7-1997

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SEAMAN’S VALLEY AND MAROON MATERIAL CULTURE IN JAMAICA

E. Kofi Agorsah

ABSTRACT

Seaman’s Valley site was one of the few known places in Jamaica where the Maroons came into face to face combat with the colonial military in a battle that featured the largest force ever sent against the Maroons. In that encounter the colonial forces were routed in a total defeat resulting in the abandonment of arms and ammunition and personnel. This paper compares the material culture from the Seaman’s Valley site and Nanny Town. This paper will then show the significance of the longstanding strategic relationship between the two locations during the Maroon struggle for freedom and even after peace negotiations were sealed by treaties in the middle of the eighteenth century. Therefore, the Seaman’s Valley site is depicted not only as a unique battleground, with a strategic and spatial relationship with Nanny Town in the Blue Mountains. It also, was a special brewing ground for the formation and transformation of Maroon material culture in eastern Jamaica.

KEY WORDS: Jamaica, Maroons, Resistance, Seaman’s Valley.

INTRODUCTION

One of the challenges faced by Maroons was the ability to forge new ways of life and new societies and to be able to maintain their hard-won freedom. Nevertheless, only a few Maroon groups survived. Maroon history informs us of how many African-Caribbean movements failed to survive: examples include the Afro-Caribs of Mt. Misery in St. Kitts in the 1630s, the so-called “rebels Negroes” of Barbados in 1648, the Antiguan Maroons of the Shekerley Mountain in 1685 and a small band of Maroons in the Blue Hills of Central Providence of the Bahamas in the 1780s. Some did not have the time and opportunity to settle in their new environments before being routed by colonial forces; others lacked the right resources or were betrayed by captives. While the Jamaican Blue Mountains provided important hideouts and longer-term Maroon settlements (Agorsah 1992a-c), such as Nanny Town, there were several constraints that required a very thoughtful use of the available resources. Nevertheless, Nanny Town survived (Teulon 1967). This paper explains that the survival of Nanny Town depended on its relations with the Seaman’s Valley area during the colonial period and even after emancipation. The spatial and material relationships between Seaman’s Valley and Nanny Town sites are examined in order to demonstrate the significance of the longstanding association between them during the Maroon struggle, particularly in the mid-eighteenth century. Two types of evidence appear to suggest symbiosis: the geographical and material culture1. While the former demonstrates the power of spatial connectivity between the Maroon settlements, the latter suggest that the flow of goods between Nanny Town and Seaman’s Valley was a major factor in Nanny Town’s survival as a stronghold.
The Context

The plantation system in Jamaica during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was limited to the coastal plains and the valleys of the interior. However, some plantations extended into the hills, which were used as pasture lands and to grow coffee, the main crop. Additionally, the hill sides became the location for the provision grounds of the plantation labor force. This pattern of landholding had significant repercussions for marronage as it provided a spatial context and defined the boundaries of Maroon operations. In addition, the landholding system appears to have controlled Maroon settlement patterns and internal organizations. While the Maroons had several alternative locations to look to for their supplies, there were certain locations and contact zones that were very critical for their survival. The existence of such a control in eastern Jamaica explains why the plantation system did not spread to the area as it did in other parts of the island (Figure 1).

The total defeat of colonial forces at the site of Seaman’s Valley in the late 1720s generated the massive attack and battle against Nanny Town in 1734. What was the impact of Seaman’s Valley battle on the settlement of Nanny Town? What was the nature of the cultural and military relationships between the Nanny Town and Seaman’s Valley before and after the sack of Nanny Town in 1734? As the material from both sites were being analyzed, the question of the effect of Seaman’s Valley, and therefore the plantation system, on the formation and transformation of the material culture of the Nanny Town site arose and became a major issue of discussion that was thought would contribute to our understanding of the functional adaptation of the Maroons to transformations in ecological conditions during their fight against colonial forces.

GEOGRAPHICAL (SPATIAL) RELATIONSHIPS

Location Factors

Jamaica is a land of mountains, plateaux and plains with numerous rivers, springs and waterfalls. Over half the island is more than 300 m (1000 ft) high but generally a land of fascinating contrasts with a tremendous variety of natural and cultivated vegetation, landscapes, and animal life. The central backbone of the island is all mountains running from east to west and dividing the north coast from the south. The highest ranges are in the east. The Blue Mountain Peak standing some 2300 m (7,400 ft) above sea level is the highest point of the island in a series of spectacular mountains some 15 km (10 miles), from the coastal plain. It is in this area that many of the Maroon strongholds such as Gun Barrel, Killdefault and Watch Hill were located. Ability to maintain a stronghold over an extended period of time was the most difficult task for the Maroons. The need for a regular or continuous supply of armament and food and a secure and defensive home was crucial. While Nanny Town provided the safest place in the mountains, Seaman’s Valley provided the opportunity of access to supplies. To maintain this, the Maroons identified specific locations along their route of access to these supplies from plantations and produce farms of the plantation labor force. Full control of the entire eastern section of the Grand Ridge of the Blue Mountains enabled the Maroons to maintain Nanny Town. The Maroon sites of Pumpkin Hill, Mammee Hill, Watch Hill, Dinner Time, Gun Barrel and Killdefault were, therefore, temporary strategic locations for safety and protection of the access route to raiding points and for monitoring colonial activities as well. Several routes (Hart 1985, Edwards 1994, Vassel 1991) can be used to gain military access to Nanny Town (Figure 2) but all, like the fifth route from Windsor in the Seaman’s Valley (Agorsah 1994, 1995) which was very highly under the control of the Maroons (Figure 3), must use one of
only two entrances to the settlement. However, the route that was of greatest importance to the Maroons was the connecting route that started from Seaman’s Valley, referred to among modern Maroons as the Windsor route.

The Sites

The Windsor route (Hart 1988) was the main access route that linked Nanny Town and Seaman’s Valley (Figure 3). The significant point about this route was that it was a major link between the stronghold of Nanny Town and Seaman’s Valley along which other strategic Maroon sites such as Watch Hill, Pumpkin Hill, Mammee Hill and Gun Barrel were located and continuously defended. Those sites were the only ones observed as far as having archaeological evidence consisting mainly of fragments of gun barrels, scraps of lead and other metallic objects, imported wine bottles and other material obviously being carried between Nanny Town and Seaman’s Valley. It was only after the Windsor route was penetrated by the colonial military forces that it was possible to launch a full attack on Nanny Town in 1734, indicating its importance in the defense of Nanny Town.

Strategically the Seaman’s Valley site was situated at the fringes of the Blue and John Crow Mountains. The site was located between lands controlled by both the Maroons and the colonial authority. The site appears to have been the logical point of connection with the Rio Grande and Back Rio Grande river basin. Two excavations have been undertaken at this site about 12 km (8 miles) south of Port Antonio, the parish capital. The Seaman’s Valley site (Agorsah 1995; Agorsah and Bandara 1995; Bandara 1995; Davis 1993,1994) spans both sides of the modern main road, but much more on the east side of the road. The site is approximately 3 km north of New Nanny Town (Moore Town) (Figure 4). The modern settlement (18° 04’ North Latitude and 77° 43’ West Longitude) is dispersed in the valleys in the areas where the Negro River enters the Rio Grande and around the Seaman’s Valley bridge, and also on the hillsides overlooking the valleys of the Rio Grande, Negro and Snake Rivers. The site occupies much of the section of the valley around the Seaman’s Valley bridge and extends eastward up the hillside that rises to the Seaman’s Valley Falls.

Connecting Networks of Routes

An interesting feature of connectivity between Maroon strongholds in the Blue Mountains is that it defies geographical or spatial rules of connectivity because direct links or juxtaposition of routes did not necessarily ensure connectivity although for a Maroon guerrilla lifestyle that was an efficient way of keeping the enemy at bay and confused. For example, on the ground, the network of Maroon routes, defined by features rather than paths, are characterized by asymmetric links such as routes with dead ends, which cross each other without defining specific places. This explains that not all communication took place along clear-cut paths, obviously for security reasons. In addition to routed linkages, there were probably many environmental connections, which were not constrained to routes. The purpose of such routes was to make them difficult to detect. Movement along such invisible but ubiquitous connections can be just as effective as with those of the more obvious military routes used by colonial forces against the Maroons. Nanny Town defined one end of the route while Seaman’s Valley defined the other. A most secured route rather than least effort routing appeared to be the guiding principle in the connections that existed between these two sites with other sites such as Gun Barrel, Pumpkin Hill, Killdead and others functioning as stopping or
recess and stopgap points. Archaeological survey and excavation of the sites alone could not define such a connection between two sites. A complete reconstruction and comparison of the identified routes, both possible and probable, constituted a useful approach in obtaining a general nature of the network of connections while artifact distribution will help work out the extent and factors in the connections.

**MATERIAL CULTURE**

Nanny Town site is strategically located within the loop of the Stony River, which marked its southern and eastern boundaries with the Abraham Hill blocking off the Stony River and serving as a barrier from the south. To the north and west of the site was Nanny Hill, from which Nanny Falls splashed down onto the open level grounds and flows into the southeastern bend of the Stony River, which marks the boundaries on that side of the settlement. As indicated above, the Stony and Peters Rivers and their tributaries dominated the drainage pattern of the site and areas around it, while the Abraham Hill to the south and Sugar Loaf to the north and northwest dominate the topography. Rocky and rugged, the Nanny Town site and the surrounding areas are engulfed in thick luxuriant green vegetation.

Three phases of occupation were observed at Nanny Town: the first one appeared to predate Maroon presence in the area and is represented by a mixture of local ceramics, stone artifacts and shell material. The second phase, provisionally referred to as the Maroon phase, contains ceramics, much of which is local, grinding stones, quantities of charcoal, gun flints, fragments of gun barrels, musket balls, iron nails, a red clay and several kaolin smoking pipe bowls and stems, green and clear glass bottle fragments. This phase probably lies between 1655 and 1734. In the third phase, represented by stone fortifications and an engraved stone, the main finds included kaolin pipe stems and bowls, buttons, fragments of gun barrel, medicine bottles, imported ceramics bowls, plates and cups, a large quantity of green glass bottle fragments, pairs of scissors among other things. Much of the connection between Seaman’s Valley and Nanny Town sites belonged to the last two phases.

Colonial military reports of attack had no choice but to use only three clearly defined routes all of which were controlled through the established points along the river basins and provided access to Maroon settlements at the crest of the hills. Stone structures identified at Killdead and Gun Barrel and distribution of identical local ceramic types at these sites and imported European artifacts support colonial reports that indicate that those locations were crucial for the survival of the Maroons. Via the valley of the Rio Grande and the Back Rio Grande, the Maroons were able to connect with Seaman’s Valley located at the meeting point of the Rio Grande and Negro Rivers.

**Artifacts**

The artifacts recovered also provide indications of a long period of contact between Seaman’s Valley and Nanny Town. These included both locally-made and imported ceramics, roofing slates, fragments of bricks, glass fragments from wine, alcoholic and medicinal or pharmaceutical bottles, metal scraps and implements, fragments of gun barrels, musket balls of various sizes and weight, nails, and fragments of such other metal objects such as knife and cast iron (three-legged) pot. Also recovered were kaolin (white clay) smoking pipe bowls and stem, glass and stone beads and metal buttons.
Generally the range and types of finds from Seaman’s Valley are similar to those found at Nanny Town although much more material was recovered from Nanny Town. The similarity in material appears to support the speculation that the Maroons possibly had a regular contact or had the same source of supply of material with Seaman’s Valley in pre-treaty years, raiding it from time to time, or had intelligence or supply agencies in and around the plantation. However, the similarity could also mean that both sites had access to material from the same source, because much of the imported material coming into the island were brought in by the British colonial traders. As regards imported European ceramics, it appears that, in the Seaman’s Valley area, a few potters manufactured copies of imported stone ware, several pieces of which were recovered, and some of these would have fallen into the hands of the Maroons. Stone ware such as brown salt-glazed jugs with molded bearded faces and usually with one or more armorial medallion on the body (of 1550-1625) were being copied at Seaman’s Valley although finds of original or imported ones were also recovered from both sites. More than 33 percent of this total artifacts recovered from Nanny Town consisted of green glass bottle fragments dating mostly from late seventeenth to late nineteenth century. Evidence, of a large flattish rock with grooves caused by the straightening and shaping of lead metal into musket balls (bullets), from Nanny Town indicates that the Maroons were also manufacturing their own musket balls. The source of lead appeared to be Seaman’s Valley, which is the only site in the Blue Mountains area with lots of lead fragments some fairly large. Archaeological and historical evidence from eastern Jamaica confirms that Maroons provided expert metal workers to the iron and steel foundry established at Reeder’s Pen, Morant Bay in St. Thomas (Goucher 1990, 1993). Metal armament including lead scraps constitute approximately 10 percent of artifacts from Nanny Town.

A total of 363 pipe fragments were also recovered from Nanny Town. The majority was from the surface and uppermost levels of the excavation. All but two of the pipes recovered were European imports made from white pipe clay. Two hundred-forty-four fragments represented stems none with makers’ marks or any traces of decoration. The stem bores measured were in increments of four to nine sixty-fourths of an inch using standard drill bits. Notably, all of the median dates were after the 1734 fall of the Maroon stronghold although the stem bores dates fall between 1710 and 1750, dates that include much of the Maroon occupation of the site marking the peak of the interaction between the two sites.

The most common form of the 119 unmarked bowl fragments recovered was a simple bowl without a foot or spur at the base. These were comparable to the British pipes produced throughout most part of the eighteenth century (Hume 1963). A few possess feet. The dates obtained from analysis of the pipes cover a very short range of that time, centered on the 1740s. But one piece of evidence that appears to link the first two occupation phases at the site were coins (Spanish pieces-of-eight) one of which dates the bottom levels of the Maroon phase to 1668, indicating, at least that some kind of contact existed between Nanny Town and the colonial trading system at the time of the Spanish presence in the island.

CONCLUSION

Some Observations

Seaman’s Valley, was one of the very few battle grounds, on record, where the Maroons came
into an open battle or combat with colonial forces. It is recorded that the Maroons completely defeated the colonial forces, the largest ever sent against them in the history of Jamaica. The relationship of the plantation features to the site, as a battleground remains undetermined. Although a plantation in the Seaman’s Valley would have been insignificant to the Jamaican economy at the time, contact with the area appears to have been crucial for the Maroons who might have come down once in awhile to raid the area for supplies or even had contacts with supply agents as was reported in a contemporary colonial document.

A 1782 map of the Seaman’s Valley area appears to include the five hundred acre land area granted to “Nanny and the Maroons.” The Maroons have since the 1739 Peace Treaty settled in the area Seaman’s Valley area that they would have raided several times or had contact with prior to the 1734 attack on Nanny Town and the signing of the treaty. In guerilla warfare face to face confrontation was the last method of combat. But the Maroons chose that method at Seaman’s Valley. The fact that the Maroons took the risk of open fighting against colonial forces, nowhere else other than Seaman’s Valley, suggests the importance of the area for their survival.

The Future

The cache of arms, ammunition and pharmaceutical and possibly some of the weapons abandoned or buried in the wake of the panic and flight of the colonial forces from the Maroons in the encounter, remains hidden somewhere in the Seaman’s Valley area. Burial grounds, possibly of the defeated colonial group command leaders or soldiers, Maroon locally-manufactured arms and other fighting equipment as well as the main combat point in the encounter, have not yet been uncovered. As already mentioned above, the impact of the Maroon successes at Seaman’s Valley in 1733, on the morale and aspirations of the colonial forces, accounts for the two-pronged attack on Nanny Town in 1734 and demonstrates why the events related to the site must be more fully investigated, explained and understood. Although several questions about Seaman’s Valley remain unanswered, it is becoming evident that many new questions are being raised. Such comparative data enable the bridging of gaps in our knowledge of settlement behavior of past Maroon societies. Unfortunately recurring artifact and settlement patterns are not very clear from the sites investigated so far to permit any strong conclusions to be drawn. Many of the sites, particularly Watch Hill, Pumpkin Hill and Mammee Hill appear to have been mostly transitional while Gun Barrel and Killdead were spatially limited and may not have accommodated many people over extended periods of time, and therefore do not have much stratigraphic depth of cultural material. It also appears that many sites remain to be identified. Analysis of the evidence from Seaman’s Valley, when completed should help throw more light on the question of connection between the main settlements of the Maroons and their ability to maintain control of access routes until the 1734 attack that caused them to sign the 1739 peace agreement.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The project was sponsored and supported by the Department of History, University of the West Indies (UWI), the Faculty Development Committee of the Portland State University (PSU), Portland, Oregon, The Jamaica National Heritage Trust (JNHT), The Archaeological Society of Jamaica (ASJ) and the African-Caribbean Institute of Jamaica (ACIJ) and Paul and Jill Byles, Paraiso, Guava Ridge, St. Andrew, Jamaica.
As usual the Maroon Heritage Research Project (MHRP) enjoyed the support of many and we wish to make a particular mention, with thanks, the support and cooperation received from Major Aaron, Acting Chief of Moore Town Maroons at the time, Captain Smith, Beverely Carey and the entire Maroon Council and Maroon Secretariat and also to Doswell Ireland, Shadrack Harris (Blood), Garcia West, Clinton West, Gary West, Joe Smith, Leopold Shelton and Milton Shelton, Kenneth Douglas Shelton, and the entire Maroon community. The project continues to acknowledge, with sincere thanks, the support of Ex-Colonel C.L.G. Harris, especially for sharing his knowledge and experience of Maroon heritage with volunteers. To Ms. Christie, William and Ernie Lowe, Kenneth Douglas Shelton and Chaplin V. Pasley, we say thanks for granting us permission to conduct the project on their properties and, more particularly, for their hospitality. We thank Kenneth Douglas Shelton specially for allowing us the use of his VCR and audio-visual facilities at his “Bamboo Disco” at Seaman’s Valley near the field camp. We also thank Mr. Campbell and Marcia for use of their bar and film house at Windsor as one of our entertainment centers. In the same way we say thanks to Ms. Lou Shelton and Leopold Shelton for making their house the home of the project in Windsor especially for the very early morning coffee and very late night tea any time we showed up without notice. We also wish to thank Mr. and Mrs. Dean at Windsor for their hospitality and the sometimes free drink at their bar. Elaine Grant, Dorothy Bennett and Joy Millwood of the Faculty of Arts and General Studies (FAGS) of UWI, three great hardworking, patient and dedicated volunteers of the project, should be commended for their efficient work in the purchasing, preparation and packing of the food and other perishable items for the field, sometimes working long hours. They must be thanked for their support and contribution.

My special thanks go to Major Aaron and his cultural group of Moore Town for entertaining us with Maroon music and dance during the open day and exhibition activities at the site. We also thank Major Aaron for visiting us at the site several times and also for his address during open-day activities. We also thank all those who came from Kingston, Port Antonio, Moore Town, Comfort Castle, Port Antonio and other places to share the open day with us. We wish to thank the Chairman of the Jamaica National Heritage Trust for honoring our invitation and for his most captivating speech at the site on the open-day, for opening of the exhibition and particularly for gracing the occasion with his large and enthusiastic entourage from the Trust. To Dr. Patrick Bryan and the Department of History we again, convey our sincere appreciation for sponsoring the exhibition and to Dr. Bryan for attending and addressing the gathering at the site. The role played by staff of the Jamaica National Heritage Trust has always been crucial to the success of the MHRP. We are, therefore, grateful to Roderick Ebanks, Technical Director of Archaeology of the Trust for allowing the participation of several of his staff. It is our hope that MHRP will continue to receive the support of all of the above institutions and individuals in all future expeditions and also that the time, energy and dedication of all of us will not be in vain. Meanwhile, we wish to say again in Ewe (Ghana) that “Akpe na wo kataa” meaning “Thanks to them all.”
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ENDNOTES

1. Between 1991 and 1994 a series of archaeological explorations was focused on the site of Nanny Town located approximately 18° 03' North Latitude and 76° 32' West Longitude. It was one of the major strongholds of Jamaica's Maroons (Amerindian and African), one of the earliest in the New World. Results of these excavations, which have been partially published (Agorsah 1992a-c, 1993, 1994) suggest that the earliest Maroons may indeed have been Amerindian groups who escaped into the hills at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards. Evidence suggests that they did not abandon many of their cultural traditions and when they were joined by African slaves in the seventeenth century they formed a partnership that led to almost complete absorption into the overwhelmingly large African population. At Nanny Town, archaeological evidence demonstrates the boundaries between these two formative stages of Maroon material culture. In 1994 and 1995 survey and excavations focused on the Seaman's Valley site, in the Blue Mountains of Jamaica, in the Parish of Portland. This site was one of the few known major battlefields where the Maroons came into an open battle with colonial forces.

2. The route went from the Windsor Primary School going southward for about 200 m and then turning eastward to the banana boxing shed now locally referred to as Black Gate, very close to the bank of the Rio Grande River which could be crossed by a fording or raft. It is approximately 1 kilometer to that point. The travel continued eastward through Parks Hill along an abandoned water pipeline to Rose Hall, approximately 4 km. Another kilometer took the journey to Garland Grove, passing by the bottom of Pumpkin Hill and Mammee Hill to the north. A considerable portion of the journey from Windsor up to Garland Grove through the area known today as Johns Hall district, much of which is still rugged country. Another 2 km took the journey to the Corn Husk River, where it crosses at a point called White, bringing the easier half of the journey to Nanny Town to an end. This was the farthest point that could be reached by mule transportation. The remaining could not be done by any means other than by foot. Gun Barrel was approximately halfway to Nanny Town, coming from either Windsor or Cooper's Hill. That point marked the first major Maroon point of defense. This part of the journey could be accomplished in two to three hours through a very rugged, slippery, steep and winding trail. As one travels southward eastward passing by the Sweat Hill, Pipe Hill, Hog Grass Bump and the Hand Dog Bump, crossing several streams, and passing through many gaps and climbing steep slopes, one gets the true feeling of the rain forest of Maroon environment. Nanny Town is approximately in the same latitude as the Hand Dog Bump, but one has to continue the journey after descending Gun Barrel to a location close to Hand Dog Bump northwards to a base camp used by hunters of the area, which is located to the north and located south of Abraham Hill. By skirting Abraham Hill going around it by the west, one can gain access to Nanny Town located just north of it, after crossing the Stony River back and forth a couple of times.

3. James Robertson's map of the County of Survey, published in 1804, shows Nanny Town at the junction of two rivers now known as Stony River and Macungo River. Sheet 'M' of the current series of 1:50000 topographical maps published by the Survey Department shows the approximate site of Nanny Town, at a position approximately 1.6 km southwest of the river junction, on the south bank of Stony River. Standard Jamaican and West Indian histories, such as those by Leslie, Long, Edwards and Gardner refer to the dispersing of the Nanny Town Maroons in 1734 by soldiers led by Captain Stoddart, after whom Stoddart's Peak is named. In historical documents Nanny Town is described as lying beneath Carrion Crow Hill: almost certainly the eminence now known as Abraham. There were about ten successful or partially successful attacks on Nanny Town, referred to in most official documents as the "Principal Rebel's Town" or the "Great Negro Town." However, these successes were soon reversed by the Maroons and the only lengthy occupation of Nanny Town by soldiers was after the 1734 attack when a barrack was built to house fifty men and the location occupied by Regulars for many months. Earlier in 1732 a barrack had been built and occupied for a few weeks. The most complete account to date, of military activity at Nanny Town is contained in Royal Government and Political Conflict in Jamaica, 1729-1783 by George Metcalfe, published for the Royal
Commonwealth Society in 1965. In September 1868, Thomas Harrison the Crown Surveyor carried out a survey of the Stone River Valley. In the years 1889-1890 an attempt was made to locate this historical site by Herbert T. Thomas an Inspector in the Jamaica Constabulary. He included graphic accounts of his visits in his book ‘Untrodden Jamaica’. However, Thomas’s ‘Nanny Town’ was at an elevation considerably higher than ‘Stonewall Nanny Town’; he probably visited the site of another Maroon Settlement.

4. In early 1734 the House of Assembly voted funds for the construction of a supply road for the troops stationed at Nanny Town. It is doubtful whether a route was engineered to allow access by mule train. However, several early maps of the island show ‘Governor Trelawny’s Road (or Path) to Nanny Town’ which crossed the Grand Ridge of the Blue Mountains northwards from Island Head Estate near Somerset in St. Thomas. Trelawny’s Road is shown as being the surveyed boundary between part of Ben Lomond and the Patents of Edward Montagnoc and Francis RigbyBroadbelt on a plan produced by Surveyor General’s Department in 1931.
Figure 1. Areas of Maroon Settlements in Jamaica.
Figure 2. Military access routes to Nanny Town stronghold.
Figure 3. The Strategic Windsor route to Nanny Town.
Figure 4. The Seaman's Valley Site.
ISOLATION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF BAHAMIAN CULTURE

Paul Farnsworth

ABSTRACT

In an article recently published in *Historical Archaeology* (40[4]: 1-23), I examined the effects of distance and isolation from Nassau on the material culture found at Loyalist plantation sites in the Bahamas. Since the article was written, I have carried out excavations at three more Loyalists' plantation sites on two different islands in the Bahamas (Marine Farm and Great Hope plantations on Crooked Island, Clifton plantation on New Providence). The results of these excavations generally confirm, but allow refinement of, the conclusions I published based on my research at Wade's Green plantation, North Caicos, and Promised Land plantation, New Providence. In this paper, I will briefly review my previous conclusions, summarize the more recent excavations, and discuss the implications of the results for the archaeological study of the development of Bahamian culture.

RESUMEN

En un articulo de reciente aparicion en *Historical Archaeology* (40[4]: 1-23), pasaba revista al reflejo de la lejania y el aislamiento, con respecto a Nassau, en el registro material recuperado en las excavaciones de dos plantaciones Realistas en las Bahamas. Desde entonces, he realizado trabajos de excavacion en otras tres plantaciones Realistas en sendas islas del archipielago de las Bahamas (las plantaciones de Marine Farm y Great Hope, Crooked Island, y la de Clifton, New Providence). Los resultados de estas excavaciones basicamente confirman mis conclusiones en el trabajo referido, como consecuencia de mis excavaciones en la plantaciones de Wade's Green y Promised Land (North Caicos y New Providence, respectivamente). En este articulo, se pasa revista brevemente a los resultados de los trabajos anteriores, a la vez que se resumen los de las excavaciones mas recientes, discutiendo sus implicaciones para el estudio arqueologico del desarrollo de la cultura de las Bahamas.

RESUME

Dans un article publie recemment dans *Historical Archaeology* (40[4]: 1-23), j'examinais l'impact, sur la culture materielle des plantations loyalistes du Bahamas, de leur distance de Nassau. J'ai eu l'occasion, depuis, d'entreprendre de nouvelles fouilles archeologiques sur les sites de trois anciennes plantations loyalistes (les plantations Marine Farm et Great Hope sur l'ile Crooked Island, et la plantation Clifton sur l'ile New Providence). Grace aux donnees recueillies lors de ces fouilles recentes, il m'est possible, ici, de confirmer et d'affiner les conclusions citees dans mon dernier article. Le papier qui suit ressume ces conclusions precedentes, decrit le resultat de mes fouilles plus recentes, et discute leurs implications pour l'etude archeologique du developpement de la culture des Bahamas.

KEY WORDS: Ceramic Choices, Plantations, Slavery.