EVIDENCE OF AFRICAN CONTINUITIES IN THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF CLIFTON PLANTATION, BAHAMAS

Laurie A. Wilkie

ABSTRACT

Since the inception of African-American Archaeology, archaeologists have attempted to identify artifacts from the New World that are African in style, manufacture or origin. Most of this research has focused upon studies of handmade ceramics, such as colono-wares in the Southern United States, or Yabba wares in Jamaica. However, enslaved Africans and African-Americans also expressed traditional cultural values through reinterpreted European-American material culture. The slave quarters of Clifton plantation, Bahamas, offers a rare opportunity to study the material culture of an enslaved population who, due to the policies of their owner, could participate fully as buyers and sellers in the markets of Nassau. The composition of archaeological assemblages from the slave houses clearly demonstrates that African-inspired aesthetic and religious traditions influenced the consumer's choices of Clifton's African-Bahamian population.

RESUMEN

Desde los inicios de la arqueología Afro-americana, los investigadores han intentado identificar, en el Nuevo Mundo, materiales que fueran africanos en su estilo, manufactura u origen. La mayor parte de esa investigación se ha basado en el estudio de las cerámicas hechas a mano, como las "colono-ware" en el sur de los Estados Unidos, o las Yabba en Jamaica. No obstante, los africanos y afroamericanos esclavizados también expresaron sus tradiciones culturales mediante una lectura alternativa de la cultura material euro-americana. Los barracones de los esclavos de la plantación Clifton, en las Bahamas, ofrecen una oportunidad única para estudiar la cultura material de una población esclavizada que, debido a la conducta de sus propietarios, podía participar plenamente en la compraventa de objetos en el mercado de Nassau. La composición del registro arqueológico proveniente de sus viviendas refleja que la estética y las tradiciones religiosas de origen africano influyeron en la elección de los productos adquiridos por la población afro-americana de la isla.

RESUME

Des ses debuts, l’archéologie afro-americanine s’est fixé comme objectif d’identifier des objets d’origine, de manufacture, et de style africains. Pour la plupart, cette archéologie s’est limitée à l’étude de céramiques faites à la main, telles que les poteries Colono du sud des États-Unis, ou celles Yabba de Jamaïque. Il est clair, cependant, que les esclaves africains et afro-américains exprimaient leurs valeurs culturelles non seulement par la manufacture de formes traditionnelles, mais également par l’usage et la reinterprétation de certaines formes de la culture matérielle euro-américaine. Les quartiers des esclaves de la plantation Clifton, au Bahamas, offrent une chance inouïe d’étudier la culture matérielle d’esclaves qui, grâce aux mesures prises par leur maître, participaient à plein titre dans les marchés de Nassau, aussi bien comme acheteurs que comme vendeurs. L’étude des assemblages archéologiques des maisons d’esclaves démontre clairement l’influence des traditions africaines, tant esthétiques que religieuses, sur les choix de consommation des esclaves del la plantation Clifton.
KEY WORDS: Ceramics, Design Motifs, New Providence, Slave Quarters.

INTRODUCTION

Historical archaeology offers the opportunity to study the daily lives of people whose experiences are muted or missing from the documentary record. While educated and elite men were the most likely to put pen to paper to record the events of their times, no matter what an individual's socioeconomic, ethnic or gender background, everyone in the past produced garbage. Enslaved Africans and African-Americans are among the muted peoples of history. Through the study of the materials discarded at slave quarters, archaeologists working in the American South, Caribbean and Brazil have enhanced our understanding of the experiences of enslaved people. The quality of life under enslavement, the power relationships within plantations, food ways and socioeconomic status are all aspects of enslaved life studied by archaeologists. Perhaps the most elusive and most highly sought archaeological evidence, however, are that which can enlighten us regarding African cultural continuities in the New World.

The degree to which African cultural practices survived the Middle Passage and the brutality of slavery has long interested anthropologists and historians (e.g., Herskovits 1962; Mintz and Price 1992; Thompson 1983). Since European-American planters were likely to discourage continuities in African culture, and were themselves cultural outsiders who may not have recognized African traditions, the documentary record has limited potential for identifying evidence of continuities. Persisting African traditions would most likely be masked and disguised from planters, again, contributing to documentary invisibility. For this reason, archaeology provides the most promising avenue for researching African continuities during the period of enslavement. Archaeologists in the Caribbean have been successful in identifying objects that were either African in origin, or African in their style of manufacture (e.g., Armstrong 1990; Handler and Lange 1978) and behaviors that reflect West African traditions (e.g., Handler 1996; Pulsipher 1993; Reeves 1996; Turner 1993).

AFRICAN AMERICANS AS CONSUMERS

While these and other studies have clearly demonstrated that material evidence of African continuities is available throughout the Caribbean, less attention has been paid to the potential meanings of the non-African materials recovered from enslaved houses. Many enslaved people would have had little time or opportunity to create and manufacture their own material culture. Ceramics were produced by a limited number of craftspeople. African-style basketry and mats were probably widely manufactured, but these materials rarely survive in the archaeological record. The vast majority of the materials recovered archaeologically from enslaved peoples' houses in the Caribbean were made in England or other parts of Europe. While many of the European-manufactured materials recovered from plantation sites may have been made available to enslaved people by their owners, another portion of the material is likely to have been procured by slaves through internal marketing systems. If slaves maintained a sense of African identity through magical practices, burial practices, the ways that they organized their house space, and in their pottery traditions, why wouldn't they actively select those European-manufactured goods that also enhanced their sense of Africanness?
In most instances, sorting out archaeologically which materials may reflect planter versus slave consumer preferences is very difficult, if not nearly impossible. However, the archaeological assemblages from Clifton plantation, New Providence, Bahamas, offer a rare opportunity to study enslaved people’s consumer choices. The analysis of materials from these cabins illustrates that African-inspired aesthetic and religious traditions influenced the consumer’s choices of Clifton’s African-Bahamian plantation.

WILLIAM WYLLY AND THE ECONOMICS OF CLIFTON PLANTATION

William Wyllly, a Loyalist planter and Attorney General of the Bahamas, around 1815 first developed Clifton plantation. Clifton served as Wyllly’s main plantation until he moved to St. Vincent in 1821. By the time Wyllly left the Bahamas, he owned 67 slaves, most of whom resided at Clifton. Wyllly was a highly controversial figure in the Bahamas. An adult convert to Methodism, Wyllly considered himself a reformer of slavery, but was never an abolitionist. Wyllly used his office legally to pursue planters who he perceived to be ill-treating their slave populations. He also alienated the Bahamian House of Assembly by supporting the adoption of the Slave Registry Act and by working with the African Institute, a London-based agency committed to the reform of slavery (Farnsworth, this volume; Wilkie and Farnsworth 1997).

Wyllly’s highly public and controversial persona makes him a highly visible figure in the Colonial Office correspondence of his time. Wyllly’s enemies in the Assembly sought to drive him out of the Attorney General’s seat through a series of charges against him, including one that he had failed to feed his enslaved population properly. In answering these charges, Wyllly drew together a collection of materials documenting the treatment of slaves on his plantation, their rations, the rules of conduct, and their economic activities (Colonial Office Records, Original Correspondence, Public Record Office, Kew, Richmond, Surrey, England [CO] 23/67:147-165, Wyllly to Munnings, 1818). These documents provide valuable insight into the boundaries in which the slaves of Clifton lived. I will focus my discussion on Wyllly’s policy toward his slaves, their labor, produce and market opportunities.

On August 31, 1818, Wyllly wrote in his defense,

I believe it is the practice in much of the West Islands, as well as in some parts of this colony to allow certain descriptions of slaves one day in each week, for the purpose of enabling them to raise or purchase their own provisions, and I perceived soon after I had made my present establishment at Clifton, which is at the west end of this island, that it would be necessary for me to adopt some practice of that sort, in order to enable the Negroes to bring their own pigs, poultry, etc., to market. I therefore consented to give Saturday to those slaves whose services could be despenced [sic] with on that day (CO 23/67:147, Wyllly to Munnings).

In a November 1, 1817 letter to his overseer (CO 23/67:150, Wyllly to Rutherford), Wyllly stated that:

I believe it is the practice in much of the West Islands, as well as in some parts of this colony to allow certain descriptions of slaves one day in each week, for the purpose of enabling them to raise or purchase their own provisions, and I perceived soon after I had made my present establishment at Clifton, which is at the west end of this island, that it would be necessary for me to adopt some practice of that sort, in order to enable the Negroes to bring their own pigs, poultry, etc., to market. I therefore consented to give Saturday to those slaves whose services could be despenced [sic] with on that day (CO 23/67:147, Wyllly to Munnings).
each man and his wife must plant two acres of provisions: (which the woman alone will be able to attend): and when they have potatoes or other bulky articles to carry to market, they may use my boat: only taking care to return her, in safety, to her moorings . . . whenever I may have occasion to employ any of the tradesmen or labourers, I shall allow them half a dollar, a day wages. The price of building walls has been fixed at one shilling a yard.

Summaries of ledger books provided by Wylly demonstrated that at least 22 men had taken the opportunity to earn cash by building walls on the plantation, with one man earning more than four pounds for his efforts (CO 23/67:150, Wylly to Rutherford, 1 November, 1817). Likewise, accounts showed that slave families at Clifton were raising Indian corn, yams, potatoes, pumpkins, squashes, peas, beans, ocre, benny, ground nuts, eddies, plantains, bananas, water melon, music melon, dung hill fowls and hogs in their provisioning grounds (CO 23/67:164, Rutherford to Wylly, enclosure in Wylly to Munnings, 24 August 1818).

Wylly’s rules of Clifton plantation established that he would purchase hogs from the slaves, at market price (CO 23/67:147-165, Wylly to Munnings, 24 August 1818). The excess produce, animals, fowl and even provisioned corn, were all goods that could have been potentially sold at the market. Wylly’s permission for slaves to use his boat only facilitated enslaved people’s access to Nassau’s thriving marketplace. In addition, currency earned through the building of walls could also be used in the town of Nassau. It is clear from the documentary record that the enslaved African-Bahamians of Clifton not only had accesses to the market, but also possessed sufficient means to be active consumers in the marketplace. The archaeological record of Clifton offers the greatest opportunity for understanding how Wylly’s slaves exercised their consumer power.

THE AFRICAN AND AFRICAN-BAHAMIAN POPULATION OF CLIFTON

A relatively large African population appears to have lived and worked at Clifton. In 1821, at the time of the Bahamas first slave register, Wylly was listed as owning 67 slaves, who were spread across Wylly’s three plantations. Fifteen of these individuals were registered as having been born in Africa, representing slightly more than 20 percent of the enslaved population (Department of Archives, Nassau, Bahamas [DA], Register of Slaves, 1 January 1821). Based upon a 1818 record of families with provisioning grounds (CO 23/67:164-165, Rutherford to Wylly, Wylly to Rutherford, enclosed in Wylly to Munnings, 24 August 1818), at least 44 of the enslaved individuals lived at Clifton, of which at least 10 were Africans.

Africans held positions of prestige within the plantation population, as both the heads of families and as workers. Five of the eight families known to have lived on Clifton in 1818 were headed by at least one African parent (CO 23/67:164-165, Rutherford to Wylly, Wylly to Rutherford, enclosed in Wylly to Munnings, 24 August 1818; DA Register of Slaves, 1 January 1821). In other words, most of the Creole population on Clifton were the children of Africans. The underdriver, the highest ranked slave on Clifton, and his wife, were both African. In addition to this core of enslaved Africans living at Clifton, Wylly acquired five “liberated African” apprentices in 1811 (CO
In 1818, four of these men, their free wives (place of birth unknown), and their enslaved families are listed as working provisioning grounds at Clifton (CO 23/67:164-165, Rutherford to Wylly, Wylly to Rutherford, enclosed in Wylly to Munnings, 24 August 1818). It is not known whether the "liberated African" families lived on Clifton or not. It is clear, however, that the position of the enslaved Africans within Clifton's community probably enabled them to broker a great deal of cultural influence over the Creole population. Based upon its demographics, studying the material culture of Clifton's enslaved community for evidence of African continuities is appropriate.

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF CLIFTON PLANTATION

Clifton plantation is one of the best preserved plantation complexes in the Bahamas. The complex of buildings and features at Clifton consisted of a planter's residence (locus A), kitchen (locus B), storeroom/office (locus C), chapel/barn (locus D), stable (locus E), slave kitchen/storeroom (locus F), a slave driver's cabin (locus G), six additional slave cabins (loci H-M), at least two other related outbuildings (loci N and P), and a number of walled fields, corrals and compounds (see Farnsworth, this volume).

During the summer of 1996, a joint team of archaeologists from University of California Berkeley, Louisiana State University and the Bahamas Department of Archives, began excavations at Clifton plantation. Fifteen standing structures were identified during the field survey. Each structure was tested with at least one interior and four exterior excavation units. All units measured 1 x 1 m and were dug using trowel and brush. Larger scale block excavations were undertaken at two of the quarter's buildings: the driver's cabin and the slave kitchen. Twenty-two and twenty-four units respectively were excavated at these two structures, thus providing the greatest abundance of materials.

Faunal remains, consisting mainly of fish, marine shell, glass, ceramics, metal, and clay tobacco pipes were found in abundance associated with most of the structures. The majority of artifacts from each structure dated to the first three decades of the nineteenth century (Wilkie and Farnsworth 1997).

CERAMIC ANALYSIS

Ceramics are one of the most informative artifacts studied by historical archaeologists. Socioeconomic status, chronologies, stylistic preferences, dietary habits and food service practices can all be inferred through the analysis of ceramics. Archaeologists studying ceramics from enslaved people's households must constantly attempt to determine whether the ceramic's patterns they are studying represent the preferences and economics of the planter, or the preferences of the enslaved people. Enslaved people may gain access to ceramics through allotments provided by the planter, through gifts of second-hand ceramics from the planter, through theft from the planter, or through their own purchasing or bartering practices. I will argue, given comparisons between the Clifton planter and slave assemblages, and comparisons of Clifton assemblages with other Bahamian and American plantations, that the compositions of the enslaved ceramic assemblages at Clifton represent African aesthetic and cultural practices.
For this discussion I will focus upon three characteristics of the ceramic assemblage: the selection of decorative type and its socioeconomic implications, the selection of decoration color, and the potential cultural connotations of design motifs found on the ceramics.

Decoration Selection

To study socioeconomic class and consumer purchasing decisions, historical archaeologists employ ceramic price indexing. George Miller (1980, 1991) developed his Miller’s Ceramic Index based upon the relative prices of different English earthenware ceramic decorative types common throughout the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Miller found four classes of decorative types maintain the same ranking relative to one another through time, and therefore, could be used to look at the relative expense of one ceramic index to another. “Plain” ceramics were always the cheapest available on the market, followed by “minimally decorated” ceramics, which included banded, mocha, sponged and shell-edged ceramics. “Hand-painted” ceramics, which were more labor intensive to manufacture, were the second most expensive category of ceramics, and “transfer-printed” wares were the most expensive earthenware ceramics. Miller’s Index does not include some of the other expensive ceramics available at this time, such as porcelains, basalt wares and other fine stoneware. Through a comparison of the relative abundance of each price level of ceramics within an assemblage, an archaeologist can begin to study the consumers’ choices that shaped a family’s ceramic purchases.

For Clifton, the relative abundance of each ceramic decorative type was calculated for each locus (Table 1). As expected, the Wylly planter assemblage contains the highest percentage of transfer-printed ceramics, and some of the lowest incidences of plain ceramics. However, the slave assemblages contain large numbers of ceramics in the hand-painted category, and a significant number of ceramics in the transfer-printed category. In the cases of loci G and I, 40 percent or more of the ceramics are from the highest two price categories. Yet in the cases of loci F, H and L, more than 50 percent of the ceramics are from the highest price categories. These results contrast sharply with a similar analysis of the slave assemblage at Promised Land plantation, New Providence (Farnsworth 1996). At Promised Land, the slave assemblage contains 88 percent plain, 0 percent minimally decorated, 11.8 percent hand-painted and 0 percent transfer-printed ceramics. Similar studies in the southeastern United States typically have only 20 to 30 percent of the ceramics in the highest two categories for assemblages associated with enslaved people (Farnsworth 1996). It is important to note that this analysis should not be interpreted as meaning that the enslaved people at Clifton were wealthy. Concerning abundance of ceramics, the slave quarters contained a much lower density of ceramic vessels than the planter residence and kitchen. Instead, this analysis demonstrates that the slaves had access to more expensive ceramics than enslaved people at Promised Land or in the southeastern United States.

Hand-painted ceramics seem to be the most popular decorative type recovered from the slave quarters, accounting for more than 30 percent of the ceramic vessels in five of the eight slave assemblages. Hand-painted ceramics are less popular in the Wylly planter assemblages, accounting for less than 20 percent of the ceramic vessels.

Superficially, the relative percent of minimally decorated ceramics observed in the planter and slave assemblages seem to be more comparable. However, the minimally decorated ceramic category includes a range of very different-looking ceramics, including molded/embossed, shell-edged, and annular/mocha wares. If the planter and slave assemblages are compared, it becomes
evident that while the two planter assemblages contain a greater percentage of shell-edged wares than annular wares, the slave assemblages generally demonstrate a preference for annular wares over shell-edged (Table 2). Since these decorative types fall within the same price category, I would suggest that the different distribution between slave and planter households represent a difference in consumer preference between the two groups.

Color Selection

Differences between the planter and enslaved peoples' assemblages are further suggested when the relative incidence of certain colors are compared. During the period of the site's occupation, underglazed transfer-printed ceramics were limited to the color blue, and shell-edged ceramics were mainly available in blue or green. In contrast, banded/mocha wares and hand-painted wares could be found in the full range of colors, including blues, yellows, oranges, reds, greens and browns.

Upon initially analyzing the planter and enslaved peoples' ceramics from Clifton, I was struck, on a qualitative level, by how different the color schemes of the assemblages seemed to be. I decided to look at the incidence of different colors in the assemblages to see if there was a quantitative basis to what I thought I was seeing. Using only the hand-painted and banded/mocha wares, I calculated for each assemblage on what percentage of vessels each color occurred. I found that there were significant differences (Table 3). In the Wylly house assemblage, the most popular color was blue, occurring on 60 percent of the vessels, followed by orange, on 40 percent of the vessels, and brown, on 20 percent. In the Wylly kitchen assemblage, blue was again the most popular, occurring on 50 percent of the vessels, followed by brown at 45 percent. In both cases, blue was the most commonly occurring color.

In the slave assemblages, however, a different pattern was evident. In six of the eight assemblages, brown was the most popular color. Green was the most prevalent color in the other two. Blue was clearly the second most common in three assemblages, orange in two assemblages, and yellow in one assemblage. While the sample size for this analysis is admittedly small at this point, the differences are still striking.

Design Motifs

Finally, I would like to consider the design motifs within the enslaved assemblages that may suggest African aesthetic or cultural traditions. As noted above, the African/African-Bahamian ceramic assemblages suggest preferences for annular or mocha wares over shell-edged, and for hand-painted ceramics over other ceramics, even though they were relatively expensive. A brief consideration of West African art traditions may provide some insight into these patterns.

Important West African craft traditions include the production of ceramics, wood-carving, metal-working and cloth production. Personal and ethnic aesthetics were also commonly expressed through body art such as scarification, tattooing, hair braiding, or the wearing of ornamental art such as beads and piercing. Geometric lines, chevrons, bands, and lines of dots are forms of artistic elements that were commonly used to adorn crafts and bodies. Chevrons, bands and dots, all common elements on West African pottery (Thompson 1983), are also commonly found on the engine-turned annular/mocha wares produced by the English potters. The browns, oranges, yellows and greens found on banded and hand-painted ceramics can be commonly found in West African
cloth, perhaps suggesting a motivation for the selection of these ceramics.

We also need to consider the specific designs on hand-painted English ceramics that may have held additional cultural meanings to African and African-Bahamian users. While many of the hand-painted patterns were geometric designs, birds were represented on at least three vessels. Birds are commonly found in West African sculpture, and are often associated with deities, witchcraft and wisdom (Thompson 1983). African-styled pipes found in slave quarters throughout the Chesapeake region decorated with quadruped animal imagery have been recovered archaeologically (Emerson 1994). A parallel in the selection of English-made pottery should not be dis counted.

African colono-ware pottery found in South Carolina has been discovered with “X”s and “X”s crosscutting circles, carved on the exterior and interior bases of bowls. Leland Ferguson (1992) has convincingly argued that these “X”s may represent New World versions of the Bakongo cosmogram, like those identified by Robert Ferris Thompson in Haiti. In its original form, the Bakongo cosmogram is a circle, quartered by an X, with smaller circles on the end of each X representing the four movements of the sun. The cosmogram represents the circle of life and death and the progression of the seasons. When placed on the base of a bowl, be it in the interior or exterior, it signifies a bowl used to create nkisi, or sacred medicine.

I mention this because one of the hand-painted ceramic sherd recovered from the slave quarters at Clifton bears a design remarkably similar to the Bakongo cosmogram (Figure 1). When part of a complete vessel, this design would have been located on the interior base of the bowl, much as are the South Carolina colono-ware designs. On the broken sherd, the design is nearly centered, and perhaps, was curated after the bowl broke. While we can never know what function or meaning this bowl and its decoration may have had to its user, it seems more than coincidental that a ceramic bearing a likeness of such a powerful African symbol just happened to be found at a site occupied by people of African origin. Imagine the surprise and pleasure of an African consumer at the Nassau market upon seeing this ceramic, European-made, but, unintentionally, carrying such a significant African design.

CONCLUSIONS

William Wylly, in an effort to minimize his plantation overhead, came to encourage his enslaved population to produce foodstuffs for trade with both him and in the market in Nassau. He also provided employment opportunities to the men of his plantation, which allowed them to earn cash wages. Wylly fully encouraged the participation of his enslaved people in the Bahamian market economy. Wylly’s intentions seem to have been aimed at minimizing his economic expenses, while also encouraging a “European” style of peasant living to his enslaved people. In fact, his practices seem to have encouraged continuities in African aesthetic, and possibly, religious traditions.

Clifton had a sizable African population, as well as a large population of first-generation Creoles. Even though there is little evidence of African craft traditions at Clifton, the compositions of the ceramic assemblages from the slave quarters do suggest evidence of African-driven consumer choices. While this paper represents only a very preliminary consideration of the ceramics from Clifton, I hope it is clear that we need to look for evidence of African cultural continuities not just in the craft traditions of enslaved people, but also in the European manufactured materials they adopt as their own.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank the Bahamian Government for allowing us to work at Clifton. The Bahamian Department of Archives, Department of Works, Defense Force and Department of Education provided funding for this project. Dr. Gail Saunders, Ms. Grace Turner and Ms. Kim Outten-Stubbs of the Department of Archives, as always provided invaluable aid during all phases of the project, as did Mr. Pericles Maillis. Finally, I would like to thank Paul Farnsworth for his comments on this manuscript, and Agustine Diez-Castillo and Miriam Doutiaux who translated the paper abstracts for me.
REFERENCES CITED

Armstrong, D. V.

Emerson, M. C.

Farnsworth, P.

Ferguson, L.

Handler, J. S.
1996 A Prone Burial from a Plantation Slave Cemetery in Barbados, West Indies: Possible Evidence for an African-Type Witch or Other Negatively Viewed Person. *Historical Archaeology* 30(3): 76-86.

Handler, J. S., and F.W. Lange.

Herskovits, M.

Miller, G.


Mintz, S. W., and R. Price.
Pulsipher, L. M.

Reeves, M.

Thompson, R. F.

Turner, G.

Figure 1. A. Bakongo Cosmogram; B. Cosmograms found on South Carolina Colono-ware (after Ferguson 1992); C. Likeness of cosmogram found on pearlware hand-painted ceramic sherd from Driver's house at Clifton Plantation.
Table 1. Percent distribution of ceramics from Clifton Plantation by price level
(includes earthwares)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locus</th>
<th>Plain</th>
<th>Minimally Decorated</th>
<th>Hand-Painted</th>
<th>Transfer-Prints</th>
<th>Minimum Number of Vessels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>31.3</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>31.3</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>35.2</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>39.4</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>26.8</td>
<td>39.0</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>33.9</td>
<td>32.1</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*indicates that too few ceramics were recovered from this locus for analysis

Table 2. Percent distribution of minimally ceramics by type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locus</th>
<th>Shell</th>
<th>Sponge / Spatter</th>
<th>Annular</th>
<th>Minimum Number of Vessels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>80.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>56.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>44.0</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>36.4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>63.6</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>61.1</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>33.0</td>
<td>67.7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>80.0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Indicates too small a sample size was recovered for analysis.
Table 3. Percent of hand-painted and mocha decorated vessels bearing each color

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locus</th>
<th>Brown</th>
<th>Blue</th>
<th>Orange</th>
<th>Yellow</th>
<th>Green</th>
<th>Red</th>
<th>Black</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>45.0</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>63.0</td>
<td>29.6</td>
<td>44.4</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>80.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>66.6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>62.5</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Indicates too small a sample was recovered for analysis.