basis for comparing the *Barcadares* with other sites of pirate activity.

Although there are as yet few identified or excavated terrestrial sites with pirate associations, the potential exists for suggesting inter-site behavioral patterns that may assist both in the future identification of pirate sites and in interpretation of pirates as a distinct social group. This analysis is intended as a model for identifying such a pattern based on comparison with other known pirate sites. As other terrestrial sites occupied by pirates are excavated, this model can be developed into a pattern for reliably identifying similar undocumented sites.

Analyzing the site purely from catalogue records is at times problematic. Some potentially useful description is missing or partially omitted because of the printed catalogue's format. For example, the description of a porcelain sherd recovered from Unit 8 Level 2 (one of five on the site) reads as follows: "evidence of overgl. enamel;

probably[.]"¹⁹ Probably what? This problem was especially aggravating when the lost information related to dates or, in the case of some entries on pipe stems, bore diameter. Relying on the catalogue also made it difficult to decide which information to include in the analysis because the catalogue does not always provide information necessary for estimating the approximate dates for certain artifacts. It is therefore difficult to gauge which artifacts are or are not associated with the eighteenth-century occupation of the *Barcadares*.

The glass assemblage proved especially tricky as many items were catalogued only according to general form (either as bottles or cylindrical bottles), and by color. Some were noted as being modern, but others may date from earlier phases of the modern village that stands on the site. Finamore examined only the dark green glass in his analysis and considered it all to be from wine bottles dating to the *Barcadares* occupation.²⁰ Trusting his judgment and following his example seemed the wisest course of action, and only those fragments are considered here. Although it is important to note these issues, accessing the catalogue data was still useful as it allowed easy manipulation of the core data once the information was re-entered into a computer spreadsheet.

Finamore based his analysis primarily on artifact materials and form. Archaeologist Stanley South argued for the use of functional artifact groups for examining patterns between sites. Functional grouping reveals broader cultural process related to group behavior. The categories are arbitrary, but also flexible: they can be tailored to suit the needs of specific research designs. Artifacts within the groups are also

¹⁹ Finamore, "Sailors and Slaves," 276.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 193.

subdivided by class, material, ware, and type. South intended that the categories he presented form the point of departure for variation – they are not necessarily intended to represent emic categories, but are a way of organizing material culture to illuminate deviations between sites for further interpretation.²¹ Because of the nature of the site and the kinds of artifacts recovered, South's specific groups are not effective for the *Barcadares*. Instead, the categories listed here are adjusted to test for patterns suggested by the historical record.²²

Of the total 1217 artifacts collected, only 963 are considered in the following analysis. Those not counted include all plastic, the remaining 171 glass artifacts, 1 fragment of slate of unidentifiable purpose, and 66 pieces of modern or unidentifiable metal including 47 pieces of iron cans (see Table 4.4 and Appendix I). The categories used in this analysis are Food Consumption (drinking and tableware), Architecture, Weaponry, Tobacco Pipes, Clothing, Food Production, and Industrial Activity.

Food Consumption.

Artifacts - drinking: bottles, jugs, teapot; tablewares: bowls, plates, porringer, saucers, unidentified ceramic fragments

This category contains the assemblage of artifacts related to food consumption and presentation from the site. At the *Barcadares*, this includes the ceramic and glass assemblages, because all the ceramics present are presumed to relate to eating. This category is further subdivided into the Drinking and Tableware subcategories. The

²¹ Stanley South, *Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology* (New York: Academic Press, 1977), 92-93.

²² Another classification scheme derived from South and influential on this analysis comes from chapter 6 of Charles Ewen's *From Spaniard to Creole: the Archaeology of Cultural Formation at Puerto Real, Haiti* (Tuscaloosa, Al.: University of Alabama Press, 1991), 61.

Artifact Groups	Total	%
Food Consumption	338	35.21
Drinking	95	9.90
Tableware	243	25.31
Architecture	96	10.00
Weaponry	27	2.81
Tobacco Pipes	339	35.32
Clothing	1	0.10
Food Preparation	156	16.25
Industrial Activity	3	0.31
Total %	960	100.00

Source: Finamore, "Sailors and Slaves," 269-278.

drinking implements are separated from tableware because of the importance attributed to social drinking by the logwood cutters in Uring's account, and by pirates in various historical accounts.²³ The inclusion of all the dark green glass in this subcategory, accounting for nearly 10 percent of the assemblage considered, is based on its identification as bottle glass. This subcategory also includes fragments of jugs, and one fragment of a tea or coffee pot.

As noted in the discussion of Finamore's analysis, there are no drinking containers such as mugs identified from the site. Ceramic and glass fragments with no discernable form may have come from such vessels or the baymen may have used drinking vessels made of perishable materials such as wood or horn. Alternately, they may have used bowls, as they can hold any kind of liquid. This would also reinforce Finamore's association of this form with communal food consumption patterns. Many accounts of pirate drinking specifically recount companions sharing bowls of punch or liquor. William Snelgrave described a pirate drinking binge on board a vessel at Sierra Leone in

²³ Uring, *Voyages and Travels*, 241. For a discussion of pirate drinking practices see Timothy Sullivan, "The Devil's Brethren: Origins and Nature of Pirate Counterculture, 1600-1730" (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Arlington, 2003), 185-190.

which the pirates "hoisted upon Deck a great many half Hogsheads of Claret and French Brandy; knock'd their heads out, and dipp'd Canns and Bowls into them to drink out of...".²⁴ Including bowls in the Drinking subcategory increases its percentage of the total assemblage to 11.77 percent.

Tableware includes all other ceramic vessels from this site and accounts for 25.31 percent of the total assemblage. Were any present at this site, eating utensils such as knives and spoons would fit in this subcategory. Food Consumption is the second largest category at the site, comprising over a third of the artifacts at 34.28 percent. The Drinking subcategory stands at 28.11 percent of the group and Tableware 71.89 percent.

The artifacts in this group deserve further attention as they include the anomalous sherds of porcelain and an equally intriguing lack of utilitarian redwares. These are important because they represent anomalous behavior on the part of the logwood cutters, in terms of their choice of tableware. Table 4.5 presents the Food Consumption group artifacts by ware as a percentage of the group total and of the total assemblage considered. Tin-oxide glazed delft still dominates, followed by the green bottle glass.

The porcelain represents 1.48 percent of the Food Consumption group, and 0.52 percent of the total assemblage. Ivor Noel Hume has claimed that porcelain would not have been common in the homes less affluent colonists during the early eighteenth century.²⁵ In the hands of the baymen, living in raised tents on the furthest fringes of

²⁴ William Snelgrave, *A New Account of Some Parts of Guinea and the Slave Trade*, 1734, New Impression (London: Frank Cass and Co, 1971), 234.

²⁵ Hume, *Artifacts of Colonial America*, 257.

European civilization, it seems out of place. These figures are presented here as a basis for comparison for others who may wish to use, or expand on, this model.

Ware	Quantity	% of FC Group	% of Assemblage
dark green glass	89	26.33	9.27
tin-oxide ware (delft)	221	65.38	23
grey salt-glazed stoneware (Rhenish)	6	1.78	0.63
other salt-glazed stoneware	12	3.55	1.25
porcelain	5	1.48	0.52
redware	3	0.89	0.31
white stoneware	2	0.59	0.21
Total	338	100.00	35.19

Source: Finamore, "Sailors and Slaves," 269-278.

Architecture.

Artifacts: nails.

This group is comprised entirely of wrought nails, and comprises 10.00 percent of the total assemblage. Other artifacts related to construction such as hinges, window glass, and brick could be counted in this group.

Weaponry.

Artifacts: gun flints, balls, shot, polishing tool.

This group, which comprises 2.80 percent of the total assemblage, includes gunflints, shot, and one polishing tool. Most of the shot recovered was four millimeter small shot. Guns and gun parts, as well as other weaponry such as daggers and swords, tools for the care of weaponry, and creation of ammunition would fall into this category.

Although the category is entitled "Weaponry," the documentary record suggests that these tools were used for hunting and recreation.²⁶

Tobacco Pipes.

Artifacts: pipe bowls, pipe stems.

This is the largest group of artifacts at the *Barcadares* at 35.32 percent of the total site assemblage, and it consists entirely of pipe stems and pipe bowl fragments. Smoking was an important part of maritime culture, and Sullivan uses the preponderance of pipe remains of Dutch manufacture at the *Barcadares* site to argue for "an actively developing counterculture, comprised of the marginalized men (and women) operating within the Caribbean frontier."²⁷ The high percentage of artifacts in this group is remarkable when compared with other sites. South gave a percentile range of 1.9 to 14.0 percent for his Tobacco Pipes Group in the Frontier Pattern, and 0 to 20.8 percent for the Carolina Pattern.²⁸ These percentages were derived from the assemblages he recovered at eighteenth-century British sites from colonial America, including Brunswick Town, North Carolina, Fort Ligonier, Pennsylvania, and Signal Hill, Newfoundland.²⁹ Finamore's view that these reflect actual settlement density seems entirely justified, and the socio-cultural significance of smoking as a recreational activity is also clear.

Clothing.

Artifacts: buckle.

²⁶ Uring, *Voyages and Travels*, 242.

²⁷ Sullivan, "The Devil's Brethren," 195.

²⁸ South, *Method and Theory*, 119, 145.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 90-92, 143.

Only one item, a possible buckle, falls into this group, and it comprises only 0.10 percent of the assemblage. Examples of other items that could be included in this group are buttons and beads.

Food Preparation.

Artifacts: botanical and faunal remains, hearth fragments.

This group includes the remains from food preparation activities (cooking), including botanical and faunal remains, and clay fragments of open-air hearths. It comprises 16.20 percent of the total assemblage. Cooking and storage vessels would also fit in this category if any were evident in the assemblage.

Industrial Activity.

Artifacts: spike, rod, bridle part.

The site produced some remains attributed to logging activities, including a spike, a piece of a bridle, and a wrought iron rod that comprise 0.31 percent of the total assemblage. Logging-related artifacts are subsumed into a larger, broader category of industrial activities. On other sites, other production and manufacturing materials would be included in this category.

Interpretation

This site was founded sometime before Uring's visit in 1721, and occupied through the 1730's. The logwood cutters who inhabited the area shared many cultural elements with pirates, and there was a two-way flow of membership between the groups. They participated in communal eating and drinking rituals, relying on the basic bowl as their primary tableware form. Smoking also had a significant role in their socio-cultural

activities, evidenced by the high percentage of pipe remains recovered from the site.

Although the *Barcadares* is viewed as a primarily English settlement, the baymen used pipes of Dutch manufacture.

The baymen used and displayed fine ceramic tablewares including porcelain and high quality stonewares. They may have purchased these items specifically to make a material statement about their rejection of social hierarchy, as suggested by Finamore.³⁰ The possibility also exists that (former) pirate logwood cutters obtained at least some of the wares through actual piratical acts. The accumulation and display of these wares would have served not only as a statement of the rejection of social values of hierarchy, but a rejection of authority and law and even a subtle threat to anyone who might raise questions as to the legitimacy of their trade.

A recently excavated site from London supports some of these interpretations. The frontage of 43-53 Narrow Street in the Ratcliff area of Limehouse produced a stunning number of fine and imported tablewares, including the earliest instance of Caribbean produced ware, a sherd of Colono ware (a ceramic type made by African slaves imported into the colonies), appearing in England. This waterfront district is associated historically with a number of mariners involved in privateering and piracy in both the Caribbean and the English Channel in the mid-seventeenth century. The authors argue for the identification of a "closed community of pirates and privateers."³¹ They

³⁰ Finamore, "Sailors and Slaves," 187-189.

³¹ Douglas Killock et al, " Pottery as Plunder: a 17th-Century Maritime Site in Limehouse, London," *Postmedieval Archaeology* 39(1) (2005): 5, 16-20, 25, 51.

also argue that the high percentages of imported wares may represent actual items acquired from privateering.³²

The data recovered from these sites suggest that two components of a pirate pattern may be the presence of high-quality tablewares in a context where they would not usually be expected (as at an isolated logging camp on the fringes of Euro-Caribbean society) and a high percentage of tobacco pipes. The determination of a pirate pattern must be based on an examination of the selection and use of specific categories of material culture by pirates in combination with other archaeologically evident behaviors. The identification and excavation of other pirate related sites in the future will provide data necessary for pursuing this hypothesis further. Finding more sites suitable for use in expanding the projections made here into a true statistically reliable pattern may prove difficult, however, because piracy remains a marginal topic in maritime and Caribbean archaeology. Archaeology in conjunction with historical investigation can still provide evidence of pirate presence, and this is explored further in the next chapter.

³² Ibid., 21.

CHAPTER FIVE

OTHER ARCHAEOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO PIRACY

It is difficult to find evidence of pirates on land in the archaeological record, even from locations known to have been sites of pirate activity in the past. Sites such as temporary camps may leave no trace at all because of their brief occupation and coastal location. Where pirates operated out of larger metropolitan centers, such as Port Royal, Jamaica, it may be difficult or even impossible to distinguish between the cultural remains of pirates and those of other town citizens. On smaller scale sites with clear historical associations with pirate groups, such as the *Barcadares*, it is still possible to discern pirate presence or influence, and archaeology may also provide indirect evidence in cases where direct evidence is not discernable.

Archaeology specifically aimed at locating pirate camps is sparse. David McBride directed a survey of a different Port Royal, on Roatan Island, in 1980. The survey focused on two eighteenth-century British habitation sites known from historic maps and records: the town of Augusta and Fort George on what is now known as Fort George Cay.¹ Both sites date from the War of Jenkins' Ear (1739-1748, also known as the War of Austrian Succession). The British viewed Roatan as an ideal location for protecting their interests in the Bay of Honduras and sent a delegation to occupy and fortify the island in

¹ David McBride, "Contraband Traders, Lawless Vagabonds, and the British Settlement and Occupation of Roatan, Bay Islands, Honduras," in Russell Skowronek and Charles Ewen, eds, *X Marks the Spot: the Archaeology of Piracy* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006), 55-55.

1742.² McBride's survey consisted of field walking and shovel testing to discover the extent of the eighteenth-century remains. Secondary goals included finding evidence of other European occupations, including a seventeenth-century settlement by Puritan colonists, use of the area by pirates in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and late eighteenth-century temporary refugee camps established by logwood cutters chased out of Belize and Honduras by the Spanish.³

Pirate activity at Roatan is known from historical documents including Philip Ashton's captivity narrative. At Roatan, he escaped from Edward Low after the pirates put in to the harbor to careen and carouse at a nearby watering hole on Port Royal Cay.⁴ McBride's team surface collected at Old Port Royal and along beaches and ravines, looking for materials dating to similarly brief pirate occupations. Poor surface visibility hampered their investigation and they recovered no relevant artifacts.⁵ Evidence of pirates on Roatan may still exist either concentrated outside the area surveyed by McBride or in locations obscured by limited visibility during the survey.

Investigations in other areas known to have been sites of pirate activity in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries also failed to reveal direct evidence of pirates and piracy. Work at Port Royal, Jamaica, has never focused on investigating the buccaneers. When researchers from Texas A&M University first began their excavations in 1981, they could not form concrete research objectives because the conditions and

² William Davidson, *Historical Geography of the Bay Islands, Honduras: Afro-Hispanic Conflict in the Western Caribbean* (Birmingham, Ala.: Southern University Press, 1974), 53-56.

³ McBride, "Contraband Traders," 55.

⁴ John Barnard, *Ashton's Memorial: An History of the Strange Adventures and Signal Deliverances of Mr. Philip Ashton* (Boston: Samuel Gerrish, 1725), 15.

⁵ McBride, "Contraband Traders," 55.

potential of the site were too uncertain. Later investigations focused on buildings located during the initial testing phase. Although the buccaneers were important to the history of Port Royal, their influence on the archaeology was minimal. Donny Hamilton called Port Royal a "catastrophic site," because of the nature of its deposition.⁶ Because so much material dates to the 1692 earthquake that destroyed the city, interpretations based on the material culture necessarily reflect this time period most accurately. By the 1690's, buccaneers were no longer active in Jamaica, and direct evidence of their activities at Port Royal is therefore lacking.

Archaeology is often the result of accidental discovery, but even accidental or unintentional discovery of pirate materials is rare. This was the case of the Narrow Street site excavated by Douglas Killock and Frank Meddens of Pre-Construct Archaeology LTD in response to proposed redevelopment. Waterfront reclamation projects in the late sixteenth-century helped develop this area of Ratcliff, then an outlying London suburb, for settlement. The earliest permanent settlement of the site dates to this period, although there is evidence of intermittent use during medieval times. This section of road originally faced the wharves along the Thames waterfront.⁷

Architectural features represented several phases of building, rebuilding, and expansion, and depositional features such as cesspits and trash pits represented multiple occupation episodes. Investigators differentiated between three main phases: the establishment of a permanent settlement in the late sixteenth to early seventeenth century,

⁶ Donny Hamilton, "Preliminary Report on the Archaeological Investigations at Port Royal, Jamaica, 1981-1982," *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 13(1) (1984): 15-17, 24.

⁷ Douglas Killock et al., "Pottery as Plunder: a 17th-Century Maritime Site in Limehouse, London," *Postmedieval Archaeology* 39(1) (2005): 1-3,5-6, 82.

mid seventeenth-century expansion, and late seventeenth-century developments. The Narrow Street assemblage relating to piracy dates to the first phase, from the 1620's to the 1640's, and the authors associated the site with privateering in the English Channel and along the coasts of Spain and Portugal. Several property owners at and near the site were directly involved in such ventures, including John Limberly. Limberly carried out his 1627 letter of marque in his own vessel, the *Royal Defence*, and was involved in supplying the Royal Navy in the 1650's. He may have also had connections in the Caribbean.⁸

Though this site predates piracy's "Golden Age," it nevertheless presents a number of important factors for consideration. In their interpretations, Killock *et al.* drew heavily on Sullivan's work on pirate counterculture and the continuity in pirate groups from the fifteenth through the eighteenth centuries. They saw the remains at 43-53 Narrow Street as representing a closed community of pirates and privateers.⁹ The authors claimed that "The 17th-century pottery recovered from the site is exceptional for any English site and the frequency of imported wares...is unparalleled in the United Kingdom." They followed this by noting that sites from some south-coast ports also have assemblages including large numbers of imports. They explained this through geography: the south coast is closer to Spain, and therefore southern ports such as Plymouth and Southampton made more natural trading partners for Spain and the Mediterranean.¹⁰ While the Narrow Street finds are certainly significant, these

⁸ Ibid., 11-16, 18-19, 25.

⁹ Ibid., 18-19.

¹⁰ Ibid., 16.

similarities should be more closely examined before they are dismissed, especially in light of some weaknesses in Sullivan's argument relating to this period. The residents were certainly involved in privateering, but the data distinguishing a subculture of piracy in this period are weak. The contemporaneous ceramic assemblage from the Victoria Wharf site, located farther down Narrow Street, also contained high proportions of imports, especially from Spain.¹¹

Whether or not the mariners dwelling at 43-53 Narrow Street were part of Sullivan's proposed emerging pirate counterculture, the finds suggest that some members of the maritime subculture of the seventeenth century had a greater taste for and access to imported wares than other English households. Historical records do not associate the area with merchants, and there is no evidence of a demand for these kinds of products represented in inland site assemblages. This implies that the imported goods were not highly valued trade items. The authors used this evidence to reinforce their argument that the imported pottery represents plundered goods and thereby demonstrates direct evidence of plundering visible in the archaeological record. Other lines of evidence support this argument, including similarities in the percentages of imported Spanish and Portuguese goods between Narrow Street and some New World Spanish settlements. Killock *et al.* do note that "The boundaries between trade, privateering and piracy were often blurred," however, and it is possible that some of their material culture was acquired through legitimate or illegal trade.¹²

¹¹ Kieron Tyler *et al.*, "The Excavation of an Elizabethan/Stuart Waterfront Site on the North Bank of the River Thames at Victoria Wharf, Narrow Street, Limehouse, London E14," *Post Medieval Archaeology* 35 (2001): 81.

¹² Killock *et al.*, "Pottery as Plunder," 21-24.

The findings at Narrow Street support the claim of this thesis that different aspects of piracy can be detected in the archaeological record by examining material culture. With this in mind, the remains at Port Royal once again become relevant. A recent doctoral dissertation from Texas A&M University examined the development of a consumer revolution in Port Royal decades before the phenomenon spread throughout the rest of the English-speaking world. Timothy Trussell considered both excavated material remains and probate inventories to understand consumption trends in the Jamaican capital before the 1692 earthquake.¹³

Trussell explored trends in consumerist behavior and explained them as both quantitatively and qualitatively different from the procurement of goods for purely utilitarian purposes: people bought more, nicer, things than they needed. He emphasized that consumer items are not necessarily meant to have lasting value, and that this value can decrease relatively rapidly as fashions change.¹⁴ Consumerism began in elite circles during the seventeenth century and spread to the rest of society by the nineteenth. Historian T.H. Breen claimed that the consumer revolution in the colonies began to strengthen the 1740's and is visible as a notable increase in imports in this period.¹⁵ Trussell examined several other historical and archeological studies that suggest a similar timeframe, but argued that middle and lower-class Port Royal consumers were already exhibiting these behaviors when the city was destroyed.¹⁶

¹³ Timothy Trussell, "Artifacts of Ambition: How the 17th-Century Middle Class at Port Royal, Jamaica, Foreshadowed the Consumer Revolution" (Ph.D. diss., Texas A&M University, 2005), 3-4.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 14-15

¹⁵ T.H. Breen, "An Empire of Goods: The Anglicization of Colonial America, 1690-1776," *Journal of British Studies* 25 (1982): 487-487.

¹⁶ Trussell, "Artifacts of Ambition," 3-4, 13-15, 19.

The materials recovered from eight buildings excavated by Texas A&M University represent a middle class neighborhood, with several residences and specialized trade shops with work yards. The remains from the three buildings that survived intact (Buildings 1, 4, and 5), plus those from the retail shop front in Building 8, were most useful for determining consumption patterns from the archaeological record. Trussell noted that the special case of site formation and preservation meant comparison of the Port Royal assemblage to other archaeological sites on land would be more reflective of these differences than of actual patterns of human behavior.¹⁷

The jumbled remains that resulted from the earthquake also meant that it was impossible to distinguish individual households at the site. The material culture could not be analyzed at this level, but Trussell argued that, "the salient point is not that a particular item came from household 'x', but that the item was in use in the cultural context of these middle-class homes, taverns, shops, and work-yards... in the late 17th century."¹⁸ His work is based on the assumption that a wide range of choices linked to prices was available to Port Royal consumers, and the need to negotiate social relationships dictated consumer choice.¹⁹ Trussell derived the categories he used for his artifact study from various historical analyses of probate inventories, coupled with criteria based on elaboration of form, decoration, and material, and whether the artifacts represent non-utilitarian items or new types and forms.²⁰

¹⁷ Ibid., 44, 59-60, 66.

¹⁸ Ibid., 66-67.

¹⁹ Ibid., 74.

²⁰ Ibid., 87.

The categories he examined are lighting devices, utensils, silver, ceramics, and pewter. He noted especially those items that represent consumerist behaviors, such as fancy brass and silver candlesticks, silver and elaborated pewter utensils (especially forks), silver items in general including a parasol handle and a nutmeg grater, porcelain and ornamental ceramics, and unusual pewter items.²¹ In the case of ceramics, Trussell drew on Madeleine Donachie's doctoral dissertation comparing the Port Royal assemblage to assemblages from both the home of seventeenth-century North Carolina Governor William Drummond and his family and an English Tavern. Donachie found that the Port Royal assemblage was similar to the materials recovered at the Drummond home from layers dating to 1680-1710 in terms of ware types and form, quality of ceramics, and composition. She also saw the ceramic assemblage as denoting a move towards individualized dining sets.²² Trussell explained this as one of "the types of social behaviors directly implicated in the consumer revolution." He concluded that though much of the assemblage is typical for what might be expected of late seventeenth-century households in an English colony, there are enough significant consumer items present to determine that the middle class had access to and was purchasing items of gentility and social ambition.²³

The probate analysis also supports this conclusion. Trussell examined all 112 extant probate inventories from Port Royal from March 1686 to September 1693. Most estates covered had values of over £100, with thirty between £100 and £200, twenty-five

²¹ Ibid., 87-104, *passim*.

²² Madeleine Donachie, "Household Ceramics at Port Royal Jamaica, 1655-1692: the Building 4/5 Assemblage" (Ph.D. diss., Texas A&M University, 2001), 173-174, 178, 202.

²³ Trussell, "Artifacts of Ambition," 97-98, 105-106.

between £200 and £800, and twenty valued over £800. This weights the study in the favor of the middle and upper classes, leaving only thirty-five inventories valued less than £100. As Trussell was mostly interested in middle class behavior, he did not view this as a significant hindrance. Unlike the artifact assemblage, the probate inventories are suitable for comparison to other studies, and Table 5.1 demonstrates how the Port Royal inventories compare with English data from 1675 through 1725. This table demonstrates that, in many cases, Port Royal residents died owning higher numbers of certain kinds of goods associated with consumerism than their English contemporaries. Other frequencies of luxury goods, including books, looking glasses, table linen, curtains, and

Table 5.1 – Frequency of ownership of selected goods in probate inventories from England 1675-1725 to Port Royal, Jamaica from 1686-1693

Goods (%)	England 1675	England 1685	Port Royal 1686-93	England 1695	England 1705	England 1715	England 1725
Tables	87	88	55	89	90	91	91
Cook Pots	66	68	57	69	71	74	76
Saucepans	2	6	17	8	11	17	23
Pewter	94	93	53	93	93	95	91
Pewter Dishes	39	46	10	44	47	56	55
Pewter Plate	9	18	20	21	34	42	45
Earthenware	27	27	13	34	36	47	57
Books	18	18	45	18	19	21	22
Clocks	9	9	21	14	20	33	34
Pictures	7	8	13	9	14	24	21
Looking Glass	22	28	49	31	36	44	37
Table Linen	43	45	59	41	41	44	37
Curtains	7	10	31	11	12	19	21
Knives/Forks	1	1	23	3	4	6	10
China	0	1	5	2	4	8	9
Tea/Utensils for Hot	0	0	13	1	2	7	15

Drinks							
Silver or Gold	23	21	80	24	23	29	21

Source: Trussell, "Artifacts of Ambition," Table 7.1, 118

forks and knives, foreshadow or even surpass English frequencies in the second and third decades of the eighteenth century.²⁴

Trussell also compared the Port Royal inventories to inventories from the Chesapeake, but this time the goods were subdivided by the value of the inventory (Table 5.2). Once again, similar trends are visible in the case of certain luxury goods, including secular books, time pieces, pictures, tea and teaware, forks, and spices. These data also make the effects on middle classes more visible. The categories of goods in which these trends are most noticeable in both the English and the Chesapeake data sets are public goods, intended to demonstrate social relations. According to Trussell, "They are key markers of a change in social behaviors and the ways in which people conceived of relating to each other by using artifacts."²⁵ Historian James Horn noted that in the colonial Chesapeake, quantity rather than quality of material culture often signified status. What divided the rich from the poor were basic items such as tables, chairs, and bedsteads. Only the very richest of the gentry were able to live in large, well furnished, houses replete with the latest London luxuries.²⁶ Even considering the many factors influencing both preservation and recording of probate inventories, and other social factors influencing the selection of certain goods, the Port Royal data present a convincing case for Trussell's theory of early consumerist behavior.

²⁴ Ibid., 113-115, 118-119.

²⁵ Ibid., 133.

²⁶ James Horn, *Adapting to a New World: English Society in the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 325-326.

The relevance of consumerist practices to evidence of pirate activity and influence is not immediately obvious, but the connection does exist. In explaining the reasons that

Goods (%)	St Mary's 1678-1687	Port Royal 1685-1693	St Mary's 1688-1699	St Mary's 1700-1709	St Mary's 1710-1722	St Mary's 1723-1732
Coarse Earthenware						
50-94£	54	10	28	41	48	71
95-225£	62	25	65	68	62	80
226-490£	55	14	80	43	77	90
Bed or Table Linens						
50-94£	43	74	28	48	47	51
95-225£	54	78	78	50	75	77
226-490£	73	79	80	93	90	100
Table Knives						
50-94£	4	5	3	10	18	18
95-225£	15	19	9	18	30	23
226-490£	36	7	10	36	40	55
Table Forks						
50-94£	0	5	0	3	13	15
95-225£	0	6	0	14	27	23
226-490£	0	21	0	14	40	52
Fine Earthenware						
50-94£	0	0	0	3	13	15
95-225£	8	13	13	5	27	23
226-490£	0	20	20	0	40	52
Spices						
50-94£	11	14	3	3	16	26
95-225£	23	25	22	18	25	23
226-490£	27	36	20	29	33	38
Religious Books						
50-94£	25	5	28	59	52	53
95-225£	54	16	70	50	55	57
226-490£	36	21	50	79	87	76
Secular Books						
50-94£	0	24	0	3	2	0
95-225£	8	37	4	0	2	5
226-490£	18	50	0	14	0	1
Wigs						
50-94£	7	10	6	10	7	0
95-225£	8	9	4	14	12	5
226-490£	0	14	30	0	17	7
Time Pieces						
50-94£	4	14	0	0	2	2
95-225£	8	22	4	0	13	5
226-490£	9	7	20	0	13	17
Pictures						
50-94£	0	0	3	7	3	4
95-225£	8	13	9	18	12	5
226-490£	9	21	30	14	132	10
Silver Plate						
50-94£	11	0	11	7	10	6
95-225£	15	25	50	23	27	6
226-490£	36			71	50	18

226-490£		28				38
Tea or Teaware						
50-94£	0	0	0	0	0	5
95-225£	0	6	0	0	3	4
226-490£	0	14	0	0	5	0
* This is statistically implausible, and may represent a typo in Trussell's work. The figure should probably be either 12 or 13.						

Source: Trussell, "Artifacts of Ambition," Table 7.1, 123.52

this consumer revolution occurred earlier in Port Royal than elsewhere in the English world, Trussell relied in part on the city's pirate heritage, and the work of historian Nuala Zahedieh. Zahedieh argued that the initial prosperity of Port Royal, and of the colony of Jamaica, stemmed from plunder, privateering, and illegal trade.²⁷

Towards the end of the seventeenth century, Jamaica was a prosperous colony, even though it would not take its place as the leader in sugar production for another fifty years.²⁸ Several factors influenced its development, but the buccaneers' impact was significant. They procured merchandise through their plundering that local merchants could purchase and resell at a hefty profit, and their own money flowed freely through their fingers and into the pockets of those same merchants. Buccaneers also carried out forced trade with Spanish colonies, and other merchants induced the Spaniards to trade covertly through other means. The prosperity of Port Royal stemmed from these illegal dealings and not from plantation agriculture that flourished later.²⁹

Zahedieh sees piracy as being ultimately detrimental to good trade relations with the Spanish colonies. The merchants who profited from plunder and illegal trade were able to reinvest their capital into acquiring land and labor for large plantations. When Sir

²⁷ Nuala Zahedieh, "Trade, Plunder, and Economic Development in Early English Jamaica, 1655-89," *Economic History Review* 39(2) (1986): 222.

²⁸ Richard Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1711* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972), 177.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 218-219, Nuala Zahedieh, "The Merchants of Port Royal, Jamaica, and the Spanish Contraband Trade, 1655-1692," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 43 (1986), 570.

Thomas Lynch took over control of the colony from Thomas Modyford in 1670, he promoted peaceful (illegal) trade instead of plunder, and favored the more prosperous planters by granting them large land patents.³⁰ Nevertheless, the colony continued to act as a market for piratically seized goods up until at least the 1680's.³¹ Once the planters became the politically dominant group, the colonial government viewed piracy with increasing disfavor. This is evident in their passing of the 1681 *Act for Restraining and Punishing Privateers and Pirates*, as discussed in Chapter 2. By the time the earthquake destroyed the city, few buccaneers and privateers operated out of Port Royal.

Trussell contended that the availability of goods (from trade and plunder) was only part of the reason for the consumer revolution. The prices at Port Royal were higher than in other markets, yet there was still great opportunity for middle class merchants who showed boldness and initiative to turn large profits. Trussell believed that these successful merchants wished to signal their success by following the latest trends of London society as an attempt to climb to higher social echelons.³² The merchants initiated the consumer revolution because they felt the financial success they achieved by trading illegally with the Spanish and catering to the buccaneers entitled them to highersocial standing. Thus, the archaeological evidence of the consumer revolution is also indirect evidence of buccaneer influence at Port Royal.

The work at both Port Royals (on Jamaica and Roatan Island) considered in this chapter demonstrates the difficulty in locating remains of pirate activities

³⁰ Zahedieh, "The Merchants of Port Royal," 573; Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 156.

³¹ Zahedieh, "The Merchants of Port Royal," 575.

³² Trussell, "Artifacts of Ambition," 155, 159, 171-173.

archaeologically, even at sites known from historical sources. Nevertheless, the sites examined demonstrate how piracy can be detected both directly (as at the 43-53 Narrow Street site) and indirectly (as at Port Royal, Jamaica). These sites contribute significantly to the development of methods for examining piracy archaeologically. The availability of historical data associating the sites with pirates (or privateers, at Narrow Street) was essential in both cases, however. The same would be necessary for any attempt to extrapolate from these examples to other sites.

The next chapter presents an investigation of an eighteenth-century Caribbean site on Nevis that has no known association with pirates or piracy. The English first colonized Nevis in 1628, and by the early eighteenth century, the colonists followed suit with the rest of the region by producing sugar and other plantation goods for export. Marco Meniketti of Michigan Technological University has conducted several projects on Nevis that provide comparison data to test the observations made here about patterns in material culture recovered from "Golden Age" pirate sites and about the influence of illegal trade and buccaneering on the development of consumerism.

CHAPTER SIX
TESTING THE PIRATE PATTERN – THE RIDGE COMPLEX AND PORT ST.
GEORGE, NEVIS

Archaeological investigations undertaken on the Caribbean island of Nevis provide an excellent test for the model presented in this thesis. Sites from Nevis contemporaneous with the *Barcadares* site in Belize provide insight to how other English settlers in the Caribbean negotiated their relationships using material culture. This is useful for testing the distinctiveness of the *Barcadares* assemblage and to some extent the development of consumerism at Port Royal, Jamaica. The buccaneers have no known connections with Nevis, and though Nevisians certainly participated in illegal trade, it was never exploited as successfully on that island as on Jamaica. Two eighteenth-century sites from Nevis, the Ridge Complex and Port St. George, provide contemporaneous materials that can be placed into the model suggested here for investigating pirate activities on terrestrial archaeological sites. These sites serve to test the findings from the *Barcadares*, highlight other potential markers of a pirate pattern, and demonstrate the ability of this model to distinguish piracy in the archaeological record.

The Ridge Complex – Site Context

In his 2005 PhD dissertation from Michigan State University, Marco Meniketti investigated the Nevisian landscape for signs of capitalism's rising influence in the Caribbean. He chose Nevis for his study because of its integral role in the emergence of capitalism as a socio-economic system in the region as a microcosm of the broader

European world, and also because of the extensive archaeological resources still extant in the modern Nevisian landscape. For Meniketti, the Caribbean was a capitalist frontier, and Nevis represented a bounded space in which he could observe the internal and external variables of frontier expansion.¹

Meniketti's work focused primarily on a landscape perspective, investigating changing settlement patterns from the initial colonization of Nevis in 1628 through emancipation in 1833. He divided the development of Nevis into three chronological phases. The first, briefest, phase represents initial colonization until the intensification of the slave-based plantation system around 1655. The second phase is the longest, encompassing the period covered by this thesis. Meniketti's Phase II begins in 1655 and lasts through 1785 and French occupation of the British sugar islands in the Caribbean. This is the period of greatest development and expansion, and also the period for which the most archaeological evidence exists. The final phase, Phase III, marks another major shift in development, as production declined and planters introduced new technology. Meniketti's study ended in 1833, but he acknowledged that this phase of development continued after the end of the slave trade.²

Although landscape was the main focus of the study, Meniketti also examined material culture as an indicator of cognitive change. His third research question addressed this issue by attempting to assess the development of a capitalist mentality on

¹ Marco Meniketti, "The Historical Archaeology of Nevis, West Indies: Capitalism, Environment, and the Evolution of the Caribbean Colonial Landscape, 1625-1833", (Ph.D. diss., Michigan State University, 2004), x-ix, 1-3, 8.

² *Ibid.*, 42-43.

Nevis.³ He also acknowledged the usefulness of spatial analysis of artifacts to examine changing behaviors over time that are not evident in the artifacts themselves. Although he did not mention South, he discussed using "statistical evaluation of the material in meaningful categories" as a method of isolating patterns and assessing hypotheses about behavior.⁴

Recovery of artifacts took place during the third phase of the work, in the 2002 and 2003 fieldwork seasons. The team of archaeologists established several transects covering the island's multiple environmental zones and recovered surface artifacts. In 2003, the team tested two industrial sites, the Long Point Road Site and the Ridge Site. Both sites produced domestic as well as industrial artifacts. Artifacts recovered from the Long Point Road Site provided an assemblage dating primarily to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The Ridge Site dates to between 1675 and 1875, and the associated house produced material dating from the late seventeenth or early eighteenth into the nineteenth century.⁵ This second site is best suited to a comparison with the *Barcadares*.

The Ridge Complex Site

The Ridge Complex (SJ12MM5/16-1) and the associated house (SJ12KD5/16-2) and kitchen (SJ12SS6/6-1) are located in Saint John Parish in the island's south-west quarter. This group of sites is similar to the *Barcadares* as it represents associated spaces

³ Ibid., 10.

⁴ Ibid., 70-71.

⁵ Ibid., 75, 96-97, 171-172, 175, 271, 301.

of residence, labor, and socialization. Meniketti viewed the sugar mill complex as representing an early small scale planter. Like the *Barcadares*, this is not a site expected to produce many high status goods.⁶

Meniketti's team first encountered the house in 2002, and relocated it as part of their transect survey during the 2003 field season. A drought which reduced the overgrowth allowed them to firmly associate the house and mill complex, and also facilitated locating the detached kitchen. The team mapped and surveyed the sites in order to determine their relationships and boundaries. An enclosure 200 m long encompassed the house and parts of the complex, and the archaeologists systematically collected surface artifacts within its boundaries. They also shovel tested the foundations of the kitchen to confirm the identity of the structure.

Excavators recovered a varied assemblage of domestic artifacts including elaborated ceramic types such as porcelain, lower status wares such as redware and colonoware, fragments of glass liquor bottles dating from the mid-eighteenth century to the modern era, pipe fragments, iron nails, brick, roof tiles, and gunflints or flints for use with strike-a-lights. Meniketti found the range of ceramics notable, and argued that the porcelain represented a desire to display status through material culture. In contrast to earlier sites on Nevis, such as at the late seventeenth-century town of Jamestown, few storage containers were present among forms recovered from the Ridge House.⁷

⁶Ibid., 171-172, 281.

⁷ Ibid., 175, 308-309.

The Ridge Complex – Meniketti's Interpretation

Meniketti did not analyze the Ridge Complex sites in detail, but combined these assemblages with those of other domestic and industrial sites from Nevis to draw conclusions about broad patterns of consumption and change over time. Because of the nature of the sites investigated, he confined his interpretations to primarily European behaviors. Nevisian slave populations have not been investigated in any detail. He claimed that the assemblage recovered reflects "the desire among colonists to have what those in the core had, and from the steady stream of consumer goods arriving in Nevis... we can infer there was a ready market among Nevisian colonists." Nevis was on the periphery of English settlements, but in the early eighteenth century its middle-class residents still attempted to follow the trends of the elite.⁸

Meniketti believed Nevisians participated in consumerist trends, but he did not give a time frame for the beginning of the consumerist revolution on Nevis. He asserted that the shipping and trade surrounding the Caribbean islands translated into less social isolation, and that "[m]aterial culture expressions at the core found their way into Nevisian communities with minimal lag time." He linked this to capitalism by explaining that planters who were already gaining in social status turned to capitalism and the associated emerging social system to ensure continuation of this newly acquired status. He acknowledged that more study is necessary to better understand the influence of

⁸ Ibid, 176, 99-100.

capitalism on the individual level of artifacts, and that it is not currently possible to assess the full impact of consumerist trends and social display on the lower classes.⁹

Meniketti's thesis described materials recovered from this site including a table of ceramics recovered from the Ridge House by form and ware type reproduced here in Tables 6.1 and 6.2. Most identifiable glass from the site dated from the mid-eighteenth through the mid-twentieth centuries and consisted primarily of alcohol bottles with some cut glass and kitchen glass fragments from the mid-eighteenth century or later. Metal recovered consisted of nails and iron fragments associated with the sugar mill.¹⁰

Ware	Quantity	% of assemblage
Shell edged	16	1.35
cream ware	126	10.62
pearlware	81	6.82
porcelain	164	13.82
transferprinted ware		
blue	24	2.02
green	3	0.25
brown	2	0.17
red	2	0.17
printed/stamped	28	2.36
Rheinish stoneware	19	1.6
yellow slip decorated slipware	65	5.48
slip decorated earthenware	12	1.01
tin oxide ware(delft)	232	19.55
stoneware	2	0.17
brown mottled stoneware	29	2.44
bellamerine stoneware	23	1.94
white salt-glazed stoneware	250	21.06
redware	68	5.73
colonware	38	3.2
prehistoric	3	0.25
Total	1187	100.01

Source: Meneketti, "Historical Archaeology of Nevis," 311.

⁹ Ibid., 258-9.

¹⁰ Ibid., 309-311.

Form	Quantity	% of assemblage
bowl	41	3.45
cup	56	4.72
jar	26	2.19
lid	1	0.08
plate	167	14.07
platter	2	0.17
puncheon	2	0.17
salvor	1	0.08
saucer	7	0.59
serving dish	2	0.17
small vessel	11	0.93
storage jar	27	2.27
tankard/mug	42	3.54
teapot	1	0.08
unidentified	801	67.48
Total	1187	99.99

Source: Meneketti, "Historical Archaeology of Nevis," 311.

The Port St. George Site

Port St. George is located on the windward side of the island on Indian Castle Bay. The bay is shallow and not accessible to vessels with a deep draft, and the site itself is on a cliff. Nevertheless, in 1704 the Nevis Council declared it a shipping place for transshipping goods to Charles Town, the island's main port. They hoped this would encourage industrial growth and settlement, and facilitate transportation of saleable sugar for planters in the south-east.¹¹

Leading a team from Michigan Technological University, Marco Meniketti investigated this site for his MA in industrial archaeology in 1996-1997. Meniketti's

¹¹ Marco Meniketti, "The Port St. George Project: An Archaeological Assessment of a Sugar Plantation and Harbor Complex in Nevis, West Indies" (MA thesis, Michigan Technological University, 1998), 32, 101.

research project focused on investigating links between sugar production and the shipping industry. His primary research goals were to define the physical and temporal boundaries of the site, examine the relationship between port facilities and sugar production both in terms of local geography and general trends of industrial development on Nevis, and determine the site's potential for contributing to an understanding of the history of technology. Investigation of the site included archival research, walking surveys, mapping, sampling of surface deposits, testing of subsurface deposits in and around important structures, the documentation of these structures, and underwater investigation to discern areas of maritime activity.¹²

Port St. George was an ideal location for this research as its ruins had not been subject to development since their abandonment, and intrusions on the site were generally limited to tropical plants, goats, and donkeys. Although few humans had interfered with the site, natural forces of erosion and seaside subsidence had severely undercut the cliff face, and large parts of some structures had collapsed into the bay. Structures on the site were completely overgrown with vegetation and difficult to identify. The primary grouping of structures, designated the "main complex," is of undetermined function. Meniketti initially believed it to be part of the port's customs facility but revised his assessment after finding several large iron cauldrons *in situ* and proposed that it may be a sugar curing facility associated with the nearby Indian Castle Estate.¹³

¹² Ibid., 22-25, 106.

¹³ Ibid., 4-5, 32-33, 106, 120, 126, 177-178.

In addition to thirteen shovel tests and twenty-eight "trowel tests," excavators opened seven test units inside the complex. They also opened one additional unit near a cistern still standing on the site. At a depth of 10-15 centimeters inside the complex they found a mortar floor overlying a layer of artifacts including ceramics and bottles dating primarily to the mid-eighteenth century. Other artifacts associated with the complex also suggest a mid to late eighteenth-century date. The mean ceramic date for all ceramics recovered from the site gives a mean date of occupation of 1784, but some issues with this date are discussed below.¹⁴

On more barren areas of the site, scatters of eighteenth-century artifacts littered the ground and were clearly visible to the naked eye. Artifact density in these areas was so high that Meniketti only collected samples in designated survey areas. Transects established along a north-south line allowed designation of nine 10 m² units for recovery of surface artifacts. The nineteen shovel tests completed outside the complex revealed very little soil above the sterile subsoil, and few buried artifacts. He described the site as a deflated site, meaning that the topsoil has eroded leaving mixed artifacts from different occupational periods on or close to the ground surface.¹⁵

Though there was little remaining vertical stratigraphy because of erosion, Meniketti observed two distinct zones of temporal association on the site. These were best seen in the ceramics, bottles, and pipe stems recovered. The oldest zone, Zone 3, is located to the east of the complex, with the later zones, Zone 1 and Zone 2, located

¹⁴ Ibid., 122, 129, 160, 182, 184.

¹⁵ Ibid., 113-114, 160-161.

between the main complex and the sugar works to the north at Indian Castle Estate. The mean ceramic date for materials recovered from Zone 3 is 1716. Meniketti believes these materials represent a distinct occupational period, and that inclusion of these ceramics in the mean ceramic date calculation for the site lowers the mean date of occupation. The date given for ceramics from Zones 1 and 2 is 1787.¹⁶

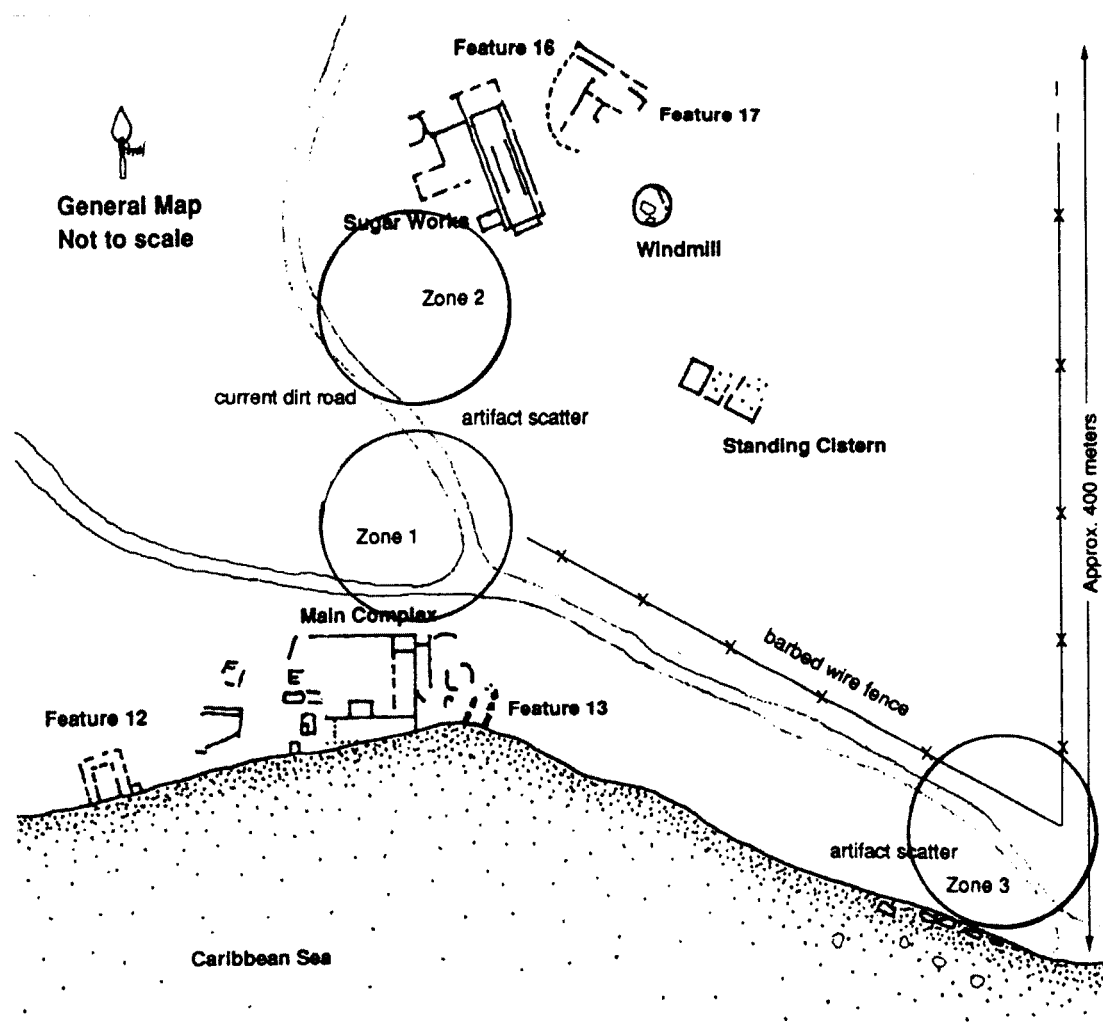


Figure 6.1 – Map of Port St. George site showing relationship of complex, sugar works, and temporal zones (from Meniketti, “The Port St. George Project,” 184).

¹⁶ Ibid., 161.

In addition to the small finds they collected, the team also recorded several large industrial artifacts. These included two large cauldrons for collecting processed molasses found *in situ* at the main complex. Other pieces of iron machinery recorded include a gear sprocket, possibly from a vertical three cane roller press, an iron spindle shaft, an iron framework for some more complex piece of machinery, a large iron "wheel" of unknown function, and another large iron cauldron eroded out of the complex and found on the beach below.¹⁷

Divers operating from the shore line investigated the bay by swimming in pairs spaced 10 m apart along 300 m long north-south transects. They recorded all cultural materials in an attempt to locate areas of maritime activity. Recording and identification of artifacts was difficult because of currents and low visibility, and divers were unable to determine if the cultural remains encountered were products of maritime activity or erosion of materials from the cliff-side structures.¹⁸

Port St. George – Meniketti's Interpretation

Meniketti dated the period of intensification of sugar production at this site to 1750, although he believed that the material from Zone 3 indicated that the area could have been in use as a port even earlier than the 1704 proclamation. The site likely only operated intermittently as a port during the years of occupation. Although there was no direct evidence for the transshipment of goods from the site, the location of the main

¹⁷ Ibid, 150-160.

¹⁸ Ibid, 117.

complex and other industrial artifacts close to the shore and at a significant distance from the sugar works suggest a maritime association and function.¹⁹

The team recovered no evidence of mariners, nor any distinct maritime artifacts. Meneketti's archival research indicated that local shipping may have been carried out by slaves. Four types of colonoware from the site indicate a large slave population that could have provided the necessary workers. Although he was unable to answer questions about the influence of the sugar industry on the development of the shipping industry, Meneketti believed that the site indicates the reliance of sugar producers on local shipping.²⁰

Testing the Pirate Model

Material generously provided by Dr. Meneketti allows analysis of these sites according to the same criteria as at the *Barcadares*. He provided catalogue data from the Ridge Complex that, combined with the information from his Ph.D. dissertation, allows the artifacts to be categorized in a system similar to that suggested previously in this thesis.²¹ Storage vessels, not present at the *Barcadares*, are included in the Utilitarian Wares subgroup in Food Consumption. In order to make a better comparison with the *Barcadares*, materials known to have been produced after the first half of the eighteenth century were discounted from categorization at both Nevisian sites. These include most of the glass assemblages and some ceramic types including creamware, pearlware, all

¹⁹ Ibid., 200-201, 206.

²⁰ Ibid., 193.

²¹ Marco Meneketti, Ridge Complex Catalogue, personal communication.

whiteware, and some earthenware. In cases where this decision may impact the results of the study, notes are included in the appropriate categories.

Comparison material from Port St. George comes from Meniketti's MA thesis. As part of his analysis, he assigned the artifacts recovered from the units and each individual zone into groups based on South's work. Generally, this simplified the conversion of data into the groups of the analytical pirate model, but the lack of catalogue data from this site also caused some difficulty. His Kitchen Group, roughly equivalent to the Food Consumption Group, presents the ceramics categorized by ware type and vessel form, but it is not possible to correlate the two. The numbers for Food Consumption in Table 6.3 come from his Table 10, "Kitchen Group: Ceramics; minimum vessel counts," and as such they are not representative only of eighteenth-century wares. Table 6.4 presents general information about the early eighteenth-century European ceramics assemblage from this site and the total quantity indicates that the Food Consumption Group data from Port St. George are over represented in this study. Additionally, South's original categories do not include faunal remains, which caused some problems for comparison of materials in the Food Production category.²²

One last factor influencing the data presented in Table 6.3 is the recovery methods used at the sites. At both the *Barcadares* and Port St. George excavators used sampling methods that included shovel testing and unit excavation. At the Ridge Complex, Meniketti's team primarily employed surface collection. Ceramics and pipe

²² Meniketti, "The Port St. George Project," 232-233.

stems are easily recovered through surface collection because of their visibility, and consequently these artifacts may be over represented in the Ridge Complex assemblage.

This analysis is not intended to provide figures for direct comparison, but rather to give a more general impression of the differences visible in the site assemblages. While it is important to be aware of the above noted factors, they do not prevent meaningful interpretation. Where their influence is significant, it is noted in the discussion of the appropriate group.

Artifact Groups	Barcadares		Ridge Complex		Port St. George	
	Quantity	%	Quantity	%	Quantity	%
Food Consumption	338	35.28	894	59.28	203	25.89
Drinking	95	9.90	87	5.77	38	4.85
Tableware	243	25.31	743	49.27	138	17.60
Utilitarian Wares	0	0.00	64	4.24	27	3.44
Architecture	96	10.00	210	13.92	441	56.25
Weaponry	27	2.81	12	0.80	9	1.15
Tobacco Pipes	339	35.32	337	22.35	123	15.69
Clothing	1	0.10	0	0.00	0	0.00
Food Preparation	156	16.25	0	0.00	0	0.00
Industrial Activities	3	0.31	55	3.65	8	1.02
Total	960	100.00	1508	100.00	784	100.00

Source: Daniel Finamore, "Sailors and Slaves on the Wood-Cutting Frontier: Archaeology of the British Bay Settlement, Belize" (Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1994) 269-278, Meneketti, Ridge Complex Catalogue, Personal Communication, Meneketti, "Port St. George Project," 231-235.

Of 4225 artifacts from the Ridge Complex, 1508 are considered here. Artifacts discounted include 1717 glass sherds from a single deposit collected from a stone pile, dating from the mid-eighteenth century through to the modern period. This may have served as a favored discard site. The accumulated glass was not subjected to the same site formation process as the rest of the complex artifacts because of the rock pile's

location.²³ No information about the total number of artifacts recovered or recorded from Port St. George was available.

Ware	Quantity	% of assemblage
porcelain	10	7.41
yellow slipware	17	12.59
tin oxide ware (delft)	34	25.19
saltglazed stoneware	29	21.48
Rhenish stoneware	10	7.41
bellarmino stoneware	3	2.22
brown stoneware	30	22.22
white stoneware	2	1.48
Total	135	100.00

Source: Meniketti, "Port St. George Project," 231-235.

Food Consumption.

Artifacts Recovered:

Barcadares: drinking: bottles, jugs, teapot; tablewares: bowls, plates, porringer, saucers.

Ridge Complex: drinking: bottles, cups, tankards/mugs, teapot, puncheon; tablewares:

bowls, plates, platters, salvor, unidentified ceramic fragments; utilitarian wares: jars.

Port St. George: drinking: bottles, cups, mugs; tablewares: bowls, plates, saucers, platters,

basins/tureens, unidentified ceramic fragments; utilitarian wares: jars

There are several notable differences between the Food Consumption wares at the *Barcadares* and the two Nevisian sites. The first is the difference in the variety of forms. Chapter 4 noted the absence of drinking forms such as cups and mugs from the *Barcadares*, but the Ridge Complex and Port St. George assemblages both contain a wider spectrum of tableware forms as well, including platters and serving dishes. Table

²³ Meniketti, "Historical Archaeology of Nevis," 310.

6.5 presents the identified vessel forms from the three sites. Once again, the forms represented at Port St. George may not all be dated to the eighteenth century.

In the Drinking subgroup, glass bottles dominate the *Barcadares* assemblage but are much less significant at the two Nevisian sites. While bottles still comprise the majority of the drinking assemblage from Port St. George, this figure may be overly weighted with later period bottles. Nevertheless, the site does not exhibit the same disproportionate representation as the logwood pirate camp. Cups and mugs dominate the Ridge Complex drinking forms. The Drinking subgroup at the *Barcadares* comprises nearly double the percentage of the total assemblage in comparison to the two Nevisian sites, and comprises a much larger percentage of the Food Consumption group.

The Tablewares subcategory at the Ridge Complex dominates the assemblage but, as noted above, this is likely the result of the excavators' reliance on surface collection. The inclusion of a large number of unidentifiable sherds in this subgroup in Table 6.3 also contributes to its dominance. In Table 6.5 it is clearer that the percentages of subgroups at the Ridge Complex are much more evenly distributed than at either of the other sites. At Port St. George, Tablewares dominate.

Both Nevisian sites have notably more plates in their assemblages, both in quantity and percentage of identifiable forms. A single sherd represents this form in the *Barcadares* assemblage. The same is true of saucers, though these are only represented elsewhere at Port St. George. With the exception of this and the single plate sherd, all the *Barcadares* forms are rounded forms capable of holding liquid, while the forms from the other two sites serve much more diversified functions.

Table 6.5 – Identifiable Food Consumption Forms						
Form	Barcadares		Ridge Complex		Port St. George	
	Quantity	%	Quantity	%	Quantity	%
Drinking						
ceramic bottles	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	1.08
glass bottles	89	69.53	4	1.83	21	11.35
cup	0	0.00	41	18.81	12	6.49
jug	5	0.04	0	0.00	0	0.00
tankard/mug	0	0.00	39	17.89	3	1.62
teapot	1	0.78	1	0.46	0	0.00
puncheon	0	0.00	2	0.92	0	0.00
total	95	74.22	87	39.91	38	20.54
Tablewares						
bowl	19	14.84	23	10.55	34	18.38
plate	1	0.78	41	18.81	53	28.66
platter	0	0.00	2	0.92	0	0.00
porringer	12	9.38	0	0.00	0	0.00
salvor	0	0.00	1	0.46	0	0.00
saucer	1	0.78	0	0.00	24	12.97
tureens	0	0.00	0	0.00	9	4.86
total	33	25.78	67	30.73	120	64.87
Utilitarian Wares						
jar	0	0.00	26	11.93	27	14.59
small vessel	0	0.00	11	5.046	0	0.00
storage jar	0	0.00	27	12.39	0	0.00
total	0	0.00	64	29.36	27	14.59
Total	128	100.00	218	100.00	185	100.00

Source: Finamore, "Sailors and Slaves," 269-278, Meneketti, *Ridge Complex Catalogue*, Personal Communication, Meneketti, "Port St. George Project," 231-235.

The lack of Utilitarian Wares at the *Barcadares* is notable, as they make up a significant percentage of identifiable wares at the Ridge Complex and Port St. George. This comparison of the vessel forms reinforces the conclusions drawn previously about the baymen's focus on communal foodways. If bowls and the porringer sherds were included as a drinking form at the *Barcadares*, there would be almost no Tablewares.

Examining the Food Consumption ware types from these three sites is also illuminating. Table 6.6 compares ware types recovered from the *Barcadares* and the

Ridge Complex. Ware type information from Port St. George is summarized above in Table 6.4, but it is difficult to make comparisons with the other two sites. The Port St. George data only include European ceramic wares, although excavators recovered several colonoware bowls.²⁴ The presence of slave-made colonowares on Nevis is not surprising, and their absence on the *Barcadares* is evidence of different attitude towards production and social division. Uring does not mention slaves in his narrative, but credits the baymen with doing their own work when they were sober enough.²⁵

It is still clear that both Nevisian sites have a much greater diversity of wares than the *Barcadares*, where delftware dominates. Delft is common at both other sites, but other wares, including white stoneware and porcelain at the Ridge Complex and various stoneware types at Port St. George, make significant contributions to the assemblage. The amount of porcelain at the Ridge Complex is impressive considering Meniketti's assertion that this was a modest home belonging to a small planter.²⁶ Porcelain has a long production range, beginning in the seventeenth century. Though there are no dates for the porcelain sherds, Meniketti notes at both sites that much of it comes from later contexts.²⁷ Because it was not possible to differentiate between early and late eighteenth-century porcelains, the figures here may be over represented at both sites. In the Port Royal, Jamaica, assemblage from Building 4/5 analyzed by Madeleine Donachie porcelain comprised only 1.3 percent of the sherd count. This site is identified as a

²⁴ Meniketti, "The Port St. George Project," 185-186.

²⁵ Nathaniel Uring, *The Voyages and Travels of Captain Nathaniel Uring*, 1726, Alfred Dewar, ed., Seafarer's Library Reprint (London: Cassell and Company Ltd, 1928), 241-243.

²⁶ Meniketti, "Historical Archaeology of Nevis," 177.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 309; Meniketti, "The Port St. George Project," 182.

combined residential and commercial complex, and dates to the late seventeenth century.²⁸

Table 6.6 – Food Consumption Ceramic Ware Types						
Ware	Barcadares			Ridge Complex		
	Quantity	% of FC Group	% of Total	Quantity	% of FC Group	% of Total
dark green glass	89	26.33	9.27	4	0.45	0.27
tin-oxide ware (delft)	221	65.38	23.00	232	25.95	15.38
porcelain	5	1.48	0.52	164	18.34	10.88
redware	3	0.89	0.31	68	7.61	4.51
slip decorated yellow ware	0	0.00	0.00	65	7.27	4.31
White stoneware	2	0.59	0.21	250	27.97	16.58
Bellarmino stoneware	0	0.00	0.00	23	2.57	1.53
brown mottled stoneware	0	0.00	0.00	29	3.24	1.92
grey (Rhenish) salt-glazed stoneware	6	1.78	0.63	19	2.13	1.26
other salt-glazed stoneware	12	3.55	1.25	2	0.22	0.13
colonoware	0	0.00	0.00	38	4.25	2.52
Total	338	100.00	35.19	894	100.00	59.29

Source: Finamore, "Sailors and Slaves," 269-278, Meneketti, Ridge Complex Catalogue, Personal Communication.

Architecture.

Artifacts Recovered:

Barcadares: nails.

Ridge Complex: brick, nails, mortar, roofing tile.

Port St. George: iron and copper nails, iron spikes, iron and copper straps, bar, handle, hinges, iron fragments.

²⁸ Madeleine Donachie, "Household Ceramics at Port Royal Jamaica, 1655-1692: The Building 4/5 Assemblage" (Ph.D. diss., Texas A&M University, 2001), 25, 93.

Architecture differed considerably between the *Barcadares* and sites on Nevis. At the latter, there were actual brick structures present, and the finds reflect this. The different recovery methods employed at the sites had a fairly significant impact on this group. At the Ridge Complex, it is unlikely that excavators collected all visible brick fragments. Where the catalogue noted that more pieces were counted than recovered, Table 6.3 calculations use the total recorded, but architectural finds may still be under represented.

Recovery methods may also explain the large proportion of architectural remains at Port St. George. This group comprises the majority of the assemblage, and represents a significantly higher percentage of the total assemblage than is visible at either of the other sites. Most recovered materials came from the excavation units, with the exception of a large number of unidentified iron fragments recovered from the surface collection zones and especially from Zone 3. These may not even be architectural remains – there are no features or structures associated with Zone 3 – but this analysis is derived from Meniketti's categories. The contrast with the *Barcadares* reflects the different approaches to the construction of living and working spaces at the sites.

Weaponry.

Artifacts Recovered:

Barcadares: gunflints, balls, shot, polishing tool.

Ridge Complex: flint, gunflint, balls.

Port St. George: flint, gunflint, balls.

This is not a strongly represented group at any of the three sites. It is unsurprising that it is largest at the *Barcadares*, considering the documentary evidence for the popularity of hunting and recreational shooting among the baymen.²⁹

Tobacco Pipes.

Artifacts Recovered:

Barcadares: pipe bowls, pipe stems.

Ridge Complex: pipe bowls, pipe stems.

Port St. George: pipe bowls, pipe stems.

Neither bore diameters nor bowl descriptions for Ridge Complex pipe fragments were available. It was not possible, therefore, to attribute a mean date from the pipe remains to this site or assess to what period of occupation the bulk of these remains belong. Also, like ceramics, pipe stems are easy to spot and may be over represented in an assemblage based on surface collection, and this category may be similarly over-represented in the assemblage considered.

At Port St. George, information about specific bore diameters is available, and the pipe stems provide a median date of occupation of 1685. This is significantly earlier than the mean ceramic date from the site of 1784. Most of the pipe remains collected are from Zone 3 (65 percent), however, which explains the discrepancy between this date and the mean ceramic date of occupation given earlier.³⁰ This date is also at the edge of the restricted period of reliability for pipe stem dating of 1680-1760, and the sample size is

²⁹ Uring, *Voyages and Travels*, 242.

³⁰ Meniketti, "The Port St. George Project," 235.

small for this kind of analysis.³¹ It is still difficult to explain the difference between this early date and the mean ceramic date for Zone 3 of 1716, and Meniketti does not include a calculation or discussion of pipe stem dating in his analysis.

Despite these issues, there is a notable difference between the percentages of pipes at the sites on Nevis and at the *Barcadares*. The fragments from Nevis differ from each other fairly significantly, but are at least close to the range for South's Carolina Artifact Pattern of 0 to 20.8. The Ridge Complex assemblage is just outside this range at 22.35 percent, but Port St. George falls well inside with 15.69 percent. South asserted that the pattern should hold for most British colonial sites.³² The percentage at these sites is high compared to the mean, even considering the possible overrepresentation, and may represent the accessibility of tobacco in the Caribbean during the eighteenth century. Further comparison with other British Caribbean sites is necessary to test this hypothesis, but it is clear that the percentage of the Tobacco Pipe group from the *Barcadares* is high.

Clothing.

Artifacts Recovered:

Barcadares: buckle.

Ridge Complex: none.

Port St. George: none.

The sites on Nevis did not produce any artifacts from this group, but the presence of one artifact at the *Barcadares* is not notable either.

³¹ Ivor Noel Hume, *A Guide to Colonial Artifacts of North America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1969), 300.

³² Stanley South, *Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology* (New York: Academic Press, 1977), 119.

Food Preparation.

Artifacts Recovered:

Barcadares: botanical and faunal remains, hearth fragments.

Ridge Complex: unknown.

Port St. George: unknown.

This is a fairly significant category at the *Barcadares*, partly because of the decision to include the fragments of clay hearths in the analysis. The lack of representation of artifact in this group on Nevis is notable but misleading. At the Ridge Complex, Meniketti's landscape focus meant that sampling methods were not designed to detect areas with Food Production remains such as trash pits. In the case of the Port St. George materials, none of South's original categories included faunal remains, and this comparison relies on Meniketti's use of South's analytical model. Meniketti referred to faunal remains in the text of his report, and noted that there were not many – some egg shells from unit 3 inside the main complex, one sheep, one bird, fish, one large mammal (probably a cow), and some goat remains that are probably intrusive. Many untended goats roam the site and the complex, which Meniketti described as being "where goats come to die."³³ The fact that the *Barcadares* Food Preparation group is so conspicuous in comparison is an important marker of the different lifestyles of the baymen and the Nevisian colonists and planters.

Industrial Activity.

Artifacts Recovered or Recorded:

³³ Meniketti, "The Port St. George Project," 32, 193.

Barcadares: spike, rod, bridle part.

Ridge Complex: wrought iron fragments.

Port St. George: large industrial artifacts.

The *Barcadares*, Ridge Complex, and Port St. George are all associated with some form of industry: logging in Belize, and sugar production at the two sites on Nevis. The Ridge Complex has by far the largest industrial assemblage, which is logical as it represents a connected industrial and domestic complex. Port St. George is also an industrial site, and it is surprising that more small industrial remains are not represented. Some of the unidentified iron fragments categorized by Meniketti as architectural remains may represent industrial materials.

Interpretation

There are clear differences in the assemblages of these three sites. The Nevisian sites have a greater diversity of both forms and wares in the Food Consumption category. Although Nevis was a peripheral outpost of English culture, middle class planters still had access to a wide variety of ceramic goods in the early eighteenth century. As well as having access to a broader range of forms and ware types, they also acquired large amounts of expensive wares such as porcelain. The other end of the social spectrum is evident at these sites in the form of slave-made colonoware. There is no record of slavery in either the documentary or archaeological record from the *Barcadares* – another major difference between these two sites, and between the groups that created them. The presence of utilitarian wares at both Port St. George and the Ridge Complex suggest that their absence at the *Barcadares* may also be part of the pirate model.

It is possible that the logwood cutters and pirates had a more limited selection of wares from which to choose their ceramics, but the presence of porcelain at the *Barcadares* suggests that they had some access to higher status items. It is less likely that they only had access to bowls. Rather, they selected only those vessel forms best suited to their lifestyle and community.

The other notable difference between the sites is in the Tobacco Pipes Group. Smoking was clearly an important activity at all sites, but most prevalent at the *Barcadares*. This supports the interpretation that smoking was an important social activity for the baymen.

The Ridge Complex has slightly higher percentages in both the Architecture and Industrial Activities Groups, but these are only significant because they seem low for what might be expected from an industrial site. This is probably a result of the sampling methods used. Construction methods used at the sites varied widely, from elevated canvas huts to multi-storied brick structures, and the types of remains recovered reflect this variation. The absence of material in the Food Production category may in part be the result of the sampling strategies employed, but also indicates differences in related behaviors between baymen and planters.

Conclusion

Comparison of the *Barcadares* with the Ridge Complex and Port St.. George sites from Nevis reinforces the distinctiveness of several characteristics of the pirate encampment. These include the high percentage of tobacco pipes, the dominance of bowls, the lack of drinking forms and utilitarian wares, and the generally limited diversity

of ceramic wares and forms. These differences represent different choices made by the baymen and the Nevisians in the selection of their material culture. While additional work is still required to determine a true pirate pattern, the model suggested here is clearly capable of highlighting features of pirate activity in the archaeological record.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

This thesis presents a model for examining piracy in the terrestrial archaeological record. It examines the context of piracy during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries – the period known as the "Golden Age" of piracy – and examines the range of pirate activities on shore known from the historical record. These activities determine the types of sites archaeologists could encounter. The historical record also provides material for constructing an understanding of pirate subculture as distinct from both the broader European culture and maritime subculture of the period.

Part of this model includes an analytical framework designed to help create a pattern of pirate activity. This is based on the division of artifacts into seven functional groups with three sub-groups: Food Consumption (subdivided into Drinking, Tablewares and Utilitarian Wares), Architecture, Weaponry, Tobacco Pipes, Clothing, Food Preparation, and Industrial Activity. Material from the only known terrestrial site with piratical associations, the *Barcadares* logwood cutting camp in Belize, is analyzed in this fashion. After considering other approaches to investigating piracy directly and indirectly through the archaeological record, this thesis compares material from the *Barcadares* to material recovered from two contemporaneous sites on Nevis: The Ridge Complex and Port St. George.

The social and political environment in which pirates operated during the "Golden Age" of piracy was in the process of changing and becoming more hostile. Governments

and then local populations came to view pirates as a hindrance to trade and long term development in the colonies. These changes affected how pirates interacted with broader European society and how they organized themselves. Terrestrial pirate activities included plundering forts, trading their stolen goods (sometimes at remote outposts such as at St Mary's Island, Madagascar), and socializing with local populations. Pirates sometimes formed small communities or settled with existing local groups. They repaired their ships, setting up temporary camps occasionally defended with earthen defensive works mounted with ship's cannons. Many "Golden Age" pirates also met their ends on land as authorities began to enforce anti-piracy laws more strictly.

Material culture analysis reveals that pirates were heavy smokers when compared to other European groups. They had at least limited access to high status goods including porcelain, but they either did not have access to or did not choose to use the same range of ceramic wares as other Caribbean settlers. This is also true of their selection of ceramic forms – they relied primarily on concave forms, and especially bowls. They used no utilitarian wares such as jars or other storage containers. They did not have a wide selection of drinking forms, and may have used bowls as their primary multipurpose vessel. Despite the lack of drinking forms, the *Barcadaes* had a much higher percentage of artifacts functionally related to drinking (mostly glass alcohol bottles) than either the Ridge Complex or Port St. George sites on Nevis. The pirate site also had a much higher percentage of the total assemblage dedicated to food production, including the remains of a number of outdoor hearths.

Work at the 43-53 Narrow Street site in Limehouse, London indicates that plunder from piratical activities can leave recognizable traces in the archaeological record, and constitutes direct evidence of piracy. While the absence of remains at Port Royal, Roatan Island, Honduras, indicates the difficulty in locating terrestrial pirate remains, Port Royal, Jamaica, finds indicate that when historical material is also available, it is at least possible to see the indirect influence of piracy in the archaeological record.

Further work on this topic is needed to expand the effort begun here. More data from terrestrial pirate sites are needed to expand the analytical model for piracy in the archaeological record. The *Barcadares* represents only some of the activities that pirates engaged in while ashore, and different site types may present new information or even entirely different patterns. The excavation of other terrestrial maritime sites would provide material to further explore the relationships between pirates and other mariners. This thesis demonstrates that archaeology can make valuable contributions to the understanding of pirate life, and should prove useful to other researchers interested in the archaeology of piracy.

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APPENDIX A

CATALOGUE OF *BARCADARES* ARTIFACTS CONSIDERED FOR ANALYSIS,
 ORGANIZED BY GROUP¹

Barcadares (GB) Artifact catalogue codes				
Material	Class	Object	Surface Treatment	Color Codes
bon – bone	bc – ball clay	bot – bottle	hp – hand painted	bl – blue
bot – botanical	dg dark-green ("black") glass	cs – case (square)	gl – glaze	bk – black
cer – ceramic	dw – delftware	cy – cylindrical	lg – lead glaze	cl – colorless
gla – glass	pc – porcelain	frag – fragment	sg – salt glazed	gy – grey
met – metal	ph – prehistoric		tp – transfer printed	or – orange
sto - stone	rw – red ware		undec – undecorated	rd – red
	sw – stoneware			wh – white
	unident – unidentified			

¹ All material from this section from Daniel Finamore, "Sailors and Slaves on the Wood-Cutting Frontier: Archaeology of the British Bay Settlement, Belize", (Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1994), 242, 268-278.

Barcadares Artifacts by Group										
unit	quantity	material	class	object	part	surface treatment	form	comments		
Food Consumption	338									
%of total	35.21									
Drinking										
U7L1	1	cer	gy sw	frag	body	lg		ext gl only, possibly br gl, not sg; Rhenish		
U3L1	1	cer	gy sw	jug	neck	bl hp; sg	engine turned	Rhenish; parallel horizontal bands		
U4L2A	1	cer	gy sw	jug	neck	bl hp; sg		Rhenish; parallel horizontal bands		
U6L1	1	cer	gy sw	jug	neck	sg	engine turned	Rhenish; parallel horizontal bands		
U1L2	1	cer	gy sw	jug	neck	bl hp sg	engine turned	Rhenish; horizontal banded		
U10L2A	1	cer	gy sw	jug?	base	undec		not sg		
U1L1	1	gla	dg	bot						
U1L2	19	gla	dg	bot	body					
U2L1	1	gla	dg	bot	body					
U3L2	3	gla	dg	bot	body					
U4L2	5	gla	dg	bot	body					
U4L2A	1	gla	dg	bot	body					
U5L1	1	gla	dg	bot	body					
U5L2	2	gla	dg	bot	body					
U5L2A	1	gla	dg	bot	body			very divitrified, pitted		
U5L3	1	gla	dg	bot	body					
U6L2	2	gla	dg	bot	body					
U6L2	1	gla	dg	bot	body			like GB3.2Z		
U6L2A	1	gla	dg	bot	body					
U7L2	2	gla	dg	bot	body					
U8L1	1	gla	dg	bot	body					

Barcadares Artifacts by Group									
unit	quantity	material	class	object	part	surface treatment	form	comments	
U8L2	3	gla	dg	bot	body				
U9L2	2	gla	dg	bot	body				
U9L3	1	gla	dg	bot	body				
U10L2	7	gla	dg	bot	body				
U10L2A	3	gla	dg	bot	body				
U3L2Z	4	gla	dg	cs bot	lip, neck			14 mended frags (1 bottle), large, ?	
U3L2A	2	gla	dg	cs bot	body			like U3L2Z	
U4L1	2	gla	dg	cs bot	body				
U7L2	1	gla	dg	cs bot	body			like GB 3.2Z	
U9L2	2	gla	dg	cs bot	body			like GB 3.2z	
U2L2	4	gla	dg	cy bot	body				
U3L1	3	gla	dg	cy bot	body				
U3L2A	5	gla	dg	cy bot	body				
U6L2	1	gla	dg	cy bot	base			parabolic kickup	
U6L2A	1	gla	dg	cy bot	lip & rim			V-tooled string rim; fire polished lip, ?	
U7/8F1	1	gla	dg	cy bot	lip & rim			V-tooled rim; fire polished lip; Jones Gp.1, ?	
U9L1	1	gla	dg	cy bot	lip, rim, ?			down-tooled rim; constricted bore; ?	
U10L1	1	gla	dg	cy bot	body	melted		mold seam	
U10L2	2	gla	dg	cy bot	body				
U9L2A	1	gla	dg	frag	body				
Total	95								
% artifacts considered	9.90								
Tableware									
U1L1	2	cer	dw	bisque				glaze gone	
U1L2	20	cer	dw	bisque	body			glaze gone	
U1L3	4	cer	dw	bisque	body			glaze gone	

Barcadares Artifacts by Group									
unit	quantity	material	class	object	part	surface treatment	form	comments	
U2L2A	1	cer	dw	bisque	body			glaze gone	
U3L1	1	cer	dw	bisque	body			glaze gone	
U3L2Z	4	cer	dw	bisque	body			glaze gone	
U3L2	7	cer	dw	bisque	body			glaze gone	
U3L2A	1	cer	dw	bisque	body			glaze gone	
U4L1	1	cer	dw	bisque	body			glaze gone	
U4L2	9	cer	dw	bisque	body			glaze gone	
U5L2A	1	cer	dw	bisque	body			glaze gone	
U10L2	1	cer	dw	bisque	foot ring			glaze gone	
U10L2A	4	cer	dw	bisque	body			glaze gone	
U1L2	1	cer	dw	bowl	body	bl hp		mostly floral w/ thin annular dec	
U1L2	2	cer	dw	bowl	rim	bl hp		decorated border	
U1L2A	1	cer	dw	bowl	foot ring	bl hp			
U2L2	1	cer	dw	bowl	foot ring	bl hp			
U2L2A	1	cer	dw	bowl	foot ring	bl hp		flora, dot, thin, annular dec	
U3L2A	2	cer	dw	bowl	rim	bl hp		banded floral border	
U4L2	1	cer	dw	bowl	rim	undec		outflaring rim	
U5L2A	1	cer	dw	bowl	body	bl hp		heavily dec w/ parallel lines	
U1L2	4	cer	dw	bowl?	rim	bl hp		plain eggshell-bl-gl	
U1L2A	2	cer	dw	bowl?	rim	bl hp		everted rim	
U2L2	1	cer	dw	bowl?	rim	undec		Int. glaze only	
U4L2A	1	cer	dw	bowl?	body	bl hp		dots & flora dec	
U1L2	11	cer	dw	frag	body	bl hp		mostly floral w/ thin annular dec	
U1L2	8	cer	dw	frag	body	undec		one side of glaze remaining	
U1L2A	1	cer	dw	frag	body	undec		one side glaze gone	
U1L2A	2	cer	dw	frag	body	bl hp			
U1L2A	1	cer	dw	frag	gl only	bl hp			
U1L3	1	cer	dw	frag	rim	undec			
U2L2	3	cer	dw	frag	body	undec			

Barcadares Artifacts by Group									
unit	quantity	material	class	object	part	surface treatment	form	comments	
U2L2	2	cer	dw	frag	body	bl hp			
U2L2A	3	cer	dw	frag	body	bl hp			
U2L2A	1	cer	dw	frag	body	undec			
U3L1	2	cer	dw	frag	body	bl hp			
U3L1	3	cer	dw	frag	body	undec			
U3L2Z	1	cer	dw	frag	body	undec			
U3L2	1	cer	dw	frag	body	bl hp			
U3L2	1	cer	dw	frag	body	undec			
U3L2A	1	cer	dw	frag	body	undec			
U3L2A	2	cer	dw	frag	body	bl hp		2 sided dec; small circles & dots int; ?	
U4L2	1	cer	dw	frag	body	bl hp			
U4L2A	2	cer	dw	frag	body	undec			
U5L2	2	cer	dw	frag	body	bl hp		circe pattern	
U5L2A	1	cer	dw	frag	body	undec			
U6L2	1	cer	dw	frag	body	bl hp			
U6L2A	1	cer	dw	frag	rim	bl hp		small	
U8L1	1	cer	dw	frag	rim	undec		straight, not outrolling rim	
U9L2	1	cer	dw	frag	body	bl hp		small	
U1L2	17	cer	dw	gl only		bl hp			
U1L2	31	cer	dw	gl only		undec			
U1L3	6	cer	dw	gl only		undec			
U1L3	5	cer	dw	gl only		bl, rd hp			
U3L2A	18	cer	dw	gl only		bl hp		mostly above floral border	
U3L2A	4	cer	dw	gl only		undec			
U4L2	1	cer	dw	gl only	body	undec			
U4L2	3	cer	dw	gl only	body	bl hp			
U4L2A	1	cer	dw	gl only	body	bl hp			
U5L2A	3	cer	dw	gl only		undec			
U5L2A	3	cer	dw	gl only		bl hp			

Barcadares Artifacts by Group									
unit	quantity	material	class	object	part	surface treatment	form	comments	
U6L2	1	cer	dw	plate?	brink	bl hp annular			
U1L2	1	cer	gy sw	porringer	base	bl hp sg	incised	rhenish; same dec as other porringer	
U1L2	1	cer	gy sw	porringer	rim	bl hp sg	incised	Rhenish; mends w/handle frag	
U1L2	4	cer	gy sw	porringer	body	bl hp sg		GBI.2A	
U1L2A	1	cer	gy sw	porringer	rim& ?	bl hp; sg	incised	Rhenish	
U3L2Z	1	cer	gy sw	porringer	body	bl hp; sg	incised	twisted handle; mends w/rim from GB1.2;?	
U3L3	1	cer	gy sw	porringer	body	bl hp; sg	incised	Rhenish	
U5L2A	2	cer	gy sw	porringer	body	bl hp; sg	incised	Rhenish	
U1L2A	1	cer	gy sw	porringer?	base	sg	incised	Rhenish; one is 3 frags mended	
U4L2A	1	cer	pc	frag	body	bl hp		very thin; c. 1750 (WRS)	
U8L2	1	cer	pc	frag	body	bl hp		evidence of overgl. Enamel; probably ?	
U8L2	1	cer	pc	frag	body	bl hp			
U9L2A	1	cer	pc	frag	body	bl hp			
U7L2	1	cer	pc	saucer	foot ring	bl hp		evidence of overgl enamel; peopny pattern	
U6L2A	1	cer	rw	bowl	rim	lg		int & ext glaze	
U6L2	1	cer	rw	frag		lg		int & ext glaze	
U10L2	1	cer	rw	frag		ungl		small frag	
U2L2	1	cer	wh sw	frag	body	sg			
U9L2	1	cer	wh sw	frag	body	sg		small	
Total	243								
% artifacts considered	25.31								
Construction									
U1L1	1	met	iron	nail	head	wrought		rose head	

Barcadares Artifacts by Group									
unit	quantity	material	class	object	part	surface treatment	form	comments	
U1L2	4	met	iron	nail	head	wrought		flat head	
U1L2	13	met	iron	nail	shaft	wrought			
U1L2A	10	met	iron	nail	frag	wrought			
U1L3	1	met	iron	nail	head	wrought		flat head	
U2L2	1	met	iron	nail	shaft	wrought			
U3L2Z	1	met	iron	nail	head	wrought		hooked head	
U3L2Z	3	met	iron	nail	shaft	wrought			
U3L2A	3	met	iron	nail	complete	wrought		rose head	
U3&1	1	met	iron	nail	complete	wrought		square head	
U4L2	1	met	iron	nail	complete	wrought		rose head	
U4L2A	5	met	iron	nail	shaft	wrought			
U4L2A	4	met	iron	nail	complete	wrought		rose head	
U4L3	5	met	iron	nail	frag	wrought		corroded	
U5L2	1	met	iron	nail	shaft	wrought			
U5L2A	15	met	iron	nail	shaft	wrought			
U5L2A	8	met	iron	nail	complete	wrought		rose head	
U5L3	1	met	iron	nail	shaft	wrought			
U6L2	2	met	iron	nail	complete	wrought		rose head	
U7L2	1	met	iron	nail	head	wrought		rose head	
U7L2	1	met	iron	nail	shaft	wrought			
U7L3	1	met	iron	nail	shaft	wrought			
U9L1	1	met	iron	nail	complete	wrought		rose head; fat; bent lip	
U9L2	2	met	iron	nail	complete	wrought		rose head	
U9L2	2	met	iron	nail	shaft	wrought			
U9L2A	1	met	iron	nail	shaft	wrought			
U9L3	1	met	iron	nail	shaft	wrought			
U10L2	2	met	iron	nail	shaft	wrought			
U10L2A	2	met	iron	nail	complete	wrought			
U10L2A	2	met	iron	nail	shaft	wrought			

Barcadares Artifacts by Group									
unit	quantity	material	class	object	part	surface treatment	form	comments	
Total	96								
% artifacts considered	10								
Weaponry									
U3L2	1	met	lead	shot				5/16" diam (8mm); bulge, seam visible	
U6L2A	1	met	lead	shot				Musket shot; 1/2" diam (13mm)	
U5L2A	1	met	lead	small shot				5/32" diam (4mm)	
U6L2	1	met	lead	small shot				5/32" diam (4mm)	
U6L2A	2	met	lead	small shot				5/32" diam (4 mm)	
U9L2	10	met	lead	small shot				5/32 to 6/32" (4-5mm)	
U9L2A	1	met	lead	small shot				5/32" (4mm) diam	
U9L3	1	met	lead	small shot					
U10L2A	1	met	lead	small shot					
U3L2	1	sto	tan chert	flake					
U7/8F1	1	sto	tan chert	flake		retouched		possible gunflint, strike-a-light; worn	
U6L2	1	sto	caramel	flake				backed latform; possible gun spawl	
U7L2	2	sto	chert	flakes		unmodified		large	
U8L2	1	sto	chert	frag		retouched		gy, tan banded; 1 1/8" sq; possible gunflint	
U6L2	1	sto	gy flint	gun flint	frag			1/4 flint, darker than usual English material	
U6L2	1	sto	or, wh	abrader		smoothed		flat sides; abrader/polisher?	
Total	27								
% artifacts considered	2.81								
Tobacco Pipes									
U1L1	1	cer	bc	pipe	stem		undec	5/64" bore diameter	

Barcadares Artifacts by Group									
unit	quantity	material	class	object	part	surface treatment	form	comments	
U1L2	1	cer	bc	pipe	bowl & stem	undec		6/64" bore diam	
U1L2	1	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		4/64"	
U1L2	16	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		5/64"	
U1L2	22	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec			
U1L2A	4	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		6/64"	
U1L2A	8	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		5/64"	
U1L2A	1	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		4/64"	
U1L2A	6	cer	bc	pipe	bowl	undec			
U1L2A	1	cer	bc	pipe	bowl	undec		5/64"; lg oval head	
U1L2A	1	cer	bc	pipe	bowl	impressed		"C:_" (b) on back of bowl; large, straight, ?	
U1L2A	1	cer	bc	pipe	bowl	impressed		5/64"; unident" stamp at base of ?	
U2L2	1	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		5/64"	
U2L2	1	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		6/64"	
U2L2	1	cer	bc	pipe	bowl	undec			
U2L2	1	cer	bc	pipe	bowl	impressed		impressed " R"	
U2L2A	3	cer	bc	pipe	bowl				
U2L2A	1	cer	bc	pipe	bowl	embossed		semi circle design, unidentifiable	
U2L2A	1	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		4/64"	
U2L2A	5	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		5/64"	
U2L2A	1	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		6/64"	
U2L3	2	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		6/64"	
U2L3	1	cer	bc	pipe	bowl	undec			
U3L1	2	cer	bc	pipe	bowl	undec			
U3L1	1	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		5/63"	
U3L2Z	1	cer	bc	pipe	bowl	impressed		indcipherable	
U3L2Z	7	cer	bc	pipe	bowl	undec			
U3L2Z	1	cer	bc	pipe	bowl	undec		6/64"	
U3L2Z	3	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		6/64"	

Barcadares Artifacts by Group									
unit	quantity	material	class	object	part	surface treatment	form	comments	
U3L2	2	cer	bc	pipe	bowl	undec			
U3L2	5	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		6/64"	
U3L2	5	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		5/64"	
U3L2A	11	cer	bc	pipe	bowl	undec			
U3L2A	1	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		4/64"	
U3L2A	7	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		5/64"	
U3L2A	2	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		6/64"	
U3L3	1	cer	bc	pipe	bowl	undec			
U3L3	2	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		6/64"	
U4L1	1	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		6/64"	
U4L2	1	cer	bc	pipe	bowl	undec			
U4L2A	1	cer	bc	pipe	bowl	impressed		marked "TH"	
U4L2A	1	cer	bc	pipe	bowl&heel	embossed		heel marked w/basket? Pattern, heel ?	
U4L2A	1	cer	bc	pipe	bowl	undec		6/64"; long, bulging	
U4L2A	2	cer	bc	pipe	bowl base	undec		5/64"; no heel	
U4L2A	13	cer	bc	pipe	bowl	undec			
U4L2A	1	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		4/64"	
U4L2A	12	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		5/64"	
U4L2A	3	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		6/64"	
U4L2A	1	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		indeterminate bore	
U4L3	3	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		5/64"	
U4L3	1	cer	bc	pipe	bowl	undec			
U5L1	1	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		5/64"	
U5L2	1	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		5/64"	
U5L2A	1	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		6/64"	
U5L2A	14	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		6/64"	
U5L2A	24	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		5/64"	
U5L2A	1	cer	bc	pipe	bowl heel	undec		round, 1/4" diam heel	

Barcadares Artifacts by Group									
unit	quantity	material	class	object	part	surface treatment	form	comments	
U5L3	1	cer	bc	pipe	bowl	impressed		3-leaf clover on heel; rouletted bowl mouth	
U5L3	3	cer	bc	pipe	bowl	undec			
U6L1	1	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		6/64"	
U6L2	3	cer	bc	pipe	bowl	undec			
U6L2	6	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		4/64"	
U6L2	11	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		5/64"	
U6L2	2	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		6/64"	
U6L2A	1	cer	bc	pipe	stem	impressed		bands of connected circles; rouletting, 5/64"	
U6L2A	5	cer	bc	pipe	bowl	undec			
U6L2A	3	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		5/64"	
U6L2A	1	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		6/64"	
U6L3	3	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		5/64"	
U6L3	1	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		6/64"	
U7L1	1	cer	bc	pipe	bowl	undec			
U7L2	3	cer	bc	pipe	bowl	undec			
U7L2	3	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		4/64"	
U7L2	7	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		5/64"	
U7L2	3	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		6/64"	
U7L3	2	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		5/64"	
U78F1	1	cer	bc	pipe	bowl	undec		4/64"	
U78F1	1	cer	bc	pipe	bowl	undec			
U8L2	2	cer	bc	pipe	bowl	undec			
U8L2	3	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		5/64"	
U8L2	2	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		6/64"	
U8L3	1	cer	bc	pipe	bowl	undec			
U8L3	1	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		6/64"	
U9L1	1	cer	bc	pipe	stem & ?	undec		6/64"	
U9L1	1	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		5/64"	

Barcadares Artifacts by Group										
unit	quantity	material	class	object	part	surface treatment	form	comments		
U9L2	3	cer	bc	pipe	bowl	undec				
U9L2	1	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		bore indeterminable		
U9L2	6	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		5/64"		
U9L2A	1	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		5/64"		
U9L3	2	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		5/64"		
U10L2	5	cer	bc	pipe	bowl	undec				
U10L2	2	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		indeterminable bore		
U10L2	1	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		4/64"		
U10L2	5	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		5/64"		
U10L2	3	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		6/64"		
U10L2	1	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		7/64"		
U10L2A	4	cer	bc	pipe	bowl	undec				
U10L2A	9	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		5/64"		
U10L2A	5	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		6/64"		
U10L3	2	cer	bc	pipe	bowl	undec				
U10L3	1	cer	bc	pipe	stem	undec		5/64"		
Total	339									
% artifacts considered	35.31									
Food Preparation										
U1L2	8	bon	longbone	lg mammal?	shaft					
U1L2A	1	bon	unident	frag						
U1L2B	1	bon	fish	scale						
U3L1	1	bon	pig?	tooth	molar					
U3L2A	7	bon	unident	silvers	reptile?					
U4L2A	1	bon	shell	marine						
U5L2	1	bon	unident	unident		burned				

Barcadares Artifacts by Group										
unit	quantity	material	class	object	part	surface treatment	form	comments		
U1L2B	6	bot	cohune?	husk	frag					
U2L2A	1	bot	cohune?	nut	husk	carbonized				
U3L1	1	bot	unident	seed	pod					
U4L1	1	bot	coconut	shell	frag					
U5L2A	1	bot	unident	wood		charred				
U7L1	2	bot	wood	frag		charred				
U7L2	1	bot	coconut	shell	frag					
U9L2	3	bot	cohune?	husk		charred				
U1L2	5	clay	rd	baked earth			hearth frag			
U1L2A	10	clay	rd	baked earth			hearth frag			
U2L2	1	clay	rd	baked earth			hearth frag			
U3L1	2	clay	rd	baked earth			hearth frag			
U3L2Z	3	clay	rd	baked earth			hearth frag			
U3L2	3	clay	rd	baked earth			hearth frag			
U3L2A	13	clay	rd	baked earth			hearth frag			
U4L1	1	clay	rd	baked earth			hearth frag			
U4L2	3	clay	rd	baked earth			hearth frag			
U4L2A	15	clay	rd	baked earth			hearth frag			
U4L3	4	clay	rd	baked earth			hearth frag			
U5L2	1	clay	rd	baked earth			hearth frag			

APPENDIX B

CATALOGUE OF RIDGE HOUSE ARTIFACTS CONSIDERED FOR ANALYSIS,
ORGANIZED BY GROUP¹

Material	Class	Object	Surface Treatment	Color Codes
cer – ceramic	bc – ball clay	bot – bottle	ct – comb toothed	br – brown
gla – glass	col – colonaware	frag – fragment	sd – slip decorated	wh – white
met – metal	dg dark-green ("black") glass	st – storage vessel	sg – salt glazed	yl – yellow
sto – stone	dw – delftware	t/m - tankard/mug		
	ld – lead	unident – unidentified		
	pc – porcelain			
	rw – red ware			
	sw – stoneware			
	yw – yellowware			

¹ All material from this section from Meniketti, Ridge House Catalogue, personal communication.

Ridge Complex Artifacts by Group

Unit	FS#	Quantity	Material	Class	Object	Part	Surface Treatment	Form	Comments
Food Consumption									
Drinking									
		1	cer	dw	cup				
		20	cer	pc	cup				
		10	cer	wh sw	cup		sg		
		10	cer	yw-sd	cup		br yl ct	plate	
		2	cer	sw	t/m		br sg mottled		
		18	cer	wh sw	t/m		sg		
		19	cer	Sw	t/m		rhenish/westerwald		
		1	cer	pc	tp				
	42	23	2	gl	dg				
	56	37	2	gl	dg	lip, neck			
			2	cer	rw				alcohol
Total		87							
% of category		9.731544							
% artifacts considered		5.769231							
Tableware									
		4	cer	col	owl				
		1	cer	dw	owl				
		14	cer	pc	owl				
		3	cer	rw	owl				
		1	cer	wh sw	owl		sg		
		10	cer	dw	plate				
		13	cer	rw	plate				
		18	cer	yw-sd			br yl ct	plate	
		2	cer	yw-sd			br yl ct	platter	
		1	cer	pc				salvor	
		34	cer	col	unident				
		220	cer	dw	unident				

Ridge Complex Artifacts by Group

Unit	FS#	Quantity	Material	Class	Object	Part	Surface Treatment	Form	Comments
		128	cer	pc	unident				
		50	cer	rw	unident				
		209	cer	wh sw	unident				
		35	cer	yw	unident				
Total		743					br y/c		
% of category		83.10962							
% artifacts considered		49.27056							
Utilitarian Wares									
		27	cer	sg sw	st				
		1	cer	wh sw	jar		br sg mottled		
		11	cer	wh sw	small vessels		sg		
		2	cer	sw	jar		sg		
		23	cer	sw	jar				
Total		64					bellamerine		
% of category		7.158837							
% artifacts considered		4.244032							
Total		894							
% artifacts considered		59.28382							
Construction									
	46	27	cer	brick	frag				
	48	29	cer	brick	frag				75 observed, not collected
	51	32	cer	brick	frag				
	52	33	cer	brick	frag				
	57	38	cer	brick	frag				
	73	55	cer	brick	frag				

Ridge Complex Artifacts by Group

Unit	FS#	Quantity	Material	Class	Object	Part	Surface Treatment	Form	Comments
	77	59	1 cer	brick	frag				
	41	22	1 cer	brick	frag				
	75	57	3 met	iron	nail			square	
	76	58	3 met	iron	nail				
	40	21	1 mortar						sample
	43	24	2 mortar						samples
	73	55	1 mortar		frag				sample
	74	56	50 mortar		frag				sample
	75	57	1 mortar		frag				
	1	15	41 cer	nw	frag				roofing tile or sugar cone
Total			210						
% artifacts considered			13.92						
Weaponry									
	52	33	1 sto	flint					
	54	35	1 sto	flint	cortex				
	64	45	1 sto	flint					
	15	15	8 sto		gunflint/spalls				
	34	3	1 met	ld	ball frag				
Total			12						
% artifacts considered			0.80						
Tobacco Pipes									
	25	15	318 cer	bc	pipe	stem/bowl			bores for 202
	35	16	1 cer	bc	pipe	stem			

Ridge Complex Artifacts by Group

Unit	FS#	Quantity	Material	Class	Object	Part	Surface Treatment	Form	Comments
	36	17	2	cer	bc	pipe	stem		
	44	25	1	cer	bc	pipe	stem		
	40	21	3	cer	bc	pipe	bowl		
	44	25	1	cer	bc	pipe	base		
	50	31	1	cer	bc	pipe	bowl		
	53	34	1	cer	bc	pipe	stem	impressed	initials - LE
	56	37	2	cer	bc	pipe	stem		bores measured
	61	42	1	cer	bc	pipe	stem		bores measured
	65	46	1	cer	bc	pipe	bowl		
	66	47	1	cer	bc	pipe	bowl		
	69	51	1	cer	bc	pipe	stem		bore measured
	70	52	1	cer	bc	pipe	bowl		
	73	55	1	cer	bc	pipe	stem		bore measured
	76	58	1	cer	bc	pipe	bowl		
Total			337						
% artifacts considered			22.35						
Industrial activities									
	28	1 to 15	31	met	iron				
	39	20	1	met	iron	frag			
	43	24	1	met	iron			wrought	
	58	39	1	met	iron	frag			
	59	40	12	met	iron			wrought	possibly kettles
	65	46	5	met	iron			wrought	

Ridge Complex Artifacts by Group

Unit	FS#	Quantity	Material	Class	Object	Part	Surface Treatment	Form	Comments
	72	1	met	iron					
	54								
	79	3	met	iron	frag			wrought	
Total		55							
% artifacts considered		3.65							
Total Artifacts Considered		1508							