THEME FOUR:
CHANNEL 4 *TIME TEAM* ARTEFACTS

This section presents the summarised results of seven reports on artefacts recovered during the excavation of three sites by the British Channel 4's *Time Team* group of archaeologists and historians in late 1998. Two of the sites where they worked focused on historical period or colonial occupation and were looking for information about the workings of sugar production on estates and the lives of slaves (Mountravers) and locating a lost town/port (Jamestown). The third site was prehistoric or Amerindian in date (Coconut Walk).

These reports complete the obligation which the Nevis Heritage Project has towards the analysis and reporting of these finds. Each of these summaries is based on an extensive report and detailed archive - copies of which are available in the NHCS library in the Nelson Museum. Some of the reports were prepared by professional archaeologists (Barker, Higgins, Morris, Nokkert), while the others by post-graduate students at the University of Southampton as part of their coursework or dissertations (Cathie, Hardwick). The reports on the animal bones recovered from both Mountravers and Jamestown were written as part of Mark Nokkert's MA dissertation, comparing variation amongst several faunal assemblages from historical period sites on Nevis, and which is summarized in Theme Three. The reporting of any artefacts which were recovered during this fieldwork but which do not appear here are the responsibility of Peter Bellamy, post-excavation coordinator for *Time Team* (Nevis).

In the future, we hope to include information from all of these reports as part of our continued work on prehistoric, colonial and post-colonial life on Nevis in the form of research publications, and popular booklets (Theme Five).

COLONIAL ARTEFACTS

ANALYSIS OF THE EUROPEAN CERAMICS

David Barker

The European ceramics from Mountravers

Seven of the Mountravers trenches produced European ceramics. Early occupation is indicated by sherds from Trench 2, which include tin-glazed earthenware (see fig. 4.1a), and German salt-glazed stonewares (a Bellarmine-type, or *bartmann* bottle, and a Westerwald mug with relief decoration and cobalt blue colouring, see figs. 4.1b and c). These are common finds in 17th and early 18th century colonial contexts, indicating both the importance of trade with Europe and the absence of suitable English alternatives. Other significant items are coarse earthenware sugar loaf moulds, possibly connected with sugar refining (see below) and internally glazed earthenwares (Fig. 4.1d).

The majority of the ceramics, however, are refined earthenwares made in Britain. The largest group (1,178 sherds) was recovered from Trench 1, which cut into a domestic rubbish dump. A smaller deposit, excavated beneath the 'Treasury' (Trench 3), is almost identical in its composition to the Trench 1 assemblage. These two groups date to *c*. 1815-1830, and were probably deposited before 1835. Smaller numbers of sherds from Trenches 5, 7 and 8 are also similar to, and of broadly the same date as the finds from Trenches 1 and 3.

The ceramics include some creamwares (mostly undecorated plates, dishes and other table wares), but the majority are of pearlware. Table wares predominate, decorated with a variety of

blue-printed patterns including 'Willow Pattern', which is common and which was used at this time solely for table wares.

Makers' marks identify the factories of Wedgwood of Etruria and Deakin & Bailey of Longton, both Stoke-on-Trent (1828-1832), and Herculaneum, Liverpool (1793-1841). Other printed marks identify bodies such as 'STONE CHINA', while pattern names include a probable 'Morea', possibly by Thomas Dimmock & Co. of Hanley, Stoke-on-Trent (*c.* 1828-1859) and 'Grecian Statue', made by several manufacturers including Thomas & John Carey of Fenton and Longton (1818-1842), and Wood & Brownfield of Cobridge, (*c.* 1837-1850), again both Stoke-on-Trent.

Fig. 4.1 Ceramics from Trench 2, context 204 at Mountravers; a: tin-glazed earthenware, b: 'Bellarmine' bottle neck, c: Westerwald mugs, d: Brown glazed red earthenware storage jar (photographs: Andy Vowles)

The refined ceramics offer an important perspective on life within the plantation house at Mountravers. They suggest a considerable degree of physical comfort and financial security on the part of the plantation owner family. The blue-printed wares would have been the most expensive earthenwares in their day, and their quality suggests that they were amongst the best that could be bought. However, earthenwares, no matter how well-decorated, were far cheaper

than comparable sets in ironstone china, which had become fashionable in the early 19th century, and even cheaper than expensive fine painted and gilded bone chinas from factories such as Derby and Coalport. They had the prestige of neither of these contemporary types. There is evidence that such wares were used at Mountravers, with some sherds of good quality bone china tea and table wares being present, some with expensive over-glaze painted decoration and gilding. These wares would have been used for special occasions only, and then with care. Their small numbers amongst the Mountravers material are therefore no surprise.

Clearly there was a considerable expenditure on ceramics, with at least five blue-printed table services being represented. The large number of plates and platters could belong to breakfast or dinner services, but soup plates, tureens and covers, stands, vegetable dishes and covers and other forms suggest dinner wares. Formal family dining, and perhaps entertaining, was an important feature life at Mountravers. Tea wares, by contrast, are not well-represented amongst the excavated material, and there are no obvious dessert wares. This probably says more about the nature of, and reasons for the disposal of the ceramics, especially in Trench 1, than it does about the domestic habits of the plantation family.

The likelihood is that we are not seeing the full range of material used within the house. The blue-printed wares in a well-to-do household are more likely to have been the ceramics used on a regular, daily basis by the family and, consequently, those which would be subjected to greater wear and damage. Smaller quantities of pearlware plates with moulded shell edges, painted blue or green, are the standard table wares of the 1800-1840 period. They were relatively inexpensive and are unlikely to have been used for formal dining; indeed, their use is likely to have been 'back-stage', perhaps even by servants.

Small quantities of cheap refined earthenwares with sponged, and slip decoration together with stoneware jars and bottles, plant pots, and European coarse earthenwares (see fig, 4.1d), are a reminder that life in the plantation house involved far more than front-stage formal activities centred around the dining table. The cheaper wares are typically regarded as indicating a low socio-economic status, but in reality such wares were not in direct competition with the fine tea and table wares, performing different functions within domestic context. This can be seen in the predominance of mugs and bowls with slip decoration, but by whom they were used cannot be known.

The composition of the Trench 1 and Trench 3 assemblages, being dominated by table wares and mostly lacking other equally obvious and commonplace forms and types, suggests deliberate selection for discard, rather than loss during a natural disaster such as a hurricane, which would be less discriminating. The limited range of ceramics suggests that they have been brought together as a result of a partial house-clearance, probably the during the up-grading of the family's table wares. Their close dating suggests that this took place during the 1830s.

The European ceramics from Jamestown

The earliest of the ceramics from Jamestown suggest activity on, or in the vicinity of the site in the period from *c*. 1660 into the early 18th century. North Staffordshire, and perhaps Bristol slipware cups, posset pots and press-moulded dishes, were found alongside sherds of North Italian sgraffito-decorated bowls (fig. 4.2) and bottles with marbled slip decoration. Sherds of German salt-glazed stonewares were present in most contexts, predominantly the 'Bellarmine' or *bartmann* bottle form, but also grey Westerwald mugs with moulded relief decoration and painted decoration in cobalt blue. There are also several sherds of Dutch and possibly English tin-glazed earthenwares, decorated and undecorated; several probable Iberian coarse earthenware (?olive) jars; four sherds of Chinese porcelain; one probable sherd of North Devon gravel-tempered ware; and other types of indeterminate origin. Unfortunately the early ceramics give no clue as to the nature of early activity at Jamestown, but their range is typical of 17th-

century sites in the New World, indicating that regular access to home and European markets enabled the full range of contemporary ceramic types to be acquired with comparative ease.

Fig. 4.2. North Italian sgraffito-decorated bowls and slip-marked bottle from Jamestown (photograph: David Barker)

The ceramics suggest little or no activity during the period 1720 to 1830, perhaps indicating a shift in the focus of occupation. Thereafter, however, there was renewed activity on the site, which continued well beyond the middle of the 19th century. The ceramics from this later period include several vessels of the cheapest kind - sponge-decorated earthenwares and factory-made slipwares - suggesting use and deposition by people from a low socio-economic group. However, there is no indication of extreme poverty in the material record, and sponge-decorated toilet wares (chamber pots and basins) indicate some pre-occupation with cleanliness and hygiene amongst this group in the 1850-1880 period. Also from the second half of the 19th century are the ubiquitous 'Bristol-glazed' stoneware bottles, brown salt-glazed stonewares and white wares, some with transfer-printed decoration. The 19th-century wares illustrate the dominance of the world ceramics market by British manufacturers, particularly in Staffordshire, Scotland, north-east England and Bristol.

AFRO-CARIBBEAN POTTERY

Elaine L. Morris

Afro-Caribbean pottery is the common name given to vessels manufactured by potters of African descent in the Caribbean during the periods of slavery, and on some islands (Nevis, Antigua and St. Lucia) also after emancipation. The potters made these vessels for their own use and for sale or barter in the Sunday slave-run markets on Nevis. Nevisians continued to make these wares after emancipation - and as we all know these are still made today at the Newcastle Pottery. This is a tremendously long period of production - and only now are we realising how important this long tradition is to understanding the survival of African cultural influence and the transformation of cultural identity within times of cruel and inhuman social conditions and later economic hardship. Afro-Caribbean pottery in the past was usually handmade (with exceptions on Barbardos and Jamaica which were wheelthrown) and fired in

open bonfires, but today they can also be made on the wheel. We are uncertain what fuel was used to fire the vessels during the colonial period, but over the past 50 years palm fronds and coconut husks have been the principal source of heat. Nevisian Afro-Caribbean pottery is never glazed but this technique was applied to some of the vessels made on other islands in the Eastern Caribbean.

What was most curious about the Channel 4 *Time Team* programmes televised in March 1999 was that the recovery of 525 sherds of Afro-Caribbean pottery from their excavations, most of it having been made by slaves for use by slaves during the colonial period, was never mentioned. The pottery was found alongside European wares but these pots, which are not glazed, not decorated and handmade, never made it onto our television screens - and we may well now ask why that was the case. It was understood that *Time Team* were in search of evidence for the lives of slaves - and yet the evidence they had found, quantities of Afro-Caribbean pottery, was ignored.

All credit for the opportunity to 're-discover' this material must go to the Nevis Historical and Conservation Society who kept every sherd from the *Time Team*'s fieldwork - and welcomed the Nevis Heritage Project's interest in this important Nevisian cultural material. We are only just beginning to uncover the value of this pottery as a contribution to the history of Nevis and each collection, no matter how small and fragmented, contributes to the overall story of life on Nevis over the past 300 years. We now have assemblages from four sites on the island which can be compared and this is an on-going study - below is a summary of two of those assemblages. The collection from the Redoubt excavations, briefly described in a professional publication (Morris, *et al.* 1999), is currently being re-examined and recorded in detail. The study of the sherds from the Global Dominion site (next door to Unella's Restaurant), excavated under the direction of Roger Leech and Bruce Williams in 2000 and 2001, will be finalised this year, and we are looking forward to the publication of the Merton Villa assemblage, excavated by Michelle Terrell and Eva Hill several years ago, in order to provide a broad understanding of the significance of this very special pottery on Nevis and what it can tell us about the daily lives of Nevisians during and after slavery.

Afro-Caribbean Pottery from Jamestown

A total of 52 sherds of handmade, unglazed Afro-Caribbean pottery was found in the same deposits at Jamestown as the glazed European wares described above by David Barker. This amounts to about 19% of the pottery recovered during the *Time Team* excavations there. The sherds all appear to have been made from clay naturally tempered with fragments of igneous rock and the components of that rock. Until examined scientifically we are assuming that the source of the clay and inclusions is local to Nevis.

At least four different types of vessels were found at Jamestown: a very graceful, reversed S-shaped profile, necked jar form, some examples of which are covered with soot from having been used as cookpots; one yabba which is a bevelled-edge rim, neckless, convex-profile or ovoid, cooking bowl or casserole with horizontal handles (Fig. 4.3, 1); the common coalpot or brazier; and a single hemispherical bowl with flat-top or platform rim which displayed one complete and a partial 'X' on the flat rim surface (Fig. 4.3, 2). Many of the sherds were burnished, or highly polished, and frequently also had red haematite powder or slip applied to the surfaces. This material is found on Nevis and still used today. Burnishing is used not only to create a shiny effect on the surfaces of vessels but also has the ability to reduce the porosity of fired vessels. Altogether there are probably 36 different vessels represented by fragments in this small collection and amongst these there are at least six cookpots, one coalpot, one possible storage container and several bowls.

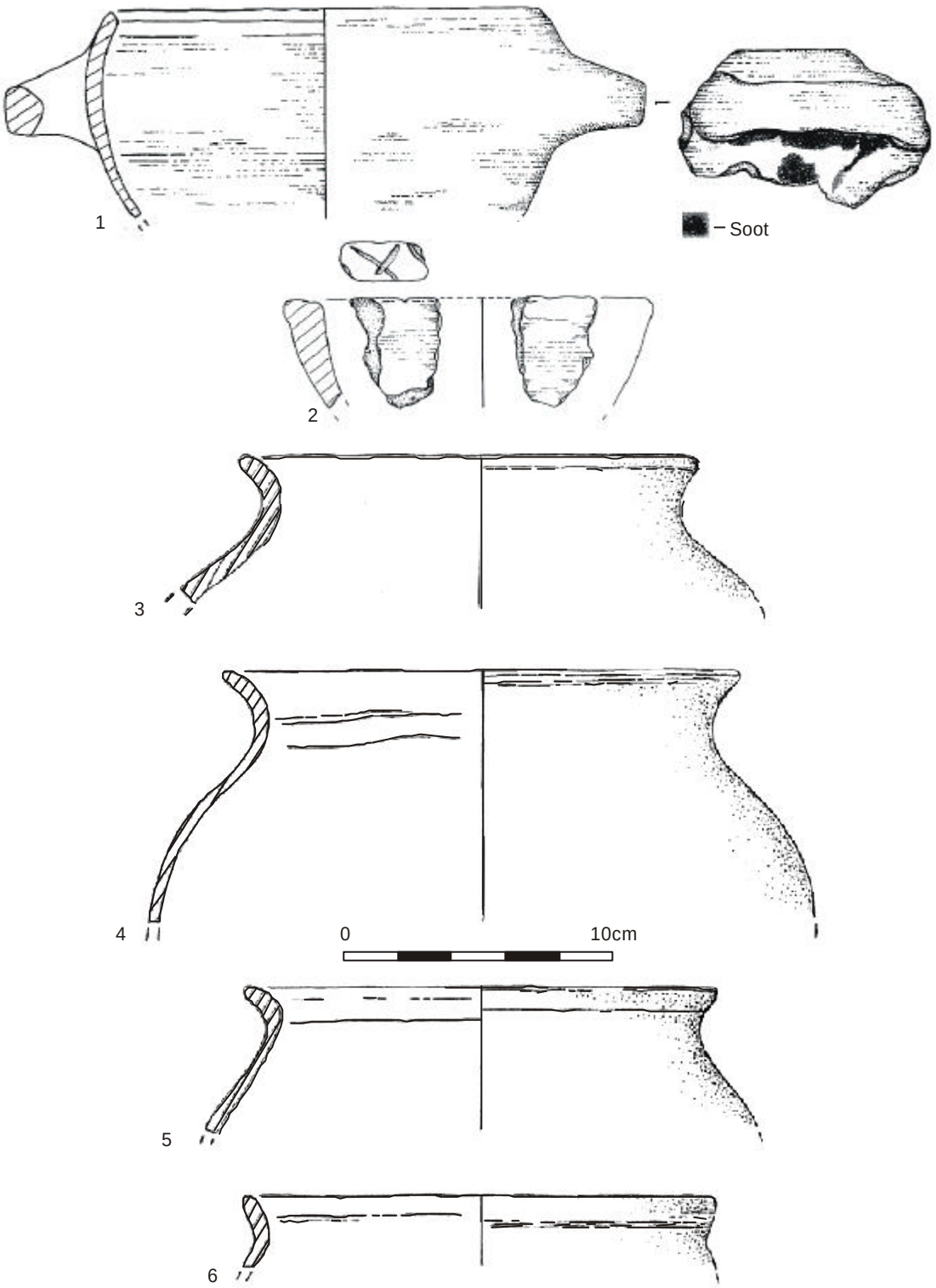

Fig. 4.3 Afro-Caribbean pottery (illustrated by Barbara Mcnee)

Afro-Caribbean Pottery from Mountravers

The assemblage of Afro-Caribbean pottery from Mountravers consisted of 473 sherds recovered from four of the eight trenches excavated at the site. No sherds were found in the 17th century deposit within the original Great House area (Trench 2), but quantities were recovered from Trenches 1, 3, 7 and 8. Many of the sherds are very large and provide excellent evidence for vessel form. The same type of fabric or clay and inclusions had been used to make this

assemblage, clay naturally gritted with igneous rock and its components, which is most likely to have originated from Nevis.

Once again jars often used as cookpots (Fig. 4.3, 3-6), coalpots or braziers, and bowls were recovered. In addition, jugs and flowerpots were also found. A combination of the characteristics of each vessel identified, including vessel form, fabric, surface treatment, decoration (rare), vessel size, and evidence of use can provide information about the range of ceramic vessels made and what they may have been used for by the slaves at Mountravers. Amongst this assemblage, there are food preparation vessels, and vessels for serving and eating food.

There are approximately 22 cookpots in the assemblage recognised by their reverse S-shaped profiles coupled with the presence of soot on their exterior surfaces and burnt residues on the interior (Figure 4.3, 3 to 6), which have rim diameters ranging from 14-24cm including the exterior edge of the rim. These vessels held approximately 3-7 litres of food and can be viewed as small to medium-sized vessels similar to modern saucepan pot sizes. The majority of these cookpots were actually recovered from the trench excavated within the Counting House - the deposit was rich with soot itself suggesting that this area had been a kitchen during the early 19th century (based on the dates of the European pottery found with it) or was a dumping ground for kitchen fire waste.

What we do not yet know is whether slaves were using these pots to cook food for the white family on the estate, or just for themselves. The sheer quantity of these coarse, handmade, plain cookpots recovered so close to the main house suggests that they may have been - or that the slaves were allowed to cook their own food in the same kitchen area rather than back at their own dwellings in the 'Slave Village' part of the estate (see Theme Three). In addition, sherds from several bowls for serving and eating food, and jugs for serving drink, were also recovered.

Sugar-Refining Ceramics

Elaine L. Morris
with a Petrological Report on Red Earthenwares including Sugar-Refining Ceramics by Wayne A. Hardwick

In September 2000, David Barker, from The Potteries Museum and Art Gallery, Stoke-on-Trent, came to Southampton to go through the Mountravers and Jamestown pottery assemblages with us and identify the types present and provide dates for them (Morris, *et al.* 2000, fig. 4.1). During this process, a number of wheelthrown, unglazed, red earthenware sherds were recognised but with which David was actually unfamiliar. They are very thick-walled and standout rather distinctively amongst the beautiful blue-transfer-printed dishes, platters and bowls which dominate these two assemblages. The redwares have thickened rims (Fig. 4.4) and we were sure we had seen similar examples of these elsewhere. This turned out to be in one of the books I had brought with me to the Department that day to help date the Mountravers and Jamestown sherds, a publication of the huge quantity of 17th-19th century pottery recovered from excavations at the major port of Exeter in the southwest of Britain (Allen 1984).

The vessels are sugar-refining funnels or cone-shaped moulds (Brooks 1983, figs 1-4; Allen 1984, 138-141, fig. 116). These vessels, with tall walls, thickened rims, and a single hole in the base, are unglazed but have smoothed internal surfaces and were used to help in the process of crystallising sugar by plugging the hole to prevent the sugar fluid running out. Once the sugar had formed the plug was removed and the remaining dark liquid would be drained out into special jars known as syrup pots (a syrup pot was found at the Global Dominion site in 2000). It could take eight days for the syrup to drain completely, and the liquid was then used in

distillation. The sugar loaves were removed from the cones with a knife and inverted onto boards and checked for quality - then returned to the cones once again on top of the syrup pots and then claying would take place with liquid pipeclay being poured onto the sugar to finally displace all the liquor in the crystals which could take another ten days to complete. Then the loaves were knocked out of the cones so they could be dried.

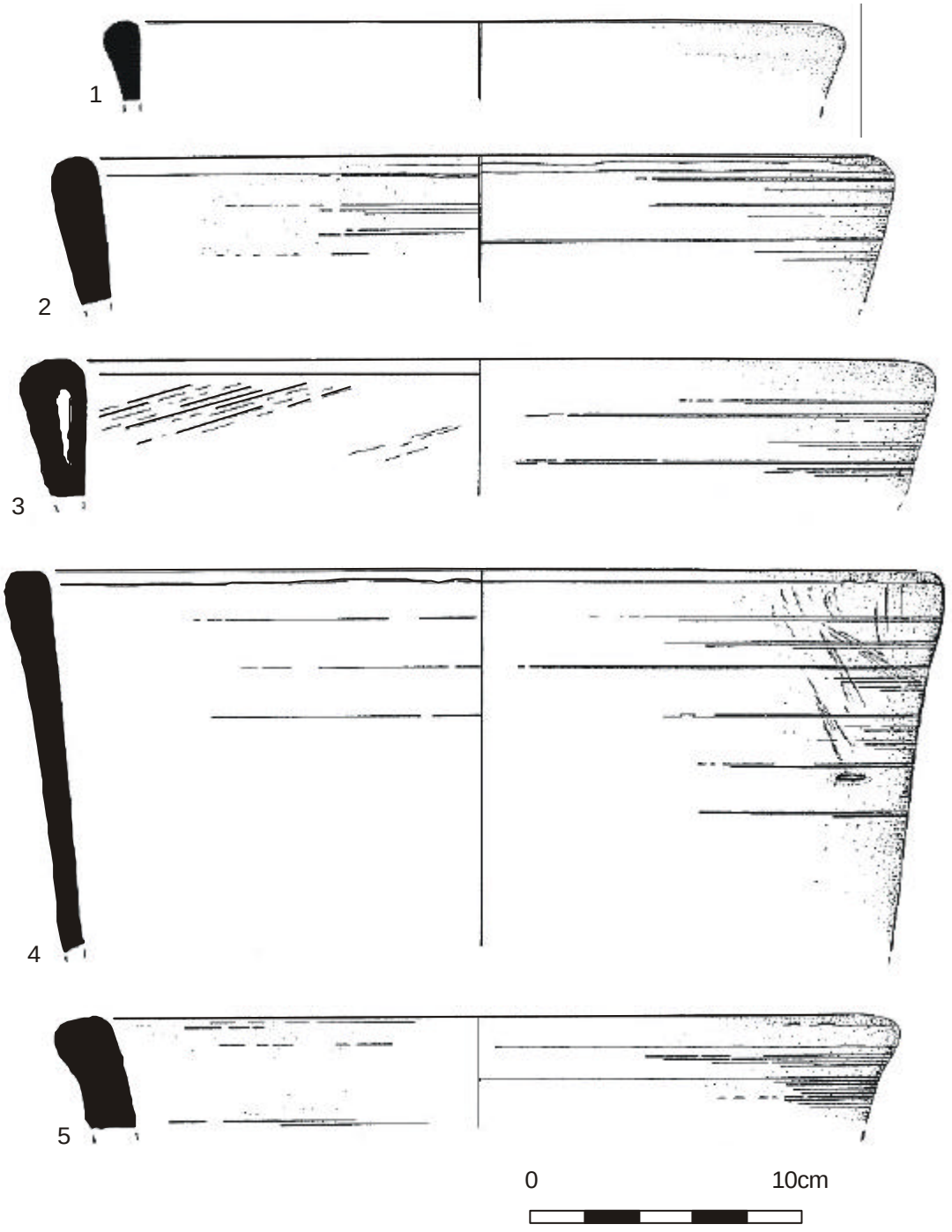

Fig. 4.4 Sugar refining ceramics (drawn by Barbara Mcnee)

Cones vary in size of rim diameter, height and capacity - the Jamestown example is c. 26cm in diameter (Fig. 4.4, 1) and the Mountravers examples are 30 to 35cm (Fig. 4.4, 2-4). Fig. 4.5 shows a reconstruction of sugar pots in use.

We were curious to find out if the *Time Team* examples were all imported from England to Nevis since sugar-refining pots had been found on sites not only in Exeter but also in Bristol, London and York, or whether any were made on Nevis. There were several fabrics identified in hand specimen amongst the Jamestown and Mountravers sherds (Brown 2001), and two of these appeared to have fragments of volcanic rock or other inclusions in the paste or clay matrix of the vessels which did not appear to be of British origin. In addition several sherds from sugar cones, including a rim sherd with a diameter of 30 cm (Fig. 4.4, 5), had also been found by Rex Bangerter along the shoreline at Gallows Bay (Bangerter 2000).

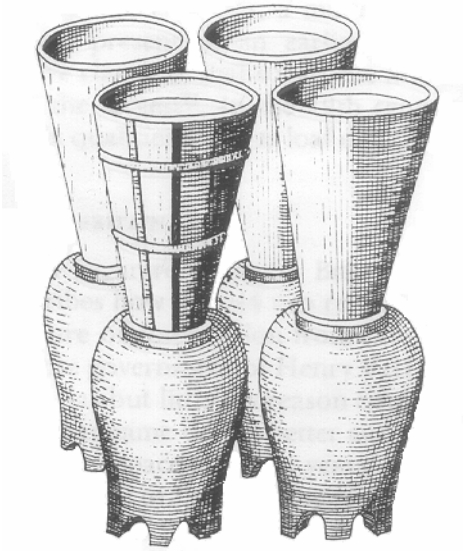

Fig. 4.5 Reconstruction of sugar pots in use

If any of the fabrics proved to be made from rocks similar to the volcanic rock of Nevis, this would then be extremely important because it meant that at some time during the 19th century (the date of the other European wares found with these sugar pots), wheelthrown, hard-fired, red earthenwares had been made by potters, possibly on Nevis using kilns for firing the vessels. This combination of wheelthrowing and kiln firing is completely different from that used by African-Nevisian potters to make Afro-Caribbean vessels described above which are handmade and hardened in an open fire. Below is a summary of the analysis conducted by Wayne Hardwick to find out about these fabrics. He determined that several of the fabrics were most likely to be British in origin, but two were clearly non-British. One of these is probably from the Iberian peninsula and the other is most likely to be a fabric made from Nevis geology.

Therefore, for the first time, it has been recognised that both handmade Afro-Caribbean pottery and wheelthrown, imitation European sugar pots were made on Nevis at the same time. But what we do not know yet is - who were the sugar pot makers? Were they African-Nevisians or white Europeans? And where might the kiln or kilns be located which fired these big pots?

We hope over the next few years to find the answers to these questions.

The Scientific Analysis Of Two Nevis Pottery Assemblages

Wayne A. Hardwick

Amongst the many Mountravers finds, were 34 fragments of coarse, unglazed pottery, that were believed to be remnants of sugar-refining vessels. These 34 sherds, plus five, thick-walled, coarseware sherds from Gallows Bay (Bangerter 2000) were the focus of a petrological study (Hardwick 2002) to investigate the types of geological deposits where the clays used to make these pots had originated. Of particular interest was any possibility that suggested the manufacture of these vessels on Nevis during the early colonial period. The sherds were initially assessed by Brown (2001), who identified nine fabric types amongst the Mountravers' sherds and one, in the Gallows Bay material. Accordingly, ten thin-sections were prepared, micro-photographed and microscopically analysed.

Analysis Results

In thin-section it could be seen that Fabrics 1, 2, 3, 6 and 7 all contained significant amounts of quartz and mica and none, or little, feldspar. Fabrics 4, 5 and 10, (the latter, the Gallows Bay fabric), however, were dominated by plagioclase feldspar and ferro-magnesian inclusions.

Fabrics 8 and 9 were more problematic analytically, tending to be composed of a melange of quartz, iron pellets and rock fragments, with very little mica, but some plagioclase. In appearance and texture, Fabric 1 was very similar to a modern-day 'plant pot'. Fabric 2 only differed from Fabric 1 in that it contained iron pellets and ferro-magnesian inclusions, which Fabric 1 did not. Fabric 3 had a pronounced granular texture, no doubt accounted for by its higher quartz content when compared to Fabrics 1 and 2. Fabrics 6 and 7 were similar to Fabrics 1 to 3, particularly Fabric 6, whereas Fabric 7 had relatively little mica, but some rock fragments. Fabrics 4, 5 and 10 contained plagioclase feldspar and rock fragments but relatively little quartz and mica. Fabrics 8 and 9 had most in common with Fabrics 4, 5 and 10, as neither had very much mica. Concerning sherd origin and considering that Nevis is of volcanic origin, it is then unlikely that Fabrics 1, 2, 3, 6 and 7 (fine textured, thin-walled sugar-moulds?), consisting essentially of quartz and mica, originated on Nevis. Conversely, Fabrics 4, 5 and 10 (coarse textured, thick-walled, Spanish jars?) contained inclusions associated with volcanic geology and were possibly manufactured upon Nevis. Fabrics 8 and 9 also had some igneous inclusions, allowing for Nevis manufacture, though the two fabrics seemed sufficiently different from Fabrics 4, 5 and 10, to argue against this possibility.

A copy of the full report, with colour photomicrographs, is available in the NHCS library at the Nelson Museum.

CLAY TOBACCO PIPES FROM MOUNTRAVERS AND JAMESTOWN

Dr D A Higgins, 3 Clarendon Road, Wallasey, Merseyside, CH44 8EH

The Channel 4 *Time Team* excavations in 1998 recovered pipes from two different sites on Nevis.

Jamestown

The largest assemblage came from the Jamestown site where 119 fragments (17 bowl, 100 stem and two mouthpieces) were excavated from 17 different contexts (Fig. 4.6, 1 to 10). Almost all of these pipes date from *c*1660-1700, showing that the early settlement flourished during this period. The majority of the pipes were obtained from Bristol and eight stamped pipes representing the products of at least four different manufacturers from the port were recovered (Fig. 4.6, 4 to 8). In addition, at least two seventeenth-century Dutch pipes were found, one a stem fragment decorated with milled bands and fleur-de-lys stamps and the other a bowl of c1640-80 stamped EB (Fig. 4.6, 1). The stamped bowl was produced in Amsterdam by William Bird, a Protestant who had emigrated from England. Some of the other fragments came from spurless bowls, a type especially made for export from Britain, and there was one piece of red clay pipe stem, which was probably made somewhere in the Caribbean. This cosmopolitan mixture of pipes reflects the diverse shipping and trade contacts that the site enjoyed.

Although most of the finds were from topsoil contexts, the distribution of the pipes clearly shows that the seventeenth century settlement lay in the north and west of the study area, with the largest concentrations of pipes coming from Trenches 5 and 7. After about 1700 there was a very marked change in site use and only a handful of later pipes were recovered, which is odd given that other ceramic finds of eighteenth and nineteenth century date were found. A broader examination of the socio-economic conditions on the site during this period may help to explain this change. One of the later pieces of pipe that was found came from an armorial bowl of *c*1730-80, which would most likely have been decorated with the Royal Arms or the Prince of Wales Feathers. Armorial pipes seem to have been particularly favoured for export, the

majority being made in London. Two of the broken stems had been smoothed for reuse after having been broken (Fig. 4.6, 9 to 10), a characteristic of impoverished communities or those where fresh supplies are not readily available. These might these been used by slaves who did not have easy access to new pipes.

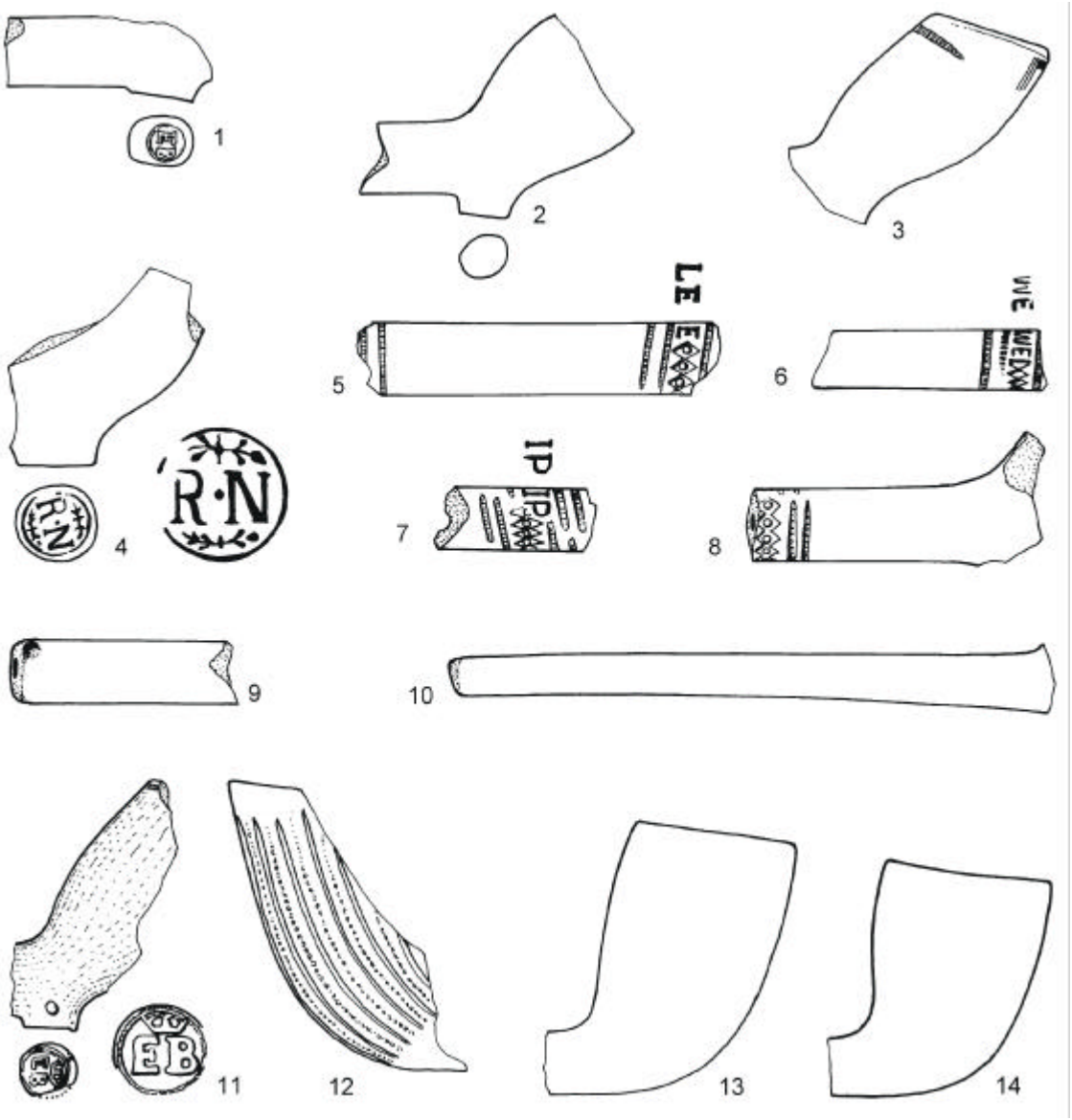

Fig. 4.6 Clay tobacco pipe fragments(drawn by: David Higgins)

Mountravers

The excavations at Mountravers produced twenty pipe fragments (six bowls and 14 stems) from nine different contexts (Fig. 4.6, 11 to 14). This is a very small sample, but one that provides a useful window onto the colonial occupation of the site. Seventeenth century material of *c*1640-1700 indicates early settlement in the area, although all of these pieces occur as residual finds in eighteenth century or later contexts. At least two of the seventeenth century fragments came from Dutch pipes, which circulated freely alongside English pipes in the Caribbean at this date. One of these was a stem decorated with fleur-de-lys stamps and the other a bowl stamped with a crowned EB mark (Fig. 4.6, 11). The stamped bowl was made in Gouda *c*1660-90.

The pipes suggest an eighteenth century date for the levelling above the terrace wall in Trench 1 and for the floor levelling in the main house in Trench 2, while a mid- to late eighteenth-century date is suggested for the 'counting house' floor in Trench 3. One of the finds from beneath the 'counting house' floor was part of a fluted bowl of c1760-1810 from somewhere in the south of England (Fig. 4.6, 12). The pipes suggest that all of the structures examined date from an eighteenth century re-modelling of the site. Later eighteenth or nineteenth century bowls from the site were of the distinctive spurless form that was favoured by the export markets (Fig. 4.6, 13 and 14).

One striking aspect of the Mountravers assemblage is the almost total absence of pipes from the deposit of *c*1815-30 in Trench 1, which produced 3,046 pieces of glass and 1,284 pieces of pottery. The only pipes from this context were either residual or small broken fragments that do not reflect the 'fresh' nature of the glass and other ceramic finds. This suggests that either smoking was banned on the site at this period or, more likely, that the glass and china in the deposit represents a single specific event, such as a wholesale kitchen clearance.

Summary Discussion

Although only a small sample of pipes was recovered from the 1998 work, they still provide a valuable aid to understanding the archaeology of these two sites. The seventeenth century material has provided evidence for the date and location of the early settlements while the bowl forms and marks on the pipes has shown that supplies were being obtained from England and The Netherlands, as well as more local New World sources. Bristol was the main supplier of late seventeenth century pipes while the eighteenth century fragments hint at supplies coming from London or other south-coast ports. The spurless export style pipes contribute to the distinctive colonial nature of this assemblage while evidence for the reuse of broken pipes reflects social and economic conditions on the site. As more evidence is collected from Nevis it will be possible to interpret finds such as these in more detail and to set the pipes within their broader colonial context.

Illustrations

All of the illustration in Fig. 4.6 are at 1:1, with the exception of the stamp details (Fig. 4.6, 4 and 11), which are at 2:1. The site codes used are JT for Jamestown and MT for Mountravers.

1 Heel fragment from a Dutch bowl of *c*1640-1680 made by Edward Bird of Amsterdam. This piece is too abraded to see if it was burnished originally. Stem bore 8/64". JT 98 200.
2 Plain bowl fragment of *c*1660-1690 with quite a small heel. Probably produced in south-western England, possibly Bristol. Stem bore 7/64". JT 98 700.
3 The larger part of a plain heel bowl of *c*1670-1700 with the rim three-quarters milled. Probably produced in south-western England, possibly Bristol. Stem bore 7/64". JT 98 500.
4 Part of a Bristol bowl with an incuse RN stamp on the heel. The bowl dates from *c*1660-1700 and was either made by Richard Nooney I (free 1655) or II (free 1677). Stem bore 7/64". JT 98 501.
5 Stem with parts of two Bristol style roll-stamped stems surviving. The stamp incorporates the incuse letters LE for Llewellin Evans, free 1660 and died *c*1693. Stem bore 8/64". JT 98 500.
6 Stem with Bristol style roll-stamped mark with the incuse letters WE for either William Evans I (free 1660) or II (free 1667). One of these makers was working until at least 1713. Stem bore 8/64". JT 98 200.
7 Stem with Bristol style roll-stamped mark with the incuse letters IP for either John Poyte (free 1660), Jacob Prosser (free 1655) or John Prosser (free 1673). Stem bore 7/64". JT 98 500.
8 Stem with Bristol style roll-stamped mark of *c*1660-1700. Stem bore 7/64". JT 98 1013.

9 Seventeenth century stem (probably *c*1660-1700) with one end ground smooth, presumably for reuse, after it has been broken. The end had been ground to give a flat surface and then the corners bevelled. Stem bore 7/64". JT 98 600.
10 Late eighteenth or nineteenth century stem fragment with the broken end partially smoothed 86mm from the bowl. The broken edge has just been rounded on its sharpest point, presumably to reuse the pipe. Stem bore 4/64". JT 98 400.
11 Dutch bowl of *c*1660-1690 with a finely burnished surface, milled and bottered rim and relief moulded dot on the right hand side of the heel. The stamped EB mark had a crown above the initials and was almost certainly produced by one of the Gouda makers. Stem bore 7/64". MT 98 102 (or possibly 204).
12 Fluted fragment of *c*1760-1810 from quite a large, thick-walled bowl, probably produced in southern England. The rim has been cut and wiped. MT 98 303, ID 1286.
13 Plain, spurless bowl of a style used from around 1780 to 1900, or later. Stem bore 5/64". MT 98 301, ID 1187.
14 Plain, spurless bowl of a style used in England from around 1850 to 1910, or later, but perhaps earlier in a colonial context. Stem bore 5/64". MT 98 102.

THE MOUNTRAVERS AND JAMESTOWN GLASS

Wayne A. Hardwick

The Mountravers and Jamestown glass assemblages comprised the single largest group of artefacts recovered during *Time Team* excavations. The Mountravers glass assemblage is 2.5 times larger than the associated imported pottery and the Jamestown assemblage, 2.6 times larger, than the associated pottery assemblage. The glass assemblages are therefore the major parts of the material culture remains from these two sites; material with the potential to produce significant evidence for site dynamics.

The two assemblages consisted of 4,114 individual glass shards, 3,422 (33.7kg) at Mountravers and 692 (10.5kg) at Jamestown (Hardwick 2001). Apart from one tiny phial, the assemblages consisted entirely of fragmentary remains, in many shapes, sizes and colours. Overwhelmingly, 90% at Mountravers and 97% at Jamestown, the glass shards were from variously sized and shaped bottles, the majority of which most probably contained alcohol. A feature of the Mountravers assemblage, but not the Jamestown one, was the significant quantity of window glass, 118 shards (0.15kg) and cut glass, 238 shards (1.5kg) that it contained.

The fragmentary nature of most shards and the infrequency of decoration and manufacturing features made dating somewhat difficult; a difficulty compounded by the fact that none of the few bottle bases and necks could be united with one with another. Typologically, therefore, there was a lack of the dating synergy concomitant with complete vessels. In spite of these difficulties, and no doubt due to assemblage size, it was possible to identify many shards having traits that were date and provenience indicative.

Mountravers

Of the eight trenches at Mountravers, Trench 4 alone did not contain any glass, whereas, Trench 1 contained 90.1% of it in two contexts i.e. 100 (surface layer) and 101. The other trenches and contexts, though they contained relatively little glass, did contain some glass that was of dating importance. For example, Trench 2's Context 204 contained the oldest datable tableware glass. Functionally, 95.7% of the glass was interpreted as glass associated with either the storage (88.7%), or consumption (7.0%), of food and drink. The assemblage consisted primarily of round bottle fragments (87.5%) and these were principally bottle body parts (72.2%). In addition, as referred to above, the assemblage contained 118 shards of window glass and a

quantity of lead glass, interpreted mainly as cut glass tableware. The vast majority of the window glass and lead glass came from Contexts 100 and 101 of Trench 1.

Trench	Context	Unknown Type	Window Glass	Utility Glass	Aesthetic Glass	Food and Drink Glass	
						Bottle Glass	Lead Glass
1	100	1	47	7	0	1319	54
	101	6	64	4	1	1420	161
	102	10	0	1	1	41	3
	103	0	0	0	0	19	1
	105	0	0	0	0	3	6
	109	0	0	2	0	76	7
2	200	0	0	0	0	47	0
	202	0	1	0	0	5	0
	203	0	0	1	0	12	0
	204	1	0	0	0	17	4
3	301	0	0	2	0	14	2
	302	0	5	1	0	23	0
	303	0	0	0	0	2	0
5	501	0	0	0	0	2	0
6	600	0	0	0	0	3	0
	601	0	0	0	0	2	0
7	700	0	0	0	0	17	0
8	800	0	0	1	0	11	1
Pit	3003	0	0	0	0	1	0
Total		**9**	**118**	**19**	**2**	**3034**	**240**

Table 4.1 Glass types in the Mountravers trenches and contexts

Jamestown

The Jamestown excavations were centred upon seven trenches and seventeen shovel pits, of which five trenches and two pits contained glass. The majority of the glass was excavated from Trenches 5 (68.5%) and 7 (14.9%). As at Mountravers, most shards, (98.7%) were interpreted as associated with food/drink storage and consumption. Of the other shards, only two were identified as window glass. In contrast to the Mountravers cut glass shards, this assemblage contained nine shards of moulded glass tableware, a type not seen at Mountravers. Similarly to Mountravers, most shards (82.7%) were from round bottles, and again, primarily (68.8%) bottle body fragments. At Jamestown however, the round bottles were augmented by a higher percentage (13.3%) of square, or case, bottles than was the case at Mountravers (1.1%).

Trench	Context	Unknown Type	Window Glass	Utility Glass	Aesthetic Glass	Food and Drink Glass	
						Bottle Glass	Lead Glass
2	200	1	2	0	0	25	0
	201	0	0	0	0	55	0
	202	0	0	0	0	6	0
4	400	0	0	0	0	1	0
5	500	0	0	0	0	394	12
	501	0	0	0	0	12	0
	503	0	0	3	0	53	0
6	600	0	0	0	0	19	0
7	700	1	0	2	0	96	4
Pit	1010	0	0	0	0	3	0
Pit	1012	0	0	0	0	3	0
Total		**2**	**2**	**5**	**0**	**667**	**16**

Table 4.2 Glass types in the Jamestown trenches and contexts

Summary Discussion

As the above indicates, a comprehensive statistical recording and analysis of the glass assemblages was undertaken with shard characteristics such as weight, colour, morphology etc. being noted. The characteristics were then used to determine or to deduce (to a greater or lesser degree of certainty), manufacturing date and provenience and to identify any inter-site variability. The most obvious variability being the absence of cut glass and the negligible amount of window glass, in the Jamestown assemblage. The absence of cut glass shards at Jamestown supports Barker's (2001) observation that the ceramic finds suggested that the Jamestown population had a low socio-economic status. The tableware glass excavated at Mountravers represents, however, contemporary glassware designs of the late-eighteenth to mid-nineteenth centuries and ones that suggest elegant, high-status dining. The Mountravers trenches did not only though, contain glass of this date range as artefacts, but also other fragmented tableware of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries was identified. Also, as noted above, Mountravers Trench 2, Context 204, sited within the house itself, provided evidence for site occupation during the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth-centuries.

In general, the bottle evidence, on both sites, suggests that the majority of the bottle shards came from cylindrically shaped bottles of a type that came into common usage after c.1735 (Jones 1986). Both assemblages though, provided morphological evidence for two other wine bottles types, i.e. 'shaft and globes' and 'onions', types which pre-date 1735. Indeed, Trench 5 at Jamestown contained the corroded base of what in all probability was a 'shaft and globe' bottle dated to c.1650-1670 and a bottle neck dated to 1680-1700. This bottle neck is of a slightly earlier date than the neck at Mountravers, referred to above. Of value in both assemblages, for dating and for establishing trading links, were remnants of bottles manufactured in Bristol by H. Ricketts, from 1821 onwards. Neither assemblage though showed any evidence for bottles produced using automatic bottle making machinery, a technology that was available from c.1888 onwards, though both assemblages contained artefacts, other than bottle shards, that were almost certainly of late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century date.

PREHISTORIC OR AMERINDIAN ARTEFACTS

POTTERY FROM COCONUT WALK (CW98)

Summarised by Elaine L. Morris from a major report by Julie Cathie, with assistance from Mark Nokkert

A total of 5,631 sherds of prehistoric or Amerindian pottery found by the Channel 4 *Time Team* in 1998 was submitted for analysis to determine two things: chronology of the assemblage and source of the clays and inclusions used to make the pottery. This pottery was recovered by excavation of deposits (313 sherds) and by surface collection within established grid squares (4,853 sherds), with several sherds (465 sherds) from unknown locations. The plain body sherds, once recorded in detail, were discarded in the UK in accordance with the agreed policy established with the curatorial staff of the Nevis Historical and Conservation Society in response to the limited storage facilities available within the current archive facilities on the island (ELM).

Fabric or Clay Paste

The majority of sherds were made from clay gritted with fragments of volcanic rock. A sample of 50 rim sherds with different shapes or vessel types was thin-sectioned (0.03 mm thick), glued to a glass slide and examined using a polarising microscope in order to identify the characteristics of the inclusions in the clay matrix, a geological analysis technique known as

petrography. The inclusions were extremely abundant, typically 60-70% concentration and predominantly poorly-sorted which means they ranged in a variety of piece sizes rather than all of similar uniform size. All of the samples are characterised by a groundmass of discrete minerals, such as plagioclase feldspar, amphiboles (predominantly hornblende and pyroxenes), all of which were most probably derived from a volcanic parent rock, and larger inclusions of porphyritic dacite. Dacite is an intermediate volcanic rock in geological terminology, and Nevis itself is mainly composed of different variations of dacite rock. The shape of the various inclusions suggest that they were naturally present in the clay rather than added as temper. Therefore, all of this suggests that the pottery was most likely to have been produced on Nevis from locally available resources of clay naturally gritted with dacite and its components. The apparent homogeneity of the samples examined via thin sectioning and petrographic analysis hints that the preparation of the clay, and maybe even the clay source(s) being exploited, was hardly altered by the potters - whether to suit different types of vessels being made or during the course of pottery production through centuries of time.

Vessel Shapes, Wall Thicknesses, Surface Treatments and Decoration

The types of vessels, especially the rim types, found as fragments were fairly simple in shape. These consist of bowls and dishes with unrestricted and simple contours and rims and manioc griddles similar to those found on other Leeward Islands such as Saba where archaeologists from Holland have been conducting excavations (Hofman 1993). The majority of sherds measured between 9 and 11 mm thick, and many of the sherds are burnished and some also display red slip or haematite coating on one or both surfaces. Only 41 sherds in the assemblage were decorated, and the commonest type of decorative technique used was that of incision which occurs when the surface of the sherd is actually cut, as opposed to tooling where the surface is pushed inwards creating a shallow impression. Decoration is usually found on the exterior of vessels, but there are a few examples with decoration on the interior which demonstrates that these sherds derived from very open vessels such as bowls, dishes or platters - vessels used for serving or displaying food where the interior surface would be highly visible. The sherds with decoration were too fragmented to suggest any specific designs.

'Shark Head'

Figure 4.7 presents the so-called 'shark head', a ceramic fragment which probably derived from a pottery vessel based on the break. If so, then it should be classed as an 'adorno', or representations of creatures found on open vessel forms during the Ceramic Age in the Lesser Antilles of the Eastern Caribbean and elsewhere.

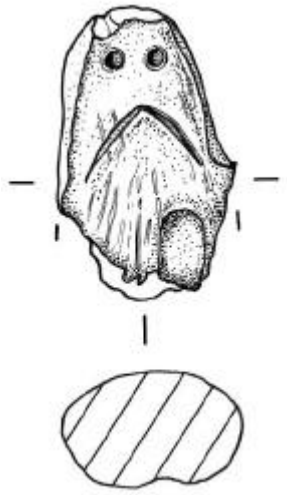

Fig. 4.7 'Shark head' ceramic fragment from grid square A8 at Coconut Walk (CW98) (illustration: Barbara Mcnee)

Date

There is a distinct lack of 'typical' Saladoid Period (500 BC-AD 500) characteristics amongst the rim shapes and decorative techniques, and coupled with the dominant range of sherd thicknesses at 9-11 mm, these factors indicate that the assemblage is undoubtedly post-Saladoid or Ostionoid in date, from about AD 500/600-1500.

Note: Mrs.Julie Cathie is currently on maternity leave.

Taxon	Common name	105	106	109	113	B10
Oryzomyini	Rice rats				2	7
Oryzomyini, small-sized	Rice rat, cf. *Oryzomys*					13
Oryzomyini, large-sized	Rice rat, cf. *Megalomys*					3
cf. Oryzomyini	Rice rats				4	
Unid. Mammal	Mammal					1
Clupeidae	Herrings					4
Serranidae	Sea Bass/Grouper					4
Carangidae	Jacks/Scad					8
Haemulidae	Grunts				1	1
Sparidae	Porgies					3
Labridae	Wrasses					3
Sparisoma viride	Stoplight parrotfish					1
Sparisoma aurofrenatum	Redband parrotfish					1
Sparisoma sp.	Parrotfish					11
Scaridae	Parrotfish				1	6
Acanthurus sp.	Surgeonfish				4	23
Scombridae	Tunafish					2
Balistidae	Triggerfish					3
Diodontidae	Porcupinefish					1
Osteichthyes	Unidentified Fish		2		21	341
Vertebrata	Unidentified bone-					18
cf. *Echinometra lucunter*	Red rock urchin				3	11
Echinoidea	Sea Urchins				4	161
Coenobita clypeatus	Land hermit crab					18
Mithrax sp.	Spider crab					4
Carpilius corallinus	Coral crab					5
cf. *Carpilius corallinus*	Coral crab				1	
Gecarcinus ruricola	Mountain land crab					1
Gecarcinus lateralis	Black land crab				1	1
Gecarcinus sp.	Land crabs		1			4
Gecarcinidae	Land crabs					1
Decapoda	Crabs				9	149
Chiton cf. *tuberculatus*	West Indian chiton				1	
Chitonidae	Chitons					91
Acmaea antillarum	Antillean Limpet					1
Tegula excavata	Green-based Tegula					11
Cittarium pica	West Indian Top Shell				1	17
Turbo sp.	Turban	1				
Astraea caelata	Carved star snail					1
Nerita tessellata	Checkered nerite			1	2	88
Nerita versicolor	Four-toothed nerite					16
Nerita sp.	Nerites					9
Tectarius muricatus	Knobby periwinkle					7
Planaxis nucleus	Black planaxis					1
Strombus sp.	Conch					2
Thais deltoidea	Deltoid rock snail				1	1
Columbella mercatoria	Common dove snail					3
Codakia orbicularis	Tiger lucine					6
Donax denticulatus	Common Caribbean Donax			1	1	35
Unid. Shell	Shell				1	130
Unid. Land snail species 1	Land snail					22
Unid. Land snail species 2	Land snail					2
Total		**1**	**3**	**2**	**58**	**1250**

Table 4.3 Animal remains from Coconut Walk (CW98). Taxa Identified

ANIMAL REMAINS FROM COCONUT WALK (CW98)

Mark Nokkert

During the 1998 *Time Team* investigations at the prehistoric Coconut Walk site on the east coast of Nevis a moderate number of animal remains were found (Bellamy 2001). The animal remains, screened over a 1/4" mesh, from the fills of four postholes and from an exposed midden area (B10) were analysed. This is an abridged version of the original report (Nokkert 2002a).

Results

Overall the animal remains were relatively well preserved. Table 4.3 shows the results. Most common were fish and shellfish remains. Amongst the fish, remains of surgeonfish (*Acanthurus* sp.) and parrotfish (Scaridae) were most common. Of the shellfish, nerites, *Donax denticulata* and chitons were very common. Furthermore, sea urchin remains, plus some land crab, land hermit crab and marine crab remains were found. Of terrestrial vertebrates only remains of indigenous rice rats were found, of possibly two different sizes.

Discussion

The absence of remains of any post-Columbian species in any of the postholes suggests that these are all prehistoric in origin. Furthermore, the apparent dominance of parrotfish and surgeonfish in the fish remains is suggestive of a post-Saladoid site. A similar composition was also seen in other post-Saladoid sites on Nevis (Kozuch & Wing N.D.).

The dominance of herbivorous reef fishes such as parrotfish and surgeonfish suggests that the predominant fishing technique was probably the use of traps set in or near the reef, which is still a popular method used by modern fishermen. These traps may also have caught the majority of the other fish as well as the marine crabs identified. A dominance of rocky shore and shallow water shellfish species indicates that most shellfish was probably collected in close proximity to the site, where they also caught the sea urchins. The land crabs and land hermit crabs may also have been captured in the coastal zone. Rice rats, now extinct, may have been attracted to the Amerindian horticultural plots where they could have been caught in traps or snares.

WORKED SHELL FROM COCONUT WALK (CW98)

Mark Nokkert

During the 1998 *Time Team* investigations at the prehistoric Coconut Walk site on the east coast of Nevis (Bellamy 2001), seven worked shell objects were found. This is an abridged version of the original report (Nokkert 2002b). Photographs are by Mark Nokkert.

Results

Bead

One bead was found, made from a *Strombus gigas*, possibly from its thick outer lip. This well-polished bead was broken and was originally probably triangular or trapezoidal in shape. It has a transverse perforation placed centrally. A very similar bead was found in the Petite Rivière site on La Désirade (Waal 1996:131,133).

Pendants

One pendant was made from *Strombus gigas* shell and polished into a tooth-like shape. A very small string-hole was drilled from both directions, perpendicular to the main axis near the thinner end of the object (Fig. 4.8).

Three other pendants were very different in shape. Two were made from *Oliva* sp. shells (Fig. 4.9), and a much larger one from a *Cypraecassis testiculus* shell (Fig. 4.10). In each case the spire with most of the body whorl was removed from the shell, after which the upper edge was polished. Then a hole was made in the body whorl opposite the aperture. The *Cypraecassis* specimen also shows possible use wear on the posterior edge of this hole, which may have been caused by the thread on which this pendant was probably hanging. In the literature, such objects are also known as 'tinklers', due to the sound they supposedly make when several of these

pendants are strung together and are worn on a human body. Similar *Oliva* pendants were found at the Golden Rock site on St. Eustatius, where also a near-identical *Cypraecassis* pendant was found (Steen 1992:98-99), and at the Saladoid Anse des Pères site on St. Martin (Brokke 1999:108), the Anse a la Gourde site on Guadeloupe (Delpuech *et al.* 1996:27) and the Spring Bay 1a site on Saba (Hoogland 1996: 87).

Fig. 4.8 Pendant made from Strombus gigas

Fig. 4.10 Pendant made from Cypraecassis testiculus shell

Fig. 4.9 Two pendants made from Oliva sp. Shells

Fig.4.11 Threepointer or 'zemi' made from Strombus gigas

Threepointer

One object is a near-complete threepointer or 'zemi' (Fig. 4.11), which was made from a spine of the *Strombus gigas* shell. The base was thoroughly polished until a flat surface was created. The concavity within the centre of the base was polished smoothly, as well as most of its outer surface. Threepointers have been found regularly in Caribbean prehistoric sites, and examples are known made from shell, coral and stone. These objects supposedly had numerous religious and social functions. A very similar threepointer was found at the Golden Rock site on St. Eustatius (Steen 1996:106-107).

'Strombus Point'

The last object is a possible tool, made from the columella of a *Strombus gigas* shell, with a point possibly used for drilling or punching other materials. Similar objects were found regularly in the Tanki Flip site on Aruba (Dacal Moure 1997:169) and the Golden Rock site on St. Eustatius (Steen 1992:111-112).

Fig. 4.12 Two polished stone axes,possibly originating from St. Martin, found on the surface at Coconut Walk (CW98), (photograph: Andy Vowles)

References

Allen, J. P. 1984, *Medieval and Post-Medieval Finds from Exeter, 1971-1980* (Exeter City Council and The University of Exeter).

Bangerter, R. 2000. *An Archaeological Investigation of Gallows Bay, Nevis, West Indies*. MA (Maritime Archaeology) Dissertation, University of Southampton.

Barker, D. 2001. *Ceramics from Mountravers, Nevis – Interpretation*.

Bellamy, P. 2001. *Coconut Walk, Nevis, Lesser Antilles. Archaeological investigations by the Time Team, October 1998*. Terrain Archaeology, Archive Report No. 5034/3.1.

Brokke, A. J. 1999. Shell, in C. L. Hofman & M. L. P. Hoogland (eds.), *Archaeological investigations on St. Martin (Lesser Antilles). The sites of Norman Estate, Anse des Pères and Hope Estate with a contribution to the 'La Hueca problem'*: 105-110. Archaeological Studies Leiden University 4. Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University.

Brooks, C. M. 1983, Aspects of the sugar-refining industry from the 16th to the 19th century, *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 17, 1-14.

Brown, D. H. 2001. *Assessment of Some Post-medieval Pottery From Nevis,* Nevis Heritage Project, archive report,.

Dacal Moure, R. 1997. Recurrent forms in Tanki Flip. in A. H. Versteeg & S. Rostain (eds.), *The archaeology of Aruba: The Tanki Flip site*: 159-188. Publications of the Archaeological Museum Aruba 8. Publications of the Foundation for Scientific Research in the Caribbean Region 141.

Delpuech, A., C. L. Hofman & M. L. P. Hoogland. 1996. Saint François. Anse a la Gourde, in A. Delpuech (ed.), *Bilan scientific de la région Guadeloupe. 1995*: 26-27. Guadeloupe: Direction régionale des affaires culturelles, service régional de l'archéologie.

Hardwick, W. A. 2001. *'Ship Borne Comforts' on a Caribbean Island: The Recording, Analysis and Interpretation of a 17th to 20th Century Glass Assemblage from the Caribbean Island of Nevis.* Unpublished MA (Maritime Archaeology) Dissertation. Department of Archaeology, University of Southampton.

Hardwick, W. A. 2002. *A Petrological Analysis of Two Pottery Assemblages from the Caribbean Island of Nevis*, MA, Petrology Course, Report. University of Southampton.

Hofman, C.L. 1993. *In Search of the Native Populations of Pre-Colombian Saba (400-1450 A.D.) Part One: Pottery Styles and Their Interpretations.* Ph.D dissertation, University of Leiden, Holland.

Hoogland, M. L. P. 1996. *In search of the native population of pre-Columbian Saba (400-1450 A.D.). Part Two. Settlements in their natural and social environment.* PhD. dissertation, Leiden University.

Jones, O. R. 1986. *Cylindrical English Wine and Beer Bottles 1735-1850.* Studies in Archaeology Architecture and History. National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Environment Canada-Parks.

Kozuch, L. & E. S. Wing. N.D. *Animal remains from archaeological sites on Nevis.* Unpublished manuscript 1998.

Morris, E. L., Crosby, A., Leech, R., and Machling, T. 2000, *The Nevis Heritage Project Interim Report 2000,* University of Southampton and Nevis Historical and Conservation Society.

Nokkert, M. 2002a. *The animal remains from Coconut Walk (CW98), Nevis. Remains from the 1998 'Time Team' investigations'.* Nevis Heritage Project, archive report.

Nokkert, M. 2002b. *Coconut Walk (CW98), Nevis: Worked shell from the 1998 'Time Team' investigations.* Nevis Heritage Project, archive report.

van der Steen, E. J. 1992. Shell artefacts from Golden Rock, in A. H. Versteeg & K. Schinkel (eds.), *The archaeology of St. Eustatius. The Golden Rock site*: 93-118. Publication of the St. Eustatius Historical Foundation, no. 2. Publication of the Foundation for Scientific Research in the Caribbean Region, no 131.