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The Analysis of Ceramic Symbolism from the First Street Site in Barbados

Aya Hashimoto

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Aya Hashimoto
THE ANALYSIS OF CERAMIC SYMBOLISM FROM THE FIRST STREET SITE IN BARBADOS

Aya Hashimoto, M.A.
Western Michigan University 2006

The expression of race and racism in material culture is of increasing interest in historical archaeology (e.g., Epperson 1990, 1999, 2000; Mullins 1996, 1999). This study investigates 6 ceramic sherds from one vessel associated with a white urban domestic site on First Street, in Holetown Barbados. This vessel conveys a racist message. A black slave in a loincloth serving tea to a white person is transfer printed on the ceramic. The ceramic seems to be an annular designed pearlware from England in the first half of the 19th century.

By interpreting the meanings of the ceramic decoration, this study aims to explore history and slavery in Barbados, the archaeology of race, and ceramic symbolism. Material culture is active because it is used to create, express, and transform social structure. In such a process, objects transmit certain messages to particular audiences. This study focuses on interpreting the symbolic meanings of the ceramic decoration to whites, and reconstructing circumstances of the ceramic, especially the contemporary relationships between whites and blacks. By doing so, my study attempts to reveal how material culture served to reproduce race relations in Barbados in the early 19th century. My research mainly involves examining historical documents on Barbados to understand its social and cultural context, and art/museum collection books and Internet sites to gain information about the image of black servants and tea drinking.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

It is one premise of archaeology that material culture reflects human behavior (Arnold 1999:103), though this characterization doesn’t capture the recursive quality of the material world. Material culture is actively constituted to create, reproduce, and transform social identities (Nassaney 2004). Material objects help to construct the “culturally constituted world” by substantiating “cultural principles” and “cultural categories” (McCracken 1988: 74). Goods are used as a means of exhibiting categories and principles established by culture; therefore, they are both products and precedents of the “culturally constituted world” (McCracken 1988: 74). In other words, through the use of material objects, humans create, express and transform social structure. Material objects convey a broad range of social messages based on their form and context of use, and their symbolic meanings are historically constructed (Nassaney 2004: 338). It is claimed that material culture is the most effective way of information exchange between agents of intermediate social distance (Wobst 1977).

The purpose of this thesis is to show how the analysis of the meaning of material remains can shed light on social structure and human behavior of the past. A consideration of styles of material culture is necessary to interpret the material meanings. Style was often defined as a component of material culture in the past decades. Recently, it is considered to be a component of human activity (Hegmon 1992:518). A number of theories propose that style is distinct and peculiar to a specific time and space. Stylistic pottery decorations are often considered to constitute a kind of “ethnic iconography” because they carry social information (Sackett 1977: 377). Social interaction, boundaries, group affiliation, and group
identity are frequently analyzed as information that pottery style conveys by its functional aspect (David et al. 1988; Braun 1991; Johnson 2000). Moreover, particular pottery/ceramic types and styles are often recognized as reflecting gender tensions (Braithwaite 1982), socio-economic status (Otto 1977), and ethnic/racial relationships of the society in which they are utilized (Orser 1988; 1996; Babson 1990; Ferguson 1992).

On the other hand, material objects clearly expressing racism are hardly found or analyzed (Babson 1990: 23). While material culture has commonly been analyzed in terms of its relationship to dominance and resistance between owners and slaves at plantation sites (Babson 1987; Ferguson 1991; 1992; Orser 1991; Shackel and Larsen 2000) or in terms of ethnic identity (Fairbanks 1963; 1984; Ferguson 1991; 1992; 1999; Deetz 1993; Samford 1996; Young 1996; Emerson 1999), the expression of race and racism in material culture has rarely been investigated with the exception of a few studies (Epperson 1990; 1999; 2000; Mullins 1996, 1999). In spite of the tendency of material remains to rarely show race and racism clearly or directly and of the difficulty for archaeologists to interpret material objects, 6 ceramic sherds from the First Street site, Holetown in Barbados appear to convey explicit racist messages. A wide variety of ware types and forms of ceramic assemblages were recovered from the historic-period stratum at the white urban domestic site at First Street in 2003. Among the lead-glazed earthenwares that were excavated from the site, 6 ceramic pieces of presumably pearlware are unusual. They came from a single vessel that has a decoration depicting a black slave in a loin cloth, serving tea to a planter. The piece has band designs, known to archaeologists as annular wares. Its glazed surface is decorated with four color bands which, from bottom to top, are: white, yellow, sky-blue and white on pearlware. The figures are outlined with black ink, and black parts of figures are presented by filling them in with minute black dots. It seems like one of the products of the British transfer-print technique, which was popular throughout the 18th and the 19th centuries.

By conducting research into this ceramic assemblage, this study will attempt to
explore history and slavery in Barbados and the archaeology of race. I also contribute to the study of ceramic/material symbolism, which focuses on race and racism. I will seek to interpret the meaning of the figures on the ceramics that depict a black slave and a white planter. I will also re-construct the circumstances under which the pottery was created. The circumstances around the creation of this pottery include the possible range or period of its manufacture, its makers, its consumers, and its purposes of use. I will describe and analyze the ceramics and their type of ware, style, colors and decorations. Moreover, through interpretation of the meaning of this decoration on the ceramics, I aim to elucidate the meaning and purpose in showing the image of black slaves serving drinks to white planters. What was the purpose of the specific depiction of a black slave and a white planter? How does this ceramic medium express race and racism between blacks and whites within the social context? Who was the primary audience of this ceramic in addition to its user? What meanings or influence, if any, did the ceramic have in the particular time period besides its functional use? Are there similar ceramics found in other sites in Barbados or elsewhere? Finally, I'll analyze the potential of this type of ceramic imagery for constructing and reinforcing the racist ideology held by whites.

In this study, I maintain that ceramics should be studied from multiple perspectives by examining archaeological and historical documents and art/museum collection books. By interpreting material culture (in this case the ceramic fragments) from multiple lines of evidence, we are able to gain some understandings into aspects of peoples’ lives that we can’t reach solely through an archaeological approach. This shard is possibly a transmitter of contemporary social messages in Barbados, and an analysis in terms of material symbolism and issues of race and slavery is necessary in order to understand its meanings. Therefore, the study of slavery and the image of slavery represented in art will be taken into account in this research to delineate how racist ideology is expressed in the ceramic in comparison to similar images of slavery and servants in paintings.
As I mentioned above, the decoration of the ceramic appears to be enigmatic, since it is not a common design found among pottery remains in Barbados. While there are some descriptions of similar transfer-printed decorations in museum collection books, no other archaeological examples of this type of ceramics have been identified to my knowledge. Therefore, this study of interpreting the ceramic is extremely significant. Furthermore, it can inform us about: the history of slavery in Barbados, archaeology of race, and ceramic/material symbolism. I believe that it is important for historical archaeologists to address research questions that have both historical and present-day significance (Orser 2004a). As a consequence of the development of the concept of race and racism, people today still continue to accept inherited racial categories. It is significant to understand racism in the past in order to understand racism today (Sanjek 1994: 1). This study aims to contribute to the reconstruction of the social and cultural life of Barbados’s population.

In addition to providing information about slavery in Barbados, the ways in which people used ceramic symbolism during the emancipation period can also be elucidated. In addition, this study will provide a better understanding of life ways at a white urban domestic site in Barbados as well as the role of ceramic symbolism in the post-emancipation period. There are not many archaeological studies focusing on artifacts and their racist connotations. Even though race and racism are frequently intertwined in material culture, not many archaeologists have looked at artifacts to elucidate the ways in which these artifacts contributed to reinforcing racism. This analysis will demonstrate how material symbols reinforced racism when slavery and racial hierarchy were challenged in the 19th century. This study can provide insight into the way material culture reinforced racist ideology by depicting a black person in a position of subordination.

Furthermore, it can shed light on the relationships between whites and blacks in 19th century Holetown, Barbados. Two main aspects of the study of racism are the ways in which racism was imposed by the elites and the way it was resisted by the subordinate race groups,
especially blacks (Babson 1990: 24). In my study, I believe it is important to look at historical accounts of white planters to understand their ideas and images of blacks. So, I will examine historical documents on whites’ accounts about blacks as well as emancipation, since the ceramic is possibly from the period of dramatic changes in economic and social contexts in Barbados. During this period, plantation slavery was transformed into the apprenticeship system. Whites’ accounts reveal whites’ fear towards blacks, as well as hope and fears about the future emancipation. In addition, it is useful to examine Barbadian law and regulations in order to understand how anti-Black racist ideology is intertwined and reflected in the legal system, and in return, how regulations reinforced the Barbadian slavery system.

Although the study focuses on issues of race in Barbados, the study of race itself may contribute to the understanding of race in the modern world in general, since race is a central component of social relations in present times. Race and racism was a major product of the New World colonization as well as it functioned to serve capitalist intention. Therefore, the study of race for historical archaeologists is inevitable in order to understand not only material culture in the past but also the modern world (Orser 1996). Historical archaeologists have begun to recognize that the construction of racial identities was a part of the wider process of establishing and rationalizing the inequalities inherent in capitalism. Likewise, they understand that our daily action, including the practice of archaeology, is embedded in the very system that created the structure of race and racism. Therefore, the racist construction of inequality in the past and the prevalence of racist thinking in the present have to be considered in archaeological studies (Morozowski et al. 2000: XXII). Moreover, understanding the development and employment of racism can shed new light on understanding how subordinate ethnic groups like African-Americans in the context of slavery developed and contributed to the nation’s history (Babson 1990: 27).
CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Since this study aims to elucidate history and slavery in Barbados, archaeology of race, and ceramic symbolism, this section will examine previous studies conducted in these three fields. First, I will present a brief summary of history and slavery in Barbados. Second, I will examine how race has previously been studied in archaeology. Finally, I will examine some symbolic studies of ceramics.

History of Slavery in Barbados

Slavery first came to Barbados in 1627 when Sir William Courteen with Peter Courteen, John Moncy, John Powell, and Henry Powell funded three ships, and their first ship *William and John* landed at nearby Holetown (See Figure 1 and 2; Gragg 2003:30-31). They brought fifty men to start the settlement. In addition Henry brought back various plants, as well as thirty Arawaks from Dutch Guiana to cultivate crops shortly after they arrived at Barbados (Davis 1891; Gragg 2003). Planters started out with a small number of African slaves, and they didn't import a large number of Africans until the 1640s (Lange 1985: 100). Because of its fertile soil and rich climate, Barbados became one of the most successful English colonies by the end of the 17th century (Molen 1971). After unsuccessful attempts to establish tobacco plantations, they successfully turned to sugar, which became the dominant economic crop in European markets during the 1650s (Molen 1971: 287). By the time they established sugar plantations, Holetown and Speightstown had become ports for export as well as transit points for intra-island transport (Greenidge 2004: 103). As sugar production increased, sugar barrels from upper St. James, St. Thomas, St. Joseph, and parts of St. Andrew and St. George (See Figure 3) were brought to Holetown for export (Greenidge
2004: 104). Barbados was the wealthiest and most populous colony in English America from the last half of the 17th century to the early 18th century, and it played a major role in the South Atlantic system that linked Africa, Europe, and the Americas (Handler 1997).

As the price of sugar started to drop rapidly in the mid-17th century (Starkey 1939: 8-9) and the cost of production increased, large numbers of African slaves were brought to the island (Molen 1971:289). Some argue that the settlers didn’t promote enslavement at first, but they turned to slavery because of economic reasons. But the planters were still willing to perpetuate slave trade by using the slaves that were brought in and demanding more. Planters’ workforces depended on indentured servants until 1641, when the commercial cultivation of sugar began, and slavery became an efficient and low cost way of gaining labor (Gragg 2003:119).
Figure 2. Map of Barbados
Source: Yahoo Travel, http://travel.yahoo.com/

Figure 3. Map of Parishes in Barbados
Most planters engaged slave labor in the production of cash crops. However, it is also true that when the English settled Barbados, they already had a notion that they were distinctly different from blacks, and referred to blacks as slaves (Gragg 2003: 117). This is because black slavery was becoming common in England by 1627, since the first slaves were brought to the country in 1555, and blacks were recognized as a “purchasable commodity” (Gragg 2003: 117). English settlers believed blacks to be inferior to whites according to many historical accounts, because of their religious beliefs and practices. The West African religious practices, such as “drumming on a hollow tree trunk over which an animal skin is stretched, making clapping noises by knocking two rocks together, and accompanying this with terrifying shrieks and bodily movements,” influenced the English settlers’ image of blacks as “a heathenish, brutish, and an uncertain, dangerous kind of people” (Gragg: 118-119). Also, European travelers to Africa often identified African gods with demons or devils, and they blamed Africans for devil worship (Gragg: 118).

During the time of its colonization to 1650, about 18,700 slaves were imported into Barbados through the Atlantic slave trade, and other estimates suggest 29,100 net imports and 33,500 gross imports for the same period (Handler and Lange 1978: 20). From 1651 to 1834, 353,069 slaves were imported, and about 65.5% of them from 1651 to 1739 (Handler and Lange 1978: 25). In the 1680s, 52.2% of slaves shipped by British slavers came from the Windward and Gold Coasts, and 19.9% from the Bights of Benin and Biafra; by 1781-90, 21.7% came from the former area and 52.6% from the latter (Handler and Lange 1978: 21). The Dutch also shipped slaves during the 17th century, and until the early 1660s, most of the slaves were shipped by the Dutch to Barbados. By the last decades of the 17th century, the slave population swelled to 46,602, which represented about 70 percent of the population in Barbados (Molen 1971:289). Bridgetown prospered and became the largest market city in the island, while Holetown became a port of trade as well as a transit point for intra-island transportation (See Figure 2; Greenidge 2004:103). It was also used as a departure port for
smaller boats that carried goods to Bridgetown (Smith 2004). Holetown was probably not
totally urbanized, and there were some residential areas for artisans, craftsmans, merchants,
and warehouses in the mid 17th century. By the beginning of the 18th century, the eleven
parishes which are still in existence, had been established. However, the population wasn’t
equally distributed across the island. Urban centers like Bridgetown coincided with areas
highly populated by whites (Molen 1971).

There are some studies that discuss the legal rights and treatment of blacks by white
planters (Levy 1970). According to some documents, the absence of legal restraints on the
Barbados planters’ authority allowed their absolute control over slaves without pity. It
allowed the planters the right to punish slaves by death, and also overwork them. A number
of documents describe how severely whites treated blacks by abusing their power. Corporeal
punishment such as physical mutilation, was employed in general to punish runaway and
disobedient slaves as well as to terrify others (Epperson 1990). Owners imposed English
names on slaves in order to maintain parental authority and intimacy towards slaves, while
slaves most likely used alternative names in their community (Epperson 1990; Handler and
Jacoby 1996).

As for domestics in the West Indies such as Jamaica and Barbados, attractive females
were often chosen to serve as cooks, housemaids, and nurses, while the planters employed the
gang group system comprised of the first gang with adults (16-50 years old) to perform the
heavy labor, and the second gang consisting of elderly adults and children for lighter tasks
(Levy 1970). The sexuality of domestics was controlled by the owners, and sexual coercion
often occurred (Levy 1970; Delle 2000). The white planters claimed that blacks were wild
and savage in nature. A provision that was passed in 1688 was supported by such racist
ideology, which legally secured the planters’ harsh treatment of black slaves (Levy 1970).
Before 1768, the treatment of slaves was much crueler. For example, killing a slave was
punished by a fine of only £15 (Starkey 1939: 98). It was common that slaves starved when
the price of corn was high or a sugar crop failed. They cultivated some provisions as well.
On the other hand, a slave was considered as well off as a free black and better than an
English laborer with a family. Since only a waistcoat, Osnaburg breeches, and a cotton or
woolen vest were allotted to slaves, they were underclothed (Starkey 1939: 98).

Living conditions among the slaves were severe in general. They constantly suffered
from malnutrition and a high mortality rate (Molen 1971; Handler and Corruccini 1983). The
planters overworked slaves and tried to maintain them as cheap as possible in order to make a
profit. They didn't provide slaves enough food, especially during crop failure, depression,
and war (Levy 1970: 5). At the Newton plantation sites, the skeletal remains provide the
average life expectancy at birth of slaves as twenty-nine years, while historical documents
indicate the average as twenty-one years (Handler and Corruccini 1983: 70). The dental
remains evidenced widespread diseases that related to malnutrition and dietary deficiency.
For instance, there was periodontal disease caused by the lack of dental hygiene and fiber,
malocclusion, which relates to malnutrition, and hypoplasia. All represent detrimental health
conditions faced by African slaves (Handler and Corruccini 1983: 71-73). Harsh treatments
of slaves and poor health conditions caused a decrease in their number from 46,602 in 1683
to 46,462 in 1724, though about 4,000 slaves were annually imported. The planters didn’t
care such about the decline in the slave population, because they could cheaply find
replacements from Africa until the abolition of the slave trade in 1807. Thus, the planters
became aware of the importance of providing better care for their slaves (Levy 1970: 5).

The improvement of living conditions of slaves was prompted by the abolition of the
slave trade in 1807, and a desire to avoid mistreatment that would support the Abolition
Movement. An act of the Barbadian Legislature in 1805 reclassified the killing of slaves as
murder (Starkey 1939: 110). After 1775, it became difficult to get slaves, and planters began
to treat slaves better to maintain their labor supply, which resulted in the increase of the slave
population (Starkey 1939: 110).
Yet still in 1822, a special commissioner from the British government reported that there was no restriction by law to restrain the Barbados planters, other than their own conscience. The commissioner's report describes that “no man or set of men has the power to call him to account for working his slave as long as he likes,” and “for whipping him as much as he please; for chaining or for starving him” (Quoted in Levy 1970: 3). British humanitarian movements by intellectual and religious leaders caused conflicts between them and the planters in Barbados, because the planters feared the possible extinction of slavery by curtailing their authority. However, after a series of confrontations, the legislature decided to minimally ameliorate the condition of slaves by reforming laws and enacting new restrictions on the planters in order to satisfy the imperial government's demands in 1823-1826 (Levy 1970: 7-10).

The slave trade continued until 1808 in the English colonies, and slavery in Barbados was finally abolished in 1834 (Tree 1972:63). By 1833, emancipation became apparently inevitable, and John Pollard Mayers who was the Barbadian agent in London, began to negotiate for a large compensation for the Barbadian planters. The Government submitted its plan for emancipation to the Colonial representatives. The plan suggested an “apprenticeship system,” which stipulated the end of slavery, the immediate freedom of children under six, and the registration of slaves who were over six years old as apprenticed laborers to their former owners for a period of twelve years (Taylor 1976: 65). It also claimed that slaves would gain rights and freedom after a period of time decided by Parliament (Taylor 1976: 65). This apprenticeship plan was proposed to facilitate impending emancipation as well as mitigate the possible impact on the economy due to the labor loss among the slave planters. English politicians presumed that the twelve years of apprenticeship would provide enough time for former slave owners to restructure their economies and their social values and attitudes to the presence of the free black community. At the same time, enslaved persons could gradually adjust to freedom (Beckles 2004: 30).
The “apprenticeship plan” asked planters to assign a value to each slave, and in a period of twelve years the wages earned by the apprentice would pay for his own freedom (Taylor 1976: 65). Only additional work would pay the apprentices, they had to work in their free time as well in order to buy their own freedom (Beckles 2004: 30). They would work seven and a half hours a day for their freedom. The Committee of the West India Planters and Merchants Body claimed it a necessity for Great Britain to support a police force and establish new integrity as well as moral and religious education out of their fear that the blacks wouldn't work once they were emancipated (Taylor 1976: 67). The Committee members were also dissatisfied with the plan as hardly enough compensation. They argued that the plan wouldn't help the blacks, but it would only curtail the opportunity for productive cultivation of estates (Taylor 1976: 67). Mayers and planters also tried to avoid a sudden change in economy and a system of cultivation by protesting against the compensation proposed by the Government (Taylor 1976; Beckles 2004).

By demanding more compensation for the loss of chattel property to the Colonial Office, the slave owners succeeded to gain £20 million compensation money in cash (about £20 per slave) instead of the originally proposed £15 million in loans from Parliament with the support of the London-based West India Committee (Beckles 2004: 31). The Barbadian slave owners were willing to sacrifice their right for the apprentice labor if they could only gain a larger payment of compensation money. Unlike the imperial government, the Barbadian slave owners weren’t devoted to an apprenticeship period, but more concerned with immediate compensation money (Beckles 2004: 32).

There was also a major discussion over the length of time that each class of apprentice would serve in 1833 (Taylor 1976; Beckles 2004). The planters and Mayers desired to extend apprenticeship (Taylor 1976: 68-70). Mayers advised the local legislature to introduce the wage labor system, which allowed apprentices to receive one fourth of their labor, and the planter to collect the rest as a part of the compensation in order to extend
apprenticeship as long as possible (Taylor 1976: 69). However, Parliament accepted the humanitarians' demand to reduce the apprenticeship period. It was reduced from twelve years to four years for the former slaves working as domestic servants and tradesmen, and to six years for field workers (Beckles 2004: 31).

The apprenticeship period started on August 1, 1834, when 83,150 slaves were freed from slavery, and became the apprentices. Because of the concentration of laborers, most former planters were convinced that they could maintain the labor market as long as they kept their socio-political control of blacks (Beckles 2004: 34). During this apprenticeship period, a number of ex-slaves were baptized by missionaries. Europeans had increasing influence on slaves originating from Africa and creoles towards the end of slavery, which might even have dramatically decreased the use of African names among slaves (Handler and Jacoby 1996).

At first, the apprenticeship system was considered a success, because the production of crops was large, and the relationship between apprentices and masters was good (Starkey 1939: 116). However, there was a rising dissatisfaction among the apprentices and masters, because apprentices didn't have any rights over their labor or the ability to choose masters (Starkey 1939: 116). On the other hand, masters of the former slaves weren't able to gain a full return for their outlay. Moreover, many planters deliberately misclassified their former slaves who had never worked in the fields as field workers, and made them work the longer term (Butler 1995: 32). They were trying to gain as much free labor as possible by such misclassification. The former planters remained opposed to the imposed emancipation, and they attempted to extend the apprenticeship period to 1840 instead of 1838 (Beckles 2004: 35-36). The reports of Crown-appointed special magistrates indicate that blacks were often given insufficient food rations, made to over work, and they were punished harsher than in the slavery period.

*1: Since the word master is a derogatory and antiquated term, this study only uses this word to refer to the former slave owners who had apprentices during the apprenticeship period in Barbados. The term slave owner is used to refer to people who owned slaves during slavery.
The former planters complained that blacks were arrogant, insubordinate, and indolent with regards to work, although sugar production actually increased during this period (Beckles 2004: 36). There was a rising tension between apprentices and masters during the apprenticeship period. While the planters criticized black apprentices as arrogant and indolent, some apprentices were dissatisfied with their masters who brought complaints against them (Thome 1838: 264). The relationship between apprentices and former slave owners became more aggressive, and they were hostile to each other. Abolitionism incited "pro-slavery feeling" among white slave owners, and it provoked more vocalized "anti-master feeling" among slaves.

Thus, the apprentice system was acknowledged as a failure. The Colonial office was determined to abolish apprenticeship by 1838, and the governor Barbados persuaded the legislature to end the apprenticeship system. Complete emancipation occurred on August 1, 1838, which was two years earlier than originally planned (Starkey 1939: 116; Beckles 2004: 38). After emancipation, sugar production decreased by half, and provisional crops were reduced due to the unsettled conditions of labor and weather during 1838 – 1843 (Starkey 1939: 117). Emancipation resulted in the development of the located-labor system, which continued until 1937. In the located-labor system, the planters allocated an acre or half an acre of land to the laborers, and the laborers built their houses and they provided their labor to the plantation. It originated from the apprenticeship, which was a paternal, almost feudal relationship, and preferred by the planters who could gain a monopoly on the labor supply (Starkey 1939: 118). Nevertheless, the decline in sugar production and the fall of the planter class in Barbados was not as dramatic as in Jamaica and most of other Caribbean islands (Starkey 1939: 118). This is because of the high population density and the lack of free land, which let the planters easily secure labor (Starkey 1939: 118).

The history of Barbados shows that the Barbadian society was established on the long history of the slavery system. Slavery developed with the first European settlement in 1627.
A large number of African slaves were imported to the island in order to cultivate sugar crops on plantations. The racial distinctions and hierarchy of white planters and black slaves were developed, and they became necessities for the white planters to maintain the slavery system. The white settlers in Barbados described blacks as brutish and inferior due to their religious beliefs and practices. The white planters treated the black slaves harshly until 1775, when it became difficult to obtain slaves. Corporeal punishment and harsh treatment of slaves by planters were allowed by the lack of legal restraints. Living conditions of slaves were poor, and they suffered from malnutrition and dietary deficiency. The slave trade ended in 1808, and slavery in Barbados was finally abolished in 1834 (Tree 1972:63). The history of slavery in Barbados provides contextual information for my study in order to understand the racial relationship between whites and blacks and persisting racism among the white population.

Moreover, the history delineates the social transformation from slavery to the apprenticeship system to full emancipation, as well as social tensions in Barbados. From 1834 to 1838, Barbadian planters were forced to employ the apprenticeship system, which registered slaves as apprenticed laborers. The apprenticeship period was originally planned as a transition period for both the slave owners and slaves. It was proposed in order to mitigate fears and anger of the Committee members and the slave owners in Barbados towards emancipation. It was developed because there was a notion that emancipation would entail the loss in economic and social privileges of the slave owner and planter class. During the pre-apprenticeship period, there was a clear tension between the slave owners and the humanitarians. Slave owners were afraid to lose their power and control over slaves, and they remained hostile to abolitionism. They constantly made efforts to extend the apprenticeship period, and to gain as much monetary compensation as possible. The Committee also strived to support the planters, and criticized the apprenticeship plan proposed by the government. Humanitarians demanded Parliament to free all slaves as soon as possible. Meanwhile, Parliament had to find a way to satisfy both the humanitarians and
slave owners. For instance, they agreed to pay £20 million in compensation to slave owners, while they reduced the apprenticeship period in order to accommodate the humanitarians’ demand.

The fear among slave owners and their effort to maintain their privilege during the emancipation period is a key to understanding racial relationships between the whites and the blacks in Barbados. This is because the whites had sustained their authority and justified slavery by imposing racial distinctions and white supremacy. However, their absolute power and control was challenged by impending emancipation because it endangered the racial hierarchy. The ceramic object I’m analyzing was possibly used within this time period, and it is important to consider the challenge to racial distinction by social transformation in order to interpret the depiction of black servitude.

Much has been written on the apprenticeship period and the process of the British Abolition act and emancipation in terms of the social and economic conditions in early 19th century Barbados. It is worth noting that most documents on contemporary people’s lives were written from the white planters’ point of view, whereas black slaves’ accounts are rarely found. Moreover, there are a number of documents on legal rights and the treatment of blacks by white planters, while the relationship between whites’ treatments of blacks and their racial ideology and the tension between whites and blacks have been barely studied from an archaeological perspective. This is because not many archaeologists have looked at the aspect that artifacts suggest racist ideology and racism. Moreover, interpreting meanings of material culture involves understanding the particular social and cultural context, and decoding the messages the artifacts used to carry. Therefore, the following section will discuss the archaeology of race, which had long been neglected in comparison to the archaeological study of ethnicity.
Approaches to Ethnicity and Race in the Archaeology of Plantation Slavery

Investigation of Ethnic Markers in Archaeology

The study of race had been overlooked in archaeology until the last few decades (Orser 2004a). However, since archaeologists have realized that it is an important element in interpreting material culture, the study of race has begun to gain attention in archaeology (Nassaney 2002). Many archaeologists believe race is a socially constructed category of people, and race was formed as an ideological and political phenomenon of New World colonization, which means the global expansion of European colonialism, beginning in the 15th century (Mrozowski et al. 2000; Paynter 2000: 179). It is believed that racist ideologies were developed in contexts associated with European conquests and slavery, in order to provide a work force for the Atlantic plantation economies (Babson 1990; Paynter 2000: 179). In this concept of race, inflexible differences in biophysical characters were recognized as a means to impose, reinforce, and legitimize racial categories, and used to create a permanent social hierarchy for imposers' own needs (Smedley 1999).

Racial formation was linked in a worldwide hierarchy of practice and ideology. In spite of local variations, the logic of white supremacy, who can rule and benefit from global production, and black inferiority who were thought to deserve no better than to labor, was claimed by the racist ideology across the New Colonized world. In the colonial context, a division of labor and political power as well as ideological construction was necessitated (Paynter 2000:179). Racism enabled these necessities by creating a distinct dichotomy between self (own group) and other (foreigner, alien), and the dominant group facilitates this process by imposing racial ideology. In this sense, racism was a part of the engine for colonization, and capitalism (Morozowski et al. 2000) as well as it could be viewed as an intensification of ethnocentrism (Babson 1990). Therefore, “the race concept was embedded
in an ideology of racism that gives meaning to and results from social, political, and economic struggles within a racial formation” (Paynter 2000: 179).

Then, what is “ethnicity”? Archaeologists often confuse the concept of race and ethnicity (Orser 2004a). They are closely related, and historical archaeologists have various difficulties in distinguishing and understanding them. Race is usually defined as a label that members of groups use to designate people in another group in opposition to their own identity (Orser 2004b: 255). On the contrary, ethnic terms are used by people sharing cultural and physical characteristics to identify themselves as us, and everybody else as them (Orser 2004b). Meanwhile, some anthropologists claim that the definition of ethnicity should preclude physical attributes, and the term should be used to refer to a cultural identity composed of a history, traditions, customs, practices, and beliefs that belong to people in a particular group (Smedley 1999).

One of the early concepts of race in archaeology by Gustaf Kossinna in the late 19th - early 20th century was confounded with ethnicity. His idea of race rested on biological differences, but also paralleled ethnic and cultural variations (Trigger 1989: 165). He assumed that particular material patterns could be used to identify the distribution of ethnic and racial groups. Since Kossinna confounded the term “race” with ethnicity, the study of race was neglected until the study of ethnicity in archaeology developed and led to the study of race in the archaeology of African American sites.

The academic attention of African American plantation sites didn’t emerge until the 1960s in archaeology. Historical archaeology has approached the issue of the Black-White color line through the investigation of the lives of African descendants at plantation sites (Paynter 2000: 183). Historical archaeologists have been considered responsible for the study of “racialization,” which is recognized as a dialectical process of assigning racial categories to others, which allow them to be perceived as either biologically inferior or superior. This is because studies of European colonial sites are conducted by historical archaeologists, and one
of their primary goals rest in the understanding of modern world (Orser 2004a: 5).

Meanwhile, a number of archaeological studies of plantation slavery had exclusively focused on ethnicity, rather than race or racism until the emergence of post-processualism in the 1980s. The investigation of cultural identity or ethnic marker has been predominant in African American archaeology since Fairbanks’ culture historic oriented approach in the 60s. This approach has been shared by archaeologists over generations who place their focus on seeking and analyzing artifacts which can be interpreted as ethnic markers indicating the continuity of African cultural tradition at plantation slavery sites (e.g. Fairbanks 1963, 1984; Ferguson 1991, 1992, 1999; Deetz 1993; Samford 1996; Young 1996; Emerson 1999). Their approach assumes that African people must have brought some elements of their culture from Africa. This approach aims to illustrate the origins of such artifacts and the connections to an African homeland. In addition, the practitioners of this approach often try to reconstruct practices or beliefs conducted by African descendants with objects, by using ethnographic analogies with African ethnic groups. In this approach, cultural markers are usually identified by some particular designs and types of artifacts, which suggest their reliance on the typological analysis.

For instance, Colonoware has been one of the objects that were clearly characterized as an ethnic marker. In Virginia, Colonoware has been viewed as an object made by a particular ethnic group of either African Americans (Deetz 1993) or Native Americans (Singleton 1995). In South Carolina, the debate was resolved that Colonoware was made by both Native Americans and African descendants (Ferguson 1992). The Colonoware debate prompted some archaeologists to pay attention to how objects were actually used, rather than exclusively focusing on its primal producers (Ferguson 1991, 1992). The function of Colonoware was explained as evidence of the retention of African foodways, because of their mainstream forms of bowls and jars (Ferguson 1991, 1992). In return, a numbers of archaeologists began to examine other objects including European-made artifacts that were
used by slaves in the 1990s. Moreover, the decorative and symbolic aspects of African cultures, and their meanings to African Americans have gained more academic attention.

For example, the shaped and ground fragments of 18\textsuperscript{th} century English earthen wares were interpreted as used in the African game mancala (Samford 1996: 104). In addition, various artifacts have been viewed as objects to practice West African religious and medicinal practices, such as two sharpened forked sticks as objects to ward off witches (Samford 1996: 109). Examples of objects with symbols include, objects with the incised West African Bakongo cosmogram (often cross or “X” like designs with circle), such as a pocket knife handle from a slave quarter in North Carolina and pewter spoons at plantations in Maryland are treated as evidence of the retention of the West African belief system (Samford 1996: 104), and amulets made of glass beads, coins, and tea spoons with incised marks as indicators of African religious practices (Young 1996). Cosmograms have also been found on Colonoware bowls in South Carolina, and they were interpreted as indications that African descendant at plantations were using such objects in rituals based on ethnographic analogies from West African mythology and religious beliefs (Ferguson 1992, 1999). Not only the cosmogram, but also distinct tobacco pipe decorations from the Chesapeake region were viewed as motifs of African origin (Emerson 1999).

Some studies that are rooted in the investigation of cultural identity expanded their approach by incorporating the dominance and resistance framework influenced by neo-Marxism (Babson 1987; Fairbanks 1984; Ferguson 1991, 1992, 1999). For instance, the possession of firearms, dependence on the wild food resources, and Colonoware are viewed not only as African American material cultural traits, but also they were used to resist white domination (Fairbanks 1984; Babson 1987; Ferguson 1991; 1992). Colonoware is considered an object that was used by black slaves to negotiate their position in White dominated plantation society. They claimed that by maintaining African foodways through the use of Colonoware, slaves were resisting slavery (Babson 1987; Ferguson 1991, 1992).
While these studies are important to understand the relationships between material culture and African American cultural identity, they tend to neglect the role of racism in the construction of material culture. This is because their exclusive focus is on ethnicity as well as continuity of African culture among African American slaves, rather than discontinuity and reconfiguration of material culture. In return, the concept of ethnicity and race appear to be conflated in this approach. While they sought to search for ethnic markers, they try to interpret and understand these as markers of African identity, which were maintained or expressed by using or possessing such materials under the control of white planters.

For instance, Bankongo-style marks and African-style shrines indicate their resistance to the European American ideology of rationalizing enslavement without thinking about race and racism (Ferguson 1992). Besides, it has been criticized as romanticizing a cultural tradition, though this approach provides unique insight into the common historical experiences of African Americans (Mullins 1999: 33). Moreover, most such approaches assume unchanging cultural conservatism in the face of material change. They reduce African American agency to autonomous African American practice or complete assimilation, and in return, they mystify the power relationships between races (Mullins 1999: 33). It is important to understand the formation of African-American cultural identities by looking at the factors that shaped them in specific historical and social contexts, such as the character of social relations, the degree of cultural autonomy or interaction, and the creation of new cultural forms (Singleton 1995: 134).

On the other hand, while some archaeologists still emphasize African ethnic markers, they attempt to elucidate the changes in styles of pottery and pipes made by African Americans, in relation to the social and cultural dynamics by incorporating racist institutionalization (Babson 1987; Deetz 1993; Emerson 1999). Their approach attempts to interpret African American slaves’ material culture in relation to changes in social relations between slave owners and slaves. In contrast to Ferguson’s interpretation (1991, 1992), the
gradual replacement of Colonoware with White-made utilitarian ware was interpreted as an erosion of the strategy of slaves' resistance after the 19th century (Babson 1987). This was connected to the shift in social interaction between African slaves and slave owners due to the closure of the slave trade, paralleled with improved material conditions, increased social oppression, and increased racism. Besides, planters' knowledge in agriculture increased, and the ability of slaves to negotiate their skills with their owners might have gradually decreased. As a result, Black slaves were losing a way of resisting White domination, or of negotiating their position in plantation society. “These changes show a society reacting to external change with internal reorganization that benefits a controlling elite” (Babson 1987: 45).

Moreover, these studies also demonstrated the correlation between the emergence of Colonoware and distinctive African motifs on tobacco pipes, the beginning of racial segregation (Deetz 1993) and the decline of local-made Chesapeake pipes after 1680 in Virginia (Emerson 1999). These studies explain that the full establishment of slavery as an institution based solidly and solely on race didn’t take place in Virginia until after 1680 (Deetz 1993: 88; Emerson 1999: 63). The emergence of African-styled pipes and Colonoware reflect the shifts in interaction between Whites and Blacks. Their approach explains that during the time that Blacks and Whites were residing together (pre-1680), they had more opportunity to create crafts by combining their cultures, which can be seen by pipes without specific traditional designs predating 1680 (Deetz 1993; Emerson 1999). These pipes and social relations were replaced by a set of relationships in which the production of Colonoware would have become almost a necessity, because they were settled away from slave owners’ main houses (Deetz 1993: 101). This is also evident on the more distinct African-styled pipes produced after 1680. Deetz (1993) asserts that different shapes of Colonoware between regions (e.g. South Carolina and Virginia) reflect the different patterns of planter-slave interaction in each region (Deetz 1993: 43). Therefore, it is suggested that racial segregation resulted in separated settlement patterns, which led to the emergence of
material culture with distinct African traditional elements (Deetz 1993). These approaches interpret material culture, especially designs of artifacts indicating African cultural identity, as directly reflecting social relations of African slaves and White planters. However, these studies don’t examine the role of race and racist ideology in construction of material culture in detail. They merely mention that racial segregation changed their settlement patterns. Changing interactions led to designs that reflected more African Americans’ styles.

**Approach to the Roles of Racist Ideology and the Meanings of Material Culture**

While most of these approaches tend to overlook race and racism, some analyze the role of racism in the construction of material culture and landscape (Garman 1994; Mullins 1996, 1999; Epperson 1990, 1999, 2000). Some believe that social identities including race form the way individuals perceive the world, and materials are perceived through a reading process of individuals. In addition, they believe that race had a role in the way people created/manipulated material culture in order to negotiate social relations of power and inequality. In their study, they place their emphasis on interpreting symbolism of material culture and landscape, and demonstrating the role of racism in the construction of material culture. Their approaches focus on interpreting symbolic aspects of material culture whether the objects are explicitly indicative of specific ethnic groups or not. By doing so, their approach elucidated the ways in which material culture reflects social relations between ethnic groups, as well as how material culture serves to reproduce social relations. They also approach the color line by emphasizing different meanings of the material to each ethnic group of the audience. By not confining a particular material culture to a certain ethnic group but instead looking at interactions between multiethnic groups, they managed to incorporate racism in their interpretation of the symbolic meanings of material culture (Garman 1994; Paynter et al. 1994; Mullins 1999; Epperson 1990; 1999; 2000).
Since their approach views material culture not only as a reflection of social relations, but also being actively constituted to create, reproduce, and transform social identities, their approach considers material culture of both African Americans and Euro Americans as a product of interactions between them. Therefore, they emphasize the Marxist focus on inequality, conflict, and ideology in societies, with strong interpretive and contextual influences. This is indicative in their emphasis on recovering beliefs and ideology projected onto and reflected on the material cultures. Their approach is founded on the assumption that archaeologists can read the material remains by understanding rules behind objects, though they are aware that it is impossible to gain neutral knowledge. Such archaeological approach is inclined to the so-called “textual model,” which views material remains as a text (Patrick 1985).

For instance, Epperson (1999) investigated the “emergence of race” in relation to changes in landscape and architecture. Also, changes in styles of African American slaves’ gravestones were analyzed in regard to changes in social relationship of makers and viewers (German 1994). These approaches are similar to Deetz’s study (1993) of the relationship between the emergence of race and African styled pipes and Colonoware to a certain extent. However, some approaches go further, and investigate the role of racism in constructing material culture (Epperson 1990, 1999; Mullins 1996, 1999).

For example, some studies “read” the landscape of plantations, and analyze racism as embodying contradictory tensions between “exclusionary” and “incorporationary” impulses towards domination, simultaneously providing means of oppression and resistance (Epperson 1990, 1999). To explain, the landscape comprised of an owner’s dwelling and slaves’ cabins was interpreted as an evidence of class formation based on racist ideology. This is because the landscape evidently expressed the contradictory attempt of the slave owner to simultaneously “exclude” and “incorporate” the slaves (Epperson 1990). As an example, the Carter’s Grove mansion ‘excluded’ the slave quarter. By placing it behind a row of trees at
the lower topographic position, the owner rendered the slaves invisible. At the same time the façade of the log quarter was rigidly symmetrical and oriented toward the river at the same angle as the owner’s mansion. This façade of alignment and configuration was interpreted as “incorporationary domination,” which represents the attempt to control the slaves and limit their cultural autonomy at the quarter (Epperson 1990: 34).

As another example is Mullins’s approach to explore the contradictions that shape particular consumers’ lives, in order to understand a fundamental dimension of material symbolism (Mullins 1999). His study elucidates the way in which advertisements manipulated racist ideology to justify white superiority, and restricted African-American consumer culture (Mullins 1999). First, he explicates black caricatures, such as Nancy Green as Aunt Jemima pancake character and Rastus and Uncle Ben in the 19th century, as the racialized disciplinary ideals that were materialized in shop windows. He explains that these racist images pleased white consumers because they served to reinforce white supremacy by expressing stereotypical and negative images of Blackness. The depiction of African Americans focused on servile black laborers in both the past and present, such as cooks, domestics, waiters and porters. By doing so, the whites attempted to connect black caricatures to the racialized labor structure and whites’ exclusive public rights. Whites were pleased with racialized images because they historically demonstrated blacks in a socially subordinate position (Mullins 1999: 44).

These caricatures formed racialized images of African Americans’ appropriate role and labor in consumer space (Mullins 1999: 44). Therefore, he explains that such caricatures were part of the dominant discourse, which served to legitimize authentic white material meanings and supremacy in consumer space through its influence on the definition, circulation, and naturalization of racial subjectivities and white superiority (Mullins 1999: 46). Whites tried to deter African Americans from having a symbolic access to consumer privileges by using anti-black violence and racist surveillances, like the patrol of African
American window shoppers. At the same time, whites attempted to rationalize their anti-black hostilities (Mullins 1999: 42).

In addition to the role of racism in material culture, their approach also attempts to understand social relations and ideology that served to mask relationships by reading symbolism reflected on material culture (Epperson 1990; 1999; 2000; Garman 1994; Mullins 1999). For example, the landscape was read as a reflection of social relations between whites/slave owners and blacks/slaves (Epperson 1990, 1999, 2000). The landscape of plantations are also interpreted as reflecting owners’ individualized political vision, represented by the control of landscape and manifestation of a political philosophy through their control over spatial and social relations (Epperson 1999, 2000). Therefore, Epperson’s approach reads the landscape and attempts to connect control of the landscape of plantations to racial segregation and individualistic control by owner, while the landscape also suggest the contradictory tendencies of racism between exclusion and incorporation (Epperson 1990, 1999, 2000).

Another example is the study of African American slaves’ gravestones at Newport, RI in the 18th century. The gravestones were interpreted as reflecting “white paternalism,” which is represented by the epitaph emphasizing slaves’ ties to their slave owners. “White paternalism is the logical extension of the Christianizing rationalization offered by white elites for enslaving Africans” (Garman 1994: 80). “White paternalism” also explains the contradiction of the fact that whites were sharing space at home and the table, but the archaeological evidence suggests segregation in the burying ground between African Americans and whites (Garman 1994). Therefore, gravestones are viewed as reflecting whites’ ideology, which emerged as a consequence of their interaction with African slaves. White elites were treating African Americans as naïve beings so that they required instruction in the ways of Euroamerican culture (Garman 1994: 81).
Meanwhile, Mullins (1999) considers material culture and consumption as reflecting social relations as well as the resistance of African Americans to white racist ideology. The study examines how material consumption was an African-American sociopolitical statement of civil aspirations, material desires, and resistance to monolithic racist caricatures during the 19th and 20th century (Mullins 1999). He analyzes material goods by African Americans as tools to resist racialized inequalities, based on the idea that many African Americans viewed consumption as a significant symbolic and concrete privilege (Mullins 1999: 18). For instance, he focuses on commodity goods divided into three categories of consumption: brand consumption represented by the bottles of brand goods (such as baking powder, mineral water, medicinal gin, and canned goods); patent medicine consumption including the bottles of “Bromo Seltzer and Dr. Kilmer’s Swamp Root Kidney Remedy, Hamlin’s Kidney Remedy, Hamlin’s Wizard oil, and C.I. Hood Liver Pills; and hair styling and body maintenance products including hot combs and Vaseline bottles (Mullins 1996, 1999).

The predominance of nationally produced and expensive brand and patent goods, and the absence of local or regional bottled goods among African Americans were observed through excavation at African America household in Annapolis, Maryland. He explains that this archaeological record contrasts with the Victorian whites’ assumption that African Americans were guided merely by cost to decide what to consume (Mullins 1996: 4). They favored brand goods, because their consumption evaded the deceits of some racist local marketers who sold non-brand goods and often defrauded African Americans. Brand goods also promised superior, consistent quality, and their prices were established by a national producer in contrast to local marketers. He interprets this distinct pattern as indicating African Americans’ negotiation of racism, and they used material consumption to undermine racism and stake a claim to civil and consumer privileges (Mullins 1996: 8).

Moreover, the predominant mass-produced cure-all products excavated at African American households were interpreted as functioning to negotiate a white-dominated medical
system and Western body discipline (Mullins 1999). Consumption of mass-produced medicines evaded the institutional racism of mainstream white medicine, and maintained a distinctive African-American cultural subjectivity. On the other hand, it also offered them paradoxical prospects, because the consumption of such goods implicated African Americans in a genteel body discipline that demanded commodity consumption structurally rooted in racialized labor space and mainstream medicine (Mullins 1999: 55). His approach shows that material goods provided a mechanism to reposition African Americans in opposition to racialized inequalities. At the same time, African Americans defined the racist connotations that ideologues labored to impress on commodities and consumer spaces, creating a distinctly African-American symbolism out of ostensibly white commodities.

In addition, his approach also elucidates the discrepancy between whites’ racial ideologies and blacks’ consumption of certain goods. He argues that racial ideologues served to demonstrate that distinctive characteristics of black bodies, hair, and skin color contradicted with African-American consumers’ challenges to black caricatures (Mullins 1999: 55). For instance, racists popularized the caricature of wooly textured black hair, which is distinctively different from straight white hair. Moreover, products like the skin whitener suggested that skin inferiorities of blacks could be masked. The hair straighter like hot combs was marketed in the late 19th and early 20th century as a product to mask wooly textured black hair. However, he argues that according to an oral account of African Americans, hair straightening only made African Americans appear to be integrated, but they actually believed that hair care embodies culturally unique symbolism that can’t be understood by reference to white consumer ideology (Mullins 1999: 61).

On the other hand, white consumption was dependent on the black work force. In other words, the white consumer space was not completely isolated from the blacks’, and the complete boundary of their consumer space was challenged. The whites utilized various ideologies, and they attempted to reproduce unique and distinctive white racial and social
boundaries in order to solidify their own consumer space. The whites denied African Americans' understanding to genteel material culture and tried to differentiate themselves from blacks. They tried to express “white symbolism” which differs from the one of African Americans (Mullins 1999: 48). For instance, the possession of the genteel objects, such as ornaments of Virgin Mary and Crucifixion by African Americans was explained by whites that African Americans are unable to correctly define and use them because material symbolism was itself racially exclusive (Mullins 1999: 48). They attempted to reinforce their racial capacity, because they faced a fear of an incomplete racial boundary. Therefore, Mullins’s study (1999) delineates the ways in which both white and black consumers tried to create their material symbolism against each other through a dialectical relationship, and African Americans used material consumption to resist, not to conform to racist hair care regulations. In this sense, African Americans’ material culture reflects resistance to white racism, but not the reflection of racism.

Additionally, some approaches including those I mentioned above try to understand multiple meanings of material culture to each group of people, which led them to understand the role of material culture to construct, reinforce, and reproduce their social relations (Epperson 1990, 1999, 2000; Garman 1994; Mullins 1999). For instance, although some studies interpret the landscape as a space shared by both blacks and whites, there is evidence that it communicates different meanings to each group (Epperson 1990, 1999, 2000). These studies indicate the role of the landscape, which served to construct racial as well as class demarcations (Epperson 1999: 169). For example, it is suggested that genteel planters believed slaves could be disciplined by the spatial order (e.g., area subjected to the planter surveillance), while the legitimizing functions of landscape and architectural space (e.g., architectural barriers before the dining table to confront visiting poor whites) were used in order to show hierarchy to their peers and poorer planters. Both aspects of spatial control contributed to the construction of racial difference (Epperson 1999). At the burial ground
in 18th century Newport, since the makers of African slaves' grave stones were white slave owners, the grave stones was viewed as shared prestige by white slave owners, while African Americans may have read the epitaphs as warnings from their slave owners (Garman 1994). Meanwhile, it might have expressed the elites’ ability to own slaves as well as commemorate them with expensive and permanent gravestones, and this message was also read by poor whites. Therefore, gravestones functioned to create or maintain social relationships between peoples by expressing certain meanings to each group of people (Garman 1994: 82).

These approaches analyze artifacts whether they contain traditional African elements or not, and investigate race and racism by placing an emphasis on reading meanings of material culture (Garman 1994; Mullins 1996, 1999; Epperson 1990, 1999, 2000). In other words, the influence of post-processualism in the 1980s brought racism to the attention of historical archaeologists. Earlier studies focused exclusively on ethnicity and the continuity of African cultural identities. Moreover, the misconception of race as equal to ethnicity downplayed or ignored racialization, racial oppression, and racism as merely a means of creating and upholding the social inequalities of capitalist societies (Orser 2004a: 28).

Besides, archaeologists have been challenged by incorporating race in their study of material culture, since there were not many explicitly racist artifacts, patterns, features, or sites (Babson 1990; Epperson 1990; Orser 2004a), thus not many archaeologists haven’t made effort to seek race and racism in artifacts. This is also because race is often a highly mutable, situationally defined designation.

While the approaches focusing on ethnic markers employ typological and stylistic analysis, practitioners of reading materials place their focus on interpreting the clusters of beliefs that African Americans projected onto, saw reflected in, or as flowing from, material goods in the particular context (e.g. Epperson 1990, 1999, 2000; Garman 1994; Mullins 1999). The approaches by Epperson, Garman, and Mullins all involve roles of racist ideology in constructing material culture, as well as the ways in which materials functioned. It is
evident that their approach places African American material culture within the society where whites were present, instead of separating African American society and the one of whites as isolated entities. They treat African-American culture and consumption of goods as a product of interactions with Euro Americans. By doing so, these studies successfully delineated the role of racism in the construction of material culture as well as the meanings and function of materials in social relations between whites and blacks (Epperson 1990, 1999; Mullins 1999).

However, the interpretive approach has methodological difficulties in discovering the unobservable codes structuring material symbols such as, problems with never having archaeological access to the complete context of material symbol, generalizing a culture from incomplete material symbols, and the problem of ideology masking (Patrick 1985: 52). These difficulties in interpretations of the factors at the higher levels validate Hawke’s hierarchy, which claims that social and political organization and ideology including religious beliefs displayed escalating difficulties in being reconstructed from material culture compared to attributes such as technology and economy (Trigger 1989: 392). On the other hand, having plenty of contextual information allows archaeologists to interpret material symbolism and gain a better understanding of thought expressed in artifacts in relation to social relations of the past (Johnson 1999: 114-5).

Yet, the dominant approach in African American archaeology still placed the focus on the investigation of ethnic markers. It is argued that archaeologists must get away from an essentialist notions of what indigenous material culture looks like (like the search for ethnic markers or pattern recognition) and instead focus on how individuals materially and contextually constructed or expressed identities (Silliman 2005:68). It is also essential to look at resistance, reconfiguration, and fragmentation of cultural tradition as a result of the colonial context, since African Americans as well as Euro Americans formed their material culture through their interaction.

These archaeological approaches that consider the role of racist ideology in
constructing material culture inform my study. They show that racist ideology often played a significant role in creating material culture. At the same time, material culture was used to create, reproduce, and sometimes resist racist ideology. Even though the Barbados First Street site, where the ceramic, presumably pearlware, came from is not a plantation site, it is still important to understand the racial relationship between blacks and whites to interpret meanings of its decoration, because I believe that the meanings of contemporary material culture was imposed through the interaction across racial lines in Barbados.

Racism was also reinforced through ethnic interaction, and racist ideology is often employed as a means of reinforcing class division between owners and producers; it is also an economic and social benefit for owners (Babson 1990). It is important to look at the context of how the ceramic was possibly created and used, through the lens of racial relationships, in order to understand what kinds of messages the ceramic encoded. I believe the whites used the ceramic in order to reinforce the racial boundaries between whites and blacks by showing the decoration of black servitude in Barbados. To understand the meanings of the ceramic and confirm the ways in which the ceramic was used, it is necessary to look at its social and historical context, which enables me to gain an understanding of the tension between whites and blacks at that time.

Symbolic Analysis of Ceramics

Since the ceramic I'm analyzing contains symbolic components in its unique decoration, it is important to look at symbolic approaches to material culture in archaeology. Objects have always taken a center role in archaeological study. Not just as a collection of objects, but a consideration of style in material culture has been an important part of archaeology from the beginning (Hegmon 1992:517). Since the rise of postprocessualism in the 1980s, archaeologists have been paying more attention to qualitative studies of artifacts and traces rather than quantitative approaches. Many archaeologists have begun to discuss
what exactly "style" is and how it can be used (Hegmon 1992:517). Style is usually considered a visual representation, and many researchers consider that it is specific to its own context of time and place (Sackett 1977, 1990; Rice 1987; Hodder 1990; Macdonald 1990). The reason why researchers pay attention to the meaning of material culture is because one of the main purposes of modern archaeology aims at research and identification of human behaviors and patterns (Majewski and O'Brien 1987:194). They attempt to elucidate human behavior through interpretation of material culture. The meanings of styles are of particular interest not only for aesthetic value but also as a reflection of significant aspects of the natural and social environment, and in constructing or reinforcing social and cosmological values and structures (Hodder 1982; Rice 1987). Researchers combine more than one approach to consider multiple components of material culture, and to interpret information conveyed by style (Hegmon 1992:531; Handler and Lange 1978). For instance, a number of studies examine the role of material culture styles in the reinforcement and creation of boundary identification (Rice 1987: 267).

In archaeological research, pottery styles have played a primary role in the reconstruction of the histories and cultural relations of peoples even though other objects such as architecture, stone tools, or textiles are also important (Rice 1987: 245). This is because of its ubiquity at archaeological sites due to its various uses and fragility. Pottery making is considered an additive technology. Pottery that was created and decorated shows a series of choices by makers in the manufacturing process, and their selections can give researchers a clue to stylistic behavior (Rice 1987: 245). Archaeologists have classified them into typological groups since the 19th century when culture-historical archaeology appealed to many archaeologists (Trigger 1989). Because of the various types of pottery including their decorations and forms, they have been utilized as a means to reconstruct chronology.

Generally, the typological approach is necessary in order to identify the makers, users, and audience of ceramics. Ceramic classification by historical archaeologists has
developed through knowledge of the history of ceramics based upon common types excavated from various sites (Miller 1980). The ceramics from archaeological sites in the seventeenth and eighteenth century were used to establish a typology based on ware types. Ceramics divided by ware types were subdivided into types based on observable differences in glaze, decoration and paste (Miller 1980: 1). The terminology has begun to be used for archaeological assemblages to facilitate synthesis of archaeological and historical information. By the nineteenth century, ceramics were classified and described by their type of decoration rather than ware types (Miller 1980:2). On the other hand, some archaeologists consider both decorations and ware types as important elements for analysis (e.g., Majewski and O'Brien 1987; Samford 1997). Moreover, ceramic researchers began to utilize the wealth of information which is often provided by bills of loading, probate inventories, invoices, and other documentation as well as ceramic encyclopedias, trade catalogues, and past studies (e.g., Miller 1980; Turnbaugh 1983; Martin 1989; Lucas and Shackel 1994; Samford 1997). Some archaeologists use this information to determine ceramic prices by types, which also provides information on consumers' economic status.

Some researchers claim that typology is an important concept for archaeology, but the decisions on how to divide artifacts involve our own perspectives and thoughts. Some archaeologists argue that typology neglects deeper interpretations of artifacts such as actual ceramic uses and their meanings by merely categorizing them (Yentsch 1990; Singleton and Bograd 2000). As a result, some employ typology and classification exclusively, and try to find different patterns in ceramic distribution between the different classes of users. This is done by employing a quantitative analysis of each type of ceramic (Otto 1977; Lewis 1985; Moore 1985). On the other hand, others attempt to interpret meanings of ceramics, often by specifically analyzing their decorative designs and motifs (Braithwaite 1982; David et al. 1988; Braun 1991; Johnson 2000). Since some of these practitioners believe that material
culture often reflects social relationships, they try to understand them by analyzing material remains. I will briefly examine both of these approaches below.

**Typological Approach**

First of all, a number of archaeologists employ quantitative analysis to find patterns in ceramic assemblages based on their types (Otto 1977; Lewis 1985; Moore 1985). This pattern recognition analysis was greatly influenced by processual and culture history (Orser 2004a). Many archaeologists excavating slave sites in the 1970s and 80s strived to employ “scientific” methods, such as listing artifact frequencies in order to find plantation and slave artifact “patterns” (Ferguson 1992: XI). Their main focus was to measure acculturation among slaves and demonstrate the difference in socio-economic class and status between slaves and slave owners (e.g. South 1977; Otto 1977; Miller 1980; Moore 1985; Lewis 1985). They often utilize Miller's CC index (1980) in order to determine the value of ceramic types (Majewski and O’Brien 1987). By doing so, they focus on the availability and marketing of ceramics in North America, household expenditure patterns, economic status, and effects of ethnicity and gender. This is because ceramics in a cultural system reflect the aspects of availability, need, function, and other various socio-cultural factors.

The practitioners of this approach often pay attention to both form and ware type to elucidate differences in patterns of ceramic assemblages between different statuses. However, this approach has been criticized by many archaeologists. The term “status” in the study of plantation life is considered as neglecting the nature of the master-slave social relationship as well as the way slaves responded to these relationships (Singleton 1995: 128). Many archaeologists today agree that status is an inappropriate concept for plantation studies. The practitioners of studies of socio-economic classes also failed to address any anthropological and historical issues (Ferguson 1992: XI). Despite such criticism, studies employing this approach provided quantitative information of ceramic assemblages and types.
at plantation sites. Some of them inform about the correlation of ceramic types and the possible socio-economic status of users under plantation slavery.

For instance, at Cannon’s Point, a plantation site in Georgia, Otto (1977) noted that serving bowls predominated at the slave and overseer sites, as opposed to the ceramic assemblage patterns at the planter site. Conversely, serving flatware comprised a lower percentage of the ceramic assemblages at slave sites than those of the overseer and planter sites. In addition, there were certain table forms such as banded bowls and transfer-printed serving flat wares. Otto (1977) suggested that these different patterns and frequencies of certain forms of vessels indicate differences of social status. Other also suggested that slaves tended to have more coarse wares, while the planter had more refined wares or possibly both (Adams and Boling 2000).

More specifically, some studies showed that transfer-printed wares were found in larger numbers at the planter’s kitchen site than slave cabin sites, therefore they concluded such ceramic types might be indicators of high-economic status, whereas the high percentage of serving bowls is representative of slave sites (Lewis 1985). Moreover, banded items consisted of mostly common bowls and cups (Lewis 1985). It also shows that the upper-class families had dining and serving pieces of Chinese export porcelain in addition to tea wares (Lewis 1985).

In a different study, the higher percentage of flatware is also considered to be indicative of high-status sites, while small planters appear to have lower-status material culture (Moore 1985). On the other hand, some results show that slaves might have had more expensive vessels than their slave owners in certain instances, according to the CC Index (Adams and Boling 2000). The researchers believe that these expensive vessels were provided by the paternalistic system of the planter, or slaves may have purchased their own ceramics with money they earned if they were on task labor system plantations. In the task labor system, slaves had more opportunities to participate within the market system, whereas
most of the material culture was provided by planters or made by slaves working in the gang labor system plantations (Adams and Boling 2000).

Assemblage pattern analysis is also utilized in non-plantation sites to make comparisons between different household compositions. This analysis is often utilized in comparison of different types of households. For instance, Beaudry et al. (1991) shows a study of different ceramic assemblage patterns between the boarding house and tenement that are in similar economic circumstances to each other in the late 19th century. They explain the comparatively elaborate table settings and tea wares remaining from the tenement site as indicating emulation of mainstream middle-class dining rituals, while the boarding house appears to be concerned more with service for boarders. They claim that ceramic assemblages often reflect an ideology that developed in changing social conditions by industrialization and the emergence of a middle class late in the second quarter of the 19th century (Beaudry et al. 1991: 172).

Carrillo (1977) also compares ceramic assemblages from two household sites: one with British traditions, and another with German traditions, in the 18-19th century. He concludes that their pattern variations reflect socio-cultural differences. The first site with British traditions indicates a selective disposal in areas adjacent to the house, which reflect a renovation period occurred in 1820. Meanwhile, the German tradition site suggested a random disposal pattern.

By examining pewter and cream ware purchases at retail stores in late 18th century Virginia with consideration to their possible economic/social and symbolic values, Martin (1989) elucidates the difference in consumer cultures between regions (urban and rural). She examines the differences and similarities in relation to their circumstances and contemporary cultural dynamics. The result shows that urban society preferred the purchase of creamware as a result of the Staffordshire manipulation of fashion. Their lifestyle of dining together, drinking punch and playing billiards at the end of the 18th century also promoted this
purchase pattern, since tablewares might have functioned for social display. In contrast, less wealthy or more rural Virginians were more conservative, hence pewter continued to be the predominant tableware as a traditional symbol of conservative stability and wealth derived from the 17th century (Martin 1989).

While I agree with the idea that typological analysis reduces artifacts into objects without meanings, I believe it's still an important part of the archaeological analyses of artifacts. Therefore, this study will involve the typological analysis of the ceramic in order to determine its producer and period of manufacture. However, the main aim of this study is to conduct a symbolic analysis. To identify the ceramic types, it will employ Miller’s (1980) list of ceramic types and values. Again, since the ceramic shards I will analyze have unique decoration, this study will attempt to focus on interpreting the motif and its meanings rather than simply identify what types of ceramic they came from.

Approaches to the Symbolic Aspects of Ceramic Remains

While numerous studies conducted pattern analyses using a quantitative approach, others have attempted to interpret the meanings of ceramics including their designs and motifs (Braithwaite 1982; David et al. 1988; Braun 1991; Johnson 2000). As I mentioned earlier, these latter approaches were informed by post-processualism. They do not employ a quantitative approach like pattern recognition, but rather a qualitative approach by focusing on the meaning of decorations within a social context. The practitioners of such an approach believe that material culture expresses information about the past such as social relationships and organization.

As I mentioned above, material culture often carries some meaning to the people in the society in which it is used. More specifically, many researchers consider ceramic remains as historically and culturally constructed, hence their designs carry contemporary social messages, and reflect social structures; it functions as a means of communication or
transmitting information about social relations (Rice 1987; Nassaney 2004). Whether consciously or unconsciously, potteries or ceramics are often chosen as a convenient vehicle used to carry important social messages, because it is used on a daily basis in most societies.

Moreover, symbols (and their meanings) expressed in potteries were actively and constantly manipulated by people in the society. Since people use and view them in domestic and/or the public spaces, not only can makers and users imprint symbolic meanings on potteries, but the potteries also easily convey those messages to an audience. Not only the process of pottery making itself, but also the consumers' choices create the symbolism of pottery. Since making pottery and purchasing pottery became separated processes, I believe that consumers imposed meanings on ceramic and pottery through their preference and ideology. The symbolism of pottery results from the users' social identities, such as social rank, its social space, and the accessibility to ceramics including availability, price, and consumers' purchasing power (Yentsch 1991). In other words, certain pottery styles may reflect a particular social identity of users and/or observers including their particular socio-economic status, gender, age, ethnicity, and the space (e.g., public or domestic) they are used in. Therefore, it is important to look at the way in which potteries/ceramics were used, appropriated, and transformed by its makers and users in order to understand identity information within its particular social and cultural context.

Since ceramics are often symbols as much as everyday objects, historical archaeologists have increasingly interpreted ceramic assemblages in terms of their multiple functions (Beaudry et al. 1991:172). A number of researchers have searched the symbolic content of potteries in relation to the operation of society. For instance, some archaeologists attempt to pursue the relationship between social changes and dynamics and the decorative variation of potteries by analyzing decorative efforts (e.g. Braun 1991). Many studies are based on the idea that social interaction, group affiliation, boundaries, and social identities including gender, age, status, and ethnicity is information which was frequently conveyed or
consolidated by pottery styles (e.g., Braithwaite 1982; Hodder 1982; David et al. 1988; Ferguson 1992; Samford 1997; Johnson 2000). In addition, some archaeologists interpret symbols and designs as reflecting or expressing religious connotation (Pauketat and Emerson 1991; Link 1995).

For instance, Johnson (2000) claims that variations in form and decoration of pottery found at Native American sites in the 17th century southern New England reflect political characteristics. Mohegans potteries are perceived as reflecting contemporary politics during the Late Woodland and Contact period, when the Native people began to decorate ceramics more intensively. The author argues that Mohegans produced material culture with distinct design elements which expressed community solidarity in order to unify their group which was comprised of disparate parts. It served to maintain communal cohesion under pressure such as the threat of the community split by Narragansetts. Moreover, social interaction, technological and environmental variables, social boundaries, inter-group competition, and inter-gender tensions may have influenced the stylistic patterning and variation in ceramics (Johnson 2000: 122). For instance, highly visible lobes or rings themselves might have served as an emblemic style marking of Mohegon identity (Johnson 2000: 134). On the other hand, the similarities in ceramic attributes between Fort Shantok and Fort Corchaug may be sought in the political environment of the inhabitants, since they were in close political, social, and commercial contact as well as sharing kinship and political and economic interests (Johnson 2000: 136). The ceramics suggest some of the Corchaugs attempted to signal an alliance or identity with the Mohegans of Shantok (Johnson 2000: 137). Therefore, this study argues that the pottery would have served effectively as transmitting social messages such as group affiliation, and the messages of group identity would have been a component of Fort Shantok ceramic style (Johnson 2000: 124).

Social relations and identities, such as gender relationships also represent the type of social information that might affect or might be conveyed by pottery decoration (e.g.
Braithwaite 1982; Hodder 1982; Nassaney 2004). For instance, in Azande society, the design that can be seen in the female body is used on domestic pots, whereas the male decorations are used on calabashes. It indicates the difference in gender roles, since pots are usually used by women while calabashes are involved in young male-female interchange (Hodder 1982: 147-149). Another example is new gender roles and relations that are reflected on ceramic motifs in Mohegan society under the influence of the English system of market exchange (Nassaney 2004). The increased status of women is expressed on the new motifs that are apparent on the castellations of their ceramic vessels (Nassaney 2004: 347).

Moreover, some researchers interpret ceramic motifs and designs as emitting messages regarding the socio-economic status of their users (Samford 1997). Samford (1997) categorized English ceramics based on motifs and designs, and established chronological ranges as well as meanings for the major decorative styles on printed wares that were produced during the late 18th to the mid 19th centuries. Each decorative element was divided into central motifs, border designs, print color and other decorative trends. In this study, social and cultural factors that influenced the contemporary decorative trends are discussed.

For instance, upper-class Americans who are well traveled and educated are considered to be the ones who supplied fashionable ceramics, and those decorations of exotic scenes such as “Chinese and Chinoiserie,” Indian, Middle Eastern, and the Arctic were interpreted as conveyers of social messages: the users’ status as international and knowledgeable about the world (Samford 1997). The revival of ancient Greek and Roman styles in the late 18th and early 19th centuries were especially popular among Americans, and they utilized these classical motifs in architecture and art which carried an attraction to Americans of the new nation as a way of participating in the reputable positions of the great ancient civilizations (Samford 1997). The ceramics with romantic motifs such as landscape and nature represent the Romantic Movement in the 19th century, and their emphasis on nature in Romantic views, which was later followed by the Gothic revival (Samford 1997).
Unfortunately, while this study is informative and useful for my study, it doesn't include any motifs of slavery or tea drinking.

Meanwhile, some studies intensively analyze pottery designs in terms of religious beliefs as well as social organization. Certain symbolic/iconographic content of designs was perceived as functioning to perpetuate elite ideology and cosmology within the society (Pauketat and Emerson 1991). The designs of Ramey Incised pots during the 11-12th centuries in the Mississippi Valley were analyzed, and Pauketat and Emerson claim that their motifs reflect Native American cosmology, which can be seen in ethnohistoric documents (Pauketat and Emerson 1991). Since the elite appear to have been the primary users, it is argued that the meaning of the pot also involves the perpetuation of the link between elite and cosmological order. If so, Ramey pots might have functioned as symbols of order, hierarchy, and religiosity, and served for the maintenance of political authority and the distinction between the elite and the commoners (Pauketat and Emerson 1991).

As another example, the unusual design of an Oneota vessel from the Bryan site (A.D. 950 – A.D. 1300), which appear to have a thunderbird and thunderbolt motif, was also analyzed, and argued as mystical and religious iconography (Link 1995). The historical records regarding the importance of large birds to American Indians indicate that Hawk-like birds in particular seemed to have special significance to the Oneota people. The importance of thunderbirds to American Indians is shown on many artifacts such as tablets, pictographs, and copper plates with bird figure decorations. The depiction of thunderbolts is considered as having a parallel meaning with the Mississippian and Plains forked eye symbol, since it is indicated that the eye is a symbol for lightning for the Cheyenne (Link 1995).

Meanwhile, the study of designs on ceramics is not confined to archaeologists. Some other researchers also place their focus on the examination of ceramics in terms of meanings of decorations and trends in motifs in its original social and cultural context as well as original sources of designs (e.g., Watney 1966, 1972; Nelson 1980; Stretton 1982). The
various designs and motifs of English ceramics from the 18th through 20th century especially draw the attention of numbers of researchers to the study of their decorations. Transfer-print techniques made more elaborate illustration possible on ceramics, especially creamware and pearlware. Engravings, paintings, and sculptures have been examined and studied as origins of designs for English ceramics in the 18th-20th century (Watney 1966, 1972; Stretton 1982).

For example, English ceramics have been studied in the American social context by examining various commemorantive transfer-printed wares. These were manufactured specifically targeting the American market from England in the 18th-19th century. Ceramics were also studied by comparison with plausible sources of their designs such as American magazines (Nelson 1980). For instance, the written word designs like "Adams and Liberty" were transfer-printed on jugs and mugs in order to inspire nationalistic sentiments in late 18th century America, when it had tense relationships with England and France (Nelson 1980). A series of naval heroes of the War of 1812 were used as designs on ceramic wares, and the scenes of American victories in the battles were printed on plates. These images of famous American scenes and peoples were perceived as evidence of a step toward the successful formation of the new nation. Portraits of famous people were printed on ceramics. For instance, a portrait of Benjamin Franklin wearing a hat was a common image of the statesman (Nelson 1980).

While many researchers pay attention to original sources of ceramic decorations, they rarely analyze and interpret the kinds of meanings each ceramic decoration had in the society from an archaeological perspective. The reason why those particular decorations were popular among consumers, the kind of messages decorations were used to convey, and whether they carried any social identity of the makers or users are not fully discussed in these studies.

As I mentioned above, the ceramics I analyze appear to be British pearlware with a transfer print decoration. Because of its unique design of slavery or servitude, it is important
to analyze its symbolic meanings besides placing it in a typological framework and investigating its decorative origin. In this study, I will attempt to interpret the meanings that the decoration of this ceramic carried to its users and audience in addition to possible motivations of this decoration. As I mentioned earlier, my study will try to elucidate meanings of the decoration regarding social relations between racial lines of whites and blacks, and messages it possibly carried in the contemporary Barbados social context. In this study, I will argue that the white owner of this ceramic utilized it in order to reinforce the racial boundaries between the whites and blacks, because the racial boundaries were challenged by abolitionism. I believe the social transformation from slavery to apprenticeship threatened whites' privileges and control over black slaves. The depiction of a black as a slave and a white as a planter functioned to express white racist ideology, which served to justify their racial superiority and slavery. At the same time, it demonstrated the racial line and the nature of racial hierarchy, which served to solidify the whites' racial boundary. Therefore, the ceramic with the decoration of a black slave from Barbados reflect the fear among whites towards the loss of economic privilege, control over blacks, and incomplete racial boundary.
CHAPTER III

ARCHAEOLOGY IN BARBADOS

Brief Review of Archaeological Research in Barbados

In this chapter, I will briefly review previous archaeological studies in Barbados to provide a context for the archaeological findings regarding the First Street site in 2003 to discuss other artifacts found in association with the ceramic shards that I am analyzing.

Until a couple of decades ago, one of the main aims of archaeological research in Barbados has been to reconstruct slave life during the colonial period from 1627 to 1834. However, Handler and Lange (1979) began focusing on the study of the racial negotiation of African descendants and white planters. They started to pay attention to ways in which African cultures were involved with the construction of new slave cultures under the influence of the sugar plantation system. Handler and Lange conducted excavations at the Newton Plantation cemetery, and intensively analyzed materials, as well as physical remains, that were believed to be less biased than written documents (Handler and Lange 1978, 1979; Handler 1981; Handler and Corruccini 1984; Lange 1985; Handler 1997). Despite a number of archaeological, historical, and ethnographic research projects throughout the 1970s, 80s, and 90s, the Newton cemetery is still the only plantation cemetery discovered in Barbados (Handler 1997: 93). Although only a small portion of the cemetery was excavated, the archaeologists found both European manufactured materials and materials indicating African origin or tradition. Their studies focused especially on finding evidence of the retention of West African traditions (Handler and Lange 1978, 1979; Handler 1981, 1997).

As an example of materials indicating the retention of the West African tradition, Handler (1981, 1997) investigated a pipe, distinct in material, design, and form, thus,
representing non-European manufacture (Handler 1981). Out of 22 clay pipes excavated at the Newton Plantation cemetery site, only this pipe was a non-kaolin English manufactured pipe, and its form suggested a connection to pipes in southern Ghana (Handler 1981: 96). Handler (1981; 1997) concludes that this pipe was unlikely manufactured on Barbados, but rather brought from the Gold Coast to Barbados through the English slave trade during the late 17th and early 18th centuries. This interpretation is supported by the fact that during this period, the Gold Coast and adjacent areas to the east were major points from which the British transported slaves to their Caribbean colonies whereby Barbados was a principal recipient of these Africans (Handler 1997: 120).

In addition, burial 72, where the pipe was interred, yielded the richest assemblage of grave goods at the site including an iron knife, metal jewelry, a necklace of cowries, fish vertebrae, dog canine teeth, European glass beads, and a large carnelian bead (Handler 1997). Some of these artifacts reflect strong ties to African cultural traditions, which suggest an influence of Africa on the early mortuary behavior of Barbadian slaves (Handler 1997: 131).

Furthermore, medical practices and religious aspects of slave life were also studied as a possible retention of African culture. From grave goods, Handler (1997) suggests that the individual with the most grave goods may have played a special role in the slave community, such as a healer/diviner. This may indicate that Barbadian slaves followed some sort of ranking system, which allocated prestige based on their own cultural standard (Handler 1997: 103). This article also illustrates the tie between material culture and the function of healer/diviner between slave community and African society. For instance, the slave community had specialists who served the community’s needs. Thus, healers/diviners in Barbados seemed to have played similar roles to those of certain traditional healers in West African societies (Handler 1997: 103). They used herbal medicines with spiritual powers, and they could help avenge wrongs and protect people from illness and misfortunes as well as counter witchcraft and sorcery (Handler 1997: 103).

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Slaves' mortuary practices, indicated by burials are also interpreted as evidence of the retention of the African tradition among slaves. For instance, the dominance of male skeleton assemblages implies the maintenance of West African burial practice, which bury small children away from adults or they are not formally buried. The orientation of the skeletons, with the head facing east during the early years of slavery, suggests their belief that their souls will return to Africa after death (Handler and Lange 1978, 1979). On the contrary, burials with the head facing west, which were usually found with coffins, may reflect Christian practices and European influence on slave culture during later years. By examining interment patterns and artifact assemblages with individuals at the Newton cemetery site, they concluded that changes in orientation correspond with the period when the large majority of Barbadian slaves were creoles rather than having come from Africa. For instance, by the late 1780s, more than 85% of the slaves were of Barbadian birth while by 1817, 93% of them were creoles (Handler and Lange 1978: 170). Creole patterns or European influences were reflected in the mortuary complex by this period. Various burial goods uncovered also suggest materials of both European and West African origin. Some European manufactured goods, like clay pipes and beads, were used in unique African ways by interring them with the deceased body as grave goods, which suggest the creation of a new culture by slaves (Handler and Lange 1978, 1979).

At Newton Plantation cemetery, not only were the materials indicating African tradition analyzed, but also those indicating European manufacture. For instance, clusters of ceramics were interred with burials after 1760s (Handler and Lange 1978). This date correlates with the beginning of the manufacture of creamware and similar pottery in England (Handler and Lange 1978: 135). China was not imported to Barbados during the 17th century, because it was only being imported into England in the last quarter of the 17th century, but by the 1750s, china from England was found in the homes of well-off Barbadians (Handler and Lange 1978: 135). China was a luxury item in Barbados, which until the late 18th century,
was mainly used by the middle-upper strata of the white population (Handler and Lange 1978: 136).

Moreover, the pattern analysis of ceramic assemblages, which I mentioned above, was conducted at plantation sites in Barbados (Lange and Carlson 1985). A number of researchers attempted to elucidate the socio-economic status of ceramic users by looking at ware types and their value in the ceramic market across different sites. Lange and Carlson (1985) analyzed distributions of European earthenware from the six plantation sites across different parishes in Barbados. The similarity and differences were compared between Barbados ceramic assemblage patterns with those of North American plantation sites. European earthenwares were among the most dominant materials surface-collected from plantation fields. From each site, ceramic assemblage was composed of four major ceramic types: undecorated wares, annular wares, transfer-printed wares, and shell-edged wares. Undecorated wares were the most common although they varied in frequency between the sites.

The results were compared with those at the Cannon’s Point Plantation sites in Georgia where the frequencies of transfer-printed wares differ from the slave cabin site to the planter’s kitchen site (Lange and Carlson 1985). The results suggest that transfer-printed wares and the annular wares can be indicators of economic status of owners in Barbados like those from plantation sites in the U.S, including Cannon’s Point Plantation sites in Georgia (Lange and Carlson 1985). The transfer-printed wares may reflect a high economic status, since they were the most expensive, while the annular wares were cheap and usually produced on bowls and mugs. The transfer-printed wares dominate the dumping site from the owner's main house, while the high frequencies of annular wares might represent the slaves and overseers context. At the same time, the authors claim that differences in the percentages of the four ceramic groups on each site may reflect variations in imported quantities, manufacturing and trade patterns, economic status, or the management policies of individual
plantation owners. It demonstrated that the archaeological patterns observed are similar to those in slave and non-slave contexts on North American sites and British Caribbean sites (Lange and Carlson 1985). Barbados traded with Britain, British Colonies and North American colonies during the plantation slavery period. Many decorated whitewares became available by 1830, and their presence was considered as the indicator of the large slave population at Newton plantation (Lange and Carlson 1985: 117).

Distributions of ceramic assemblage by types and their manufacture periods at domestic dwelling sites were also analyzed at other sites in Barbados (Stoner 2003). For example, four sites in Bridgetown were excavated (Stoner 2003). Bridgetown was a major trading port where goods from all over the world were imported, especially English goods, which must have been commonly used among the residents of this town (Stoner 2003: 260). This can be seen in the earthenwares, which consist of 20 percent of all earthenwares recovered from the Manson Hall site including English earthenware types: North Devon, Staffordshire, and creamware. Creamwares were concentrated in the upper most level, which corresponds with their manufacture date from 1762 to 1820. Creamwares were brought to all societies in direct contact with English trade after Josiah Wedgwood presented this product to Queen Charlotte in 1762 (Stoner 2003: 262). Staffordshire earthenware (1670 - 1795) also tends to be found in this level, though they also occur in the underlying level. On the contrary, Devon (1635 - 1775) earthenwares showed their highest concentration on the lower level (Stoner 2003).

Barbadian Redwares which comprise 35% of the earthenware assemblage were also excavated at the sites (Stoner 2003). Although they were concentrated in level two, they were also distributed across all levels. The results indicate that the Barbadian domestic wares and Sugar wares were manufactured for sugar manufacture and domestic use by the late 17th century (Stoner 2003). Stoner proposes that the outnumbering Barbadian domestic wares indicate "an emerging Barbadian cultural hearth" in the 17th century (Stoner 2003).
majority of pottery production took place in areas where sufficient clay for the coarse ware and brick production was available. Slaves made sugar pots and domestic wares (Handler and Lange 1978: 143). African influence on pottery manufacture among Barbadian slaves was also discussed. Barbadian slave potters, who used the wheel technology of sugar pot manufacture in producing domestic earthenwares, possibly applied some African practices in surface finish or decoration. Moreover, it is possible that some female potters made household wares with a nonwheel technology that reflected an African influence (Handler and Lange 1978: 143).

Archaeological research was conducted also at Holetown Fort. The Holetown Fort site revealed artifacts dating from the 11th and 12th centuries and the colonial period of the 17th to 19th centuries, as well as the evidence of structural changes (Bennell 2002). The ceramic assemblages from the colonial period were found on the surface, and many of them indicate high status, such as Chinese porcelains, hand painted French faience, and transfer-printed wares. Some shards of pearlware and creamware were also found. Goods were imported from England, while some ceramic remains indicate trade links between the west England, Germany, and France (Bennell 2002).

The archaeological study shows that the Gun Platform, a remaining part of the fort in 1990, was built between 1627 and 1651, and was originally constructed to defend against attacks from the sea (Bennell 2002). The fort was eventually left in disrepair, after the threat from overseas disappeared. However, a new large powder store was established, and the author suggests that this might reflect social changes. The abandonment of the fort and the establishment of the new powder store possibly reflect a shift in focus from defense against overseas attacks to slave uprisings (Bennell 2002: 25). At that time, the number of black slaves was increasing rapidly, whereas white indentured servants were in decline. British soldiers were brought to Bridgetown, and a new uniform was introduced to raise morale in the 1680s and 1690s. Around that time, people became aware of the threat against the law
and discipline by the increasing number of slaves, rather than concerning enemies from the outside (Bennell 2002).

Bioarchaeological studies have also been conducted to understand the ways in which Africans and their descendants adapted to plantation slavery life (Handler and Corruccini 1983; Handler et al. 1986). For instance, Handler and Corruccini (1983) analyzed physical remains found at the Newton plantation burial ground in conjunction with historical documents. They especially focused on the skeletal and dental specimens, and successfully elucidated demographic information regarding slaves’ health conditions. The dietary evidence shows that the slaves primarily ate Guinea corn, and Indian corn with root crops and vegetables as supplement. They also chewed on sugar cane, while the plantation management periodically distributed small amount of rum and molasses, and other beverages with sugar or molasses. Thus, meat was a very small part of their dietary source, and sun-dried salt fish played a bigger role in their diet because food allocated by the plantation management was mostly vegetables and in insufficient amounts. The practice of geophagy was indicated, since the physical evidence suggests adequate mineral absorption.

Their study also suggested that possible African traditional practices occurred during the slave trade such as dental mutilation, although these practices were observed only in African born slaves. However, this tradition ceased in Barbados after Africans were brought as slaves. In addition, slaves had Obeahmen (black doctors) as well as they developed pharmacopoeia indicated in historical documents (Handler and Corruccini 1983). The dental remains also indicate pipe smoking among adults. Although the majority of the pipes were made of white clay imported from Europe, it appears the slaves used pipes in various occasions, such as items for the exchange market, instruments used by Obeahmen, and mortuary items. Late weaning which is also an African pattern was apparent, despite the suggestion that the lactation period slightly decreased over time.
Moreover, Handler et al. (1986) analyzed skeletal lead contents of slaves to trace the contamination level in conjunction with historical sources. This study demonstrated that slaves were also victims of lead poisoning, the so-called “dry belly ache.” It appears rum consumption in Barbados was the major source of lead poisoning. Lead was used in distillers during the slavery period, and rum and rum-based drinks were frequently consumed in Barbados.

Furthermore, alcoholic beverages were also important in the Carib-European trade. During the colonial period, peoples of the Lesser Antilles favored foreign drinks like wine and brandy from southern Europe as well as locally produced Caribbean rum. They were necessary in the gift exchange prior to trading, and European colonists used them as a means to establish friendships and alliances with Caribs (Smith 2006). By the 17th century, drinking became a way to escape from the pains brought about by colonialism and from personal responsibility for actions against Europeans, rather than the previous purpose of communicating with the spiritual world (Smith 2006). At the same time, drunkenness enabled Caribs to confront colonial agendas (Smith 2006). Drunkenness sometimes functions to liberate people and lead them to speak up against the people with powers (Smith 2006).

On the other hand, Caribbean-made drinks like mobbie, which was made of sweet potato, was embraced by European colonists as well as white indentured servants by the 17th century (Smith 2006). In the early colonial period, various anxieties, such as loneliness and the uncertainties associated with a new life in the Caribbean frontier, prompted them to drink alcohol (Smith 2006). Although African slaves consumed mobbie during the late 17th century, it wasn’t typically associated with them until the 18th century. Many types of mobbie were popular among slaves as late as 1833 (Smith 2006). Through exchange between Caribs and Europeans, Caribs began to obtain European alcoholic beverages in the early years of European settlement. They valued drinks for their novelty and high alcohol content (Smith 2006).
In sum, there is various archaeological research that focuses on slave life and their racial negotiation with the plantation slavery system in Barbados. Mortuary practices among slaves were investigated, and some artifacts indicative of the African tradition were analyzed (Handler and Lange 1978; 1979). Pattern analysis of ceramic assemblages between slaves and planters have shown some differences, which have led to the conclusion that certain types of ceramics reflect users’ socio-economic status (Lange and Carlson 1985). Besides, physical remains provided important information about slaves’ life. However, there is less attention to white domestic sites or post-emancipation sites in Barbados. It is important to look at European life as well to reconstruct a more holistic view of slavery in Barbados life. Studying whites’ lives and the way they perceived slavery may shed light on understanding race and racism. Moreover, just like studies in plantation archaeology, many studies in Barbados don’t pay attention to the way material culture formed through the interaction between planters and slaves, but focus on the retention of African tradition. As I mentioned earlier, it is important to investigate the way in which race and racism played roles in constructing the material culture of whites and blacks to understand how the interaction between them created a new culture under slavery in Barbados. It can lead us to a greater understanding of the development of racism through analyzing material culture. This study will attempt to focus on the interaction between whites and blacks, and delineate the racial relationships in Barbados through analysis of a particular ceramic vessel from the First Street site.

2003 Excavations and Findings at the First Street Site, Holetown

In 2003, Morris Greenidge, Karl Watson, and Fred Smith identified an open lot about 12 x 25 m along First Street in Holetown (Figure 2). The lot is currently the property of the Blanchette family and Cynthia Rock. The lot is adjacent to the Forde home, a 19th century building, which was previously the boyhood home of a former Principal of Combermere
School (Greenidge 2004: 109). It was later the home of the Victor Balgobin clan. The lot itself was once held by Constance Forde, who was a school teacher (Greenidge 2004: 109). A team of archaeologists from Western Michigan University opened five 2 x 2 m excavation units in the center and back portions of the lot. The units were excavated down to the water table which was 140 cm below the ground surface. They screened the soils through ¼-inch mesh and collected artifacts. The site revealed complex layers from several distinct periods of occupation ranging from the early prehistoric (the late Saladoid-early Troumassoid period of Amerindian occupation from AD 650 to 1100) to the historic period. A wide variety of ware types and ceramic forms were recovered from the historic-period stratum at this urban domestic site on First Street. European artifact assemblages found from the site and the lack of demarcation between the prehistoric and historic deposit indicate European occupation as early as the 17th century.

The historic-period stratum yielded various ceramics (See Table 1). The tin glazed-wares excavated were in various forms, such as large plates, chargers, and small bowls. This type of ceramics is often referred to as delftware, and many of them had white paste with blue hand paints of chinoiserie, floral, and landscape patterns (Smith 2004). These characters suggest English and Dutch manufactures. There are also several pieces with a salmon colored paste and a polychrome floral design indicating French wares in a tin graze called faience.

Table 1. Types of Ceramic Remains Found in the Historic-Period Stratum

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Ceramics</th>
<th>Approx. Number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tin Glazed Refined Earthenwares</td>
<td>306</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unglazed Red Earthenwares</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lead Glazed Earthenwares</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>746</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Numbers of red earthenwares found at the site were imported from England. As I mentioned earlier, there were some local redware productions at Barbados in the 17th century (Handler and Lange 1978; Stoner 2003). However, the context at the First Street site indicates the manufacture date around the 1640s, which predate the earliest local redware productions. Moreover, its inaccessibility to necessary resources, and distance from the Barbadian redware production center suggests that these redwares were imported to the First Street sites (Smith 2004).

The lead glazed earthenware assemblages were mostly imported from England, and were usually used for utilitarian purposes, such as cooking and food storage. This type of ware was common among the British colonial sites in Barbados and North America (Smith 2004). It includes North Devon plain and gravel-tempered wares in utilitarian forms of pans, bowls, and storage jars. This assemblage which is predominantly composed of English ceramics is congruent with the ceramic types found at the domestic site in Bridgetown (Stoner 2003), which was mentioned earlier.

The assemblage from the site suggests various origins of ceramics, such as Spain, France, Dutch, and England. It appears that the early British colonists at Holetown relied greatly on foreign trading goods (Smith 2004). Not only ceramics, but also 63 tobacco pipes were found from the 17th century strata. Most of them were imported from England, though some were from Holland. However, one red clay pipe shows non-European features. It is most likely that such a pipe was imported from the Guianas or the Spanish colonies, or possibly from the Chesapeake region in North America rather than brought from West Africa unlike some studies suggest (Handler 1981, 1997). This is because there were only a few African slaves in Holetown in the early colonial period (Smith 2004).

Some structural remains were also found at the site including red earthenware pan tiles, fragments of window glass, window cames (which was used to keep window glass in right place), hand-wrought iron nails as well as a part of a shallow circular brick-lined well.
from the 17th century strata. The artifacts from the 17th century context provide information about daily life on First Street (Smith 2004).

Meanwhile, there were numerous ceramic remains excavated from the archaeological context known as context 3 (dark brown sandy silt), which is from the 18th to the early 19th century. Vessel types include: pearlware, "transferprint," annularware, redware, creamware, porcelain, whiteware, and "willow pattern" (See Table 2). Context 3 appears to have been an urban domestic occupation by Europeans. The assemblage comprised with the largest number of undecorated pearlware, followed by shell edged pearlware rim pieces, transfer-printed vessel pieces, 10 different green annularware rims, striped rims (n=31), redware rim sherds (n=29), redware handles (n=4), sherds of creamware, porcelain pieces, whiteware pieces, willow pattern vessel pieces, staffordshire vessel pieces, and others (Table 2).

Table 2. Ceramic Types from Context 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ceramic Types</th>
<th>Approx. Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Undecorated Pearlware</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shell Edged Pearlware</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transfer-Printed</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annularware</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Redware</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creamware</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porcelain</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whiteware</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willow pattern</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staffordshire</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stoneware</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scrafito</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metropolitan</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Some vessels are counted multiple times (e.g. Annular Transfer-Printed vessel is counted in both of the categories of "Annularware" and "Transfer-Printed").

Transfer printed vessels include various types of decorative designs, but floral and leaf designs appear to be predominant. Forms that were identified include plate (15-17), mug
(4), bowl (6-8), cup (10) and jar. The ceramic I’m analyzing may be a cup, or tea bowl from its shape and size. The ceramic has both transfer print and annular pattern. The annularware assemblage from the site was predominantly composed of bowls and mugs rather than plates. Identifiable annularware forms include bowls (n=9-12), mugs (n=18-20), possibly plate (n=1) and pitcher (n=1). Considering the fact that many “The Tea Party” designs were printed on English tea wares, it is reasonable to presume that this ceramic served some function for tea activity. I will discuss “The Tea Party” design later in this study.

Among the lead-glazed earthenwares that were excavated from context 3 at the site, 6 ceramic pieces of pearlware/annularware appeared quite interesting (Figure 4). They came from a single piece of ceramic. A slave in a loin cloth, serving tea to possibly a white planter seating on the right side, is transfer printed on the pieces. On the left side of the slave, there is another figure wearing a big hat, though it is hard to identify the whole figure. This person may be a person of color, since his hands were filled with dots. In front of all figures, there is a white table-like object with a teacup and saucer on top. This ceramic has band designs, a distinguishing characteristic of annularware. Its glazed surface is decorated with four colored bands, from which bottom to top are: white, yellow, sky-blue and white. Figures are outlined with black ink, and black parts of figures are presented by filling them in with minute black dots. There is also tree like decoration in brownish ink in background. This is similar to the products of the British transfer-print technique in the 18-19th century. From the contextual and typological data, it appears that it came from the late 18th to early 19th century, especially around 1820 - 1850. I will discuss the manufacturing time range more fully later.

In sum, the excavation in 2003 yielded various ceramics from the historic-period stratum at the First Street site. Artifacts indicate European occupation at the site as early as the 17th century. The majority of the ceramic assemblage in the 17th century is comprised of imported European, including Spanish, French, Dutch, and especially British, ceramics. This is consistent with the fact that the early British colonists at Holetown relied on foreign
imported goods. The ceramic types include tin glazed-wares and lead glazed earthenwares. Even though numbers of redwares were also excavated, it is most likely that they were imported from England, rather than obtained from local productions at Barbados.

Figure 4. Ceramic sherds from the First Street site in Holetown, Barbados. Courtesy of Fredrick Smith, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg.
Tobacco pipes were also excavated in the 17th century strata, which indicate imports from England and Holland. A non-European pipe was possibly imported from Guiana’s or Spanish colonies, or the Chesapeake region in North America. Moreover, some structural remains, like tiles, were found at the site.

The archaeological context from the 18th to the early 19th century at the site also yielded various British ceramics, including pearlware, “transferprint,” annularware, redware, creamware, porcelain, whiteware, and “willow pattern.” Transfer printed vessels indicate various types of decorative designs as well as forms. Out of this assemblage, the ceramic in my study shows both transfer print and annular pattern on pearlware. The transfer-printed decoration on this ceramic is unique, and there was no other ceramic with similar decoration found at the site.

Despite the fact that Barbados society under the slavery was founded on racial hierarchy, the tension between blacks and whites were barely analyzed in archaeology in my knowledge. The earlier studies focus on slaves’ lives (Handler and Corruccini 1983; Handler et al. 1986), and the retention of African tradition, such as African pipes, and mortuary practices in Barbados were investigated (Handler and Lange 1978). In addition, the pattern analysis of ceramic assemblages between slaves and planters have shown some differences, which has led to the conclusion that certain types of ceramics reflect users’ socio-economic status (Lange and Carlson 1985).

On the other hand, the archaeological study of ceramic symbolism was rarely conducted. Typological analysis is useful to identify the ceramic types and manufacturing time period. However, an analysis of ceramic symbolism may shed light on the messages the ceramic carried to its users and audience as well as the contemporary social condition and relations. As I mentioned earlier, my study will describe the ceramic and their type of ware, style, colors and decorations. Nonetheless, the main focus of this study is the meanings of the figures on the ceramic that depicts a black slave and a white planter. Through an
interpretation of this ceramic decoration, I will aim to elucidate the meanings and purpose of the white ceramic owner in showing the image of black slaves serving drink to white planters. The decoration regards social relations between racial lines of whites and blacks, and the interpretation involves understandings of the contemporary Barbados social context.

This study may contribute to understandings of the relationship between material culture, and race and racism. I will attempt to elucidate the ways in which racism played a role in constructing material culture, and what kind of messages the ceramic conveyed. By doing so, this study may provide insight into the understanding of race and racism as well as ceramic symbolism in present times. This study will also provide information about the social tension under emancipation, and urban white domestic lives in the early 19th century. Since race and racism is still a part of our lives, studying racism is important in order to understanding the modern world and contemporary social relations.
CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY AND ANALYSIS

Methodology

An interdisciplinary approach to the archaeological data from the urban settlement sites enables us to understand various features of the social system, ideology, and power relationship between races. To interpret the material culture from the pieces of ceramic, it is necessary to consider historical resources. Hence, this research is conducted from multiple perspectives as well as the consideration of associated materials found with the ceramics. I examined archaeological documents of ceramic assemblage from broad areas of British settlements, as well as historical documents on Barbados and art/museum collection books.

This project represents research into ceramic pieces from the First Street site, an urban domestic site in Barbados. A black person serving tea to a white planter is printed on the pearlware with black ink, and they also show a three banded design with blue, white and yellow. The analysis I conducted in this study is primarily qualitative, since the main purpose of this research is to interpret the symbolic meaning of these ceramic pieces. This study seeks to contextualize the ceramic within Barbadian culture. This study focuses on gaining the symbolic meaning of the decoration on the ceramic, as well as reconstructing the circumstances of the ceramic, such as its manufactured time range, decoration type and ware description, producers and consumers, and the relationship between European colonists and slaves. In this study, I attempt to answer the following questions: Who was the maker of this ceramic, and why did he/she particularly use this decoration? Who used this ceramic, and in what kind of context? Were there any meanings in using this ceramic besides its functional
usage? Who was the primary audience of this ceramic? What role did this type of ceramic play in reproducing and challenging the racist ideologies?

In order to understand iconography in ceramics, identifying and determining their original forms and dates them will be essential. This study attempts to illustrate the classification of this ceramic in order to understand its possible makers and manufacture information, including manufacturing time range. This study also takes into consideration decorative styles, ware types, forms, and colors. To determine the possible forms and decorative types of ceramic at the site, I took into account the archaeological data from the First Street site. However, since written documents about ceramics from the English settlement site in Barbados are very limited, understanding similar types of ceramics from other locations must be considered. Since pearlware was popular during the 18th to 19th centuries in England and America, I primarily examined documents pertaining to archaeological evidence and art/museum collection books about ceramic manufacture processes and circumstances of contemporary English ceramics including creamware and pearlware. Besides this, information about the transfer print technique and decorative styles of English pottery are examined.

In addition, I gathered information and images of slavery, as well as servants, to gain insight into the meaning of a slave serving tea to a planter. I believe that art, especially paintings, often represent historical social condition of a period, and they also show us the perspectives of certain groups of people. By examining them, I attempted to acquire images that I cannot gain through archaeological historical approaches to the meaning of these ceramics. Basically, I attempted to find a similar form of decoration or images of servitude on ceramics as well as paintings with similar depictions. Unfortunately, there appeared to be no such ceramics discussed in archaeological reports. However, various art/museum collection books exhibit ceramics with the decoration called “The Tea Party,” which seems
similar to this ceramic decoration (ex. Figure 5). These ceramics provide information about their approximate manufacture period, as well as the brief description about the ceramics.

Figure 5. Cream-colored earthenware (Queen’s ware) produced by Josiah Wedgwood (factory), Etruria in Staffordshire. “The Tea Party” printed on glaze in black by Guy Green in Liverpool.
Source: The Fitzwilliam Museum Collections. 2005: www.fitzwmuseum.cam.ac.uk

Internet sites also provided some information on this decoration including official museum web pages (The Fitzwilliam Museum collections and Cecil Higgins Art Gallery) and antique shops. It is clearly shown that the ceramics with the decoration of “The Tea Party” are available online. For instance, “Cockpit Hill” creamware Octagonal Tea Canisters with black printed on one side with “The Shepherd,” and the other with “The Tea Party” can be purchased from TeaAntiques.com and A C H Antiques(sellingantiques.co.uk) as of July, 2005. They were supposedly made at Cockpit Hill in England around 1770-1780 (TeaAntiques.com 2005; Sellingantiques.co.uk 2005). Why did manufacturers choose this particular scene for the ceramic decoration? What kind of meanings do the ceramics have to the producers, users, and viewers? My analysis on the meanings of the decoration is based on
the comparison between those images I found from documents, and the decoration on the
ceramic from Barbados. Taking into account their historical backgrounds, I attempt to
delineate what the image meant to the audience and users in a particular context of Barbados
in comparison with the case in England.

To explore the meaning of this depiction on the ceramic, it is important to understand
its social context. So, I examined archaeological and historical documents about plantation
slavery and the apprenticeship period to understand the circumstances and the transformation
of the social system from slavery to full emancipation. This is based on the presumption that
the ceramic was used at an English settlement of the early 19th century. Moreover, I
employed historical documents to gain an understanding of the life of whites and blacks, as
well as the tension between races under the influence of abolitionism. The information about
slavery and contemporary life in Barbados were also provided in such documents. In
addition, I examined the white and black population distribution across the island from the
17-19th centuries. The population upheaval and ratio of white and black populations in
Barbados appear to be a key to understanding relationships between blacks and whites.

By considering the information I gathered, this study attempts to investigate the way
the ceramics functioned in the social context of Barbados. In conjunction with texts on
racism and images of whites and blacks in the U.S and England, this project will try to
articulate what kind of influence and messages this ceramic carried at Holetown, Barbados.
More specifically, it will explore the possible ways in which it reinforced and challenged the
racist ideologies through symbolic analysis of the depictions of slavery on ceramics and the
image of slavery represented in art. Racist ideology was a rationalized ideology, which
expressed the racial relationship of white supremacy and black inferiority as facts of nature.
Racism was developed and solidified in the processes of spreading racist ideologies.

As I mentioned earlier, the transfer-printed decoration on the ceramic pieces, which
this study analyzes, appears to be enigmatic; it is not a common decorative design in pottery
remains from British settlement sites in Barbados. Moreover, there doesn’t seem to be any archaeological study of similarly decorated ceramics. Therefore, this study of interpreting the ceramics may be important to gain insight into ceramics at urban settlement sites in early 19th century Barbados. It is expected that this study will provide further understanding of history and slavery in Barbados, as well as race and racism, the relationships between whites and blacks, and ceramic symbolism. It may shed light on ways in which the ceramics reinforced racist ideology by depicting images of slavery as a decoration.

As I stated above, it is important to look at typological information in order to understand the ceramic assemblage in my study. The ware concept is one of the predominant systems to categorize 19th century ceramics (Majewski and O’Brien 1987: 104). Since the ceramic I’m analyzing appears to have been imported from England, first, I will briefly review British ceramic industry and types of ceramics around the 19th century. Second, I will analyze the decoration of “The Tea Party,” which is similar to the decoration on the ceramic assemblage from the First Street site. I will also look at European and American art to understand stereotypical images of slavery and servitude intertwined with racism at that time. Finally, I will consider its social context in order to interpret the meaning of the ceramic decoration by looking at racial relationships between blacks and whites in Barbados in the first half of the 19th century.

Typological Analysis and Background of British Ceramic Industry

Most trade imported goods to Barbados were obtained from England, while there were some goods from Brazil and Portugal in the late 18th to the early 19th centuries (Handler and Lange 1978). As I will discuss later in this study, the origin of the ceramic with the decoration of slavery from Barbados is most likely England. British ceramic manufacturing industry developed in the 18th century, but its history goes back even further. In the Staffordshire area, potters had been manufacturing domestic items from late medieval times,
even though the first pot works were simply small outbuilding accessories (Adams 1992: 11). Due to the influence of imported Chinese tea wares, British potters became eager to create a new market for their own wares by inventing new types of pottery (Robin 1992: 34). Therefore, the introduction of Chinese tea wares led to an industrial revolution in the British pottery industry (Robin 1992: 34). In the 18th century, its production, factories, employees, and exported products expanded by the expertise of a skilled and industrious work force, which was passed through generations within families. At the same time, factory buildings, their division of labor, production techniques, and transportation were improved. The number of potters doubled between 1660 to 1710 and 1711 to 1750 in the Staffordshire area. By 1760, the potteries had reached industrial scale in the Staffordshire area (Adams 1992: 12).

The post-1800 British ceramic tradition can be divided into two branches: refined earthenware and bone china (Majewski and O’Brien 1987). With the development of creamware, pearlware, and whiteware by Wedgwood, the British dominated the world’s refined-earthenware market from the late 1700s until roughly 1880. From about 1850 through the 1880s, the production of classic ironstones for export (heavy, semivitreous ceramics decorated with relief molding or left plain), was intensified by British potteries. After 1880s, lighter weight ironstones were produced, but it appears that these wares were never popular for use as everyday table service by British consumers (Majewski and O’Brien 1987: 114).

**Wedgwood and the Development of Creamware and Pearlware**

Josiah Wedgwood was the first manufacturer to organize a labor force by skills. He segregated workers by specific tasks, and established a factory discipline and method that proved to be most productive. He met the social demands by inventing numerous varieties of wares and ceramic bodies such as cream ware, which imitated porcelain, but was cheaper and
more durable (Adams 1992: 14). His production ranged from kitchen to dining room, drawing room to garden, and conservatory to dairy. Also, he was receptive to the latest tastes, neoclassicism, and the motifs of his wares employed the Greek and Roman art and society. These marketing tactics made Wedgwood wares popular. In addition, the royalty of Wedgwood creamware was established by an order by Queen Charlotte in 1767. By sending special pieces with foreign ambassadors, Wedgwood wares were introduced to the world, and gained orders from Catherine the Great of Russia (Adams 1992: 15). Creamware was first pale-bodied earthenware pottery which was influenced by the popularity of porcelain at the time. Since its invention by Wedgwood in the 1750s, its color, durability, and relatively low cost compared to porcelain allowed cream ware to dominate the international market (Robin 1992: 71). Consequently, creamware was produced by various potters ranging from Devon to Scotland (Robin 1992: 71).

Although creamware became very popular, it proved unsatisfactory when compared to allover blue decoration; thus, it seemed to be losing favor. Thomas Bentley requested the new ware type early in the partnership to Wedgwood (Adams 1992: 159). As a result, Wedgwood introduced pearlware in 1779, which was originally created to compete with a China Glaze produced as early as 1772 to accommodate the demand for blue-and-white porcelain (Adams 1992: 159). That is why many of early pearlware had underglaze blue decoration (Robin 1992: 111). It wasn’t called “pearlware” until the 18th century, but Wedgwood referred to it as “pearlwhite” (Buten 1980: 73). Soon after its introduction, pearlware began to be manufactured by many British factories (Sussman 1977: 105). Pearlware was primarily produced by potters in Staffordshire and other areas of England (Miller 1980: 16). Eighteenth century pearlware is characterized by a light, cream-white paste, which is relatively thin, and covered with a thin blue/green tinged glaze (Sussman 1977: 106). On the other hand, the 19th century pearlware (after 1812) has thicker walls, and a whiter color covered with a harder and more brilliant glaze ranging from deep blue-tinged
to near colorless (Sussman 1977: 106). Almost all underglaze decorated refined earthenwares, from the 1780s on, were either pearlware or whiteware (Miller 1991: 5).

The distinction between pearlware and whiteware is sometimes hard to make, but there are some observable differences. For instance, while pearlware prior to the 1820s had a blue tint, whiteware was almost a pure white color (Majewski and O’Brien 1987). The general color of pearlware was modified into even whiter shades by English potteries as a response to bone china in the late 18th century and its popularity (Majewski and O’Brien 1987: 130). The shift from pearlware to whiteware reflects the fact that whiteware has a lead-free glaze, whereas pearlware often had a lead glaze (Majewski and O’Brien 1987: 119-120). Pearlware began to be replaced by whiteware gradually in the 1820s (McCorvie 1987: 20). Whiteware is mostly decorated with over- or under-glaze hand painting and under-glaze transfer printing (Majewski and O’Brien 1987: 120).

In North America, pearlware wasn’t available until 1785, since there was always a time lag between the ware’s appearance in England and arrival in America (Noel-Hume 1969: 394). Significant quantities of pearlware were shipped to America from 1790 to 1830. Most of them were shell edged ware until around 1810, but some were designed specifically for the colonial market including transfer-printed American ships and landmarks (Noel-Hume 1969: 396). Designs were likely to be copied by rival factories until the establishment of design protection in 1839 (Robin 1992: 36). For instance, Wedgwood’s designs were often copied by various potters because of his commercial success and his partner’s eye for fashionable taste (Robin 1992: 37). While Wedgwood began to mark his wares in 1772, minor pottery makers didn’t mark theirs so that their wares could be mistaken as Wedgwood or Turner (Robin 1992: 38). While consumers had to follow the contemporary predominant teapot type in earlier days, they became capable of choosing items based on their own taste and personality from various types of goods by the middle of the 19th century (Robin 1992: 41).
Transfer Printing Technique

With the growth of the Creamware industry, the transfer-printing technique on glazed wares was introduced sometime in the 1750s in England, which was earlier than under-glazed printing technique. The smooth, creamy surface of glazed creamware provided an excellent surface for a transfer printing, or black printing. It can be seen on diverse items including plates, cups and saucers, tea canisters, and large pitchers (Adams 1992: 35). In addition to its novelty and economical decorating process, pictures could be duplicated exactly without variations that would occur in hand painting (Buten 1980: 26). The first invention of this technique was claimed by a number of entrepreneurs: John Brooks of Birmingham in 1752; Robert Hancock of London and Worcester; Jean Rouquet in 1755; Captain Henry Delamain between 1753 – 1756, and John Sadler and Guy Green of Liverpool in the summer of 1756. John Brooks should probably receive the credit, yet Sadler and Green may have invented the method independently (Adams 1992: 35; Drakard 1992: 29). It was originally a glue-bat printing process, and now thought to be the earliest method of printing onto glazed creamware (Adams 1992: 35).

In 1761, Josiah Wedgwood arranged to get John Sadler to print on his creamware, which led his on-glaze transfer printing methods to be copied and utilized by numerous ceramic companies in Staffordshire and across the country (Drakard 1992: 30). In 1763, Guy Green was admitted to full partnership. In 1770, Sadler retired from business with the firm taken over by Guy Green who continued until 1799 when he retired (Drakard 1992: 45). Wedgwood continued to employ transfer printings by Sadler and Green until his death in 1795 (Buten 1980: 26). Battersea, Bow and Worcester adopted on-glaze printing, whereas that of Sadler was the glue-bat printing method (Drakard 1992:30). This method involves glue being pressed on an engraved copper plate charged with oil, and then the removed glue is pressed on the ware (Adams 1992: 35). Next, ground color was dusted on the oil
containing the design, and the ware was fired in a low-temperature kiln. The indication of the

The line engraving of the 18th century was gradually replaced by the stipple engraving method after the beginning of the 19th century, which was introduced into the country by Fransesco Bartolozzi (Drakard 1992: 34-35). This technique involves using small dots to make shades, and the earliest ceramic with this technique is from 1807 (Miller 1990: 9). For this technique, it is necessary to use oil only because a thicker mixture of oil and color can't be carried by the minute impressions. A little color was mixed with the printing oil, which predates this engraving technique. On-glaze transfer decoration produced from stipple punched copperplates has long been termed bat printing (Drakard 1992:35).

In the meantime, under-glaze printing was not introduced until the first attempts by Thomas Turner around 1780 (Samford 1997: 57). The method was soon adopted by various potters in Staffordshire. One of the methods was under-glaze blue printing, which was introduced in 1805 by Wedgwood, and utilized on pearl, white, or cream biscuit ware by using flat-press printing (Adams 1992: 159). This technique used a sheet of wet, pottery tissue, which was laid on a heated, etched plate containing pigments mixed with thick boiled oil. Then, the tissue paper was pressed on the biscuit ware with rolled flannel, and the piece was washed in water to get rid of the paper (Adams 1992: 35). The ceramic was fired at a low temperature to remove the oil and to set the colored ink.

Cobalt blue was easier to use and remained virtually the only under-glaze color until nearly the end of the 18th century (Buten 1980: 74). While blue was the most popular under-
glazed color, green and purple were also popular on pearlware (Buten 1980: 74). Red, green, and brown transfer printed patterns appear to have been introduced around the 1820s, and potters' invoice shows red, green, and purple printed wares in 1829 into the 1840s (Miller 1991: 9). The printed wares around this time were white wares with minimal traces of blue in the glaze, which was apparent in the early pearlware (Miller 1991: 9). Some ceramic remains from North America suggest that blue, and less commonly black, underglaze transfer printing dominated production of pearlware by the 1820s (McCorvie 1987: 203). Pearlware was also painted in over-glaze color, and it can be distinguished by its bluish appearance of the glaze from creamware (Buten 1980: 74). During the 19th century, blue underglaze transfer printing became the preferential decorative technique on pearlware (Sussman 1977: 108). Eventually, transfer printed wares became less popular, and were replaced by white graniteware in the 1850s (Miller 1991: 9).

On the other hand, annular ware (banded ware) wasn't common until the first quarter of the 19th century (Miller 1991: 7). The typical annular ware has two under glazed lines at the ceramic's rim. They were often associated with hotel wares, and available in tea and table wares (Miller 1991: 7).

By considering chronological and typological information, the ceramic I'm analyzing appear to be made sometime around the 1820s-50s. To explain, pearlware itself wasn't on the market until 1779, and the under-glaze printing technique wasn't invented until 1805. Moreover, the stipple engraving method was introduced after the beginning of the 19th century. This ceramic also has a blue band around the rim, and banded ware became commonly produced in the first quarter of the 19th century (Noel-Hume 1969). Red, green, and brown transfer printed patterns appear to have been introduced around the 1820s (Miller 1991: 9), and blue or black under-glaze transfer printing was a predominant type of pearlware by the 1820s (Buten 1980). Since the ceramic is printed in black and brown ink, it is plausible that this ceramic was produced around that time, and in use until sometime later.
Since white graniteware replaced transfer printed wares in the 1850s (Miller 1991:9), it is reasonable to set the plausible manufacture time period from the 1820 to 1850s. On the other hand, some argue that blue is almost always the under-glazed transfer-printed color on pearlware, and so brown, purple, and red transfer-printed ware should be classified as whiteware rather than pearlware (Majewski and O’Brien 1987: 119). Whether the ceramic I’m analyzing might have been classified as whiteware or pearlware, it is lead under-glazed ware, and manufactured sometime in the first half of the 19th century. This ceramic was most likely used by a white family member who was the contemporary resident on First Street in Holetown, in the first half of the 19th century.

In terms of the possible value of the ceramic, there were four levels of English ceramics in ascending order based on consumer cost during the 19th century: undecorated cream colored vessels, minimally decorated ceramics including shell edge and annular ware, hand-painted vessels, and transfer-printed vessels (Miller 1980; Majewski and O’Brien 1987: 132). Transfer-printed wares were classified as expensive compared to undecorated cream wares in the 1790s (Miller 1980). They cost 3 to 5 times more than undecorated creamware at the time, though its price declined to 1 to 2 times by the 19th century. While printed wares were considered as affordable ceramics only to people in the upper class, it became accessible to anybody by 1842 according to some New York pottery dealers (Samford 1997: 58).

Considering Holetown was one of the main trade ports in Barbados, it is likely that its residents were mostly white merchants who had easy access to imported materials on the island. Therefore, this ceramic was most likely owned by a white household, possibly a merchant or teacher, and it is plausible that the owner selected to purchase this ceramic for their household. Even if this type of ceramic was relatively expensive, residents at Holetown seem to have had easy access to these types of ceramics. This is consistent with the ceramic assemblages from the site, which are composed of various types of imported vessels. This
pattern can be seen in other trading ports like Bridgetown, where people also had access to imported ceramics (Stoner 2003).

**Forms**

As I mentioned earlier, there were various forms of ceramics excavated from the historic strata at the First Street site in Holetown. Transfer printed vessels indicated their diverse and original forms of: plate, mug, bowl, teacup/cup, and jar. The rim sherds of the ceramic are slightly curved, and the circumference of the ceramic pieces I'm analyzing indicates it was some type of cup.

**Motifs**

As for a trend in motifs of transfer printed decorations, the most popular decorations by the early printing technique were Chinese patterns. Around 1810, English and foreign landscape designs using stipplest became more common on Staffordshire wares, as did American scenes for American consumers after the War of 1812 (Miller 1991: 9). These designs were eventually replaced by romantic views by the 1830s (Miller 1991: 9). On the other hand, classical motifs including columned temples and urns became popular especially among Americans, which reflected the Greek revival that arose in the late 18\textsuperscript{th} and early 19\textsuperscript{th} centuries (Samford 1997: 68). Such motifs were favored during relatively short periods, such as 1827 to 1847 (Samford 1997: 68). Moreover, the Gothic Revival style, which resulted from the Romantic period, became popular in the 1820s in England. It prospered through the middle of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century in England and America. The Gothic Revival designs on Staffordshire wares involve churches, ruins, and structures with details such as arches, turrets, towers, bastions, and crenellated walls (Samford 1997: 71).

At the context 3 in First Street, some types of floral or leaf decorations appear to be the dominant designs on transfer printed vessels. The ceramic I'm analyzing also has a simple leaf pattern on the blue borderline on the vessel rim. Floral motifs were popular
transfer-print subjects during the 19th century. The major decorative pattern changed over time. A floral motif with a floral marley or border was common in 1833 to 1849. A repeating design, known as a sheet pattern, became common in 1826-1842 (Samford 1997: 73). Floral borders are often either continuous floral motifs around the marley, or floral motifs that are broken by unprinted white areas or areas with a light or airy background pattern (Samford 1997: 75). The former pattern dated between 1820 and 1836, while the latter design occurred in 1829 to 1843 (Samford 1997: 76). Even though the leaf design on the ceramic I’m analyzing is different from those mentioned above in its detail and style, it suggests that the pattern reflects the popular transfer-print motifs of the 19th century.

However, the central transfer print motif on the ceramic from the First Street site doesn’t appear to match any of those popular designs on English wares during the early 19th century. Nevertheless, “The Tea Party” designs, which are similar to the ceramic decoration in terms of the fact that it has depiction of a white couple and a black servant, were printed on numerous English tea wares. Therefore, it is reasonable to presume that this ceramic was some type of ceramic that functioned for tea activities, such as a tea bowl or a teacup. While, they show some similarity, there are some distinct differences between “The Tea Party” and the ceramic from Holetown as well. The following part of this paper will discuss “The Tea Party” in detail.

“The Tea Party” Decoration

One of the popular and early transfer-printing designs was called “The Tea Party.” It was first engraved by Robert Hancock, which was originally published in a book in 1756 in London (Adams 1992: 36). The subject was in use by Wedgwood by 1763. Wedgwood manufactured several versions of “The Tea Party” usually printed on glaze by Sadler and Green (until 1770), and later only by Guy Green (until 1799). They were often printed on Creamware items concerned with tea drinking including plates, teapots, coffee pots, jugs, and
canisters (Stretton 1982; Reilly 1989: 219). Each version of this decoration is really similar to one another; usually they show a black boy servant in a European costume pouring tea on the left side while a gentleman and lady sitting on a chair on the right side with a dog. Since many sources refer the black figure on “The Tea Party” as a servant instead of slave, I will use the term servant when I describe a black person on “The Tea Party” vessel in England. Some of them had a decoration “The Shepard” on the other side of the vessel, and Sadler’ & Green’s prints were primarily in black (Reilly 1989: 230).

For instance, transfer printed images of “The Tea Party” appear in black on a Wedgwood creamware (Queen’s ware) teapot (c1775-80) in the Fitzwilliam Museum collection (Figure 5; Poole 1995:74). It was printed in Liverpool by Guy Green, and this decoration had been used in the 1760s, but the costume of the tea-drinker was changed in order to fit in with contemporary fashion. Because of the pale body and clear black color, it is presumed that this teapot was produced at the end of the 1770s (Poole 1995:74). A white gentleman and lady in aristocratic costumes are sitting on a wooden bench behind a table, and enjoying tea and talk outside. The gentleman in a long coat wears breeches and stockings, while the lady with hair ornaments wears a long gorgeous dress with lace. Meanwhile, a black servant is filling a teapot from the kettle on the left side. The servant, in western costume, is depicted much smaller, and slightly crouching to pour water. He wears a long coat and breeches with stockings. On the right side of the bench, there is a small dog sitting on the ground, looking towards them. In addition, another version of this design can be seen in black ink on a plate and tea canister in the Beeson collection (Figure 6; Adams 1992: 36).

These creamwares have “The Good Shepard” in black ink on the reverse side, and appeared to have been manufactured by Wedgwood around 1770-1775 (Adams 1992: 36). Meanwhile, Wedgwood also manufactured creamware with “The Tea Party” printed in red ink as well. For instance, one of the creamware coffeepots in the L.A. Compton Collection was transfer-printed in red by Guy Green around 1775 (Reilly 1989: 248). In addition, there
is a covered jug in creamware with the transfer-printed tea party in deep red ink (Towner 1978: 66).

Figure 6. Creamware Tea Canister and Plate with Transfer-Printed “The Tea Party,” ca. 1770-1775.

Not only Wedgwood, but many other potters in England also employed the motif “The Tea Party” on ceramics. For instance, an octagonal creamware tea canister from Cockpit Hill made in the 1770s appears to have a similar black print of The Tea Party on one side, and “The Shepard” on the other (Figure 7; Tea Antiques.com 2005). There is a gentleman and lady sitting on a wooden garden bench with identical posture as the print on the Wedgwood teapot, though their fine costumes appear to be slightly different. On the left
side of the gentleman, a young black servant is pouring boiled water from a kettle into a teapot. His clothes appear to be similar to the servant on the teapot by Wedgwood. On the right side of the lady, a dog is sitting on the ground, gazing at them. There is also a creamware teapot produced by Cockpit Hill in Derby, which is transfer-printed in black with “The Tea Party” (Towner 1978: 91). This teapot was manufactured around 1765, and the side of “The Tea Party” is marked in the print “Radford Sc. Derby Pot Works.” It has a dirty yellow glaze, and the other side has a print of “The Push-cart” signed “Pot Works in Derby.” The transfer-printing technique was acquired by Cockpit Hill in 1764 (Towner 1978: 92).

Figure 7. Cockpit Hill Creamware Octagonal Tea Canister. Black printed on one side with “The Tea Party,” and “The Shepard” on the reverse ca. 1770.
A tea bowl and saucer of Worcester also have “The Tea Party” decoration, which is a similar design to the teapot by Cockpit Hill. The one printed in sepia was manufactured by Robert Hancock around 1760 (Figure 8: Cecil Higgins Art Gallery 2005). Robert Hancock, the engraver, moved to Worcester in late 1756 or early 1757 (Drakard 1992: 28). This print is a reversed image compared with the one on the tea canister and teapot by Cockpit Hill. However, the picture itself is similar to other transfer printed versions of “The Tea Party.” There is a black servant crouching to fill a teapot on the right side. There is also a Worcester Tea Bowl and saucer with “The Tea Party” from c.1760, which shows a gentleman and lady taking tea (Figure 9: Tea Antiques 2005). There is no presence of any black servant or a dog with a gentleman and lady. However, the other side shows a young black servant carrying a kettle for tea. This product is decorated in on-glaze black (jet-enamel) (Tea Antiques 2005).

Figure 8. Cup and Saucer manufactured by Worcester. The Cup is Transfer Printed in sepia with “Tea Party” by Robert Hancock signed (R.H.f), ca. 1760. The Saucer also Has Transfer Print in sepia, ca. 1760 Source: Cecil Higgins Art Gallery. 2005: www.cecilhigginsartgallery.org/ceramics/worcester_c570.htm
Another creamware teapot from Liverpool (c1780) in the Fitzwilliam Museum also has the transfer-printed “The Tea Party”. This design was engraved and printed by Richard Abbey in red ink (Figure 10; Godden 1966:1; Towner 1978: 171). Richard Abbey, a Liverpudlian, was apprenticed to Sadler and Green, as an engraver at the age of 13 in 1767. He opened his own shop at the age of 19 at Clieveland Square in Liverpool, and he was able to sell all sorts of Queen’s ware printed in the neatest manner and in various colors (Drakard 1992: 39). He both made and printed creamware, and he died in 1819. Two tea drinkers are depicted at the center of the teapot, and one black servant is standing and facing towards the center, serving snacks from their left side. Again, he is depicted much smaller than the tea
drinkers, and it hardly shows his facial expression. There is no dog, and a teakettle is on the fire on the ground. Costumes differ slightly from the one above, but their transfer-printed scenes of "The Tea Party" are very analogous.

Figure 10. Lead-glazed Earthenware Tea Pot. Transfer Printed in Red by Richard Abbey in Liverpool, ca. 1780-90.

"The Tea Party" transfer-print on creamware items manufactured by Worcester and Cockpit Hill, which I mentioned above, appear to be closely similar. They seem to have come from an unidentified pattern book published by John Bowles and Son in London in 1756. As I mentioned above, Wedgwood transfer-printed designs also originated from this pattern book (Stretton 1982: 1391), while it was modified to a greater extent than those by Worcester or Cockpit Hill. This is because decorations were copied or adapted using existing prints or other available material by engravers to create transfer-print decorations in the 18th century (Stretton 1982: 1391). A porcelain tea pot produced by Richard Chaffers in Liverpool around 1760-5 also shows "The Tea Party" and on the reverse side "The Shepard
Boy" in brownish black (Robin 1992: 144). The printing was done by Sadler and Green, and this print is similar to the designs on Wedgwood creamwares (Robin 1992: 144).

These ceramics indicate that the tea party design was used on many types of tea wares mainly around the 1760-70s. It is also evident that this design was copied and manufactured by numerous companies in England, which makes it hard to identify the manufacturer of the ceramic from Holetown. "The Tea Party" must have been a popular decoration, since it was produced by multiple pottery manufacturing companies, much as the way they made many potteries with transfer-printed heroes and well-known personalities of the time to accommodate contemporary public demand (Nelson 1980). Meanwhile, Wedgwood was an abolitionist (Kelly 1975: 45). He was a passionate supporter of the Anti-Slavery Committee. He designed a slave medallion cameo showing a slave kneeling in chains, with the message "Am I not a man and a brother?" He produced thousands of them, and distributed them freely (Kelly 1975: 46). Benjamin Franklin hoped that these medallions "may have an effect equal to that of the best written pamphlet" (Kelly 1975: 46). As I described, Wedgwood also made ceramics with "The Tea Party" designs showing a black servant poring tea. It is not known if Wedgwood attempted to distinguish black servants from slaves or is he wanted to depict blacks in a subordinate position. It is possible that Wedgwood's intention was not to simply represent the black servant in a stereotypical image, but rather he wanted to accommodate the romantic notion of tea drinking in England.

While its manufacturing peak seems sometime around the 1760-70s, "The Tea Party" continued to be produced in various wares in the 19th century. For instance, there are some lead-glazed earthenwares with this design printed on yellow-glazed earthen wares in a brownish-red (Figure 11: The Fitzwilliam Museum Collections 2005). Tea pots, sugar basins, tea bowls, saucers, jugs, and slop basins were created by St. Anthony's pottery in England around 1815 – 1825. They all have nearly an identical decoration of bat printed "The Tea Party." The disposition of people and furniture in the decoration is similar to those
by Wedgwood. However, the server pouring water from a kettle into a teapot doesn’t look like a black boy, though he is still standing far from the couple taking tea outdoors. The gentlemen and lady couple that were depicted also look different from those in the earlier decoration of “The Tea Party” from the 18th century. For example, the man’s hair looks more modern, curly and short unlike the one that looked like a white wig of the 18th century. The female also has a different type of hat, and her dress looks shorter and simpler.

![Image of Joseph Sewell's teapot](https://www.fitzwilliammuseum.cam.ac.uk/


These changes actually reflect changes in contemporary costumes in England. For example, men’s sleeves used to have ruffled frills of the shirt showing at the wrist in 1760-1790, whereas they didn’t have frills showing after 1790 (Bradfield 1970). Men used to wear wigs with curls on the sides, but these became less fashionable in the 1790s. After 1790,
natural, unpowdered hair became common, and it was usually short. Women’s hair was arranged over a high frame, and its emphasis was on the top. The erection at the top of their hair was usually decorated with some ornaments, such as ribbons, flowers, feathers, and jewelry during 1760-1790 (Bradfield 1970). However, mainstream fashion shifted once again, and hair started to be arranged in curls at the front with large coils or ringlets hanging at the back in 1790-1820. Their dress was a full-skirted gown supported on the hooped foundation remained open in front, and usually with elaborate decorations such as frills and flounces in 1760-80. A more simple style without much decoration became common in the 1780s, and the emphasis on the back by using hoops declined after 1794 (Bradfield 1970).

Not only with regard to the costume, but also the depiction of the servant in the decoration of “The Tea Party” might reflect social transformation as well. Abolitionist movements intensified in the 1770s and 1780s, but slavery was legal until 1807 in England. It is possible that the yellow glazed earthenwares with “The Tea Party” show a white male servant because it was made after the abolition of slavery. Even though the Tea Party design appears to have been most common during 1760-70s in England, these ceramics produced in the 19th century indicate the continuing manufacture of “the Tea Party” as well as small changes that occurred in the decoration that correlated with shifts in social and cultural trends, like costumes. The ceramic from the First Street site also appear to be from the first half of the 19th century, when Barbados was still under the transformation from slavery to full-emancipation.

In sum, this study involves both a typological and symbolic analysis in order to determine the qualitative meanings of the ceramic decoration. The typological approach was important in order to identify and determine the original forms and dating of the ceramic, which would lead me to understand iconography in the ceramics. As I discussed, I researched the British ceramic market, ceramic types during that period, and the decorative styles and techniques. This typological analysis yielded information that suggests that the
ceramic sherds from the First Street site were most likely pearlware, which had been imported from England sometime around the 1820-50s. The ceramic has both transfer print and annular patterns. The transfer-printed figures were printed under glaze, with the stipple engraving method. I presume that this ceramic was originally a cup that was used in the context of tea drinking activities. It was owned by a white family member or household, possibly a merchant, who was a resident on First Street in the first half of the 19th century. The decoration on the ceramic is similar to the decoration of “The Tea Party”, which was popular in the second half of the 18th century. However, ceramics with “The Tea Party” motif were manufactured in 19th century England with some decorative changes in costumes and figures.

Symbolic analysis is also important in understanding the ceramic decoration. In the following section I will interpret the meaning of the decoration by first discussing the image of tea drinking. Next, I will examine paintings showing slavery and servants in order to gain insight into the meaning associated with a slave serving tea to a planter. Finally, I will interpret the meanings of the ceramic by combining imagery analyses with the contextual information of Barbados. In addition, in order to contextualize the ceramic in contemporary Barbadian society, I will examine historical documents. This study will pay special attention to the racial relationships between whites and blacks, and the possible roles of ceramics in 19th century Barbadian culture.
CHAPTER V

INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION

The Analysis and Interpretation of Ceramic Symbolism

In this section, I will interpret the decoration of the ceramic from Barbados by comparing it with “The Tea Party.” Since there are similarities as well as differences between the typical “The Tea Party” decoration that were illustrated in the earlier chapter and the ceramic from the First Street site, I will first focus on the analogous aspects. One of the clear similarities is that both of them depict a tea-drinking scene. Also, they both portray a black person in a subservient role, while a white person/gentleman and lady are represented as upper class figures. Therefore, I will first examine the role of tea drinking in England. Then, I will explore some western images of black servants represented in paintings in order to understand the meanings of the depiction of blacks in subservient positions.

Following this, I will consider the differences between the decoration from Barbados and “The Tea Party.” One of the intriguing differences is the costume of servants. The black slave on the ceramic from Barbados wears only a loincloth, whereas servants on “The Tea Party” wear some type of European costume. Moreover, the black person with a hat doesn’t appear in any typical “The Tea Party” decoration. There is usually a white male and female figure depicted on “The Tea Party” transfer print, but it seems unidentifiable whether the black person with a hat is female or male. This scene could represent several situations such as whites and blacks socializing, the depiction of a white and black couple, or it could possibly be a scene of a British traveler or visitor having tea with a black person or a racially mixed person who was a descendant of black and white parents.
Tea Drinking as a Social Activity

As I mentioned, “The Tea Party” as well as the ceramic decoration on the vessel from Barbados both portray a scene of tea drinking. Then, a preliminary question is: What does tea drinking possibly represent? The tea theme can be seen not only on ceramics, but also on other objects like hand painted wallpaper in the 18th century (Tea Antiques.com 2005). It shows various scenes from the tea industry, such as tea picking in the hills, tea drying, selecting and tasting as well as people taking tea on balconies (Tea Antiques.com 2005). The popularity of such designs mirrors the contemporary social practice as well as the symbolic aspect of tea drinking among people.

By 18th century England, taking tea was an important social act. Tea import involved the introduction of pots with spouts, and cups and saucers of porcelain from China, which attracted consumers to tea drinking beginning in the 17th century (Robin 1992: 2). Due to its rarity, delicacy and whiteness, Chinese porcelain became a symbol of high status. Consequently, British potters attempted to imitate them. The image of tea taking was also a symbol of decadence and importance. Since tea was expensive, only wealthy people could afford it (Tea Antiques.com 2005). Tea drinking was a way of showing off their wealth and their imported porcelain items (Robin 1992: 2). Tea consumption dramatically increased from the end of the 17th throughout the 18th century in England. As tea drinking became a symbol of luxury, some families of high status began to ask for portraits of themselves drinking tea together (Robin 1992: 5). It was highly honorable to be depicted in a painting of a tea ceremony because of its high value and the image associated with tea (Tea Antiques.com 2005). The wallpaper from c.1760 shows a servant pouring water into a teapot, but he is a white adult male, instead of a black boy servant. Considering the social meaning of tea drinking and the elegant depiction of the gentleman and lady taking tea
outside, the transfer printed “The Tea Party” might indicate romantic notions of tea drinking as well as expressing high status and luxury of the users.

However, tea consumption became accessible to people of lower status by the middle of the 18th century, which shocked people in the higher class (Robin 1992: 7-8). By the last quarter of the 18th century, tea drinking was a necessity for all classes of people in England, including “the humblest peasant,” despite its expensive price (Robin 1992: 11). It was a part of social life as well, and it was necessary to serve tea after dinner with guests (Robin 1992: 13). As tea drinking became widespread, domestic servants began to be expected to provide tea and sugar (Robin 1992: 7). There were even books of instruction for servants on how to serve tea by the 1740s (Robin 1992: 7). By 1823, servants were guided when to take away a cup. They were also instructed to have a second teapot with hot water ready to adjust tea flavor (Robin 1992: 23; 25).

Such British practices of tea drinking were mirrored among the former British colonies on the eastern seaboard of the United States (Robin 1992: 14). Tea drinking at parties appears to have become common among whites by the 1820s in the West Indies, while casual tea drinking at a family dinner wasn’t common until later (Carmichael 1833: 42). Cups of tea, coffee, and wine were served at evening parties among whites, and these refreshments were served at parties among black slaves as well (Carmichael 1833: 285-292). Many guests would bring their racially mixed or black domestic slaves. Some of them wore white or colored striped jackets (Carmichael 1833: 35). Boys worked at cleaning dishes as well as tea service, and a head servant supervised them (Carmichael 1833: 113).

In the beginning of the 18th century, people preferred bowls and dishes that could be stowed closely together. Tea bowls, which are teacups without handles, were continuously imported throughout the century. This is because the Chinese form was popular, as well as the fact that handles would have wasted space (Robin 1992: 18). Various sizes of tea sets were imported. For instance, the cheap tea sets called breakfast sets in 1774 included a teapot,
sugar-box, a slop basin, milk pot, and 12 cups and saucers (Robin 1992: 21). On the other hand, the early English tea wares appear to have been sold without so much concern about the match between the cups and jug or teapot, though it was eventually sold in fixed groups of tea service items in the later 18th century (Robin 1992: 22). For example, the standardized number of 43 pieces in a tea set were comprised of 12 teacups and saucers, 12 coffee cans, a teapot and stand, a sugar box, a slop basin, a cream jug, a large plate, and a small plate in 1813 (Robin 1992: 23). The tea canister was abandoned due to the increased amount of tea consumption, which required larger receptacles, such as boxes or tea-trunks (Robin 1992: 23).

Considering such information, I believe that the transfer printed “The Tea Party” wares were produced in order to fulfill the desire of high-class consumers who could afford to purchase tea to show off their wealth in England. At the same time, people with relatively low status might have purchased the tea party wares as well, in order to strive for a higher class by representing their wealth or imitating people in the higher class. Since all classes of people in England purchased tea by the last quarter of the 18th century, it is plausible that the wares with the tea party decoration were produced for diverse classes of people. On the other hand, it is also possible that people of high class purchased relatively expensive transfer-print tea party wares in order to demarcate themselves from the lower class, since people in the lower class were unlikely to spend money on expensive transfer-printed vessels.

The Image of Blacks in a Subordinate Position

In addition to the scene of tea drinking, the depiction of a black servant is shared among most “The Tea Party” decorations. Numbers of museum collection books describe the black figure on “The Tea Party” as a servant instead of slave, although it is uncertain if servants were actually paid or occupied different positions than slaves. Art history sources also refer to black figures owned by wealthy families in European paintings as servants.
Many of them were slaves who were forced to work in domestic service, which indicates that the term servant was sometimes used to refer to slaves who performed domestic labor. In Barbados, however, servants referred to as indentured workers brought from Europe. Therefore, I will use the term "slave" to describe the black figure on the ceramic from Barbados, but I will refer to the black figure on "The Tea Party" and European paintings as "servant".

Why does the servant in "The Tea Party" often appear to be a black person? Images are placed in the center of historical processes, ideas, and discourse, and they serve an important role in communication and transmission of culture by carrying meanings and cross-references (Pieterse 1992: 10). Therefore, it is essential to consider the foundation of the stereotypical images of blacks among the white population in order to understand the reason why the black servant was depicted in the scene of tea drinking. Here I examine portrayals of black populations in the 17-19th century Western arts, and discuss the possible meanings of depictions of black slaves.

After emancipation, blacks were usually portrayed either as servants or entertainers in western representations (Pieterse 1992: 124). Their images were often confined to servile laborers from both the past and present, such as cooks, domestics, waiters and porters, which functioned to construct a linkage between black caricatures and racialized labor, and confirmed whites' exclusive public rights (Mullins 1999: 44). Blacks were portrayed in a role of servitude to the needs of white consumers, and never as consumers. Such depictions of blacks pleased whites, because they showed a historical evidence of black labor and blacks' social subordination (Mullins 1999: 46). In Europe, black servants are often shown in Moorish (Arabic) costume, which appears to be a form of orientalism, although it was not a familiar image in America (Pieterse 1992: 124; 131). In the 18th century, the Moorish clothing changed into European dress, but the oriental outfit returned as a consequence of the revival of orientalism in the 19th and 20th centuries (Pieterse 1992: 125). In Europe, the term
Moor was used to designate blacks besides Arabs, and the term “Blackamore” was introduced in 16th century England (Pieterse 1992). On the other hand, the black servants in America were often dressed in the uniform of a bellhop, shoeshine boy, porter, doorman, train steward or waiter, or the tuxedo (Pieterse 1992: 131).

The black servants were first depicted in ports and among sailors. For captains, the presence of an African servant boy was a prestige symbol at Bristol, and there were numerous slaves by the end of the 18th century (Debrunner 1979: 91). Not only in England, but this can be seen in the image from “A Map of the Most Inhabited Part of Virginia...” by Josh Fry and Peter Jefferson (ca. 1755) which shows a port with slaves working with hogsheads of tobacco; one of the African slaves is serving a drink to a white merchants (Figure 10: The Atlantic Slave Trade and Slave Life in the Americas 2005). He is wearing a loincloth, and depicted from the right side. He is portrayed as a small figure, possibly a young boy, and placed at the far left corner of the cartouche.

By the end of the 16th century, owning a black houseboy had become popular for aristocratic families in England (Dabydeen 1987: 17). The fashion of the attendance of African servants in the ports spread into the nobility and the upper middle classes (Debrunner 1979: 92). London had become the greatest African colony in Europe by the end of the 18th century. Africans primarily served as domestic servants not only in Britain, but also in Lisbon and France (Debrunner 1979: 91). Subsequently, they became popular figures for the portraits of wealthy families in northern Europe (Pieterse 1992: 124). Aristocrats were often painted with black servants in the 17th and 18th centuries, and black servants were often shown at the side of the gentlemen and lady in their portraits. The presence of the black servant was a symbol of affluence, luxury, and high status, as well as sometimes a denotation of the owner's colonial connections (Dabydeen 1987: 84-5; Pieterse 1992: 124-5).

Figure 13. “Die Bedienung” from 1795 in Germany. It shows a black boy in oriental clothing serving coffee or chocolate.
An example of portraits depicted with a black servant is, ‘Die Bedienung’ from 1795 in Germany, which shows a black boy in oriental clothing serving coffee or chocolate (Figure 13: Pieterse 1992: 125). The Prussian court artist, Antonine Pesne, often painted African servants with portraits of noblemen/ladies (Debrunner 1979: 94). In another example, portraits of Mme Du Barry, the official mistress of Louis XV, depict her with an African servant serving tea, which shows an African as adornment and originally set the fashion in France as well (Figure 14: Debrunner 1979: 99).

![Mme Du Barry](http://world.std.com/~hmtb/louvec.htm)

Figure 14. Mme Du Barry (1746-1793). She was Louis XV’s courtesan in France, and portrayed with an African servant Zamaré on the left. Source: A Look Back at Louveciennes. 2006: http://world.std.com/~hmfh/louvec.htm

The ways in which black servants were depicted reflect contemporary social relations between blacks and whites, and the whites’ ideology, who ordered painters to portray them with their black servant. For instance, the figures of black servants are often portrayed in a small size, and placed in a lower position or background in contrast to white figures on the canvas. Such portrayal of black servants symbolizes their servitude and subordination.
(Debydeen 1987: 30; Pieterse 1992). Their slightly slouching posture makes them look shorter or smaller, and a physical distance between them and their served indicates social and status distance (Pieterse 1992: 131). These tendencies can be observed in “The Tea Party” as well. The paintings of aristocratic families also indicate that the black servants were not treated as fully human, but more like possessions (Sandhu 2005). This is because they were often placed on edges or rear parts of the canvasses, and they were depicted as gazing at their masters and mistresses (Sandhu 2005). Such representation of black servants symbolically expresses that they were marginalized by white families of high class.

Figure 15. *Marriage A-la-Mode: 4. The Toilette* (ca. 1743) by William Hogarth. A black servant in slouching posture is serving a tea behind white aristocratic owners. Compared to white figures, she is represented less clear.
Source: The National Gallery: Trafalgar Square London. 2005:
http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk

For instance, *Marriage a la Mode: 4. The Toilette* (1743), painted by Hogarth, shows a black servant slightly slouching and serving tea behind white aristocratic owners (Figure
Hogarth uses black figures as a symbol of nature as opposed to artificial aristocracy. Even though in this case, he implies the black figure as a superior to the indecencies of aristocratic owners (Dabydeen 1987:81), his depiction of a black servant and white owners expresses the contrast between them. In addition, An Italian Courtyard (1660-5) by Jan Weenix shows a black servant on the left edge of the painting. He is serving food with his left hand, and holding a jug in the right hand (Figure 16).

Figure 16. An Italian Courtyard (1660-5) by Jan Weenix. A black boy is depicted with a jar in his hand at the edge of the canvas.
Source: The National Gallery: Trafalgar Square London.2005: 
http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk
The Marriage at Cana (1613-1699) by Mattia Preti, from the Biblical scene of Christ turning water into wine at the marriage feast in Cana, also shows a black servant. He is bending on the knee or squatting to serve a drink to one of the guests. Even though he is depicted at the front center of the painting, his face is dark and unclear compared to other figures (Figure 17). At the same time, Margolin (2002) argues that the mass produced transfer print of “The Tea Party” reinforced the marginalized image of black servants by portraying them with protruding lower jaws, low and massive brows, and exceptionally long arms in the late 18th century (Margolin 2002). These images of black servants served to express the high status of some white families, as well as to create, reinforce, and reproduce racial differences.

Figure 17. The Marriage at Cana (1613-1699) by Mattia Preti. A black servant is placed in front of the table, but not painted clearly.
Moreover, the depiction of dogs functioned in a similar way as the black servant on the canvas. Dogs and black servants were sometimes drawn together in analogous postures with identical attributes such as a collar of the same design in such portraits (Pieterse 1992: 125-6). In terms of decorative aspect, they both functioned as an aesthetic enhancement by providing contrast in color and pictorial diversity (Debydeen 1987: 30; Pieterse 1992: 125). This is one reason why black servants were often dressed in Moor style, which itself enriches the paintings (Pieterse 1999: 125). At the same time, a dog and a black servant were often depicted in similar postures while showing admiration for their white owner (Debydeen 1987: 23-26). These paintings indicate the hierarchy of power relationships. The superiority of the white owner is expressed with the inferiors, black servant and the dog, which share similar status in paintings (Debydeen 1987: 26). Moreover, the comparison and equation of blacks and animals reflect the dominant white ideology (Debydeen 1987: 30). In the decoration of “The Tea Party,” servant and dog were often placed on both sides of the aristocratic gentleman and lady at the center. They are also depicted much smaller than the gentleman and the lady. They were both seen as faithful companion and subservient to their owners. The dog closely sits next to the lady in the “The Tea Party” decoration, thus it may show that the dog was treated better, or the owners had more affection for the dog than the black servant.

The image of blacks as servants, as well as their equation to animals, involved the racist ideology that supported slavery. This ideology, which was supported in the 19th century, claimed the slave was “born to serve” (Pieterse 1992: 129). It was originally the pro-slaverists’ claim; they insisted on the nature of blacks as being slaves, possessing the habits and feelings of slaves, while whites possess those habits and feelings of slave owners. They employed this racist ideology in order to avoid emancipation (Fredrickson 1987: 45). In addition, the idea that blacks find happiness or fulfillment only when they had a white
slave owner, or they had a better life in slavery than in Africa, was supported and enriched by
pro-slaverists (Fredrickson 1987: 52).

In North America, such ideas about permanent and innate black inferiority as opposed to white supremacy ensued from this racist ideology, and became the basis of the universal view (Fredrickson 1987: 47). For instance, the stereotypical image of blacks as an inferior Sambo and their nature of docility persisted even after the abolition of slavery in North America (Fredrickson 1987: 168-9). Such racist ideology was reflected in contemporary images of blacks that were often represented as servile workers, and in return, such images of blacks reinforced racist ideology. The racist ideology and image of blacks as servants in the 19th century indicate the continuation of slavery by another name (Pieterse 1992: 130). For instance, the status of black servants reinforced the distinction between whites and blacks, which were represented by the phrase “hierarchical integration.” In America, hierarchical integration brought whites and blacks into physically proximity, while at the same time, the clear demarcation of superiority-inferiority between them was maintained (Pieterse 1992: 130). Representation of ‘others’ relates to power relationships, and it is utilized as a means of constituting a boundary between the labelers and the labeled, establishing the place of civilization by contrasting their differences. It also reinforces social inequality (Pieterse 1992: 233-4).

To repeat, the presence of the black servant on “The Tea Party” was another symbol for luxury and nobility among aristocratic families in addition to the image of “tea drinking.” Moreover, by depicting servants smaller in contrast to whites, people in high status not only intended to represent their nobility, but also consciously or unconsciously distanced themselves from their black servants. The image of blacks as servants originated from the racist ideology employed by whites during slavery, and it was continuously supported after emancipation. The Tea Party decoration on vessels might have served to spread and reinforce
such images of blacks as servants while it simultaneously functioned to express racist ideology including white superiority and innate differences between whites and blacks.

**Slave Costumes in Barbados**

As I mentioned above, one of the differences between “The Tea Party” and the decoration on the ceramic from Barbados is the costume of the slave. While most depictions of black servants in the transfer-printed “The Tea Party” I discussed above are dressed in western costume, the slave on the ceramic from the First Street site shows only a loincloth around his waist. This clothing style on a black slave can be seen in “A Map of the Most Inhabited Part of Virginia...” by Josh Fry and Peter Jefferson (ca. 1755) (see Figure 12). Does the loincloth reflect the way contemporary slaves used to dress in Barbados?

In the early years of the slave period in Barbados, especially during the 17th and the early 18th centuries, plantation slaves wore no more than a band of cloth around their waists regardless of sex (Handler and Lange 1978: 92). Despite the law requiring planters to provide clothing for slaves, it didn’t have much effect during the 17th and early to mid 18th century (Handler and Lange 1978: 91). By the late 17th century, higher ranked slaves sometimes received greater clothing allowances, and special items of clothing were distributed to encourage slaves to increase productivity (Handler and Lange 1978: 94). After 1768, annual clothing became customized, and planters began to provide each slave with an annual clothing allowance consisting of a waistcoat, Osnaburg breeches, and a cotton or woolen undershirt (Levy 1970: 5). Some visitors actually observed several gangs of black slaves at work with their hoes in 1836, and they were sufficiently clothed (Sturge and Harvey 1968: 2).

However, an American visitor who spent 6 months in Barbados in 1814 observed that the field gangs went naked, with the exception of a cloth around their loins. They were often barefoot, while some favored slaves were given a pair of shoes (Handler and Lange 1978: 99).
On the other hand, a British national who stayed in the West Indies (St. Vincent and Trinidad) around the 1820-30s claimed that the unclothed state of the black field slaves were actually due to their own preference (Carmichael 1833). Even though she was shocked at unclothed blacks at first, she realized after a few months of observation that it was actually their own choice to wear as little clothing as possible depending on the weather after a few months of observation.

Besides, she explained that blacks who don’t wear clothing indicate their savageness and lack of decency, while others who were civilized wear clothing (Carmichael 1833: 154-156). Black slaves were given clothing annually at Christmas, when the ships arrive from England, as well as occasional gifts. The annual provision consisted of strong blue woolen cloth, called Pennistown (the same that is worn by the lower classes of females in Scotland for petticoats); strong, unbleached linen known by the name of Oznabrags, a felt hat, needles, thread, tape, scissors, and buttons, were also given to the men. The allowance of clothing for children depended on their age; after 12 years, they received the same provisions as adults. Additional clothing was distributed to those who worked harder, and they were better off than the majority of the lower ranks in Britain (Carmichael 1833: 143). However, wearing shoes doesn’t appear to have been common, since they didn’t generally wear them to come along with their owners for parties (Carmichael 1833: 35).

Meanwhile, black slaves who worked in the field dressed differently from black slaves in town. The latter, even of the lowest rank, dressed better than common field slaves (Carmichael 1833: 154). For instance, head black slaves on estates dressed up extremely gay, neat, clean and nicer than English country people in St. Vincent (Carmichael 1833: 143, 153). For instance, most black slaves on estates wore jackets or coats, waistcoats (black kerseymere, or white), fine linen shirt, linen trousers, stockings, and a long cloth coat provided by their owner. Only head slaves had shoes. The boys were also extremely well dressed, and they usually received a new hat at Christmas (Carmichael 1833: 145). Domestic
female slaves were dressed nicely, such as fine worked gowns, satin bodices, and good cotton or silk stockings (Carmichael 1833: 145).

While the costumes of the gentleman and lady on the Tea Party decorations appear to reflect the contemporary clothing styles in England, the depiction of the slave with a loincloth on the ceramic from Barbados doesn’t seem to be consistent with the historical accounts. Many documents indicate that slaves were sufficiently clothed around the late 18th and the 19th century. There was a typical misrepresentation of blacks in England at the time, which illustrates black slaves in the West Indies working without clothing or had scarcely a rag to cover themselves because of the proprietor’s diminishing treatment (Carmichael 1833: 160). From information I provided above, it is unlikely that black slaves on estates in the early 19th century West Indies dressed in a loincloth, but rather it is more plausible that they were dressed better. British visitors to the West Indies were inclined to think black slaves were unclothed because of their white slave owners. They tended to blame European slave owners that they force slaves to work for their own profit, and they didn’t even provide their slaves with anything to wear (Carmichael 1833: 160). Some field slaves were occasionally unclothed, but it was usually their own choice depending on the weather, and slave owners annually provided clothing to slaves (Carmichael 1833: 142; 160).

Therefore, the depiction of a black slave with a loincloth on the ceramic was possibly designed by an English potter based on the British stereotypical image of black field slaves in the West Indies. Moreover, while “The Tea Party” shows black male slaves, it is suggested that more female slaves were employed in domestic service in Barbados. It was common to own domestic slaves by the 18th century in Barbados. In 1760, most of the 5,000 slave owners in Barbados owned two or more domestic female slaves. White households in Bridgetown owned 3 domestics on average, while white plantation households held between 4 – 6 female domestics (Beckles 1989: 58).

For instance, in 1781 at Codrington estate, 15 women and 1 girl belonged to the
house, while only 3 men were in this category (Beckles 1989: 60). In Bridgetown, the majority of black slave women were employed in domestic service. The 1817 data shows that they comprised 69.6% of the total female population. Of the female slave group who were descendants of black and white heritage, 56.5% were domestics (Beckles 1989: 60). Considering such information, it is possible that female domestics served as housekeepers, while male domestics functioned as a head slave or boy in Barbados. It is interesting that even though more females appear to have been employed in domestic service in Barbados, the decoration shows a male slave. Again, it is possible that the decoration was designed based on the stereotypical British image of black slaves in the West Indies.

Culture and Social Context in Barbados

I presented a discussion about “The Tea Party” in England, and what the tea-drinking scene featuring a black servant possibly symbolized. In this section, I will try to contextualize the ceramic in order to interpret its meaning in Barbadian culture. What was the particular context in which the ceramic was used? Were the meanings of the ceramic decoration the same as those of “The Tea Party” in Western countries?

In this section, I will first examine how racism was intertwined with various aspects of social life in Barbados. Then, I will discuss the relationships between whites and blacks through accounts of white visitors and planters in the 1820-30s. I believe that it is necessary to interpret the ceramic as a product of interactions between whites and blacks, since it was used during slavery and/or post emancipation. It is important to understand this material within the context of contemporary Barbados, in order to interpret the meanings and roles of the ceramic which were projected and reflected in the particular social and cultural context. The accounts by white visitors and planters that I examined suggest their fears and anger towards economic changes because of impending emancipation, which may shed light on the meaning of the ceramic decoration. I believe that the ceramic decoration of the black slave,
like the case in Europe or North America, was used to express the stereotypical image of black people as “born to serve” even after the emancipation. Racism was incited by fears among whites, and was employed in daily life to maintain white supremacy under the transformation of slavery into full emancipation. Unfortunately, it is harder to examine the racial relationship from the black population’s perspective, since most historical documents from this time period were written exclusively by whites.

Racism and History of Barbados

Since European settlers established the first plantations, racism had been intertwined with various aspects of life in Barbados. It is similar to racism in America, where racial prejudice was manifested in various forms as a concomitant of slavery since the 17th century, and racism “as a rationalized ideology grounded in what were thought to be the facts of nature” remained until the middle of the 19th century (Fredrickson 1987: 2).

Anti-black racism was employed from the beginning of the colonial society in Barbados by whites, in order to keep material and social dominance and privilege of the white community (Beckles 2004: 64). The English colonists of Barbados constructed the colonial system, in which the society was based on the concept of white supremacy (Beckles 2004: 63). Slavery and the low status of the free black and racially mixed peoples in the English colonies were founded on the ideological basis of the superiority of white descent. This ideology was grounded in the common cultural orientation and incorporated into the institutional structures in societies of Jamaica, Barbados, and the U.S (Sio 1976: 20-1). White attitudes toward the blacks, which were often represented in racist claims, originated in the institutionalization of slavery founded upon race (Fredrickson 1987: 322).

There were some widespread, almost universal propositions put forth by white supremacists (Fredrickson 1987: 321). First, they claimed physical, intellectual, and temperamental differences between blacks and whites. Second, they argued that blacks are
inferior to whites in fundamental qualities wherein the races differed, “especially in intelligence and temperamental basis of enterprise or initiative.” The differences between them were considered innate, or only changeable by a very slow process of development or evolution. They also agreed that when blacks were legally free from racial subordination, racial prejudice and antagonism was an inevitable white reaction. Therefore, they claimed that it was impossible to have an egalitarian society with blacks and whites, or that it could be achieved only in the remote and almost inconceivable future. Blacks in America therefore were destined to be continuously subordinated as slaves or subjected to some kind of discrimination for all practical purposes (Fredrickson 1987: 321).

In general, racist ideology was developed and utilized to facilitate slavery. For instance, in southern plantations in America, racist ideology was employed to operate the plantation economy by supporting an unequal economic relationship, since the plantation economy required strong class divisions between owners and producers (Babson 1990: 22). In Barbados as well, the concept of racial difference was utilized to segregate and manage all ethnic groups (Beckles 2004). For example, slave owners adapted the racially structured labor policy in the 1660s, when chattel slavery was fully established (Beckles 1989: 29). The division of labor was based on skin color, excluded white women from working in the field, and placed black woman at the base of the slave system. Such racial segregation emphasized the link between images of subjugated labor and black slaves, which was used to elevate whites while degrading blacks (Beckles 1989: 29).

Not only did racial differences segregate ethnic groups, but it also enabled whites to naturalize the inferiority of blacks in Barbados. In other words, whites used racism to maintain the social hierarchy of white supremacy. To do so, the naturalization of the inferiority of blacks was important for the white population. They employed physical and cultural differences between whites and African slaves to claim that African slaves are inferior, so that the subordination of African slaves was justified, naturalized, and secured.
The inferiority of African slaves was also legally concretized as the norm (Beckles 2004: 64). By employing a policy based on racial differences, slave owners developed an ideology of white racial superiority (Beckles 1989: 29). At the same time, I believe that they tried to naturalize white superiority in order to secure a social order that was grounded in racial difference. Moreover, White intellectuals, enslavers, politicians, lawyers, colonial and imperial administrators all attempted to legitimize a racist social hierarchy by illustrating that slavery was natural, rational, and desirable (Beckles 2004: 64).

For instance, John Poyer, a distinguished member of the Barbadian white community, during the emancipation period, claimed that racism was one of the most important organizing principles of society (Beckles 2004: 64). He explained that subordination of blacks was necessary, and distinctions between the white inhabitants and free people of color, as well as slave owners and slaves, resulted from the nature of their society (Beckles 2004: 65). The white community needed to suppress blacks in pursuit of their freedom in order to maintain social organization. Such white supremacy was reproduced through generations until the practice of racism became common knowledge among white children (Beckles 2004: 65). Due to miscegenation, many African descendants were racially whitened, but were consequently excluded and marginalized once they were known to be mixed (Beckles 2004: 66). As a result of these processes, racial differences became a primary element that determined accessibility to economic resources, social status, and cultural legitimacy in Barbados (Beckles 2004: 64).

The naturalization of white superiority and black inferiority were manipulated not only in Barbados, but also in many colonial contexts. In America, pro-slaverists claimed that the blacks have the habits and feelings of slaves, while the whites have those of slave owners, hence it is difficult to emancipate (Fredrickson 1987: 45). The racist concept of the nature of white supremacy was continuously reinforced and widespread by various spokesmen. For example, Representative James Brooks of New York delivered a speech on December 18,
1867 in opposition to the First Reconstruction Act (Fredrickson 1987: 191). In his speech, he mentioned that "...The Negro is not the equal of the white man, much less his master; and this I can demonstrate anatomically, physiologically, and psychologically too, if necessary. Volumes of scientific authority established the fact...on the hair or wool of the negro...the skull, the brain, the neck, the foot etc..." (Fredrickson 1987: 191). As I mentioned above, the naturalization of blacks as being born to be servants persisted even after emancipation.

For instance, the naturalization of innate black inferiority was promoted further by scientific and biological studies in the early 19th century. Racial prejudice was continuously reinforced by the biological justification of black inferiority. Craniometrical studies were used to affirm, justify, and maintain the racial hierarchy. For instance, in 1868 Nott and Gliddon conducted a study that presented a misleadingly shaped chimpanzee skull and a deformed black skull, in order to suggest that black belonged to lower ranks than apes (Gould 1996: 64-5). While these researchers were not aware of political ideologues, such studies confirmed the prejudices of Caucasians as a superior race compared to African descendants; thus, naturalizing African descendants in a subordinate position. The inferiority of blacks was naturalized even in the 20th century. The hereditary theory of IQ arose and persisted through the work of psychologists in twentieth century America. Many psychologists claimed that the economic differences between human groups divided along lines of race, class, and sex arose from inherited, inborn distinctions. This idea promoted racism and prejudice by ranking people and categorizing them according to IQ scores. *The Bell Curve*, which was published in 1994, still asserted biological determinism and claimed that African descended people have lower than average innate intelligence than other people (Gould 1996).

By employing racist ideology, whites succeeded to legally secure their own control over black slaves. For instance, racist ideology justified their right to physically punish their slaves. In Barbados, the slave owners' corporal punishment was a symbol of their absolute
control over their slaves. Some white overseers used their whip as a symbol of slaveholding authority for many years (Thome 1838: 219). The enforcement of corporal punishment, as one of the means to maintain white supremacy and express their control over slaves, was legally secured by the end of the 17th century, when white owners rationalized the necessity of such regulation by using anti-black racist ideology. The provisions of a general statute of 1688 put forward the concept of black inferiority by claiming that “the barbarous, wild, and savage nature of the Negroes” required severe regulations to “restrain the disorders, rapines and inhumanities to which they are naturally prone and inclined” (Levy 1970: 3).

As examples of owners’ regulations, slaves were not allowed to marry, own property, discipline their children, attend dances or funerals without consent, beat drums, possess firearms, or engage in commerce. If they were caught stealing valued goods of more than one shilling, they were sentenced to death, whereas the owner was compensated at public expense (Levy 1970: 3). On the other hand, white planters hardly ever imposed penalties on any whites (Levy 1970: 4). Even when Arthur Hodge who flogged 60 men, women, and children to death, was convicted for murder in 1811, hundreds of whites sought to avoid his execution (Levy 1970: 4).

In addition to racism, sexism determined that black female slaves were treated more brutally than black males. The rape of black female slaves wasn’t legally considered an offence, while the rape of white females was strictly punished (Beckles 1989: 43). While the emancipation lobby’s reformists attempted to end the flogging of female slaves by drivers, slave owners argued that it was their right to discipline and punish their slaves (Beckles 1989: 40). Slave planters used principles of sexual equality and stereotypical characteristics of black female as “Amazonian” to defend their rights of flogging slave women by drivers in 1823. The drivers’ use of the whip wasn’t even outlawed in 1826, when the modernization of slave laws were revised and accepted by the imperial government (Beckles 1989: 40-42).
While the anti-black racism legally secured whites' rights, it restricted blacks' rights. As a consequence of a colonial system that was founded on racism, the legal status of black and racially mixed people was assigned exclusively by race regardless of their status (free or enslaved) in Barbados. Even though there were distinctions in the law between nonwhites who were “black,” “mulatto,” and “free colored,” all free nonwhites were permanently in the legal status of “free colored” in Barbados (Sio 1976: 9). Enslaved and free blacks, and racially mixed peoples were racially discriminated against and excluded from holding political rights, wealth, and privilege by racism.

For instance, the free black population in Barbados, of which the earliest definition of the legal status appeared in a law of 1721, was restricted in terms of their right to vote, seek election to office, and serve on juries as free holders (Sio 1976: 9). The initial improvement of their legal status did not occur until the slave revolt of 1816 (Sio 1976: 9). Throughout the 18th century and mostly until the 1830s, only whites had political rights as well as other legal and customary privileges (Sio 1976: 16). Moreover, although free blacks and racially mixed peoples were neither legally restrained from occupying supervisory positions on the estates nor limited with regard to their inheritance or purchasing property, their activities in the rural areas were limited due to racism. Land was mostly controlled by the white planters (Sio 1976). Blacks and racially mixed, therefore, had few opportunities to even buy or rent land, and majority of the free black people didn’t own property, and they were subsequently poor (Sio 1976: 12; Beckles 2004).

As a result of the long history of a Barbadian social system being based on racial differences, Governor Smith indicated that the Abolition Act of 1833 didn’t confront the psychological aspect of white supremacy in 1835 (Beckles 2004: 68). The racist ideology on which Barbados was originally founded had become the basis for a way of life for white inhabitants (Beckles 2004: 68). Consequently, the ideology of white supremacy became a central principle in organizing their societies even after emancipation.
After the emancipation in 1838, blacks and racially mixed population were still restricted from economic success by racism. Blacks were not permitted to participate in a commercial world that had been economically developed with colonial prosperity because all the merchants, planters, brokers, agents, financiers, politicians, and lawyers, were organize in the European imperial culture, where networks were structured on ethnicity (Beckles 2004: 47). Racism also assured Blacks’ landlessness, and it subsequently reinforced the racist rationales of blacks as free to work for whites (Beckles 2004: 47). In Barbados, it was believed that the ex-slaves could be kept to their duty by the density of settlement and the estates’ virtual monopoly of agricultural land, reinforced by strict laws against vagrancy and the breach of employment contracts (Ward 1988: 235). By solidifying Black’s landlessness, white planters attempted to maintain their labor force. The former slave owning class also demanded the necessity of a legal and military offensive against the emancipated community to continuously subordinate them based on race and class (Beckles 2004: 44). Even though some whites in Barbados had been poor by island standards, whites as a group had controlled the national institutions and economic and political life of the island just like elsewhere in the Commonwealth Caribbean until its political independence from Great Britain in 1966 (Handler and Lange 1987: 14).

Fears among Whites towards Emancipation

Racism was also an ideology developed by modern, capitalist societies in order to mask the reality of economic and social benefit. In the case of South Carolina rice plantations, racism was employed by European settlers in order to cover the fact that Africans’ skilled labor force contributed to the plantation economy, while the European settlers themselves made little contributions to it. To mask such reality, they promoted the idea of Africans as too stupid to manage the plantation or even their own lives without European assistance (Babson 1990: 23). In Barbados, I believe that fear of emancipation was
one of the primary factors that incited racist ideology among the white population during the period of abolitionism. Some argued that abolitionism was a counter-force, which provoked the pro-slavery propaganda of the planter’s lobbies, and abolitionism and racism were simultaneously incited. Race also served as the buffer between abolition and equality (Pieterse 1992: 59).

Under the growing influence of humanitarians, white populations faced various “fears” in Barbados. For instance, they were afraid of possible economic decline and the loss of their absolute control over black slaves. During the process of abolitionism, there was a transformation from colonial slavery to the apprenticeship system and eventually full emancipation. White owners and planters resented the humanitarians suggesting emancipation, because they believed that their prosperity was dependent on the continuation of slavery (Levy 1970: 1). From the beginning of the anti-slavery agitations in England, white planters and slave owners were hostile to emancipation in Barbados (Thome 1838: 326).

White slave owners and planters were against any attempt to curtail their control over slaves. In the 1820s, Thomas Fowell Buxton, a leader of the British humanitarians, claimed that slavery should be abolished because it was against the Christian religion. At the same time, the colonial secretary Lord Bathurst attempted to ameliorate the hardship of slavery by prohibiting the use of the whip and allowing slaves their freedom and to own their own property (Levy 1970: 7-8). On the other hand, the slave owners and British planters were against Bathurst’s attempt as it would curtail their control, and they tried to prevent any kind of modification of slavery because it could lead to the abolition of slavery (Levy 1970: 8). Their argument was that Great Britain’s interference undermined their property in slaves and endangered the lives and safety of both races (Levy 1970: 8).

Their anger can be also seen in the incident that occurred after the new Methodist minister, William Shrewsbury sermonized the free blacks with the idea of spiritual equity in
1823. Angry whites interrupted the Methodists' Sunday worship, and a mob of whites dismembered the chapel. They also attacked the minister (Levy 1970: 9). Despite the strong opposition to abolitionism among many white planters, the Abolitionists clearly challenged the ideological basis for slavery, and it became apparent that emancipation was coming by the beginning of 1833 (Taylor 1976: 63-64).

Pro-slaverists employed various racist ideologies in order to argue against abolition. The Abolition Act in 1833 also engendered fear among white slave owners and planters in Barbados during emancipation (Taylor 1976). John Pollard Mayers, who was the Barbadian agent in London, in a first line of defense and chief intelligence officer in England, reflected the attitudes of the planters in Barbados at the time. His argument often involved references to the inferior nature of the black population, which was the basic concept of anti-Black racism among whites. For instance, he as well as the planters expressed a fear that the blacks wouldn't work and would remain idle unless they were enforced, and would prefer starvation (Taylor 1976: 61). The primary newspaper for the White elite community, the Barbadian, mentioned the fear of pending freedom in 1838:

The bad feelings we noticed in our last paper is spreading through those very estates where there is least reason to expect it. ...people accustomed to the kindest, most humane liberal treatment, are refusing to work, absolutely refusing to enter into any contract for wages, which may subject them if they violate it to be taken before a magistrate, and yet claiming to hold possession of their houses and land...There is not only passive resistance, but it has come to our knowledge that there is an insolent bearing on the part of some of the labourers- a sort of defiance in their manner- which calls for some prompt and energetic measures on the part of the magistracy of the island (Quoted in Beckles 2004: 43).

It was also noted by a British resident that: “I’m not afraid to assert that any emancipation of slaves without some preparatory course, would disappoint the expectations of the most sanguine; for though legally free, their minds would remain under the slavish yoke of ignorance; and society, I am persuaded, must undergo a thorough change, before a
free working population will be found in the West Indies under British laws” (Carmichael 1833: 291). Mayers also mentioned that moving the right to punish their apprentices (former slaves) to the magistrate endangered the security of property, which had been dependent on the internal discipline of each estate (Taylor 1976: 72). When emancipation became apparent, the planters shifted their argument from a defense of slavery to an attack on Great Britain’s involvement in the development of slavery system as well as a plea to gain as much compensation as possible for their loss of their labor force (Taylor 1976: 84).

Even though white planters and owners in Barbados were unitedly opposed to emancipation at first, their opinion changed dramatically after the apprenticeship started in 1833. Many white planters, who were former opponents of abolition before it took place, became aware that blacks worked hard as apprentices. They were convinced that full emancipation would create no problems (Thome 1838). Moreover, it was witnessed that cultivation became better than ever, and export of sugar from Barbados evidently increased in the 1830s after the apprenticeship (Thome 1838; Sturge and Harvey 1968: 150; Ward 1988: 242). The price given for estates persuaded the planters that they would be able to carry on a profitable cultivation after the year 1840 (Sturge and Harvey 1968: 150). For instance, a person who had been a planter since 1795, a colonial magistrate for a long time, and a commander of the parish troops, testified that the abolition of slavery provided a tremendous blessing although he used to be a violent opponent of abolition (Thome 1838: 249). There was no trouble managing his apprentices, and he believed that the black apprentices wouldn’t leave their work unless the slave owner was hard on them. He asserted that there was no fear of losing any labors even after the scheduled full emancipation of 1840 (Thome 1838: 250). In addition, the Solicitor General, who was also opposed to emancipation, was even convinced that emancipation would be a good thing (Thome 1838: 266).

After emancipation there was diminishing fear among white planters with regard to losing laborers or slaves committing violent acts. For instance, a planter from St. Thomas
parish, who was a proprietor of a small estate with 80 apprentices, testified that his apprentices became more open-minded as opposed to when they were slaves and scared of the slave owner and avoided him (Thome 1838: 223). At the same time, slaves were also free from fear for reprimand and flogging (Thome 1838: 224). He also claimed that his constant fear of insurrection and being killed by slaves before the emancipation, all passed away since abolition (Thome 1838: 224). Many of these planters appear to have gained confidence in managing their laborers by seeing their workers working harder than ever as apprentices without being idle or violent, so they came to believe that their workers would continue working even after 1840 (Thome 1838). A gentleman explained that “Negro characters” were misrepresented as vindictive, while they were mostly honest and enduring (Sturge and Harvey 1968: 142).

While there were testimonies that describe the apprenticeship as if it worked perfectly, there were also accounts indicating fear, unchanged relationships between masters and workers, and the failure of the apprenticeship. The apprenticeship was originally conceived as a preparatory step to the full emancipation. However, the apprenticeship came to be viewed as “slavery under another name.” Even though it seemed to be a modified and mitigated slavery, it also had its peculiar disadvantages (Sturge and Harvey 1968: 151). It didn’t function as a preparation for emancipation (Thome 1838: 264; Sturge and Harvey 1968).

In terms of relationships between masters and apprentices, there is little sense of a feeling community unless the masters treated workers with kindness. The apprenticeship system didn’t necessarily bring masters and workers together but instead separated them by exciting jealousies and suspicions (Thome 1838: 264). For instance, an Excellency remarked that the apprenticeship was bothersome to all parties due to the system in which the special magistrate would punish either master or apprentice if either of them did something wrong or ill-treated the other. The constant conflict and animosity was cultivated between master and
apprentice (Thome 1838: 216-7). Some claimed that many apprentices had no confidence in their employer (Thome 1838: 264). For apprentices, the magistrate was their “master”, because the magistrate provided legal instruction and friendly advice. Meanwhile, they regarded their master, employer, as their enemy, who brought complaints against them.

In St.Vincent in the West Indies, it is also noted that slaves’ attitudes towards their slave owners changed under abolitionist movements. Abolitionism was a force for the slaves to incite an “anti-master feeling,” while the masters increasingly built the “pro-slavery feeling.” For instance, even though the British resident in the West Indies did not recollect any instances of punishment during the seven years of her stay in the 1820-30s, the slaves’ attitude changed after they got information about the debates in parliament (Carmichael 1833: 244-246). Before, the domestic slaves were viewed as cheerful, and they usually respected their owners (Carmichael 1833: 244). However, they changed their attitudes as soon as they realized that their freedom was imminent. They became “the most worthless and disreputable of all characters” after the arrival of commissioners. The commissioners were sent from the British government to investigate economy and relationships between slave owners and slaves in order to think over the abolition of slavery (Carmichael 1833: 246). The slaves realized that they would soon be free from slavery, and they gained some confidence in their status. Sine then, the owner was scared to even make a request to a domestic slave because of their impudence. The owner explained that they began considering all slave owners as tyrants, and black slaves believed that Massa King George had said that they were all going to be free (Carmichael 1833). A Briton meant by the term free, to let slaves work for their own support in England. However, the slaves believed that Massa King George would buy estates so that they would have a place to live on (Carmichael 1833: 246).

Such changes in the slaves’ attitudes might have reflected their increasing hope and confidence in possible emancipation by getting information about the debates in parliament on the slavery. The discrepancy between “public transcript” and “hidden transcript” possibly
shows the impact of the domination by the slave owner. They were keeping the anti-master feeling inside until the commissioner came, because they were afraid of consequence and punishment, but after the arrival of the commissioner, they realized that they might be able to be free, or express their “real” feelings. Scott (1990) explains this as a “public transcript,” which describes the open interaction between subordinates and those who dominate, and a “hidden transcript,” which illustrates the discourse that takes place in private, beyond observation by dominant power holders.

In another example, a white governess witnessed that Aggy, who was usually an obedient black cook, revealed her anger towards her owner who had beaten her daughter in the antebellum U.S. South (Scott 1990: 5). Aggy remained silent in front of her owner, but she exposed her real feeling to the governess after he had left. “…White folks blood is a runnin on the ground like a ribber, an de dead’s heaped up dat high!…Oh Lor! Hasten de day when de blows, an de bruises, and de aches an de pains, shall come to de white folks, an de buzzards shall eat dem as dey’s dead in de streets. Oh Lor! Roll on de chariots, an gib de black people rest and peace. Oh Lor! Gib me de pleasure ob livin’ till dat day, when I shall see white folks shot down like de wolves when dey come hungry out o’de woods” (Quoted in Scott 1990: 5). Despite these conflicts between the masters and the apprentices, the apprenticeship system in Barbados was described as “working well” (Thome 1838: 265).

There were still complaints made by apprentices against their employers as well as employers against their apprentices in the 1830s (Sturge and Harvey 1968: Appendix E secII).

Moreover, some planters testified that it was impossible to emancipate his apprentices especially the domestics rather than the field laborers, because they had given him “a most unfavorable impression of Negro character” (Sturge and Harvey 1968: 132). Moreover, a planter said that even though the apprentices were mostly peaceable, industrious, and well disposed, “after all the Negroes were a perverse race of people” (Thome 1838: 255). The planter concluded that from his experience, the severer master would have the better
apprentices than the indulgent master whose apprentices would be lazy. Some planters were still worried that the blacks would forsake estate labor or refuse to work for reasonable wages if they were totally freed (Sturge and Harvey 1968: 151). It was considered natural for planters to believe that bad consequences would occur with changes that have yet to take place, thus the abolition of slavery would be disastrous to the islands (Thome 1838: 254).

In addition, Barbadian planters also feared that the emancipated blacks' would contribute to the economy of the society. They had witnessed a large section of the emancipated black community in Jamaica succeeding as commercial farmers who supplied the black and the white community with foodstuffs, and the merchants of Kingston, Spanish Town, and elsewhere with commodities for export. They were astonished at the blacks' commercial culture and financial aggression, and their determination to establish a new life within the independent economic system they had begun during the slavery period (Beckles 2004: 47). They were also afraid that such facts would challenge the racist reasons offered to privilege whites (Beckles 2004: 47).

Whether some people were pleased with the apprenticeship or not, these historical accounts from the 1820-1830s often suggest that the contemporary white planters, owners, and employers describe “black slaves” sharing “black characters” in opposition to “white slave owners, planters, or employers”. Racism was intertwined in various aspects of people’s lives, and such accounts by whites reflect the emphasis on the racial distinction between whites and blacks, as well as their own view towards black slaves as belonging to one group sharing the same characters.

Racist ideology emphasizing inferiority of the black population was employed to maintain white supremacy by the white population, which was triggered by fear and anger of economic loss due to the impending emancipation. The white planters and slave owners in Barbados lived with the constant fear of possible economic decline and loss in sugar production, because of the impending emancipation, which would change their positions
along with those of slaves. The whites’ efforts to maintain slavery by claiming black inferiority, as well as their violent acts against humanitarians, evidently show their fear and anger. The strong hostility towards abolitionism by white planters was grounded in the long history of the white ruling class in Barbados, which had been based on racial inequality.

White Supremacy and Racism

I believe that white planters were not only afraid of any economic change due to emancipation, but they were also scared of losing the racist rationale that clearly demarcated whites from blacks under the influence of abolitionism. However, the increasing size of the black population as well as the process of emancipation continuously threatened the white ruling class, and challenged their ability to maintain absolute social control. Moreover, impending emancipation endangered the racial boundary, because it promised to free black slaves, which would lead them to obtain social and economic positions that were formerly confined to whites. As a result, racial ideology was often employed to solidify whites and to promote their superiority when this boundary was challenged. For instance, when their consumer space was invaded by African Americans, whites attempted to express unique white symbolism by claiming that African Americans were incapable of symbolically comprehending material culture (Mullins 1999). Material culture can be utilized to emphasize distinction between the races by stressing either dominant or subordinate racial groupings. In Barbados, the whites attempted to increase their population, and such attempts indicate their fear of losing exclusive social control. They also tried to maintain a racial boundary by continuously employing anti-black racism including segregation and the use of stereotypical inferior images of the black population.

As I discussed earlier, many whites were accustomed to white supremacy, and racial distinction was one of the principal elements in Barbadian society. Prejudice against people of color was strong in Barbados, although this population was numerous, wealthy,
respectable, and consisted of some of the first merchants of the island (Sturge and Harvey 1968: 155). While whites attempted to establish their supremacy and control over blacks from the beginning of slavery, the increasing size of the black population since the 17th century made it hard for whites to maintain the distinction between the races. At the same time, it appears that the white population in Barbados was afraid of their decreasing size as compared to the size of the slave population that was rapidly increasing under the influence of slavery.

The estimated white population in 1655 was 23,000, while slaves numbered 20,000. These numbers changed dramatically during the 17th century, and the white population declined to 16,139 whereas the slave population expanded into 66,827. In other words, slaves occupied about 80% of the population on the island in 1768 (Molen 1971: 289). In 1741, Oldmixon visited the island, and described the typical Barbadian sugar estate as a neat “little African City” with “the planters House like the Sovereign’s in the midst of it” (Cassidy 1986: 199). In addition, beginning in the 18th century, the Barbados slave population was predominantly female, and also overwhelmingly Creole, who were born and grew up in Barbados (Beckles 1989: 19). Furthermore, the white population only formed about 14% in 1834, and by the early 20th century, they comprised between 7-8% (Handler and Lange 1978: 14).

In St. James parish, where Holetown is located, the ratio of black/white changed from 3.4: 1 in 1712-15 to 5.2: 1 in 1816- 17 (Beckles 1989: 16). The population of blacks was 2,600 in 1712, which increased to 3,900 in 1817. On the other hand, the white population was 755 in 1816. Despite the function of Holetown as a town for trade, St. James was one of the least populated parishes around 1816 (Table 3).
Table 3. Population of Barbados, 1712-15 and 1816-1817

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parish/Years</th>
<th>Black 1712</th>
<th>Black 1817</th>
<th>White 1816</th>
<th>Ratio (Black/White) 1712-15</th>
<th>Ratio (Black/White) 1816-17</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>St. John</td>
<td>3,937</td>
<td>5,469</td>
<td>1,246</td>
<td>4.7:1</td>
<td>4.3:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Joseph</td>
<td>2,450</td>
<td>3,466</td>
<td>1,124</td>
<td>2.5:1</td>
<td>3.0:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christ Church</td>
<td>6,979</td>
<td>9,915</td>
<td>1,618</td>
<td>3.7:1</td>
<td>6.0:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Michael</td>
<td>9,458</td>
<td>18,193</td>
<td>5,038</td>
<td>2.3:1</td>
<td>3.6:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Thomas</td>
<td>4,227</td>
<td>5,173</td>
<td>835</td>
<td>3.9:1</td>
<td>6.2:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. George</td>
<td>5,508</td>
<td>6,762</td>
<td>945</td>
<td>4.9:1</td>
<td>7.1:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Andrew</td>
<td>3,666</td>
<td>3,394</td>
<td>630</td>
<td>4.0:1</td>
<td>5.3:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Lucy</td>
<td>2,918</td>
<td>5,466</td>
<td>1,058</td>
<td>2.3:1</td>
<td>5.1:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Philip</td>
<td>6,339</td>
<td>9,475</td>
<td>1,392</td>
<td>2.5:1</td>
<td>6.8:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Peter</td>
<td>3,784</td>
<td>6,230</td>
<td>1,379</td>
<td>2.6:1</td>
<td>4.5:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. James</td>
<td>2,600</td>
<td>3,950</td>
<td>755</td>
<td>3.4:1</td>
<td>5.2:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>51,866</td>
<td>77,493</td>
<td>16,020</td>
<td>2.4:1</td>
<td>4.8:1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


After 1660, the number of indentured servants decreased, but although many whites were leaving for places with better opportunities, the slave population increased (Sheppard 1974: 75-77). Many small planters originally came from England, Ireland, and Scotland. Some white settlers who had come as white indentured servants were treated badly. The reputation of treating white servants badly made it hard for Barbados to recruit them after 1640 (Cassidy 1986: 197). Between 1650 – 1690, fully 30,000 whites left Barbados for other settlements, such as Antigua, St. Kitts, Virginia, Carolina, Suriname, and Martinique (Cassidy 1986: 197).

The decline of the white population was a concern among the ruling class in Barbados. One of the reasons was a constant fear among whites that the slaves might revolt as they became numerically superior. It was essential for the white population to increase the number of white servants, who formed the rank and file of the Militia, in order to offer some defense against possible slave uprisings rather than against foreign invasions (Sheppard 1974: 75). This is supported by an archaeological study conducted by Bennell (2002: 25), which
suggests that a focus on the defense against possible attack from overseas shifted to a concern for threats posed by increasing number of slaves. The establishment of a new large powder store mirrored the threat against the law and discipline by the increasing number of slaves by the end of the 17th century (Bennell 2002: 25). Moreover, the whites attempted to restrict the number of the free black and racially mixed people allowed in the militia, and made them a minority so that the whites didn't depend on them (Sio 1976: 11). In 1833, there were 4,155 people in the militia, of which 1,833 were white and 671 free blacks and racially mixed individuals were described as suitable for active duty (Sio 1976: 11). White planters in Barbados didn't rely on the free black and racially mixed for any significant positions, such as supervisory personnel on the estates or economically essential functions (Sio 1976: 11).

The whites' attempts to sustain their numbers were manifestations of their fear of losing privilege and control over slaves because of abolitionism. Their challenge against racial equality proposed by abolitionism continued even after full emancipation. The former white planter class continuously strived to maintain their privileges and social control by utilizing racist ideology. Emancipation changed neither the whites' racist attitudes towards blacks nor the ethnic hierarchy intertwined in society. It is argued that the apprenticeship was merely a minor modification of slavery, and the plantation system survived through maintaining access to cheap and subordinate labor. It was the beginning of a long-term arrangement for owners to keep the social and economic dominance of the slave owning elite class (Beckles 2004: 40).

Segregation

Many whites continuously distinguished themselves from blacks, and maintained white supremacist attitudes even after emancipation. Their strong hostility to racial equality was represented in their continuous employment of racist ideology and racism. The
continuing segregation of the black population by the whites was one of the manifestations of anti-black racism, which was practiced in daily life.

For instance, the poor whites’ attitudes suggest their racism towards blacks, and the persisting racist ideology. Impoverished whites did not have the choice to take the same jobs as slaves or black laborers, but they still strongly distinguished themselves from the black population. Although some whites were truly poor, and were referred to by planters degraded, vicious, abandoned, and even very far inferior to the blacks, they despised being associated with blacks (Thome 1838: 228-9). A report made to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1836 on the workings of the post-Emancipation system shows that poor whites regarded both field and domestic labor as “degrading” (Sheppard 1974: 80). After the full emancipation in 1838, there were fewer opportunities of employment for poor whites, because many former slaves were free to participate in the labor market. Since the freed black and racially mixed population nearly supplanted the whites in almost every trade, there was concern that the whites in the lower class were in a condition of degeneration and destitution (Sheppard 1974: 80). Nevertheless, poor whites were not willing to work at the same jobs and on the same level as blacks (Sheppard 1974: 81).

Racial segregation was still enforced in some churches in Barbados around 1837. Some bishops encouraged maintaining the distinction between the races, whereas others tried to abolish such divisions (Thome 1838). Their attitudes show that some whites were unwilling to be mingled with the black population. For instance, a bishop in Barbados tried to enforced the distinction of color, and refused to permit blacks and racially mixed people to sit with the whites, while his rectors and curates attempted to abolish the division between the races (Thome 1838: 287-8). In addition, there was a demarcation of color lines at the adult Sunday school connected with St. Mary’s church, although the Rector was himself free from prejudice (Sturge and Harvey 1968: 144). Black and racially mixed persons began to be
allowed to sit on the pews in the lower half of the body of the church, whereas they were formerly confined to the gallery (Sturge and Harvey 1968: 144).

On the other hand, some churches did not distinguish people by race around 1837. For instance, there was no distinction of color at the St. Paul’s church in Bridgetown at the time. A family of whites and blacks sat next to each other in the same pews (Thome 1838: 288). The Sabbath-school at the church also had 300 pupils comprised of all colors, and all ages from fifty down to three years. The white, black and racially mixed children were classed mingled together (Thome 1838: 289). Many white people were then able to associate with blacks and sat with them in the church (Thome 1838: 289).

Meanwhile, no blacks and racially mixed students had yet been admitted to Codrington College in 1837 (Sturge and Harvey 1968). Furthermore, men of color were not allowed to become members of literary associations, nor subscribers to town libraries (Thome 1838: 322). Even wealthy parents had no incentive to educate their children for the learned professions, because prejudice and discrimination would deter their children from ever succeeding in any field (Thome 1838: 308). For the same reason, there was very little encouragement for blacks and racially mixed peoples to acquire property, or to seek education and attain good social standing.

In Barbados, the public opinion of the colony towards ending slavery was powerful, and it exercised an “unfavorable influence” (Sturge and Harvey 1968: 155). There were two kinds of public opinion that contrasted with each other: one was supported by the English public and only had an indirect effect though it still incited anti-slavery feelings, and the other was supported by the dominant party in the colony. The supporter of this second opinion were in favor of maintaining the racial hierarchy, and promoted racist ideology by claiming that the blacks were by nature an inferior race born to be in servile positions (Sturge and Harvey 1968: 155).
While blacks and racially mixed individuals felt assured that they would soon gain equal opportunities in business and social positions since the abolition of slavery, there was still a strong racial demarcation between blacks and whites (Thome 1838: 323). Mr. Bourne, a black man, remarked that blacks experienced tremendous obstacles to the attainment of social equality, as whites were unwilling to visit their houses at all. Since the whites kept aloof from the tables and parlors of blacks and racially mixed people, Mr. Bourne claimed that it is impossible for whites to have correct notions of their refinement and intelligence (Thome 1838: 306). He said that: “If the white people would deign to make the trial, and would suffer themselves to dine with us but occasionally, we are confident they would have a better opinion of us” (Thome 1838: 306). Mr. Bourne was a slave until the age of 23, when his free black father bought him, upon which he subsequently became a wealthy merchant, owned three stores in Bridgetown, and lived in an expensive house (Thome 1838: 307).

The Ceramic Decoration and Its Meanings

By integrating all the information I gained through this research, it is reasonable to infer that the decoration on the ceramic from the First Street site functioned to carry some symbolic meanings. First, it possibly carried romantic notions and functioned as a symbol of wealth. This is because tea drinking was originally a social activity among wealthy people in England. Even though tea drinking in Barbados might have had a different meaning, the ceramic decoration “The Tea Party” was popular because of such historical background in England. Therefore, it is possible that the depiction of the tea-drinking scene also expressed the luxury of ceramic users in Barbados as well.

Second, the ceramic also served to transmit racist ideology and reinforced the racial distinction between whites and blacks. Racist ideology was constantly used to justify white superiority under slavery in Barbados. When abolitionism began to be influential, the white population feared economic decline and a loss of social control because of the possibility of
emancipation. Moreover, the black population, which was a larger racial group than that of whites, made it hard for whites to maintain their social control. They were also afraid to lose the distinction between whites and blacks, because the incomplete racial boundary could erode the foundation of a racially hierarchical society that was established on white supremacy and privileges. Once slaves were freed, the status of previous black slaves and white planters would be more equal, and this provoked whites to use anti-black racist ideology.

Material culture can play an important role to reinforce and maintain racism. Mullins’s study (1999) demonstrated that whites employed objects expressing anti-black racist ideology in order to reinforce white supremacy and racial differences. The stereotypical and demeaning images of African Americans comforted whites who used these images to justify their superiority and to restrict African Americans from accessing genteel material culture. They also tried to reinforce a racial hierarchy by expressing the uniqueness of white symbolism when their superiority was challenged (Mullins 1999). The whites rejected the blacks’ symbolic understanding of the Virgin Mary and the Crucifixion, and they attempted to solidify their supremacy and consumer space. Meanwhile, blacks used hair care products to express their racially and culturally unique symbolism, even though such products simultaneously suggested that physical inferiorities of blacks could be masked (Mullins 1999).

In Barbados, the ceramic I analyzed may have functioned to reinforce the eroding racial boundary under the influence of abolitionism. The transfer-printed decoration shows a stereotypical image of a black as a slave, as opposed to a white planter. Since the black is portrayed as subservient to the planter, this depiction of a tea-drinking scene symbolized a hierarchy based exclusively on race and expressed the racist claim of the innate nature of the black population as servants to whites. The depiction of a black person in servitude was a stereotypical representation of the black population in Europe and America used to promote
and support racist ideology that argue that blacks were inferior to whites, and they were born to serve. The ceramic decoration from the First Street site portrays the black slave in a background, whereas the white person is placed in front of the decoration; it might symbolize the contrasting social status between the black and white figures. The whites attempted to emphasize the racial boundary between the black slaves and the white planters by suggesting that the former were savages and the latter represented a civilized population.

During the social transformation period, racism was challenged by abolitionism. The white owner of this ceramic might have used this ceramic, as a means to express white dominance over domestic slaves who were black, racially mixed or perhaps emancipated blacks who were working as domestic workers. By owning this ceramic, the owner may have intended to remind black or racially mixed individuals of white supremacy to represent the ideal relationship between whites and blacks. At the same time, such racist messages comforted the white residents who used or viewed the ceramic. The ceramic functioned to justify slavery and racial inequality by amplifying the image of blacks as a people born to serve the superior white race. This ceramic might have also served to assure their racial superiority, and to assuage their fears. By sending such messages to whites and imposing the racist ideology to blacks, the ceramic reinforced the whites’ racial boundary, assured their superiority, social and economic privileges.

It is also possible that the owner used this ceramic when he had tea at a party or simply in daily home activities. However, if such ceramics were used in the context of social intercourse like tea party, they could transmit messages to the public. I believe that this racist decoration was printed on the ceramic because people used the ceramics on a daily basis. If people used and saw the decoration everyday, it would be an effective way to encode and send racist messages and to legitimize a racist hierarchy. However, it is possible that various forms of material culture were used to send the same kind of message. Mullins’s study (1999) demonstrated that, people used ordinary material objects to express racist messages
and to form racially exclusive material symbolism. Therefore, I believe that racism was intertwined in various forms of material culture, and archaeologists can find and analyze artifacts with racist messages, if they try to look for such a symbolic aspect of material culture.

On the other hand, in spite of white's intention, blacks and racially mixed people viewing this ceramic might have interpreted the image differently. Instead of viewing it as the ideal relationship of whites and blacks, they might have used such racist imagery to challenge whites' anti-black racist ideologies by claiming that not only was the image morally wrong, but also their historical placement in racially subordinate positions. Thus, the emancipated blacks possibly challenged whites' racist ideologies, which justified and naturalized black inferiority. If the enslaved blacks viewed this ceramic during the early 19th century, they possibly used this racist image to claim injustice and tried to obtain freedom.
CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Significance of Analysis in the Meanings of Material Culture

This study has shown that material culture encodes symbolic meanings that can be interpreted to shed light on various aspects of people's lives including race-based relationships and interactions between whites and blacks in Barbados. Material culture is never passive; it is used to create, express, and transform social structure. In such a process, objects transmit certain messages to a particular audience. The meanings of materials may differ for different groups of people, and meanings are malleable to their particular social context. By analyzing the symbolic meanings of material culture, we are able to understand roles of certain materials including their meanings, their relationship to society, and the way in which people have used these objects in their lives.

Conversely, interpreting the decoration of a ceramic necessarily involves deep understandings of its social and cultural context. This study focused on elucidating the meaning of the ceramic decoration from the First Street site in Holetown, Barbados. The ceramic decoration indicates the stereotypical image of the black person as a slave, whereas the planter appears to be white. To interpret the meaning of this decoration, this study examined the race-laden culture and the history of Barbados. By contextualizing the ceramic within the historical social climate of race relationships in Barbados that have been investigated in historical accounts, it has enabled us to gain insight into the possible meanings of the ceramic. This study has also demonstrated the ways in which whites used the ceramic to emphasize the innate superior racial relationship of whites and the inferior nature of blacks. At the same time, the symbolic analysis of this ceramic suggests that whites feared
abolitionism, which is consistent with historical documents produced by whites.

In this study, it was important to treat the ceramic as a product of interaction between blacks and whites. To understand the role of racist ideology in constructing material culture, we must consider the interactions and relationships between the races. We must also understand the symbolic function of the ceramic in the society. As I mentioned above, the analysis of ethnic makers in African American colonial archaeology may provide unique insight into this ethnic group. However, such approaches can neglect the roles of race and racism in the constructions of material culture. It also assumes African American practice as autonomous and unchanging. It is more important to analyze the formation of African American cultural identities within a specific historical and social context. To do so, it is imperative to take into consideration social relations and the creation of new cultural forms through cultural interactions. Race and racism are important elements in the study of artifacts from Barbados, because I believe they played a role in constructing and manipulating material culture. Material culture not only reflects social relations, but also is constituted to create, reproduce, and transform social identities.

In conclusion, the symbolical analysis of the ceramic sherds yields information about the history of Barbados and contemporary people’s lives, the archaeology of race and racism, and material symbolism. First, this study delineated the relationship between whites and blacks during slavery and the emancipation period. Many white planters harbored pro-slavery feelings, whereas the blacks increasingly developed anti-master feelings right before and during the apprenticeship period. It also showed that racism was intertwined with many aspects of people’s lives in Barbados. In addition, this study illustrated how their society was founded on organizing principles based on racial differences.

Second, this analysis provided insight into archaeology and race. While the analysis of aspects of artifacts that indicate racism in archaeology has often been neglected, my study has focused on the symbolic aspects of the ceramic, which reflects racial relationships
between whites and blacks. The decoration on the ceramic appears to indicate a scene from slavery or servitude, most likely from the time period of the 1820-50s, and possibly after emancipation. The use of the stereotypical image of a subservient black was grounded in the racist ideology developed under slavery. There was persisting anti-black racism among the white population because the society itself was structured by racism.

Racist ideology was widespread across the island by the time of abolitionism. The whites naturalized and justified their superiority through racism, depicting themselves in opposition to the notion that blacks as born to serve, and moreover grounded this ideology in the material world through the use of the ceramic showing the tea ceremony. As a result, many whites, including planters and merchants, used this ceramic to emphasize their racial privilege. Simultaneously, the ceramic reinforced racial inequality between blacks and whites, and it assuaged their fears of the incomplete racial boundary. The black slave and the white planter on the decoration might have symbolized ideal race relations for whites. It was difficult for the white population, who had been economically and socially privileged, to accept a loss of power after emancipation. This study showed that by looking at the ceramic as a product of the interaction and relationship between whites and blacks, it enables us to understand the roles of ceramics and material culture in social relationships.

Third, this study demonstrates the importance of the analysis of material symbolism. The ceramic I analyzed was small and incomplete, but it still provided valuable information. By analyzing what the ceramic symbolically expressed in the past, I was led to consider the hidden part of people’s lives. The ceramic indicates that the person who was the owner of this ceramic possibly used it to express, reinforce, or maintain white supremacy as well as to solidify a race-based hierarchy, which had been threatened by the abolitionist movement. The white population was fearful that they may lose their absolute control and privilege over the black population due to an impending equaling of society. They were also afraid of the potential economic decline brought about by the abolition of slavery. The long history of
slavery that was the foundation of their society for about 200 years made it hard for whites to accept such change. So, the decoration on the ceramic appears to express and reflect contemporary relations between whites and blacks, as well as the historical social condition. Furthermore, the analysis of the ceramic has drawn various different issues into dialog with one another, including the history of people’s lives in Barbados, race and racism, and material symbolism.

It is possible that many other forms of material culture were used to transmit similar messages and mirror the racist relationships between whites and blacks in Barbados. As Mullins’s study (1999) demonstrated, people used everyday objects to express racist messages and reinforce the race-based hierarchies. Moreover, Epperson’s studies (1990, 1999, 2000) have shown that landscape and architectural structures could be interpreted as manifestations of racism and racial relationships. Therefore, I believe that if time permitted I could find other forms of material culture useful in supporting my argument. It is important that archaeologists try to understand the symbolic aspects of material culture in order to determine its role in the creation and promotion of racist ideologies.

It is important to note that there are other possible interpretations of the ceramic. For instance the ceramic could have been a commemorative object of slavery that was used after the full emancipation to remember how the slavery period was. Or it could be a symbol of high status for the tea drinker, like the symbol of tea-drinking activity in England. If the person on the left is actually black, it is possible that this ceramic shows the multiracial social intercourse. Or, it was possibly used just because the owner simply liked the decoration. The ceramic sherds were not complete, and therefore the decoration I analyzed was perhaps only a small part of the overall ceramic. Therefore, if I had access to the complete ceramic, I believe I could have conducted a more comprehensive analysis. However, I think that my interpretation is consistent with the social and historical context in Barbados, as well as with the ceramic decoration.
Although I had difficulties in conducting this study with a totally objective point of view, I believe this study is significant in analyzing a unique ceramic decoration from Barbados, as a way to investigate race and racism through symbolic iconography. Race is a component of the social relations in present times, and it sometimes has a strong influence on how people relate to one another, and how societies treat various ethnic groups. As I mentioned, race and racism were a major product of the New World colonization, and it served to facilitate capitalism as well. Therefore, the study of race can contribute to understandings of material culture in the modern world. The ways in which material culture was implicated in the process of the construction of race and racism suggest that material culture is often employed as a means to impose racism in order to solidify racial boundaries. Genocide, racial segregation, and discrimination are important issues to resolve in present times, and they are all grounded in racial differences. Since materials have important roles in human lives, I believe that archaeological studies can largely contribute to the understanding of human beings.
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