

CERAMICS, LANDSCAPE, AND COLONIALISM:
ARCHAEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE
BRITISH SETTLEMENT AT
LAMANAI, BELIZE,
1837 TO 1868

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PREFACE

“Your artifacts are all in the bodega. Please let me know if you need anything. Good luck and, oh, I think there may be a bat loose in there” (Elizabeth Graham: 2009).

I arrived in Indian Church Village on a Saturday evening after a long drive from Belize City. It was already dark so I could only see a few steps ahead of me. After a quick dinner I retired to my room and did not wake until dawn when the clamorous wildlife and quickly increasing temperature insisted I do so. Upon leaving my room I rounded a corner of thickly jungled flora and was stopped, immobile, as I saw the sprawling, blue lagoon for the first time. A stiff breeze hit my face and washed away the sweat and thickness of the bush and at that moment, I knew without a doubt I was now part of a long history of others who had done exactly the same thing. I was soon taken down the winding path to Lamanai, given a tour of the facilities by the Project Director, Dr. Elizabeth Graham, and shown where my research materials and keys were located. After an overview of the local fauna that may have made their way into the lab and storage facility, I was left alone amidst a daunting number of boxes and the cacophony of the wind coming off the lagoon and the howler monkeys somewhere off in the distance. The first half hour was spent in sheer panic. The weight of responsibility for all those that had lived, worked, and excavated here for what amounted to thousands of years became for a moment unbearable. Less than twenty-four hours in this place had already

created an emotional and physical connection I would have previously thought impossible. However, as I opened the first box and began looking through the contents, I reminded myself that this project was designed to analyze what we already have in order to ask more detailed questions of the landscape and material culture. This was just the beginning and, for the time being, it was going to happen one box at a time.

This project is centered on the analysis and interpretation of previously excavated late colonial artifacts from Lamanai. The 2009 field season was designed around the analysis of these artifacts, but the season was also an exercise in establishing how to go about studying the historic period at a prehistoric site with decades of excavations and differing methods with regard to such materials. This type of analysis, or triage as it seems, is messy, but the project directors' curation of these data allows for a great beginning, because in archaeology if we have anything we have something with which to move forward and add to our knowledge of a space as a continuum of events, things, and people that spent time in a particular landscape.

This project could not have been possible without the assistance of a dedicated team of individuals. Dr. Elizabeth Graham and Dr. David Pendergast gave me the incredible opportunity to go to Lamanai and troll through years of their research. In addition, they gave me some distance with regard to my analysis so I did not arrive at Lamanai with any preconceived notions about what I was going to find or bias my interpretations. Dr. Graham and I spent time together at Lamanai during the 2009 field season, which made the experience much deeper than it would have been otherwise. She introduced me to the landscape and materials at Lamanai, but also made sure that I met the archaeologists, guides, and local villagers whose knowledge and assistance would

also prove invaluable. Dr. Kathryn Sampeck, while new to Illinois State University, agreed to become my thesis chair during her first semester. Her knowledge of both Maya and historical archaeology has been invaluable to this process and her positive mentorship has kept me moving through bouts of writer's block and an avalanche of data. Dr. Elizabeth Scott has been my advisor and voice of reason since I arrived at Illinois State University. She has encouraged my personal interests and style while reminding me that I need to follow the data and stay focused on my research questions. Dr. Charles Orser was my professor and mentor during my first year at Illinois State University and has continued as an advisor throughout my graduate experience. He has tirelessly discussed and advised my theoretical endeavors (or maybe better defined as rantings or wanderings). Amber Taylor, a graduate of the Illinois State University historical archaeology program, fielded phone calls and emails at all hours. Her recent experiences while completing her own thesis allowed me to take a few moments away from the intensity of research to laugh and talk with someone who understood what I was going through. Damon Bowman became my life partner and then this project's volunteer research assistant in the past year. He traveled to Lamanai with me during the 2009 field season and took hundreds of pictures of the late colonial assemblage for this study. In addition, he had the unenviable task of making sure I slept, ate, and showered throughout this process: not always with great success. I am extremely grateful for the guidance and assistance I received during the project. However, while this group of amazing friends, teachers, and colleagues helped me on this journey, any omissions or errors are my own.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

“Perhaps most important of all, we must understand how, in the creation of an entirely new economic system, strange and foreign luxuries, unknown even to European nobility a few short centuries earlier, could so swiftly become part of the crucial social center of British daily life” (Mintz 1985:7).

During the nineteenth-century, power between indigenous and European groups in Central America and Belize (then Honduras and later British Honduras) was experiencing rapid change driven by many factors. The abolition of slavery increasingly commodified labor, which was already a scarce resource in Central America and a necessity for industrial endeavors such as plantations. Control of trade ports and river routes was moving from the Spanish to the British and Central American governments. The hunt for natural resources for exploitation in Honduras, such as mahogany and logwood, was driving colonists deeper and deeper inland as these resources became scarce along the coasts and inland rivers. It is likely that the British arrived at Lamanai (Figures 1 and 2) in the first quarter of the nineteenth-century and abandoned the site in the last quarter of the nineteenth-century, but no records of formal occupation exist until 1837, when “two hundred acres were given to the British under The Indian Church Plantation Grant in order to plant sugar cane and build a sugar mill at the site” (Pendergast 1982:1). The sugar mill was not in working order until 1860 and only remained a viable facility until approximately 1875 (Pendergast 1982:1). The

construction of this plantation landscape was a concerted effort by the British colonists to establish a permanent settlement; however, the brevity of the formalized, profit-making occupation points to a critical incompatibility, whether of social, political, or economic systems and resources.

The British sugar estate at Lamanai would have been caught up in a series of treaties aimed at stabilizing Central American economies. These treaties may have begun in the colonists' favor (e.g., the Indian Land Grant and free trade agreements), but may also have been a major factor in the limited commercial success. British investors were likely uneasy about this particular region and its future economic potential (Naylor 1960:366), which kept capital investments and loans from reaching inland settlements such as Lamanai. The final blow to the British settlement at Lamanai may have been the Clayton-Bulwar Treaty of 1850 (Naylor 1960:361), which was an agreement between the United States and Great Britain that allowed free trade with Central American countries and "expressly recognized [Honduras as an official] British settlement" (Gray 1869:248-249). A small sugar plantation may not have been able to survive without exclusive rights to resource extraction and trade. But, treaties and lack of funding were only part of the story that may have kept large scale colonialism and capitalism from taking hold in Belize. Many groups were active in the region and each played a part in the events that unfolded during the nineteenth-century. An understanding of the historical context of colonial era Lamanai as both a place and time is vital to this project. Knowledge of the growth and movement of global markets and how these markets affected regional and local processes and populations should be an integrated effort as each shaped and reflected the physical and ideological realities at Lamanai (Wolf 1982:21). During the

early and mid-nineteenth-century, power relationships between indigenous and European groups in Central America and Belize were experiencing rapid change driven by the increased commodification of labor, trade ports and routes changing hands, the hunt for natural resources for exploitation, and the void left by the fall of the Spanish Empire in the Americas.

This project is grounded in the idea that we can understand the ideologies of the past through material culture created and used in the past; in this particular case, through landscape, historical documents, and material culture that were seen and experienced in a public arena. The location of the British settlement at Lamanai was chosen purposefully: it was deep in the Belize interior and its presence at a location of former Maya and Spanish economic power may have been a deliberate choice to situate the colonists in a place of political and economic might that was already a known crossroads of trade and extraction in the region.

Problem Orientation and Research Questions

Most archaeological studies in Central America and Belize in particular, have focused on the Maya pre-Columbian periods and the early Spanish colonial period; few are centered on the historical archaeology (e.g., Andrews 1981) of the eighteenth and nineteenth-century. While a good deal of archaeological work has been done on Postclassic Maya and Spanish sites in Central America, few studies have focused on British colonialism during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. I argue that one reason a void in historical archaeology exists regarding the British in Central America is the elusive nature of British activity that occurred during the colonial era.

Most British trade and resource extraction was illicit and occupations were likely seasonal or temporary. But, the British must have been a vital component of the economies in this region because as soon as the Spanish empire in the Americas began to fail and nations began to declare independence from Spain, England quickly took Spain's place with the blessing and at the request of Central American governments. Although British ventures were all but a wraith compared to well-documented Spanish colonialism and imperialism in Central America, it is important to understand the nature of the British activities that transpired in the years leading up to Central American independence in order to understand why the switch to British political and economic structure occurred with such ease and why these same structures so quickly fell out of favor with Central American governments and local indigenous populations.

Much can be learned about Lamanai during the late colonial period, which will add to the greater knowledge of daily life, over time, as well as elucidate the local impacts of regional and global trends that would have necessarily affected those living and working at the settlement. Use of the documentary and material records will be the key lines of evidence used to interpret how and why the British chose this particular site even though the Spanish had tried unsuccessfully for many years to colonize Lamanai, to posit reasons why the sugar mill venture never proved a commercial success, and to position the site within regional political economies that were intrinsically linked to old world nationalism and colonialist undertakings. Although each colony has its own contextual individuality and variability, the types of material culture used at colonial sites were mass-produced and are familiar and useful to archaeologists for both nomothetic and particularistic interpretation. To this end, every excavation and its corresponding

material culture adds to the overall story of colonization, trade, and lifeways during the British colonization of the Americas, which elucidates larger narratives of European expansion throughout the world and its effect on both native and relocated groups and individuals (Epperson 2001; Ferguson 1991; Graham, Pendergast, and Jones 1989; Hauser and Hicks 2007; Leone 1995; Little 1995; Majewski 2006; Mintz 1985; Mrozowski 1999; Orser 2008, 2004, 1996, 1988b; Sahlins 1965; Wolf 1982). The nineteenth-century is poorly understood in this region and archaeological investigation can add perspectives that are not accessible by any other means, such as the dates and nature of small, unofficial, British colonial settlements including the one at Lamanai, that appear to have dotted the landscape in an attempt to extract resources like logwood and sugar in a region otherwise under Spanish control.

The British settlement at Lamanai was a brief endeavor in relation to the deep history of Mayan occupation and Spanish presence at Lamanai, which makes it an excellent location to study why the British colonists did not have long-term success in their pursuit of a viable profit making institution after what may have amounted to decades of occupation and planning. Very few historical or archaeological records exist with regard to the British at Lamanai, Belize, which leaves many unanswered questions about how British activity was structured, how or if this activity changed over time, and why sugar extraction at this location failed to establish long-term roots. To this end, this project seeks to answer questions regarding the nature of the British settlement at Lamanai including the relationship of the British with other groups such as the Ycaiche, Santa Cruz, Africans, and Miskito who may have provided labor for the venture, as

profitable sugar production would have required both intensive labor and a stable exchange network. This project will focus broadly on the following three questions:

1. What does the material culture tell us about the timeline of the British settlement(s) and use or re-use of the landscape at Lamanai?
2. What may have been some of the reasons for the ultimate collapse of this particular industrial venture?
3. Who was providing labor for the construction and operation of the sugar mill?

Archaeology is an extremely useful tool with which to answer these types of questions because the dates of the British settlement at Lamanai and the ceramic material culture of this landscape occur during a time of rapid technological change in the manufacture of ceramic goods. We can use the excavated materials to date the British occupied landscape by feature/activity area and as a whole, study how (or if) this occupation changed over time, and begin to understand the daily life of the British colonizers and the nature of their relationship with the Maya, Spanish, and global markets more generally.

Objectives of Study

This project seeks to use archaeological data in the form of material culture recovered and observed at Lamanai, Belize, from areas historically known to be associated with the British occupation, as well as oral and written histories, to address the three specific research questions listed above regarding British activity at the site during the late colonial era. Although *The Indian Church Plantation Grant* was issued in 1837, it is likely that the British had previous relationships with or at least knowledge of the groups operating at Lamanai and in the Northwest district of Belize before receiving the

grant. The Ycaiche and Santa Cruz were known to be hostile towards colonization in the region (Braddick 1867; Burns 1954; Butter 1879; Colburn's United Service Magazine 1868; Curry 1956; Farriss 1983; Gibbs 1883; Graham et al. 1989; Gray 1869; MacGowan and Authur 1870; Naylor 1960; Rogers 1885), so land rights given by the British government would have held little to no power without consent from or at the least protection of one or more indigenous groups operating in the surrounding region. While sugar cane may have been planted soon after the initial grant, the mill itself was not in operation until around 1860 (Pendergast 1982:1), leaving a twenty-year gap in the documentary record of activity at the site.

The next major turn of events affecting Lamanai was the conflict between the Ycaiches and the British that occurred between 1867 and 1869 in the Northwest district (Authur 1870; Braddick 1867; Colburn's United Service Magazine 1868; Gibbs 1883; Gray 1869; MacGowan and Butter 1879; Rogers 1885). Even though the documentary record may point to approximately a decade of production, the site is rife with artifacts and features that speak of a long-term commitment to the production and export of sugar. In contrast to the ephemeral nature of the British occupation in general, the settlement at Lamanai was not a camp site or movable operation; it was a permanent landscape with a formal sugar mill, imported medicines and an on-site apothecary (Rogers 1885:211), two-hundred acres of dense jungle converted for sugar cultivation, and a vast amount of imported British goods used for the day-to-day needs of management and labor at the site. The owners of the sugar venture must have had reason to believe that the time, effort, and money spent constructing and equipping this space would prove sustainable and profitable, although we now know this was not the ultimate outcome. During the

early to mid nineteenth-century, the political and economic upheaval in the Central American states may have contributed to the long period of time it took to build the mill as well as eventual demise of the venture. This demise may have been due to several factors, including lack of funding, tenuous relations between the British government and the settlers, and waxing and waning alliances and hostilities between the British government, native peoples, and the Honduran government. This particular question relies on establishing a regional historical context with which to situate the local ceramic and other material culture data present in the last colonial assemblage.

The final question regarding who was providing labor at the sugar mill will be more elusive. It could be that the Maya provided construction labor and that African slaves were brought to Lamanai to work the fields and the mill, although, depending on dates of British occupation, the Africans may have already been emancipated, but still providing labor for the English. However, the Maya or Africans alone could have provided all the labor, as well. At this point, three archaeologically identifiable groups occur at Lamanai: the British, the Maya, and the Spanish. European manufactured wares and Maya pottery manufactured in the Maya area are distinctive, but if Africans or other non-indigenous groups were present they would have been sharing much of the same material culture with the British (as in any workplace that provides workers with certain objects, like foodwares and tools), which makes these groups difficult to distinguish within the archaeological record. Adding to the difficulty in identifying ethnic markers at Lamanai is the unique relationship of industry and labor that had been exploited for many years under colonial occupation. Unlike other colonial settings (e.g., the southern United States, Jamaica, the Bahamas, etc.) that mainly used outright slavery and

ownership of the individuals who lived and worked full time at estates and plantations, the British in Honduras had a history of hiring teams of extraction or distribution workers who labored in the field and then went home to their families for part of the year.

Although there is also evidence that suggests that the British continued to capture the Maya as slaves well into the eighteenth-century (e.g. Jones 1998). Unlike their counterparts in other regions, labor groups in Honduras controlled more aspects of their day-to-day lives because of the nature of Honduran industries, weak central controls due to the difficulty of movement in the dense landscape, and general shortage of labor (Braddick 1867; Burns 1954; Butter 1879; Colburn's United Service Magazine 1868; Curry 1956; Everitt 1986; Gibbs 1883; Helms 1983; Naylor 1960; Offen 2000; Rogers 1885; Swane 1917; Waddell 1959).

Conclusion

Although this project is oriented to answer a number of questions regarding the British settlement at Lamanai, the project's main goals are two-fold. The first relating to chronology and external connections will be facilitated by analyzing and photographing previously excavated British era ceramics in order to obtain data regarding what types, wares, and forms of ceramics were being used by the British at Lamanai as well as to look at changes in this commodity over time and between occupation or activity areas. The ceramic material culture will be used in tandem with other artifacts such as glass, faunal remains, tools, clothing items and machinery as well as oral and documentary sources that will provide multiple lines of evidence regarding both the nature of day-to-day life at the estate and how it or daily conduct may have changed over time. The

second goal relating to use of landscape and internal (local) meaning is to use the data gleaned from the collected and observed material culture as well as historical, documentary, and ethnographic sources to find out more about how the British survived in an environment (at least for a time) where Mopan Maya were known to be not only wary of, but hostile to colonizers due to three hundred years of war and oppression by the Spanish.

British colonial expansion affords this project a unique look at how and why the Lamanai landscape was cultivated by the British and possibly why sugar production never became a viable institution at this location. Colonial landscape and material culture symbolized and enacted the dominant ideology that was imposed on individuals and groups servicing the colonial economy. Barbara Little further defines this “dominant ideology” as the “subjective knowledge and explanation that serves some social class, promoting, possibly through distortion, the dominant group’s interests” (Little 2007:67). Little’s work is important because it elucidates the ways in which cultural, political, and economic dichotomies between marginalized groups and dominant groups become manifest through the use of embedded cultural symbolism within material culture: “who is exchanging messages with whom, becomes critical” (Purser 1999:123). Colonial landscapes and material culture were powerful symbols of the right to participate in the colonial economy as well as the right to dominion over “uncultivated and wild nature” (Wolf 1982:388) and peoples. The British settlement at Lamanai is an excellent location to look at a particular landscape and unique ceramics assemblage in the context of British colonialism and the rapidly changing political economies of Central America and Belize.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND PREVIOUS STUDIES

“Production exists on at least three levels, economic, political, and ideological... things, power, and thoughts and ideas are produced in each, respectively, but none can exist independently” (Orser 1989:35).

Historical archaeologists have long struggled with how to study colonial era cultures, suggesting that instead of specifically looking at issues such as race, gender, or acculturation, a framework of economics and power is a more relevant model for archaeological studies (Brysk 2000; Delle 2001, 2000, 1998; Epperson 2001; Gasco 1996; Hauser and Hicks 2007; Nassaney et al. 2001; Orser 2006, 1996, 1994, 1989, 1988, 1988b; Paynter 2000; Politis 2003; Rodriguez-Alegria et al. 2003; Turner and Fairclough 2007). When studying colonialism, a political and economic venture in itself, it is important that archaeologists “take a political-economic approach to view everyday cultural landscapes as a means to create, reinforce, and alter social relations...[because] social relations of power and privilege were often codified through the material world” (Nassaney et al. 2001:222-223). The conjugant of colonialism and capitalism (Orser 1996), relies on profitable production and “production exists on at least three levels, economic, political, and ideological...things, power, and thoughts and ideas are produced in each, respectively, but none can exist independently” (Orser 1989:35). At the core of this concept is the idea that it would have been easier for the British operating at Lamanai

to use political, economic, and labor systems already in place on the landscape when they arrived in Honduras. Instead of attempting to create new structures, the British likely attempted to exploit those systems already in place, which included a deep history of organized Maya trade-based economies via inland waterways, indigenous resentment of the Spanish over what amounted to hundreds of years of conflict and repeated attempts to take control of the lowlands, and decades of small, British resource extraction teams that had had some commercial success through negotiations with native groups at the local level.

Historical Archaeology in the New World

Historical archaeology in the Americas is a fairly new concept, which has been variously defined as the study of a time period, a methodology, and the study of the modern world (Orser 1996). American historical archaeology is necessarily “concerned with the history of people and cultures of European origin” (Paynter 2000:169) because the process of colonialism drove groups and individuals to seek their fortunes in the New World. However, while these studies track the movement and history of colonial Europeans, these groups were necessarily in contact and conflict with the indigenous peoples they encountered in their attempts to extract resources and profit in the New World. While the goal of European merchants, plantation owners, and material resource extractors was always to facilitate profit and personal gain, the interactions with local groups needed to further this goal would have varied to a large degree. It is at this intersection where things get messy, much more complex, and more about the how colonialism was obstructed or facilitated in different places and times due to variability in

New World cultures, economies, and histories of the groups Europeans attempted to exploit.

The archaeology of historical sites gives us the opportunity to explore the roots of modern capitalism and how the current version of this economic and social structure came to be what it is today, which is why archaeologists must “dig locally [and] think globally” (Orser 2008:25). When dealing with post-Columbian archaeology in the New World, it is necessary to make interpretations based on different scales of analysis, since each site would have necessarily been a local and regional phenomenon driven from above by global markets and industry (Orser 2008:27). And, each site could have had both successes and failures at differing levels of connectivity at variable points in history. Artifacts, features, and landscapes at historical sites are necessarily linked to both global and local sociopolitical economies and these data must be interpreted as symbols of outright colonial culture that also became a particularized assemblage in a local, variable landscape.

The study of historical sites is intrinsically linked to the concept of status and caste with regard to contact, conflict, and capitalism. Colonialism relies on profound differences between groups providing capital, management, and labor in landscapes designed for profit. However, relationships between groups are mutable depending on time and place so the idea that we can make nomothetic interpretations of the status of participants and social order in particular theatres is flawed. The one similarity of industrial landscapes were that each “was an economic institution whose primary function was to increase the planter’s wealth” (Orser 1988:739), but fundamental differences exist in the ways in which profit making would have been accomplished due

to variability in local economies, availability of labor, and historic make-up of cultural structures (Sahlins 1965). While the plantation landscapes in British Honduras would have differed greatly from those in other parts of the Caribbean and the southern United States where slaves provided the bulk of industrial labor, recent plantation archaeology can provide a general basis of analysis for an interpretation of the overarching relationships between management and labor at Lamanai. Profit making institutions had “two basic classes: owners and direct producers” (Orser 1988:741). In many instances, these two classes had unique and separate domains with regard to both access to space and types of material culture and both had ways of asserting power over the other. Orser’s work on plantation archaeology gives us clues as to the variable nature of class on profit making landscapes by arguing that “power is a complex concept for which scholars have not provided a universally accepted meaning” (Orser 1988:741) because, at this point, we understand and experience power best locally.

Plantation material culture was designed to outwardly communicate the power and wealth of the planter because he controlled access to space, foodways, and consumer goods utilized by the individuals and groups providing on-site labor. However, the day-to-day existence of both the planter and laborers was much more complex. The planter could deny access to food or goods, but laborers could also decrease profit by “malingering, deigning ignorance, sabotaging machinery or tools, running away, or outright rebellion” (Orser 1988:741). However, in the case of plantations in British Honduras, it is likely that local laborers had an extraordinary amount of power and control over the profitability of plantations and resource extraction largely because this region never saw the large-scale import of slave labor. The British operating in Honduras

had a history of working with small, local teams of workers who were given salaries of both money and food and, many times, worked side by side with their colonial counterparts. As the plantation economy began to take hold in the early nineteenth-century, labor became an even more important, yet scarce, commodity because laborers had the opportunity to choose whom to work for instead of being the property of a planter. This is not to say that there were no differences in the material culture of laborers and property owners. But, in the case of British Honduras, the visibility of social difference in the material record will likely be much more difficult to distinguish. Instead of a shift to the classic British colonial plantation mode, the British in Honduras were experimenting with a hacienda mode of production inherited from the Spanish, which was less costly than buying and maintaining enough slaves to directly run the plantation household. Lamanai, in particular, seems to have been in revelatory contrast to more typical British plantation practices elsewhere where there was a maximum investment in infrastructure and bodies on the landscape.

Although the late colonial era at Lamanai is the focus of my thesis, the histories leading up to this occupation are an important aspect of how and why the British were active, although only mildly successful, in a region claimed by the Spanish in the sixteenth-century and occupied by the Maya since around 2,000 BC (Pendergast, Graham, Simmons 2006:1). To this end, the cultural, social, economic, and political histories of the Maya, Spanish, and British operating in Northern Belize and at Lamanai are lines of evidence in their own right. I argue that an interpretation of the British occupation at Lamanai would be unfounded and lacking context without first establishing some idea of the historical circumstances that lead to the convergence of these groups at

this particular place and time. This “ideology of descent” is vital to the project because the intersection of these intrinsic histories “has a career of its own” (Sahlins 1965:105) that may shed light on the nature of the British settlement through the addition of particularistic, contextual attributes to the landscape and material data, allowing for a more holistic interpretation gleaned from multiple lines of evidence.

Previous historical archaeological studies in Central America have centered on the logwood (Gipson 1946; Offen 2000), sugar (Green 1984; Pendergast 1982), cacao (Gasco 1996; McAnany et al. 2002) and citrus (Moberg 1992, 1990) industries; Spanish missions (Graham 1998); African and indigenous slave populations (Cheek 1997; Helms 1983; Samford 1996; Singleton 2001, 1995) and interaction between the Spanish and indigenous peoples (Alexander 2005, 1997; Brysk 2000; Garcia 1990; Gasco 2005, 1990, 1996; Graham and Pendergast 1989; Helms 1983; Masson 1999; Menon 1979; Moberg 1992, 1990; Olien 1988; Palka 1998; Pendergast 1988; Pendergast, Graham, Simmons 2006; Politis 2003; Robinson 1997; Rodriguez-Alegria 2003 et al.). The bulk of historical archaeology in Central America has focused on Spanish sites and the Postclassic Maya, which includes Spanish influence and economic interaction at these sites.

Previous studies have looked at historic period landscapes in the Maya lowlands. Palka’s work in the jungles of Guatemala and Mexico is centered on the Lacandon Maya and the “indigenous culture change after the political and economic expansion of the postcolonial republics in the nineteenth-century” (Palka 1998:457). The author’s work stands out because he looks at Maya culture after the fall of the Spanish empire. Palka argues that isolation played an important role in Lacandon cultural continuity during the

Spanish period, but that the bulk of identifying change in historic Lacandon lifeways occurred mainly during the nineteenth-century when “settlers, explorers, entrepreneurs, officials, and missionaries entered the lowlands in growing numbers” (Palka 1998:45). The Lamanai settlement and the Lacandon community have similar geographic attributes, such as isolation and access to inland waterways. In addition, as with the Lacandon community, Lamanai arguably had the greatest degree of political and economic culture change after the Spanish were removed from Belize. However, one problem with this comparison is that the Lacandon were wholly removed from maritime access and Lamanai was not, which may be an important distinction between the two communities and an additional point of discussion when interpreting the British attempt at a profit making venture at Lamanai.

Just as elsewhere in the Americas, historical archaeology in Latin America is attracting the attention of trained professionals (Andrews 1981:1). Andrews argues that one reason for the paucity of such studies can be attributed, among other factors, to a lack of formalized framework with which to situate the interpretation of such sites. Andrews’ work in the Yucatan peninsula is applicable to historical archaeology at Lamanai because this landscape was necessarily part of the greater Yucatec political, social, and cultural economy as both a discrete Maya space and an area where both Spanish and English colonialism took place. Andrews divides historical remains into:

“four major periods or categories...: contact, colonial (1532-1821), republican (1821-1910), and national/modern (1910-present)...that follow the basic chronological framework established by Yucatecan historians” (1981:3).

Within these major periods, Andrews also accounts for variation in the general nature of sites by further categorizing sites according to the types of activity and longevity of the settlements as “permanent communities; ranches, plantations, and rural industrial; campsites; special function; and special landscape” (1981:4-6).

While these categories and subcategories are a good starting point, they do not necessarily translate into meaningful categories with regard to the British in Belize. The British sugar venture at Lamanai, for example, occurred during the colonial and republican phases and would land somewhere in between ranches/plantations/rural industrial and campsites. The property owners obviously had a long-term intent, but the whole of the history of this particular venture appears to encompass only about forty years. However, Andrews’ work highlights the perspectives needed to interpret the scale of historical sites as well as the regional and global forces at work that changed the nature of the relationships of colonists with indigenous peoples, labor, trade partners, and homeland governments.

Spatial Analysis

Archaeological studies must also include “debates about the relationships of people to nature, to their environment and to each other, and discussion about identity and ownership at local, regional, national, and European scales” (Turner and Fairclough 2007:125). Landscapes were and continue to be locations where symbolic dialogue takes place. The materials constructed and located within what was necessarily once abstract space contain active social, cultural, and political pedagogy that “offered many socially relevant services to the individuals and social groups who inhabited them” (Orser

2006:28). The lived experience of the individuals and groups operating within the larger British Empire relied on a shared identity because identity is a central facet of ideology and a crucial means by which people make at least minimal sense of their positioning in the world and thus their day-to-day life experiences (Burke 1999:25).

People and the space they inhabit are symbiotic because:

“the inseparable connection between society and space thus makes it virtually impossible to disentangle the social relations embodied in the arrangement of rooms, buildings, and landscape features from the social relations that constructed, reconstructed, and maintained them” (Orser 2006:29).

British colonial expansion affords this project a unique look at how and why the Lamanai landscape was cultivated by the British and possibly why sugar production never became a viable institution at this location. Colonial landscape and material culture symbolized the dominant ideology that was imposed on individuals and groups servicing the colonial economy. Colonial landscapes and material culture were powerful symbols of the right to participate in the colonial economy as well as the right to dominion over “uncultivated and wild” nature (Wolf 1982:388) and peoples. Landscape and architecture were visual markers of colonial, capitalistic thought or ideology; these types of material culture were meant to be seen and experienced by individuals and groups operating within the colonial sphere because physical space was consciously constructed to represent the ideologies of those who lived and worked in these particular spheres (Orser 2006:28). However, space cannot be understood solely in the context of a particular time. Landscape manipulation is a long term process, so it is important that we understand the nature of the landscape in addition to the social, cultural, economic, and political histories that created these spaces because “knowledge of the local context of

use and meaning is essential if we are to understand the material culture and the mental order that made it” (Leone 1987:237). Colonial landscape choices would have necessarily been imbued with the same ideology that drove economics and power in the British empire, but these landscapes were also necessarily a part of local and regional theatre and, thus, were imbued with mutable meanings depending on time, place, and the economic capacity of the planter to create and manage ideology through the built environment. British spatial practices were reflective of social ideologies, but these landscapes were also a medium through which social ideologies could be taught to colonized peoples.

Landscapes should be viewed as a form of pedagogy (Orser 2006) that informs and teaches individuals and groups the intended function and active nature of a space as well as the intent of the builders to position themselves within an emerging colonial society that was also necessarily located within long-standing cultures. This pedagogy is transmitted through the lived experience of and internal meanings within the landscape. To understand the nature of the lived experience and internal meaning invested in this space, we must first note the deliberate and repeated use of this location by separate groups at different times for particular purposes, but each associated with cultural, religious, or economic power. In the case of the British settlement at Lamanai, my interpretation of internal meaning begins with the observation that both the Spanish and British chose to use a former Maya temple: a place imbued with historical political and social power. However, the Maya also manipulated the ideology embedded in this landscape. Considering previous Maya hostilities with colonial powers, my interpretation must include the idea that the Maya allowed the British to settle on their landscape in the

exact location where they formally razed the Spanish church, which may have been a reminder to the British that they could be removed at any moment, just like the Spanish. Even before the arrival of the British at Lamanai, the Maya had already made a bold statement when building the first Spanish Church over what had been a Tulum style platform feature (Graham 2008:7). In what may have been purposeful act of decommissioning the power embedded in this feature, the Christian church staircases located at the north and south entrances were not constructed in line with the former entrance and exit. This act could be seen as an “antagonistic termination” (Canuto and Andrews 2008:260) of the Spanish structure by the Maya, but it could also be nothing more than the normal practice of the Maya honoring the transverse or primary axis, which included the offset Christian church stairs for construction purposes. The ritual, if present, may have gone completely unnoticed by the Spanish who would not have had knowledge of the ideological ramifications of these seemingly ambiguous actions by the Maya builders. Thus, the Maya, British, and Spanish all consciously constructed social landscapes at this particular location (Orser 2006:28).

In addition to the human component of landscape we should also address the location and limitations of a particular space in relation to natural resources or the productive part of that landscape (Rockman 2003:4). These types of data can elucidate the reasons why a landscape was chosen as an area of industry or habitation and why groups were in continual conflict over such a space. In the case of Lamanai, the space was close to river transportation and had access to an abundance of natural resources, which would have made this landscape a valuable asset to whoever was in control of the land and shoreline. Lamanai had long been a place of markets and trade and was a space

that would have been embedded in the local and regional knowledge as a location where one would get supplies and maybe find work.

Historic Artifacts

The analysis of material culture collected at colonial sites is “important to the interpretation of history because archaeology controls the material remains of the past...[and] material remains supplement the historical record in several crucial ways:

- 1.) they supply historical information for times and places not recorded in oral and written histories;
- 2.) [they] reflect the actions and interactions of daily life;
- 3.) [they] can correct unconscious bias or deliberate misinformation in historical texts;
- 4.) and, [they] enable us to gauge the material constraints on action, particularly constraints arising from uneven distributions of resources and labor” (Brumfiel 2003:207).

The most prevalent source of data on historic sites is material culture in the form of artifacts. The proliferation of mass-produced consumer goods during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries allows archaeologists to date occupations, connect producers with consumers, and allows a perspective on the socioeconomic status of groups who lived and worked at historic sites. But, this same proliferation is also extremely problematic with regard to localized interpretations. Given that most everyone had access to the same types of consumer goods, how can we elucidate individual variability and local context with assemblages from the eighteenth and nineteenth-century that look similar no matter where they were located in the world?

However, this problem inherent to historical archaeology may also be its greatest strength, because we know the sources and dates of manufacture; different areas would

have necessarily had differences in access to commodities and consumer choice. Seemingly minor variations in assemblages can shed light on social, economic, and political networks, allow us to question or confirm power structures, and help us recognize local meanings behind color, pattern, and form choices that have direct connections to the lifeways of our archaeological participants. Tea culture, in particular, embodies this concept. Although tea drinking began in elite circles in the eighteenth-century, the presence of teawares at a site does not necessarily mean that it is an elite occupation or feature. By the eighteenth-century, everyone was drinking tea and, in addition, teawares need not necessarily have been used exclusively for tea drinking or involved in formal settings; tea had different meanings for different social groups.

Historically, material culture analysis has centered on “the consumer behavior of the wealthy” (Breen 1988:82). However, more recent studies have questioned this focus because “the spread of the consumer market transformed the lives of ordinary men and women as fundamentally as it did those of their more affluent neighbors” (Breen 1988:82). This ambiguity of consumer product use is considered by Orser (2006). Orser argues that “the materiality of colonialism, though inseparable from the process of cultural interaction, is equally complicated and is often quite subtle” (2005:66). At first colonial consumer products were brought to remote locations to recreate homeland comforts and familiarity for the colonists, but as these products began to proliferate on the local and regional landscapes, the meaning behind such consumer accumulation necessarily changed (Mintz 1985). Colonial material culture may have originally:

“constituted the tangible embodiment of foreign power and possible long-term domination, [but] the objects of colonialism often work to create new

markets and to erode or to destroy an Indigenous people's traditionally-constructed material, social, and natural worlds" (Orser 2005:66).

The availability of metal tools and ceramics would have been quickly adapted to indigenous use as stone tools and ceramics would have been time consuming to make locally and were easily replaced by mass produced and relatively inexpensive items. Because the accessibility of these goods we cannot "assume that the objects people used were necessarily decorated with symbols and designs that were directly meaningful to them" (Orser 2005: 69), but it is possible to study why or how British consumer goods were used in particular settings and why certain colors, patterns, and forms of ceramics were chosen over others.

Historic Documents

An understanding of the historical context of colonial era Lamanai as both a place and time is vital to this project because:

"we shall not understand the present world unless we trace the growth of the world market and the course of capitalist development; we must be able to relate both the history and theory of that unfolding development to processes that affect and change the lives of local populations" (Wolf 1982:21).

During the early and mid nineteenth-century, power between indigenous and European groups in Central America and Belize was experiencing rapid change driven by the increased commodification of labor, trade ports, and routes changing hands, the hunt for natural resources for exploitation, and the void left by the fall of the Spanish Empire in the Americas. While historical documents necessarily reflect the biases of the groups and

individuals who wrote them, they provide clues to the nature of trade, power, and conflict then active in Belize and the larger region.

It is important to recognize the problematic nature of primary source documents with regard to colonial contact in Yucatan because:

“the focus of archaeology on Maya material culture and day-to-day living also leads to insights that differ from those derived from study of documents written by Spaniards bent on economic and spiritual supremacy” (Graham, Pendergast, and Jones 1989:1254).

The inherent conflicts between the documentary and archaeological record, while frustrating, can also lead to a better understanding of the ideological differences between the groups who inhabited this landscape. On one side, “the documents left by early colonial chroniclers are cobwebbed with bias, [but] they are [also] a direct link to the past” (Graham, Pendergast, and Jones 1989:1255). On the other hand, “archaeology is clearly not as communicative as are documentary sources” (Graham, Pendergast, and Jones 1989:1255). When both historical documents and material culture are utilized it may result in different outcomes in the data, although this conflict in itself can be the basis for a deeper understanding of how people actually lived in the past versus how groups and individuals wanted to live or be perceived in the past.

The potential conflict between archaeology and written documents is an extremely important factor in my study because few archaeological studies include analyses of primary documentary evidence of the British in Central America during the colonial era. However, my preliminary research has shown that a great deal of historical documentation does exist and has been utilized by historians, anthropologists, and ethnographers (e.g., Brown 1928; Curry 1956; Dawson 1998, 1983; Everitt 1986; Gipson

1946; Goebel 1938; Green 1984; Helms 1983; Menon 1979; Moberg 1992; Olean 1988; Naylor 1960; Swayne 1917; Waddell 1959). Although these types of data have not yet been rigorously studied within an archaeological framework, I suggest that they are an important line of evidence necessary for the interpretation of the British settlement at Lamanai because primary documentation, such as treaties, correspondence, and land grants, help build the story about what was happening around the settlement. This would have necessarily affected the nature of the relationships between the groups living and working at Lamanai.

Conclusion

As mentioned earlier, this study, which is an initial look at the late colonial period at Lamanai, will focus broadly on the following three questions:

1. What does the material culture tell us about the timeline of the British settlement(s) and use or re-use of the landscape at Lamanai?
2. What may have been some of the reasons for the ultimate collapse of this particular industrial venture?
3. Who was providing labor for the construction and operation of the sugar mill?

Answers to these questions rely on multiple lines of evidence stemming from the artifacts, features, landscape, oral histories, and historical documents unique to Lamanai, but also connected to the regional and global economies at work during the nineteenth-century. Lamanai is located deep in the lowland jungle in a somewhat isolated landscape that would have experienced a least a modicum of autonomy from the conflict and power struggles on the coast, while at the same time being connected to trade and information

via the vast inland waterways. The disconnectedness of the physical space would have played a role in the day-to-day lives of individuals and groups living and working on the estate, but the political, economic, and cultural interactions occurring at larger scales (regional and global) would have also affected the socioeconomic state of Lamanai to a large degree. An understanding of late colonial Lamanai as a particular landscape that experienced the influence of local, regional, and global spheres is vital to this project. It would be impossible to interpret the day-to-day realities of this space without knowledge of the ideologies inherent to the growth and movement of the world market throughout the New World (Wolf 1982). The desire for new and exotic resources by Europeans would play out in far away places and affect the course of history of local populations all over the world.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

“The past provides us with a long-term perspective. For those with a scientific bent, it may be useful to think of it as a laboratory of sort, albeit a rather sloppy one, where humanity has tried out many different approaches to living in the human condition” (Little 2007:9).

Historical archaeology employs three overarching lines of evidence: material culture, oral history, and written history. In the past, history, anthropology, and archaeology were often seen as separate types of studies, each reliant on differing forms of evidence. Historians argue that the only way truly to know people in the past is through documentary evidence, including art, legal papers, diaries, letters, newspapers, and books. Anthropologists posit that we can know the past by studying the makeup of modern cultures. Through ethnography and participant observation anthropologists attempt to trace the history of groups by breaking down these cultures into social, economic, and political categories that can be applied to past peoples (Sahlins and Service 1960). Anthropologists look at the outcome to find origins; the present was created by events in the past.

Historically, archaeologists have taken a similar, yet distinctly different approach to studying history. We agree that the present is the outcome of the past, but the inverse relationship is of more importance because the way to understand the present is to first understand the past then work our way to the present and not project present patterns onto the past. In addition, archaeologists may argue that 1) only the objects used by people in

the past can tell us what life was like in the past, and 2) written documents and oral histories are necessarily biased by the individuals who created them based on their subjective view of the world or the wish to mislead their audience (Leone 1988, 1995).

Stanley South, a famous and outspoken archaeologist, was so worried about archaeologists depending exclusively on documentation that he stated that such researchers would “always live in fear that a new document will turn up to refute the interpretation” (South 1978:223). From an historical archaeological standpoint, it is clear that documents, oral histories, and material culture are all problematic and biased lines of evidence, which is why it is important to look at all the evidence as a universe of data. The points at which data intersect or diverge become an important aspect of interpretation and form the foundation of this particular study. Categories such as prehistory, history, and contemporary are abstract and artificial distinctions because social scientists are all working on different aspects of the same continuum. Archaeology is not just the study of the past as a time and place, it is the discovery and interpretation of change through time and the influences of social, cultural, and political economies.

Project Data

The artifacts and features utilized for this project were excavated from areas linked to British endeavors at Lamanai, Belize. These data were used in tandem with historical evidence and spatial analysis to address the project’s research questions and problem orientation. The major aims and objectives of the project also included analysis of data from non-ceramic material culture, documentary sources, and oral histories because a reasonable interpretation of the history and day-to-day activities of life at the

British settlement must rely on multiple lines of independent evidence. All of the artifacts and features analyzed for the project had previously been collected or documented by groups and individuals working at the site since excavations began in the 1970s. During a three-week period in April and May of 2009, I traveled to Lamanai, Belize with my field assistant, Damon T. Bowman, in order to conduct on-site research on the excavated materials as well as to familiarize myself with the landscape and standing architecture. The project involved an analysis of the ceramic collection and other material culture, such as glass, metal, faunal remains, features, and physiographic landscape unique to Lamanai, to facilitate a better understanding of the settlement's colonial period chronology and role within the larger political, cultural, and economic theater of nineteenth-century British Honduras.

Historical Documents/Oral history: First Hand Accounts and Historical Traditions

The project began with research into the known history of Lamanai, Belize, and colonialism in the Americas, more broadly. These documents included reports from previous excavations at Lamanai and other sites in Belize, works by twentieth- and twenty-first-century historians, recent governmental and economic reports, and historic, archived materials relating to the site and the region. After arriving at Lamanai, I spoke with other archaeologists who have worked at the site as well as local guides, rangers, and individuals in order to get a better grasp of what was thought to have occurred over time at Lamanai. These oral histories and subsequent analysis of the local material culture then led to additional, targeted documentary research. To this end, I located multiple primary documents with first hand accounts of trade, industry, conflict, and

labor at Lamanai, in the Village of Indian Church, and elsewhere in the region. These documents included military, missionary, historian, and adventurer accounts of nineteenth-century Belize as well as treaties, court documents, and trade journals, which will be discussed in the analysis and discussion portions of this paper.

Ceramics: Chronology and External Connections

Because ceramics are frequently used yet breakable items that are not easily degraded by environmental factors, they are a plentiful and reliable archaeological resource. Nineteenth-century imported British ceramics are generally well dated, with styles that may have been produced for as little as a few years. During the eighteenth-century, “a great diversity of ceramics were imported to North America, [but beginning in the last quarter of this century this diversity] began to narrow...as England and, more particularly, Staffordshire gained dominance over the world ceramics market” (Miller 1984:2). The manufacturing locale of these wares can usually be determined and the cost of different patterns can sometimes be determined. These data are unusually specific in the archaeology of this period and directly relate to the project’s problem orientation, because the questions first depend on narrowing the dates of occupation, which fortunately occur during a time of rapid change in ceramic technology. For example, a large percentage of pearlware (1775-1830) or creamware (1742-1820) would point to an active occupation before the 1837 treaty, but a large percentage of whiteware (1820-2000) or ironstone (1840-2000) could point to a post-1837 occupation (DAACS 2004).

Mean ceramic dating is an extremely useful tool in historical archaeology because it allows us to:

“examine the degree of redundancy and variability in the ceramic remains from British colonial sites of different time periods...[by determining the mean date] for any particular type [of ceramic, which] is then multiplied by the total frequency of fragments for that type to produce a product...; the total of the product for all ceramic types is then divided by the total number of ceramic fragments to produce a frequency adjusted mean ceramic date for the collection” (South 1978a:36).

While mean ceramic dating allows for relative dating of sites and features, there are problems inherent in the formulas used for such an analysis. For one, mean ceramic dating uses sherd counts, not whole vessel counts, which may skew the data in favor of vessels that broke into more pieces than others. In addition, areas with an expansive production date range of ceramics (e.g., pearlware through ironstone) need to be carefully analyzed for the possible reasons for this degree of variation within the same context and how this variation came to be in a particular context. This can be especially problematic with regard to a context with both secondary and primary deposits, such as a midden that contains the consolidation of previously scattered detritus along with material culture from an active habitation. In this particular case the secondary deposit may contain many small pieces broken down by foot and animal traffic along with larger pieces of object broken and thrown directly into the context, which would skew the results in favor of the earlier material culture with a larger sherd count.

Although most Mesoamericanists use a type-variety system to classify prehistoric ceramics, I utilized mean ceramic dating and recording of attributes such as vessel form, color, decoration, and ware type for the purposes of this project. The type-variety

application is useful to the interpretation of prehistoric Mesoamerican pottery because it allows archaeologists to:

“establish analytical ceramic units which will be comparable throughout the Maya territory, to undertake detailed chronological and areal studies, especially in areas away from the ceremonial centers, and to use ceramics as a step toward cultural interpretation” (Smith et al.:330).

The type-variety system is useful to Mesoamericanists because it allows for cultural interpretation through the spread of technology and design between city centers and hinterlands during prehistory. When looking at colonial material disbursement and use, the type-variety system is redundant because the manufacturing locales and dates for the majority of these wares are well documented, and are the very data the type variety system is trying to approximate. British and Spanish ceramics were not being produced locally, nor were these items being modified aesthetically or technologically in the region, although, as with the type-variety system, I am interested in the spread of designs, ware types, and forms. Mean ceramic dating records these data as part of the identification process, which allows for a highly specific data set equivalent to the type-variety system, and to this end, was used to date the British settlement and movement of activity areas over time at Lamanai.

Ceramic data collection included the ceramic attributes of type, vessel form, and decoration, which were used to interpret the nature of the relationships of the groups at Lamanai and identify the approximate dates of production. To this end, I used an extensive mean ceramic date-type database constructed by the Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery of the Thomas Jefferson Foundation (DAACS 2004) as well as other resources pertaining to the classification and identification of colonial era

(Basterfield 2007; Hume 1969; Mayfield 2006; Wilke and Farnsworth 2005) and Mayan (Adams and Jones 1981; Demarest 2004; Garcia 1990; Gifford 1976; Graham and Pendergast 1989; Howie-Langs 2000; Rodriguez-Alegria et al. 2003; White et al. 2004) material culture. In addition, site reports and articles written by archaeologists who conducted studies at Lamanai were thoroughly utilized (Howard 1997; Howie-Langs 2000; Pendergast 1985, 1985a, 1982, 1981, 1981a, 1981b, 1977, 1976). While mean ceramic dating received the bulk of attention for this project, I also established minimum vessel counts that included attributes of vessel form and decoration. After identifying these data, I used percentage frequencies to detect patterning of both form and decoration for the known areas of British activity. These types of data can elucidate consumer choice, aesthetic preference, and food preparation and serving techniques by the occupants of a site as a whole as well as differences between activity areas that may serve as ethnic and cultural markers.

Spatial Analysis: Use of Landscape and Internal Meaning

While ware types provided clues to the overall timeline of the British settlement, the spatial locations of the ceramics, vessel forms, quantities of sherds, and vessel counts provided insight into the types of activity occurring (residential or industrial) and dates of settlement zones on the landscape. Considering the rapid political and economic change occurring in Central America and Belize during the early to mid 1800s, the timeline of events and activities elicited from the material culture is a key line of evidence. The process of identifying ceramic provenience on the excavated materials elucidated the median dates of occupation for known British zones at Lamanai (external connections)

and facilitated an interpretation of the nature of daily life at Lamanai during the British endeavor including how the use of landscape changed over time (internal meaning).

While basic necessities for the large-scale production of sugar include elements such as a mill, housing for management and labor, and agricultural lands, the discovery of the particularities of how these activities were structured and positioned in time and space at Lamanai was a vital aspect of this project.

The project's spatial analysis also included an examination of the locations of the British era features in relation to other features as well as access or proximity to activity areas and resources. In addition, the building materials (local or imported) and architectural details were documented in order to interpret the overall intent of the builders. Intent includes not only the practical make up of a profit making landscape, but also the idea that the investors and builders were part of a broader economy with its own cultural ideas about what a successful enterprise should look like on the landscape. These data will be used to address pedagogy, ideology, and active nature of the landscape at Lamanai.

Summary of Fieldwork

Material Data Collection

The artifacts and features analyzed were recovered and documented during previous field seasons spanning approximately forty years. No additional excavations have taken place at this point in my research. Lots and collections from known British era features and landscapes were the focus of this study and supplied by Elizabeth Graham and Linda Howie who worked at the lab during the 2009 field season. No

artifacts or materials were taken from the lab at any time. Artifacts were returned to their respective collections as they were found after extensive documentation, except for the addition of a label stating the date of removal and return of artifacts for logging/photographing purposes. Data recovered were entered into a Microsoft Excel database encompassing the whole of material culture available during the field season. In order to analyze the historic material culture at Lamanai, I recorded and photographed British-era ceramics and other analogous, excavated or surface collected artifacts from the site. The database of analyzed ceramics from Lamanai was organized according to local provenience because the project goals required knowledge of where the ceramics were found and when they were deposited to assess the dates and nature of the groups living and working at Lamanai during the British occupation.

Landscape Analysis

Landscapes and features of known British activity were observed and documented during on-site research. Special attention was paid to the relationships between activity zones and to architectural details included in the built environment. In addition, site maps and plan drawings generated from previous archaeological endeavors at Lamanai were supplied by Elizabeth Graham and utilized for the project.

Photography

Features and landscapes were photographed using the following equipment:

- Nikon D700 12 mega-pixel digital single lens reflex (SLR) camera
- Canon Powershot G10 14.7MP Digital Camera

Artifacts were photographed using the following equipment:

- Nikon D700 12 mega-pixel digital single lens reflex (SLR) camera
- Nikon 105mm f/2.8 AF-S VR macro lens
- Nikon 28-70mm f/2.8G ED AF-S zoom lens
- Two Nikon SB-R200 remote-fired flash units
- Photoflex LiteRoom shooting tent
- Gitzo carbon fiber tripod
- Markins ball head

The shooting tent was used in order to diffuse the lighting and reduce glare and reflections from certain artifacts. The tripod center column was inverted to allow the camera to shoot artifacts from an overhead angle via a port in the shooting tent. Black cloth was used as a background for all images. A measurement scale was included in each photograph. The remote flash units were placed outside the shooting tent. Lighting was adjusted as necessary to maintain good exposure. For larger artifacts, the depth of field was adjusted to maintain a larger area in focus.

Historical Documents

The acquisition of historical documents pertaining to Lamanai and, more generally, Indian Church proved difficult. Google Books online (<http://books.google.com/>) has been extremely helpful, since this entity has recently been working with several universities and libraries to scan their historical collections. I also received written and photographic materials from Elizabeth Graham, David Pendergast, Claude Belanger, Louise Belanger, and Linda Howie, who have worked on the history of

Belize and Lamanai. Missionary, military, and mercantile accounts proved the most fruitful in my pursuit of first hand accounts of Indian Church and Lamanai. These documents included military accounts of the reaction to the violence of 1867 and 1868, merchant and economic magazines and reviews, and first hand missionary accounts. In addition, I utilized secondary histories written from the early nineteenth-century to modern times, site reports, articles, and books from Lamanai and other Maya excavations in Yucatan, and theoretical writings that relate to Maya and colonial landscapes in the new world.

Oral History

The collection of oral histories was unstructured and opportunistic. During my time at Lamanai and in the village of Indian Church, I encountered many people who had knowledge of the history of Lamanai as well as knowledge of the history of archaeology, both locally and regionally. The conversations were informal and mainly took place during daily activities such as the walk to and from the site, shopping in the village, and working in the lab. Informants included archaeologists, rangers, guides, and local inhabitants.

Conclusion

During their brief occupation, the British at Lamanai may have been living in the remains of a Spanish church that was constructed atop a Mayan temple. At the very least, the British chose to construct an estate among features and landscape located in the shadow of towering pyramids, near trade routes that had been active since prehistory, and

among deep indigenous and colonial histories. It is important to recognize that the Maya, British, and Spanish all chose to build at this location. Conscious decisions and conscious constructions were made in this location by past peoples, which can give us clues to the intent of the builders and the effect of these efforts on the individuals and groups who were active on, but did not create these landscapes (Orser 2006:28). To understand the nature of the lived experience of this time and place and internal meaning invested in this space, we must first note the deliberate and repeated use of this location by separate groups at different times for specific purposes, but each associated with cultural, religious, or economic power (Brysk 2000; Cheek 1997; Delle 1992; Gasco 2005, 1996; Hauser and Hicks 2007; Hodder 1991; Little 2007; Moberg 1992, 1990; Mrozowski 1999; Orser 2008, 1994, 1988b; Paynter 2000; Sahlins 1983). To this end, landscape spatial analysis and historical context provided the contextual and theoretical structure of this study because historical archaeology “must be reflexive and situated, rather than ahistorical or conducted in vacuo” (Hauser and Hicks 2007:267). The structures and artifacts featured in this study all occur within a particular landscape so the foundation of the study’s methodological approach must first recognize the physical space as the stage on which everything else took place.

The most prevalent material culture associated with the British at Lamanai was European-made ceramics; they were used to date activity and residential zones as well as establish percentages of vessel form, color, and decoration. These data, along with oral histories, written accounts, and other material culture found in context facilitated a preliminary interpretation of the cultural, economic, and political connections between the Maya, Spanish, and British operating in Belize and Central America and situated the

British colonists living at Lamanai during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries within broader economic and political colonial spheres.

CHAPTER IV

OCCUPATIONAL HISTORY OF BELIZE

“British Honduras is a mere accidental insertion, so to speak, a tiny geographical expression in comparison with the vast provinces of Central America with which it is conterminous; but it is somewhat like Mercutio’s death-wound-not small enough to be insignificant” (Rogers 1885:197).

The British settlement at Lamanai, Belize (approximately 1837 to 1868) occurred during a time of great political and economic change in Central America. The Spanish empire in the Americas had ended. Mexico declared independence in 1821 and the Central American states claimed independence from Spain in 1823 (Naylor 1960:365). The slave trade had been banned by England in 1807 and emancipation followed in 1838, changing the makeup of labor relations for resource extraction related industries, including sugar, cacao, and logwood (Beer 1907; Gipson 1946; Menon 1979; Swayne 1917). Beginning in the early eighteenth-century and likely much earlier, British activities in Central America and Belize were illicit and free from homeland administration and bureaucracy. But lack of formal administration did not mean that British groups and individuals active in the area were unknown in the larger colonial sphere. Even during the colonial period it was well known that “the contraband trade in foreign products [had] existed throughout the Spanish possessions [for many years]” (Goebel 1938:288). And, depending on which groups were doing the naming, these groups and individuals were considered pirates, buccaneers, privateers, or merchants

who were “attracted from all quarters of the globe by the wealth of the New World, openly defiant of the oppressive monopolies of Spain, [and] ...waging a war of contraband against the Spanish authorities” (Swayne 1917:161). Colonial Belize was a region rich in natural resources ripe for cultivation and extraction in a terrain snaked with waterways utilized for centuries by the Maya and well suited for small, low draft British ships (Beer 1907; Swayne 1917) to maneuver through a landscape with a deep history of trade based economies.

Pre-1500

The Maya had long occupied Lamanai and the site was continuously active as a political and economic center during the Preclassic (2,000 BC to AD 250), Early Classic (AD 250 to AD 600), Classic (AD 600 to AD 800), Terminal Classic (AD 800 to AD 900), and Postclassic (AD 900 to 1540) phases (Pendergast 2006:2). During the Terminal Classic and Postclassic periods, many Mayan cities began to decline in population and large cities, such as Tikal, Calakmul, Copan, and Palenque (Santley et al.1986:148) were all but abandoned. However, Lamanai remained occupied and thrived during this collapse (Graham 2006, 2004; Pendergast 1986, 1982). Although it is not known what factors led to the viability of this particular site, the unusual persistence and even flourishing of the site during times that were difficult elsewhere may help explain the later history of colonial occupation. For example, the inland location may have had an insular effect on the Maya at Lamanai by keeping the Spanish from easily establishing a permanent settlement (or for that matter, wanting to put in the effort to colonize an inland site that would be difficult to administer), thus making the location attractive to

English buccaneers and pirates who wanted to elude the Spanish while extracting resources. However, from the Maya perspective, the prime location of Lamanai on a lagoon connected to the inland river network that linked Maya political economies also could have been a factor in its long-term success compared to other large city centers located farther from these waterways. River networks would have been an important aspect of life for the inland Maya because these waterways would have “served as a transportation route for exotic trade goods, ...ritual paraphernalia, imagery, implements, and food [from the coastal areas]” (McKillop 1995:214).

1500-1700

The colonial history of Belize began when the “the coast was discovered by Columbus in 1502, and its early settlement is supposed to have been effected from Jamaica, by adventurers, who were attracted by the fine timber (logwood and mahogany) which grew on the banks of the Hondo and other rivers” (Butter 1879:29). The Spanish arrived in Central America and Mexico in the sixteenth-century and it was around AD 1544 that the first official mention of [Lamanai] was recorded in historical documents (Jones 1989; Graham 2008, Pendergast, Graham, Simmons 2006). The first Spanish church built at the site dates to sometime between 1544 and 1550 (Graham 2008), but this structure was subsequently destroyed and ceremonial caches of Mayan figurines were buried around the feature (Pendergast, Graham, Simmons 2006:1). A second church was constructed to the north of the original structure in the 1560s, although it possible that this feature may have been built in the early seventeenth-century (Graham 1989). Spanish military control waned after 1638-41, although it is thought that secular priest

probably still visited (Jones 1998). Administration of inland Belize had become more difficult after 1838 due to rebellion and widespread disaffection generated largely by the Itza of the Peten (Jones 1998).

The first known British in Belize were pirates, privateers, and buccaneers who seem to have left little evidence of their occupation, arguably due to the transient nature of their movement and activities; this aspect of early British occupation has not been archaeologically explored. Sometime during the seventeenth-century, the British began extracting logwood (Beer 1907; Gipson 1946; Menon 1979; Swayne 1917) for use in cloth dyeing, but it was not until the Treaty of Madrid in 1670 that the British “first acquired a footing in this quarter by treaty with Spain in 1670” (Gray 1869:248-249) and began formalized occupations and resource extraction from Belize, although most ventures were illicit, including the movement of contraband throughout the region.

1700-1800

Spain’s economic hold on Belize (called the Bay of Honduras in the early days) began to fail, likely due in part to a century of “illicit [British] commerce that rolled over the shores of Spanish America... [which defied] Spain’s monopoly of the commerce of its colonial dominions and eventually weakening its political control over them” (Brown 1928:178). One major location of contention between the British and the Spanish was the Mosquito Shore, which “together with Belize and Jamaica...formed an important triangular British power base, threatening the weakest link in Spain’s New World Empire” (Dawson 1983:678). The evacuation of the British living on the Shore began in 1786 after the signing of the Convention of London (Dawson 1998:63). By the treaties of

1783-6 Spain acknowledged a limited sovereignty in Great Britain, but the boundaries were left indefinite. In *The Colonial Policy of Lord J. Russell's Administration and Subsequent History*, Earl Gray wrote “during the subsistence of the Spanish treaties, and even down to 1817, land was occupied by British settlers under wood-cutting licenses only” (1869:251). The history of logwood extraction may have laid the foundation for the lack of success in the plantation history in Belize by keeping the importation of slaves to a minimum; logwood teams were usually comprised of local laborers who were more familiar with the local landscape. In addition, Gray noted that a “renewed Spanish invasion, successfully repulsed in 1798, is considered to have obliterated the condition of those treaties and to have left the territory in the hands of the British Crown by right of conquest” (1853:249). The British in Central America had slowly begun to band together into extraction and trade monopolies and by the late eighteenth-century a few individuals and groups informally monopolized the market, trade routes, and local economies left void by the inability of the Spanish to control the dense jungles and waterways of inland British Honduras.

1800-1900

In the early 1800s, British Honduras was in the throes of economic upheaval, which was at first a windfall to a few entities that had already established trade and extraction in the region. A nineteenth-century historian, Archibald Gibbs, wrote of this era in hindsight and stated,

“the system of monopoly [in British Honduras], which allowed a few wealthy firms connected with its timber trade to cramp the development of the colony generally by the hold they had acquired over large tracts of

land, has been in a great measure broken up by the failure of some of those who followed a dog-in-the-manger policy, and the awakening of others to the truth that their real and permanent interests are bound up in the general advancement, and not confined to selfish ends only” (Gibbs 1883:191).

As Spain was losing its control over the Americas, the Central American governments turned to the British to stabilize their economies. This was an obvious choice because the British were already embedded within the larger Caribbean economy established by the earlier contraband trade (Dawdy 2008; Ferris 1983; Jones 1983; Naylor 1960). Mexico and the Central American states declared independence and these nations began to form, with both the United States and Great Britain, legal and official, albeit tenuous, relationships given the rapid changes in Central American governments (e.g., Naylor 1960).

Political and economic upheaval was occurring on multiple levels, which included newly formed nation-states, independent privateers and buccaneers previously unrestrained by homeland policy, and colonial governments. It was at this point that the British began to move more freely throughout Central America and Belize without the threat of economic control or violence from the Spanish. However, the British in Belize had new threats to their unrestrained monopolies and free economies: mestizo and indigenous violence and increased British government administration and intervention. In reality, life for the British colonists may have been easier and more profitable under Spanish rule because, in the past, many of the Maya groups worked with the British against the Spanish and the Spanish seemed to have had little interest in controlling inland Belize.

Even though Spain had officially controlled Central America since the sixteenth-century, the British had been active and commercially established in the region for many years. The Bay Islands and Belize, in particular, had long been English trade strongholds, but these areas were not legally claimed by England until 1852 and 1862, respectively (Naylor 1960: 374). This action by England may have upset privateers and buccaneers who were used to acting with impunity in the region and could have driven them even deeper inland in attempts to elude both the Spanish and English bureaucracy. Increased monitoring of formally illicit activities likely made inland Belize a prime area for pirate trade, extraction, and movement because of the extensive network of inland rivers and lagoons that would only have been accessible to small ships without heavy draft (Swayne 1917:164). In 1885, E. Rogers, a geographer, wrote hopefully about the changes in the Belize political economy that had occurred during the first half of the nineteenth-century:

“A spirit of enterprise was fostered among the merchants of Belize, and they were encouraged to develop the internal resources of the colony. Legitimate commerce was carried on with the Indians. Trade with the United States was gradually entered upon. Many self-ostracized emigrants of the Southern States availed themselves of the opportunity to settle under a free and constitutional government. Grants of crown lands were eagerly sought. The system of monopoly, which allowed a few wealthy firms connected with the timber trade to cramp the development of the colony generally, was entirely broken up, and large tracts of land had under it became the property of energetic and capable citizens, who no longer confined their attention to mahogany and logwood, but planted sugar cane and coffee and every description of fruit and vegetables, thus opening up a fresh source of wealth and prosperity for the community at large” (Rogers 1885: 212).

However, Rogers’ optimism was to prove unfounded. The success of early, illicit colonial entrepreneurs who negotiated at the local level and formed loose business

relationships with other British colonists could not be replicated under British Crown rule. Like the Spanish before them, the British were unsuccessful in consolidating the political economy of Belize.

Conclusion

After 1868, the British were well aware of the richness of the Belize landscape and its strategic position in the Americas and by 1884, Belize was an official Crown Colony (Curry 1956). Rogers stated:

“British Honduras was by no means the least important, while its unique history renders it not the least interesting of our colonial appendages...[which is] at once socially, politically, strategically, archaeologically, ethnologically, and geographically interesting and useful. In one word British Honduras is the key of the position [in Central America]” (Rogers 1885:220).

Prior to the nineteenth-century, British endeavors in Belize were small extraction and trade ventures that relied on local relationships and group-to-group negotiations likely based on a deep history of Maya sociopolitical organization based on reciprocal and complementary zones of power. Increased interest in the Belize economy drew attention to the region and the previously successful localized agreements and negotiations began to unravel as power began to centralize within a few powerful British Crown approved monopolies. This inequality begat violence that eventually led to power shifting from small profit ventures into the hands of the British governments, which did not understand the implications of such administration in this particular theatre. The merchants and privateers exposed the profitability of the land to the government by asking for help because they were trying to save their investments. And, it was at this point that the

relationship between this formally illicit and shadowy economy and the mainland was forever changed.

CHAPTER V

DATA ANALYSIS

“A commodity is, in the first place, an object outside us, a thing that by its properties satisfies human wants of some sort or another. The nature of such wants, whether, for instance, they spring from the stomach or from fancy, makes no difference” (Marx 1867:1).

This project seeks to answer questions regarding the history and day-to-day nature of the British settlement at Lamanai (1837-1868), including the relationship of the British with other groups active in Belize during the late colonial era, such as the Ycaiche, Santa Cruz, Africans, and Miskito who may have provided labor for the venture. The study, which is an initial look at the late colonial period at Lamanai, will focus broadly on the following three questions:

1. What does the material culture tell us about the timeline of the British settlement(s) and use or re-use of the landscape at Lamanai?
2. What may have been some of the reasons for the ultimate collapse of this particular industrial venture?
3. Who was providing labor for the construction and operation of the sugar mill?

This chapter is organized into three sections. The first section will address the project's data assemblage and the unique issues present when working at a site with a long history of excavations. The second and third sections will analyze and discuss the raw data by

site totals and activity areas to establish what material culture was recovered and where artifacts and features were located on the landscape.

Overview of Material Data Assemblage

The focus of the project is on ceramic materials, primary source documents, and landscape because these data were best suited to address the project's problem orientation and research questions. The bulk of analysis was centered on the ceramic data because this type of data is useful for both relative dating and activity area analysis; or who was doing what, where, and when. Spatial analysis and primary source documents also were used in tandem with the ceramic analysis. In order to analyze the activity areas as discrete entities, I also included preliminary analysis of glass, construction, architecture, and metal objects as additional evidence, although not in the same detail as the ceramics, primary source documents, and landscape. While a large number of faunal remains were recovered in the excavated materials, there was simply not enough time to do a proper analysis of these data and only the identifiable elements were utilized at this time. However, there are plans to revisit this data in the near future, which will be outlined in the preliminary research design for research in the coming field seasons at Lamanai.

The artifacts and features analyzed for the project had previously been recovered by groups and individuals working at the site since excavations began in the 1970s. The long history of excavations provided this project with a large assemblage of late colonial era artifacts from distinct activity areas, but this same history also created quantitative hurdles for my interpretations. A major factor, which will continue to be addressed throughout this chapter, stems from the varied recovery techniques used over the years.

For one, screening was not always conducted in the removal of materials, which necessarily lead to smaller sample sizes than from excavations that used screening. Even if many of the same materials were present in similar contexts, the assemblages will look different and the percentages of artifact categories will change depending on the data we have at hand. The size of screen used will also determine the amounts and types of artifacts recovered; smaller mesh will allow the discovery of items such as fish and bird bones, jewelry, specie, and clothing accessories. Many historic era artifacts such as seed beads and needles are difficult or impossible to recover without water screening. In addition to the problems related to differing recovery methods, disparities existed in which artifacts were seen as viable data. Ceramics, glass, and metal objects were likely collected in their entirety, but items such as coal, stucco, and tabby seem to have been collected only in small, representative samples.

The late colonial period has not yet been a major focus of excavations at Lamanai, so the bulk of late colonial artifacts were casual additions to excavations that were focused on the Maya and intermittent Spanish incursions into this space. But, the fact that these data were collected and stored for future research speaks volumes about the commitment to the total history of Lamanai by those working there and should resonate with other historical archaeologists who wish to embark on such an endeavor. A previously excavated assemblage is indeed worthy of study and even without closely controlled excavation and recovery methods for historic materials; we have data with which to identify what we have and where we want to go next. With this said, the project's analysis and discussion are situated in the framework of triage, a process in

which initial interpretations are made from the known data available at this time in order to access the more immediate needs of future research at the site and in the region.

Analysis and Discussion of Material Data: Site Assemblage

Landscape and Features

Lamanai is located on the western shore of New River lagoon in the Northwest District of Belize (Figure 1). The house mounds and soaring temples of the Maya that thrust skyward into the tree canopy punctuate the flat landscape; and it is only archaeology that elucidates the presence of the Europeans who briefly entered this space. The environment has likely changed little in the past two hundred years. It is an isolated and densely organic environment that requires an ideology of community and extended kinship to survive, let alone prosper; humans are fragile and small compared to the voracity of the jungle life that devours anything that stands still for very long. It takes the effort and constant vigilance of a large group of people to maintain even a small, habitable space on this landscape.

The known British activity areas at Lamanai are concentrated south of the main temple complex and all but the sugar mill are located along a small rise on the shore of the lagoon (Figure 2). The features utilized for this project are all made of inorganic materials that have survived the ravages of the jungle and time, which is necessarily a small portion of the features left by people who lived and worked on this landscape. At this time, little is known about features made of organic materials that may only be visible in archaeological context. For the purposes of this study, the previously excavated features of known British activity have been separated into eight discrete

zones, but also include an analysis of surface collection, which has been treated as one activity zone for the purposes of analysis. The activity zones include the Sugar Mill, residential areas N12-8, N12-17, and N12-30, the Hunchback Tomb area, the YDL (Spanish Church) zone, and the Citadel (Figure 2). Consideration of the features and landscape at Lamanai as discrete entities and as part of regional and global theatre will be further detailed later in the chapter.

Overview of Artifact Use Categories

Identifying the primary use of artifacts allows for an interpretation of what types of activities may have been occurring in different areas of the site. This type of data can lead to a better analysis of each area as both a discrete space and part of the larger landscape. The project's artifacts were organized into eight categories related to use attributes: architecture, construction/maintenance, foodways, household, medicine/chemical, personal, sewing, and tools. The categories were identified through aspects of artifact material and form (e.g., glass medicine bottles as opposed to glass wine bottles), but are based on an interpretation of the primary use of objects, not possible secondary use of objects. A total of 3,147 artifacts make up the assemblage from the known areas of British presence at the site, which excludes artifacts of Maya origin. The Maya artifacts were excluded from this analysis because, in most cases, the stratigraphic information was not available with which to identify whether the British artifacts were found with the Maya artifacts or in separate layers. It is likely that the British were using local Maya ceramics for food preparation and service, but at this juncture it would be

impossible to ascertain the percentage of these artifacts that were situated in comparable contexts.

Although the architecture and construction/maintenance categories both have use attributes centered on standing features, construction/maintenance objects would have been used to construct or maintain the viability of structures (e.g., nails, screws, plaster, etc.) and architectural objects would have added to the usability and function of a feature (e.g., locks, window glass, hooks, etc.). The foodway category encompasses all aspects of eating and drinking, which includes plates, bowls, bottles, faunal remains, and a few metal items such as cans and pots. The household category comprises artifacts that would have been used in the home for general domestic use (e.g., chamber pots, barrels, coal, unprocessed lead). The medicine/chemical category comprises vessels with contents related to health and healing. The personal category includes smoking implements, clothing accessories, and jewelry. The sewing category could be seen as an extension of the personal category as it also includes clothing items, however the discrete cache of buttons, hooks and eyes, and a thimble recovered from the Citadel led to the separation of the personal and sewing categories. Lastly, the tool category includes all hand tools such as axes, sledgehammers, artillery, and machetes.

The largest percentage of artifacts (80%) were items related to foodways, followed by construction/maintenance (9%), personal (4%), architecture (2%), household (2%), medicine/chemical (2%), sewing (1%), tools (1%), and unknown (1%) (Table 1 and Figure 3). The large percentage of foodway related items is not surprising, since ceramics and glass are frequently used and easily broken items that amass quickly in the material record. Bones, included in foodways, are unique items that are mainly one-use

materials; the animal is cooked and the bones discarded after preparation and/or consumption (only identifiable animal remains were counted). The areas with the most foodway related artifacts were the YDL (Spanish Church) zone (54%), the Hunchback Tomb area (20%), and the Citadel (11%) (Table 1 and Figure 4). The small percentage of foodway related materials from surface collection was at first puzzling, since I personally observed hundreds of small ceramic and glass sherds on the surface during my research. I suggest that the small amount of recovered ceramics, glass, and bone from the surface was due to individuals picking up whole items (e.g., bottles) instead of individual sherds. Whole artifacts are not only easier to spot, they are also of seemingly more significance to those taking the time to pick up an item and consequently store that item for further analysis.

The low percentage of construction/maintenance and architectural artifacts and tools may be due to recovery methods as well as the re-use of these materials by subsequent groups and individuals in the years following the formal British occupation of the site. The same interpretation could also be used for household items, which would have held value after the departure of the British for those still living and working in the area, but would also have been items that individuals would have taken with them. The small amount of medicine/chemical, personal, and sewing items is not surprising, since these types of items would have made up a small percentage, compared to foodways materials, of the day to day material culture used by the individuals living at Lamanai during the life of the sugar venture. Also, they would be highly impacted by recovery techniques.

Ceramics

Ceramics – mean ceramic dates. Ceramics are the most plentiful form of late colonial artifact recovered at Lamanai. These data were first used to identify mean ceramic dates for the activity zones including surface collection and the site assemblage as a whole. The first step in establishing mean ceramic dates was to ascertain ware type attributes. For the purposes of analysis, the ceramic material culture was aggregated as both sherd count and whole vessel count since both counts were necessary for different aspects of the project's analysis (Table 2 and Figures 5 and 6). While sherd count and vessel count amounted to similar percentages of overall ware types (Figures 7 and 8), the proportions changed to some degree with regard to the Citadel and Hunchback Tomb area (Figures 9 and 10). This difference may be due to the nature of the activity areas. The large number of single unrelated sherds recovered from the Hunchback Tomb area as compared to identifiable vessels recovered from the Citadel may point to the Hunchback Tomb area having been used as a secondary deposit where debris from other parts of the site was deposited. The small size of many of the sherds could result from having been on the surface for a period of time where they were trampled by foot, wheel, and animal traffic. Conversely, the ceramics recovered from the Citadel likely represent a primary deposit where vessels in whole or partial form were preserved within the space soon after they were broken.

The application of mean ceramic dating on the ceramics assemblage provided the following dates (Tables 3 and 4):

- Hunchback Tomb Area, 1838
- Sugar Mill, 1841

- Residential Feature N12-30, 1843
- Citadel, 1847
- Overall Site Occupation, 1854
- YDL (Spanish Church) Zone, 1862
- Surface*, 1873

* surface collection was used for mean ceramic dating; this assemblage did not contribute to the overall site timeline other than for general informational purposes as these data could not be placed into archaeological context.

Coarse earthenware and porcelain did not contribute to mean ceramic dates because the production techniques of these ware types did not change to a large degree over time, which is the basis for our ability to date other ware types according to observable, quantitative technological timelines. Residential features N12-8 and N12-17 were excluded from the mean ceramic dates because no ceramics were recovered from N12-8 and only two sherds of yellowware were recovered from N12-17. However, the two sherds of yellowware were counted in site totals with regard to the overall site date.

Based on mean ceramic dating, the Hunchback Tomb area was the first to be used (1838) and the YDL (Spanish Church) zone the last (1862) (Figures 3 and 4). The dates of these features are too variable to interpret as being settled simultaneously, which immediately begs the question: is this a continuous settlement that lasted the life of the sugar venture or are the data evidence of two distinct occupations? The features are in fairly close proximity on the landscape (Figure 2) and if they were settled and occupied at the same time, the dates would necessarily be congruent. The early date of the Hunchback Tomb area could be accounted for in a few different ways. The date may be due to a high, area percentage of English Bristol stoneware recovered from the

Hunchback Tomb area as compared to the YDL (Spanish Church) zone; more English Bristol stoneware sherds could skew the data into an earlier mean ceramic date, since the manufacture start date is 1761. In this case, the Hunchback Tomb area could have served as a midden for the individuals living near the feature, but these data area mostly visible in the Hunchback Tomb area. However, the Hunchback Tomb area could also have been related to an earlier campsite or transient base camp on the shore of the lagoon for resource extraction groups venturing into the jungle and using the lagoon and river to transport goods. In this case, the settlers may have been using local earthenwares in place of stoneware at that point in time.

While the YDL (Spanish Church) Zone has a mean ceramic date of 1862, the artifact assemblage from this feature may point to more than one occupation, much like the Hunchback Tomb area. The presence of a large amount of pearlware suggests British activity between 1800 and 1830, but the collection of whitewares and ironstone point to a later occupation. It is likely that this area saw multiple occupations over the course of the British settlement, although the nature of the activity at these features will need further analysis.

The Citadel (1847) and Sugar Mill (1841) dates are also problematic. The Sugar Mill mean ceramic date is twenty years before the mill may have been built (based on the 1866 date on the ironwork), although there is some evidence of construction in the 1840s (Pendergast 1982). However, this area is close to where the sugar cane was planted and may have been a field/base camp for those working the fields before the mill was constructed or during construction, which would account for the mean ceramic date. Additionally, a previous, more rudimentary sugar mill, or *trapiche*, could have been built

at or near the site of the current mill, which could account for the earlier date, but this idea has not been archaeologically explored. Residential material culture could have been deposited into the record before the landscape became a place of large-scale industrial activity.

The Citadel is located near the YDL (Spanish Church) Zone near the current Village of Indian Church and southeast of the Sugar Mill. If plantation labor or management were living in this area, it would have been a great distance to the mill, but not an unreasonable commute. The date of the Citadel (1847) is puzzling because it is twenty years before the probable construction of the mill, but during a time when a great deal of labor would have been necessary to clear the land and process the cane. Cane production is thought to have been brought to the Northwest District in 1847 (Gibbs 1883:127) and if this was the case, the mean ceramic data would allow some verification of this early date, especially if the British were already active in the area before formal cane production arrived in the region. Residential structure N12-30 has a mean ceramic date of 1843 and a comparable assemblage to the Citadel's, which could link these structures on the British settlement landscape.

The surface assemblage mean ceramic date is 1873. The later date is easily accounted for due to additional accretion of artifacts on the surface long after the formal occupation of the British sugar venture. Interestingly, the mean ceramic date of the total site assemblage is 1854, which is comparable to the median date of probable British occupation of the site (1853) gleaned from the primary source documents. The land grant was issued in 1837 and the last known British occupants at Lamanai were members of the army who used the site as an outpost in 1868. Although more analysis and research

remain, I argue that the dates of the known British zones are directly connected to the process of assembling a sugar plantation, which would have lasted many years. Lands had to be cleared (not an easy task in the dense jungle landscape). Sugar cane had to be planted and cultivated and a mill had to be built to process the mature plants. However, the amount of labor needed for the cultivation and maintenance of sugar cane depends on the method of cultivation. In *British Honduras: An Historical and Descriptive Account of the Colony from its Settlement, 1670*, Archibald Robertson Gibbs wrote that “it must be remembered that the land once cleared, the cost of that in particular is over, while it is generally lessened also, for the canes once established will ratoon with little care for ten years” (Gibbs 1883:127). If the plantation was using a ratoon method, it could be that estate employees were living onsite at the Citadel (1847) and Hunchback Tomb Area (1838) while clearing the fields and planting the cane, but the number of individuals needed to maintain the fields while the plants were maturing was much less than during the start up phase. While the sugar cane maturation process would have only needed about ten years to mature (Gibbs 1883:127), the plants could have stayed viable during the twenty-year gap between periods of planting and harvesting, but it is also likely that harvesting and processing could have been facilitated with a *trapiche* style sugar mill. These ideas might also make sense if the later date of the YDL (Spanish Church) zone (1862) is due to a fresh influx of management and labor at the plantation to build the new mill and prepare the plants and fields for harvest, production, and distribution. However, it may also be that we have yet to discover the estate’s labor habitation area(s). These structures were likely constructed of local, organic materials such as wood and clay that

would not have survived except in archaeological context and will require additional research and excavations to detect.

Ceramic ware types. The largest percentages of ceramics by minimum vessel count were whiteware (51% of site total) and pearlware (31% of site total), the most common types of European ceramics during the late eighteenth-century and early to mid nineteenth-century (Table 2). Whiteware production dates are 1820-2000 and pearlware production dates are 1775-1830 (DAACS 2004). Following whiteware and pearlware, of the site total, the percentages are as follows: stoneware (5%), ironstone (3%), yellowware (3%), European coarse earthenware (3%), bone china (2%), porcelain (2%), porcelain/soft paste (2%), majolica/Panamanian (1%), and dry-bodied earthenware (1%). The lone sherd of majolica (1580-1650) was likely an accidental addition to the Citadel assemblage; picked up and dropped by an individual at Lamanai during the late colonial period or even in modern times.

The small percentage of ironstone is unexpected because the manufacture dates (1840-2000) fit the dates of the British settlement and it is commonly found by historical archaeologists on sites dating from the mid to late nineteenth-century. The low percentage of ironstone may be indicating that British ceramic manufacturers were exporting ironstone primarily to North America and not to their own colonies in Central America. Ironstone was an inexpensive and durable export ware, but the British were not using it in Britain. Since the colony in Belize was considered part of Britain, the colonists likely did not choose ironstone, for the same reasons homeland British did not. Choosing pearlware and whiteware ceramics may have been a choice based on familiarity and homeland fashion on the part of the colonists at Lamanai.

A curious aspect of the assemblage is the small amount of European cookware and servingware: stoneware, yellowware, and coarse earthenware vessels. These items would have been used on a daily basis for cooking and serving what may have been a large number of individuals working and living at the site. However, the answer may lie in the availability of local Maya earthenwares that were obtained by the British and used for cooking and serving. Although the Maya earthenwares were not included in this analysis, there were thousands of sherds of Maya wares within the same contexts as the British material culture, which makes this a valid interpretation of the lack of European cookware and serving ware objects in the British assemblage.

Ceramic forms and decoration. The highest percentages of vessel forms (Table 5 and Figures 11, 12, and 13) were teacups (17%), plates (15%), saucers (12%), and bowls (10%). These forms would have been the most common consumption vessels and, combined, account for 54% of the ceramic vessels. Vessel form will be detailed below by activity area, since these types of data can give us clues to the day-to-day activities of the inhabitants living in each area. Much like the waretype percentages, the majority of vessel forms represent objects related to serving, not cooking or storage.

Transfer prints were the most plentiful decoration type (45% of site total) followed by banded (14%), painted (14%), plain/white (13%), sponged (10%), flow blue (1%), molded (1%), and shell edged (1%) (Table 6 and Figures 14 and 15). Coarse earthenwares were not counted in the decoration percentage as all of these objects were undecorated. There was little evidence of matching sets other than fifteen pieces (157 sherds) of Gaudy Welsh pattern. This set included a wide variety of vessel forms: three teacups, five bowls of variable volume, three saucers, one plate, and one chamber pot.

Glass

The percentages of known glass forms are as follows: medicine/chemical (25% of total site vessels), ale bottles (23%), wine bottles (11%), non-alcoholic content bottles (5%), soda bottles (4%), gin bottles (3%), rum bottles (<1%), and tea cups (<1%) (Table 7 and Figure 16 and 17). The largest percentage of medicine/chemical bottles were recovered from the Hunchback Tomb area (28%), Sugar Mill (24%), and surface collection (55%). As mentioned earlier, the Hunchback Tomb area is a probable secondary deposit where refuse may have entered the record after collection from other areas of the site. No medicine/chemical bottles were recovered from the YDL (Spanish Church) Zone. In fact, very little glass of any kind was recovered in and around this feature. This may be due to the YDL (Spanish Church) Zone being a high traffic area where glass refuse could have caused problems for people and animals; thus the area was routinely cleaned up and the detritus dumped into the Hunchback Tomb area or other, yet to be discovered midden. The Sugar Mill may have been previously used as a residential zone for workers preparing the cane before the construction of the Sugar Mill or the site of a previous, less complex mill. If this was the case, the high percentage of medicines and chemicals may have been used for treating ailments and sickness onsite.

The Citadel (58% and 36%), Sugar Mill (20% and 36%), and Hunchback Tomb area (14% and 8%) had the largest percent of ale and wine bottles. Each of these areas was likely residential, at least for a time, and the presence of this type of container is expected. A total of fifty-two ale bottles were recovered from the total site assemblage and of that amount forty-six (88%) were made in Scotland in the Portobello region by Wood, Cooper, and also Cooper and Wood. Richard Cooper and Thomas Wood formed

Cooper and Wood around 1856, but then split the company in 1866 (Basterfield 2007:1). Both companies continued to produce bottles into the first quarter of the nineteenth-century (Basterfield 2007:1) and, it seems that both companies continued to ship ale to the New World, which made its way to Lamanai.

Analysis and Discussion of Material Data by Feature

Hunchback Tomb Area

The Hunchback Tomb area has a mean ceramic date of 1838, which is the earliest of the six datable features at Lamanai, and 85% of the artifacts recovered from this feature fall into the foodways category. The Hunchback Tomb area assemblage contained 31% of the site total in the tool category, followed by the Sugar Mill, and the second highest site percentages (17% and 16%) of personal and sewing objects, following the Citadel (48% and 63%). In addition, the Hunchback Tomb area had the second highest site percentages (20% and 20%) of foodways and household items following the YDL (Spanish Church) Zone (54% and 75%). The feature, much like the Citadel and YDL (Spanish Church) Zone, contained evidence of whole lifeways, which may indicate the presence of residential/household landscapes.

This feature has the largest total site percentage of stoneware (50% of total sherd count) and ironstone (79%) and no waretypes such as porcelain or bone china were recovered. The large percentage of stoneware and ironstone indicate both an early and late presence, but whether this is due to the area being used as a long-term residential site or midden or as an earlier campsite or estate settlement area is unknown. It is interesting that the Hunchback Tomb area has such a large percentage of the total site assemblage

ironstone, but still has a date (1838) that predates the beginning of production for ironstone. However, while the ironstone collected from the Hunchback Tomb area comprised 79% of the total site assemblage, the area percentage is only 9%. This low area percentage of ironstone, compared to other wares, made little impact on the area assemblage percentages or the mean ceramic date of this feature.

Ceramic vessel form types at the Hunchback Tomb area are composed of bottles, bowls, saucers, and teacups, but no plates were recovered from this feature. The pots recovered from the Hunchback Tomb area comprise 50% of the site percentage; the Citadel contained the other 50%. In addition, sixty percent of the ceramic bottles recovered from the site are from this feature. The lack of plates and large percentage of pots deposited in the Hunchback Tomb area, which may indicate, along with the use mean ceramic date and ware types, an early settlement; possibly logwood extraction teams or plantation labor that may have been composed of Africans or indigenous peoples that had a preferences for soups or stews that were served in bowls as compared to plates.

The decoration types in this area were: banded, white/no decoration, painted, sponged, and transfer print. These types of decoration were common at each activity zone, although the Hunchback Tomb area had the second highest site percentages of sponged (27%) and transfer print (29%). The site percentages of banded (18%), white/no decoration (20%), and painted (19%) wares recovered from the Hunchback Tomb area were the same as those found at the Citadel, which may mean there was a daily connection on the landscape between these activity areas. This area also contained the

only shell edged vessel present in the assemblage: another line of evidence for the early occupation of this feature.

The Hunchback Tomb area had the third largest percentage of ale bottles (14%) after the Citadel (58%) and Sugar Mill (30%), although this percentage is a very distant third. The only other type of glass artifacts recovered from this area was wine bottles. Although the faunal remains received only a cursory analysis, the Hunchback Tomb area contained 70% of the identifiable pig remains and a large percentage of turtle remains (17%) of the site total (Table 8 and Figure 18). This area also contained architectural and construction artifacts such as nails, a latch plate (Figure 19), and a lock (Figure 20) as well as household items such as a barrel ring (Figure 20), unprocessed lead, a metal pot (Figure 21), and an iron (Figure 22).

The Hunchback Tomb area assemblage has a wide variety of artifacts that would have been used in all aspects of daily life; the production dates of these data range from 1600 to 2000. While this may point to a long-term occupation or multiple settlements, it could also be interpreted as an area where trash and other detritus were deposited over a long period of time. The bulk of the structure is underground and collapsed at some point before contemporary excavations. The feature itself does not seem to have ever been habitable, but there may have been wood and thatch structures in this area during the colonial period.

Sugar Mill

The Sugar Mill area has a mean ceramic date of 1841. This area had the second largest area percentage of construction/maintenance artifacts (22%) after residential

structure N12-30 (39%) and 60% of the recovered artifacts were categorized as foodways. The Sugar Mill assemblage contained 38% of the site assemblage total of artifacts in the tool category. The large percentage of tools at the Sugar Mill is expected, since the feature was an industrial activity area and not a residence.

This feature, along with the Citadel has the largest total site percentage of soft paste porcelain (33% of total sherd count) and 17% of the ironstone site total, although the small percentage of these ware types in total skew the importance of such data. Much like the waretypes recovered from the Hunchback Tomb area (e.g., soft paste porcelain and ironstone) may indicate both an early and late presence in this area. No ironstone was recovered from the Sugar Mill, unlike the Hunchback Tomb area, which contained a large percentage of ironstone. The lack of ironstone may indicate a British rather than African or indigenous presence since ironstone was produced for export and not a popular ware type in England, as compared to export locations in the Americas.

Ceramic vessel form types at the Hunchback Tomb area are composed of bowls, plates, saucers, and teacups. These form types, as compared to the Hunchback Tomb assemblage, may represent British food preferences (e.g., roasted meats served on plates) as compared to African or indigenous foodways (e.g., stews and soups served in bowls). The decoration types in this area include: banded, white/no decoration, painted, sponged, and transfer print. These decoration types were found in all contexts, but the both the Sugar Mill and the Citadel had similar percentages of banded (11%) and sponged (11%). The most prevalent type of decoration at the Sugar Mill was transfer prints (42%); another line of evidence for the presence of British preferences, along with the form types recovered from this feature.

The Sugar Mill area had the second largest percentage of ale bottles (20%) after the Citadel (58%) and the third largest percentage of medicine/chemical bottles (24%) after the Citadel (28%), and surface collection (55%). The only other types of glass artifacts recovered from this area were wine and gin bottles. While the Sugar Mill assemblage contained ceramic and glass foodways items, only two faunal elements were recovered. This could be interpreted as indicating that food was consumed but not prepared in the immediate vicinity of the feature, but this data could also indicate that the area was simply kept clean necessitated by the activities taking place.

This area also contained many architectural and construction/maintenance artifacts, many of which are still located in the yard of the feature and have yet to be collected and analyzed. The large number of structural artifacts is expected, since the feature is work and industrial activity zone with a mill works at the center of sugar production activity. The only English coin was recovered from the Sugar Mill (Figure 23). It is a three pence piece dated 1838, with a left-facing female bust and the words “Victoria DG Britanniar Regina FD”. The dates of the artifacts recovered from the Sugar Mill range from 1745 to 2000, but almost half (45%) of these artifacts date before 1820, which may indicate an early British presence and a later influx of British labor and management at the Sugar Mill after the land grant.

Residential Feature/N12-30

Residential Feature N12-30 has a mean ceramic date of 1843 and the largest area percentages of artifact use categories were construction/maintenance (39%) and foodways (54%). Use attribute site percentages from this feature are of little

consequence, since only twelve artifacts in total were recovered. However, N12-30 also contained artifacts from the medicine/chemical (1%), personal (5%), and tools (1%) use categories, which may indicate a residential area.

Residential structure N12-30 contained the largest site percentage of bone china (33%), along with surface collection and the YDL (Spanish Church) Zone, and porcelain (36%), which may indicate the presence of elite British during the life of the sugar venture or British officers stationed at Lamanai during the wars of 1867 and 1868. The only other ware types recovered from this feature were pearlware and whiteware, which made up 35% and 42% of the area assemblage, respectively. No ironstone was recovered from this location. These ware types would have been common in England during the same time period and would be expected at both a British residential or military site. Ceramic forms recovered from this area include a bottle, a bowl, a saucer, and tea cups. Tea cups and saucers make up 7% and 21% of the area assemblage, respectively. In addition to the ware types, these data may indicate British elite or officers as members of these social classes would have been participating in tea culture. While three bowls were recovered, no plates were present in the assemblage from N12-30; this may be to recovery methods or may indicate that the individuals living in this feature were eating elsewhere or, like those at the Hunchback Tomb Area, had a preference for soups and stews. However, even though more plates than bowls were recovered, the assemblage does not indicate, in other ways, that this was an African or indigenous residence; or a least African or indigenous laborers.

Two unknown vessels, one gin bottle, one wine bottle, one tumbler, and one medicine/chemical bottle make up the glass assemblage at this location. A metal pendant

containing the Windsor Crest and the words “George V” (Figure 24) was recovered from this feature. George V was crowned in 1910, so the pendant could not have been deposited until after this date. However, the presence of this artifact does not necessarily mean that the feature was being actively used at that time, since the pendant could have been lost by an individual visiting the site any time after this date. This artifact suggests continued British use of the site after 1868 or at least enough British influence that someone in the area had a commemorative pendant. The dates of the artifacts recovered from N12-30 range from 1775 to 2000. A total of 68% of the artifacts date to before 1820, which may indicate an early presence at this feature, but could also indicate a short-lived, later occupation. These date may point to a period of abandonment before re-use by British officers stationed at Lamanai during 1867 and 1868.

Citadel

The Citadel has a mean ceramic date of 1847. This area had the largest site percentages of personal (48%) and sewing (63%) use attribute categories, which included buttons, hooks and eyes (Figure 25), a thimble (Figure 26), and a boot heel (Figure 27). The largest area percentages of artifacts were those from the personal (14%) and foodways (66%) categories. Artifacts recovered from the Citadel make up 15% of the site totals in the medicine/chemical category; the second highest percentage after surface collection (59%). However, there was only one household item recovered from the Citadel, which was the corner of a clear glass vessel with small, embedded dome patterning. The use category percentages may indicate a long-term occupation. However, while many of the data from the Citadel indicate extended residential use, only one

household artifact was present in the assemblage. Another interpretation may be that this feature was used, at one time or another, as a common area or service related structure where individuals from the plantation household could have gone to get food and drink, be treated for ailments, or get mending or alterations for their clothing. The Citadel assemblage contained artifacts from all use categories other than tools.

This feature, along with the Sugar Mill, has the largest total site percentage of soft paste porcelain (33%); 100% of the coarse earthenware, majolica, and dry-bodied earthenware; and 33% of the porcelain. Pearlware (29%) and whiteware (54%) make up the majority of wares recovered from the Citadel. There was no ironstone present in the assemblage. The lack of ironstone at the Citadel may indicate a British presence, like Residential Feature N12-30 and the Sugar Mill.

Ceramic vessel form types at the Citadel are composed of a coffee cup, a pitcher, plates, a pot, saucers, and teacups, but no bowls were recovered. Unlike the Hunchback Tomb area, which had a large percentage of bowls and no plates, the Citadel may indicate British food preferences, like Residential Feature N12-30 and the Sugar Mill. The varied forms and wares recovered from the Citadel may indicate an extensive domestic residence or a common area used by the plantation household. The percentages of decoration types in this area are transfer print (54%), banded (11%), no decoration/white (11%), painted (11%), sponged (11%), and flow blue (3%). There were equal percentages of the banded, no decoration/white, painted, and sponged. These decoration types would have been common during the life of the Sugar Mill and are to be expected in the assemblage.

Only three faunal elements were recovered, so it may be unlikely that food preparation was an activity in this particular area. However this also may indicate that this feature was an active location that was kept clear of trash and debris or that the remains of animals cooked in or around this feature may have been disposed in a location that has yet to be excavated. The Citadel had the largest site percentage of ale bottles (58%), the same percentage of wine bottles as the Sugar Mill (36%), 28% of the medicine/chemical bottles, and 33% of the gin bottles. The glass assemblage recovered from this feature is extensive compared to the other feature. Although this data may be due to differing excavation methods, it may also indicate, along with the ceramic data, long-term occupation and use of this feature.

The dates of the artifacts recovered from the Citadel range from 1600 to 2000, although the majority (92%) date between 1795 and 2000. Unlike the Hunchback Tomb area, Sugar Mill, and Residential Feature N12-30, the Citadel does not seem to have a break in occupation or evidence of use and re-use over time, which makes this feature unique with regard to the known British activity areas at Lamanai. The Citadel lies the closest to the modern village of Indian Church, although the original location of the village is unknown at this time. However, if this feature was located in or near the village it may indicate, along with the use attribute, ceramic ware and form type, and glass data, that the Citadel was a long-term residence or common area for the plantation household.

YDL (Spanish Church) Zone

The YDL (Spanish Church) Zone has a mean ceramic date of 1862. The largest site percentages of foodways (54%), household (75%), and architecture (82%) were recovered from this feature. However, these overall site percentages may be due to previous attention to historical archaeology in this area by Scott Simmons and Elizabeth Graham in 2004. Unlike other activity zones, the YDL (Spanish Church) zone was excavated with both prehistoric and historic data represented in their methods and research design. To this end, the YDL (Spanish Church) Zone site percentages are problematic with regard to comparison to the other features in this study.

A total of 89% of the artifacts recovered from this area belong to the foodway category. Although artifacts from all other use categories were recovered, the small percentage (11%) of categories other than foodways makes an interpretation of the YDL (Spanish Church) Area, as a residential area, problematic. A total of 1,534 British era artifacts were recovered from this feature: three times the amount from the second largest assemblage from the Hunchback Tomb Area. However, even with strictly controlled excavations and a populous assemblage, the percentages of these artifacts do not necessarily mimic the percentages present in assemblages representing whole lifeways. This may indicate an area where debris was dumped from other areas of the total site, instead of the feature being utilized as a residence, work zone, or common area.

The YDL (Spanish Church) Zone had the largest total site percentage of bone china (33%), along with the surface collection and N12-30, pearlware (62%), and whiteware (43%). No ironstone was recovered from this feature, which may indicate the preferences of British individuals rather than African or indigenous peoples. Ceramic

vessel form types at the YDL (Spanish Church) zone are composed of bowls, a coffee cup, plates, saucers and teacups as well as the only chamber pots found to date at Lamanai. The artifact use data, mean ceramic date, and ware and form types suggest a later occupation of British individuals with access to luxury goods (chamber pots and porcelain) and a preference for individual place settings (plates), much like the Sugar Mill and Citadel, as compared to those living in the Hunchback Tomb area. The decoration types in this area represent all types except for shell edged (1790-1830); its absence also suggests that this was a later settlement, since this type of decoration was not in fashion in the mid nineteenth-century.

The YDL (Spanish Church) zone contained only twenty sherds of glass and the identifiable vessel forms all would have contained consumable liquids as primary use factions: ale, gin, soda, wine. Small percentages of glass were also removed from N12-17-30 and the Hunchback Tomb area, as compared to the Sugar Mill and Citadel, which may indicate areas with a lot of foot traffic that would have necessitated the clean up of glass fragments.

The YDL (Spanish Church) zone contained 100% of the identifiable cow remains and a large percentage of turtle remains (83%) of site totals. The cow remains in this area are interesting and may speak to the social class of the residents, either during the active life of the estate or when the British soldiers were present from 1867-68 (Colburn's United Service Magazine 1868; Gray 1869; Rogers 1885). Cows would have been more difficult to transport to an inland location than would pigs, would have produced fewer offspring for future consumption, and would have taken more effort to maintain as a stable resource. Cows need grazing area, but pigs will eat almost anything. This area

also contained architectural and construction artifacts such as nails, brackets, brads (Figure 28), a metal chain (Figure 29), hooks, a key (Figure 30), and washers. However, only one clothing item was found: the eye portion of a hook and eye set.

The dates of the artifacts from the YDL (Spanish Church) Zone range from 1775 to 2000 with no outstanding percentages weighted towards any particular period, much like the Citadel. However, unlike the Citadel, the YDL (Spanish Church) Zone assemblage lacks evidence of whole lifeways used in day-to-day activities. However, it is currently unknown if other structures of less durable materials were located near the YDL (Spanish Church) Zone. If this was the case and the feature was in ruin during the life of the sugar venture, it may be that the feature was used as a dumping ground for the surrounding activity zones by the British.

Residential Features/N12-8 & N12-17

Residential Features N12-8 and N12-17 do not have mean ceramic dates because there were not enough data to populate the formulas necessary to calculate relative dating. Only fourteen British artifacts were recovered from these areas and as such do not contribute to the overall interpretation of the British settlement at this time. However, the data were included in this report because they were part of the available assemblage utilized during the 2009 field season.

CHAPTER VII

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

“Colonialism was as much a creation of rogues and independent agents as it was the project of imperial states” (Dawdy 2008:19).

Application of Research Questions

While few British historical references to Lamanai exist before 1800, the heightened mercantile and military presence in the Northwest District after 1850 left many historic documents that establish a timeline of events at Indian Church and Lamanai during the time of the British sugar venture. For example, in *The Colonial Policy of Lord J. Russell’s Administration and Subsequent History*, Earl Gray wrote “from 1817 to 1839 waste land was disposed of by ‘grant’, but to what extent and on that conditions is not recorded” (1853:252). Waste land is somewhat of a misnomer, since the name of these lands in Spanish, *tierras baldias*, meant unoccupied land, a very different connotation than land that is unwanted or waste. One such award, *The Indian Church Plantation Grant*, giving James Hyde and Company the rights to establish a sugar plantation at Lamanai, was issued in 1837, when “two hundred acres were given to the British” in order to plant sugar cane and build a sugar mill at the site (Pendergast 1982:1). However, likely due to meager funds, increased British homeland administration, lack of viable labor sources, and violence with indigenous peoples, which will be outlined further in this chapter, the sugar mill was not in working order until 1860 (Pendergast 1982:1)

and may not have survived much past 1870. In fact, the last documented occupants of Lamanai were British soldiers who were stationed at the site in 1868.

The two owner/entities of the plantation lands at Lamanai failed to establish long-term roots as a viable institution. The first, James Hyde and Company, acquired the land via land grant in 1837, but by 1858, the company had been suspended and considered failed by the British Mercantile Association (Bankers Magazine 1858: 933; Merchants Magazine 1858:343; The History of the Commercial Crisis 1859:192). Ceramic analysis points to an early settlement at the Hunchback Tomb Area (MCD-1838) that may have been occupied by members of the plantation household during the first phase of work at the estate. This area could also have been occupied by an extraction team or teams who vacated the property before employees of James Hyde and Company arrived at Lamanai. However, the long span of dateable artifacts (1600 to 2000), mostly in the form of ceramics, also point to this area having been used in some fashion, likely a refuse midden, over the life of the estate, as well. The Hunchback Tomb Area artifacts comprise the one assemblage in this study that may indicate the presence of non-British peoples. This feature contained a large percentage of bowls, but no plates were recovered, which suggests non-British cooking preferences (e.g., stews and soups).

The Sugar Mill has a mean occupation date of 1841, based on the ceramics, four years after the acquisition of the land grant by James Hyde and Company. However, the Sugar Mill ironwork has a stamped metal production date of 1866, which would have been after the acquisition of the estate by the British Honduras Company Ltd. One possible interpretation of this twenty-year difference between the mean ceramic date and the production date of the iron is that this area was a field camp used by laborers clearing

the land and planting the sugar cane. It also may have been the site of a previous mill located on or near the site of the 1866 or current mill. The material culture associated with the Sugar Mill is likely associated with a residential area since it contains evidence of foodway and household related artifacts and not just objects used in industrial production. But, the Sugar Mill assemblage could represent use and re-use over time; a residence and then an industrial work zone. The 1840 mean ceramic date of the Sugar Mill also points to an occupation that may have begun before the formal land grant in 1837. It could be that James Hyde had already negotiated land rights with the Maya and had begun constructing the estate before it was a legal, British enterprise. Although it is not known if he was writing about Lamanai, Archbald Gibbs wrote:

“twelve [sugar] estates were started [in 1847], but upon all of them the same reckless management and want of practical experience were noticeable. Extravagant outlay on machinery and in the introduction of labor resulted in failure and collapse, but most of these estates have changed hands lately, and under different management promise fairly” (1883:127).

In addition to the introduction of “twelve sugar estates” (Gibbs 1883:127), other documentary evidence pointing to the introduction of sugar cultivation at Lamanai states, “in 1847 cane cultivation was introduced into the northern district by the Spanish Yucatecans who had fled thither from the Indians during the outbreak of the war of races” (Gibbs 1883:127). This implies that cane cultivation was unknown in the region until 1847, although it would be hard to argue that James Hyde and Company acquired two hundred acres of land in 1837 with no idea of what to do with it.

Much like Gibb’s description of ‘extravagant outlay,’ the sugar mill at Lamanai is an architectural feature with attributes that go beyond mere functionality, made of

imported materials even though local stone was plentiful in the area. The brickwork was produced in Durham, England, by the G.H. Ramsay Company (MacKenzie and Ross 1834:198) and features elaborate dentil molding and arches. The iron workings are molded into fanciful, Corinthian style columns with decorative finials. The ironwork at the mill “bears the mark ‘Leeds’ Foundry, New Orleans” (Pendergast 1982:61). The Leeds’ foundry had its own economic troubles after siding with the Confederacy and manufacturing items such as cannons and the infamous submarine the H.L. Hunley (Chaffin 2008:67) during the United States Civil war. Once the war was over, the company went back to its previous niche, manufacturing sugar mills; it is likely that “the product...offered initially was little changed from that of the 1850s, and may have proved marketable only to inexperienced operators such as those at Indian Church” (Pendergast 1982:61). David Pendergast notes that the machinery was aesthetically and functionally antiquated for the time it was constructed compared to other mills of the same period (1982:65). If the estate was in financial crisis or the owners simply wanted to save money, the purchase of what may have amounted to surplus, dated warehouse stock from the manufacturer, seems a likely turn of events. The documentary record also alludes to financial crisis affecting the original owners of the estate, since the company had been suspended and considered failed by the British Mercantile Association by 1858 (Bankers Magazine 1858: 933; Merchants Magazine 1858:343; The History of the Commercial Crisis 1859:192).

The material record is much less informative with regard to the economic standing of the estate, generally, or individuals and groups operating on the landscape. The artifact assemblage represents all aspects of day-to-day life, which includes access to

household and personal items, food and beverage, tools, medicine, and construction and architecture supplies. However, while it would difficult if not impossible to elucidate secondary or reuse of objects in this particular context, the sheer number of glass bottles suggests one time use before disposing of these items, which indicates that people had access to and the ability to purchase items on a fairly regular basis. However, such an interpretation of the material culture would be possible only with the recovery of additional artifacts from the features and areas that can be proven to have housed the estate elite and laborers on the plantation.

Residential Structure N12-30 has a mean occupation date of 1843 and, while few artifacts were recovered, compared to many of the other assemblages, the material culture recovered from this feature is rich and may indicate the presence of plantation elite or military officers. This feature contained the largest site percentage of bone china (33%), along with surface collection (33%) and the YDL (Spanish Church) Zone (33%), and porcelain (36%). The artifacts recovered from N12-30 date from 1775 to 2000, but 68% of the assemblage dates to before 1820. These data may represent an early presence at the feature, but could also indicate a short-lived, later occupation, possibly by British officers during the wars of 1867 and 1868.

The Citadel has a mean occupation date of 1847 and was likely occupied or utilized at the same time or soon after the Hunchback Tomb Area (1838), Sugar Mill (1841), and Residential feature N12-30 (1843). The Citadel could have served as either housing for individuals working to clear the fields and plant the sugar cane or as an estate or village center for services and merchandise. During this same time, the area at the location of the Sugar Mill or in the surrounding landscape may have been a field camp

used by laborers while working in the fields or clearing the jungle, or was possibly the site of an earlier mill. Unlike the Hunchback Tomb Area, Sugar Mill, and Residential Feature N12-30, the Citadel assemblage seems to have had an extended occupation.

The YDL (Spanish Church) zone has a mean ceramic date of 1862, the latest of the feature and activity areas analyzed in this study. A definite connection exists between the Hunchback Tomb area and the YDL (Spanish Church zone). The proportions of waretypes recovered from these areas are similar and contain large amounts of pearlware, stoneware, and whiteware. However, these waretypes would have been common during the life of the sugar venture and would be expected to be present in large amounts. Both areas had a total percentage of foodway category artifacts that was over 80%, which may indicate that a considerable number of individuals living were in these areas or that there were domestic occupations at various points in time. Very few consumable liquid bottles were found at the YDL (Spanish Church) Zone, but a large number were recovered from the Hunchback Tomb area; it is likely that glass detritus was cleaned up from or used in the YDL (Spanish Church) zone and deposited into the Hunchback Tomb area. Although the Hunchback Tomb area has an earlier mean ceramic date, it is possible that this space was used over a long period of time as both a habitation area and refuse dump. If later colonists arrived and found the Hunchback Tomb area already littered with habitation refuse, it would have been an obvious choice for their disposal area.

The YDL (Spanish Church) zone contains material culture relating to all aspects of daily life such as construction, foodways, household, architecture, and medicine that point to an attempt to make life as comfortable as possible in what was likely meant to be a long-term endeavor. A large number of animal bones were also recovered from this

area, which could mean it was a kitchen or cooking area for preparing meals for a great number of people. The only cow remains identified (100%) from the site assemblage were recovered at the YDL (Spanish Church) zone, which also points to a more elite occupation than at other areas of the site.

Among the many issues plaguing nascent capitalism in nineteenth-century Belize was the lack of viable labor resources needed for the change to a plantation economy. Cultivation efforts, as opposed to small teams utilized for raw resource extraction efforts, became a clear problem in the establishment of long-term settlement and estate management. To this end, in 1863 a Mr. Hodge was working with the US government to pass “an act to encourage the immigration of agricultural and other laborers into the colony of British Honduras” (Lyons 1863:649). Hodge wanted the ports of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia opened for immigration to British Honduras; at this point, I can find no record of the act being passed. In 1864, J. Hodge had gone a different route in trying to establish relationships with local laborers by funding missionary trips to villages in the Northwest District. One such missionary noted that “between the services [in Corosal] I preached to the Indians, who formed an interesting congregation...J. Hodge, Esq., who is at the head of the British Honduras Company, paid our expenses” (The Colonial Church Chronicle 1864: 481).

The oral histories at Lamanai indicated that indentured Chinese workers provided the majority of labor at the sugar plantation. However, during my analysis of the material culture, it was difficult to identify this group in the archaeological record. The only item that could be linked to the Chinese was a coin (Figure 31) recovered from surface collection. The coin has a square hole in the middle, but it also had a puncture hole in it

that could have been used to string the coin for use as a pendant. This prevents the artifact from being directly attributed to use by an individual of Chinese descent as currency. I turned to the documentary evidence and did indeed find the presence of the Chinese at Indian Church and Lamanai during the nineteenth-century. While the Chinese seem to have been at Lamanai to provide labor for the sugar mill, multiple sources cite that this was only the case after 1865 (Pendergast 1982), just before the purchase and construction of the sugar mill. The mill was built around 1866, but the material culture at the Hunchback Tomb, Citadel, Sugar Mill (surface), residential feature N12-30, and overall site mean ceramic dates point to an earlier occupation for which no formal information has been located regarding the makeup of labor at the site. During initial analysis of the material culture, I was unable to find evidence of the presence of any groups other than the English and the Maya, but this does not necessarily mean that other groups were not present.

There are a few mentions of peoples of African descent working in Belize, particularly in the extraction industry. Gibb's wrote that at Old River "the introduction of negro slaves appears to belong to this period [1667]" (1883:31), some of whom were brought from Africa, but also from "neighboring colonies, which had already imported them to a considerable extent" (1883:31). The author also mentions that Africans in Belize had worked in the mahogany industry for many years and stated "a class of free people of colour spring up early in the settlement's history, between whom and the handful of whites there never was drawn a hard and fast line of social distinction, such as was rigidly adhered to...in places like Jamaica and Barbados" (Gibbs 1883:170). In addition, Gibbs remarked:

“[Africans’] dwellings are little better than out-houses...their food coarse and ill-prepared, consisting for the most part of salt fish, and plantains or yams, flour, pork, tropical fruits, vegetables, and fresh fish, with rice or corn flour...they raise poultry and pigs, but buy nearly every other article of food...tea they use little, but must have coffee, and consume large quantities of sugar in one form or another” (Gibbs 1883:171).

Although I am unable to directly link material culture to a certain group, a total of three coffee cups were recovered from the Citadel, surface collection, and Spanish Church Zone, all areas linked to the British settlement and, possibly, the locations of laborers at the plantation. While unproven, it is likely that Africans, who had worked in the mahogany industry and were familiar with the inland landscapes of Belize, migrated to work in the emerging sugar industry as logwood and other heavy extraction endeavors began to wane. Other areas could have provided laborers as well, such as Barbados, Jamaica, and indigenous groups within Belize, Honduras, and Guatemala. However, identifying ethnicity other than British and Maya in the material record at Lamanai is difficult and must be approached with caution, since the objects these individuals and groups used would necessarily be the same objects being used by the British and Maya.

One type of ethnic marker may be found in percentages of vessel forms. African and Chinese food preferences would have utilized more bowls than plates, since many of their dishes were one pot meals that would have necessitated a deep, hollow vessel. At this juncture, the only features lacking plates, but containing bowls are the Hunchback Tomb Area and Residential Structure N12-30. In addition to a lack of probable laborer related foodway objects, excavations have not focused on features that may have been made of local, temporary materials, such as wood and thatch, because the focus has been on visible features made of stone.

In addition to the oral histories and the recovered Chinese coin, is an account of a visit with the “Chinese Christians in Honduras” by John MacGowan (1870:110) and Mr. Arthur (1870:110). MacGowan remarked that the Chinese were doing well in Honduras and this “speaks well of their Christianity that, though it is five years since they left Amoy [China], and though they have no stated preacher to guide and instruct them, they have not lost their faith, in the strange land whither they have gone to dwell” (1870:110). Mr. Arthur wrote of his visit with the Chinese congregation at Indian Church and noted that he:

“believed all the other Chinese on the estate were present” (1870:110). Another account states that “in 1865 some 470 Chinese were brought to the colony as indentured laborers, but in three years only 211 were left, many having died and some having deserted to the Indians and been enslaved by them” (1954:688).

The dates of Chinese immigration correspond with the acquisition of the estate by the British Honduras Company Ltd. as well as the construction of the sugar mill around 1866.

Although labor issues and lack of funding plagued the nineteenth-century British colonists, an epidemic, increasing violence, and military intervention also took its toll on attempts to establish profit-making institutions in British Honduras, especially in area that included Indian Church and Lamanai. An outbreak of cholera that started in December of 1867, swept west and north through the population, and ended in 1868 (Kearney 1868:317) stemmed from a sick passenger aboard the *Petronilla* that arrived in Belize from New Orleans on December 16th. The outbreak occurred in tandem with increased violence between a mestizo group, the Ichaiches, led by an individual named Canul, and the British during the same year and may have been the downfall of or at least a serious

blow to the already precarious local economy. Although the violence between indigenous peoples and colonists had been part of life in the Northwest District, this particular conflict had arisen from Canul's attempt to extract \$3,000.00 in rent from the colonists. Rogers wrote about this important time and stated:

“the modern history of British Honduras may be said to date from the year 1867, as until then the resources of the country were practically unknown, and, except to the wood-cutting monopolists, the interior was a veritable terra incognita, underdeveloped and untraversed. During the previous year...under a chief named Canul, [the Indians] had invaded our territory and spread confusion and terror wherever they appeared” (Rogers 1885:201).

...“thus, as the primary object of the expedition in 1867, namely, the capture of Canul, dead or alive, was only accomplished some year afterwards, it may be asked what material advantages accrued to compensate for the exposure and hardships to our troops and the expense of their maintenance in the field. They were these: A fruitful interior hitherto unknown even to the inhabitants of Belize was scientifically surveyed and reported upon. The unhealthy, unimprovable low-lying sea coast was left behind, and a loft region reached which rivals the fertile mould of Barbados, or the rich uplands of Jamaica” (Rogers 1885:212).

The conflicts of 1867 and 1868 were the culmination of disagreements that stemmed from land disputes between Mexico and British Honduras, also known as the Caste Wars, including the indigenous groups that resided in the disputed regions. Earl Gray wrote that:

“on the Mexican side of the Hondo the Santa Cruz Indians...live practically in a state of independence, and seek the extermination of the Spanish Mexicans and the extinction of Europeans altogether from Yucatan. The Ycaiches, on the contrary, pretending allegiance to Mexico, are constantly disputing, under their Chief Canul, the boundaries of the two countries, demanding rent for lands, which our colonists claim” (Gray 1869:249).

The conflicts between indigenous groups and colonists did not begin out of thin air.

Years of growing discontent and wars along the Mexico border since 1847, now named

the ‘Caste Wars,’ were led by native elites that “erupted as a result of the increasing commercialization of land and water [and] the decline of older mechanisms of rural stability” (Rugeley 1995:478). While the Ichaiches and British had already engaged in small skirmishes, the colonial policy had previously been to provide the Santa Cruz with ammunitions to help the British fight the Ichaiches and to keep open trade with both groups to facilitate colonial endeavors. In 1869 Earl Grey stated that:

“both [the Santa Cruz and Ycaiches] depend on our Colony, to some extent, for supplies; and our various relations with the Mexican Government, which one tribe rebels against, and the other owns allegiance to, while hostile to us, have involved the Government in much perplexity” (Gray: 1869:249-250).

Rogers also wrote about the fragile but working relationship with the local indigenous groups and stated:

“but the policy of the Belize community was to keep up friendly relations with the Santa Cruz Indians, whence flowed a lucrative trade; and as the sine qua non of this mutual understanding depended on an unfailing supply of munitions of war to enable the Indians to maintain their independence” (Rogers 1885:208).

However, as the importance of the region became evident to the British homeland, colonial policy became the realm of official administration, instead of local advisement, which severed ties with the Santa Cruz and opened the door for direct conflict with the Icaiches. Unlike the former organization of groups in the Northwest District, the British were no longer allowed to supply arms to the Santa Cruz and “in consequence of these frontier troubles, a law prohibiting the export of ammunition was passed, more particularly as the Santa Cruz Indians disclaimed sympathy with the Ycaiches” (Rogers 1885:208).

The violent outbreaks in the Northwest District encompassed the whole of the British estate at Lamanai and produced multiple accounts of the events that took place during 1867. After Deacon G. Braddick's visit to Indian Church in January of 1867, he wrote:

“the Indians continue to be a difficulty and a danger to the settlement...[and] intelligence had been received...from a river to the north of Belize, where large sugar works had been established, at a place called Indian Church, that it had been attacked by the Indians, plundered, and two policemen out of eight killed (1867:117).

Another account of the attack, by Colonel Rogers, states that in February of 1867:

“[Indian Church] was attacked and plundered by the San José Indians...[but], the enemy had not attempted to burn the sugar canes or destroy the mill, but had contented themselves with killing a few laborers, firing the principal dwelling-houses, and looting the horses, mules, and other live stock” (Rogers 1885:211).

Rogers also wrote that “one poor Yankee apothecary was captured in his medicine-room, and, as he informed us, with a rueful countenance, he expected immediate decapitation” (Rogers 1885:211), but ended up treating the “foot-sores and ailments” (Rogers 1885:211) of the attackers and was spared. And, after the attack:

“a small detachment of Honduras militiamen were now in military occupation of the place...under the command of a young colonial officer, who a few days afterwards met an untimely fate by the bursting of an engine boiler [and] agonized by his scalding pains, he rushed down a slope into the lagoon, and was unfortunately drowned” (Rogers 1885:211).

In a similar account, almost word-for-word in some sections, an article from *Colburn's United Service Magazine* stated that in 1867, the San José Indians, under the direction of Canul, attacked the village of Indian Church, but:

“strange to say the Indians had not attempted to burn the sugar cane or destroy the machinery on that occasion, but had contented themselves by

burning the principal dwelling houses (Colburn's United Service Magazine 1868:216).

This publication also states that:

“a small detachment of the British Honduras Militia were now in military occupation of the place under command of a young officer, who very shortly afterwards met an untimely end by the bursting of a boiler in the engine-house” (Colburn's United Service Magazine 1868:216-217),

but fails to mention the drowning reported in the previous source. Interestingly, after the initial battles with Canul and the Ichaiches, the Village of Indian Church was “selected as the outpost of the North-Western district” (Colburn's United Service Magazine 1868:216). The reasons the estate was chosen for the military outpost is currently unknown. It seems likely that the military would have chosen a location close to waterways and roads that also had adequate housing and access to food and other necessities. The stone and brick features currently visible would not account for adequate housing, so it is possible that there were wood and thatch structures at Lamanai in 1867 and 1868 suitable for such housing that are unknown at this point.

It unknown whether the British sugar venture at Lamanai survived the violence of 1867 and 1868, but it seemed that at least one author believed the region would eventually become a thriving and profitable locale for the British empire:

“the sugar cane will adorningly take the place of the fast disappearing mahogany. Corn and cotton will flourish in abundance, rice, fruit and vegetables will be grown sufficient to supply the markets of the States, and all this in a British Colony whose geographical position, within a stone's throw of the ‘Gate of the Pacific’ will perhaps suggest the feasibility of a Depot for goods in transshipment to the capitalists now engaged on an inter-oceanic [sic?] railway. Such are the results that may be justly ranked among the rewards of the victors, and which for once tended to restrain if not entirely nullify the captiousness of those who were inclined to carp at the expenditure” (Colburn's United Service Magazine 1868-216-217).

Earl Gray also exhibited hopeful leanings when he stated:

“till lately [Belize was] valuable as a forest of mahogany, but the exportation of timber is stagnant, if not declining, whilst the growth of agricultural products, sugar especially, is sensibly increasing [and] settlers, cultivating sugar, tobacco, rice, maize, and even cotton, are beginning to divide local interests with the old merchants of Belize” (Gray 1869:248).

The ‘old merchants of Belize’ is likely a reference to the original settlers and subsequent colonists who were involved in transient settlements or campsites for raw resource extraction, as opposed to investing large amounts of labor and capital to produce commodities, that would have required local negotiation with the Maya, depending on where they were working. This type of local colonialism, without far reaching control, was contrary to the ideals of colonialism, which was grounded in large-scale economic and political domination.

Even though the rich environment of British Honduras was a focus of the British government’s interest in 1868, the sugar estate at Lamanai did not make a discernable rebound from the military intervention of 1867-68. By 1885, when Rogers was visiting Indian Church, he made no mention of this strategic battle location he had detailed earlier in his accounts, but did note that:

“we suddenly came upon the half-buried ruins of an unmistakable Aztec palace...[and] that the spot might be passed by a traveler without noticing any portion of the terrace and the lines of circumvallation which attest the extent of these mysterious ruins” (Rogers 1885:210).

However, at this time visible signs of the British sugar venture must have existed because Rogers stated, “the intervening region between the ruins (at Lamanai) and Indian Church is not so wild, but the monotony of the somber forest is quickly relieved by the sight of a wide expanse of water, and the extensive cane fields of the settlement” (1885:211).

Further evidence that the British estate did not last long after 1868 at Lamanai is presented when Reverend Castells visited the “settlement of Mahogany cutters at the point known as ‘Indian Church’ near the New River Lagoon” (1904:28), where “Mrs. Duggard, the owner of the Mahogany Works” provided him with guides to visit the ruins of “a church or temple of some sort” (1904:28). Castells (1904:28) remarked, “this good lady stated that the few people who have seen the ruins had the idea that the building had originally been a ‘Roman Catholic Church’...but the idea is utterly preposterous.” Although the sugar estate at Lamanai once had hundreds of acres of sugar cane and a sizeable population in its employ, there is no mention of the sugar mill or plantation, or seemingly any knowledge that the YDL (Spanish Church) zone and Citadel may have been a bustling center of late colonial activity. In a mere eighteen years, the natural landscape had devoured the memory of a once large and hopeful enterprise and returned the site to the locally negotiated economic and political balance it had experienced before the advent of British Crown colony rule.

The archaeological record adds additional affirmation to the timeline outlined by the application of mean ceramic dating. The overall site mean ceramic date is 1854, which would have occurred during the waning days of the James Hyde and Company that collapsed in 1858. The British Honduras Company Ltd. acquired the land in 1864, imported labor in 1865, and immediately began an era of “intensive production” at the estate (Pendergast 1982:62). Further evidence of the rapid increase and decline of commodity production (farming rather than natural resource extraction) is the 1873 mean ceramic date of the surface collection, which concludes that the height of the Lamanai occupation occurred in the late 1860s and early 1870s at the apex of commercial success

and subsequent conflict between the British and Maya. The success of commercial endeavors in the Northwest District during the 1860s may have been the catalyst for Maya insistence on rents for what was historically their land. This affront to all things colonial prompted the local settlers to ask for homeland assistance to save their investments, but also alerted the homeland to the rich (and taxable) resources in British Honduras. The decision to deny rents to the Maya ultimately led to the collapse of large-scale profit making ventures on this particular landscape.

The British material culture recovered at Lamanai presents its own particular problems. For one, the inland location of the estate would have likely limited consumer choice to some degree. Lamanai was accessible by river and roads, but there were larger cities in and around the coast that would have received these items before Lamanai. In addition, the make up of the labor population (or populations, if there were stages of construction and production that employed different groups for labor) is currently unknown, which makes it difficult to interpret symbolism and cultural meaning behind the use of colonial material culture by non-European groups operating at Lamanai during the nineteenth-century. It may be that the kinds of vessel forms, patterns, and wares were chosen purposefully by the inhabitants of the estate. But, it is also just as likely that materials for the day to day existence of this particular landscape were provided by the employer just like a contemporary office space that supplies items for use by employees during the work day.

In addition to looking at the start of the British sugar venture and establishing occupation dates/types of activity at Lamanai, it is also important to look for clues regarding the condition and use of the site in the years during and following the

productive years of the sugar estate. Interestingly, the mean ceramic date of the YDL (Spanish Church) zone is 1862, even though an account shows the Spanish church to be in ruin and vacant a few years after that date. In 1864, an unknown author mentioned a visit to “a place called Indian Church, at the head of the New River, where the remains of an old church still stand, and the foundations of other buildings, which must have been an important Indian town at one time” (1864:481). In 1865, Reverend Richard Fletcher visited Indian Church and notes that the:

“remains of what is called an old church still stands there, and the foundations of other buildings...[and] there is a very large lagoon in front of it, which abounds with fish; and it forms one of the finest landscapes in British Honduras. In the course of a few years it is likely to become a large settlement” (1865:138).

Both accounts mention ruins and imply a former impressive society, but do not record a plantation or other British industry at the site. Additionally, an account from 1904 states that:

“an old Maya-speaking Indian living in the neighborhood, by name Kulluth, assured me that when he was a lad (probably sixty years since) the [Spanish Church] was still almost entire save for the roof, of which no traces existed even then. On the other hand, the cleaving of the walls through the centre suggests that it is tumbling down from extreme old age” (Castells 1904:28).

This same author wrote an account of the Spanish church, which stated that

“the central apartment which was the sanctuary proper, and faced the declining sun [and because there are no door sockets] it may be doubted whether it ever had any doors at all. On examining the debris in the interior, I observed four large circular stone, which were evidently loose sections of pillars, they much have belonged to the sanctuary, for they still are there, with only one exception; their dimensions are: diameter, 17 inches; length, 21 inches. These pillars may have stood at the main entrance supporting a lintel, which would then imply the existence of a door...but, they have stood in the inner room to support the large beams of the roof” (Castells 1904:33).

Although the recovered material culture points to the YDL (Spanish Church) zone being the hub of estate activity around 1862, the primary documents refute this interpretation. The inconsistencies between the material and written record may imply that we have yet to discover the estate related landscape utilized after the original occupation by James Hyde and Company. Although the YDL (Spanish Church) zone artifacts imply an activity area replete with foodway, household, construction/maintenance, and architectural objects, these data may be a red herring. Instead of this area being a residence, industrial zone, or plantation household landscape, it could be that the probable midden located at the Hunchback Tomb area may have been expanded to include the YDL (Spanish Church) zone.

Material and Theoretical Implications of Landscape

During the process of constructing a research design for this project, it was my hope that the artifacts and features would elucidate internal and local meaning and the external connections of these meanings to the ideologies of colonialism and globalism. At first I was disappointed that the material culture analysis did not offer up more information regarding the layout and function of the estate landscape at Lamanai over time. My previous research and studies at other sites had drawn obvious and stark lines between the haves and have nots and the colonizers and those being colonized, but not here. Lamanai and its history do not conform to the usual methods of power and control used by the British nor were the groups operating in this space the usual suspects. There is not, as far we know, a great house surrounded by a restrictive wall or structures where

laborers lived. Nor is there evidence of a structure where agricultural machinery was stored or the remains of the ways in which resources were moved around the estate or off the estate for sale. However, after extensive analysis of the material culture at Lamanai, it seems the misty and elusive nature of the data may also reflect the reality of life on this particular landscape. The British were only active in this space due to the inability of the Spanish to control inland Honduras. Their movements were born of local negotiations, transient camps in search of natural resources, and illicit, shadowy activities that all took place in the deep, dark cover of strangler vines and months on end of cloudy skies and unending deluge. The British were never in control of this landscape as they were in other parts of the Americas and, to this end, the landscape itself gives this project the most clues as to what life may have been like for the British colonists who lived and worked at Lamanai.

A number of spatial dialogues would have played active roles during the life of the British sugar estate, and each dialogue had particular implications and variable effects on the lives of the people who inhabited this space. The idea that landscape is imbued with power and control in its own right is an especially visceral experience for archaeologists working at Lamanai. Although the people I am studying lived on this space almost two hundred years ago, the landscape has changed very little in that period of time. The jungle is still robust, stifling, and will begin consuming anything standing still for too long. As a visitor to this landscape, I am at the mercy of the environment and it is only the groups and individuals who live there and know this space intimately that allow me to survive.

The effect of this landscape on visitors has been well documented. For example, in 1849, Major Luke Smyth O'Connor wrote, "so minute are the sand flies of Honduras, so indefatigable in their exertions to banish rest, the finest, closest, mosquito netting or muslin, fails to keep at bay those murderers of sleep" (O'Connor 1849:229). The natural environment would have been a constant battle for the groups and individuals trying to live and work at Lamanai, as stated by Eric Swayne: "the vitality of the forest is extraordinary...paths cut are obliterated in a year or two, and it is a constant struggle to keep the forest encroachments from plantations" (Swayne 1917:165). However, Lamanai was also an inviting space that provided a respite from the humid interior and easy access to riverine trade and communication routes. When explaining why the "Itzas" came to be at Lamanai, one author stated that they must have:

"retreated by the only way open to them-the river [and] after those people would have gone seventy miles up the stream, they would probably consider the picturesque plain to the east of the lagoon as a safe spot on which to settle" (Castells 1904:37).

Lamanai was an isolated location that also retained connections to inland and coastal Honduras and had plentiful natural resources.

This landscape would have also been defensible insofar as it would be difficult to arrive at this location without traveling on the rivers or the few internal roads that connected this space to the larger region. Riverine landscapes played an important part in the emergence of civilizations all over the world because "[the rich soils provided resources for large groups of people and] the waterways themselves provided affective transportation corridors, critical to movement of goods and people" (McAnany et al. 2002:123). The natural landscape must have also played a role in the history of this

particular site. Lamanai has been continuously settled in some form for thousands of years for a reason. For one, the site is located at a wide spot on the New River, which would have made trade and communication efficient as compared to more landlocked landscapes, but would have also had some isolation from the Spanish and British military who would have had more difficulty arriving at Lamanai. River networks would have been an important aspect of life for the inland Maya because these waterways would have “served as a transportation route for exotic trade goods, ...ritual paraphernalia, imagery, implements, and food [from the coastal areas]” (McKillop 1995:214). Lamanai is also somewhat isolated, which could have allowed for some degree of local autonomy and power, but with access to and the influence of regional and long distance trade and multiple spheres of influence.

The same natural environment would have drawn both the Spanish and British to the shores of the New River at this particular location, but with very different outcomes. The Spanish initially approached the Belize interior with the goal of imperial control over its people and resources, but “the Maya of the resource-poor Yucatan peninsula were spared the heavy colonial hand that held fast to central Mexico and its riches” (Graham, Pendergast, and Jones 1989:1254). This approach was unsuccessful on many levels, but arguably hinging on the inability of the Spanish to administer this landscape. For one, their ships were built with low draft. These vessels could not navigate the shallow riverways, which cut off the most direct and safe routes to the interior and kept the Spanish operating most frequently on the coasts and cayes. The Spanish and the later British colonists would also have had to contend with Maya knowledge and control of the lowland landscape as stated by an early twentieth century author:

“no quarter of the world, not even the China seas, could be found a better adapted to guerilla warfare, the sudden attack from hidden retreats, and the baffling of pursuit. Everywhere, amongst the islands and along the mainland, concealed channels penetrate into a labyrinth of lagoons opening into each other, and leaving many roundabout ways of escape to the sea” (Swayne 1917: 161).

Unlike the Spanish who tried to expose and organize the Maya, the British attempted to situate themselves within the physical and ideological use of landscape presented by the Maya.

The British utilized the in-between spaces and local political economies to their advantage, something that was both proper and familiar to the indigenous groups with which the British were negotiating for their lives and for profit. The failure of the Spanish in the lowland landscape would have been the prime mover in the British operating in this particular space. Unlike the Spanish vessels, British mercantile boats were especially suited to river navigation, which would have allowed them to move about the interior without Spanish influence. However, it also may be that the Spanish had written off the interior landscapes and simply did not care that the British were active in this area; either way, the Spanish government and military were largely uninvolved with the day-to-day existence of the British and Maya operating in this sphere, which allowed for the initial success of small ventures at Lamanai and in the Northwest District more generally.

When I first began looking at the spatial particularities of the Lamanai landscape during the eighteenth-century and how it may have affected the British colonists, I focused on the differences and similarities between Maya and British ideologies about land and resources and how these differences may have led to the initial success of small

plantations and resource extraction teams, but failed to sustain the long-term economic success of the British in this sphere. Landscape can give us clues into the active nature of space and the ideologies that created those built environments because “spatiality is the physical side of self-and-other awareness” (Orser 1996:144). Colonial spatial practices had been incubated for many years before the attempt at plantation cultivation in Belize, but the outcome was not the same. Both the Maya and the British understood that power began with control of the productive part of land, whether the ability to extract or produce goods or control of the land that enables the distribution of such goods (Hendon 1991). To this end, control of the natural environment at Lamanai would have enabled great power if it could be managed effectively. The ability to secure both production and distribution would have been a major draw to the British colonists and their sugar venture. Maya power strategy revolved around prestige goods because objects that are difficult to acquire and travel a long distance “reduce competition within a polity and...facilitate successful competition outside of the local domain in which prestige goods form a type of international currency” (McAnany et al. 2002:126). In this regard, the Maya at Lamanai may have viewed the British settlement as another resource on their land; a resource that gave them direct access to trade goods provided by the British; use of the land for goods. This argument is also bolstered by the fact that once the British were banned from supplying the Santa Cruz with weapons and ammunition, the contract between them was broken and the Santa Cruz no longer protected the British against the Ycaiche.

The British and Maya views of landscape centered on the ways in which each had the right to rule certain landscapes or an “ideology of descent” (Sahlins 1965) with regard

to the history that led each to a legitimate claim of a particular space and “rulers’ power and authority might be drawn from ideology itself” (Demarest 2004:206). Maya city center locations were chosen because of similarities between the Maya creation story and the natural landscapes they encountered during their travels. The Maya would have looked for landscapes that would recreate “what was supposed to be their place of origin” (Austin 2001:83) in order to establish material and historical rights to a particular space. Once this landscape was symbolically reclaimed (not claimed), the ideology of descent (Sahlins 1965) continued via the “existence of ranked and stratified status lineages whose power and importance were buttressed by control over tangible assets, such as land and people, but were grounded fundamentally in their descent and associated ritual powers” (Hendon 1991: 913).

Much later, the British were using this same method in their built environments. One particular landscape that has been documented by Charles Orser is Tanzyfort House at the Coopershill demesne, in County Sligo, Ireland, where the landscape was designed to impart materials and ideology of a long history of settlement by the owners, even though they had been there for only a few generations. The basic concept of demesne in colonial Ireland was that of “land owned and controlled by a landlord and carefully restricted for the sole use of his or her family” (Orser 2006:31). The landscape was reserved solely for the owners, but also used as pedagogy that informed individuals and groups of their inclusion or exclusion with regard to certain spaces. In addition to these demesnes being restrictive space, they also “become the locus of the English picturesque movement, as the gentry commissioned the construction of statuary, obelisks, ornamental bridges, fountains, romantic temples, and even stone pyramids within their demesnes”

(Orser 2006:31). This included the manipulation of landscape in order to create an historical, yet fictional, account of the material history of the space by building or knocking down structures to look like that they been in situ since medieval times. In the case of Coopershill, Tanzyfort House was a previously utilized structure on the demesne that “was not allowed to become a ruin naturally” (Orser 2006:37). During late eighteenth-century renovations, the feature was partially dismantled and fortified to remain in that state: a constructed ruin that informed of a constructed history. The feature was deconstructed and remodelled to look like a medieval fortification, which was a static representation of manifest strength and power.

The material aspects of descent rely on the ability of individuals and groups to construct material manifestations of symbolic capital (Orser 2006:29; Bourdieu 1985). The act of retrofitting a landscape with the ideologies of modern occupiers worked in many locations because in this medium “symbolic structures are not simply mystified objectivities that exist only in the minds of social actors” (Orser 2006:30). Thought and mind become material, real world actualities because although “symbolic structures may not be directly observable, their outcomes, as constructions, can be seen in the everyday practice of individuals” (Orser 2006:30). In the case of the Lamanai landscape, the massive, crumbling Maya ruins may have had an unsettling effect on the British colonists who understood the implications of this symbolic capital on the landscape. The British arrived on a landscape that was beyond deep ideological manipulation and practiced colonial structure. It would have been impossible to return Lamanai to *tabula rasa* because the landscape had already been altered to such a great degree by the Maya for their own use with layers of embedded ideologies.

In addition to the idea of symbolic capital and historic rights to landscape, both Maya cities and British colonial plantations would have been organized into distinctive patterns (Orser 1989,1988; Adams and Jones 1981) based on function and group ideology, although these terms are necessarily interrelated. The growth of colonial empires relied on locating new sources of raw materials and labor as well as the measurement and cultivation of abstract space, “a commodity whose value could be determined and traded” (Morzowski 1999:54). Mrozowski likens the commodification of abstract space to:

“certain patterns of western cultural thought, [for example] renaissance architecture and gardens” and the use of credit (abstract money) which embodied the “process whereby abstract plan became material reality...one spatial form into another” (Mrozowski 1999:155).

The plantation landscape and economy is a perfect example of this process.

Abstract/untamed nature was measured and parceled out into plantation zones that served to cultivate both agricultural and racial structure within plantation space and the larger plantation economy, more generally. With regard to plantation landscape and space, geometric formality, construction materials, class designation of features, amount of living space, and location of features were some of the ways in which plantation landscape was used to project economic, social, and racial organization.

The planter class’ ability to observe and manage the plantation directly correlated with the physical and aesthetic symbolism of the plantation built environment. Most plantation space was designed in ascending layers with the elite or supervisors occupying the highest levels where they could observe the activities of the landscape (Singleton 2001; Epperson 2000; Delle 1998). Features were placed strategically on the landscape

and revolved around the manor house or administration facility, which would have been at the highest point on the landscape and in the center of the space in order to create a panoramic view of the estate by the elite, but also to remind others that from that vantage point they could be observed at any moment. The ways in which plantation landscapes were organized either facilitated or limited contact between individuals of different racial classes because “the tension between inclusion and exclusion, between the need to incorporate the oppressed people within a unified system of control and the need to create distance, difference, and otherness” (Epperson 1999:163) was at the heart of power and control.

The Lamanai landscape was entirely different than the practiced ideology of space utilized by many British colonists in other parts of the world. For one, not only was labor in short supply, but emancipation abolished slavery in British Honduras in 1838, which would have given non-British laborers much more power because they could have left the estate and worked for other individuals in any of British Honduras’ industries. In addition, the tall Maya ruins would have kept the colonists from achieving the panopticon (Foucault 1979) landscape that had been extremely effective in other locations. The ruins were also a constant reminder that this was a Maya space with the legitimate symbolic capital to back up the Maya rights to power and land on this landscape. In addition, the jungle itself became much like the fortresses of medieval Britain. Castles with thick walls and lofty towers provided many places to shoot projectiles from hidden niches and small slits in the wall: a terrifying aspect to those trying to attack such a feature. And, if one was able to get inside the fortification one was immediately confounded by the twists and turns and dead ends that provided the elite and their army another layer of protection.

With regard to Lamanai, the jungle would have been an equivalent type of fortress feature for the Maya. They would have known the landscape intimately and been able to move in and out of sight like ghosts. The British were a minority on this landscape and without symbolic capital or fortress. The discordance in ideological symbolic capital and spatial layout at Lamanai must have had a debilitating effect on the British colonists and their ability to function in a manner consistent with constructing and running a profitable institution.

At this juncture, we know very little about the entire layout of the sugar estate at Lamanai in comparison to other plantation landscapes in the Americas, but one excavated area seems to have seen many years of use and reuse by at least three groups over time: the YDL (Spanish Church) zone. And, at this time there are two plausible ideological interpretations for why both the Spanish and British utilized these particular features and landscape. First, it may have been a place where these groups attempted to attach themselves to a location of historical power by claiming the material symbolic capital of the standing structures. The Spanish built a church on top of a Maya mound and then another church next to the first, after the first structure was destroyed by the Maya, although the original temple platform remained. Many years later the British estate elite or possibly British military officers may have been living and working in and around these formally sacred features of the Maya and Spanish, each successive occupation hoping to draw power and legitimacy directly from this location.

However, another possible interpretation gleaned from the project's artifact analysis is that each group was taking power away from this particular space without adding this power to their own settlement. Even though it is likely the Spanish chose this

location because there was an active temple mound at the site. This was an overt act that took the power away from the landscape in this location. The second Spanish church was constructed due north of the first and was constructed on an entirely different axis. The reuse of the Maya landscape by the Spanish to build a structure that completely defied Maya historic worldview was an extreme statement, but the act of Maya sabotage with regard to the first church may have taken the power away from the second church as well. It had been turned into a space without symbolic capital and void of power for the Maya. While the British colonists were likely unaware of the material conflict between the Maya and Spanish embedded in this space, they would have known that the church was not a Protestant church and even the act of living in this structure would have been an overt affront to Spanish ideology, let alone using this area as a dumping ground for British trash.

While the natural and built environment played key roles in the history of Lamanai, the built environment has also played a large role in the history of research and archaeology at the site. It is certain that excavations at Lamanai have not recovered enough features to have housed all the individuals and groups who inhabited Lamanai during the life of the sugar venture on this particular landscape. For one, the scale and materials of certain features have encouraged the excavations of some buildings and obfuscated the location of others. The features that have been excavated were constructed of stone and brick, which remained visible because the environment takes longer to break down these types of constructions compared to those of wood, thatch, and clay. The materials themselves have the power to tell their story, which necessarily obscure an entire portion of the population and their history. Unfortunately we do not

know the full extent of how individuals and groups were situated on the landscape and we also do not have the residential structures or know the ethnicity of those groups living and working at Lamanai, so this spatial analysis is lacking a key component. At most colonial sites, the history of Europeans is the most visible above the surface and therefore offers a more complete history than that of slaves or indigenous people who may have lived there using less robust materials, but the space at Lamanai is in direct opposition to much of the previous research at colonial sites. Lamanai was and continues to be a Maya site that was briefly settled by the Spanish and British.

Conclusion

Lamanai could easily be seen as a small dot on the geographic and historic landscape, but the attacks at this location in 1867 could be seen as the beginning of the end for formal colonial endeavors in greater British Honduras. I argue that a major factor in the (albeit limited) success of British-Maya relations in the region as a whole, as compared to attempts by the Spanish to exclusively control extraction and trade, was that the British approached the Maya at the local level with regard to trade and extraction, at least until the introduction of the British military in 1867.

This local control and negotiation may have been compatible with historical Maya economic structures, which led to the initial success of small plantations, extraction units, and merchant trading. Historically, the Maya were organized into “extended family groups [which were] likely...the principal unit of political organization, land holding, and agricultural production into the early seventeenth-century” (Alexander 2005:180). These family groups would have administered “exploitation [of] diverse microenvironmental

niches” (Alexander 2005:180) for local trade and export, much like the British venture at Lamanai and plantations in the surrounding geographic area.

The structural compatibility between the Maya and British may have allowed for sociocultural congruencies and economic reciprocity by presenting a wholly different realm of relationships from that of the Spanish, who had previously approached the Maya at Lamanai through military threat, the establishment of Catholic churches, and attempts to forcibly convert and reform them (Alexander 2005; Andrews 1981; Gasco 2005, 1996; Graham, Pendergast, Jones 1989; Masson 1999; Robinson 1997). Just as did the Maya, Spanish, and early British settlers before them, the British military chose this particular landscape to make their stand. Before this event, the British homeland paid little attention to Honduras. The colonists were able to do basically what they pleased with little input from the British government. But, after the settlers called in the military, the British government realized the value of this land and claimed this land as a Crown Colony in 1871. What had previously been localized agreements and negotiations between indigenous peoples and European colonists became faceless, bureaucratic theatre with little regard for the history of small-scale relationships.

The eighteenth and nineteenth century is a poorly understood time period in Belize because the bulk of activities taking place on this landscape were small scale, illicit, or simply beyond direct government control. My research has also shed light on the paucity of primary documents regarding British activity available before the first half of the nineteenth century, although after the Clayton Bulwar treaty (1850) documentation increases exponentially. It is likely that the elusive nature of written documents may have been a purposeful omission by the groups and individuals living and working in

Belize to keep their movements, activities, and profits hidden from both the Spanish and the English. And, considering the rapid decline of the colonial economy and violence after the insertion of national and regional control, I would argue that keeping such information as standpoint knowledge was likely the best course of action. The groups and individuals operating in Belize during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were aware that agreements negotiated at the local level were successful in this particular environment because there was no central authority to administer long ranging bureaucracy. However, the failure of such administration in the mid to late nineteenth century points to the incompatibility of this type of socio-political structure in the lowlands more generally.

The British settlement at Lamanai played an active role in the events that occurred in the northwest district of Belize during the nineteenth-century within the larger sphere of colonialism and the global economy. But, there is much more to discover regarding the groups and individuals active on this landscape before, during, and after the major events that took place in this space. The recovered artifacts and excavated features are necessarily a mere beginning for historical research at Lamanai. These objects and landscapes have provided clues to the rise and fall of the sugar estate, but the data are lacking many aspects of the day-to-day lives and realities of the people that inhabited Lamanai and the Village of Indian Church during the eighteenth and nineteenth-century. How did James Hyde end up at Lamanai? The area was known for conflict between indigenous peoples and colonists, so why would he have invested in this space? Why was sugar cultivated instead of another crop? What groups were present on the estate,

what were their roles, how were these groups situated on the plantation household landscape? These are but a few of the questions we have yet to answer.

The next step is go back to Lamanai in order to re-examine the known structures with ties to the British settlement as well as locate additional habitation and activity areas with ties to this particular period. The types of structures we will need to look for will be much more elusive than the features of brick and stone. These features will likely be mere stains on the landscape because they were built of easily degraded materials such as wood and thatch. However, we move forward with the knowledge that the British era at Lamanai was a vital and important component of the events and history of the district and region, so there must be more information located in the material and documentary record that will allow a more holistic and particularistic interpretation of the people who occupied this space, even if for a short period of time.

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APPENDIX A

TABLES

Table 1. Artifact use attributes by category.

		architecture	construction/ maintenance	foodways	household	medicine/ chemical	personal	sewing	tools	unknown	TOTALS
Citadel	Artifact Count	3	49	279	1	8	60	20	0	0	420
	Percent of Area Total	1%	12%	66%	0%	2%	14%	5%	0%	0%	100%
	Percent of Site Total	5%	18%	11%	2%	15%	48%	63%	0%	0%	
Hunchback Tomb	Artifact Count	2	36	494	10	5	21	5	5	1	579
	Percent of Area Total	0%	6%	85%	2%	1%	4%	1%	1%	0%	100%
	Percent of Site Total	3%	13%	20%	20%	9%	17%	16%	31%	4%	
N12-17	Artifact Count	1	1	6	1	0	1	1	0	1	12
	Percent of Area Total	8%	8%	50%	8%	0%	8%	8%	0%	8%	100%
	Percent of Site Total	2%	0%	0%	2%	0%	1%	3%	0%	4%	
N12-30	Artifact Count	0	41	57	0	1	5	0	1	1	106
	Percent of Area Total	0%	39%	54%	0%	1%	5%	0%	1%	1%	100%
	Percent of Site Total	0%	15%	2%	0%	2%	4%	0%	6%	4%	
Sugar Mill	Artifact Count	5	42	114	0	7	12	4	6	1	191
	Percent of Area Total	3%	22%	60%	0%	4%	6%	2%	3%	1%	100%
	Percent of Site Total	8%	15%	5%	0%	13%	10%	13%	38%	4%	
Surface	Artifact Count	1	58	192	1	32	10	1	1	9	305
	Percent of Area Total	0%	19%	63%	0%	10%	3%	0%	0%	3%	100%
	Percent of Site Total	2%	21%	8%	2%	59%	8%	3%	6%	39%	
YDL (Spanish Church) Zone	Artifact Count	53	46	1367	38	1	15	1	3	10	1534
	Percent of Area Total	3%	3%	89%	2%	0%	1%	0%	0%	1%	100%
	Percent of Site Total	82%	17%	54%	75%	2%	12%	3%	19%	43%	
Site Total											
	Artifact Count	65	273	2509	51	54	124	32	16	23	3147
	Percent of Site Total	2%	9%	80%	2%	2%	4%	1%	1%	1%	100%

Table 2. Ceramic ware types by activity area.

		bone china	coarse earthenware	Majolica/Panama	dry-bodied earthenware	ironstone	pearlware	porcelain	porcelain/soft paste	stoneware	whiteware	yellowware	AREA TOTALS
Citadel	No. Sherds	0	9	1	1	0	33	7	1	0	62	0	114
	Percent of Area Total	0%	8%	1%	1%	0%	29%	6%	1%	0%	54%	0%	100%
	Percent of Site Total	0%	100%	100%	100%	0%	15%	64%	20%	0%	13%	0%	45
	MNV	0	6	1	1	0	14	1	1	0	21	0	100%
	Percent of Area Total	0%	13%	2%	2%	0%	31%	2%	2%	0%	47%	0%	100%
Hunchback Tomb	No. Sherds	0	0	0	0	19	17	0	0	41	128	0	205
	Percent of Area Total	0%	0%	0%	0%	9%	8%	0%	0%	20%	62%	0%	100%
	Percent of Site Total	0%	0%	0%	0%	79%	8%	0%	0%	50%	27%	0%	24
	MNV	0	0	0	0	2	7	0	0	4	11	0	100%
	Percent of Area Total	0%	0%	0%	0%	8%	29%	0%	0%	17%	46%	0%	100%
N12-17	No. Sherds	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
	Percent of Area Total	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%
	Percent of Site Total	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	40%	2
	MNV	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
	Percent of Area Total	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%
N12-30	No. Sherds	2	0	0	0	0	9	4	0	0	11	0	26
	Percent of Area Total	8%	0%	0%	0%	0%	35%	15%	0%	0%	42%	0%	100%
	Percent of Site Total	25%	0%	0%	0%	0%	4%	36%	0%	0%	2%	0%	14
	MNV	1	0	0	0	0	5	2	0	0	6	0	100%
	Percent of Area Total	7%	0%	0%	0%	0%	36%	14%	0%	0%	43%	0%	100%
Sugar Mill	No. Sherds	33%	0%	0%	0%	0%	8%	67%	0%	0%	6%	0%	40
	Percent of Area Total	0%	0%	0%	0%	5%	38%	0%	5%	13%	40%	0%	100%
	Percent of Site Total	0%	0%	0%	0%	8%	7%	0%	40%	6%	3%	0%	21
	MNV	0	0	0	0	1	7	0	1	2	10	0	100%
	Percent of Area Total	0%	0%	0%	0%	5%	33%	0%	5%	10%	48%	0%	100%
Surface	No. Sherds	0%	0%	0%	0%	17%	11%	0%	33%	20%	10%	0%	78
	Percent of Area Total	2	0	0	0	3	10	0	2	2	56	3	100%
	Percent of Site Total	3%	0%	0%	0%	4%	13%	0%	3%	3%	72%	4%	100%
	MNV	25%	0%	0%	0%	13%	5%	0%	40%	2%	12%	60%	31
	Percent of Area Total	1	0	0	0	3	7	0	1	2	14	3	100%
YDL (Spanish Church) Zone	No. Sherds	3%	0%	0%	0%	10%	23%	0%	3%	6%	45%	10%	383
	Percent of Area Total	33%	0%	0%	0%	50%	11%	0%	33%	20%	14%	60%	100%
	Percent of Site Total	4	0	0	0	0	136	0	0	34	209	0	100%
	Percent of Area Total	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	36%	0%	0%	9%	55%	0%	100%
	Percent of Site Total	50%	0%	0%	0%	0%	62%	0%	0%	41%	43%	0%	63
Site Total	No. Sherds	1	0	0	0	0	21	0	0	2	39	0	100%
	Percent of Area Total	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%	33%	0%	0%	3%	62%	0%	200
	MNV	33%	0%	0%	0%	0%	34%	0%	0%	20%	39%	0%	100%
	Percent of Area Total	bone china	coarse earthenware	Majolica/Panama	dry-bodied earthenware	ironstone	pearlware	porcelain	porcelain/soft paste	stoneware	whiteware	yellowware	TOTALS
	Percent of Site Total	8	9	1	1	24	220	11	5	82	482	5	848
Site Total	No. Sherds	1%	1%	0%	0%	3%	26%	1%	1%	10%	57%	1%	100%
	Percent of Area Total	3	6	1	1	6	61	3	3	10	101	5	200
	MNV	2%	3%	1%	1%	3%	31%	2%	2%	5%	51%	3%	100%
	Percent of Area Total												
	Percent of Site Total												

Table 3. Ceramics by ware type by activity area for mean ceramic dating.

Area	Sherds	MNV	Ware Type	Form	Color	Decoration	MCD Start	MCD End
Citadel	1	1	annularware	tea cup	blue	banded	1790	1830
Citadel	2	1	annularware	tea cup	blue	banded/ wormey	1790	1830
Citadel	7	1	annularware	tea cup	blue	checkerboard/ banded	1790	1830
Citadel	0	1	coarse earthenware	unknown	brown	n/a	does not contribute to MCD	does not contribute to MCD
Citadel	0	1	coarse earthenware	unknown	brown	n/a	does not contribute to MCD	does not contribute to MCD
Citadel	0	1	coarse earthenware	unknown	brown/red	n/a	does not contribute to MCD	does not contribute to MCD
Citadel	0	1	coarse earthenware	unknown	brown/red	n/a	does not contribute to MCD	does not contribute to MCD
Citadel	0	1	coarse earthenware	unknown	red	n/a	does not contribute to MCD	does not contribute to MCD
Citadel	0	1	coarse earthenware	unknown	red/yellow	n/a	does not contribute to MCD	does not contribute to MCD
Citadel	1	1	Majolica/ Panama	unknown	poly	painted	1765	1815
Citadel	0	1	dry bodied earthenware	pot	red	n/a	does not contribute to MCD	does not contribute to MCD
Citadel	1	1	pearlware	unknown	white	n/a	1775	1830
Citadel	2	1	pearlware	plate	blue	transfer print	1795	1830
Citadel	2	1	pearlware	plate	blue	transfer print	1795	1830
Citadel	1	1	pearlware	plate	blue	transfer print	1795	1830
Citadel	1	1	pearlware	plate	blue	transfer print	1795	1830
Citadel	3	1	pearlware	plate	blue	transfer print	1795	1830
Citadel	8	1	pearlware	pitcher(?)	blue	transfer print	1795	1830
Citadel	2	1	pearlware	plate(?)	blue	transfer print	1795	1830
Citadel	1	1	pearlware	unknown	blue	transfer print	1795	1830
Citadel	2	1	pearlware	unknown	green	transfer print	1795	1830
Citadel	1	1	pearlware	saucer	green	transfer print	1795	1830
Citadel	3	1	pearlware	plate	green	transfer print	1795	1830
Citadel	1	1	pearlware	unknown	purple	transfer print	1795	1830
Citadel	0	1	porcelain	tea cup	white	n/a	does not contribute to MCD	does not contribute to MCD
Citadel	1	1	Porcelain/ English soft paste	tea cup	blue	painted	1745	1795
Citadel	5	1	Tin Enameled/ English	unknown	blue	painted, under glaze	1600	1802

Citadel	6	1	whiteware	coffee cup	white	n/a	1820	2000
Citadel	8	1	whiteware	bowl/pitcher	white	n/a	1820	2000
Citadel	3	1	whiteware	tea cup	poly	painted under, free hand	1830	1920
Citadel	1	1	whiteware	unknown	poly	sponged	1820	1930
Citadel	2	1	whiteware	saucer	poly	sponged	1820	1930
Citadel	3	1	whiteware	tea cup	purple/green	sponged	1820	1930
Citadel	1	1	whiteware	pitcher	red	sponged	1820	1930
Citadel	1	1	whiteware	unknown	purple	transfer print	1828	2000
Citadel	2	1	whiteware	saucer	black	transfer print	1828	2000
Citadel	2	1	whiteware	plate	blue	transfer print	1828	2000
Citadel	2	1	whiteware	bowl(?)	blue	transfer print	1820	2000
Citadel	3	1	whiteware	bowl(?)	green	transfer print	1828	2000
Citadel	1	1	whiteware	saucer	green	transfer print	1828	2000
Citadel	1	1	whiteware	unknown	red	transfer print	1828	2000
Citadel	1	1	whiteware	saucer	red	transfer print	1828	2000
Citadel	10	1	whiteware	tea cup	blue	transfer print/flow blue	1840	1900
Citadel	4	1	whiteware, factory made slipware	tea cup	green	banded	1820	1840
Citadel	1	1	whiteware, factory made slipware	saucer	green	banded	1820	1840
# SHERDS /MNV	97	45	1847	MCD				
HBT	2	1	annularware	tea cup	blue	banded	1790	1830
HBT	31	1	annularware	bowl	blue/brown	banded	1790	1830
HBT	11	1	annularware	bowl	blue/brown	banded	1790	1830
HBT	14	1	annularware	bowl(?)	blue/red	banded	1790	1830
HBT	17	1	ironstone/white granite	pitcher/serving bowl(?)	white	n/a	1840	2000
HBT	2	1	ironstone/white granite	tea cup	blue	transfer print	1840	2000
HBT	3	1	pearlware	pitcher/serving bowl(?)	white	n/a	1775	1830
HBT	3	1	pearlware	pitcher/serving bowl(?)	white	n/a	1775	1830
HBT	3	1	pearlware	pitcher/serving bowl(?)	white	n/a	1775	1830
HBT	4	1	pearlware	saucer	blue	transfer print	1795	1830
HBT	2	1	pearlware	plate(?)	blue	transfer print	1795	1830
HBT	1	1	pearlware	saucer	green	transfer print	1795	1830
HBT	1	1	pearlware	tea cup	purple	transfer print	1795	1830
HBT	3	3	stoneware/English	bottle	yellow/brown (dipped)	label	1761	1800

HBT	38	1	stoneware/ English	pot	yellow/ brown	n/a	1761	1800
HBT	1	1	whiteware	tea cup(?)	blue/red	painted	1830	1920
HBT	16	1	whiteware	bowl (shallow)	poly	painted under, free hand	1830	1920
HBT	31	1	whiteware	saucer	poly	painted under, free hand	1830	1920
HBT	14	1	whiteware	saucer	poly	painted under, free hand	1830	1920
HBT	1	1	whiteware	unknown	green	sponged	1820	1930
HBT	5	1	whiteware	pitcher(?)	green	transfer print	1828	2000
HBT	2	1	whiteware	saucer	red	transfer print	1828	2000
# SHERDS /MNV	205	24	1838	MCD				
N12-17	1	1	yellowware	bowl	yellow	n/a	1830	1940
N12-17	1	1	yellowware	unknown	yellow/ brown	sponged	1830	1940
# SHERDS /MNV	2	2	none	MCD				
N12-30	3	1	annularware	unknown	blue/ brown	banded	1790	1830
N12-30	1	1	annularware	unknown	blue	n/a	1790	1830
N12-30	3	1	pearlware	tea cup	white	n/a	1775	1830
N12-30	2	1	pearlware	plate(?)	white	n/a	1775	1830
N12-30	2	1	pearlware	unknown	blue	shell edged	1790	1830
N12-30	1	1	pearlware	unknown	blue	transfer print	1795	1830
N12-30	1	1	pearlware, slip engined turned	tea cup	blue	banded	1790	1830
N12-30	0	1	porcelain	tea cup	white	n/a	does not contribute to MCD	does not contribute to MCD
N12-30	0	1	porcelain	unknown	yellow	painted	does not contribute to MCD	does not contribute to MCD
N12-30	2	1	Porcelain/ English bone china	tea cup(?)	blue	painted, under glaze	1794	2000
N12-30	1	1	whiteware	saucer	white	molded	1820	2000
N12-30	2	1	whiteware	unknown	white	n/a	1820	2000
N12-30	3	1	whiteware	bowl	poly	painted under, free hand	1830	1920
N12-30	1	1	whiteware	unknown	blue	transfer print	1820	2000
# SHERDS /MNV	22	14	1843	MCD				
Sugar Mill	1	1	annularware	unknown	blue/ brown	banded	1790	1830
Sugar Mill	1	1	annularware	unknown	blue	n/a	1790	1830
Sugar Mill	2	1	ironstone/ white granite	plate	green	banded/ molded	1840	2000
Sugar Mill	3	1	pearlware	tea cup	white	n/a	1775	1830
Sugar Mill	2	1	pearlware	tea cup	poly	sponge/paint	1795	1830

Sugar Mill	2	1	pearlware	unknown	green	sponged	1795	1830
Sugar Mill	2	1	pearlware	saucer	blue	transfer print	1795	1830
Sugar Mill	3	1	pearlware	tea cup	blue	transfer print	1795	1830
Sugar Mill	2	1	pearlware	saucer	blue	transfer print	1795	1830
Sugar Mill	1	1	pearlware	saucer	blue	transfer print	1795	1830
Sugar Mill	2	1	Porcelain/ English soft paste	unknown	blue	painted, under glaze	1745	1795
Sugar Mill	1	1	stoneware/ English	bottle (liquid)	grey	n/a	1761	1800
Sugar Mill	4	1	stoneware/ English	unknown	grey/black	n/a	1761	1800
Sugar Mill	2	1	whiteware	tea cup	white	n/a	1820	2000
Sugar Mill	2	1	whiteware	bowl (serving)	poly	painted under, free hand	1830	1920
Sugar Mill	1	1	whiteware	tea cup(?)	poly	painted under, free hand	1830	1920
Sugar Mill	2	1	whiteware	plate	poly	painted/ writing	1830	1920
Sugar Mill	3	1	whiteware	plate	blue	transfer print	1820	2000
Sugar Mill	2	1	whiteware	plate	blue	transfer print	1820	2000
Sugar Mill	1	1	whiteware	plate	blue	transfer print	1820	2000
Sugar Mill	1	1	whiteware	plate	red	transfer print	1828	2000
# SHERDS /MNV	40	21	1841	MCD				
surface	10	1	annularware	bowl (serving)	blue/ brown	banded	1790	1830
surface	1	1	annularware	bowl (small)	blue	checkerboard	1790	1830
surface	1	1	ironstone/ white granite	unknown	white	n/a	1840	2000
surface	1	1	ironstone/ white granite	pitcher(?)	white	n/a	1840	2000
surface	1	1	ironstone/ white granite	unknown	red	transfer print	1840	2000
surface	1	1	pearlware	unknown	white	n/a	1775	1830
surface	4	1	pearlware	coffee cup	white	n/a	1775	1830
surface	1	1	pearlware	saucer	poly	sponged	1795	1830
surface	1	1	pearlware	tea cup	poly	sponged	1795	1830
surface	1	1	pearlware	unknown	poly	sponged	1795	1830
surface	1	1	pearlware	saucer	purple	sponged	1795	1830
surface	1	1	pearlware	pitcher	blue	transfer print	1795	1830
surface	2	1	Porcelain/Engli sh bone china	unknown	green	painted	1794	2000
surface	2	1	Porcelain/Engli sh soft paste	unknown	blue	painted, under glaze	1745	1795
surface	1	1	stoneware/ American	jug (small)	brown/tan (dipped)	label	1750	1920

surface	1	1	stoneware/ English	bottle (liquid)	yellow	n/a	1761	1800
surface	1	1	white	unknown	blue	transfer print/flow blue	1840	1900
surface	1	1	whiteware	dish (sweetme at)	white	n/a	1820	2000
surface	1	1	whiteware	unknown	white	n/a	1820	2000
surface	1	1	whiteware	unknown	white	n/a	1820	2000
surface	1	1	whiteware	tea cup(?)	white	n/a	1820	2000
surface	4	1	whiteware	unknown	white	n/a	1820	2000
surface	5	1	whiteware	unknown	poly	painted under, free hand	1830	1920
surface	1	1	whiteware	unknown	blue	transfer print	1820	2000
surface	18	1	whiteware	plate	blue	transfer print	1820	2000
surface	1	1	whiteware	unknown	green	transfer print	1828	2000
surface	6	1	whiteware	plate	red	transfer print	1828	2000
surface	5	1	whiteware	saucer	red	transfer print	1828	2000
surface	1	1	yellowware	bowl(?)	yellow	brown stripes	1830	1940
surface	1	1	yellowware	bowl	yellow	n/a	1830	1940
surface	1	1	yellowware	bowl	yellow	n/a	1830	1940
# SHERDS /MNV	78	31	1873	MCD				
YDL	2	1	annularware	saucer	blue	banded	1790	1830
YDL	2	1	annularware	unknown	blue	banded	1790	1830
YDL	10	1	annularware	bowl (small/dee p)	blue/ brown	banded	1790	1830
YDL	2	1	annularware	saucer	brown	banded	1790	1830
YDL	1	1	annularware	unknown	green/ black	banded	1790	1830
YDL	1	1	annularware	unknown	poly	banded	1790	1830
YDL	6	1	annularware	unknown	blue/ orange	banded/ wormey	1790	1830
YDL	15	1	annularware	bowl	blue	checkerboard	1790	1830
YDL	30	1	ironstone/ white granite	bowl	white	n/a	1840	2000
YDL	4	1	ironstone/ white granite	bowl	white	scalloping	1840	2000
YDL	13	1	pearlware	plate	white	n/a	1775	1830
YDL	8	1	pearlware	chamber pot	poly	sponge/paint	1795	1830
YDL	1	1	pearlware	unknown	green	sponged	1795	1830
YDL	20	1	pearlware	bowl (serving)	poly	sponged	1795	1830
YDL	1	1	pearlware	tea cup	poly	sponged	1795	1830
YDL	1	1	pearlware	tea cup	poly	sponged	1795	1830
YDL	18	1	pearlware	plate	red/green	sponged	1795	1830
YDL	6	1	pearlware	plate	blue	transfer print	1795	1830
YDL	16	1	pearlware	plate	blue	transfer print	1795	1830
YDL	5	1	pearlware	bowl (shallow)	blue	transfer print	1795	1830

YDL	10	1	pearlware	coffee cup	blue	transfer print	1795	1830
YDL	3	1	pearlware	plate	blue	transfer print	1795	1830
YDL	3	1	pearlware	tea cup	blue	transfer print	1795	1830
YDL	2	1	pearlware	tea cup	blue	transfer print	1795	1830
YDL	1	1	pearlware	tea cup	blue	transfer print	1795	1830
YDL	4	1	pearlware	plate	blue	transfer print	1795	1830
YDL	4	1	pearlware	tea cup	blue	transfer print	1795	1830
YDL	2	1	pearlware	tea cup	blue	transfer print	1795	1830
YDL	1	1	pearlware	unknown	green	transfer print	1795	1830
YDL	15	1	pearlware	plate	green	transfer print	1795	1830
YDL	4	1	Porcelain/English bone china	unknown	blue	painted, under glaze	1794	2000
YDL	2	1	Tin Enameled/English	unknown	blue	painted, under glaze	1794	2000
YDL	0	1	unknown	jar (olive, Spanish)	n/a	n/a	does not contribute to MCD	does not contribute to MCD
YDL	1	1	whiteware	bowl (serving)	white	n/a	1820	2000
YDL	1	1	whiteware	chamber pot	white	n/a	1820	2000
YDL	6	1	whiteware	chamber pot	poly	painted under, free hand	1830	1920
YDL	23	1	whiteware	bowl (deep)	poly	painted under, free hand	1830	1920
YDL	1	1	whiteware	unknown	poly	painted under, free hand	1830	1920
YDL	2	1	whiteware	plate	poly	painted under, free hand	1830	1920
YDL	3	1	whiteware	saucer	poly	sponge/paint	1820	1930
YDL	1	1	whiteware	tea pot lid	yellow/red	sponged	1820	1930
YDL	15	1	whiteware	tea cup	purple	transfer print	1828	2000
YDL	23	1	whiteware	plate	purple	transfer print	1828	2000
YDL	2	1	whiteware	unknown	purple	transfer print	1828	2000
YDL	1	1	whiteware	plate	blue	transfer print	1828	2000
YDL	1	1	whiteware	unknown	blue	transfer print	1828	2000
YDL	20	1	whiteware	plate	blue	transfer print	1820	2000
YDL	9	1	whiteware	plate	blue	transfer print	1820	2000
YDL	6	1	whiteware	plate	blue	transfer print	1820	2000
YDL	1	1	whiteware	tea cup	blue	transfer print	1820	2000
YDL	8	1	whiteware	bowl	blue	transfer print	1820	2000
YDL	1	1	whiteware	tea cup	blue	transfer print	1820	2000
YDL	1	1	whiteware	unknown	blue	transfer print	1820	2000
YDL	1	1	whiteware	unknown	blue	transfer print	1820	2000
YDL	2	1	whiteware	tea cup	brown	transfer print	1828	2000
YDL	2	1	whiteware	saucer	green	transfer print	1828	2000
YDL	25	1	whiteware	bowl (shallow)	green	transfer print	1828	2000
YDL	2	1	whiteware	plate	green	transfer print	1828	2000

YDL	1	1	whiteware	unknown	red	transfer print	1828	2000
YDL	2	1	whiteware	tea cup	red	transfer print	1828	2000
YDL	1	1	whiteware	tea cup	blue	transfer print/flow blue	1840	1900
YDL	6	1	whiteware, factory made slipware	saucer	blue	banded	1820	1840
YDL	2	1	whiteware, factory made slipware	unknown	green	banded	1820	1840
# SHERDS /MNV	383	63	1862	MCD				
# SHERDS /MNV	827	200	1854	MCD	SITE TOTAL			

Table 4. Mean ceramic dates for British colonial ceramics at Lamanai.

<u>MCD</u>	<u>Locale</u>
1838	Hunchback Tomb Area
1841	Sugar Mill
1843	Residential Feature/N12-30
1847	Citadel
1854	Overall Site Occupation
1862	YDL (Spanish Church) Zone
1873	Surface Collection*

*surface collection was used for mean ceramic dating; this assemblage did not contribute to the overall site timeline other than for general informational purposes as these data could not be placed into archaeological context.

Table 5. Ceramic vessel form percentages by activity area and total assemblage.

		Bottle	Bowl	Chamber Pot	Coffee Cup	Dish	Jug	Pitcher	Plate	Pot	Saucer	Teacup	Unknown	TOTALS
Citadel	Vessel Count	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	7	1	6	9	20	45
	Percent of Area Total	0%	0%	0%	2%	0%	0%	2%	16%	2%	13%	20%	44%	100%
	Percent of Site Total	0%	0%	0%	33%	0%	0%	50%	24%	50%	26%	26%	26%	
Hunchback Tomb	Vessel Count	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5	3	9	24
	Percent of Area Total	13%	13%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	4%	21%	13%	38%	100%
	Percent of Site Total	60%	16%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	50%	22%	9%	12%	
N12-30	Vessel Count	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	8	14
	Percent of Area Total	7%	7%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	7%	21%	57%	100%
	Percent of Site Total	20%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	4%	9%	11%	
Sugar Mill	Vessel Count	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	3	4	7	21
	Percent of Area Total	0%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	29%	0%	14%	19%	33%	100%
	Percent of Site Total	0%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	21%	0%	13%	12%	9%	
Surface	Vessel Count	1	4	0	1	1	1	1	2	0	3	1	16	31
	Percent of Area Total	3%	13%	0%	3%	3%	3%	3%	6%	0%	10%	3%	52%	100%
	Percent of Site Total	20%	21%	0%	33%	100%	100%	50%	7%	0%	13%	3%	21%	
YDL	Vessel Count	0	10	3	1	0	0	0	14	0	5	14	16	63
	Percent of Area Total	0%	16%	5%	2%	0%	0%	0%	22%	0%	8%	22%	25%	100%
	Percent of Site Total	0%	53%	100%	33%	0%	0%	0%	48%	0%	22%	41%	21%	
		Bottle	Bowl	Chamber Pot	Coffee Cup	Dish	Jug	Pitcher	Plate	Pot	Saucer	Teacup	Unknown	TOTALS
Site Total	Vessel Count	5	19	3	3	1	1	2	29	2	23	34	76	198
	Percent of Site Total	3%	10%	2%	2%	1%	1%	1%	15%	1%	12%	17%	38%	100%

Table 6. Ceramic decoration types by activity area.

		banded	flow blue	molding/no color	plain/white	painted	shell/edged	sponged	transfer print	TOTALS
Citadel	Vessel Count	4	1	0	4	4	0	4	20	37
	Percent of Area Total	11%	3%	0%	11%	11%	0%	11%	54%	100%
	Percent of Site Total	18%	50%	0%	20%	19%	0%	27%	29%	
Hunchback Tomb	Vessel Count	4	0	0	4	4	0	1	7	20
	Percent of Area Total	20%	0%	0%	20%	20%	0%	5%	35%	100%
	Percent of Site Total	18%	0%	0%	20%	19%	0%	7%	10%	
N12-30	Vessel Count	2	0	1	5	3	1	0	2	14
	Percent of Area Total	14%	0%	7%	36%	21%	7%	0%	14%	100%
	Percent of Site Total	9%	0%	0%	25%	14%	100%	0%	3%	
Sugar Mill	Vessel Count	2	0	0	3	4	0	2	8	19
	Percent of Area Total	11%	0%	0%	16%	21%	0%	11%	42%	100%
	Percent of Site Total	9%	0%	0%	15%	19%	0%	13%	12%	
Surface	Vessel Count	2	1	0	9	3	0	4	7	26
	Percent of Area Total	8%	4%	0%	35%	12%	0%	15%	27%	100%
	Percent of Site Total	9%	50%	0%	45%	14%	0%	27%	10%	
YDL (Spanish Church) Zone	Vessel Count	10	1	1	4	6	0	8	32	62
	Percent of Area Total	16%	2%	2%	6%	10%	0%	13%	52%	100%
	Percent of Site Total	45%	50%	50%	20%	29%	0%	53%	46%	
Site Total	Vessel Count	22	2	2	20	21	1	15	69	152
	Percent of Area Total	14%	1%	1%	13%	14%	1%	10%	45%	100%
	Percent of Site Total									

Table 7. Glass vessel forms by activity area.

		bottle (ale)	bottle (food/non alcoholic)	case bottle (gin)	bottle (rum)	bottle (soda)	bottle (wine)	medicine/ chemical	teacup	window glass	unknown	TOTALS
Citadel	Vessel Count	29	2	2	0	1	9	7	1	2	4	57
	Percent of Area Total	51%	4%	4%	0%	2%	16%	12%	2%	4%	7%	100%
	Percent of Site Total	58%	20%	33%	0%	13%	36%	28%	4%	8%	16%	
Hunchback Tomb	Vessel Count	7	0	0	0	0	2	5	0	0	2	16
	Percent of Area Total	44%	0%	0%	0%	0%	13%	31%	0%	0%	13%	100%
	Percent of Site Total	14%	0%	0%	0%	0%	8%	9%	0%	0%	3%	
N12-17	Vessel Count	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	3
	Percent of Area Total	33%	0%	0%	0%	0%	33%	0%	0%	0%	33%	100%
	Percent of Site Total	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%	4%	0%	0%	0%	2%	
N12-30	Vessel Count	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	5	7
	Percent of Area Total	0%	0%	14%	0%	0%	14%	0%	0%	0%	71%	100%
	Percent of Site Total	0%	0%	17%	0%	0%	4%	0%	0%	0%	8%	
Sugar Mill	Vessel Count	10	0	2	0	0	9	13	0	0	10	44
	Percent of Area Total	23%	0%	5%	0%	0%	20%	30%	0%	0%	23%	100%
	Percent of Site Total	20%	0%	33%	0%	0%	36%	24%	0%	0%	17%	
Surface	Vessel Count	2	8	0	1	6	2	30	0	0	22	71
	Percent of Area Total	3%	11%	0%	1%	8%	3%	42%	0%	0%	31%	100%
	Percent of Site Total	4%	80%	0%	100%	75%	8%	55%	0%	0%	37%	
YDL	Vessel Count	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	16	20
	Percent of Area Total	5%	0%	5%	0%	5%	5%	0%	0%	0%	80%	100%
	Percent of Site Total	2%	0%	17%	0%	13%	4%	0%	0%	0%	27%	
		bottle (ale)	bottle (food/non alcoholic)	bottle (gin)	bottle (rum)	bottle (soda)	bottle (wine)	medicine/che mical	teacup	window glass	unknown	TOTALS
Site Total	Vessel Count	50	10	6	1	8	25	55	1	2	60	218
	Percent of Site Total	23%	5%	3%	0%	4%	11%	25%	0%	1%	28%	100%

APPENDIX B

FIGURES

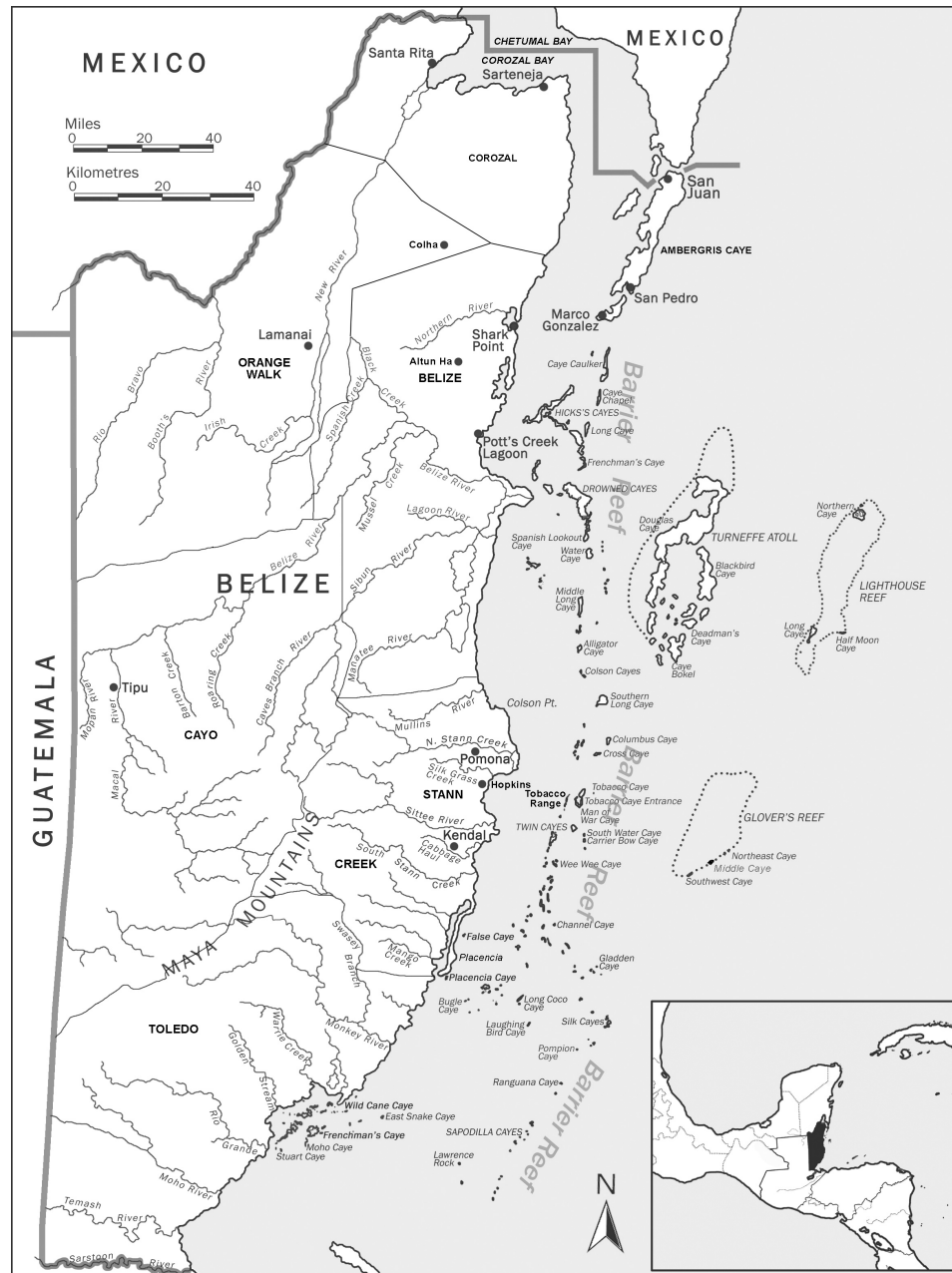


Figure 1: Map of Belize
Source: Elizabeth Graham, personal correspondence

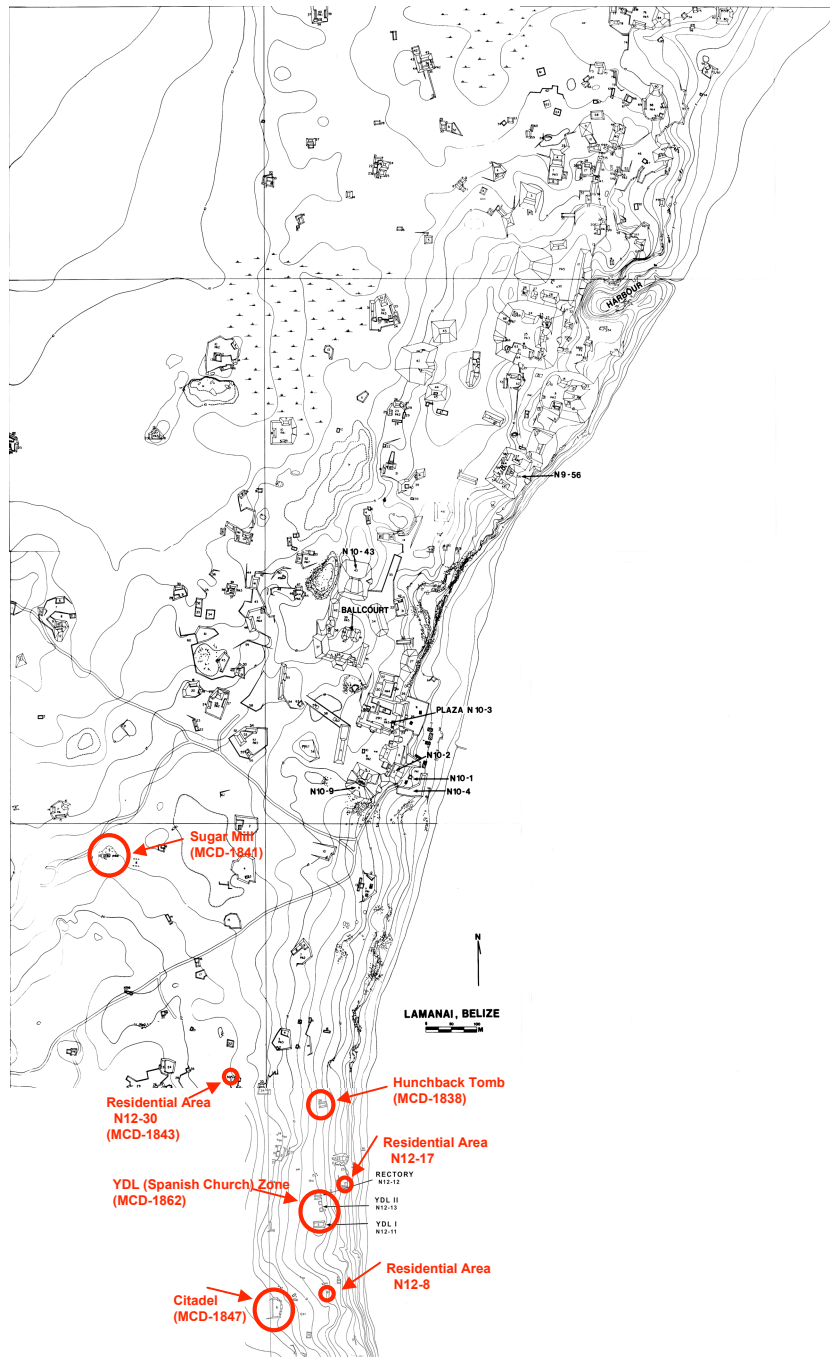


Figure 2: Map of Lamanai with British Activity Areas
Source: Elizabeth Graham, personal correspondence

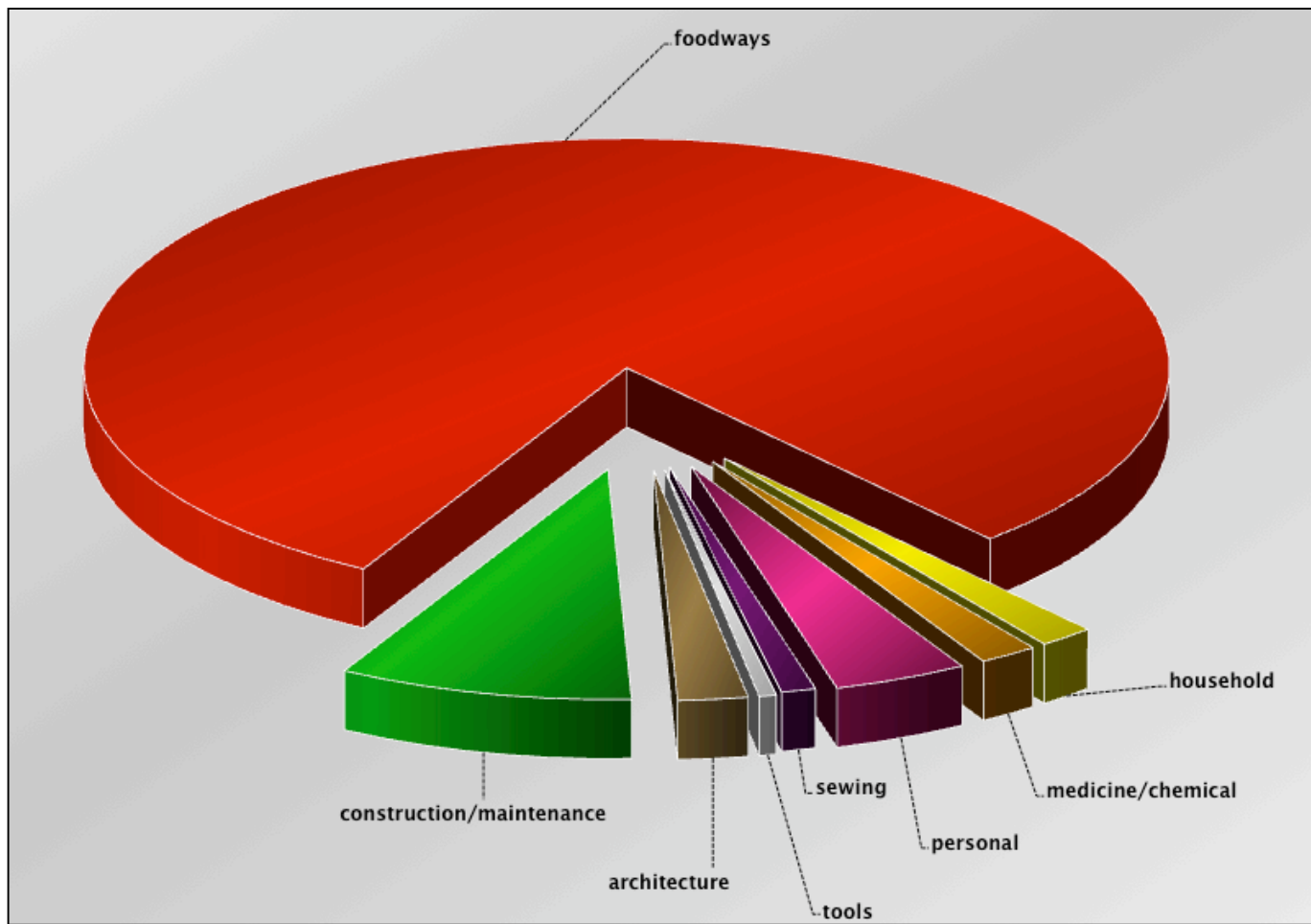


Figure 3: Percentage of Artifact Use Categories, Total Site Assemblage

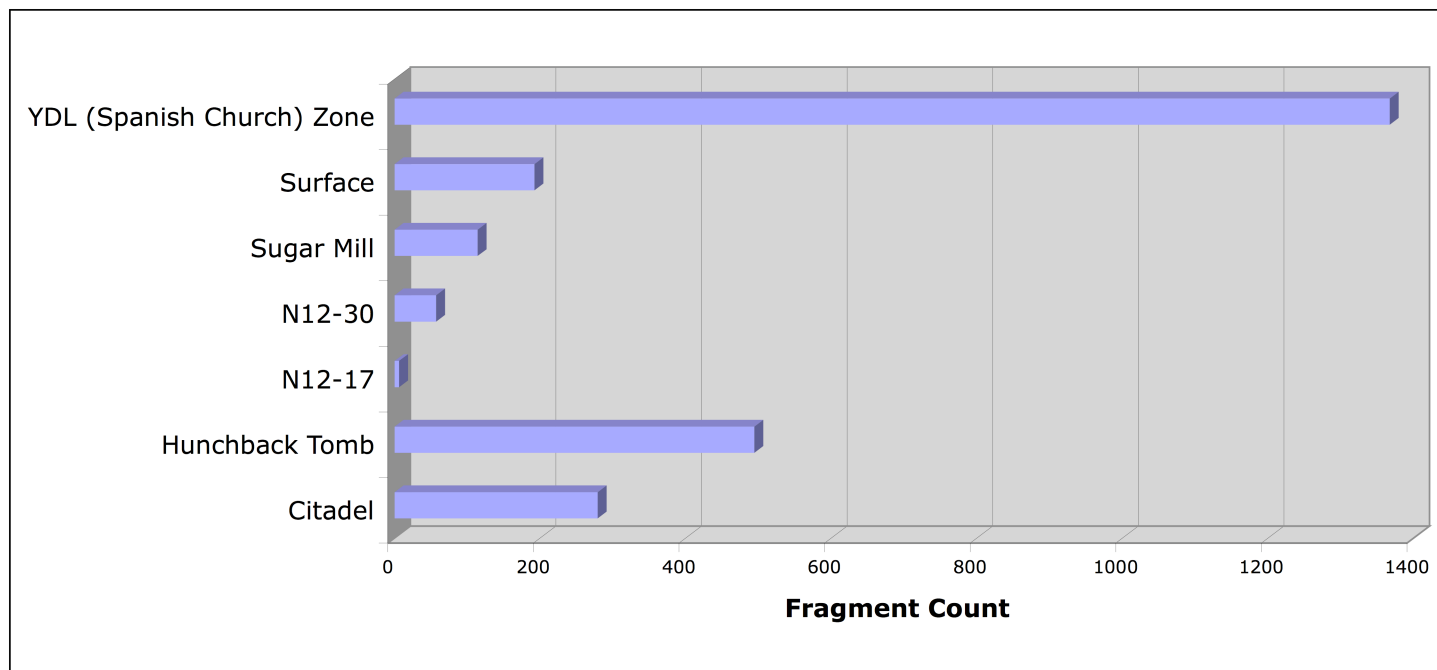


Figure 4: Foodway Artifacts by Activity Area

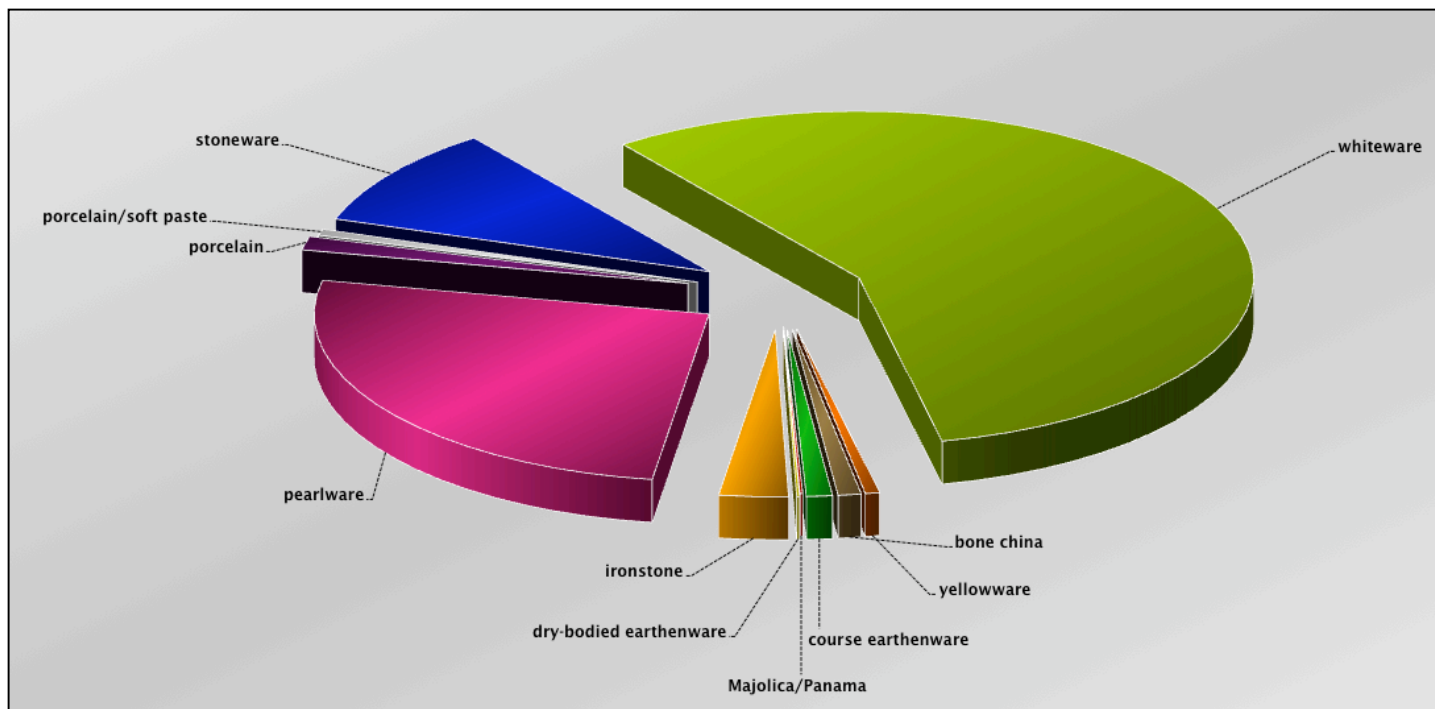


Figure 5: Percentage of Ceramic Ware Types by Sherd Counts, Total Site Assemblage

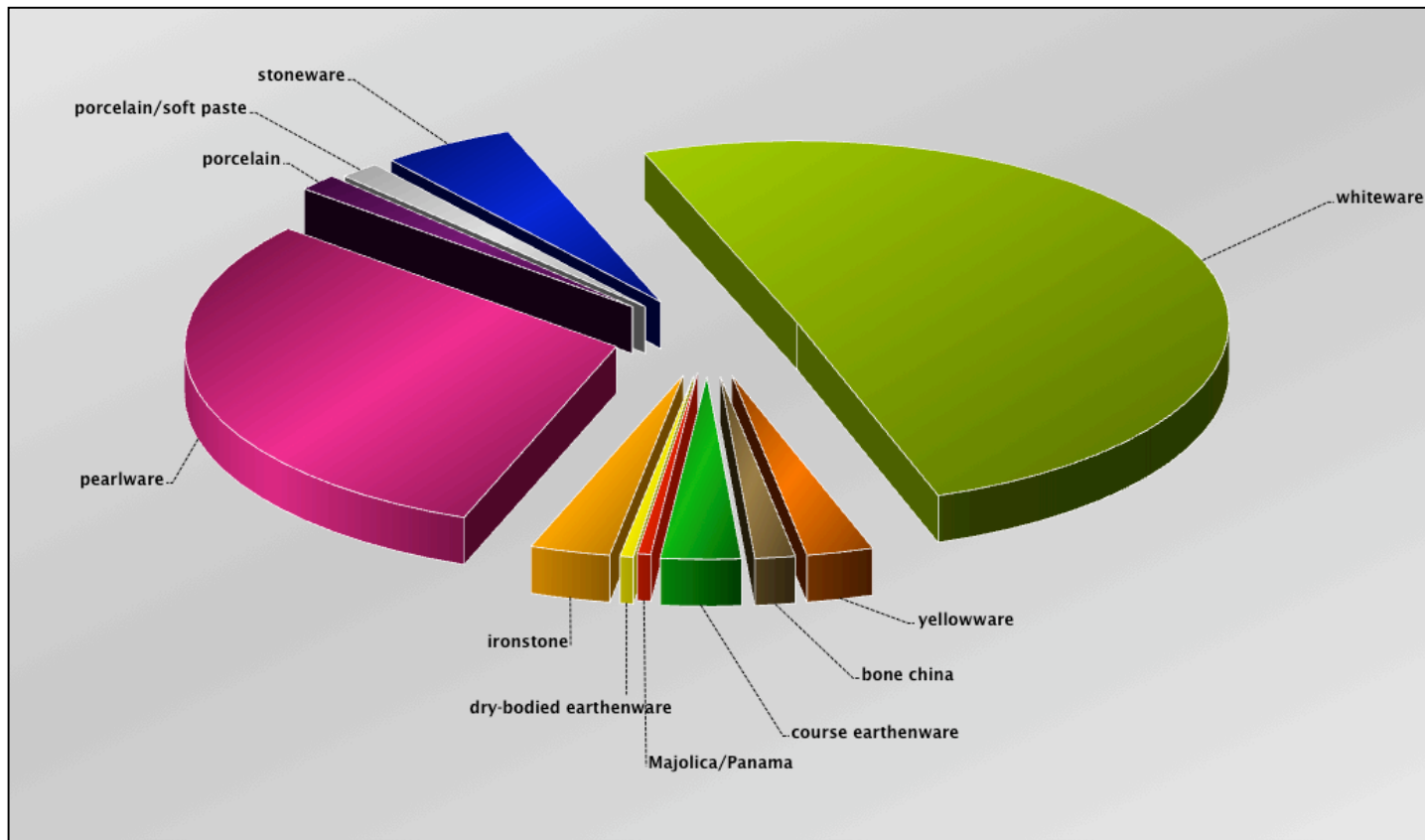


Figure 6: Percentage of Ceramic Ware Types by Vessel Counts, Total Site Assemblage

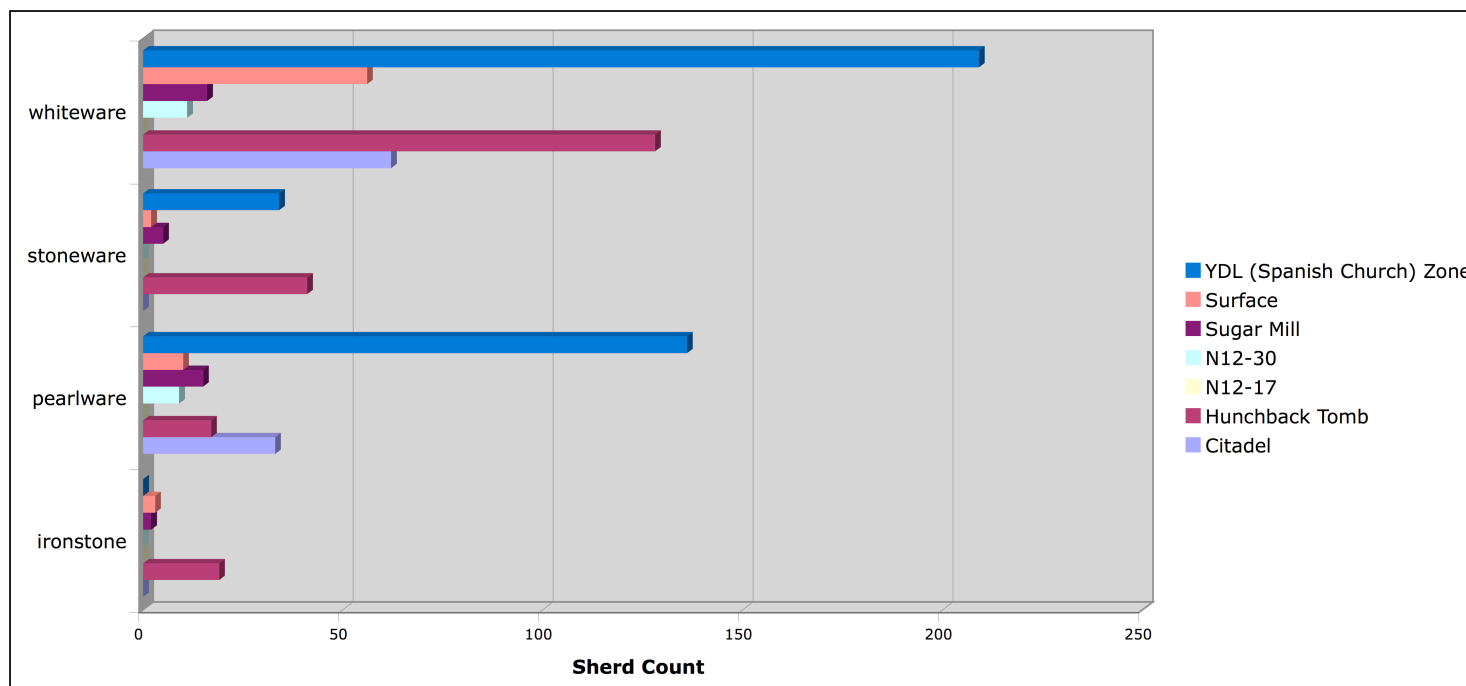


Figure 7: Ware Types by Activity Area: Sherd Count

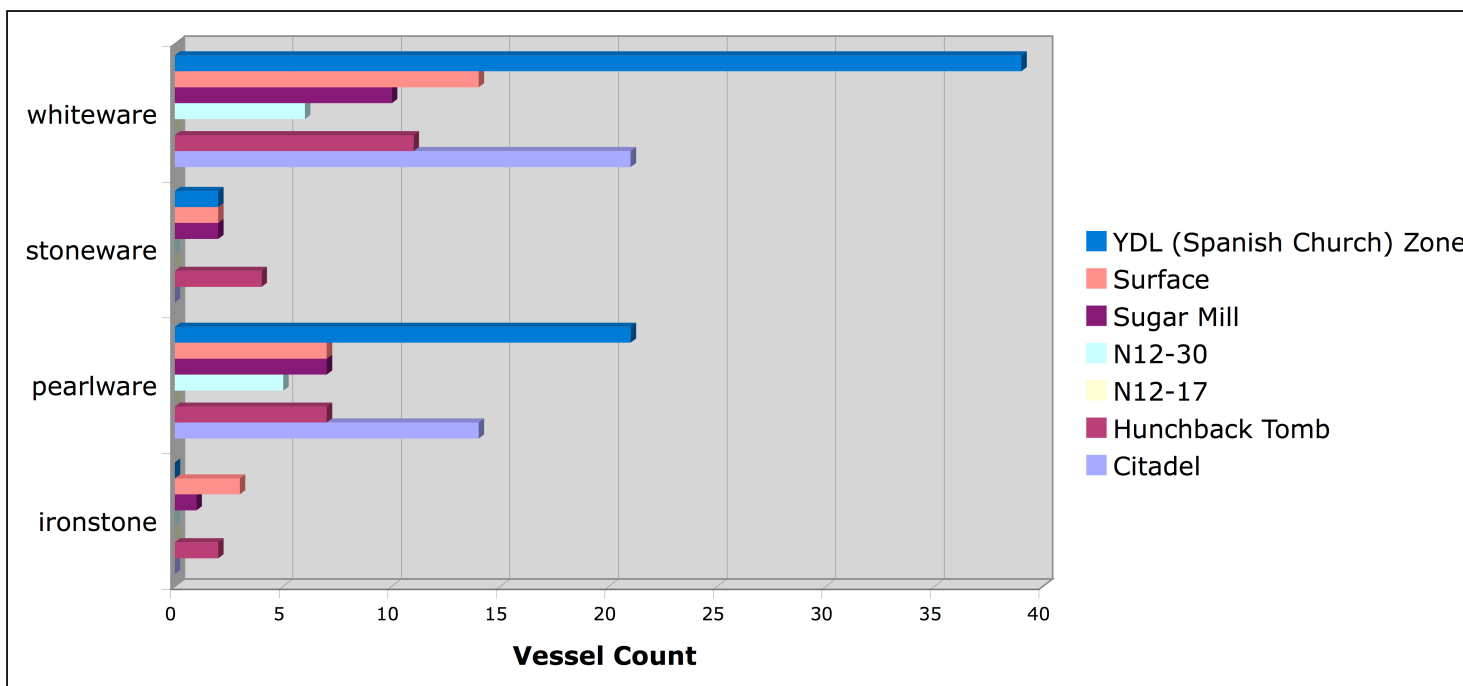


Figure 8: Ceramic Ware Types by Activity Area: Vessel Count

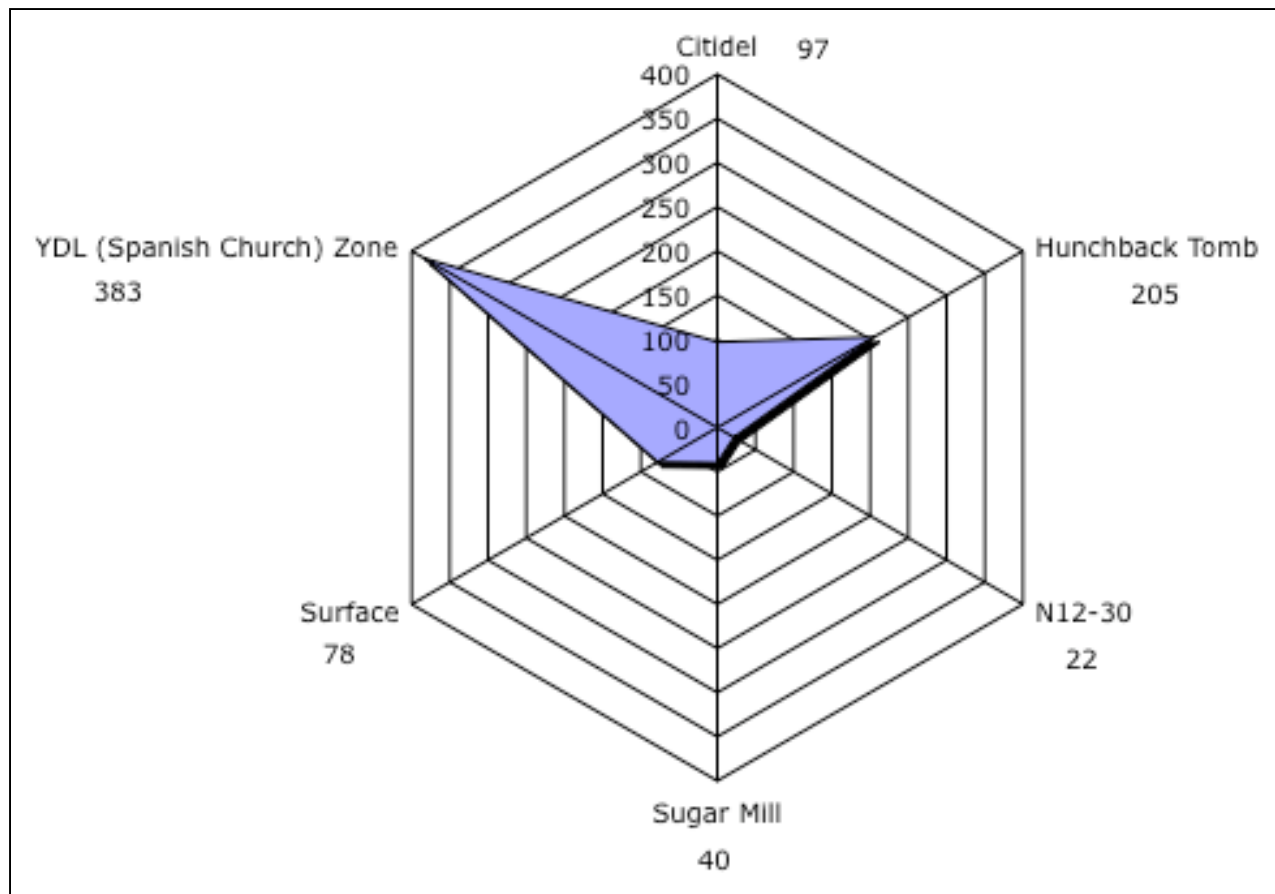


Figure 9: Proportional View of Total Number of Ceramic Sherds by Activity Area

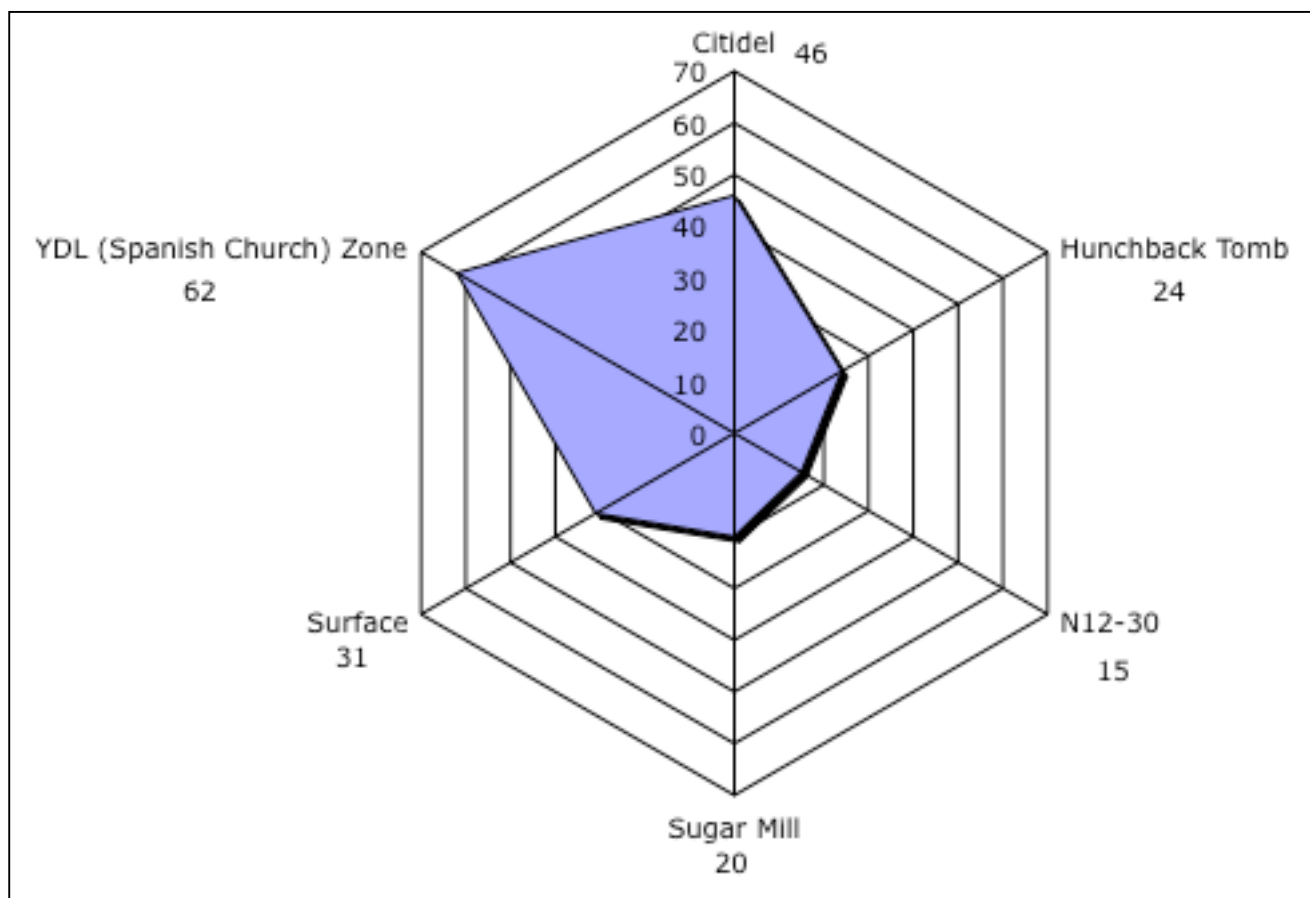


Figure 10: Proportional View of Total Number of Ceramic Vessels by Activity Area

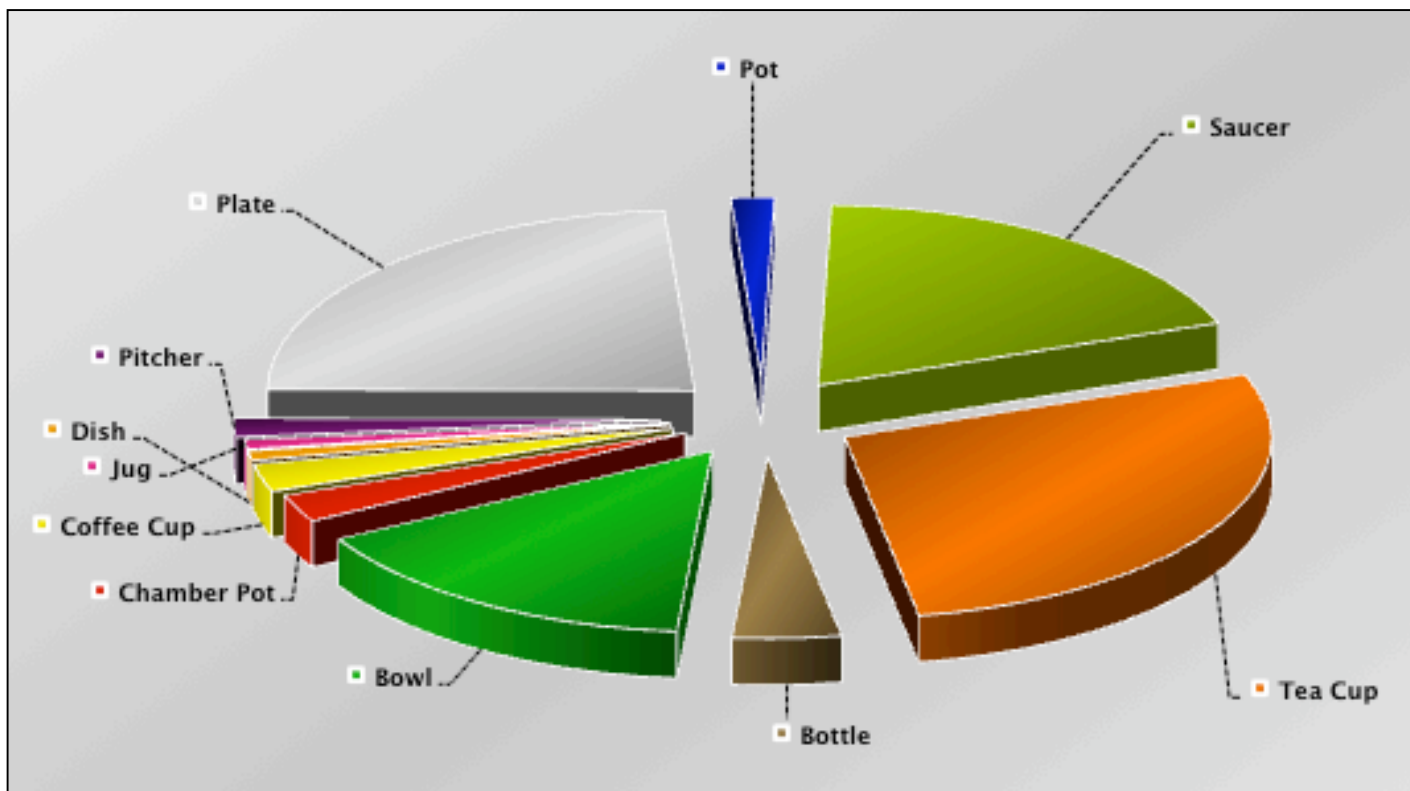


Figure 11: Ceramic Vessel Form by Percentage, Total Site Assemblage

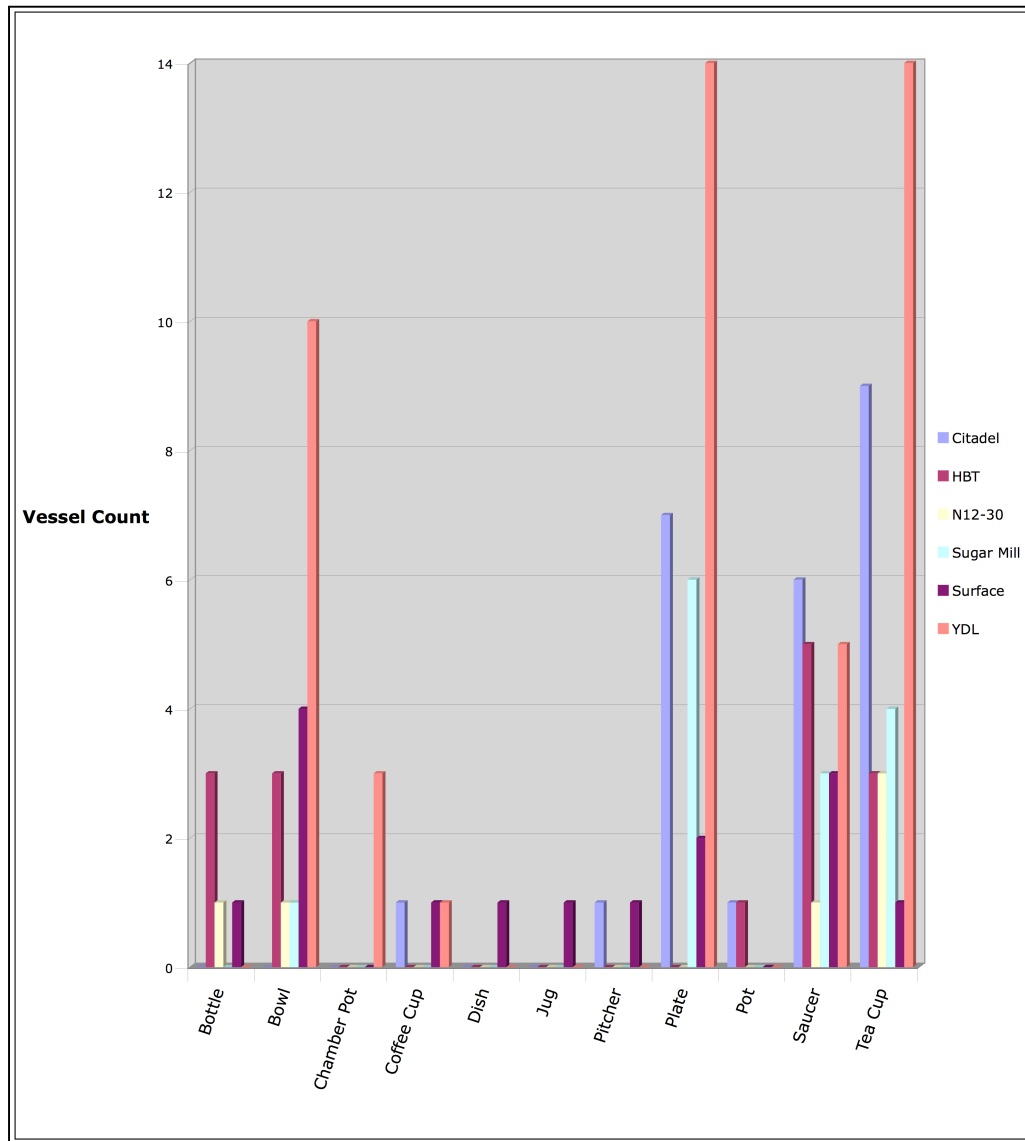


Figure 12: Ceramic Vessel Forms by Activity Area

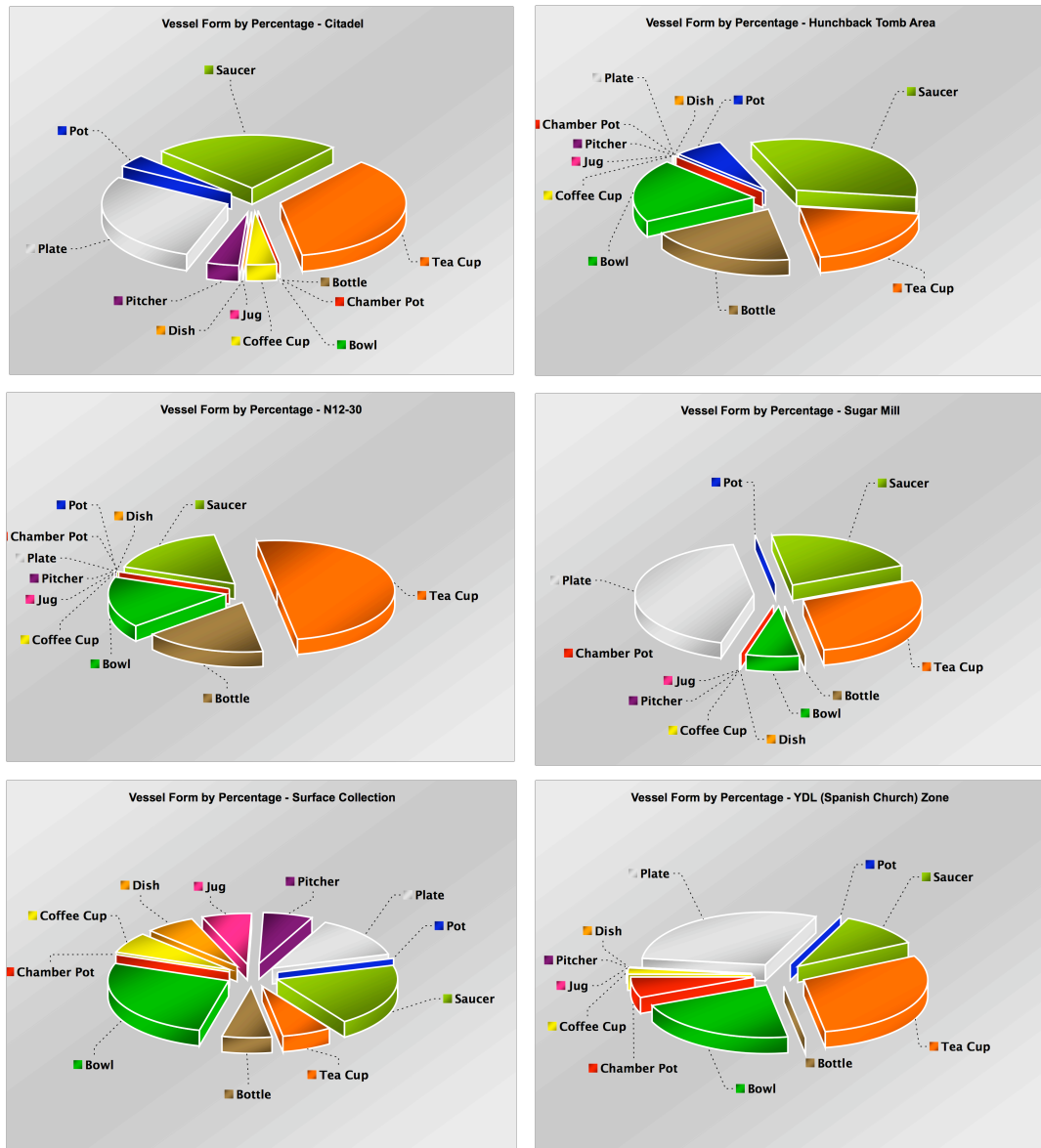


Figure 13: Ceramic Vessel Form by Activity Areas

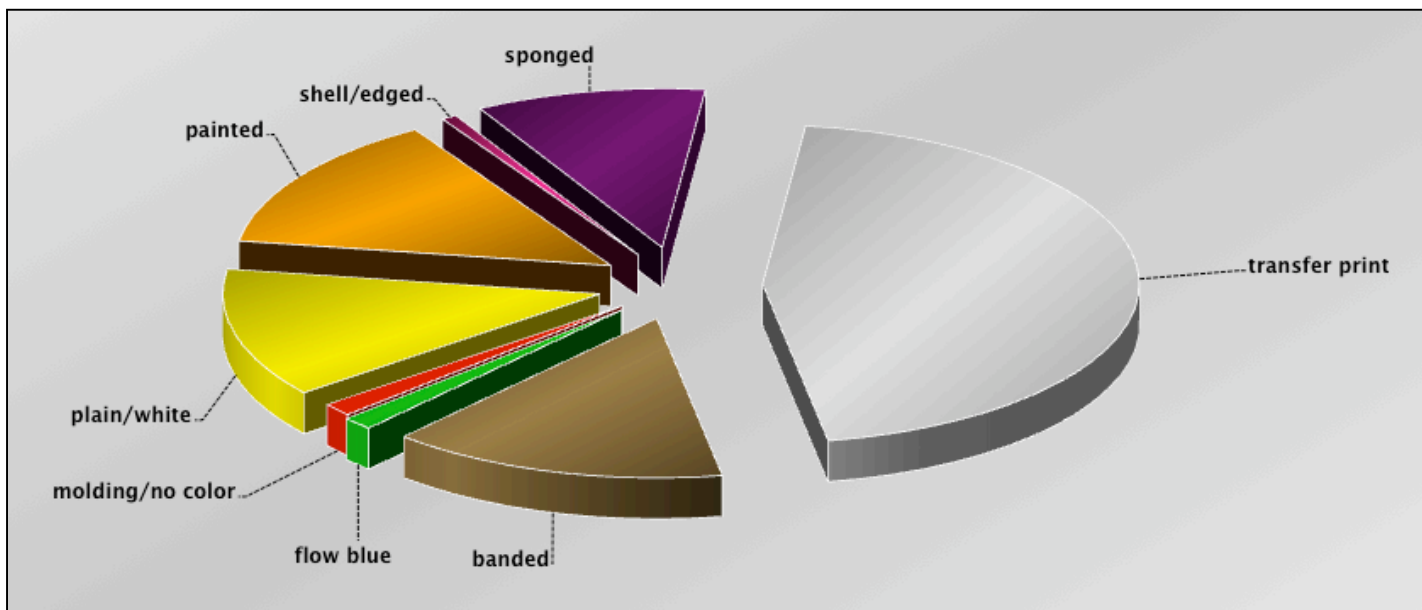


Figure 14: Ceramic Decoration Types, Total Site Assemblage

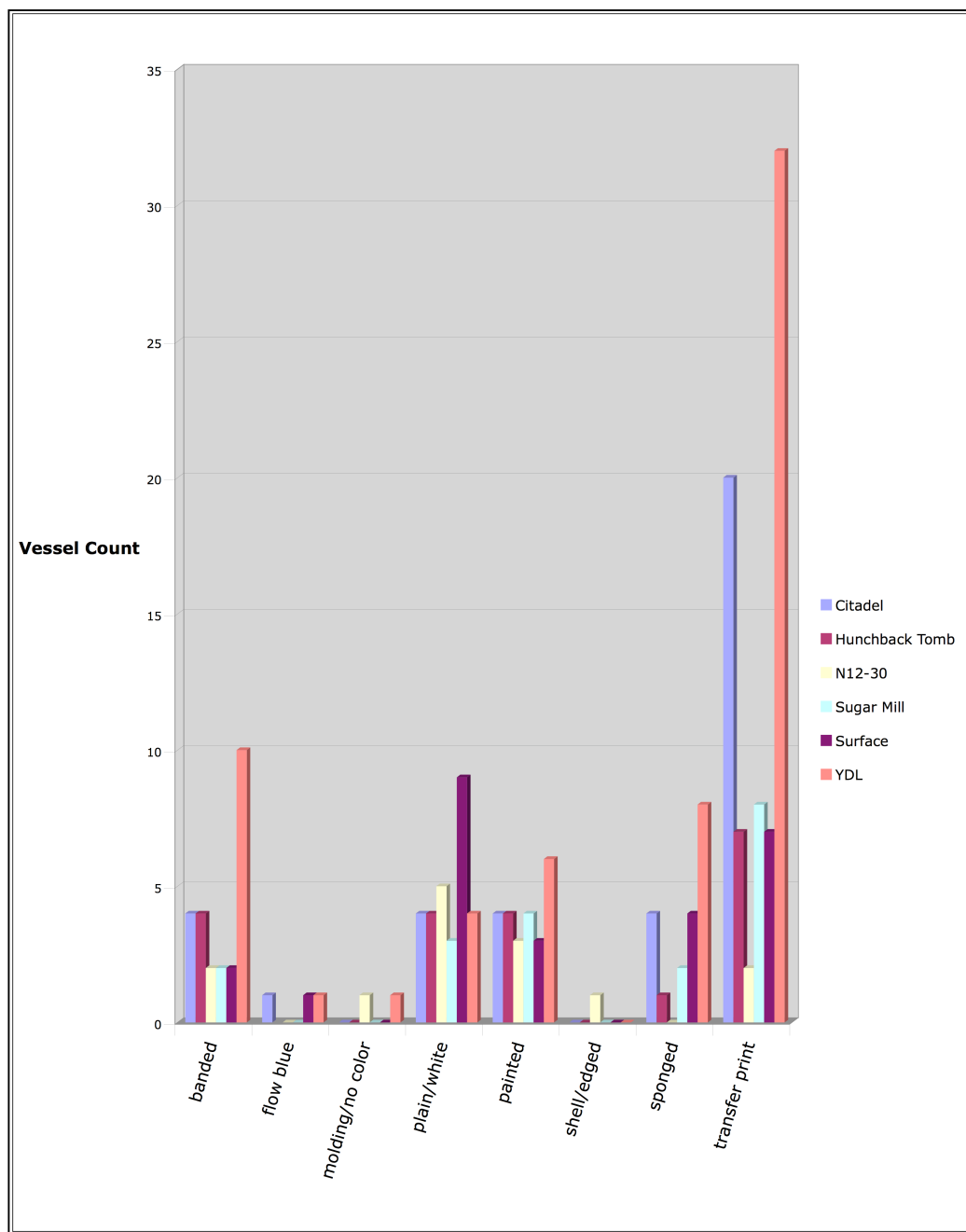


Figure 15: Decoration Types by Activity Area

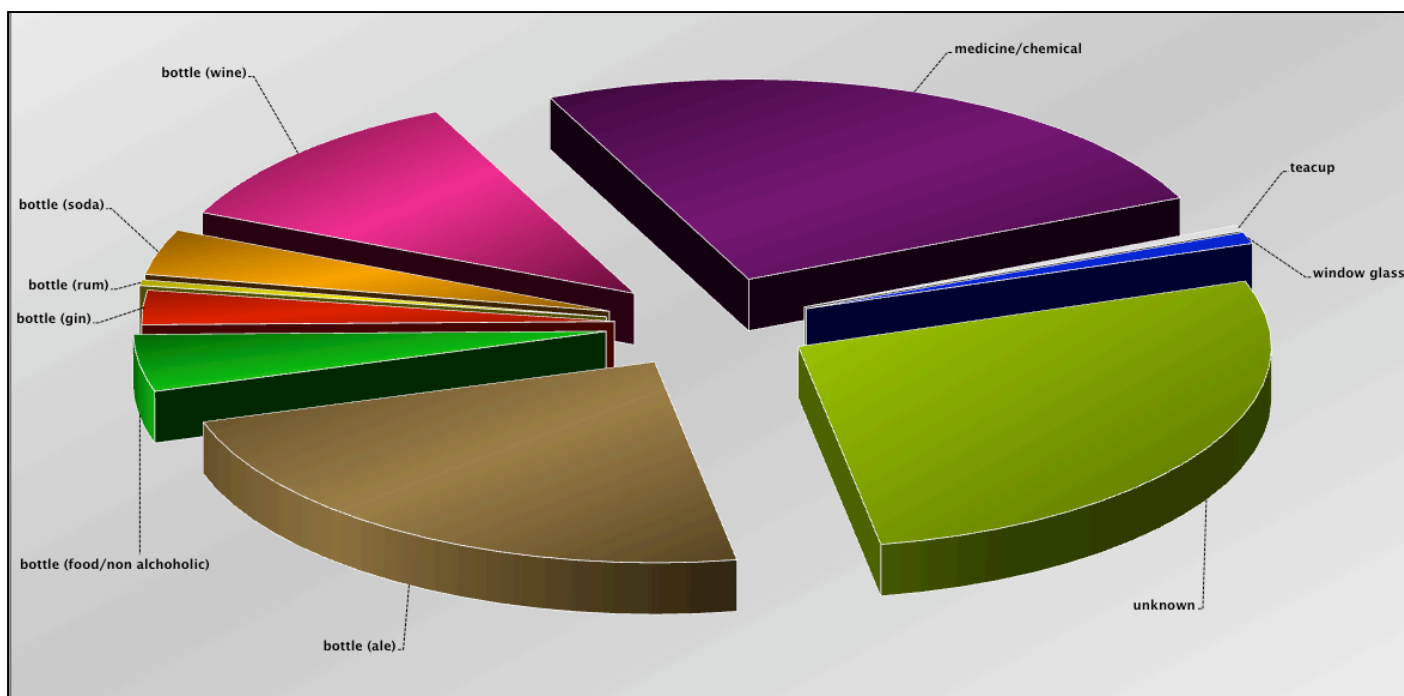


Figure 16: Glass Forms, Total Site Assemblage

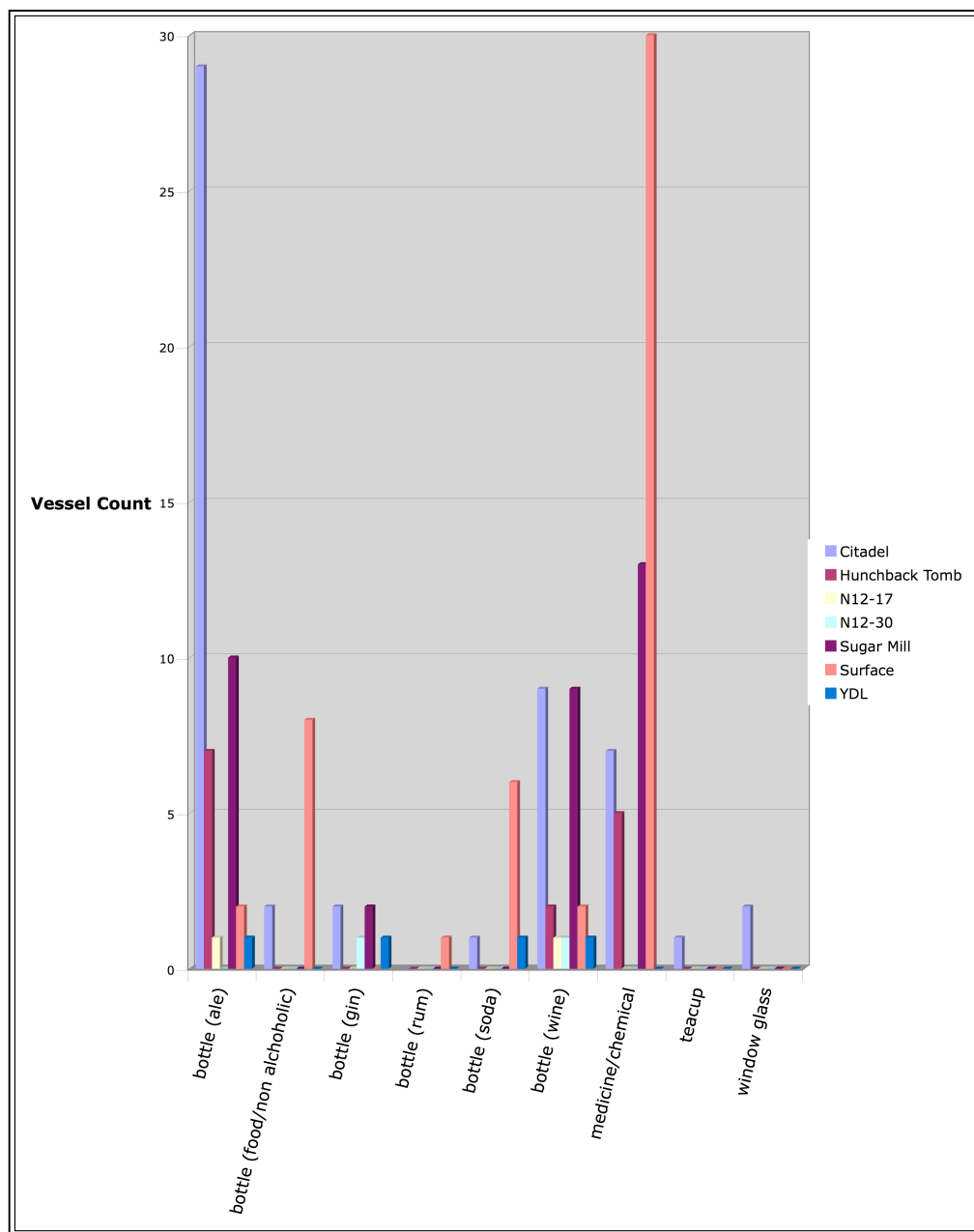


Figure 17: Glass Forms, Total Site Assemblage

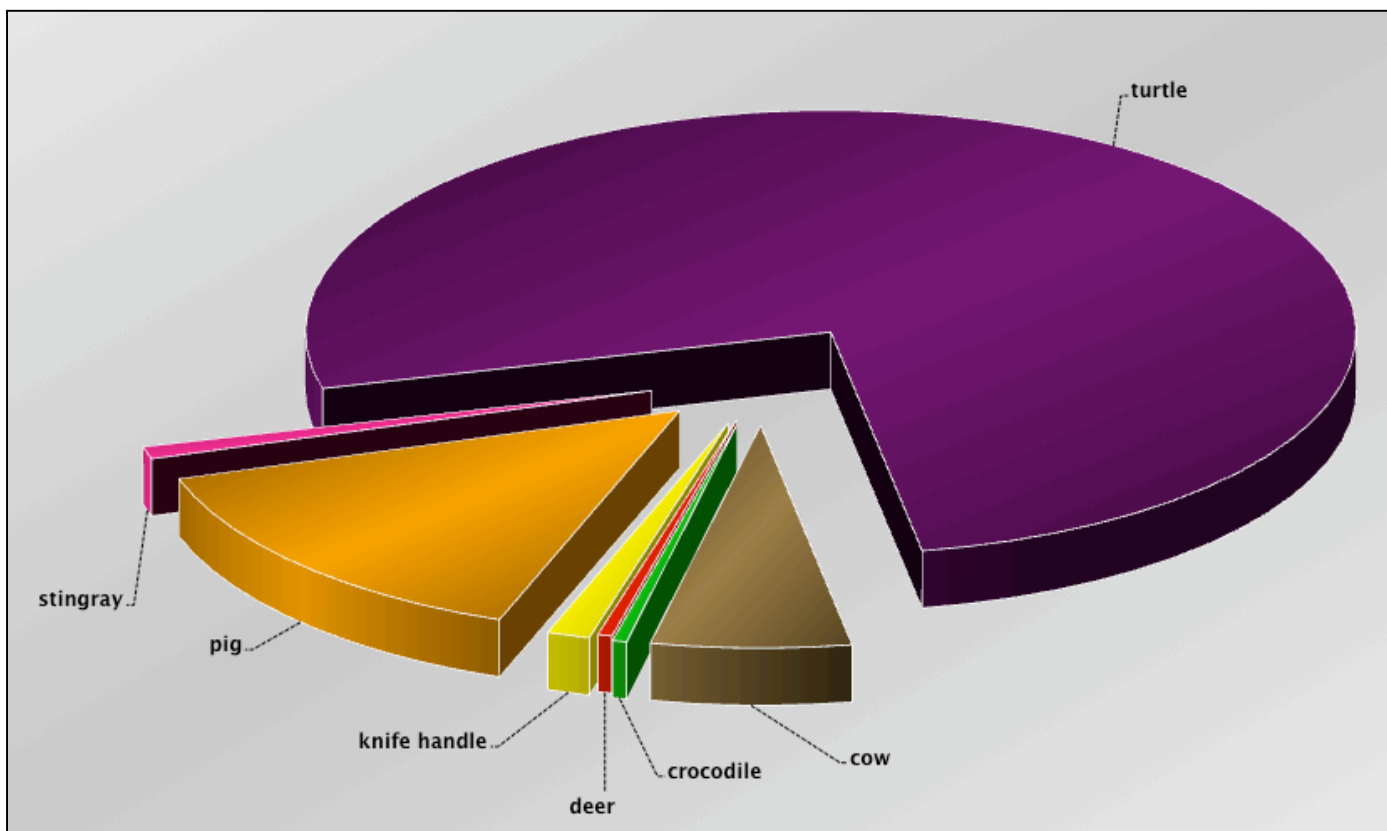


Figure 18: Faunal Elements by Total Site Assemblage



Figure 19: Metal Objects from the Hunchback Tomb



Figure 20: Metal Objects from the Hunchback Tomb Area



Figure 21: Pot from the Hunchback Tomb Area



Figure 22: Iron from the Hunchback Tomb Area



Figure 23: English Three Pence Coin from the Sugar Mill



Figure 24: Pendant from Residential Feature N12-30



Figure 25: Hooks and Eyes from the Citadel



Figure 26: Thimble from the Citadel



Figure 27: Boot Heel from the Citadel



Figure 28: Metal, Maya, and Ceramic Objects from the YDL (Spanish Church) Zone



Figure 29: Metal Chain from the YDL (Spanish Church) Zone



Figure 30: Metal and Ceramic Objects from the YDL (Spanish Church) Zone



Figure 31: Chinese Coin from Surface Collection

APPENDIX C

RAW DATA

Area	Feature #	Lot #	AMT	MNV	Frag Type	Material	Category	Ware Type	Form	Color	Décor	Pictures	Notes
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	deer(?)	antler	n/a	n/a	B2000-16-0073	
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	crocodile (juvenile)	mandible (L)	n/a	n/a	B2000-16-0073	
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	pig(?)	scapula	n/a	n/a	B2000-16-0073	
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	unknown	unknown	n/a	n/a	B2000-16-0073	
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	bowl(?)	blue	transfer print	B2000-16-0011	architecture/pastoral (castle theme)
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	bowl(?)	blue	transfer print	B2000-16-0011	architecture/pastoral (castle theme)
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	3	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	bowl(?)	green	transfer print	B2000-16-0039, B2000-16-0040	floral...molded around flow patterns
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	3	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	bowl(?)	green	transfer print	B2000-16-0039, B2000-16-0040	floral...molded around flow patterns
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	8	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	bowl/pitcher	white	n/a	B2000-16-0061	
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	8	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	bowl/pitcher	white	n/a	B2000-16-0061	
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	6	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	coffee cup	white	n/a	B2000-16-0058, B2000-16-0059	
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	6	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	coffee cup	white	n/a	B2000-16-0058, B2000-16-0059	
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	pitcher	red	sponged	B2000-16-0032, B2000-16-0033	spot of green on handle
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	pitcher	red	sponged	B2000-16-0032, B2000-16-0033	spot of green on handle
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	8	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	pitcher(?)	blue	transfer print	B2000-16-0007	floral/geometric design...thick bodied, molded (follows designs to a large degree)
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	8	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	pitcher(?)	blue	transfer print	B2000-16-0007	floral/geometric design...thick bodied, molded (follows designs to a large degree)
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	plate	blue	transfer print	B2000-16-0002	floral
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	plate	blue	transfer print	B2000-16-0002	floral
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	plate	blue	transfer print	B2000-16-0003	floral
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	plate	blue	transfer print	B2000-16-0003	floral
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	plate	blue	transfer print	B2000-16-0003	floral
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	plate	blue	transfer print	B2000-16-0003	floral
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	plate	blue	transfer print	B2000-16-0004	chain décor on marley (banner)

Area	Feature #	Lot #	AMT	MNV	Frag Type	Material	Category	Ware Type	Form	Color	Décor	Pictures	Notes
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	plate	blue	transfer print	B2000-16-0004	chain décor on marley (banner)
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	3	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	plate	blue	transfer print	B2000-16-0006	architecture/pastoral (rotunda theme)
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	3	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	plate	blue	transfer print	B2000-16-0006	architecture/pastoral (rotunda theme)
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	3	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	plate	green	transfer print	B2000-16-0049	floral
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	3	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	plate	green	transfer print	B2000-16-0049	floral
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	plate	blue	transfer print	B2000-16-0005	architecture/pastoral (castle theme)
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	plate	blue	transfer print	B2000-16-0005	architecture/pastoral (castle theme)
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	plate(?)	blue	transfer print	B2000-16-0008	landscape/pastoral
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	plate(?)	blue	transfer print	B2000-16-0008	landscape/pastoral
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	dry bodied earthenware	pot	red	n/a	B2000-16-0072	
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	dry bodied earthenware	pot	red	n/a	B2000-16-0072	
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	saucer	green	transfer print	B2000-16-0044	geometric
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	saucer	green	transfer print	B2000-16-0044	geometric
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	saucer	red	transfer print	B2000-16-0046	architecture/pastoral (rotunda theme)
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	saucer	black	transfer print	B2000-16-0052, B2000-16-0053	floral
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	saucer	green	banded	B2000-16-0023, B2000-16-0024	
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	saucer	poly	sponged	B2000-16-0038	
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	saucer	poly	sponged	B2000-16-0038	
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	saucer	green	transfer print	B2000-16-0041	geometric design
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	saucer	green	transfer print	B2000-16-0041	geometric design
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	saucer	red	transfer print	B2000-16-0046	architecture/pastoral (rotunda theme)
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	saucer	black	transfer print	B2000-16-0052, B2000-16-0053	floral
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware, factory made slipware	saucer	green	banded	B2000-16-0023, B2000-16-0024	

Area	Feature #	Lot #	AMT	MNV	Frag Type	Material	Category	Ware Type	Form	Color	Décor	Pictures	Notes
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	annularware	tea cup	blue	banded/wormey	B2000-16-0025	
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	annularware	tea cup	blue	banded/wormey	B2000-16-0025	hand thrown
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	annularware	tea cup	blue	banded	B2000-16-0026	
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	annularware	tea cup	blue	banded	B2000-16-0026	factory made, engined turned
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	7	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	annularware	tea cup	blue	checkerboard/banded	B2000-16-0027	what is this?
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	7	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	annularware	tea cup	blue	checkerboard/banded	B2000-16-0027	factory made, inlaid
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	10	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	flow blue	tea cup	blue	transfer print	B2000-16-0015, B2000-16-0017	floral/geometric design
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware (scratch?)	tea cup	blue	painted	B2000-16-0050, B2000-16-0051	scratch blue?
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	7	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	porcelain	tea cup	white	n/a	B2000-16-0056	
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	7	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	porcelain	tea cup	white	n/a	B2000-16-0056	
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	Porcelain/English soft paste	tea cup	blue	painted	B2000-16-0050, B2000-16-0051	
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	3	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	tea cup	poly	sponge/paint	B2000-16-0029, B2000-16-0031	gaudy welsh
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	3	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	tea cup	poly	painted under, free hand	B2000-16-0029, B2000-16-0031	gaudy welsh
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	10	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	tea cup	blue	transfer print/flow blue	B2000-16-0015, B2000-16-0017	floral/geometric design
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	4	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	tea cup	green	banded	B2000-16-0021, B2000-16-0022	molded, maybe handle area?
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	3	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	tea cup	purple/green	sponged	B2000-16-0035, B2000-16-0036, B2000-16-0037	
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	3	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	tea cup	purple/green	sponged	B2000-16-0035, B2000-16-0036, B2000-16-0037	
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	4	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware, factory made slipware	tea cup	green	banded	B2000-16-0021, B2000-16-0022	molded, maybe handle area?

Area	Feature #	Lot #	AMT	MNV	Frag Type	Material	Category	Ware Type	Form	Color	Décor	Pictures	Notes
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	3	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	course earthenware	unknown	brown	n/a	B2000-16-0062	(colonoware?)
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	3	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	course earthenware	unknown	brown	n/a	B2000-16-0062	
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	course earthenware	unknown	brown/red	n/a	B2000-16-0063, B2000-16-0064	glazed inside
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	course earthenware	unknown	brown/red	n/a	B2000-16-0063, B2000-16-0064	glazed inside
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	course earthenware	unknown	red	n/a	B2000-16-0065	
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	course earthenware	unknown	red	n/a	B2000-16-0065	
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	course earthenware	unknown	brown	n/a	B2000-16-0067	
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	course earthenware	unknown	brown	n/a	B2000-16-0067	
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	course earthenware	unknown	brown/red	n/a	B2000-16-0068, B2000-16-0069	glazed inside
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	course earthenware	unknown	brown/red	n/a	B2000-16-0068, B2000-16-0069	glazed inside
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	course earthenware	unknown	red/yellow	n/a	B2000-16-0070, B2000-16-0071	glazed outside
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	course earthenware	unknown	red/yellow	n/a	B2000-16-0070, B2000-16-0071	glazed outside
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	5	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	English China	unknown	blue	transfer print	B2000-16-0012	floral...China Blue?
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	Majolica/Panama	unknown	poly	painted	B2000-16-0020	painted over, free hand
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	Mexican majolica(?)	unknown	poly	painted	B2000-16-0020	sponge??
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	unknown	green	transfer print	B2000-16-0042, B2000-16-0043	architecture/pastoral (castle theme)
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	unknown	green	transfer print	B2000-16-0042, B2000-16-0043	architecture/pastoral (castle theme)
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	unknown	blue	transfer print	B2000-16-0009	architecture (columns)
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	unknown	blue	transfer print	B2000-16-0009	architecture (columns)

Area	Feature #	Lot #	AMT	MNV	Frag Type	Material	Category	Ware Type	Form	Color	Décor	Pictures	Notes
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	unknown	white	n/a	B2000-16-0028	purple staining
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	unknown	white	n/a	B2000-16-0028	purple staining
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	unknown	red	transfer print	B2000-16-0045	geometric
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	unknown	purple	transfer print	B2000-16-0055	Greek revival (chain)
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	unknown	purple	transfer print	B2000-16-0055	Greek revival (chain)
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	5	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	Tin Enameled/English	unknown	blue	painted, under glaze	B2000-16-0012	floral
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	unknown	poly	sponged	B2000-16-0034	
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	unknown	poly	sponged	B2000-16-0034	
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	unknown	red	transfer print	B2000-16-0045	geometric
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	unknown	purple	transfer print	B2000-16-0054	unknown
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	unknown	purple	transfer print	B2000-16-0054	unknown
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	10	n/a	n/a	ceramic	personal	n/a	pipe bowl	white	n/a	B2000-16-0113	
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	5	n/a	n/a	ceramic	personal	n/a	pipe stem	white	n/a	B2000-16-0115	5/64
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	21	n/a	n/a	ceramic	personal	n/a	pipe stem and bowl	white	label	B2000-16-0114	1x LAROCHE...1x ELONL 5/64
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	23	n/a	n/a	ceramic	personal	n/a	pipe stem and bowl	white	label	B2000-16-0116	1x JARC 4...1x ACHILOIDO...1x NOON...1x 4D 1/16
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	neck (partial) and base	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle	clear	n/a	B2000-16-0089	thin bodied...wide mouth
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	4	4	neck (4x) and base (2x)	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (ale)	black(?)	label	B2000-16-0106	1x "Portabello" on base
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	5	5	neck (1x) and base (5x)	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (ale)	black(?)	label	B2000-16-0110	2x, flower on base...1x "R. Cooper and Co Portobello" on base
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	9	9	neck (9x) and base (2x)	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (ale)	black(?)	label	B2000-16-0111	1x "ello" "wood" on base...1x Rich D Cooper & Co Portobello" on base...1x metal finish on mouth
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	9	9	neck (1x) and base (9x)	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (ale)	black(?)	label	B2000-16-0112	1x S.C.8" on base...1x "Rich" "portabello"...1x "ALTONA N IOHVONPC"...1x "Wood Portabello"...1x "R Cooper
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	neck	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (ale)	aqua	n/a	B2000-16-0095	heavy bodied
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	neck and base	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (ale)	aqua	n/a	B2000-16-0100	heavy bodied...no kickup
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	body	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (gin)	olive (dark)	n/a	B2000-16-0090	
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	neck	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (liquid)	amber	n/a	B2000-16-0092	
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	body and base	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (liquid)	aqua	n/a	B2000-16-0107	minimal kickup, thin bodied
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	2	2	neck (2x)	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (milk)	clear	n/a	B2000-16-0098	

Area	Feature #	Lot #	AMT	MNV	Frag Type	Material	Category	Ware Type	Form	Color	Décor	Pictures	Notes
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	body and base	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (wine)	olive	n/a	B2000-16-0102	high kickup
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	body and base	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (wine)	olive (light)	n/a	B2000-16-0103	high kickup
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	body and base	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (wine)	olive	n/a	B2000-16-0105	high kickup
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	body and base	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (wine)	aqua	n/a	B2000-16-0108	high kickup
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	5	5	neck (5x) and base (2x)	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (wine)	olive (light)	n/a	B2000-16-0109	high kickup
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	3	1	n/a	glass	foodways	n/a	tea cup	white	molded/pa neled	B2000-16-0057	
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	body	glass	househol d	n/a	bottle	clear	bubble pattern	B2000-16-0096	sqaured off corners/bubble pattern
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	neck and base	glass	medicine/ chemical	n/a	bottle	sapphyr e	n/a	B2000-16-0087	
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	base (partial)	glass	medicine/ chemical	n/a	bottle	clear	n/a	B2000-16-0094	oval body/thin bodied
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	body and base	glass	medicine/ chemical	n/a	bottle	clear	n/a	B2000-16-0097	oval body/thin bodied
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	body and base	glass	medicine/ chemical	n/a	bottle	clear	n/a	B2000-16-0099	oval body/thin bodied
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	neck and base	glass	medicine/ chemical	n/a	bottle	aqua	n/a	B2000-16-0101	rectangle shape
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	1	body and base	glass	medicine/ chemical	n/a	bottle (gin)	olive (dark)	label	B2000-16-0104	square bottle...1x "C" on side
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	2	2	whole	glass	medicine/ chemical	n/a	bottle stopper	aqua	n/a	B2000-16-0074	
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	metal	architectu re	n/a	door knob	n/a	n/a	B2000-16-0075, B2000-16-0076	
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	40	n/a	n/a	metal	constructi on/mainte nance	n/a	nail (square cut)	n/a	n/a	B2000-16-0118	
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	9	n/a	n/a	metal	constructi on/mainte nance	n/a	unknown	n/a	n/a	B2000-16-0117	
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	metal	personal	n/a	heel (boot)	n/a	n/a	B2000-16-0078	
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	10	n/a	n/a	metal	sewing/pe rsonal	n/a	button	n/a	n/a	B2000-16-0079	
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	metal	sewing/pe rsonal	n/a	button	n/a	n/a	B2000-16-0082	inlaid bone
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	metal	sewing/pe rsonal	n/a	button (cufflink)	n/a	n/a	B2000-16-0082	
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	metal	sewing/pe rsonal	n/a	button (shank)	n/a	n/a	B2000-16-0082, B2000-16-0083	"R" with crown on it
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	2	n/a	n/a	metal	sewing/pe rsonal	n/a	eyes	n/a	n/a	B2000-16-0085	
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	4	n/a	n/a	metal	sewing/pe rsonal	n/a	hook	n/a	n/a	B2000-16-0085	

Area	Feature #	Lot #	AMT	MNV	Frag Type	Material	Category	Ware Type	Form	Color	Décor	Pictures	Notes
Citadel	B2000-16	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	metal	sewing/personal	n/a	thimble	n/a	n/a	B2000-16-0084	
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	4	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	pig	ilium/ishium	n/a	n/a	HBT-2000-22-0269	
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	3	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	pig	long bone	n/a	n/a	HBT-2000-22-0268	
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	8	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	pig	long bone	n/a	n/a	HBT-2000-22-0272	
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	pig	rib	n/a	n/a	HBT-2000-22-0271	
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	pig	scapula	n/a	n/a	HBT-2000-22-0270	
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	4	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	pig(?)	skull	n/a	n/a	HBT-2000-22-0266	
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	pig	tarsal(?)	n/a	n/a	HBT-2000-22-0270	
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	pig(?)	tooth	n/a	n/a	HBT-2000-22-0266	
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	30	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	turtle	turtle	n/a	n/a	HBT-2000-22-0273	
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	9	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	unknown	unknown	n/a	n/a	HBT-2000-22-0265	
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	11	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	unknown	unknown	n/a	n/a	HBT-2000-22-0267	
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	bone	tools	n/a	knife handle	n/a	n/a	HBT-2000-22-0225	
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	bone	tools	n/a	knife handle	n/a	n/a	HBT-2000-22-0234	
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	3	3	n/a	ceramic	foodways	stoneware (English)	bottle	yellow/brown	label	HBT-2000-22-0232	2x "Powell Bristol"
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	3	3	n/a	ceramic	foodways	stoneware/English	bottle	yellow/brown (dipped)	label	HBT-2000-22-0232	2x "Powell Bristol"
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	31	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	annularware	bowl	blue/brown	banded	HBT-2000-22-0243	
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	31	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	annularware	bowl	blue/brown	banded	HBT-2000-22-0243	factory made, engined turned
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	11	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	annularware	bowl	blue/brown	banded	HBT-2000-22-0245	
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	11	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	annularware	bowl	blue/brown	banded	HBT-2000-22-0245	factory made, engined turned
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	16	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	bowl (shallow)	poly	sponge/paint	HBT-2000-22-0247	gaudy welsh
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	16	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	bowl (shallow)	poly	painted under, free hand	HBT-2000-22-0247	gaudy welsh
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	14	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	annularware	bowl(?)	blue/red	banded	HBT-2000-22-0246	
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	14	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	annularware	bowl(?)	blue/red	banded	HBT-2000-22-0246	hand thrown
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	5	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	pitcher(?)	green	transfer print	HBT-2000-22-0259	floral...molding and handle?

Area	Feature #	Lot #	AMT	MNV	Frag Type	Material	Category	Ware Type	Form	Color	Décor	Pictures	Notes
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	5	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	pitcher(?)	green	transfer print	HBT-2000-22-0259	floral...molding and handle?
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	17	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	ironstone	pitcher/serving bowl(?)	white	n/a	HBT-2000-22-0263	
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	17	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	ironstone/white granite	pitcher/serving bowl(?)	white	n/a	HBT-2000-22-0263	
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	3	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	pitcher/serving bowl(?)	white	n/a	HBT-2000-22-0260	
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	3	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	pitcher/serving bowl(?)	white	n/a	HBT-2000-22-0260	
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	3	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	pitcher/serving bowl(?)	white	n/a	HBT-2000-22-0261	
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	3	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	pitcher/serving bowl(?)	white	n/a	HBT-2000-22-0261	
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	3	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	pitcher/serving bowl(?)	white	n/a	HBT-2000-22-0262	
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	3	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	pitcher/serving bowl(?)	white	n/a	HBT-2000-22-0262	
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	plate(?)	blue	transfer print	HBT-2000-22-0254	unknown design...scalloped marley
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	plate(?)	blue	transfer print	HBT-2000-22-0254	unknown design...scalloped marley
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	38	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	stoneware	pot	yellow/brown	n/a	HBT-2000-22-0242	glazed inside and out
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	38	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	stoneware/English	pot	yellow/brown	n/a	HBT-2000-22-0242	glazed inside and out
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	4	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	saucer	blue	transfer print	HBT-2000-22-0253	architecture/landscape
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	4	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	saucer	blue	transfer print	HBT-2000-22-0253	architecture/landscape
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	saucer	teal	transfer print	HBT-2000-22-0257	floral
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	saucer	green	transfer print	HBT-2000-22-0257	floral
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	saucer	red	transfer print	HBT-2000-22-0258	unknown design
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	31	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	saucer	poly	sponge/paint	HBT-2000-22-0248	gaudy welsh
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	31	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	saucer	poly	painted under, free hand	HBT-2000-22-0248	gaudy welsh
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	14	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	saucer	poly	sponge/paint	HBT-2000-22-0250	gaudy welsh
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	14	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	saucer	poly	painted under, free hand	HBT-2000-22-0250	
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	saucer	red	transfer print	HBT-2000-22-0258	unknown design
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	annularware	tea cup	blue	banded	HBT-2000-22-0244	
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	annularware	tea cup	blue	banded	HBT-2000-22-0244	hand thrown

Area	Feature #	Lot #	AMT	MNV	Frag Type	Material	Category	Ware Type	Form	Color	Décor	Pictures	Notes
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	ironstone	tea cup	blue	transfer print	HBT-2000-22-0252	architecture/landscape
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	ironstone/wHITE granite	tea cup	blue	transfer print	HBT-2000-22-0252	architecture/landscape
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	tea cup	purple	transfer print	HBT-2000-22-0255, HBT-2000-22-0256	architecture/landscape/pastoral/floral
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	tea cup	purple	transfer print	HBT-2000-22-0255, HBT-2000-22-0256	architecture/landscape/pastoral/floral
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	tea cup(?)	blue/red	painted	HBT-2000-22-0249	
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	tea cup(?)	blue/red	painted	HBT-2000-22-0249	
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	unknown	green	sponged	HBT-2000-22-0251	
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	unknown	green	sponged	HBT-2000-22-0251	
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	ceramic	personal	n/a	pipe bowl	white	n/a	HBT-2000-22-0240	1/16
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	2	n/a	n/a	ceramic	personal	n/a	pipe bowl	white	n/a	HBT-2000-22-0241	5/64
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	10	n/a	n/a	ceramic	personal	n/a	pipe stem	white	label	HBT-2000-22-0240	1x "LON" and 1x LROACH" 1/16
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	4	n/a	n/a	ceramic	personal	n/a	pipe stem	white	label	HBT-2000-22-0241	1x "ROACH" 5/64
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	ceramic	personal	n/a	pipe stem and bowl	white	n/a	HBT-2000-22-0240	1/16
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	3	n/a	n/a	ceramic	personal	n/a	pipe stem and bowl	white	n/a	HBT-2000-22-0241	5/64
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	1	1	body	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle	black(?)	n/a	HBT-2000-22-0228	odd shape...round, but larger at finish than at base
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	4	4	neck-4, base-3	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (ale)	black(?)	label	HBT-2000-22-0217	4x "Wood Portabello"
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	3	3	neck-3, base-2	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (ale)	olive (dark)	n/a	HBT-2000-22-0218	no kickup
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	2	2	base-1, whole-1	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (wine)	olive	n/a	HBT-2000-22-0216	high kickup
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	1	1	body	glass	medicine/chemical	n/a	bottle	aqua	label	HBT-2000-22-0230	rectangle with "S"
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	1	1	body	glass	medicine/chemical	n/a	bottle	aqua	label	HBT-2000-22-0231	"NU" and "TOL" and "AR"
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	1	1	body	glass	medicine/chemical	n/a	bottle	clear	n/a	HBT-2000-22-0227	rectangle
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	1	1	body	glass	medicine/chemical	n/a	bottle	aqua	n/a	HBT-2000-22-0229	rectangle
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	1	1	whole	glass	medicine/chemical	n/a	bottle stopper	aqua	n/a	HBT-2000-22-0235	
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	1	1	body	glass	unknown	n/a	bottle	clear	n/a	HBT-2000-22-0227	round

Area	Feature #	Lot #	AMT	MNV	Frag Type	Material	Category	Ware Type	Form	Color	Décor	Pictures	Notes
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	1	1	n/a	lime(?)	household	n/a	unknown	n/a	n/a	HBT-2000-22-0236; HBT-2000-22-0237	eight sided hollow 'cone', burned inside
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	metal	architecture	n/a	latch plate	n/a	n/a	HBT-2000-22-0222	
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	metal	architecture	n/a	lock	n/a	n/a	HBT-2000-22-0224	
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	bolt	n/a	n/a	HBT-2000-22-0226	
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	bolt (large)	n/a	n/a	HBT-2000-22-0223	
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	coupling pin(?)	n/a	n/a	HBT-2000-22-0223	
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	nail (square cut)	n/a	n/a	HBT-2000-22-0223	
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	21	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	nail (square cut)	n/a	n/a	HBT-2000-22-0226	
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	nail (wire cut)	n/a	n/a	HBT-2000-22-0226	
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	4	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	stake	n/a	n/a	HBT-2000-22-0223	
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	6	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	unknown	n/a	n/a	HBT-2000-22-0224	
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	metal	foodways	n/a	pot	n/a	n/a	HBT-2000-22-0220	looks bought, not made onsite...has feet
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	metal	household	n/a	barrel ring	n/a	n/a	HBT-2000-22-0224	
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	3	n/a	n/a	metal	household	n/a	handle (container)	n/a	n/a	HBT-2000-22-0222	
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	metal	household	n/a	iron	n/a	n/a	HBT-2000-22-0221	
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	4	n/a	n/a	metal	household	n/a	lead (unprocessed)	n/a	n/a	HBT-2000-22-0233	
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	2	n/a	n/a	metal	sewing/personal	n/a	button	n/a	n/a	HBT-2000-22-0239	
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	2	n/a	n/a	metal	sewing/personal	n/a	button (ball)	n/a	n/a	HBT-2000-22-0238	
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	metal	sewing/personal	n/a	button (shank)	n/a	label	HBT-2000-22-0239	"CROWN IMAGE 77"
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	2	n/a	n/a	metal	tools	n/a	axe head	n/a	n/a	HBT-2000-22-0219	
HBT	HBT-B2000-22	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	metal	tools	n/a	knife	n/a	n/a	HBT-2000-22-0225	

Area	Feature #	Lot #	AMT	MNV	Frag Type	Material	Category	Ware Type	Form	Color	Décor	Pictures	Notes
N12-17	N12-17	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	yellowware	bowl	yellow	n/a	N12-17-0274	
N12-17	N12-17	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	yellowware	bowl	yellow	n/a	N12-17-0274	
N12-17	N12-17	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	yellowware	unknown	yellow/brown	sponged	N12-17-0274	
N12-17	N12-17	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	yellowware	unknown	yellow/brown	sponged	N12-17-0274	
N12-17	N12-17	932	1	1	neck and base	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (ale)	olive (dark)	n/a	N12-17-0325	no kickup
N12-17	N12-17	932	1	1	base	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (wine)	olive	n/a	N12-17-0325	wide kickup
N12-17	N12-17	n/a	1	1	body	glass	unknown	n/a	bottle	olive (dark)	n/a	N12-17-0275	
N12-17	N12-17	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	screw	n/a	n/a	N12-17-0275	
N12-17	N12-17	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	metal	household	n/a	wire	n/a	n/a	N12-17-0275	
N12-17	N12-17	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	stone	personal	n/a	bead	grey	n/a	N12-17-0275	
N12-30	N12-30	front/surface	3	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	bowl	poly	sponge/paint	N12-30-0294	gaudy welsh
N12-30	N12-30	front/surface	3	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	bowl	poly	painted under, free hand	N12-30-0294	
N12-30	N12-30	front	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	plate(?)	white	n/a	N12-30-0289	
N12-30	N12-30	front	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	plate(?)	white	n/a	N12-30-0289	
N12-30	N12-30	front/surface	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	saucer	white	molded	N12-30-0293	scalloped marley
N12-30	N12-30	front/surface	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	saucer	white	molded	N12-30-0293	scalloped marley
N12-30	N12-30	front	3	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	tea cup	white	n/a	N12-30-0288	
N12-30	N12-30	front	3	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	tea cup	white	n/a	N12-30-0288	
N12-30	N12-30	front/surface	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	tea cup	blue	banded	N12-30-0297	
N12-30	N12-30	front/surface	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware, slip engined turned	tea cup	blue	banded	N12-30-0297	
N12-30	N12-30	front/surface	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	porcelain	tea cup	white	n/a	N12-30-0292	
N12-30	N12-30	front/surface	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	porcelain	tea cup	white	n/a	N12-30-0292	
N12-30	N12-30	front/surface	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	English China	tea cup(?)	blue	transfer print	N12-30-0298	floral...China Blue?
N12-30	N12-30	front/surface	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	Porcelain/English bone china	tea cup(?)	blue	painted, under glaze	N12-30-0298	floral

Area	Feature #	Lot #	AMT	MNV	Frag Type	Material	Category	Ware Type	Form	Color	Décor	Pictures	Notes
N12-30	N12-30	front/surface	3	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	annularware	unknown	blue/brown	banded	N12-30-0295	
N12-30	N12-30	front/surface	3	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	annularware	unknown	blue/brown	banded	N12-30-0295	hand thrown
N12-30	N12-30	front/surface	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	annularware	unknown	blue	n/a	N12-30-0296	
N12-30	N12-30	front/surface	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	annularware	unknown	blue	n/a	N12-30-0296	hand thrown
N12-30	N12-30	front/surface	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	unknown	blue	painted	N12-30-0300	featheredged?
N12-30	N12-30	front/surface	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	unknown	blue	shell edged	N12-30-0300	
N12-30	N12-30	front/surface	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	unknown	blue	transfer print	N12-30-0301	fruit design
N12-30	N12-30	front/surface	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	unknown	blue	transfer print	N12-30-0301	fruit design
N12-30	N12-30	front/surface	3	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	porcelain	unknown	yellow	painted	N12-30-0299	
N12-30	N12-30	front/surface	3	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	porcelain	unknown	yellow	painted	N12-30-0299	
N12-30	N12-30	front	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	unknown	white	n/a	N12-30-0290	
N12-30	N12-30	front	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	unknown	white	n/a	N12-30-0290	
N12-30	N12-30	front/surface	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	unknown	blue	transfer print	N12-30-0302	geometric
N12-30	N12-30	front/surface	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	unknown	blue	transfer print	N12-30-0302	geometric
N12-30	N12-30	front/surface	4	n/a	n/a	ceramic	personal	n/a	pipe stem	white	n/a	N12-30-0303	1/16
N12-30	N12-30	front	1	1	body	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle	olive (dark)	n/a	N12-30-0283	angled, flat surfaces
N12-30	N12-30	front	1	1	body	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle	amber	n/a	N12-30-0286	
N12-30	N12-30	front	1	1	base	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (gin)	olive (dark)	n/a	N12-30-0284	
N12-30	N12-30	front	1	1	base and body	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (wine)	olive (dark)	n/a	N12-30-0281	high kickup
N12-30	N12-30	front/surface	1	1	body	glass	foodways	n/a	tumbler(?)	white	paneled	N12-30-0291	
N12-30	N12-30	front	1	1	base	glass	medicine/chemical	n/a	bottle	sapphire	n/a	N12-30-0285	
N12-30	N12-30	front	1	1	body	glass	unknown	n/a	bottle	aqua	n/a	N12-30-0282	angled, flat surfaces
N12-30	N12-30	front	1	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	hook	n/a	n/a	N12-30-0279	
N12-30	N12-30	front	20	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	nail (square cut)	n/a	n/a	N12-30-0278	
N12-30	N12-30	front	1	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	nail (square cut)	n/a	n/a	N12-30-0279	

Area	Feature #	Lot #	AMT	MNV	Frag Type	Material	Category	Ware Type	Form	Color	Décor	Pictures	Notes
N12-30	N12-30	front	8	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	nail (square cut)	n/a	n/a	N12-30-0287	
N12-30	N12-30	front	3	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	unknown	n/a	n/a	N12-30-0279	
N12-30	N12-30	front	8	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	unknown	n/a	n/a	N12-30-0287	
N12-30	N12-30	front	1	n/a	n/a	metal	personal	n/a	pendant	poly	label	N12-30-0277	"George V" Windsor Crest
N12-30	N12-30	front	1	n/a	n/a	metal	tools	n/a	knife	n/a	n/a	N12-30-0279	
N12-8	N12-8	n/a	1	1	neck and base	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (gin)	olive (dark)	n/a	N12-8-0276	
N12-8	N12-8	n/a	4	n/a	n/a	metal	sewing/personal	n/a	button (ball)	n/a	n/a	N12-8-0276	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3082	1	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	pig(?)	long bone	n/a	n/a	sugar mill-0188	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3082	1	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	pig	tusk	n/a	n/a	sugar mill-0188	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3082	1	n/a	n/a	bone	tools	n/a	knife handle	n/a	n/a	sugar mill-0186, sugar mill-0187	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3079	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	stoneware	bottle (liquid)	grey	n/a	sugar mill-0139	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3079	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	stoneware/English	bottle (liquid)	grey	n/a	sugar mill-0139	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3079	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	bowl (serving)	poly	sponge/paint	sugar mill-0141, sugar mill-0142	gaudy welsh
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3079	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	bowl (serving)	poly	painted under, free hand	sugar mill-0141, sugar mill-0142	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3080	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	ironstone/white granite	plate	green	banded/molded	sugar mill-0154	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3079	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	plate	red	transfer print	sugar mill-0140	landscape
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3080	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	white granite	plate	green	banded/molded	sugar mill-0154	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3079	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	plate	poly	painted/writing	sugar mill-0137	"and gath" and "From"
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3079	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	plate	poly	painted/writing	sugar mill-0137	"and gath" and "From"
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3079	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	plate	red	transfer print	sugar mill-0140	landscape
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3079	3	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	plate	blue	transfer print	sugar mill-0144	geometric
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3079	3	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	plate	blue	transfer print	sugar mill-0144	geometric
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3079	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	plate	blue	transfer print	sugar mill-0145	willow pattern
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3079	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	plate	blue	transfer print	sugar mill-0145	willow pattern

Area	Feature #	Lot #	AMT	MNV	Frag Type	Material	Category	Ware Type	Form	Color	Décor	Pictures	Notes
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3078	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	plate	blue	transfer print	sugar mill-0159	architectural/scroll forms
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3078	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	plate	blue	transfer print	sugar mill-0159	architectural/scroll forms
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3079	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	saucer	blue	transfer print	no pic	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3079	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	saucer	blue	transfer print	no pic	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3079	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	saucer	blue	transfer print	sugar mill-0143	floral
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3079	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	saucer	blue	transfer print	sugar mill-0143	floral
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3080	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	saucer	blue	transfer print	sugar mill-0155	floral
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3080	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	saucer	blue	transfer print	sugar mill-0155	floral
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3079	3	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	tea cup	blue	transfer print	no pic	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3079	3	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	tea cup	blue	transfer print	no pic	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3079	3	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	tea cup	white	n/a	sugar mill-0135	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3079	3	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	tea cup	white	n/a	sugar mill-0135	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3079	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	tea cup	poly	sponge/paint	sugar mill-0136	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3079	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	tea cup	poly	sponge/paint	sugar mill-0136	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3082	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	tea cup	white	n/a	sugar mill-0193	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3082	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	tea cup	white	n/a	sugar mill-0193	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3082	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	tea cup(?)	poly	sponge/paint	sugar mill-0195	gaudy welsh
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3082	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	tea cup(?)	poly	painted under, free hand	sugar mill-0195	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3079	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	annularware	unknown	blue	n/a	sugar mill-0138	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3079	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	annularware	unknown	blue	n/a	sugar mill-0138	hand thrown
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3082	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	annularware	unknown	blue/brown	banded	sugar mill-0192	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3082	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	annularware	unknown	blue/brown	banded	sugar mill-0192	factory made, engined turned
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3082	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	flow blue	unknown	blue	transfer print	sugar mill-0194	unknown design
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3082	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	unknown	green	sponged	sugar mill-0196	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3082	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	unknown	green	sponged	sugar mill-0196	

Area	Feature #	Lot #	AMT	MNV	Frag Type	Material	Category	Ware Type	Form	Color	Décor	Pictures	Notes
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3082	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	Porcelain/English soft paste	unknown	blue	painted, under glaze	sugar mill-0194	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3080	4	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	stoneware	unknown	grey/black	n/a	sugar mill-0147, sugar mill-0148	magnesium? (glazed inside and out)
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3080	4	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	stoneware/English	unknown	grey/black	n/a	sugar mill-0147, sugar mill-0148	magnesium? (glazed inside and out)
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3082	1	1	n/a	ceramic	personal	course earthenware	bead	n/a	n/a	sugar mill-0215	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3079	1	n/a	n/a	ceramic	personal	n/a	pipe bowl	white	n/a	sugar mill-0134	1/16
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3080	1	n/a	n/a	ceramic	personal	n/a	pipe bowl	white	n/a	sugar mill-0153	1/16
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3079	1	n/a	n/a	ceramic	personal	n/a	pipe stem	white	n/a	sugar mill-0134	1/16
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3080	1	n/a	n/a	ceramic	personal	n/a	pipe stem	white	n/a	sugar mill-0153	1/16
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3082	3	n/a	n/a	ceramic	personal	n/a	pipe stem	white	n/a	sugar mill-0190	5/64
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3082	3	n/a	n/a	ceramic	personal	n/a	pipe stem	white	n/a	sugar mill-0190	1/16
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3078	1	1	n/a	glass	architecture	n/a	window glass	clear	n/a	sugar mill-0157	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3082	1	1	n/a	glass	architecture	n/a	window glass	clear	n/a	sugar mill-0181	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3082	1	1	base-1	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle	olive	n/a	sugar mill-0174	very small bottle http://www.antiquebottles.co.za/Pages/Categories/GlassCodd.htm
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3079	1	1	base-1, whole-1	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle	olive (dark)	label	sugar mill-0133	"CW & Co" and "? & Co Bolivar" ...no kickup
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3080	1	1	body	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle	olive (dark)	n/a	sugar mill-0152	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3082	1	1	body-4	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle	olive	n/a	sugar mill-0163	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3082	1	1	body-1	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle	olive	n/a	sugar mill-0164	thick bodied
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3082	1	1	body	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle	amber	n/a	sugar mill-0175	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3082	1	1	body	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle	aqua	n/a	sugar mill-0176	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3082	2	2	body	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle	clear	n/a	sugar mill-0177	flint glass
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3082	1	1	body	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle	clear	n/a	sugar mill-0178	lime glass
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3078	3	3	base-3	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (ale)	black(?)	label	sugar mill-0160	1x "B & Co" ...2 small, 1 large (no kickup)
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3082	1	1	base-1, neck-1	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (ale)	black(?)	n/a	sugar mill-0168	"RICK D COOPER & CO" "PORTABELLO"
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3082	4	4	base-4, neck-4	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (ale)	black(?)	n/a	sugar mill-0169	"R COOPER"

Area	Feature #	Lot #	AMT	MNV	Frag Type	Material	Category	Ware Type	Form	Color	Décor	Pictures	Notes
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3082	1	1	base-1	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (ale)	black(?)	n/a	sugar mill-0166	minimal kickup
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3078	1	1	whole-1	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (gin)	olive (dark)	n/a	sugar mill-0158	square
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3082	1	1	base-1, neck-1	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (gin)	olive (dark)	n/a	sugar mill-0173	square
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3082	1	1	body	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (soda)	blue	n/a	sugar mill-0182	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3080	1	1	body	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (wine)	olive (light)	n/a	sugar mill-0152	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3078	2	2	base-2, body-1	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (wine)	olive	n/a	sugar mill-0156	high kickup
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3082	1	1	whole	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (wine)	olive	n/a	sugar mill-0165	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3082	3	3	base-3, neck-3	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (wine)	olive	n/a	sugar mill-0167	thick bodied
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3082	2	2	base-1, neck-2	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (wine)	aqua	n/a	sugar mill-0170	high kickup, heavy bodied
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3082	1	1	whole	glass	medicine/chemical	n/a	bottle	aqua	label	sugar mill-0171	"Philadelphia" "Fluid" "genuine extracts" "Thelmbold"
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3082	1	1	whole	glass	medicine/chemical	n/a	bottle	olive	label	sugar mill-0172	"Hoytem" and "V.H."
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3082	2	2	base-2, neck-2	glass	medicine/chemical	n/a	bottle	clear	n/a	sugar mill-0180	rectangle
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3082	n/a	n/a	whole	glass	medicine/chemical	n/a	bottle (perfume)	clear	molded	sugar mill-0179	guitar shape...scrolling (figural bottle) http://www.antiquebottles.co.za/Pages/Categories/Perfume.htm
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3080	1	1	whole	glass	medicine/chemical	n/a	bottle stopper	clear	n/a	sugar mill-0146	flint glass
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3082	1	1	body	glass	medicine/chemical	n/a	unknown	sapphyre	n/a	sugar mill-0184	very thin bodied
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3082	1	1	body	glass	unknown	n/a	unknown	green (neon)	n/a	sugar mill-0183	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3081	1	n/a	n/a	metal	architecture	n/a	lock (bolt)	n/a	n/a	sugar mill-0124	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3081	1	n/a	n/a	metal	architecture	n/a	lock (keyed)	n/a	n/a	sugar mill-0124	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3081	1	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	bolt	n/a	n/a	sugar mill-0131	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3081	1	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	bolt (large)	n/a	n/a	sugar mill-0121	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3081	1	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	bolt/nut	n/a	n/a	sugar mill-0122, sugar mill-0123	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3081	1	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	flange/seal	n/a	n/a	sugar mill-0121	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3081	1	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	joining plate	n/a	n/a	sugar mill-0122, sugar mill-0123	

Area	Feature #	Lot #	AMT	MNV	Frag Type	Material	Category	Ware Type	Form	Color	Décor	Pictures	Notes
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3081	16	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	nail (square cut)	n/a	n/a	sugar mill-0130	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3081	1	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	nail (square cut)	n/a	n/a	sugar mill-0131	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3081	1	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	nut (square)	n/a	n/a	sugar mill-0121	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3081	1	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	ratchet	n/a	n/a	sugar mill-0121	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3081	1	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	ratchet pin	n/a	n/a	sugar mill-0131	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3080	1	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	regulator (water flow)	n/a	n/a	no pic	valve and fitting, pressure regulator
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3081	1	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	regulator (water flow)	n/a	n/a	sugar mill-0122, sugar mill-0123	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3080	1	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	regulator (water flow)	n/a	n/a	sugar mill-0150, sugar mill-0151	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3081	1	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	screw (large)	n/a	n/a	sugar mill-0131	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3083	1	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	unknown	n/a	n/a	sugar mill-0119, sugar mill-0120	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3081	1	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	unknown	n/a	n/a	sugar mill-0122, sugar mill-0123	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3081	4	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	unknown	n/a	n/a	sugar mill-0124	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3080	3	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	unknown	n/a	n/a	sugar mill-0149	repair plates?
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3082	1	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	unknown	n/a	n/a	sugar mill-0161, sugar mill-0162	rocket shape...threaded on bottom -.75 inch diameter
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3081	2	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	washer (large and small)	n/a	n/a	sugar mill-0124	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3081	1	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	washer (large)	n/a	n/a	sugar mill-0122, sugar mill-0123	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3081	1	n/a	n/a	metal	foodways	n/a	pan (tortilla?)	n/a	n/a	sugar mill-0132	

Area	Feature #	Lot #	AMT	MNV	Frag Type	Material	Category	Ware Type	Form	Color	Décor	Pictures	Notes
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3082	1	n/a	n/a	metal	personal	n/a	coin (British)	n/a	label	sugar mill-0206, sugar mill-0207, sugar mill-0208, sugar mill-0209, sugar mill-0210, sugar mill-0211, sugar mill-0212, sugar mill-0213	"Victoria DG Britanniar Regina FD" 3 pence
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3082	4	n/a	n/a	metal	sewing/personal	n/a	button	n/a	label	sugar mill-0214	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3081	1	n/a	n/a	metal	tools	n/a	axe head	n/a	n/a	sugar mill-0125	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3081	1	n/a	n/a	metal	tools	n/a	hoe	n/a	n/a	sugar mill-0128	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3081	1	n/a	n/a	metal	tools	n/a	pot (poorly made)	n/a	n/a	sugar mill-0129	used at the sugar mill...not for cooking?
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3081	1	n/a	n/a	metal	tools	n/a	sledgehammer head	n/a	n/a	sugar mill-0126, sugar mill-0127	
Sugar Mill	Sugar Mill	3082	1	n/a	n/a	stone	architecture	n/a	facing stone	grey	n/a	sugar mill-0189	
surface	GB	1939	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	stoneware	bottle (liquid)	yellow	n/a	GB-0416	
surface	GB	1939	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	stoneware/English	bottle (liquid)	yellow	n/a	GB-0416	
surface	GB	1924	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	yellowware	bowl	yellow	n/a	GB-0413	very heavy bodied
surface	GB	1924	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	yellowware	bowl	yellow	n/a	GB-0413	very heavy bodied
surface	GB	1939	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	yellowware	bowl	yellow	n/a	GB-0416	heavy bodied
surface	GB	1939	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	yellowware	bowl	yellow	n/a	GB-0416	heavy bodied
surface	surface	n/a	10	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	annularware	bowl (serving)	blue/brown	banded	surface-0344	
surface	surface	n/a	10	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	annularware	bowl (serving)	blue/brown	banded	surface-0344	hand thrown
surface	surface	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	annularware	bowl (small)	blue	checkerboard	surface-0330	
surface	surface	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	annularware	bowl (small)	blue	checkerboard	surface-0330	factory made, inlaid
surface	GB	1939	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	yellowware	bowl(?)	yellow	brown stripes	GB-0416	
surface	GB	1939	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	yellowware	bowl(?)	yellow	brown stripes	GB-0416	factory made, engined turned
surface	surface	n/a	4	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	coffee cup	white	n/a	surface-0345	
surface	surface	n/a	4	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	coffee cup	white	n/a	surface-0345	

Area	Feature #	Lot #	AMT	MNV	Frag Type	Material	Category	Ware Type	Form	Color	Décor	Pictures	Notes
surface	GB	1972	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	dish (sweetmeat)	white	n/a	GB-0410	oval shape
surface	GB	1972	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	dish (sweetmeat)	white	n/a	GB-0410	oval shape
surface	surface	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	pitcher	blue	transfer print	surface-0331	architecture/landscape/pastoral (castle theme)
surface	surface	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	pitcher	blue	transfer print	surface-0331	architecture/landscape/pastoral (castle theme)
surface	surface	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	ironstone	pitcher(?)	white	n/a	no pic	
surface	surface	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	ironstone/w hite granite	pitcher(?)	white	n/a	no pic	
surface	surface	n/a	6	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	plate	red	transfer print	surface-0338	unknown design
surface	surface	n/a	18	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	plate	blue	transfer print	surface-0334	floral...scalloped marley
surface	surface	n/a	18	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	plate	blue	transfer print	surface-0334	floral...scalloped marley
surface	surface	n/a	6	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	plate	red	transfer print	surface-0338	unknown design
surface	surface	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	saucer	poly	sponged	surface-0346	
surface	surface	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	saucer	purple	sponged	surface-0346	
surface	surface	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	saucer	poly	sponged	surface-0346	
surface	surface	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	saucer	purple	sponged	surface-0346	
surface	surface	n/a	5	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	saucer	red	transfer print	surface-0342	floral/geometric
surface	surface	n/a	5	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	saucer	red	transfer print	surface-0342	floral/geometric
surface	surface	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	tea cup	poly	sponged	surface-0346	
surface	surface	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	tea cup	poly	sponged	surface-0346	
surface	surface	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	tea cup(?)	white	n/a	surface-0335	
surface	surface	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	tea cup(?)	white	n/a	surface-0335	
surface	surface	n/a	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	English China	unknown	blue	painted	surface-0341	China Blue?
surface	SSFS	2911	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	flow blue	unknown	blue	transfer print	N12-30-0316	unknown design
surface	SSFS	2900	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	ironstone	unknown	white	n/a	N12-30-0310	
surface	surface	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	ironstone	unknown	red	transfer print	surface-0340	architecture/landscape/pastoral (rotunda theme) ...raised relief
surface	SSFS	2900	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	ironstone/w hite granite	unknown	white	n/a	N12-30-0310	

Area	Feature #	Lot #	AMT	MNV	Frag Type	Material	Category	Ware Type	Form	Color	Décor	Pictures	Notes
surface	surface	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	ironstone/w hite granite	unknown	red	transfer print	surface-0340	architecture/landscape/pastoral (rotunda theme) ...raised relief
surface	surface	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	unknown	white	n/a	surface-0337	
surface	surface	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	unknown	white	n/a	surface-0337	
surface	surface	n/a	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	unknown	olive	painted	surface-0343	
surface	surface	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	unknown	poly	sponged	surface-0346	
surface	surface	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	unknown	poly	sponged	surface-0346	
surface	surface	n/a	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	Porcelain/E nglish bone china	unknown	green	painted	surface-0343	
surface	surface	n/a	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	Porcelain/E nglish soft paste	unknown	blue	painted, under glaze	surface-0341	
surface	SSFS	2911	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	white	unknown	blue	transfer print/flow blue	SSFS2004- 0316	
surface	surface	n/a	5	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	unknown	poly	sponge/pai nt	surface-0339	gaudy welsh
surface	GB	1959	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	unknown	white	n/a	GB-0411	
surface	GB	1959	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	unknown	white	n/a	GB-0411	
surface	GB	1959	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	unknown	white	n/a	GB-0411	
surface	GB	1959	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	unknown	white	n/a	GB-0411	
surface	SSFS	2921	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	unknown	blue	transfer print	N12-30-0320	unknown design
surface	SSFS	2921	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	unknown	blue	transfer print	N12-30-0320	unknown design
surface	surface	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	unknown	green	transfer print	no pic	
surface	surface	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	unknown	green	transfer print	no pic	
surface	surface	n/a	4	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	unknown	white	n/a	surface-0336	
surface	surface	n/a	4	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	unknown	white	n/a	surface-0336	
surface	surface	n/a	5	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	unknown	poly	painted under, free hand	surface-0339	
surface	surface	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	medicine/ chemical	stoneware	jug (small)	brown/ta n	label	surface--0329	"CALIFORNIA COUGH BALM 10 OTS DOSE TEASPOON FULL CHILDREN HALF"
surface	surface	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	medicine/ chemical	stoneware/ American	jug (small)	brown/ta n (dipped)	label	surface--0329	"CALIFORNIA COUGH BALM 10 OTS DOSE TEASPOON FULL CHILDREN HALF"
surface	surface	n/a	3	n/a	n/a	ceramic	personal	n/a	pipe 1007	white	n/a	surface-0348	1/16

Area	Feature #	Lot #	AMT	MNV	Frag Type	Material	Category	Ware Type	Form	Color	Décor	Pictures	Notes
surface	surface	n/a	3	n/a	n/a	ceramic	personal	n/a	pipe stem	white	n/a	surface-0348	1/16
surface	GB	1959	1	1	body	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle	olive (light)	n/a	GB-0412	
surface	GB	1939	1	1	body	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle	amber	n/a	GB-0415	
surface	GB	1939	1	1	body	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle	olive (light)	n/a	GB-0415	
surface	SSFS	2903	1	1	neck	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle	green (light)	n/a	N12-30-0311	
surface	SSFS	2900	1	1	body	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle	amber	n/a	N12-30-0314	
surface	SSFS	2921	1	1	body	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle	olive	n/a	N12-30-0315	
surface	SSFS	2900	1	1	body	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle	amber	n/a	N12-30-0322	
surface	surface	n/a	1	1	whole	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle	amber	n/a	surface-0356	
surface	surface	n/a	1	1	whole	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle	aqua	n/a	surface-0357	rum bottle?
surface	surface	n/a	2	2	base	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (ale)	black(?)	n/a	surface-0323	no kickup
surface	surface	n/a	1	1	base	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (ale)	black(?)	n/a	surface-0323	no kickup
surface	surface	n/a	2	2	whole	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (ale)	black(?)	n/a	surface-0352	
surface	surface	n/a	1	1	whole	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (ale)	black(?)	n/a	surface-0353	
surface	surface	n/a	1	1	whole	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (condiment)	clear	n/a	surface-0327	
surface	surface	n/a	1	1	whole	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (fruit juice)	clear	label	surface-0327	"CLEVELAND FUICE JOICE" "F"
surface	surface	n/a	2	2	whole	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (hot sauce)	aqua	molded	surface-0327	
surface	SSFS	2903	1	1	body	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (juice serving?)	clear	molded	N12-30-0313	fluted molding on base
surface	surface	n/a	1	1	whole	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (milk)	clear	label	surface-0327	"APRIL 17, 1877" BOTTLE PATENT
surface	SSFS	2900	1	1	body	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (olive oil?)	aqua	n/a	N12-30-0310	
surface	SSFS	2903	1	1	body	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (olive oil?)	clear	n/a	N12-30-0311	
surface	SSFS	2903	1	1	body	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (olive oil?)	aqua	n/a	N12-30-0311	
surface	SSFS	2908	1	1	base	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (rum)	clear	label	N12-30-0307	"Rums of Belize" "Cuello's Distillery" BIRD symbol in center
surface	surface	n/a	2	2	whole	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (soda)	aqua	label	surface-0354	1x "BOSS'S BELFAST"...hand blown
surface	surface	n/a	2	2	whole	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (soda)	aqua	label	surface-0355	"AB V10"
surface	surface	n/a	1	1	whole	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (soda)	aqua	label	surface-0358	"FLORIDA WATER MURRAY & LANMAN DRUGGISTS NEW YORK" "93", on bottom of bottle
surface	GB	1959	1	1	body	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (soda)	aqua	n/a	GB-0412	

Area	Feature #	Lot #	AMT	MNV	Frag Type	Material	Category	Ware Type	Form	Color	Décor	Pictures	Notes
surface	surface	n/a	1	1	base	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (wine)	aqua	n/a	surface-0323	high kickup
surface	surface	n/a	1	1	whole	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (wine)	olive	n/a	surface-0356	
surface	GB	1959	1	1	whole (sherds)	glass	medicine/chemical	n/a	bottle	clear	label	GB-0412	"Davis" "vegetable" "painkiller"....cerca 1839 from Taunton, Mass...Perry Davis...1840 awarded the exclusive right to use the words "pain killer" in medicine names
surface	SSFS	2906	1	1	body	glass	medicine/chemical	n/a	bottle	clear	label	N12-30-0304	"LO" and "BR"
surface	SSFS	2900	1	1	body	glass	medicine/chemical	n/a	bottle	clear	label	N12-30-0322	"_LO"
surface	surface	n/a	1	1	whole	glass	medicine/chemical	n/a	bottle	aqua	label	surface-0324	"DAVIS" "DAVIS & LAWRENCE CO" "NEW YORK" "3P"
surface	surface	n/a	1	1	whole	glass	medicine/chemical	n/a	bottle	clear	label	surface-0324	"J GROSSMITH & SON PERFUMERS LONDON"
surface	surface	n/a	1	1	whole	glass	medicine/chemical	n/a	bottle	clear	label	surface-0324	"SLOAN'S LINAMENT" "MADE IN USA"
surface	surface	n/a	1	1	whole	glass	medicine/chemical	n/a	bottle	clear	label	surface-0326	RESEARCH "CASTORIA CHA 11 LLET"
surface	surface	n/a	1	1	whole	glass	medicine/chemical	n/a	bottle	aqua	label	surface-0326	RESEARCH "DAVIS & LAWRENCE" "ALLEN'S COUGH BALSAM"
surface	GB	1059	1	1	body	glass	medicine/chemical	n/a	bottle	sapphire	n/a	GB-0412	round bottle
surface	surface	n/a	1	1	whole	glass	medicine/chemical	n/a	bottle	clear	n/a	surface-0324	
surface	surface	n/a	1	1	whole	glass	medicine/chemical	n/a	bottle	clear	n/a	surface-0324	
surface	surface	n/a	1	1	whole	glass	medicine/chemical	n/a	bottle	clear	n/a	surface-0324	
surface	surface	n/a	1	1	whole	glass	medicine/chemical	n/a	bottle	clear	n/a	surface-0326	
surface	GB	1939	1	1	body	glass	medicine/chemical	n/a	unknown	white	label	GB-0415	"VITR" reqtangle
surface	GB	1939	15	15	whole	glass	medicine/chemical	n/a	vial	brown and clear	label	GB-0414	"Upjohn" "Farmaceutica" "Deka-C" "Vitamins" "chem-pharm"
surface	GB	1939	1	1	whole	glass	medicine/chemical	n/a	vial	brown	label	GB-0417	"??LUENTE 3.5ml" "AGUA BACTERIOSTATIC" "???" "CON 9 MGMLX" "ALCOHOL BENCILICO" "UPJOHN" "UPJOHN PROD. FARMACEUTICIA" "SAO PAULO-SP-BRASIL" "LOTE A-367" "(5)"
surface	GB	1959	1	1	body	glass	unknown	n/a	bottle	clear	n/a	GB-0412	
surface	GB	1959	1	1	body	glass	unknown	n/a	bottle	clear	n/a	GB-0412	
surface	SSFS	2900	1	1	body	glass	unknown	n/a	bottle	aqua	n/a	N12-30-0322	
surface	GB	1059	1	1	body	glass	unknown	n/a	unknown	blue (light)	n/a	GB-0412	
surface	GB	1959	1	1	body	glass	unknown	n/a	unknown	green (dark)	n/a	GB-0412	
surface	SSFS	2901	1	1	body	glass	unknown	n/a	unknown	clear	n/a	N12-30-0308	
surface	SSFS	2901	1	1	body	glass	unknown	n/a	unknown	clear	n/a	N12-30-0308	
surface	SSFS	2902	1	1	body	glass	unknown	n/a	unknown	clear	n/a	N12-30-0321	
surface	SSFS	2902	1	1	body	glass	unknown	n/a	unknown	olive (light)	n/a	N12-30-0321	

Area	Feature #	Lot #	AMT	MNV	Frag Type	Material	Category	Ware Type	Form	Color	Décor	Pictures	Notes
surface	surface	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	metal	architecture	n/a	lock	n/a	n/a	surface-0332	
surface	surface	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	bolt	n/a	n/a	surface-0332	
surface	surface	n/a	37	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	bolt (double ended)	n/a	n/a	surface-0361	RESEARCH track system?
surface	surface	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	bolt (square)	n/a	n/a	surface-0360	
surface	SSFS	2900	1	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	brad	n/a	n/a	N12-30-0310	
surface	SSFS	2903	1	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	brad	n/a	n/a	N12-30-0312	
surface	surface	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	bushing (large)	n/a	n/a	surface-0359	
surface	surface	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	grapple(?)	n/a	n/a	surface-0333	
surface	surface	n/a	3	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	nail (square cut)	n/a	n/a	surface-0347	
surface	surface	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	nut (square)	n/a	n/a	surface-0347	
surface	surface	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	screw	n/a	n/a	surface-0360	
surface	SSFS	2925	4	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	unknown	n/a	n/a	N12-30-0306	
surface	surface	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	unknown	n/a	n/a	surface-0332	
surface	surface	n/a	4	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	unknown	n/a	n/a	surface-0347	
surface	surface	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	washer (large)	n/a	n/a	surface-0332	
surface	SSFS	2901	1	n/a	n/a	metal	foodways	n/a	can (pull tab)	n/a	label	N12-30-0308	"estupenda"
surface	SSFS	2903	1	n/a	n/a	metal	foodways	n/a	can (pull tab)	n/a	n/a	N12-30-0312	
surface	SSFS	2901	1	n/a	n/a	metal	foodways	n/a	can (pull tab)	n/a	n/a	N12-30-0317	
surface	SSFS	2900	1	n/a	n/a	metal	foodways	n/a	can (pull tab)	n/a	n/a	N12-30-0319	

Area	Feature #	Lot #	AMT	MNV	Frag Type	Material	Category	Ware Type	Form	Color	Décor	Pictures	Notes
surface	SSFS	2922	1	n/a	n/a	metal	foodways	n/a	key (sardine can)	n/a	n/a	N12-30-0305	
surface	SSFS	2099	1	n/a	n/a	metal	household	n/a	lightbulb base	n/a	n/a	N12-30-0318	
surface	surface	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	metal	personal	n/a	buckle	n/a	n/a	surface-0347	
surface	surface	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	metal	personal	n/a	coin (Chinese)	n/a	n/a	surface-0350; surface-0351	small hole at top of coin (pendant?)
surface	surface	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	metal	personal	n/a	spur	n/a	n/a	surface-0328	
surface	surface	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	metal	personal	n/a	stirrup	n/a	n/a	surface-0328	
surface	surface	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	metal	sewing/personal	n/a	button	n/a	n/a	surface-0347	
surface	SSFS	2900	1	n/a	n/a	metal	tools	n/a	shell casing	n/a	n/a	N12-30-0310	rim fired 22 caliber
YDL	YDL	3059	1	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	pig(?)	long bone	n/a	n/a	YDL-0373	
YDL	YDL	3050	1	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	pig	mandible	n/a	n/a	YDL-0362	
YDL	YDL	3049	5	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	cow	rib	n/a	n/a	YDL-0368	
YDL	YDL	3046	3	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	cow	tarsal	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3050	3	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	cow	tooth	n/a	n/a	YDL-0362	
YDL	YDL	3059	3	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	pig	tooth	n/a	n/a	YDL-0373	
YDL	YDL	3050	1	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	pig(?)	tooth	n/a	n/a	YDL-0362	
YDL	YDL	3036	1	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	unknown	tooth	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3056	1	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	unknown	tooth	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3050	1	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	cow	tooth/molar	n/a	n/a	YDL-0362	
YDL	YDL	3050	1	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	pig	tusk	n/a	n/a	YDL-0362	
YDL	YDL	3036	140	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	turtle	unknown	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3038	4	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	turtle	unknown	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3034	7	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	unknown	unknown	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3041	4	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	unknown	unknown	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3042	32	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	unknown	unknown	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3043	7	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	unknown	unknown	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3044	3	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	unknown	unknown	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3047	6	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	unknown	unknown	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3049	11	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	unknown	unknown	n/a	n/a	no pic	

Area	Feature #	Lot #	AMT	MNV	Frag Type	Material	Category	Ware Type	Form	Color	Décor	Pictures	Notes
YDL	YDL	3050	110	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	unknown	unknown	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3052	14	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	unknown	unknown	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3054	17	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	unknown	unknown	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3055	24	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	unknown	unknown	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3056	9	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	unknown	unknown	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3057	12	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	unknown	unknown	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3058	16	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	unknown	unknown	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3059	21	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	unknown	unknown	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3060	11	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	unknown	unknown	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3061	15	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	unknown	unknown	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3063	1	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	unknown	unknown	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3064	1	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	unknown	unknown	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3065	1	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	unknown	unknown	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3066	5	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	unknown	unknown	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3068	1	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	unknown	unknown	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3069	2	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	unknown	unknown	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3070	13	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	unknown	unknown	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3071	2	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	unknown	unknown	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3053	5	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	unknown	unknown	n/a	n/a	YDL-0371	
YDL	YDL	3042	2	n/a	n/a	bone	foodways	cow	vertebrae (adult)	n/a	n/a	YDL-0369	
YDL	YDL	3035	2	n/a	n/a	bone	Maya	sting ray	spine	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL-II_WB	n/a	15	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	annularware	bowl	blue	checkerboard	WB-0396	
YDL	YDL-II_WB	n/a	15	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	annularware	bowl	blue	checkerboard	WB-0396	factory made, inlaid
YDL	YDL	3068	30	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	ironstone	bowl	white	n/a	YDL-0379	
YDL	YDL	3068	4	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	ironstone	bowl	white	scalloping	YDL-0379	
YDL	YDL	3068	30	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	ironstone/white granite	bowl	white	n/a	YDL-0379	

Area	Feature #	Lot #	AMT	MNV	Frag Type	Material	Category	Ware Type	Form	Color	Décor	Pictures	Notes
YDL	YDL	3068	4	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	ironstone/w hite granite	bowl	white	scaloping	YDL-0379	
YDL	YDL	3068	8	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	bowl	blue	transfer print	YDL-0381	unknown design
YDL	YDL	3068	8	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	bowl	blue	transfer print	YDL-0381	unknown design
YDL	YDL-II_WB	n/a	23	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	bowl (deep)	poly	sponge/pai nt	WB-0406	gaudy welsh
YDL	YDL-II_WB	n/a	23	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	bowl (deep)	poly	painted under, free hand	WB-0406	
YDL	YDL-II_WB	?????	20	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	bowl (serving)	poly	sponged	WB-0400, WB- 0401	
YDL	YDL-II_WB	n/a	20	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	bowl (serving)	poly	sponged	WB-0400, WB- 0401	
YDL	YDL	3068	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	bowl (serving)	white	n/a	YDL-0381	
YDL	YDL	3068	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	bowl (serving)	white	n/a	YDL-0381	
YDL	YDL-II_WB	?????	5	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	bowl (shallow)	blue	transfer print	WB-0398, WB- 0399	architecture/landscape/pstoral (castle theme)
YDL	YDL-II_WB	n/a	5	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	bowl (shallow)	blue	transfer print	WB-0398, WB- 0399	architecture/landscape/pstoral (castle theme)
YDL	YDL-II_WB	n/a	25	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	bowl (shallow)	green	transfer print	WB-0397	willow pattern
YDL	YDL-II_WB	n/a	25	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	bowl (shallow)	green	transfer print	WB-0397	willow pattern
YDL	YDL-II_WB	n/a	10	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	annularwar e	bowl (small/deep)	blue/bro wn	banded	WB-0402	
YDL	YDL-II_WB	n/a	10	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	annularwar e	bowl (small/deep)	blue/bro wn	banded	WB-0402	hand thrown
YDL	YDL-II_WB	?????	10	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	coffee cup	blue	transfer print	WB-0405	floral
YDL	YDL-II_WB	n/a	10	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	coffee cup	blue	transfer print	WB-0405	floral
YDL	YDL	3037	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	unknown	jar (olive, Spanish)	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3037	0	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	unknown	jar (olive, Spanish)	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL-II_WB	?????	6	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	plate	blue	transfer print	WB-0391, WB- 0392, WB- 0393	architecture/landscape (Moorish design)
YDL	YDL-II_WB	n/a	6	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	plate	blue	transfer print	WB-0391, WB- 0392, WB- 0393	architecture/landscape (Moorish design)
YDL	YDL-II_WB	?????	16	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	plate	blue	transfer print	WB-0394, WB- 0395	geometric/scrolls
YDL	YDL-II_WB	n/a	16	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	plate	blue	transfer print	WB-0394, WB- 0395	geometric/scrolls
YDL	YDL-II_WB	?????	15	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	plate	green	transfer print	WB-0403, WB- 0404	architecture/landscape/pstoral (castle theme) http://www.comfortablestyle.com/putrfscpl.html

Area	Feature #	Lot #	AMT	MNV	Frag Type	Material	Category	Ware Type	Form	Color	Décor	Pictures	Notes
YDL	YDL-II_WB	n/a	15	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	plate	green	transfer print	WB-0403, WB-0404	architecture/landscape/pstoral (castle theme) http://www.comfortablestyle.com/putrfscpl.html
YDL	YDL-II_WB	?????	18	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	plate	red/green	sponged	WB-0409	
YDL	YDL-II_WB	n/a	18	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	plate	red/green	sponged	WB-0409	
YDL	YDL	3050	3	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	plate	blue	transfer print	YDL-0365	fruit design
YDL	YDL	3050	13	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	plate	white	n/a	YDL-0365	
YDL	YDL	3050	13	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	plate	white	n/a	YDL-0365	
YDL	YDL	3050	3	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	plate	blue	transfer print	YDL-0365	fruit design
YDL	YDL	3041	4	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	plate	blue	transfer print	YDL-0367	architectural/scroll forms
YDL	YDL	3041	4	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	plate	blue	transfer print	YDL-0367	architectural/scroll forms
YDL	YDL	3055	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	plate	poly	sponge/paint	YDL-0374	gaudy welsh
YDL	YDL - I	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	plate	blue	transfer print	N12-11-YDL1-0349	geometric
YDL	YDL - I	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	plate	blue	transfer print	N12-11-YDL1-0349	geometric
YDL	YDL-II_WB	n/a	20	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	plate	blue	transfer print	no pic	
YDL	YDL-II_WB	n/a	20	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	plate	blue	transfer print	no pic	
YDL	YDL-II_WB	n/a	9	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	plate	blue	transfer print	WB-0390	willow pattern
YDL	YDL-II_WB	n/a	9	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	plate	blue	transfer print	WB-0390	willow pattern
YDL	YDL-II_WB	n/a	23	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	plate	purple	transfer print	WB-0408	architecture/landscape/pstoral (castle theme)
YDL	YDL-II_WB	n/a	23	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	plate	purple	transfer print	WB-0408	architecture/landscape/pstoral (castle theme)
YDL	YDL	3055	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	plate	poly	painted under, free hand	YDL-0374	
YDL	YDL	3070	6	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	plate	blue	transfer print	YDL-0377	unknown design
YDL	YDL	3070	6	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	plate	blue	transfer print	YDL-0377	unknown design
YDL	YDL	3068	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	plate	green	transfer print	YDL-0381	unknown design
YDL	YDL	3068	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	plate	green	transfer print	YDL-0381	unknown design
YDL	YDL	3070	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	annularware	saucer	blue	banded	YDL-0377	
YDL	YDL	3070	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	annularware	saucer	blue	banded	YDL-0377	hand thrown
YDL	YDL	3068	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	annularware	saucer	brown	banded	YDL-0380	

Area	Feature #	Lot #	AMT	MNV	Frag Type	Material	Category	Ware Type	Form	Color	Décor	Pictures	Notes
YDL	YDL	3068	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	annularware	saucer	brown	banded	YDL-0380	hand thrown
YDL	YDL-II_WB	n/a	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	saucer	green	transfer print	no pic	
YDL	YDL-II_WB	n/a	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	saucer	green	transfer print	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3070	3	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	saucer	poly	sponge/paint	YDL-0377	
YDL	YDL	3070	3	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	saucer	poly	sponge/paint	YDL-0377	
YDL	YDL	3068	6	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	saucer	blue	banded	YDL-0380	
YDL	YDL	3068	6	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware, factory made slipware	saucer	blue	banded	YDL-0380	
YDL	YDL	3055	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	flow blue	tea cup	blue	transfer print	YDL-0374	unknown design
YDL	YDL	3050	3	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	tea cup	blue	transfer print	YDL-0365	unknown design
YDL	YDL	3050	3	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	tea cup	blue	transfer print	YDL-0365	unknown design
YDL	YDL	3050	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	tea cup	blue	transfer print	YDL-0366	dendritic pattern
YDL	YDL	3050	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	tea cup	blue	transfer print	YDL-0366	geometric
YDL	YDL	3050	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	tea cup	poly	sponged	YDL-0366	
YDL	YDL	3050	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	tea cup	poly	sponged	YDL-0366	
YDL	YDL	3050	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	tea cup	blue	transfer print	YDL-0366	dendritic pattern
YDL	YDL	3050	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	tea cup	blue	transfer print	YDL-0366	geometric
YDL	YDL	3041	4	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	tea cup	blue	transfer print	YDL-0367	unknown design
YDL	YDL	3041	4	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	tea cup	blue	transfer print	YDL-0367	unknown design
YDL	YDL	3068	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	tea cup	poly	sponged	YDL-0380	
YDL	YDL	3068	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	tea cup	poly	sponged	YDL-0380	
YDL	YDL	3068	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	tea cup	blue	transfer print	YDL-0381	unknown design
YDL	YDL	3068	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	tea cup	blue	transfer print	YDL-0381	unknown design
YDL	YDL-II_WB	n/a	15	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	tea cup	purple	transfer print	WB-0407	architecture (castle theme)
YDL	YDL-II_WB	n/a	15	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	tea cup	purple	transfer print	WB-0407	architecture (castle theme)
YDL	YDL	3050	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	tea cup	brown	transfer print	YDL-0365	unknown design

Area	Feature #	Lot #	AMT	MNV	Frag Type	Material	Category	Ware Type	Form	Color	Décor	Pictures	Notes
YDL	YDL	3050	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	tea cup	brown	transfer print	YDL-0365	unknown design
YDL	YDL	3055	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	tea cup	blue	transfer print/flow blue	YDL-0374	
YDL	YDL	3070	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	tea cup	blue	transfer print	YDL-0377	unknown design
YDL	YDL	3070	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	tea cup	blue	transfer print	YDL-0377	unknown design
YDL	YDL	3068	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	tea cup	blue	transfer print	YDL-0381	unknown design
YDL	YDL	3068	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	tea cup	red	transfer print	YDL-0381	unknown design
YDL	YDL	3068	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	tea cup	blue	transfer print	YDL-0381	unknown design
YDL	YDL	3068	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	tea cup	red	transfer print	YDL-0381	unknown design
YDL	YDL	3050	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	tea pot lid	yellow/red	sponged	YDL-0366	
YDL	YDL	3050	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	tea pot lid	yellow/red	sponged	YDL-0366	
YDL	YDL	3050	6	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	annularware	unknown	blue/orange	banded/wormey	YDL-0365	
YDL	YDL	3050	6	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	annularware	unknown	blue/orange	banded/wormey	YDL-0365	hand thrown
YDL	YDL	3068	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	annularware	unknown	blue	banded	YDL-0380	
YDL	YDL	3068	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	annularware	unknown	green/black	banded	YDL-0380	
YDL	YDL	3068	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	annularware	unknown	poly	banded	YDL-0380	
YDL	YDL	3068	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	annularware	unknown	blue	banded	YDL-0380	hand thrown
YDL	YDL	3068	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	annularware	unknown	green/black	banded	YDL-0380	hand thrown
YDL	YDL	3068	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	annularware	unknown	poly	banded	YDL-0380	hand thrown
YDL	YDL	3050	4	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	English China	unknown	blue	transfer print	YDL-0365	China Blue?
YDL	YDL	3065	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	English China	unknown	blue	transfer print	YDL-0386	China Blue?
YDL	YDL - I	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	unknown	green	transfer print	N12-11-YDL1-0349	architecture/landscape/pastoral
YDL	YDL - I	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	unknown	green	transfer print	N12-11-YDL1-0349	architecture/landscape/pastoral
YDL	YDL	3050	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	unknown	red	transfer print	YDL-0366	unknown design
YDL	YDL	3068	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	unknown	green	sponged	YDL-0381	
YDL	YDL	3068	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	pearlware	unknown	green	sponged	YDL-0381	

Area	Feature #	Lot #	AMT	MNV	Frag Type	Material	Category	Ware Type	Form	Color	Décor	Pictures	Notes
YDL	YDL	3050	4	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	Porcelain/English bone china	unknown	blue	painted, under glaze	YDL-0365	
YDL	YDL	3065	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	Tin Enameled/English	unknown	blue	painted, under glaze	YDL-0386	
YDL	YDL	3050	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	unknown	poly	sponge/paint	YDL-0365	gaudy welsh
YDL	YDL - I	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	unknown	blue	transfer print	N12-11-YDL1-0349	unknown design
YDL	YDL - I	n/a	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	unknown	blue	transfer print	N12-11-YDL1-0349	unknown design
YDL	YDL	3050	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	unknown	poly	painted under, free hand	YDL-0365	
YDL	YDL	3050	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	unknown	purple	transfer print	YDL-0366	landscape
YDL	YDL	3050	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	unknown	purple	transfer print	YDL-0366	landscape
YDL	YDL	3050	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	unknown	red	transfer print	YDL-0366	unknown design
YDL	YDL	3068	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	unknown	green	banded	YDL-0380	
YDL	YDL	3068	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	unknown	blue	transfer print	YDL-0381	unknown design
YDL	YDL	3068	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	unknown	blue	transfer print	YDL-0381	unknown design
YDL	YDL	3068	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	unknown	blue	transfer print	YDL-0381	unknown design
YDL	YDL	3068	1	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware	unknown	blue	transfer print	YDL-0381	unknown design
YDL	YDL	3068	2	1	n/a	ceramic	foodways	whiteware, factory made slipware	unknown	green	banded	YDL-0380	
YDL	YDL-II_WB	n/a	8	1	n/a	ceramic	household	pearlware	chamber pot	poly	sponge/paint	WB-0389	
YDL	YDL-II_WB	n/a	8	1	n/a	ceramic	household	pearlware	chamber pot	poly	sponge/paint	WB-0389	
YDL	YDL-II_WB	n/a	6	1	n/a	ceramic	household	whiteware	chamber pot	poly	sponge/paint	WB-0387; WB-0388	gaudy welsh
YDL	YDL-II_WB	n/a	6	1	n/a	ceramic	household	whiteware	chamber pot	poly	painted under, free hand	WB-0387; WB-0388	
YDL	YDL	3068	1	1	n/a	ceramic	household	whiteware	chamber pot	white	n/a	YDL-382	
YDL	YDL	3068	1	1	n/a	ceramic	household	whiteware	chamber pot	white	n/a	YDL-382	
YDL	YDL	3046	1	1	n/a	ceramic	personal	course earthenware	bead	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3050	3	n/a	n/a	ceramic	personal	n/a	pipe bowl	white	n/a	YDL-0385	1/16
YDL	YDL	3036	3	n/a	n/a	ceramic	personal	n/a	pipe stem	white	n/a	no pic	data taken from notes...not in assemblage

Area	Feature #	Lot #	AMT	MNV	Frag Type	Material	Category	Ware Type	Form	Color	Décor	Pictures	Notes
YDL	YDL	3044	1	n/a	n/a	ceramic	personal	n/a	pipe stem	n/a	n/a	no pic	data taken fom notes...not in assemblage
YDL	YDL	3047	1	1	n/a	ceramic	personal	n/a	pipe stem	white	n/a	no pic	data taken fom notes...not in assemblage
YDL	YDL	3059	1	1	n/a	ceramic	personal	n/a	pipe stem	n/a	n/a	no pic	data taken fom notes...not in assemblage
YDL	YDL	3060	1	1	n/a	ceramic	personal	n/a	pipe stem	n/a	n/a	no pic	data taken fom notes...not in assemblage
YDL	YDL	3069	2	2	n/a	ceramic	personal	n/a	pipe stem	n/a	n/a	no pic	data taken fom notes...not in assemblage
YDL	YDL	3050	3	n/a	n/a	ceramic	personal	n/a	pipe stem	white	n/a	YDL-0385	1/16
YDL	YDL	3042	1	n/a	n/a	coal	househol d	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3052	2	n/a	n/a	coal	househol d	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3054	1	n/a	n/a	coal	househol d	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3059	2	n/a	n/a	coal	househol d	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	YDL-0373	
YDL	YDL	3055	3	n/a	n/a	daub	constructi on/mainte nance	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3050	1	1	base	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle	olive	n/a	YDL-0363	
YDL	YDL	3043	1	1	body	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle	amber	n/a	YDL-0370	
YDL	YDL	3036	1	1	body	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle	olive	n/a	YDL-0372	notes on artifact sheet say "17th C?"
YDL	YDL	3055	1	1	body	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle	olive	n/a	YDL-0374	
YDL	YDL	3070	1	1	body	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle	amber	n/a	YDL-0378	
YDL	YDL	3070	1	1	neck and base	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (gin)	olive (dark)	n/a	YDL-0378	
YDL	YDL	3050	1	1	neck	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (soda)	aqua	n/a	YDL-0363	thick bodied....long neck
YDL	YDL	3053	1	1	base	glass	foodways	n/a	bottle (wine)	olive	n/a	YDL-0371	high kickup
YDL	YDL	3070	1	1	body	glass	househol d	n/a	unknown	clear	molded	YDL-0378	
YDL	YDL	3070	1	1	body	glass	househol d	n/a	unknown	rose	molded	YDL-0378	
YDL	YDL	3069	1	1	body	glass	medicine/ chemical	n/a	bottle	sapphyr e	n/a	YDL-0376	
YDL	YDL	3052	1	1	n/a	glass	unknown	n/a	unknown	n/a	n/a	no pic	not in lot...can only count as 1 vessel because I did not have access to the actual material culture
YDL	YDL	3058	1	1	n/a	glass	unknown	n/a	unknown	n/a	n/a	no pic	not in lot...can only count as 1 vessel because I did not have access to the actual material culture
YDL	YDL	3068	1	1	n/a	glass	unknown	n/a	unknown	n/a	n/a	no pic	not in lot...can only count as 1 vessel because I did not have access to the actual material culture
YDL	YDL	3042	1	1	body	glass	unknown	n/a	unknown	aqua	n/a	YDL-0369	
YDL	YDL	3043	1	1	body	glass	unknown	n/a	unknown	olive	white stripes	YDL-0370	
YDL	YDL	3070	1	1	body	glass	unknown	n/a	unknown	blue (light)	n/a	YDL-0378	
YDL	YDL	3038	1	1	unknown	glass	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknow n	unknwon	no pic	

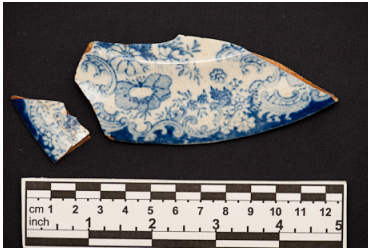
Area	Feature #	Lot #	AMT	MNV	Frag Type	Material	Category	Ware Type	Form	Color	Décor	Pictures	Notes
YDL	YDL	3050	1	n/a	n/a	metal	architecture	n/a	hook (wall mount)	n/a	n/a	YDL-0364	
YDL	YDL	3041	1	n/a	n/a	metal	architecture	n/a	key (lock)	n/a	n/a	YDL-0367	
YDL	YDL	3043	1	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	bracket	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3042	1	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	brad	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3036	2	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	brad	n/a	n/a	YDL-0372	
YDL	YDL	3050	1	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	chain	n/a	n/a	YDL-0364	
YDL	YDL	3050	1	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	eye bolt (large)	n/a	n/a	YDL-0364	
YDL	YDL	3055	1	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	eye bolt (large)	n/a	n/a	YDL-0374	
YDL	YDL	3050	2	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	nail (square cut)	n/a	n/a	YDL-0364	
YDL	YDL	3041	2	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	nail (square cut)	n/a	n/a	YDL-0367	
YDL	YDL	3042	1	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	nail (square cut)	n/a	n/a	YDL-0369	
YDL	YDL	3036	3	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	nail (square cut)	n/a	n/a	YDL-0372	
YDL	YDL	3059	2	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	nail (square cut)	n/a	n/a	YDL-0373	
YDL	YDL	3052	6	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	nail (unknown)	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3058	4	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	nail (unknown)	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3034	1	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	nail (wire cut)	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3050	1	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	nail (wire cut)	n/a	n/a	YDL-0364	
YDL	YDL	3055	1	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	nail (wire cut)	n/a	n/a	YDL-0374	

Area	Feature #	Lot #	AMT	MNV	Frag Type	Material	Category	Ware Type	Form	Color	Décor	Pictures	Notes
YDL	YDL	3050	1	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	o-ring	n/a	n/a	YDL-0364	
YDL	YDL	3054	1	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	unknown	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3067	1	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	unknown	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3053	1	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	unknown	n/a	n/a	YDL-0371	
YDL	YDL	3036	1	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	unknown	n/a	n/a	YDL-0372	
YDL	YDL	3059	2	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	unknown	n/a	n/a	YDL-0373	
YDL	YDL	3055	3	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	unknown	n/a	n/a	YDL-0374	
YDL	YDL	3043	1	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	washer	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3053	1	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	washer	n/a	n/a	YDL-0371	
YDL	YDL	3050	1	n/a	n/a	metal	construction/maintenance	n/a	washer (large)	n/a	n/a	YDL-0364	
YDL	YDL	3050	1	n/a	n/a	metal	foodways	n/a	key (sardine can)	n/a	n/a	YDL-0364	
YDL	YDL	3050	1	n/a	n/a	metal	sewing/personal	n/a	eye (for hook)	n/a	n/a	YDL-0364	
YDL	YDL	3050	2	n/a	n/a	metal	tools	n/a	knife	n/a	n/a	YDL-0364	1-large and 1-small
YDL	YDL	3058	1	n/a	n/a	metal	tools	n/a	machete (frag)	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3060	1	n/a	n/a	metal	tools	n/a	machete (frag)	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3046	4	n/a	n/a	plaster	architecture	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3040	3	n/a	n/a	plaster	architecture	stucco	n/a	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3042	5	n/a	n/a	plaster	architecture	stucco	n/a	2-red pigment	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3043	15	n/a	n/a	plaster	architecture	stucco	n/a	12-red pigment. 2-turquoise paint	n/a	no pic	

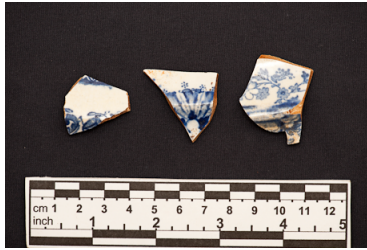
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YDL	YDL	3044	9	n/a	n/a	plaster	architectu re	stucco	n/a	6-red pigment. 1- turquois e paint	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3056	5	n/a	n/a	plaster	architectu re	stucco	n/a	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3057	3	n/a	n/a	plaster	architectu re	stucco	n/a	red and blue paint	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3059	7	n/a	n/a	plaster	architectu re	stucco	n/a	n/a	n/a	YDL-0373	
YDL	YDL	3036	7	n/a	n/a	shell	foodways	jute	shell	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3055	3	n/a	n/a	shell	foodways	jute	shell	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3042	3	n/a	n/a	shell	foodways	marine	shell	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3044	1	n/a	n/a	shell	foodways	marine	shell	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3049	1	n/a	n/a	shell	foodways	unknown	shell	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3058	1	n/a	n/a	shell	foodways	unknown	shell	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3060	2	n/a	n/a	shell	foodways	unknown	shell	n/a	n/a	no pic	
YDL	YDL	3061	1	n/a	n/a	shell	foodways	unknown	shell	n/a	n/a	no pic	

APPENDIX D

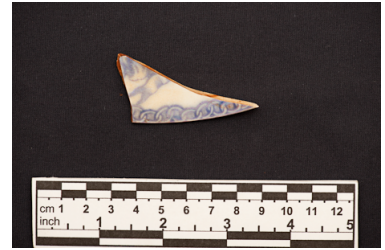
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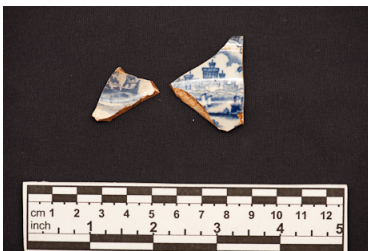
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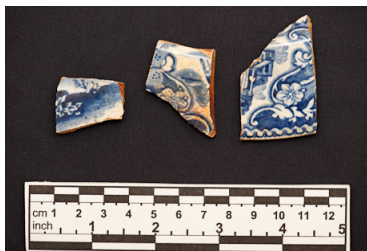
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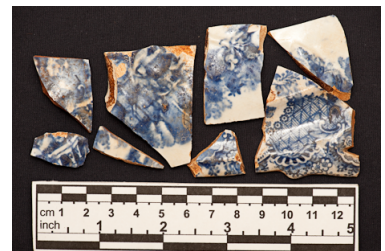
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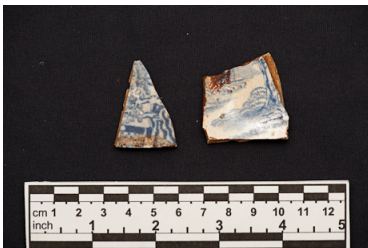
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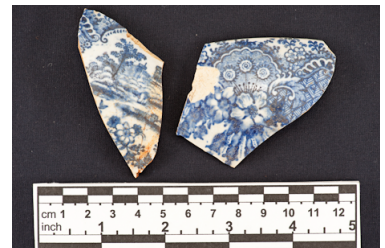
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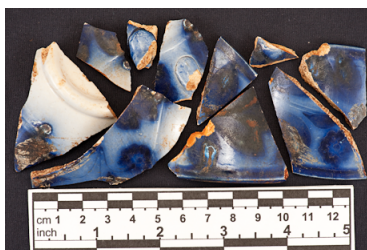
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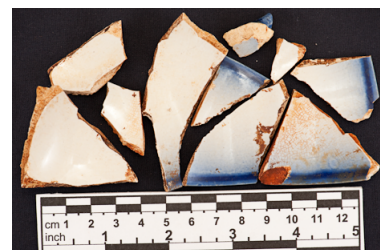
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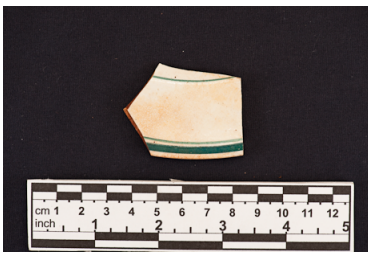
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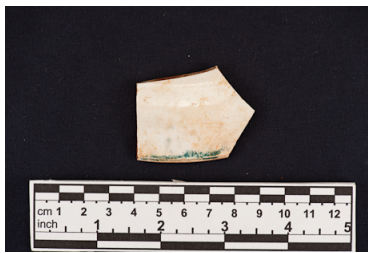
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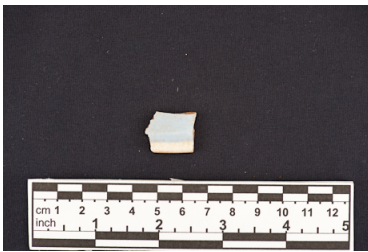
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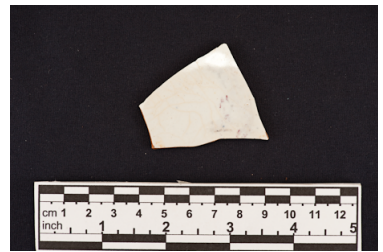
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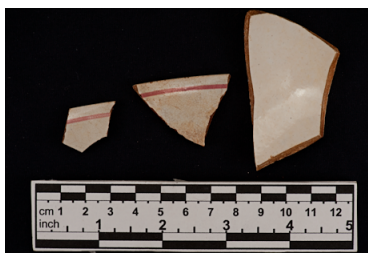
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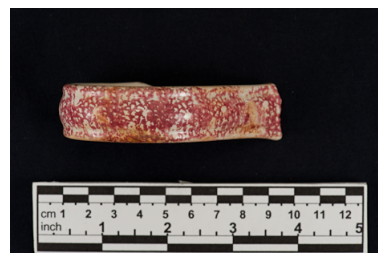
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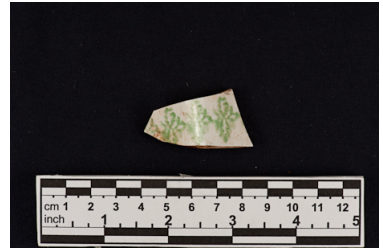
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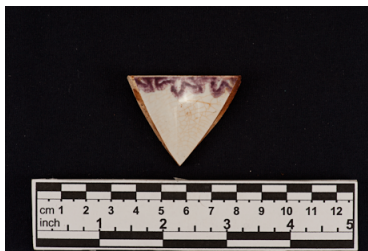
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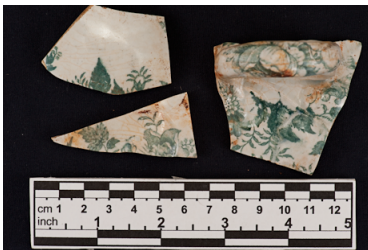
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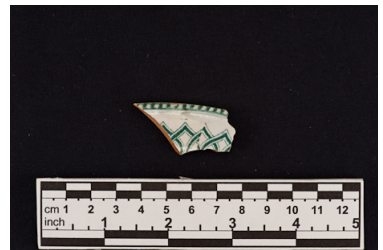
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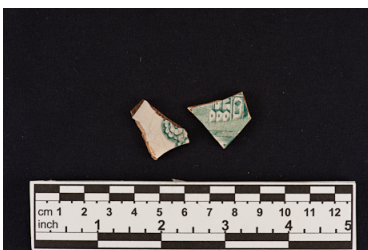
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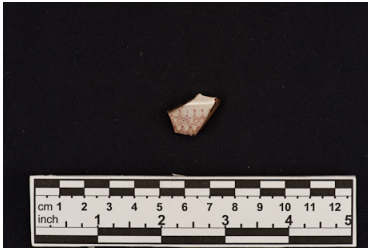
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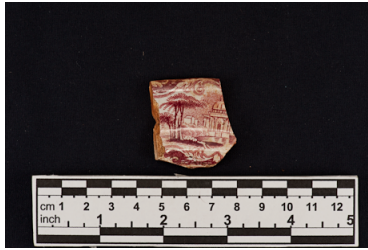
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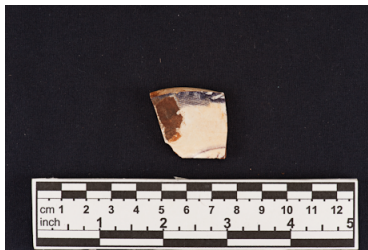
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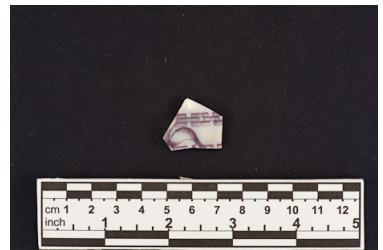
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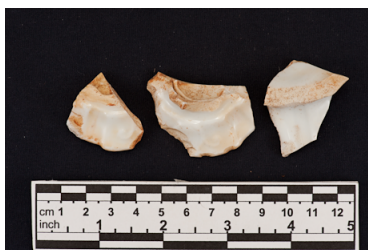
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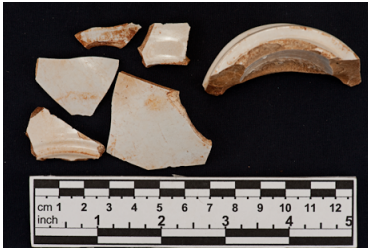
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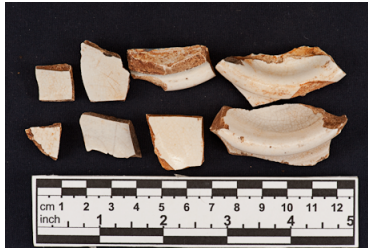
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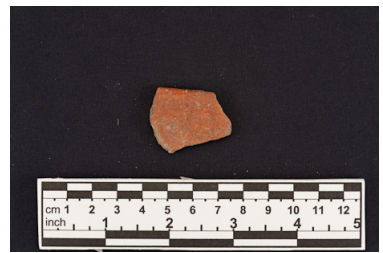
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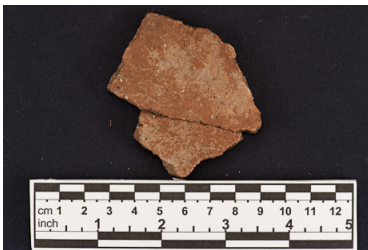
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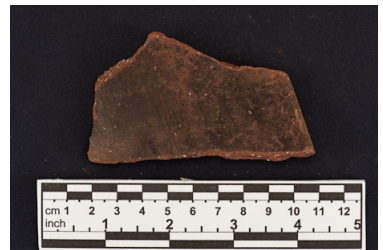
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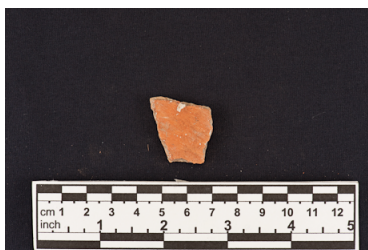
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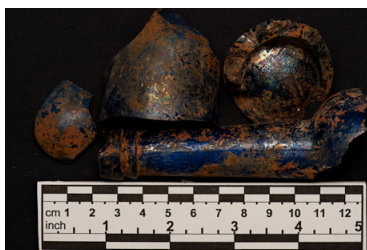
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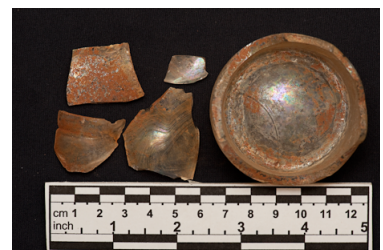
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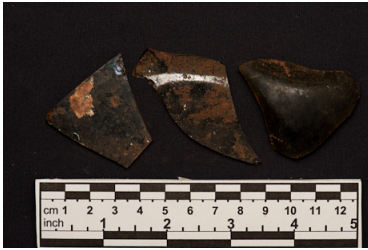
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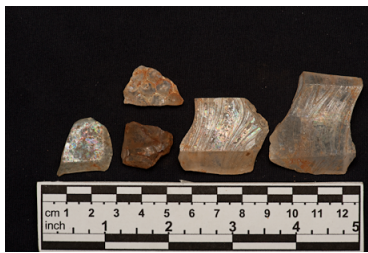
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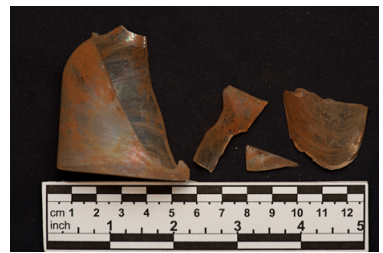
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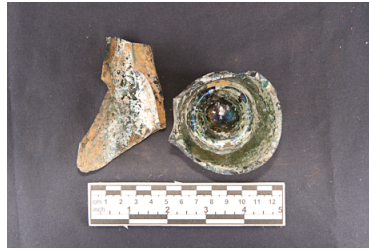
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B2000-16-0112



B2000-16-0113



B2000-16-0114



B2000-16-0115



B2000-16-0116



B2000-16-0117



B2000-16-0118



Sugar Mill-0119



Sugar Mill-0120



Sugar Mill-0121



Sugar Mill-0122



Sugar Mill-0123



Sugar Mill-0124



Sugar Mill-0125



Sugar Mill-0126



Sugar Mill-0127



Sugar Mill-0128



Sugar Mill-0129



Sugar Mill-0130



Sugar Mill-0131



Sugar Mill-0132



Sugar Mill-0133



Sugar Mill-0134



Sugar Mill-0135



Sugar Mill-0136



Sugar Mill-0137



Sugar Mill-0138



Sugar Mill-0139



Sugar Mill-0140



Sugar Mill-0141



Sugar Mill-0142



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Sugar Mill-0145



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Sugar Mill-0150



Sugar Mill-0151



Sugar Mill-0152



Sugar Mill-0153



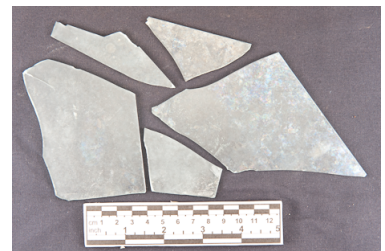
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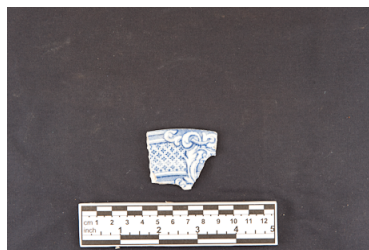
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Sugar Mill-0168



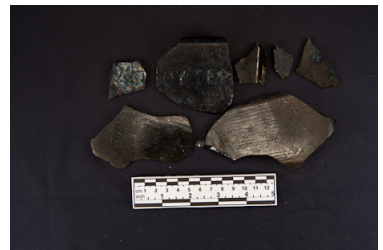
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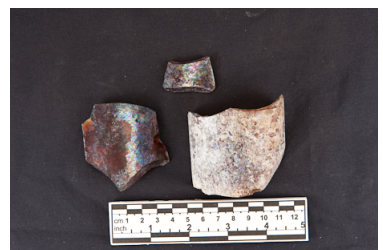
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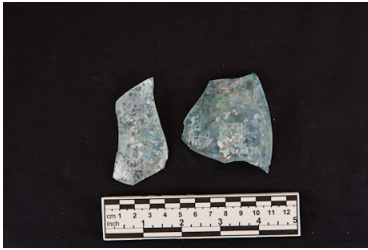
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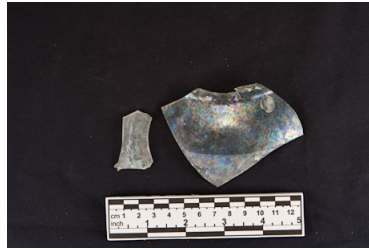
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Sugar Mill-0179



Sugar Mill-0180



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Sugar Mill-0186



Sugar Mill-0187



Sugar Mill-0188



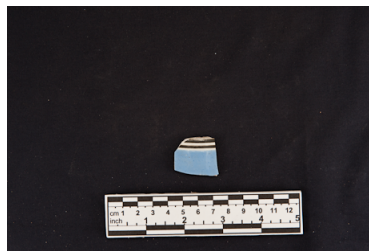
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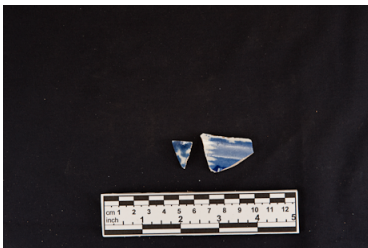
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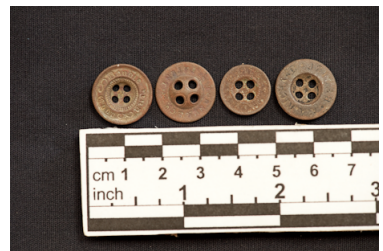
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Sugar Mill-0213



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Sugar Mill-0215



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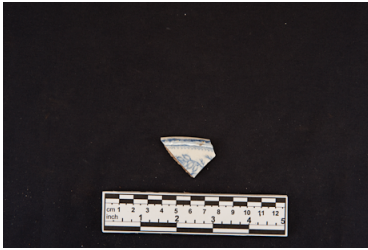
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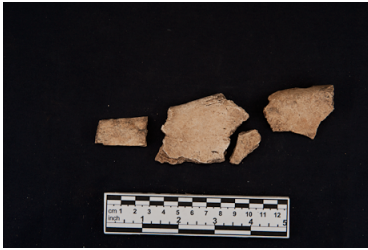
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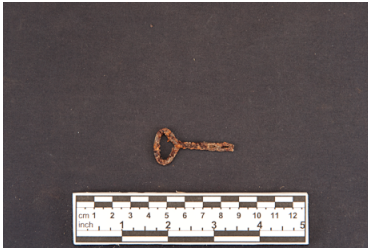
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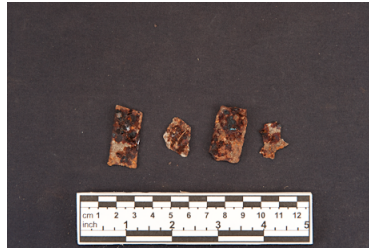
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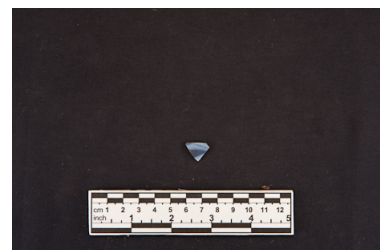
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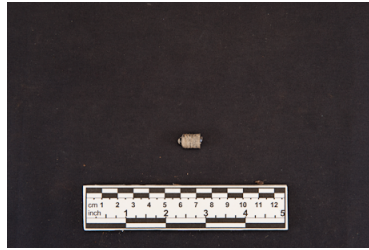
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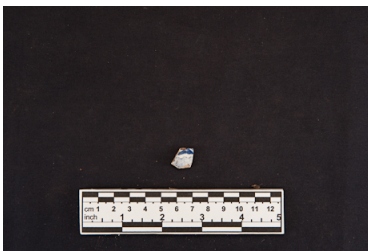
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Surface-0328



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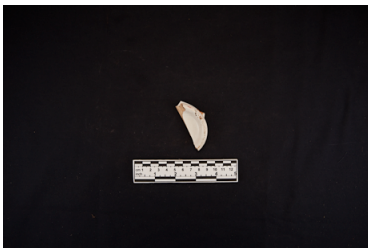
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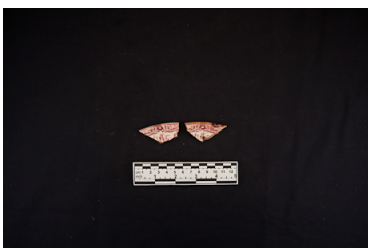
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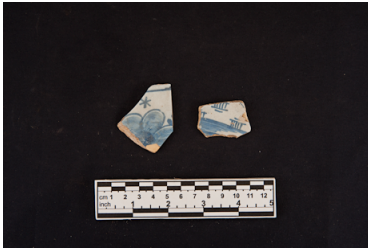
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Surface-0348



N12-11-YDL1-0349



Surface-0350



Surface-0351



Surface-0352



Surface-0353



Surface-0354



Surface-0355



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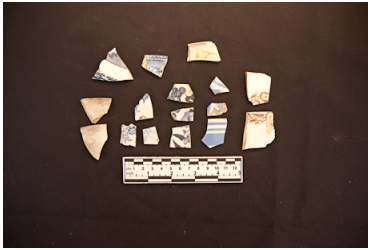
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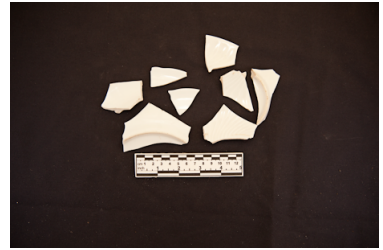
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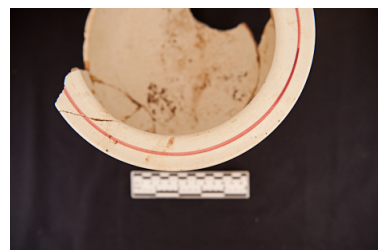
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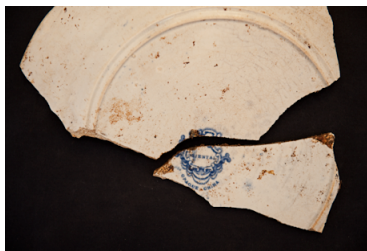
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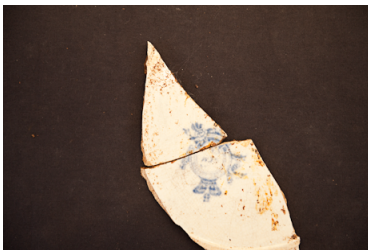
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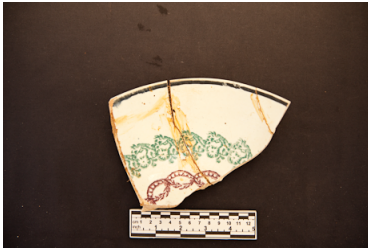
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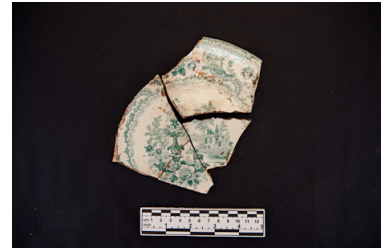
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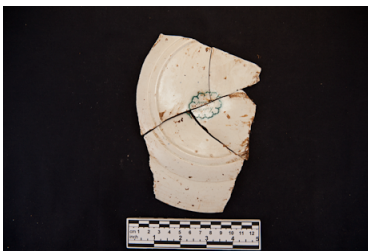
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WB-0402



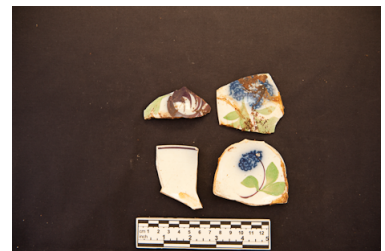
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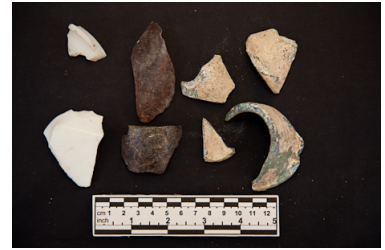
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APPENDIX E

FUTURE RESEARCH DESIGN

FUTURE RESEARCH DESIGN

From the start, this project has been considered a beginning for the study of the late colonial period at Lamanai. I have worked closely with Drs. Elizabeth Graham and David Pendergast, who have led archaeology at Lamanai since excavations began in 1974, in order to establish what kinds of questions are important to ask of this particular space and time. Our first order of business was to find out what we have, what we know, what we do not have, and we do not know. The next historical archaeology project at Lamanai is organized into three phases, which correspond with the 2010, 2011, and 2012 field seasons. During each phase, I will be working with Dr. Elizabeth Graham to further our research at Lamanai, but will extend the project into greater Belize as we work to establish a better idea of what groups and individuals were active during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and how these groups and individuals were interacting, living, and working on this particular landscape. Colonial material culture, while gloriously plentiful, presents serious issues to the identification of ethnicity and has a tendency to obscure local ideology because these contexts can look much the same at any location in the British empire. However, these contexts are not the same, they are unique and particular contexts that are situated within multiple spheres of influences and histories. Belize was a late addition to the British empire at a time when the act of establishing

colonial dominance was well incubated and practiced throughout the modern world. But, apparently ideologies about labor, land ownership, and power did not translate into this particular theatre; both the British and Spanish were unsuccessful in securing this landscape in the ways in which they had become accustomed.

While our goals for field season 2009 were to find out what we have, what we know, what we do not have, and we do not know, the forthcoming seasons are designed to further our knowledge of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries at Lamanai and begin to move outward into Belize in order to identify other sites that may have been active during this time period. Lamanai is an excellent place at which to begin establishing baseline material culture patterns as well as ideas about local social, political, economic, and cultural structures that could allow us to begin identifying connections and congruencies throughout the region. Since Lamanai has always had a somewhat large and constant population as compared to other sites in Belize, this landscape should also give us clues to the changing makeup and day to day lives of these populations that may have also have replicated themselves elsewhere.

The following section is a breakdown of the next three field seasons, which covers major goals and objectives, but does not include particulars such as budgets or supply, transportation, or housing needs.

Phase I: Field Season 2010

The 2010 field season will focus on gathering more data at Lamanai and beginning the search for new sites particularly in the cayes and atolls where historic

material has already been recovered. Elizabeth Graham is particularly interested in a survey of Glover's Reef and the surrounding islands. The focus of this season's work at Lamanai is to attempt to find ethnic markers in the material record; a difficult task in even the best of situations. However, we know that the British made up the smallest percentage of the population during the historic era, so we also know that other groups would have also been at Lamanai and the surrounding areas to provide labor for estate and raw resource extraction ventures. The landscape at Lamanai is a controlled and heavily excavated area and as such is the best place to find clues about what to look for in other contexts in Belize.

- Continue identifying objects from the previously excavated historic period assemblages.
 - The ongoing project to organize the lab and bodega in preparation to move the material culture to a new facility discovered some additional historic artifacts have been located since my visit to Lamanai, which need to be analyzed, photographed, and documented.
 - Since ceramics were the focus of previous study, other items, especially glass objects will elucidate where commodities were coming from other than Europe and may show additional consumer choice patterns with regard to foodways.
 - An intensive analysis of the recovered faunal remains may allow us to better identify ethnicity in the material record at Lamanai. While the assemblage was given a brief analysis during field season 2009, the

elements will allow us to identify cooking methods after closer analysis by the presence of butchering marks, what meat cuts were being utilized, and how the meat was being prepared (e.g. open fire, roasting, boiling, etc.)

- Conduct ethnography in Indian Church and surrounding villages. The guides, field assistants, and construction workers in the region are an invaluable source of information regarding the history of archaeology and the types of artifacts coming out of the ground in this region. I will collect a representative sample to use during ethnography to find out if these are the types of material culture being excavated and if so, where are these artifacts being found and in what quantities. It is likely that the current Village of Indian Church is located near the original or subsequent villages, but a better knowledge will allow more pinpointed search areas. Much of the primary source materials allude to the majority of labor at the Lamanai sugar estate living in the Village, which makes this area a good place to begin the search for these data.
- Travel to Belmopan to visit the Belize archives. More primary source research is needed. While there is a good amount of information outside of Belize with regards to the historic period, we have yet to locate many eighteenth century sources. This data may lead to additional, targeted survey from information located in the archives.
- Begin creating a common database for historic period data in Belize. At this point, we have a detailed Microsoft Excel database with the data gleaned from the 2009 field season. We will work with data warehouse architect, Damon Bowman,

to turn this database into an easily searchable and stable series of attribute tables that will allow additional data to be entered into a system that can also create reports, maps, and other output that will let users manipulate and utilize main screens without damaging or corrupting the main data entries.

- Identify the remains of labor associated residential/household areas on the Lamanai landscape. Field season 2009 has concluded that we may have yet to discover the remains of residential/household areas on the Lamanai landscape these data are essential to identifying the make up of groups and individuals living and working in this space and is essential to future historic period work at Lamanai and in Belize, more generally. Industrially produced material culture tends to obscure cultural and ethnic markers, but excavating living spaces as whole lifeways will give us a better idea of the groups living and working in a particular sphere. The currently known structures associated with the historic period as a whole would not have held the number of individuals needed to run a sugar plantation.
 - In order to identify possible residential/household activity areas at Lamanai, we will revisit three previously excavated features; the Citadel, the YDL (Spanish Church) Zone, and the Hunchback Tomb area. Excavations will be brief and will utilize wide-area, shallow excavations in hopes of identifying the remains of features built with organic materials such as wood and thatch. We will also search for hearths (both open and

standing) as these types of features have yet to be identified and are key to an understanding of how people were preparing daily meals.

- In addition to excavations, we will also use foot survey and shovel test pits in the areas south of the YDL (Spanish Church) area along the ridge of the lagoon and the area between the Citadel, Sugar Mill, and current location of the Village of Indian Church.
- Begin historic period survey in the cayes and coves along the coast as well as along New River between Corasol and Lamanai.

Phase II: Field Season 2011

- Continue to identify the remains of labor associated residential/household areas on the Lamanai landscape.
 - Continue historic period survey in the cayes and coves along the coast as well as along New River between Corasol and Lamanai.
 - The 2011 field season will expand this survey to include shovel test pits, shallow trenching, and artifact collection.
 - This season may include more intensive excavations, but the exact nature and locations of this work is yet to be established.
 - Identify a site or sites to be more fully explored during field season 2012.
- At this juncture, we will be prepared to begin formal, large-scale

excavations with which to compare with our knowledge of Lamanai during the historic period.

- This part of the project will include working on permissions to begin formal excavations on what may be private property during field season 2012 as well as a design for curating and storing recovered artifacts from sites outside of Lamanai.
- Continue ethnography in expanding spheres from Lamanai and Indian Church.
- Continue work on the Belize historic period database.

Phase III: Field Season 2012

- Excavate at sites identified during the 2010 and 2011 field seasons.