

THE MAROONS

1655 - 1740

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"Such as who are inacquainted with that island will be surprised when they are told that all the regular troops could not have conquered the wild negroes by forces of arms. And if Mr. Trelawney had not wisely given them what they had contended for, LIBERTY, they would in all probability have been, as this day, masters of the whole country."

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"I never heard of any party whether Militia or Regulars that could stand against the ambushcades of those people.

Memoirs and anecdotes of Phillip Thicknesse.

1788 Page 106

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(I)

My interest in the Maroons dates to school days. Although at that time I did not enquire too deeply into their history, I have been made sharply aware at regular intervals of their importance to the history of Black African peoples, and the defence of human dignity, in Jamaica. Over the years this interest has grown until there came a definite yearning to know more than what could be found in the white washed productions of the old Colonial masters or their black puppet intellectuals.

In the summer of 1973, a group went to Accompong in the West. There we spent two days reasoning about the past and present of this group, decendants of Cudjoe of the Kenecuffees. Yet in these reasonings the past was dim and although the sense of a great ^{past} still lingered, it was more a skeleton than a full fledged ^{wing}.

(II)

On the 29th of October, 1973, I wrote a letter to Colonel Harris of Moore Town Maroons in response to an article which had appeared in the Gleaner on the 21st of the month. That article, written with the authority of the Moore Town Council, informed Jamaica of the pending visit by a British Scientific Expedition, which intended hiking to, and conducting Scientific and Historical research on the site of what was presumed to be the Old Maroon Capital, Nanny Town. The article hinted that not everything was well from the Maroon point vis-avis the Expedition. In part my letter read:

"There has grown up a considerable amount of misunderstanding about the activity of the Maroons.....As you point out this was deliberately done by foreign writers who wished to destroy your image".

The letter ended with the hope that:

"The lessons which you and your people have to teach us will not be lost or obscured by further biased writing."

One week before the expedition began, I was asked by the Institute of Jamaica to look over the Expeditions Archaeological Program, on site. Between the 16th-22nd of December 1973, I had the pleasure and displeasure of walking to Guy's Town and being the guest, albeit a very uncomfortable one, of the British Expedition. It was a pleasure because on the march to and throughout the week, the full extent of the spiritual and physical strength of the Maroons was revealed in several incidents and ways. It was a displeasure because I had to spend that week in the company of people who, to all purposes, acted exactly as did their Colonialist counterparts of yester-year.

III

It is not my intention to dwell too lengthily on this aspect of the expedition, yet in the light of what has happened, and by virtue of my presence on the spot, I am compelled to say a few words, if only as a warning for the future. The statements of the Expedition's leaders are perfect examples of Colonialist desecration of Black peoples' history.

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It was very unfortunate that at this time an internal political conflict amongst the Maroons led to the expedition being used as a political football and thus providing a suitable background against which to make such false accusations. It was because the Maroons sensed the danger of such an expedition that they tried so hard to stop it until proper safeguards could be obtained and the controversy cleared up. The wishes of the Maroons were not met and what many feared might happen came to pass.

Before leaving England, the leaders of the Expedition had built up a solid base of Colonialist fiction by stating that they would defy Voodoo and centuries old curses to carry out their mission. Upon returning to England they claimed having received

"death treaths from members of the Maroon tribe",

that

"A Maroon leader ^h threatened the Expedition with death by shotgun or cutlasses unless they turned back".

That the expedition had defied a Vooddo curse and death ^ftreath^h from tribesmen."

and finally that

"all previous Expeditions to this area have met disaster or accidents and the whole time we were distinctly ill at ease".

^{is acquainted with} Anyone who ~~knows~~ present day Maroons will know that they are neither "tribesmen" or "Voodoo" practitioners. However when using these words it is important to note, that in the mouth of the Colonialist/Imperialists they have a different meaning than when used by black people. "Tribesmen" and "voodoo" are used by representatives of the racist, former global oppressors, to conjure up pictures of an ignorant, so called uncivilized people, living like monkeys, ~~of people living like monkeys~~, of people living under the shadow of organized terror and of a religion whose main tenets are linked with sadism, perverted sexuality and bloodseeking. In short a picture of Africa which the European exploiter class is always trying, and has so successfully, sold, to his fellow European and unknowledgeable Africans of ^{the} Black Diaspora. Jamaica is not divided along "tribal lines", and the Maroons are neither a tribe nor do they practice Vooddo, the myth or the reality. Vooddo is an ancient African religion, a full account of it being available in the book Muntu by one Jahmiez.

It is true that most expeditions in this area have had some mishaps including disasters but these were not caused by any lingering "Voodoo curse" or Maroon intervention. Most people who do not know this area will be surprised at the roughness of the terrain and ease with which even the most experienced can get into trouble. Several times during the hike, I almost admitted defeat myself. Anyone who does not prepare himself properly, who goes in with the idea that it is a Sunday Afternoon walk and, more importantly, chooses to ignore the advice of the Maroons, will find themselves in grave difficulties. It was only the aid and advice given to the team by the very expert Maroon guides that enabled the Expedition to return with no major injuries.

LV

Now that it is over and time has brought into sharper perspective the importance of our journey, a line from the Maroon Press Release comes to mind:

"We look forward to the day when we will see the teaching of the Maroon role in the building of the new Jamaica to---
--- school children (and indeed the entire nation) as a testimony of self denial and cooperation under the most difficult and hazardous conditions."

No one has been into the hills or who has begun to appreciate the truth about the Maroon people can deny the rightness of this wish.

I would like to thank Brother Aarons and our other Maroon guides for taking great care of me, the Institute of Jamaica who provided all conveniences and who have waited patiently for this report and finally Mr. Adrian Bonner for the scientific manner in which he approached the excavation of Guy's Town.

CHAPTER 1 A Journey of Discovery by Car, Foot and Flying Machine.

(I)

To say the least, I was neither mentally nor physically prepared for the journey to Nanny Town, nor was there any time during the week that I was given to adequately do so. I sent a box of food on Thursday December 13, to the expedition base camp and prepared to arrive at Up Park Camp on Sunday 16th. Mrs. Beverly Carey got in touch with me on Friday and suggested that we both travel together, as the Maroons had made special plans to take her on the journey.

We left Kingston early on the 16th, stopping at Port Antonio for a short time, then proceeded to Windsor. There we were met by Colonel Harris and Mr. Aarons, who was to be our guide and protector in the mountains. It was raining when we left Kingston and the journey to Windsor was made under overcast skies and intermittent showers. The weather was no different at Windsor and we had to be continually seeking shelter out of downpours. Fortunately they did not last for any length of time and after adjusting our luggage, shoes and hearts, we bade farewell, crossed the Rio Grande and proceeded inland.

Anyone who wishes to hike into the Blue Mountains and has had no previous experience is advised to seek out those who have. Although Jamaica is a small country the terrain of the Blue Mountains is one of the most difficult and dangerous to be found anywhere in the world. This results from several features. (1) the loose stony nature of the mountain soil makes it dangerous, and many times impossible, to walk anywhere else except on the ridges, and when as now happened, even the ridges are made soft and loose by rain, the hike becomes almost suicidal (2) slopes of the hills fall away sheerly with no amount of vegetation to break a fall (3) The steepness of the ascent and descent, together with the lack of level ground, means that there is a continuous pressure on muscles and joints that a short rest cannot cure.

This all adds up to the fact that one slip in the wrong place can spell disaster.

We began walking in rain, past John's Hall, Garland Grove and then down to the Corn Husk Valley. On the way we met several persons taking bananas on their heads or by mule to the fording that we had just crossed. When we reached the Corn Husk crossing, we were three very solitary figures. The climb up to this point had given no idea of what was to come, across the river on Gun Barrell Hill.

We crossed without difficulty and immediately realized that this would be different. The slope seemed to go straight up. The more we climbed, the more the rain fell, was the more the track became a muddy impression, slippery and muscle tiring. Shortly after beginning we met two coming from the base camp who ^{by informing} told us of the state of the track ^{and so} ~~did nothing~~ ^{in the way of} to encourage us. On we moved asking Mr. Aarons every five minutes how much longer we had to climb. We used staffs, vines and tree trunks to drag our increasingly tired bodies up to the Gun Barrell, until the only thing that seemed to matter was that we had to reach the top. At times we crawled and sometimes literally shut our eyes and took a step. The effort was rewarded at 4:00 pm and not being able to go any further, decided to make camp in a Maroon hut. The hut was old and the thatch rotted. We tried to patch it as best as possible but the scarcity of thatch and the darkness of swiftly descending night made our job difficult, and only partly successful. We ate and tried to rest but the rain and the hard tree trunk floor made this impossible. Morning came slowly and because this part of the hill was in the shadow we had to wait until eight o'clock before continuing. The journey now was downhill. In some places it was easier to slide on our backsides, in others ski on our shoes. Finally we reached the valley of the ^{Stony River} ~~Corn Husk~~, turned left and began following its winding course to the Base Camp which was pitched on the same side further upstream.

The rivers high in the Blue Mountains are beautifully clean and the sun, which now decided to shine, turned the ^{Stony} ~~Corn Husk~~ into a long twisting, emerald blue thread, edged and be-jewelled with diamond glittering splashes of foam, as the water hit the innumerable rocks punctuating its course.

The scenery changed and there was now a lot more variety, colour and sound. Some of the small plateaus seemed to have been bushed in recent years. Tall trumpet trees stood sentry duty above the vegetation and wild bananas sprung up everywhere. This part of the journey was easy compared to what had gone before and by eleven we arrived at Base Camp, full of aches and pains, but thankful and pleased at our feat of walking. Base Camp covered a considerable area of flat land, considering the nature of the mountains. It was on the bank of the ^{Stony River} ~~Corn Husk~~ about 2½ miles from what ^{is} ~~was~~ then called Nanny Town. It consisted of three large huts, one for science specimens, the others for living in. In addition an area had been cleared for a helicopter landing, for erecting hammocks and sheltering tents.

Shortly ^{after} we were joined by Mr. Porter, Government Geologist. Before we could arrive at any decision as to when we would leave on the final leg of our journey the rains came. This time it was a torrential downpour and lasted far into the night.. The British team threw a party which everyone appeared to enjoy. The next day the same thing happened and a another party was thrown. On Wednesday morning the Stony River had risen as much as six feet and after much consultation we realized that it would be impossible to move out since this involved crossing the swollen and now dangerous ~~Corn-rusk~~ ^{River}. There are two routes to Guy's Town from Base Camp. One known as the "five river" crossing, takes about 1½ hours and crosses the Stony River five times. The second, longer but less tiring, crosses the Stony and Macungo once each. One incident at this time demonstrates the unreal romantic explorer's attitude of the leader. Late on Wednesday, he decided to build a tree bridge above the junction of the Stony and Macungo rivers. When he reached what he decided was a suitable place he proceeded to chop down two trees which fell across the river but which were about 50 feet above water level, were not anchored firmly at the other end, and were slippery. An expert would have found difficulty crossing on these much less most of the British team and ourselves. Yet he was serious about crossing ~~the bridge~~.

Luckily for all concerned the next morning, Thursday, dawned bright and at ten a helicopter came in with the good news that it would be able to transport all who wanted to go to Guy's Town.

The view from the helicopter is breathtaking and belies the actual ruggedness of the terrain. The Stony river wound its way in between razor ridged hills, which rose in quick succession. There appeared on our right what must be the tallest waterfall in the island, so tall in fact that by the time the water reached halfway to earth it was a little more than a downy mist. A rainbow crowned its top glowing brilliantly in the morning sun.

We came in to land carefully as the cleared space was hardly big enough to hold us. Mr. Aarons and Mr. Lindsay, who had been stranded here from Monday, were on hand looking none the worse for their experience.

Guy's Town
↓

We had arrived at about 10:30 a.m. the Thursday. On Friday at 10:00 we received an urgent message from base camp:

"Helicopter is coming at 11:30 . Too big to land at Nanny Town / Stonewall. If you want a lift out be here in one hour".

Remembering what we had been through, we decided to try and make it, ~~and~~ arrived at base camp in good time, ~~and collected our gear~~. Then homeward.

Up

Up,

an uncertain

moment as we turned in less

than no space,

Slowly

A giant,
Noisy
Beetle
we cut between two
hills
and were
AWAY.

CHAPTER 2

A HISTORICAL REVIEW 1655 -1740

The origin of the word Maroon and its particular application to that group of African people associated with it, is not exactly known.

Three possible sources have been cited:

- "Cimaroon," Spanish for "wild" or "unruly" ; "Moreno," Spanish for "porker" or "hunter of wild pigs; "Marron," French for "runaway slave". ()

There are two accounts of the beginnings of the Maroon people. The first is that prior to 1655, Africans, under the leadership of Juan de Bolas, a revolutionary African, engaged in a War of Liberation against the Spanish, using the hills in and around Clarendon and St. Catherine as their base.

When the English invaded in 1655, these Africans guerillas appeared to have temporarily allied themselves with the Spanish, who promised to them if the Spanish Commander, Y. Sassi, lacking support from his country men in Cuba, left Jamaica never to return. The insurgents fought on until de Bolas and a few others made peace with the English Colonialist and left the hills to dwell in the towns. One section of the Maroons refused this, and instead settled in the then remote and unexplored North East.

freedom

the English were defeated in 1660

bull

The second account is that when the Spanish fled the island in 1655, they left behind one Y Sassi who used African people as guerilla fighters against the English. They held their own up to 1660 when the African leader, Juan de Bolas, defeated the English in return for the freedom of his people. Some Africans disagreed and retired to the North East.

(1)

Whatever might have been the early beginnings, the fact is that between 1660 and 1730, a group of African people, known as the Maroons established a stable society in the North Eastern parts of the island.

This society was based on African principles and traditions, a major cultural root being that of the Akan peoples. Their national boundaries extended from Morant Point along the coast to approximately present day Buff Bay, and took in all the land from there to the interior of the Blue Mountains.



Maroons were ruled by a woman or Nya Nya. However in peaceful times day to day leadership was left to a Captain or Headman. The Nya Nya, warrior leader, chief priestess and doctor assumed direct leadership during crises eg. when the fortunes of war were going against the Maroons. The Captain, Chief or Headman was elected by a showing of hands and he was assisted by a council

"They have made themselves several large plantations, towns and settlements in the most fertile valleys among the midland and eastern mountains, which are by natural passes and precipices most inaccessible and the country being well wooded". ()

The chief Maroon towns were in the foothills and by 1730 numbered at least three, probably four. They included Mollys, Dianes and the "Great Negro Town", known after 1732 as Nanny's or "Nya Nya" Town. These three were built close to each other along the bank of the North River. One other town which might have predated 1730, was Guy's Town situated further inland on Carrion Crow Hill.

Nanny Town
Guy's Town

"The rebels have another town on top of Carrion Crow Hill called Guys or Guy Town". ()

In addition to these, several hunting and agricultural villages were established in the Plain and coastal areas, these

"hamlet(s)(being) not principle towns but temporary fishing and hunting villa(s)" ()

On the plain the Maroons established an extensive system of agriculture and animal husbandry. In 1731, it is reported that

"there are a great quantity of provisions now growing in (Maroon) plantations There are likewise fish, fowl and wild hog aplenty." ()

The principal crops were,

"Coco, sugar canes, plantains (including bananas) mellons yams, corn". ()

The farms were set out with due regards to scientific agricultural practices and with an eye on easy defense.

"(Maroon) plantations are not only artfully, but securely laid out and guarded by lanes of woods, wherein they hide and shoot men sent after them". ()

"Entered Negro plantation then fell in with some broad roads". ()

So large were some of these farms that one earned the title of the "Great Plantation Walk".

The Maroons supplimented this diet with various herbs, bushes, vegetables, berries and fruits which they gathered.

A lot less is known at present about the Maroons political and social organization. There is the usual problem of few and unreliable sources. Another of equal magnitude ^{is that} ~~also faces us~~. Although the definitive cultural source of the Maroons seems to derive from the Akan peoples, it is not yet known ^{to} what extent other African cultural presences, European traditions, the constant state of war and a new environment influenced this reality.

Each town was divided into groups whether military or agricultural with an headman or war leader in charge, the weakest or most cowardly usually aiding the women in farming. There does appear, however, an important exception to this as in 1733 mention is made of Guy's Town, named after its leader. This town was led by a

"headman who orders everything and if the headman should be guilty of any crime his soldiers shoot him and appoint another in his place". ()

The antecedents of this town are not known. It is important to note that

- (1) It has a male name, indicating a difference of tradition from that of the people of Diane's, Mollys and ~~Neyanaya~~ ^{Namryls} Towns.
- (2) It was in existence at the same time as the first three,
- (3) It was much further inland and more inaccessible than them.

This interesting contrast is similar to that which obtains in the region of the Akan peoples, between themselves, who are matrilineal, and the Ewe, who are patrilineal. In fact someone who is familiar with the Akan, Ewe and Maroon peoples, has pointed out a noticeable Ewe presence in the latter.

(II)

Relations between the Maroons and the rest of the island before 1730 was very limited, so much so that the English appear to have had very little, if any, inkling of their existence before then. Separated by a high mountain range and being self sufficient in food and building materials, contact seems to have been limited to an occasional raid or trip to the Southern plantations and towns. From these sources the Maroons obtained their arms and ammunition, utensils such as iron kettles and pots, ceramics, yabbahs and cloth.

The peace and security enjoyed by the Maroons up till 1729 resulted from the settlement patterns of English Colonialism in Jamaica. Until ~~this time~~ ^{the 1720's}, the major economic activity of Colonialist was the illegal and "legal" trade in goods and enslaved Africans, with the Spanish Empire. Before 1692 this trade had centered in Port Royal and after the earthquake of that year, in Kingston. The great wealth gained from this activity overshadowed the development of sugar plantations and the Jamaican "Internal Slave System". Before 1730 all of the estates had been centered in the more easily inhabited, Georges Plain in the West, along the South Coast as far as Spanish Town and its environs.

The later part of the 1720's saw the beginning of the final phase of Colonial expansion in Jamaica. Under the leadership of Governor Hunter, who had obtained a land grant in the North East and enslaved a number of African people to establish a plantation there, English Colonialism turned its attention to these parts, and collided head on with its owners and occupiers, the Maroons

III

In 1730 the title Maroon, came to be applied to a group of African freedom fighters based at that time in the Clarendon and St. Catherine hills. This insurgent force was led by Kojo and had been established

after an uprising in Clarendon, in 1690. Although able to establish settlements and farms, these hills are a lot more accessible to invading forces than those of the West and East. The Kenecuffees, as this group was called before 1730, had to be constantly on the move and came therefore to depend to a great degree on free and unfree Africans in towns and on estates, for most of their wants, both food and weapons.

"The number of free mulattoes and free Negroes increases daily and their houses and habitations are often times receptacles of rebellious and runaway slaves either by their idle and indolent life, or by supplying the runaways with powder, arms and ammunition, and as hawking and peddling about the street by free negroes with several goods and merchandise and by provisions when the runaway negroes are likewise supplied." ()

The Kenecuffees were joined periodically by other African peoples, primarily those who had come from the "Coromantee" Coast, and a group referred to as the Madagascans. Sometime before 1730 contact was made with the Maroons of North East. This led to an alliance, and a party of Maroon warriors joined the Kenecuffees, Kojo retaining overall leadership in this war zone. *This must be after "destruction" of Nanny Town.*

By 1730 the Kenecuffees had become, in effect, a government of Black people in the bush, and held sway over Clarendon and St. Catherine "oversuch as secretly favoured them while they apparently remained at peace on the plantations, they exercised a dominion by the influence of Obeah". ()

The Kenecuffees had come therefore, to represent to the enslaved peoples a free Africa and source of politico - religious authority. It should be noted that the whitemen used the word Obeah to denote anything which was so purely African, that he could not understand it.

The situation in 1729 was that the Maroon people had established dominion over the North East and there ^{had} created a settled society based on an African foundation and response. In the South the Kenecuffees held their own and ^{had} gained ^{the} support and confidence of many African peoples who lived on the estates and in towns. ~~This changed abruptly in 1729.~~

LV

In 1729, Governor Hunter, in persuance of, his ^{own} ~~won~~ interests, to establish a plantation in Portland, and those of English Colonialism, "I need not mention the use of trade or war by the Command of the Windward passage and additions to Ye planting interest by Ye goodness of soil", ()

began the systematic colonialization of the North Eastern Region. This was ^{started} ~~begun~~ by a Mr. Stewart who built a storehouse and wharf at Titchfield, which he used as a major shipping point to, we know not

Two towns; Littlefield & Port Antonio

where, and with the building of;

"one storehouse -----a wharf for careening and cleared ground for ye uses of a hospital" ()

at Port Antonio. At the beginning of 1731 both towns

"were in embryo consisting at present of huts and a very few houses". ()

At the same time a bill to encourage settlers was passed, land shared up amongst the colonialists and a few of them began establishing slave plantations.

The sudden invasion and theft of their territory evoked an immediate response from the Maroons and Kenecuffees, ^{*Their alliance was strengthened*} became known as Maroons and ^{*to the*} a ~~much more~~ coordinated war effort was launched. Fighting escalated on both fronts to a more

"systematic military action" ()

and the Maroons fully

"developed an art of attack and defence that in the hills failed the best exertions of disciplined bravery" ()

Their communication network kept up regular supplies of food, ammunition, ~~new~~ recruits, and military intelligence, and the Maroons were always

"appraised in time of the parties that were fitted out and the routes that they must necessarily take and prepared their ambushes accordingly." ()

In early May of 1730, Govenor Hunter reported that

"of late there has been many depradations and violences committed upon the frontier settlements to the great discouragement of new settlers".

By July John Stewart stated that

"we are at present threathened by strong bodies of rebellious negroes in several parts of the island, but particularly Port Antonio". ()

and that this

"will no doubt encourage all illdisposed negroes to resort to them from all the settlements in the country". ()

V

systems

This war pitted two totally opposed ~~military machines~~ against each other. The Maroons, masters of surviving in the most rugged terrain, used this knowledge in the defence of their liberty. The primary principle of the Maroon was that which has come to be regarded as a classical guerilla axiom ie. fight only on ~~the~~ advantageous terms using the hit and run, or ambush strategies. The Maroons excelled in both.

The lie of the Blue Mountains and John Crow Mountains makes it necessary to alternate between travelling on the ridges and along river courses, which are generally enclosed on two sides by woods and almost perpendicular slopes. This

① The major element in the success of this strategy was that the Maroons had divided all their territories into battle areas. Each area had four groups of six soldiers continually circulating within it.

Abengs and drums were used to relay the exact route and progress of the invader forces. If the colonialist was large enough in any ^{area} one he might be attacked by all four circulating parties in rapid succession. The ambushes were more lighting quick raids and were made alternately at the vanguard, and luggage bearers in the centre, and rear of the invading column.

"means that a few men lodged above on either side of the river may destroy any number sent against them." ()

So skillfully were the ambushes set, that the Maroons often waited until the colonialist soldiers were two musket barrel lengths away before decimating their ranks with volley after volley, loading, firing, lying down ^{to} load, standing, then firing again. ()

Another Maroon strategy was to lure the colonialist soldiers into one of their towns around which an ambush had been set. Once in it the Maroons fired the town and began shooting, ^{the} ensuing confusion and panic giving them easy targets. The Maroon houses were made from logs, vines and thatch, all easily obtained in the hills, and could be erected in half a day. Then as soon as they had had enough, the Maroons disappeared into the hills. Thus

"it is not clear that the Maroons were always to be considered as defeated when they retired and left the ground of action to their enemy". ()

The English soldiers on the other hand, were remarkable for their total inefficiency. This resulted partly from the divisions among the colonialists and demonstrates the fact that when an activity is based on criminality, the attitudes bred will affect relationships with those of its own kind. In 1730, ^{the} a white world was divided between the Western and Southern planters, Plantocracy and merchants, Jamaican merchants and the monopolist, multinational, South Sea Company; small tradesmen and slavers who managed groups of job work, enslaved Africans; Irish indentured, (Papist) servants and Anglican planters; and all these against Colonial rule and taxation. ^{led to an} These divisions meant the inability to work out suitable strategies or to concentrate on fighting the Maroons which in turn led to an inability to sustain war parties, their frequent defeat, and to the careless destruction of two sets of troops from Gibraltar and Malta. Other problems included:

- (1) Lack of seasoning and hill fighting expertise;
"our best wendmen cannot march above five miles a day and when they come upon the Towns, they come fatigued from their march, their arms and ammunition frequently wet or spoiled, with their being obliged to lie nightly in these unsettled woods, exposed to the rains."
- (2) Inability to obtain soldiers committed to the colonial ideal;
"(our) endeavour to make the militia better (is) in vain, (the) foot consisting chiefly of the hired servants and free negroes who had no obligations either to honour or interest for the defense of their masters' properties" ()
"our misfortunes are in great measure owing to the cowardice and treachery of the parties raised from time to time out of ^{the} militia which mostly consisted of tradesmen and indentured servants who are unacquainted with arms and military discipline and are not to be depended on, or from arming our slaves who we are convinced have betrayed us" ()

- (3) Probably the most vicious destroyer of the Colonialist military force was the absolute callousness of ~~the~~ ^{the other} wealthy whites as shown in the following incident.

In 1734, the English Commanders discovered that during the previous 4 years colonial troops had been

"Harboured in unlicensed Punch houses from where they obtained unlimited quantities of rum leaving their arms and shot in return". ()

"The keeping up and maintaining the parties in these parts has only been made a trade of" ()

As a result of this half of the Gibraltar and Malta troops, 1,300 men, died from excessive rum drinking and fevers and the bill for keeping up these troops came to £100,000.

- (4) There was a problem of strategy. As early as 1729 Hunter had suggested that either a ring of forts or fortified settlements be located along the foothills serviced by good accessible roads or else that peace be made with the rebels.

Hunter's suggestion was ^{not} accepted and the major tactic of the English was to try and beat the Maroons in battle or to capture their towns. This showed a complete lack of appreciation and knowledge about the Maroon battle plan.

- (5) Finally the English had no knowledge of the location, numbers or routes of the Maroons and had usually to operate as blind men looking for the proverbial needle in the haystack.

The war which followed took place in three periods;

- (a) 1729 to March 1732
- (b) March 1732 - December 1734
- (c) December 1734 - 1740

(a) 1729 - March 1732.

The thorough knowledge, and superb execution, of guerilla military tactics by the Maroons led to defeat after defeat of the colonialist. During 1730 the Maroons attacked several frontier settlements causing great fear and confusion amongst the whites. In February, June and December they repulsed and destroyed 4 groups of black and white soldiers, killing at least fifty and wounding a similar number. In June they beat off an attack against an agricultural village.

The success of the Maroons immediately served as a

"great discouragement to new settlers" ()

in Jamaica generally, and the North East in particular. It also roused fears of a general insurrection of enslaved Africans, as

"great numbers daily desert their masters some through humour some through ill usage" ()

This situation led Hunter to ask for 2,000 troops from Gibraltar, which he was promised.

March of 1731 saw the first serious set back for the Maroons and it is probably at this time that they discovered the problems of staying in the open, on the plain. In that month one of their main settlements "in the neighbourhood of Port Antonio" () consisting of one hundred and six houses, was attacked. The Maroons held out for a time then fired it and withdrew to the hills, behind the smoke. This action cost the English two dead, but it meant that the Maroons had given up what was probably their last major agricultural settlement on the plain. Because the size of the plantations discovered were so great, the English intensified their scorched earth policy which had begun in 1730, destroying all fruit trees and cultivations which might have been available to the ^{Maroon} people.

These events led to a lull in fighting between March and November of 1731 as the Maroons sought to resettle themselves and to replenish their supplies of food by planting provisions in the hills. The Maroons of the North East ~~also~~ ^{move} used this lull to work out a coordinated ~~was~~ plan with their Clarendon counterparts and in November ~~they re-~~ ^{reopened} their offensive with three swift attacks, one in St. Davids, one in St. James, the other in Portland, threatening to cut off the frontier settlements from Port Antonio. A "grand party" led by one Dellamillire, went in search of the Maroons, was ambushed and ~~was~~ "defeated near the place of Soapers defeat", eight being killed and many wounded.

The continuing success of the Maroons spurred on the rising rebelliousness of the enslaved population who had grown to that

"degree of insolence that they (the Planters) ~~do not~~ ^{must} hardly order them back to work and have been ⁱⁿtractable ever since" ()

The discomfort of the slave owning people increased as their fears became more of a reality with each new defeat.

"the defeat of the regular forces has given the inhabitants great uneasiness and put them under just apprehension of a general insurrection of the slaves, as all or most of them want but a favourable opportunity to withdraw from their servitude" ()

The effectiveness of the Maroons offensive prompted the colonial authorities to advertise in January of 1732 for Mercenaries/Settlers under the following terms.

"£4 a month to any soldier that will offer to go after the rebellious negroes, besides £10 a head for every negro they take or kill. Provision will be made for the wife and family of such soldier whilst out, or if killed and for himself if disabled. £5 bounty on engagement and a months pay in advance before marching. £20 for every sergeant. If 20 soldiers will settle in a body everyone has 100 acres of land given to him, a negro boy, negro girl, three barrells of beef and a barrell of flour; and everyman to have an acre of land, cleared for him at the country's charge. At every settlement there is to be built a strong house with flankers at the country's charge with a gang of dogs and guard to protect them". ()

Whether or not as a result of this advertisement, March saw the creation of two large repressive forces attacking the Maroon towns in the foothills. One left Liguanea and consisted of 93 armed negroes, 5 overseers, 46 whitemen, 29 baggage negroes; the other left from Port Antonio and included 86 whites, 131 armed negroes, and 61 baggage negroes. These two groups were allowed to enter the three major foothill settlements of the Maroons, Dian's, Molly's and the "Great Negro Town", and were there ambushed. For several days the Maroons continued their ambush, killing many of the invading forces and then as quickly, and as silently, they withdrew further into the hills. In the first two mentioned towns 25 houses were burnt and 60 left standing, and in the third, 120 were burnt and 7 saved. Hunter immediately ordered the building of a defensible barracks which had almost been completed by September 1732 when it was ~~said~~ ^{reported} that

"a defensible house or barrak, capable to lodge fifty men at the Great Negro Town lately taken, is finished all to the roof." ()

(b) 1732 - 1734.

The tactical withdrawal of the Maroons from their major settlement areas, should not be considered a defeat and was dictated by the guerilla axiom of fighting only when the odds are with one.

The most serious problem confronting the Maroons after March was once again that of provisions. Each settlement had extensive cultivations around it or nearby. The retreat from the plains, the low foothills, and the Colonialist scorched earth policy, made provisions very scarce. This forced the Maroons to revert, in part, to the highly mobile or "vanguard" guerilla type of military strategy.

In order to save food, and probably to confuse and stretch ^{the oppressive forces} to the limit, ~~the oppressive forces~~, the Maroons divided into three groups.

"Soon after (the English) parties had taken their chief towns the rebels were in a great want of provisions.....

and dividing into three parties took as many different routes" ()

One group went to St. James ^{and} St. Elizabeth via Clarendon where they were joined by ~~Gudjo~~ ^{Kojo}

"Some of those dislodged in the North East have found themselves in the windward." ()

"Some of them have found a way through the mountains for there have lately been discovered a large settlement with a considerable body of rebels in it in the Parish of St. James" ()

A second party became totally mobile, ranging the hills and constantly leading the colonial parties on wild goose chases. In February 1733 the English report that they

"came up frequently with new haunts lately deserted, sometime so suddenly that they leave their arms and other things behind." ()

The third party went to Guy's Town

"The rebels when they were first beat from Wannys Town went to Guy's Town." ()

This town on top of Carrion Crow Hill had

"a great deal of open land about it in which is plenty of sugar canes, plantains, mellons, yams, corns, hog and poultry. The number of men is about 200 and a greater number of women". ()

Military activity between March of 1732 and March of 1733 was limited to two engagements; the first in June when the Maroons enrout to St. James attacked two estates in St. Elizabeth, killing eight and holding sixteen persons. The second in November when two watchmen were killed. Apart from this "there was little other mischief". The lull at this time demonstrates the superiority of the Maroons in the war. Needing time to reprovision and reorganize, the Maroons brought the war to a stand still, leaving the colonialist army clutching after straws and chasing shadows, in the mountain.

In March of 1733, fighting flared anew. In the previous September the colonialist learned about Guy's Town for the first time, when one Lamb reportedly attacked a Maroon Town,

"on a steep rocky hill approached through a ravine". () a description which matches that of the town. As a result of this discovery, the colonialist organized two divisions in February 1733.

"to attack rebels in their fastnesses." ()

One was commanded by Lamb and comprised of 104 armed men, 30 baggage negroes; the other by Williams and was made up of 123 armed men and 34 baggage negroes. These parties went straight to Guy's Town, then known to the colonialist as Manns Town, and on the 3rd of March attacked where

"the (Maroons) are now settled being big with conquest, but soon met with a repulse above the dancing place". ()

The Maroons,

"beating a calabash drum" (;)

and constantly talking and unnerving the invading forces, counter attacked at will. Then appearing to retreat, the Maroons

"flew to Carrion Crow Hill", ()

where they had previously

"taken in piling up a vast heap of stones against which they set up props until the party came near, as soon as which, the hill, being excessively steep, they pulled away, and the stones ran with great violence on them"; ()

The Maroons, following behind, completely destroyed the English taking 3 alive. This victory marks the beginning of the great Maroon offensive of March 1733 to December 1734 which had as its main objective the retaking of the coastal areas previously occupied by the Maroons.

"Their design (is) robbing Sparks and Hobby's Plantations and afterwards, if the partys in Titchfield Town (were) not too strong..... they would come and take it." (58)

The first part of this plan was completed with the retaking of the "Great Negro Town" immediately following the battle of Guy's Hill.

" (the Maroons) remained there (at Guy's Town) _____ and then they returned and made themselves masters of their old town 1 _____ (which) now goes by the name of Nanny Town" ()

"where there are 300 men all armed with guns. They have more firearms than they use. The number of women and children far exceeds that of the men." ()

"It is a mystery that so much ammunitions ie. 16 cartridges at least each man some more and spare powder in their horns. that we should take three of their towns and be driven out of them with the loss of four of our white men taken alive and four killed as themselves made mention and not the ear of a rebel brought in". ()

The Maroons immediately set about strenghtening their forces and by July they had

"increased to several hundreds ----- the Leeward gang (having) joined them". ()

In the campaign which followed the Maroons used three basic strategies. Firstly, they ^{launched} ~~land~~ assaults simultaneously in several areas in order to stretch the opposing forces as thinly as possible. Secondly they used lighting raids in the heart of occupied territories to confuse, frighten and demoralize the colonial soldiers and encourage the enslaved rebel. Thirdly, they began holding territory on the frontier gradually moving closer to Port Antonio.

Between July and October ¹⁷³³ the Maroons moved with swiftly. Firstly, they took the Breastworks which was the major colonial frontier outpost in the foothills, used as a launching pad for invasions against them and as a first defensive position for Port Antonio. Following ~~swiftly~~ on this the Maroons attacked with a series of swift exploratory raids in and around Port Antonio, while increasing the pressure on other fronts.

"the (Maroons) have donè much damage and mischief of late and flusit with success have ventured to plunder ^{two estates} within sight of the town of Titchfield and some others more remote, and have of late been troublesome in several parts of the island". ()

In September, 200 Maroons, while attacking several out settlements were engaged by a body of soldiers and sailors, who had been hastily recruited in July. These they defeated killing 10 and wounding 14. These constant successes led to the Govenor admitting that, the rebels were still in their old haunts and

"Jamaica was in a flutering state" ()

The colonialist response to this was threefold. Firstly, they tried as hard as was possible not to engage in battle with the Maroons. Secondly they used these forces to seek out and destroy as many Maroon provision grounds as they could find.

This is after Leaman's Valley

"a detachment of 60 to cut down the Great Plantation Walk" ()
was sent out and succeeded, and three parties one via Hobby's one via
Carrion Croa Hill and the other from the Breastwork

"are in constant motion destroying the plantation walks
and ground provisions of the rebels where they can come
at them". ()

Thirdly they began implementing a plan, which had been mooted as
early as 1730, to

"build barracks every mile from the breastworks to their
town about seven miles". ()

These attempts to ease or stop the relentless pressure of the Ma-
roons were however totally unsuccessful. In February 1734 two estates
and two pens near Port Antonio were taken and 600 colonialist troops
including 200 soldiers, 200 sailors and 200 others were routed.

"That body of men³⁰⁰ obliged to retreat with the loss of
several and a great part of their arms and ammunition" ()

By March the Maroons had blockaded Port Antonio,

"These constant success have emboldered the rebels to that
degree that they now despise our power and instead of
hiding themselves as they formerly did in those mountains
and covered places they openly appear in arms and are daily
increasing by the desertion of other slaves, who they encour-
age to make over to them and have actually taken possession
of three plantations within eight miles of Port Antonio and
the sea, by which means they might at any time cut off com-
munication by land with that harbour and town, and the new
settlers in that neighbourhood have been obliged to retire
thither". ()

"Port Antonio was in a manner blocked up insomuch that in
March last no person durst stir out of the Town". ()

and were pressing in St. Elizabeth and Hanover,

"In St. Elizabeth, Cabirta, Hanover, the inhabitants were
molested to such a degree that barracks had to be built
and constant ^{guards} ~~guards~~ kept. Cattle could not use normal
routes but had to take evasive action. One new road was
built seven miles long by 100 ft. wide." ()

These victories and the panic engendered amongst the plantocracy

"had such an effect upon the tempers of the plantation
slaves that in some parishes their masters durst not correct
them of any faults for fear of creating mutinies and desertion
to the rebels." ()

Furthermore

"No master at the North side is now master of a slave many
of them not doing half the work that they used to do nor
dare their masters punish them for the least disgust will
probably cause them to join the rebels". ()

Battle of Nanny ~~km~~

The greatest fear among the whites was that the revolt would spread and become general

"which we have great reason to apprehend from the encouragement they meet with daily, the affinity between them and above all the hope of freedom which has shaken the fidelity of our most trusted slaves, insomuch we are at a loss what measures to take having been so often betrayed and being fully convinced that even those who remain in seeming subjection to us wish well to their cause and wait for only an opportunity to join them". ()

This fear led to ^{the} evacuation of several frontier settlements and many whites left Jamaica for North America. ()

In March Hunter wrote despairingly to the English Government stating that "This may be the last opportunity we have of applying for help". ()

and then begged the English to send more troops. These were promised from Malta. He also noted that whereas before five whites frightened fifteen blacks the reverse was now true as five blacks frightened fifteen whites. May and June saw the, by now familiar, pattern repeat itself, when two parties of colonial soldiers numbering 400 and 120 respectively were defeated. The first action took place at a town not named, consisting of 127 huts, peopled by 400 Africans, lasted for five days, during which time the exploiters lost 8 killed and 13 wounded. The town is not named although it is called the chief Negro Town, and might possibly have been Nanny's Town. It is also possible that the Maroons left Nanny's Town after this battle and returned to Guy's Town.

"the rebels (were plundering) all outsettlements at their pleasure". ()

October saw the first concerted attempt by the colonial Government in England to come to grips with the Maroons. One Colonel Bladden analysed the situation, pointing out the weaknesses of the colonial army which he saw as

- (A) lack of conduct and courage in commanding officers,
- (B) lack of arms, ammunition and food,
- (C) neglect of rendezvous points,
- (D) lack of guides,
- (E) non observance of time and routes appointed.

He advised of the need for;

- (1) two independent and trained commanding officers,
 - (2) for these to sit and vote on council on military matters,
 - (3) to create a proper communication system,
 - (4) to build barracks to house 100 men in proper places,
 - (5) to use skilled trackers and guides eg. Mosquito Indians,
- and further suggested that,

"it might not be advisable to offer any terms with the negroes till some advantage obtained over them shall have made them more humble" ()

yet he had to admit that

"it will be pretty difficult to destroy them entirely" () especially since the Maroons used

"a method unknown to regular troops" ()

He could only suggest that

"So soon therefore as any advantages obtained over them shall have rendered the Negroes more tractable why should not terms be made" ()

and warned that

"the first expedition therefore made in by regular troops should be undertaken with proper caution, for the fate of the island may in some measure depend upon their success" ()

Thus it was in December of 1734 that the English Colonial system in Jamaica, strengthened by the arrival of 600 troops from Malta, invoked Martial law thereby putting the entire exploitative system, willingly and unwillingly, in one concerted desperate action against the Maroons. The plan drafted by the Council of war was to march from Port Antonio and take Guy's Town

"as this town is the rebels stronghold it is necessary to beat them from that place which will entirely break the neck of them and disperse them in small bodies, so that in time they may probably be starved or obliged to submit" ()

"When the 600 men meet together and are in possession of the town they are to build a defensible barrack. Two hundred of the best woodmen are to pursue and range the woods to prevent them from settling again in any great body or any other part." ()

The invading force was under the command of Col. Brooks.

This plan however totally ignored what others had said before, which was that to capture a Maroon Town or site was to catch after a shadow since to the Maroons, their land was that which was directly under his or his allies feet, his only defeat came with his death and the total destruction of his people. Interestingly, this lesson has been ignored by all oppressive and exploitative forces right to the present day, a fact evidenced in the struggles for liberation of the African and Asian peoples in this century.

III

The battle which took place as a result of this plan lasted between the 16th to the 18th of December. The Maroons, as was their custom, turned their town into an ambush, lured the English in, set it alight, surrounded the invaders and poured in volley after volley. The ferocity of the Maroon action led to many deaths and desertions amongst the English soldiery. Although the colonialist used a small "swivel cannon gun" and fought hand to hand combat, they were unable to dislodge the Maroons.

Then, as swiftly as they had laid siege, so also did the Maroons disengage, leaving the unseasoned troops to the vagaries of an unfriendly climate and uncomfortable location, surrounded by a hostile terrain and invisible freedom fighters, no closer to their goals than before.

(C) 1734 - 1740 (3)

(1)

The important result of the Guy's Town battle was that it broke the encirclement of Port Antonio and in so doing exposed the primary weaknesses of the Maroons, their lack of numbers and reserve provisions. The logistical problem had hampered the development of the Maroon plan to take the plain areas, by making this dependent on an uprising of enslaved Africans. Although these people had grown extremely restless they had not reached the stage of military rebellion. Thus when the Maroons once again split into two groups, the colonial troops were deployed on the estates in the most restless areas, an intimidatory action which proved to be very effective.

Immediately after the battle at Guy's Town the Maroons divided into two groups. One of these marched swiftly to St. James along the Northern slopes of the mountain range, where they joined with ~~Gujo~~ 16-30

"The rebels lost very few of their number that we have any certain account of. They divided themselves into two bodies for the better convenience of subsistence, one of the bodies consisting of 300 men, women and children marched from the eastern parts to the western 150 miles through the country without receiving much damage, tho attacked twice or thrice in their march. This may seem strange, but their marches are so surprisingly expeditions over vast mountains and through thick woods, to which they are perfectly inured, that it is almost impossible to pursue them with any success. They have been very quiet but by the intelligence we have gained by one or two we have taken, they have joined with another large town in the western parts fixing themselves and planting provisions for this additional increase" ()

The second group kept in the North East

"Adon-keeps still to the windward". ()

The Maroons who had returned to Nanny's Town had by this left there for a second time although ~~this is not known, exactly when is not known,~~

"a detachment of sergeant, corporal and eighteen private men has for some time been in possession of one of the old Negro settlements near Port Antonio called Nanny Town." ()

This period although the longest, saw the least action. The English colonialists by now had realized the impossibility of defeating the Maroons by attacking them in the hills. They prepared to

III

Events surrounding the signing of the peace treaty and the articles of these suggest that all was not well amongst the Maroon people. Up to 1737, a highly developed and extremely efficient system of communication had allowed for such a degree of coordinated activity that the English colonial rule in Jamaica had been battered to the point of defeat. In this year, however, the North Eastern Maroon returned from the West as a result of, it would appear, disagreement over basic principles. This is reflected in

- (1) the fact that the North East Maroons did not know of the treaty signed by ~~Gudjo~~ ^{Kojo}.
- (2) Article 9 of the North East treaty ^{which} said "that in case they are overpowered by more rebels than they can fight they might apply for aid to the Governor". ()

The only others which this could possibly refer to was the Western Maroons. This indicates that strained ~~relations~~ had developed between the two although we do not, as yet know, for what reason.

IV

This ended a century of hostilities. During this time the Maroons had faced European soldiers both regular, militia and Mercenaries, Mosquito Indians, dogs and his own black people. Hundreds of thousands of pounds had been spent to destroy him. The Maroons had not been defeated and had brought his enemies begging on their knees.

Yet even in victory the seeds of the Maroons present defeat were sown. The colonialist had been able to persuade the Maroons to use the Colonial courts in matters involving a possible death sentence and he had given permission for two white men (to) constantly live and reside, with (the Maroons), in order to maintain a friendly correspondence with the inhabitants of this island! Furthermore whereas the Maroons had been master of the entire North East, he was now limited in treaty, to the hills and moreover a very small part of it. It is probable that the Maroons never knew of the contents of the treaty nor of the danger of allowing two whites amongst them. It is certain that the Maroons regarded the entire hills as their own ~~and the~~ and the limits applied in the treaty were either not known or disregarded.

The signing of the 1739 treaty by ~~Gudjo~~ ^{Kojo} must have placed a serious limit on the negotiating stance of the North Eastern Maroons who up till 1740 appeared to be the more independent and resolute of both groups.

As history records, the Maroons lived peaceably after this until the 1790's when these same articles began to be seen for what they were, tricks to deprive the Maroons of their hard won liberty, ~~and war~~ ensued.

CHAPTER 3 SITE REPORT

1

A Question of Identity

The site partially excavated in December 1973 had been identified by a previous expedition headed by Alan Teulon as Nanny's Town. Documentary and artifactual evidence suggests however, that it is the site of Guy's Town and/or its environs, the permanent Maroon settlement evacuated in December 1734.

Written descriptions of Guy's Town match this site. In 1733 it was reported that,

"the rebels have another town on top of Carrion Crow Hill called Guys or Guy's Town." (96)

which had a

"a great deal of open land about it". (97)

In September of 1733, as has been seen, Lamb attacked a Maroon Town

"on a steep and rocky hill approached through a ravine" (98)

He returned in February of 1734 and attacked:

"but soon met with a repulse above the dancing place" (98A)

In June Lamb attacked again. This time the Maroons were ready and after a day of intensive fighting

"Flew to Carrion Crow Hill". (99)

where they released a land slide destroying the following colonial forces. This area could not have been Nanny's Town or the "Great Negro Town" since

"the rebels when they were first beat from Nanny's Town went to Guy's Town" (100)

and the place attacked by Lamb was

"Where the (Marrons) are now settled". (101)

It was after the above mentioned battle that the Maroons

"returned and made themselves masters of their old town which now goes by the name of Nanny's Town". (102)

In December of 1734, the Maroons led Colonel Brooks into an ambush. After two days of intense fighting during which time the Colonialist used a small swivel Canon gun, the Maroons retreated. The English proceeded to build a barracks to house troops and flying parties. When they abandoned the site in July 1735, they left a stone marker commemorating their stay. This marker and the stonewall are two prominent features on the site, visited in 1973.

The major problem had been to locate the place of this 1734 battle, and no definite geographical location is mentioned in the records. The problem was simplified greatly by the location of Carrion Crow Hill.

Although no hill now goes by that name, it has been traditionally placed in the area, many supposing it to be that emmen^{ce}en~~ce~~ now called Abrahams which is to the north east of the site. It is more likely,

however, that the steep hill on the western side of the site supposedly called Nanny's Town Hill, is the Carrion Crow.

Teulon's 1967 expedition found indications of a settlement on the top of this hill and none on Abrahams. This is the only spot in the vicinity where the vegetation has been disturbed in the past thousand years, indicating that so settlement ever existed on Abrahams. It is also steep, rocky and approached through a ravine. Part of the site forms a natural amphitheatre, or "dancing area", and a ledge about ten feet below the riverside edge runs around it. There is no other area of disturbed vegetation close by, yet, Nanny's Town the former "Great Negro Town" was close to Mollys and Diane's Town. Records suggest that Nanny's Town was much closer to the coast, even if at a greater elevation.

Two puzzles still remain. The first is that this site has been associated with Nanny's Town in oral tradition. This is explainable. The Maroons who left the "Great Negro Town" in 1732 went to Guy's Town. There, as Maroon history has it, the ancient protector, the woman warrior Nya Nya, assumed command. This is indicated in the colonial records which show the "Great Negro Town" was renamed after her when the Maroons returned in 1733.

The second puzzle is the stonewall. Some claim that it was built by the Maroons. Others claim that documents point to the building of barracks on the Nanny Town site. In answer to the first, it need only be said that this kind of structure is totally out of keeping with Maroon architectural modes. To the second, it must be pointed out that documents show two barracks being built in the hills, the first in March of 1732 at the "Great Negro Town", the second in December of 1734 on the site of the battle involving Colonel Brooks.

Evidence suggests therefore that the site excavated in December 1973 belongs to the environs of Guy's Town and included the festivity area and the land occupied temporarily by the Maroons who had evacuated the "Great Negro Town" after March 1732.

11 THE SITE

The site on the Northern side of the Blue Mountains and Stony River is situated about 20 miles N.E. of Kingston. Approximately 2,000 ft. above sea level, and 2½ acres in size, it forms a rough triangle. (see Fig.1) On the N.W. side a densely wooded hill rises about 290 ft., on the N.E. a water course runs into the Stony River, which forms the third side of the triangle.

To the West and N.E. the lofty peaks of Two Clan Ridge and Abraham Peak stand eternal vigilance, offering protective custody against intruders. On the S.W. point of the triangle a foot path leads down to the river which can also be reached at the S.E. corner at the junction of the Stony River and watercourse where the land drops away to it.

The area was partially cleared by the British team and the excavation conducted by Mr. Tony Bonner. The main area cleared measured approximately 135'x90'x170' in the S.W. section and had been extended by a 30' square to include the stonewall, and space for a camp site about 30' N.E. of the stonewall. (See Fig II)

Fig II.

This area had five prominent features (1) the area bushed by the British expedition exclusive of the stonewall ^{and} camp site. This area appears to cover exactly that area, which according to reports by British troops who took part in the 1734 assault of this site, was used by the Maroons as a festivity or dancing arena. It is recorded that the night before the final assault the Maroons sang and danced until almost daybreak. The area has a depression in the centre and running around the edge from the S.W. path to a group of large boulders is a 10ft. wide, almost level, section of ground which forms a natural elevated gallery. When the gradual slope of the first 20ft. of the N.W. hill is included a natural theatre ~~is~~ in the round is created, making it possible for the Maroons to hold their festivals in traditional manner, dancers, chorus and musicians in the centre, onlookers forming a ring embracing them.

(2) At the top of and overlooking the S.W. path leading from the river is a rectangular rock construction approximately 6'x5'. The rocks are similar to those used to construct the stonewall and are not a natural formation since the S.E., N. and S.W. sides have been laid in straight lines. Some of the wall rocks have caved inwards suggesting that it was a low enclosing wall, probably used as a sentry post. However, the number of stones, lack of any indication that there was an entrance and the size of the structure makes it a cramped and open space and therefore highly unsuitable for use as such although stones might have been subsequently removed. Mr. Bonner managed to clear away some of the fall-in rocks and did a quick dig in the floor area. He has reported that nothing was found. (Fig II Plate II)

(3) To the south of stonewall approximately 15ft. away are three large boulders on top of a slab of rock. Their position in relation to the festivity area indicates that they could have been used as a kind of royal box for Maroon leaders viewing festivities. Whether these rocks are naturally or man placed we might never know. (Fig IV) (4) A short distance to the North of these is a stone monument commemorating the Britishers assault of this area. When the British team members arrived the stone had been moved from the place where Alan Teulon had seen it during his 1967 visit, and had also been damaged by a soldier from a Canadian Unit on training exercise in the hills. The stone reads

Decem 17 1734
This Town was took
by Coll. Brook
and after kept

by Capt. Cooke

Till July 1735. (Plate III)

(5) The demoninating feature of this area is that a structure called the "stonewall". Rectangular in shape it consists of dry packed stone common to the area. Height of wall is approximately 3'-4' although it has collapsed in some sections. The westerly wall is the thickest measuring 6'-7' wide although the outside first row of stones has been partially removed. In the middle of this wall is a narrow gap 1 1/2'-2' wide which has obviously used as an entrance. This is the wall that faces the S.W. path to the river approximately 80' away. The two short sides, of which this wall is one, running N-S are approximately 21' long while the two long sides running E-W are approximately 23' in length. The remaining 3 walls measure approximately 4' wide. The stonewall was built as a defensive position and storehouse. This is indicated by the thicker west wall facing the S.W. path to the river and the narrow entrance. The roof and walls were probably built of wood and thatch. The stone construction at the top of the path probably acted as an forward lookout guard post. (Fig III Plate IV + V)

The rest of the site continues sloping gently downwards towards the watercourse. On the edge of the Southern precipice and approximately 10' below it is a ridge approximately 40' long x 8' at its widest point. No other notable structures or features were observed although only when the entire area is bushed will we be able to know for sure whether or not any others existed.

III Excavation of Site

The site was divided into sections firstly by running a datum line in an approximately N. Easterly direction from the S.W. edge of the precipice passing 3' from and parallel to the base of the northerly Stonewall wall to the watercourse, a distance of approximately 290 yards. This line was lettered at ten feet intervals from A to two marks beyond Z omitting the letter I. The cleared area was then squared off in relation to the datum line beginning 30' to its north and continuing to the edge of the precipice. Each square was given a number running in order from I and beginning at the point 30' north of the datum line.

In the cleared area each bag was marked firstly with the letter, then the number 2NT (NT was used because at that time the site was presumed to be Henry's Town.) was added in front to show that this was the second archaeological collection from this site, the first being Alan Teulon's 1967 dig, eg. 2NT/G-2 ie. this artifactx comes from the 1973/74 dig from area letter G number 2 square. Those collections in the un-cleared area were given letters according to their direction, north or south, and distance from the datum line, eg. 10SR means 10' South of point R on datum line.

Two methods were used to collect artifacts. Firstly, the entire area was surface searched with the help on the final two days of the Boy's

Brigade and Scouts. Secondly, excavations were conducted in three areas.

- (1) squares G-2, F-3, and F-4
- (2) The treshhold and floor area of Stonewall.
- (3) an area approximately 10ft. South of point R

(1) Squares G-2, F-3, G-4

These three areas were excavated because they showed most surface artifacts. The soil is free draining loam covered by a layer of leaf mould and is at the base of the northern hill. Although excavated to depths of approximately 7" the majority of the artifacts were discovered in the top 4".

(2) Threshold and floor area of Stonewall

This area was excavated in three parts, the treshhold comprising the entrance and a small section extending beyond the entrance.

The floor area in two sections SWI and SWII, SWI ran from the inside end of the entrance to dissecting line K, an area approximately ~~9' x 10'~~ ^{5' x 8'} SWII _{ran from line K. to the back wall an area approx 9' x 10'}. The floor was excavated to a depth of 8" to natural, although most artifacts occurred in the top 5".

(3) Area approximately 10ft. south of Point R.

This was a samll trial trench and reached a depth of 1 foot, artifacts occurring at deeper levels here than in other excavated areas.

CHAPTER 4

ARTIFACTS OF SITE (1)

The material culture of the Maroons was a combination of African and European. It included, Yabbahs, earthenware pipes, wooden vessels, ceramics, weapons, and metal objects such as cooking pots and agricultural implements.

"The (maroons) left behind ~~some~~ ^{some} crockery

(103)

Some were lost their bills and ~~arms~~ (104)

Some were also by the Maroons, others obtained ~~from~~ from fleeing colonial troops; the majority via the Maroons ~~and~~ communication

"Bills, poles, kettles etc. 20 muskets, 12lb. gun-powder, 18 guns bullets, powder horns".

any artifact, as all objects found were available to both Maroons and colonial soldiers.

ii

There are no known records which indicate that the site was occupied for any length of time after 1735. From then until 1967 its exact location was the sole property of the Maroons, who passed through on their frequent wild hog hunting trips. Several attempts were made by non-Maroons to locate it. In 1967 Alan Teulon, in search of Nanny's Town, and with the aid of ariel photography reached there. Recently foreign troops in training exercises have also been.

The fact that the site is inaccessible to all but the hardest of explorers and its exact location unknown, has meant that until recently, it has been relatively free from contamination. The only observable contamination occurred after 1810, in the form of a pharmaceutical bottle (see ~~see~~) and during the last ten years, in the form of cartridge shells and tins left by modern troops.

iii

As this site was occupied between 1734 and 1735 by English troops it is difficult to ascribe exact ownership of the artifacts found. However, it should be noted, that the area bushed, searched most thoroughly and excavated most extensively did not include the Maroon living area. *It is rather that area* associated with Maroon festivities, the so called "dancing platform" and it is unlikely that the Maroons would have lettered it. The great majority of artifacts came from within the Stonewall and in ^a 10-15 ft. arc to the North West and South West of its entrance. This indicates that they were thrown out by the occupants, ^{ie.} of the Stonewall, colonial troops. Because the main living area has not yet been excavated it is impossible to say when that spot was first lived on.

If, as is reported, the main living area was on the hill and the Maroons from Nanny Town were the only ones to live on this flat then a date of 1733 - 1734 would obtain . Some early attempt must be made to locate the hill site again.

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BOTTLES

(a)	wine (green)	550
(b)	others	18
TOTAL		<u>568</u>

(2) CERAMICS

(a)	delft ware	52
(b)	Belarmine	13
(c)	Saltglaze (white)	6
(d)	Salt glaze red ware (known)	3
TOTAL		<u>74</u>

(3) EARTHENWARES

(a)	Yabbah	31
(b)	Onion type (Spanish?)	2
(c)	Mediterranean (deep green glaze on inside, Spanish?)	6
TOTAL		<u>39</u>

(4) METAL SHERDS

(a)	Iron	119
(b)	Copper	14
(c)	Unknown	9
TOTAL		<u>142</u>

(5) FLINT ARTIFACTS

4

(6) PIPE SHERDS

50

(7) STONE IMPLEMENTS

4

(8) COIN

1

TOTAL

882

Table I artifacts found on site

<u>AREA NUMBER</u>	<u>NO. Of Artifacts</u>	<u>%of entire collection</u>
F3	102	11.68
F4	54	6.33
G2	121	12.80
SWI	148	16.90
SW11	58	6.78
10' South R.S. (1)	67	7.73
S.W. Ledge	41	4.75
	<u>591</u>	<u>66.97</u>
TOTAL		

TABLE II (Distribution of artifacts in major cuttings)

Most areas yielded similar types of artifacts although there are important numerical and type-intra area differentiation. Major amounts of artifacts came from the excavated areas although one or two others yielded significant quantities.

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IV

CLAY BARTHENWARE (AFRICAN) YABBAH

The most important group of artifacts in the study of African history in the Diaspora. The number of questions that can be answered through a knowledge and careful study of these artifacts include, region of Africa represented at that place, and time, internal trade routes patterns, artistic and therefore creative level of perfection. We are now at the very beginning of a definitive study of this ware.

The Yabbah sherds found on this site represent at least two shapes based on rim and finish and used two dissimilar clays. Both were made in the traditional manner of open firing. Eventually it is hoped that scientific examination will enable us to say more eg. exactly where the clays originated.

Vessel B uses more refined clay than Vessel A this probably indicates a difference of vessel usage. A was probably a cooking pot, B an eating or heating bowl. The evenness of firing, especially of the thicker vessel B indicated by the constant colour of the clay body, suggests an exact knowledge of the potters art.

Fig. IV a

- (A) Outside brown with burn marks
- (B) Two layers ^{lamination} outer areas $\frac{1}{8}$ " thick pink core $\frac{1}{8}$ " chocolate brown.
- (C) ^{inclusions} ~~inclusions~~ white and black. $\frac{1}{16}$ - $\frac{3}{16}$ visible to naked eye.
- (D) Top of rim flat, with pin head indentation $\frac{1}{8}$ " diameter
- (E) No. of pieces 2

Fig. IV b

- (A) black-dark brown on outside burn marks indicated on inside.
- (B) outside of fabric pinkish $\frac{1}{8}$ " core chocolate brown $\frac{1}{8}$ ".
- (C) ^{inclusions} ~~inclusions~~ white and black ($\frac{1}{8}$) ^{visible to} naked eye
- (D) No of pieces 5

V

Glass Bottles

There are two groups of glass bottles in this collection; (a) wine, (b) others, including Pharmaceutical and Mineral.

(a) Wine Bottles

Wine bottles are regarded as one of the most valuable site/date indicators occurring on 17 - mid 19th century colonial sites. This dating tool still has to be refined further for it to be of full value. Basically all bottle chronological sequences are based on the relationship of distinctive shapes of necks, mouths, string rims, bodies and bases. The problem posed by relying exclusively on this type of relationship is twofold. Shapes lasted over periods of time which are usually too broad to be of much value to the exact dating needs of history. ^{another} ~~one~~ major problem is the lack of exact information on the technological development of bottles eg. firing processes and chemical proportions and their relationship to size, shape, fabric colour, marks.

Until the last quarter of the 18th century a great deal of experimentation was being carried out within and between national bottle making industries. Moulds, proportion of metals, heating techniques, cooling methods, tools placed limits on the bottles dimensions and created differences in the colour, markings and fabric of the bottle. The degree of experimentation was such that changes ^{seem to have} occurred fairly frequently yet most times ^{appear to have been} because of the nature of the industry ~~were~~ limited to a few areas. Whereas shapes were general, specific technological processes were more localized and might prove to be ^{more exact} ~~better~~ date/maker indicators.

BASES

Two basic shapes occur, rounded and square. These can further be placed into ^{five} sub-sections (a) colour, (b) dimensions, (c) basal marks (d) shape of basal kick, (e) shape of associated bodies.

(a) COLOUR

One of the most confusing descriptive categories, is that of colour. There are many internal visual concepts of individual colours. A colour denoted as olive green or cobalt blue or reddish brown usually have as many conceptual variations as there ^{are} ~~are~~ beholders. Most ^{colour} ~~colour~~ descriptions not only prove to be basically valueless but also provide scope for very serious confusion and therefore incorrect analysis and interpretation. There is a great need for an international colour chart for wares from sites of this period. Important differences within a ware are oftentimes denoted by subtle, yet distinct, colour variations. Colours are changed by several factors eg. direct or indirect lighting.

Colours especially those with glossy surfaces, also tend to reflect the colours around them. The only consistent light source is the sun and the colours is either in the open or in a room with low tone colours such as

Best place to examine colours



white, grey or creamish brown. Unless otherwise stated sunlight has been the light source *used here*

(1) DIRECT SUNLIGHT (*See table III*)

Three different colours occur:

Group A olive green scale deep to light depends on thickness and chemical composition of the metal. The shades range from *lime tinted* olive green to a very deep olive green.

Group B

Ginger Brown: This group is divided in two. (B1) is a less pure ginger brown and usually has a distinctive yellow or olive *green* tint to it. (B2) is a purer brown and very brilliant. The thicker the metal the more intense and radiant it becomes.

Group C

A very rich lime green and only three sherds have been found. This group is not to be confused with the olive "lime" green colour of some group A of sherds.

(II) INDIRECT OR REFLECTED *light* (*See table IV*)

The colours produced by this type of light are not dependent on the above

Group D

Black, caused by thickness *and composition* of the metal.

Group E

Rich cobalt blue caused by a chemical change in the metal of the bottle suggested by the fact that of the 39 sherds with this colour 22 are in various stages of corrosion ranging from slightly to very badly corroded. Four of the sherds however, appear remarkably well preserved with a fabric noticeable for its smoothness and high surface gloss. The blue colour in these four sherds appear laminated in cross section and might indicate the first stages of *change decay*.

Base Colours Direct Light

Bases	GROUP A	GROUP B 1	GROUP B 2	GROUP C	Total
Rounded	15	65	33	3	116

Table III Distribution of winebottle sherds re colour in Direct light.

Base Dia- meter	Basal kick vertical from floor	Underside wall from seat- ing base to apex of kick.	Distance of manu- facturing ring from inside seat- ing base point
Size - No	Size - No	Size - No	Size - No
$3\frac{1}{16}$ " 2	$1\frac{3}{16}$ " 1	$2\frac{8}{16}$ " 2	$1\frac{4}{16}$ " 2
4" 4	$1\frac{6}{16}$ " 2	$2\frac{11}{16}$ " 1	$1\frac{8}{16}$ " 2
$4\frac{1-2}{16}$ " 4	$1\frac{9}{16}$ " 1	$2\frac{12}{16}$ " 1	$1\frac{9}{16}$ " 1
$4\frac{3}{16}$ " 2	$1\frac{12}{16}$ " 4	$2\frac{13}{16}$ " 2	$1\frac{10}{16}$ " 1
$4\frac{5}{16}$ " 5	$1\frac{15}{16}$ " 3	$2\frac{14}{16}$ " 2	$1\frac{11}{16}$ " 2
$4\frac{6}{16}$ " 2	2" 3	$2\frac{15}{16}$ " 2	$1\frac{13}{16}$ " 1
$4\frac{7}{16}$ " 1	$2\frac{1}{16}$ " 2	3" 3	$1\frac{12}{16}$ " 1
$4\frac{8}{16}$ " 1	$2\frac{2}{16}$ " 2	$3\frac{1}{16}$ " 2	$1\frac{14}{16}$ " 2
$4\frac{10}{16}$ " 1	$2\frac{3}{16}$ " 3	$3\frac{2}{16}$ " 3	$1\frac{15}{16}$ " 3
		$3\frac{3}{16}$ " 3	2" 6
		$3\frac{4}{16}$ " 1	
		$3\frac{5}{16}$ " 1	

Tablet Dosal dimensions.

A		B	
Size	No	Size	No
1/16	4		
1/16	5	1/16	1
1/16	7	1/16	11
1/16	6	1/16	10

TABLE: IIa

Thickness of glass

- (A) Base rest point
- (B) one inch along wall of body

IIa:

Rounded body with round base.

a	A	B
Diameter of base	$4 \frac{4}{16}$	$4 \frac{4}{16}$
Height of basal kick	$1 \frac{15}{16}$	$\frac{6}{16}$
Length of basal kick wall	$3 \frac{6}{16}$	$2 \frac{14}{16}$

Table IIa Dimensions of Two "onion type" kettles.

As yet no patterns of relationships between sets of these dimensions and other definitive classifications have emerged.

C) MARKS

The difference between manufacturing marks and makers marks lies in the fact that manufacturing marks appear as a result of the process and not consciously designed to indicate the identity of the maker. On the other hand makers marks are created for the precise purpose of identifying the manufacturer or artisan. Sometimes however, it is difficult to tell the difference between the two. The following marks occur on the underside of the bases examined.

One is a horizontal ring usually mid-way between the foot of the base and the apex of the basal kick. They appear at varying distances

X GROUP B

Not as distinctive as group A, nor as regular in execution. Distinctive feature of this mark is a raised long and narrow, ($\frac{1}{4}'' \times 1/16$) mark placed in the middle. Manufacturing ring occurs below it. One example (Fig. 5B)

the other. Both lines are one inch long with one being $3/16''$ wide and the other $1/16''$. Two examples of this mark, both being roughly identical in size. Ringed manufacturing mark also appears. (See Fig. 7e)

Group B Complete clover leaf smaller than others occur with manufacturing mark. (Fig. 7e)

Two other marks occur, one is a raised mark very similar to the raised line at the centre of group 1B and having the same dimensions. It is possible that this mark is part of an improperly applied 1B mark.

The other is an indented mark, very similar to the manufacturing ring, but instead of being one continuous line, is formed by a series of finger nail/impressed curves.

D BASAL KICK SHAPE

There are basically three basal kick shapes (1) rounded (2) conical (3) flat see Fig.) Some of the basal kick apexes are offcentre.

There are thirteen rounded, eight conical, and one flat top basal kicks, three off centre, (two rounded, and one conical.)

(e) Body Shape Sherds

There are 116 divided into two shapes (1) cylindrical (2) rounded

(A) 94 Sherds in this group ~~are~~ ^S squat in appearance the tallest measurable side being 3 1/4" from base to the beginning of the shoulder curve. Most appear waisted with gently (as opposed) sharply, rounded shoulders. In some instances the shoulder is in or ^{90° to} vertical along the outside of basal wall although there are indications that in a Small number of them the shoulder was everted over this line. This feature appears with waisting. Date 1730-1745. (See Fig III a)

Although the bases are generally of a very thick and heavy metal the bodies and shoulders are comparatively thin which tends to make the shoulders weak. Several have swirling manufacturing marks, spiralling from the base to the shoulder. Those bottles which are in colour group B and have distinctive smooth and glossy appearance do not have these marks.

(B) Bottles of this group are much more difficult to describe in detail, since the only suggestion of the shape occurs in less than half an inch of glass above the base. The shape appears to be slightly squashed from the top, with numerous manufacturing in the glass. The first group are roughly made, black with dark blue colouration in reflected light.

NECKS- String, Rim and lip.

There is a tremendous variety in this small collection of necks with eight primary classifications based on the shape of the string rim and its relationship to the ~~lip~~ lip. There are a total of 38 necks of which 19 are complete, ie. necks with string rim and lip features indicated.

COLOUR

<u>Colour</u>	A	B1	B2	C	TOTAL
	10	15		1	26

The B1 group had 23, 8 appearing black in reflected light, 15 had 3, with all three reflecting black.

There was one very light lime green neck sherd.

(b) SHAPE

There are 3 basic neck shapes present.

- (1) The slightly bulbous.
- (2) The straight side,
- (3) The neck which has a slight waisting half way up.

The collection has been divided into eight groups based primarily on the ^{string} rim shape. ~~In group B 3 sub-categories are recorded based on similarities of shape.~~

(c) Dimensions given

- (1) Diameter of mouth outer edge to outer edge.
- (2) Thickness of lip.
- (3) Distance from lip, of string rim.

Group 1

String rim round in section and applied by pressing in one or two places, (similar to French rim mentioned in Noel Humes "Artifacts of Colonial America" page 69)

Group 1 A

Olive green in direct light, black in reflected light. The lip is everted above the string rim and filed into a rounded shape. Mouth is circular. The string rim is unevenly applied with ends overlapping. Neck has a slightly bulbous shape. Several indented manufacturing marks appear in the form of almost vertical indented lines, together with swirling patterns, Metal dull.

$1\frac{2}{16}$, $\frac{2}{16}$, $\frac{3-4}{16}$ (20 ^{SR} ~~...~~) (Fig VIII. 1a.)

Group 1B

B2 colour indirect light, dense black in reflected light. Lip has a very slight eversion above string rim is sharply squared and forms circular mouth. The string rim is basically circular in cross section yet the underside appears to be slightly flattened suggesting that the roundness was caused by tooling. Several indented vertical lines and swirling pattern occurs. Metal is glossy and smooth.

$1\frac{2}{16}$, $\frac{2}{16}$, $\frac{2-3}{16}$ (S.R.) (Fig VIII 1B).

Group 2 - divided into 3 subgroups.

~~B2 colour indirect light, dense black in reflected light. Lip has a very slight eversion above string rim is sharply squared and forms circular mouth. The string rim is basically circular in cross section yet the underside appears to be slightly flattened suggesting that the roundness was caused by tooling. Several indented vertical lines and swirling pattern occurs. Metal is glossy and smooth.~~

The string rim is "V" shaped in cross section. In some cases the "V" is really half "V" in that one side is flat rather than angled. This usually ^{occurs on} the bottom side of the string rim. Some string rims are roughly made

The string rims in group 2 (2) are slightly bigger than 2 (1), occur closer to the rim, are much more unevenly (sloppily) placed. The colour of the glass is lighter olive green.

2 (3) Has the half V string rim with a distinctly noticeable everted and rounded lip with surface glossy and smooth.

Group 2 (1) (A-F)

2 (1) A olive green in direct light, very slight suggestion of black in reflected light. Lip squared and uneven. Mouth circular. String rim irregularly made with half being a half "V", slant side on top, other half being a full "V", unevenly applied with overlapping ends. A few vertical indented manufacturing marks occur together with swirling light colour marks. Metal is smooth, glossy and heavy and a few elongated saucer shaped bubbles appear.

(1 $\frac{4}{16}$, $\frac{4}{16}$, $\frac{2}{16}$) (G - 2) (Fig VIII 2 (1) a)

2 (1) B - B2 colour in direct light. Dense black in reflected light. Lip squared and uneven on top, mouth not perfectly circular. String rim irregularly made with half being a half "V", slant side on top, other half being a full "V", unevenly applied with overlapping ends. A few vertical indented manufacturing marks occur together with swirling light colour marks. Metal is smooth, glossy and heavy and a few elongated saucer shaped bubbles appear.

(1 $\frac{1}{16}$, $\frac{3}{16}$, $\frac{2-3}{16}$) (Fig VIII 2 (1) b)

No. 2 (1) D - Olive green in reflected and direct light. Lip squared with mouth oval in shape. String rim half "V" with slant side on top. Ends overlap. Several slanting indentations on neck. Metal smooth and glossy.

$\frac{15}{16}$ - 1 $\frac{1}{16}$, $\frac{3}{16}$, $\frac{2-3}{16}$ (F - 4) (Fig. VIII 2 (1) D)

neck. Metal dull and rough. Several bubbles appear in fabric, elongated and disc shaped.

1 $\frac{1}{16}$, $\frac{2-3}{16}$, $\frac{2-3}{16}$ (10 SR) (Fig 2 (1) e)

No 2 (1) F.

B1 colour in reflected light. Lip rounded on outer edge flat on top and slightly everted. Mouth circular. String rim half "V" with slant side on top. Surface smooth and glossy, no marks.

$1 \frac{2}{16}$, $\frac{3}{16}$, $\frac{3-4}{16}$ (109R) (Fig VIII 2(1) f)

Group 2 (2) A+D -

This group is much more uniform in characteristics than is Group 2 (1). Colour in reflected and direct light is a light olive green. The lips are squared on the outer edge, but very uneven on top, with flat and rounded portions appearing on the same lip. The only complete mouth is circular. The string rims are consistently half "V" and one constructed so as to erase the joining mark. Lip is slightly everted above the string rim. The string rim is placed very unevenly around the neck and in No.2 (2) B the ends overlap. Indented vertical marks appear on all except No. B. The fabric is dull and rough.

No.2 (2) A - $\frac{2}{16}$, $\frac{1}{16}$ (SWI) No.2(2) B - $1 \frac{2}{16}$, $\frac{3}{16}$, $\frac{2}{16}$, (SWI)

No.2 (2) C - $\frac{3}{16}$, (LM 2). No.2(2)D - $\frac{3}{16}$, $\frac{3}{16}$ (F.3) (Fig VIII 2(2) a-d)

No.2 (3) A - B1 colour in reflected and direct light; Lip is flat on top with the edge rounded and extended over the string rim into a very prominent eversion. Half "V" string rim regularly spaced from lip with overlapping ends. Neck has very shallow vertical indented marks. Fabric smooth and glossy possibly Dutch.

(....., $\frac{3}{16}$, $\frac{3}{16}$) (G - 2) (Fig VIII 2(3) a)

No. 2 (3) B

B2 colour in direct light, black in reflected light. Lip rounded on top with edge considerably everted over string rim. String rim half "V" with slope side on top and evenly spaced lip. Relatively deep and wide vertical indented mark on neck. Metal is glossy and smooth in places which suggests that erosion has begun to take place, possibly Dutch. -

$\frac{3}{16}$, $\frac{4}{16}$ (SW2) (Fig. VIII 2 (3) b)

Group 3

This string rim is very irregular and varies between a half "V" to a broad band which is ~~reflected~~ ^{secured} against the neck by impressing the centre of the band thus creating ~~in section~~ a "W" shape in section

3 (1) - B1 in direct light, black in reflected light. Lip squared on edge and flat on top, mouth circular; the string rim is applied unevenly from the lip with the half "V" section further away. The

broad "W" band is $\frac{5}{16}$. The neck has several fine indented vertical marks and the fabric is dull and rough to touch.

1 $\frac{3}{16}$, $\frac{2}{16}$, $\frac{3}{16}$ (~~Fig.~~ ^{SP.}) (Fig. ^{VIII} 3 (1)a)

3 (2) - B1 in direct light and a dark green almost black in reflected light, Only a small section of this string rim/lip remains but it is very similar to 3 (1) in all respects. No measurements are available. (D - 3) (Fig. ^{VIII} 3 (2))

GROUP 4.

~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ This is probably the most unusual and puzzling of all the string rims. It is a complete "V" but from all appearances it has been shaped out of the neck and not applied, the lip being everted above it. Light olive green in reflected and direct light. Lip is flat on top with rounded everted edge. Metal dull and rough

$\frac{2}{16}$, $\frac{3-4}{16}$. (20 ~~Fig.~~ ^{SP.}) (Fig. ^{VIII} 4)

Group 5

Badly corroded metal, olive green in reflected and direct light with a blue tint out of light, mouth round, lip features unclear. The string rim has been unevenly applied and is a full "V" in cross section. The base of the "V" is very wide and the shorter of the sloping sides is on top. The ends appear to overlap. A deep indented manufacturing mark appears on the neck.. Because of erosion, these measurements are not regarded as accurate.

1 $\frac{2}{16}$, $\frac{2}{16}$, $\frac{1-2}{16}$ (G -2) (Fig. ^{VIII} 5)

Group 6 (1). - Very badly corroded, B1 in direct light, bluish brown in reflected light, String rim flat in section, lip square and rough on top, these a result of corrosion. 1 $\frac{2}{16}$, $\frac{2}{16}$ (SWI) (Fig. ^{VIII} (6))

COLOUR OF NECKS WITHOUT LIP OR SPRING RIM.

Of the 20 necks of this type 6 were olive green in direct light and reflected light, 9 were B1 ^{in direct} black out of light, 3 were B2 with one black out of light and 1 was a very light lime green. In addition to which 5, Group A and 1 Group B1 were corroded.

General.

a. BUBBLES

Air pockets or bubbles are observable in all the base sherds excepting those cases where corrosion hides or has destroyed them. They generally occur close to the surface and are most numerous in the thicker metal of the base and the first few inches of glass. ^{bbp.} They occur in body and neck sherds but not in the same quantity or size.

Six different groups of shapes occur: Round, oval, disc like, egg shaped, tear drop abd irregular. The round, oval and disc are the

most numerous usually appearing together, with the round being the most common of the three. ~~There are appearing together, with the round, beign the most common of the three.~~ There are numerous examples of oval, and round bubbles appearing on the inside apex of the base. These bubbles are the largest to be seen in the metal and are usually so close to the surface that they ~~produce~~ ^{produce} a slight bulge.

The rounded bubbles are generally $\frac{1}{16}$ - $\frac{5}{16}$ although when they appear at the apex they reach sizes of up to $\frac{10}{16}$. Oval bubbles are the next most common and frequently, probably because the curve of the apex forces them into that shape. Generally they are $\frac{1}{16}$ - $\frac{6}{16}$ long but are much larger ^{at} on the apex reaching lengths of $\frac{9}{16}$ to $\frac{12}{16}$.

The disc shaped bubbles appear most ^{numerously} commonly on the necks and the body where the metal has been drawn out and measure $\frac{6}{16}$ to $\frac{11}{16}$ long.

The egg shaped and teardrop are the least common of all the regular bubbles one measuring $\frac{7}{16}$ long.

Of the irregular bubbles two stood out. The first, sausage shaped $\frac{13}{16} \times \frac{6}{16}$ and the other bearing a close resemblance to a tennis racquet whose striking end has been squashed flat on one side, $1 \frac{16}{16}$ long by $\frac{10}{16}$ at the widest point of the "squashed" end,

Of the lime green sherds two are of special importance in relation to air pocket inclusions. These two sherds are full of bubbles measuring $\frac{1}{16}$ - $\frac{3}{16}$.

Most of them are round with a few oval. There does appear to be one large bubble in the middle of the metal close to the apex of one of the basal sherds but whereas the other bubbles appear lime green this one has a dirty brown colour which suggests a patch of impure metal rather than a bubble. It is roughly teardrop in shape and $\frac{10}{16}$ long x $\frac{7}{16}$ at its widest point.

SURFACE APPEARANCE

There are two different types of surface. The first is very glossy and smooth and is ^{generally} ~~usually~~ associated with the B1 and B2 colours. The other is a duller and rougher surface and is the largest group. The first group has the appearance of being a tougher yet more brittle metal while the second softer but less brittle. This is probably caused by differences in metal composition, which also causes the variety of distinctive colours. Of the 116 basal sherds 36 were of the glossy smooth type with (2 olive green) (17 -B1) (16-B2) (lime green). Of the 38 necks 13 were of this type, 10B1, and 3-B2.

(C) SQUARE BASE WINE BOTTLES.

Very few sherds were found of this type. By colour, two groups are present: Olive green, with a total of 12 sherds, 11 body and 1 base. Of this group 5 are a deepolive green and 7 are a very light almost lime green. ~~The other group is B2 with 4 body sherds.~~

5 The light olive green sherds are thin being primarily $\frac{3}{16}$ " thick although one end of one sherd measures $\frac{5}{16}$ ". The deep olive green are much more heavy and thick with the base being $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick, and the walls $1\frac{1}{2}$ " from the base, $\frac{5}{16}$ " thick.

The other group is B2 with 4 body sherds.

One oval almost disc shaped bubble can be seen, in the base and apart from this only very small air pockets, ($\frac{1}{16}$) occur in any of the sherds. The B2 surfaces are glossy and smooth, the olive green is generally dull and rough. Alternating patches of gloss and smoothness occur on some of the olive green sherds which indicates that they have been affected by the beginning of corrosion. Although I have included the B2 colour sherds in this section, it is possible that they are not of wine bottles as the shape of the ~~glass~~ ^{pass} indicates more than four sides.

It is also possible that the neck 4 (1) belongs to a square bottle rather than a round base wine bottle.

(2) Others including Mineral and Pharmaceutical.

Mineral Water Bottles.

Of all the artifacts, only one appears to be of a later date than 1738 and thus is a mineral water bottle. (see Fig. ~~IX~~ ^{IX} A)

This bottle is a very delicate light blue colour and stands $7\frac{1}{2}$ " tall. The neck is $2\frac{1}{2}$ " long, mouth $\frac{14}{16}$ " in diameter and the lip $\frac{2}{16}$ " thick. The rim is flat on the neck with the first $\frac{2}{16}$ " being tooled and slanted to meet the outer edge of the lip. The base and body is eight sided *base*

measuring (a) $1\frac{9}{16}$, (b) $\frac{10}{16}$, (c) $\frac{1}{4}$ " with total length $2\frac{1}{2}$ " and widest point $1\frac{6}{16}$ " (see Fig. ~~IX~~ ^{IX} C). The base has a very shallow basal kick.

(See Fig. ~~IX~~ ^{IX} B)

There are ^{moulded} ~~rounded~~ words on each side, reading "London" and the "Price and Son" (see Fig. ~~IX~~ ^{IX} A + D) ^{letters} $\frac{1}{2}$ " tall with the "and" $\frac{1}{4}$ ". A few small bubbles occur.

VI

EUROPEAN CERAMICS

This group totalled 74 sherds including delphware 52, Belarmine 13, white salt glaze 6, brown ^{salt glaze} stone ware 3.

(a) DELPHWARE

This is the largest group and comes essentially from the stonewall and related areas. (F/3) and (G/2). Using decoration shape clay, and glaze colour differences, sherds from at least 9 and possibly 11 vessels are present of which 9 are illustrated below.

- 1. - Body colour a pale blue. Horizontal band a dot of sponge effect. decoration in a cobalt to purplish cobalt blue. Diameter of rim 6" diameter of base 6". Ointment pot. English G/2. (Fig. X(1))
- 2. - Pale blue body glaze. Horizontal banded and oval shapes, sponge effect decoration, in dark to almost dark purple, blue, surface glossy. Clay body pink. (Fig. X(2))
- 3. - Pale blue body. Horizontal banded, dots and oval shapes, sponge effect decoration in a light cobalt blue colour. Surface glossy. Clay pink, (G2, F/3. Fig. X(3)) An interesting fact is that although these vessels are obviously different, their decorations are done using the same techniques and vessels 1 and 2 are almost identical.

Rim profiles No. 1, 2, & 3 Small vessels. Pale blue glaze. Clay pink. Too small to obtain accurate dimensions. (F/3) (Fig. X Nos 4a - c)

Base profiles 1, 2, 3.

- 1- White body glaze with light blue. Horizontal banded decoration. Inside of base glaze has a purple tinge, caused by the accumulation of glaze at this point. Glaze badly crazed into small irregular shapes. Diameter 3". Probably small ointment pot. (Fig. X5a)
- 2. - Pale blue body glaze. Horizontal banded and squigly, line decoration in cobalt to an almost navy blue. White clay body, glossy surface. Base diameter 5". Ointment pot. (G/2) (Fig. X 5b)
- 3. - Very pale blue Body glaze. Light blue horizontal banded decoration, glossy surface. Inside surface pockmarked. Clay body pink base diameter 5". (F/3) (Fig. X 5c)

BELARMINE - This is the second largest ceramic group with 13 sherds from at least 3 vessels. ^{Fig 1}

Second left - Dark grey body speckled brown.

Third from left - Grey body glaze speckled orange to brown.

Inset top half of face - J/6. 1650 - 1670.

White Salt Glaze - 6 sherds from two vessels.

Vessel 1 - Greyish white glaze, glossy surface. Both sides badly crazed outside irregular inside vertical/Horizontal. Horizontal linear

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BELARMINE & - This is the second largest ceramic group with 13 sherds from at least 3 vessels. ^{Fig. I}

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Third from left - Grey body glaze speckled orange to brown.

Inset top half of face - J/6. 1650 - 1670.

White Salt Glaze - 6 sherds from two vessels.

Vessel 1 - Greyish white glaze, glossy surface. Both sides badly crazed outside irregular inside vertical/Horizontal. Horizontal linear

indented decoration. Diameter of rim 4". F/4. Drinking mug. Fig ~~X~~ (No 7)

Vessel 2 - Brilliant white glaze colour. Body grey, glossy and very smooth surface. Diameter of base 3". Small jug (LM2) ?

Red Ware - Extremely hard body orange buff colour. Diameter of rim 3". Fig. ~~10~~ (No 6) also (Fig. XI left)

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VII
PIPES

1 red clay pipe and 38 Kaolin pipe sherds were found.

(a) Red Clay - One of the most interesting finds, it in no way resembles the Kaolin pipe or their familiar red clay copies found on other sites.

Rounded in body with waist larger than the rim, which is approximately 1" in diameter. Body, a bright brown clay, the outer and inner sides of the bowl are burnished a dark brown. A single line indented decoration occurs around and $\frac{1}{4}$ " under the rim.

This artifact is of undoubted African ancestry and similar pipe bowls are found in Ghana up to the present time. (Fig. XII)

(b) KAOLIN

Of the 38 sherds, 12 are bowl and 26 stem. One bowl has a heel no decoration is present. All hole diameters are $\frac{5}{16}$ " and using the Binford pipe test formula gives a date of 1740.55.

Binford Formula $Y = 1931.85 - 38.26 X$

Where Y is the main date of the group and X the mean hole diameter.

$$\begin{array}{r}
 38.26 \times 5 \\
 191.30 \\
 \hline
 1931.85 \\
 - 191.30 \\
 \hline
 1740.55
 \end{array}$$

Therefore Y = 1740.55

The date arrived by comparing bowl shapes gives a date 1700-1800 for (Fig. XIV No left) and 1720 -1820 for (Fig. XII No Right)

The majority of the Kaolin pipes came from the Stonewall and associated areas and given the similarity in shape and stemhole size, might have come from one consignment.

VIIISTONE AND FLINT ARTIFACTS.

Occuring as they do in what appears to be the Main Maroon occupational area (1732/1734), suggests that they were made by the Maroons.

Fig. XIII - Honing stone used to sharpen implements. 4" long x $1\frac{3}{8}$ " thick x $1\frac{5}{8}$ " wide F 4)

Fig. XIV - White flint objects probably used as cutting implements.

Right - $\frac{15}{16}$ wide x $1\frac{3}{4}$ " long (LM2)

Left - $1\frac{3}{8}$ " wide x 2" long (LM2)

Fig. XV - Unidentified stone artifact small pounder 11" long x 3" wide x 1" thick, both ends. (SWT)

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1X

METAL ARTIFACTS

Metal objects comprise the second largest group of artifacts. As mentioned before, it is extremely difficult to assign ownership. The agricultural and craftsmen tools, and the iron pots sherds could have been made in Jamaica and been in the possession of either Maroons or Europeans. The Maroons did not have much use for nails as they constructed their buildings by lashing together frees and palm thatch using vines.

CRAFT IMPLEMENTS (Fig. XVI)

- (1) Extreme left musket barrell. Flattened on one end, beaten on the other. Probably used as chisel. 2 1/4" long. Diameter of beaten end 1".
- (2) Top Second Left - Bronze cold chisel. 13" long. Diameter of beaten end 1 1/4" ~~(extagonix)~~
- (3) Top Third Left - Closed end of musket (octagonal) barrell. End beaten probably used as a chisel. 1 1/2" long, 1 1/2" diameter.
- (4) Right and Second Row Down, second right - Two are heads. (G/2) Right 4 1/4" long, 1/2" thick, 2 3/8" - 3 5/16" wide. Second right 4 1/4" long 1/2" thick, 2 1/4" - 3 3/4" wide.
- (5) Second Extreme Right Third Second Row Down - saw blade (G/2) Total length 7" width of blade 1 1/2". handle ~~XXXX~~ 3 5/8" long x 1/2" wide.
- (6) Extreme right Second Row Down - digging implement approximately 5 3/4" long.
- (7) Second Right Fourth Row Down - cutting edge of bill (SW/2) 5" long. 3 1/4" at widest point.
- (8) Bottom - blade of machete beaten on top side. For splitting wood. Wooden handle. (SW/2) 10 3/4" long. Blade 9 1/2" long 22 1/4" wide.

The Maroons and Colonial soldiers used identical muskets as the Maroons were well equipped by their own supply lines and captured many others in battle.

GUN PARTS. (Fig. _____)

- (1) Top left and tab inset. Brown Bess lock firing mechanisms with powder pan. Two flint holder (cocks), one powder pan and trigger release mechanism G/2, SW2 G2 respectively. 3 1/4", 3 1/4", 5 3/4" long respectively
- (2) Centre - Brass musket barrell 4 1/2 ft. long closed end 1 9/16" diameter 7/8" diameter open end.
- Top Centre - Closed end of brass musket barrell. 2 1/4" long 1 1/2" diameter.
- Bottom Centre - Two musket handle plates.

- (5) Extreme Right - Swivel Cannon balls $1\frac{1}{2}$ " diameter
- (6) 9 musket balls.
- (7) Bottom Inset - musket barrell octagonal sided.

CASE AND TRUNK PARTS (Fig. XVIII)

- (1) Top Left - part of lid, hinge (F/4) $9\frac{7}{16}$ long.
- (2) Second Row Down Left - case handle (F/4) 4" long x $1\frac{3}{4}$ " high.
- (3) Second Row Right - hasp. F/3 base 2" x $1\frac{1}{4}$ " height $1\frac{3}{16}$
- (4) Bottom - Case Key. (Fig.) $2\frac{7}{16}$ long $\frac{3}{4}$ " wide head.

CASE BINDING METAL (Fig XIX)

Bronze.

Left - $5\frac{1}{4}$ " x $2\frac{1}{4}$ " Nail holes approxiamtely $\frac{1}{4}$ " diameter (S/2)

Second Left - $5\frac{5}{16}$ " x $2\frac{1}{4}$ " Nail hole $\frac{1}{4}$ sg (M/2)

Third Left - $6\frac{1}{2}$ " x $1\frac{13}{16}$ " nail hole $\frac{1}{4}$ sg.(G/2)

Right - 5" x $1\frac{13}{16}$ " Nail hole $\frac{1}{4}$ " diameter (approximately)

Insigria (Fig. XX)

- (a) Top. - Brass button regulation tupe. $\frac{3}{4}$ " diameter.
- (b) Bottom left - Fleur-de-lance, type raised moulded, pattern (?)
- (c) Bottom Right - Base of ceremonial (helmet) plume holder. Threaded for screwing. Base $\frac{3}{8}$ " diameter.

NAILS AND SCREWS (Fig) XXI)

Left to Right - Two headless for floor boarding or case binding LM/2
 Two L shaped (IOSR). "Rose Head" G/2
 5G Large staple.

S U M M A R Y

The better excavated and more precisely datable artifacts occurring on 17th Century, 18th Century, and 19th Century Colonial sites, have all been more or less well documented and presented in a number of beautifully illustrated monographs. This applies especially to those artifacts which, because of their high artistic achievement, have found their way into the hands and collections of the monied or Museums and are now elevated to the position of antiques. Many times pieces similar but not equal to these in style, decoration, or origin have been much more accurately dated and designated than might otherwise have been possible had these antique pieces not been in existence.

There is however, another class of artifact which were used by the mass of people, were cheaper than the better quality or more finely executed pieces of the same ware, occur much more frequently on colonial sites and have now or very little resemblance to any of their more famous and oft mentioned cousins. These artifacts were usually mass produced and used over a period of time. During the time they were being produced very few, easily discernible changes in style, patterns of decoration, sizes, fabric compositions seem to occur. This has meant that there is great difficulty in closely defining the chronological limits and origination of these wares and has caused a lot of hardships in interpreting accurately both the artifactual assemblages and their sites. Yet, because of their widespread appearance and great quantity these mundane wares have the potential of becoming a much more revealing body of evidence than "antique" artifacts.

During the examination of this and other similar collections, I have come to the conclusion that a lot more work can be done in plotting differences within ware groups through more careful and exact examination. There is for a whole scale, critical re-examination of our assemblages based on precise definition of all observable characteristics, no matter how small or seemingly insignificant these might appear to be. The twin foundation of this new definition must be an accurate quantitative and qualitative description based on exact and uniform methods of analysis and description. Archaeology is a tool of the historian, whose place is amongst the arts. However, the tool must be scientifically organized and applied if we are to obtain the fullest amount of information and therefore interpretation from our collections.

Although this collection is not very large, it has demonstrated quite clearly what I have said above. However, this effort will not succeed in isolation. I hope that the information presented and problems posed will lead to a fresh look at 17th, 18th, and 19th Century colonial assemblages and begin the long journey towards supplying answers to some of our more vexing problems.

CHAPTER 5

S U M M A R Y

The beginning of excavations on the Guy's Town site opened up a new chapter in the history of archaeological research work in Jamaica. The importance of Maroon sites cannot and must not be underestimated. Apart from their obvious historical importance, there is more than an outside chance that a lot of valuable artifactual treasure remains to be unearthed. The legend of Nanny's ~~Town~~^{Town} comes immediately to mind.

In the light of this, it is very important that we begin to institute measures for the fullest protection of these National sites. Recently, too many foreigners have been interested in this section of our history, foreigners whose words and actions leave room for serious questioning. I would like therefore, to make the following recommendations, many of which were discussed with Mrs. Carey several of which she must be given credit for.

- (1) That the entire mountain area once inhabited by the Maroons be created into a National Park or Reserve properly patrolled by responsible and trained persons. This would include all the mountain range and foothills of the Northern and Southern slopes of the Eastern Blue Mountains ~~Range~~ running from the Blue Mountain Peak Easterly to as far as the range extends.
- (2) That these areas be clearly delineated and maps and laws governing their use be made fully public.
- (3) That anyone desirous of entering these areas must obtain permission from the relevant authorities and be accompanied by at least two of these warders.
- (4) That an ongoing archaeological program be formulated to include:
 - (a) Areal surveys of the regions involved to locate possible settlement areas.
 - (b) the building of proper conveniences at Guy's Town to facilitate a yearly expedition of local researchers to include (1) the building of two large log cabins to act as permanent headquarters eg. communal dining, study and recreation areas. (2) the building of several smaller Maroon houses for sleeping purposes. (3) the planting of fruit trees and vegetables to provide for the rangers on duty and also expedition members.

The major factor of this will of course be the Maroon people. The fierce protection of their territory has been one of the reasons why these areas have not been ravaged. Their sturdiness and knowledge of the country will make them more than capable of coping with this kind of work. Finally it will open up much needed employment op-

portunities.

It will be to the eternal shame of ourselves as protectors of our peoples heritage, if as happened at Port Royal, we allow foriegners to come and ~~ravage~~ ravage this very important part of our history. I can only hope that the story as told in these pages and the artifacts presented, will make us not only aware of what is possible, but also ~~xxxxx~~ give to us the inspiration to fully explore the revealed possibilities.

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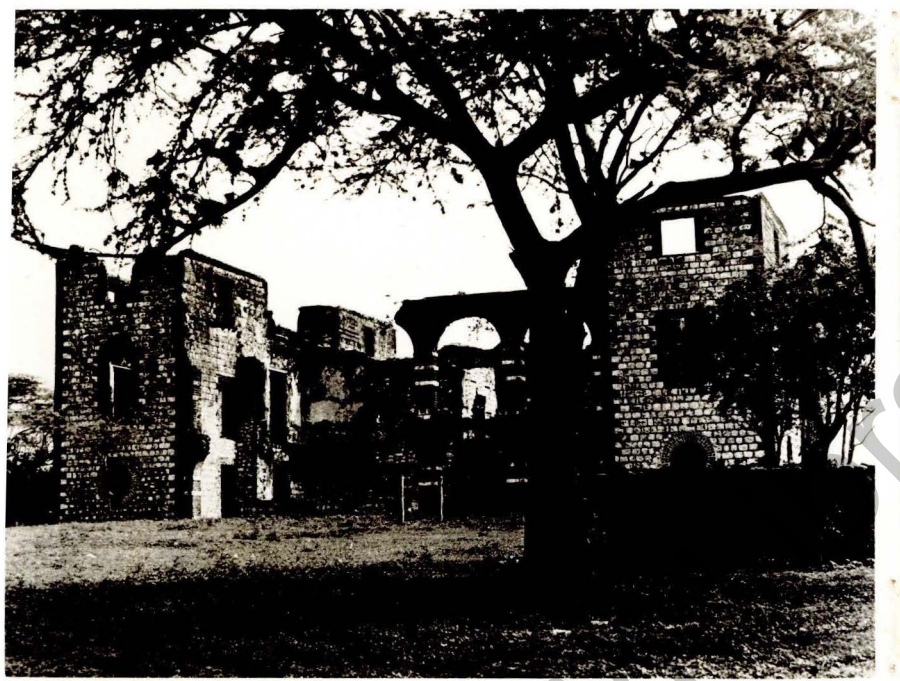
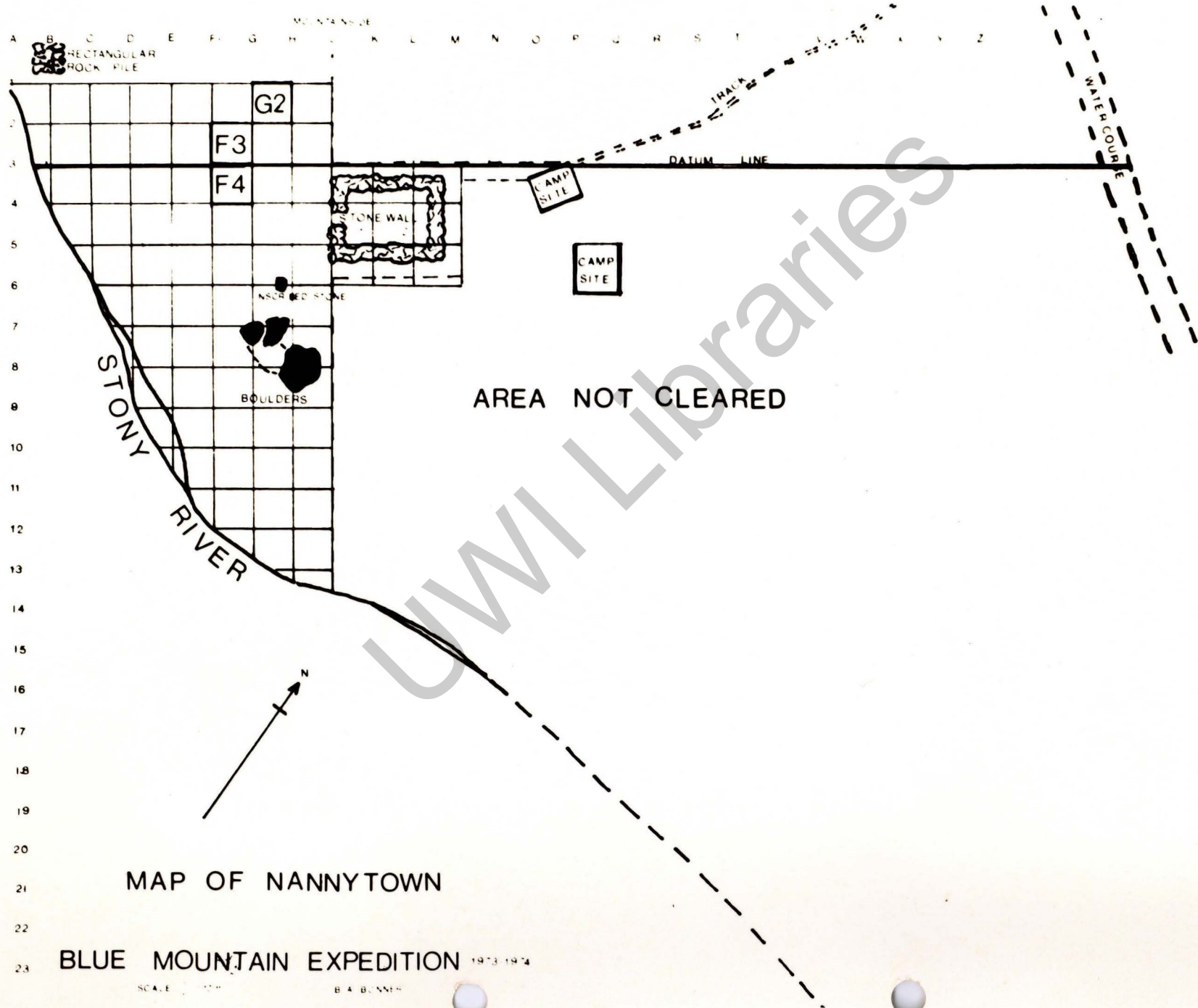


Plate I Calbeek Castle. Built as a
defensive position against the Merons.

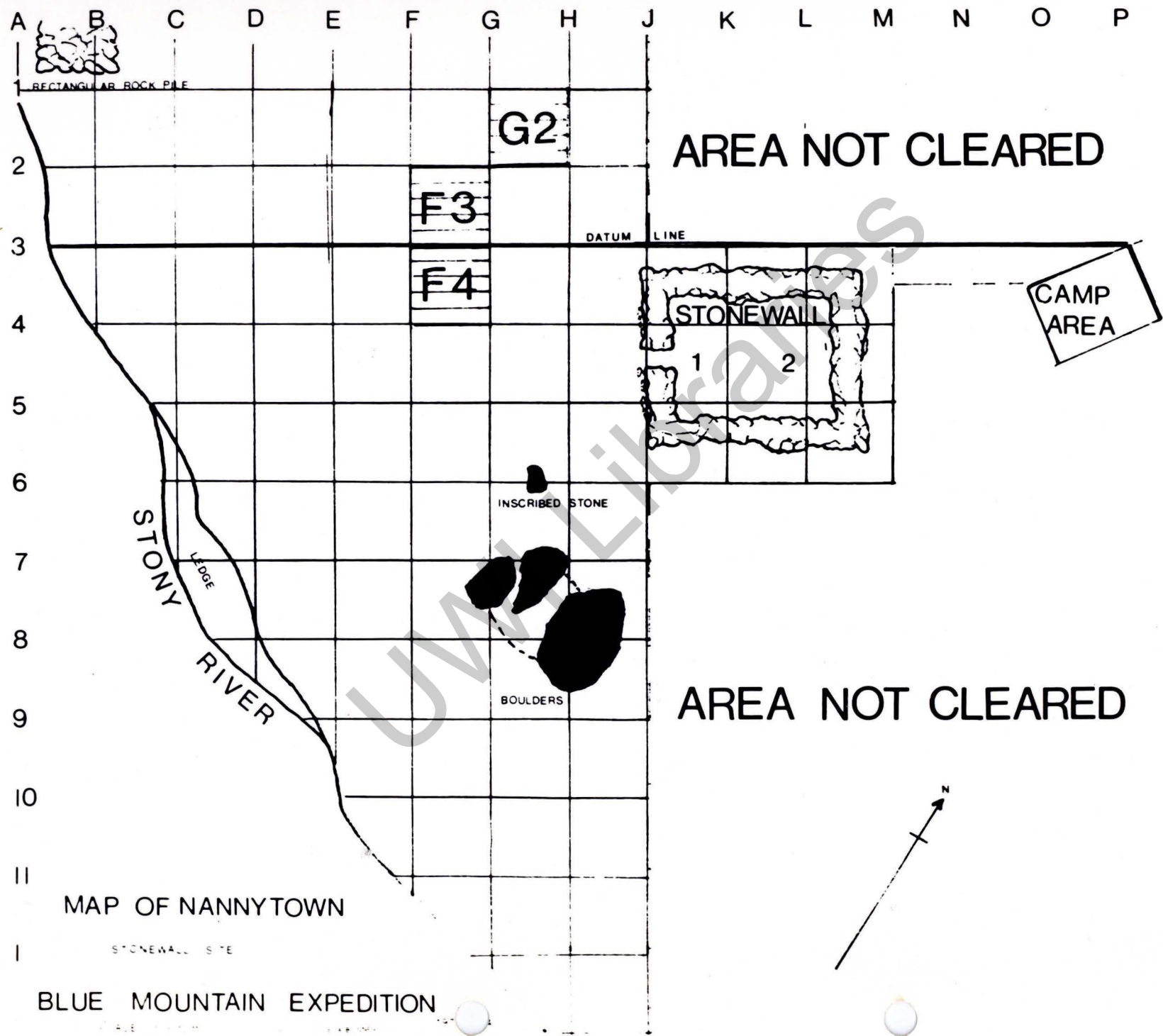


MAP OF NANNYTOWN

BLUE MOUNTAIN EXPEDITION 1973-1974

SCALE 1:1000 B. A. BONNER

Fig I Drawing of Site. A Bonner.



MAP OF NANNYTOWN

STONEWALL SITE

BLUE MOUNTAIN EXPEDITION

Fig II Drawing of area bushes and excavated. A corner



Plate II small stone construction at the
the river at Paton Stone Bridge

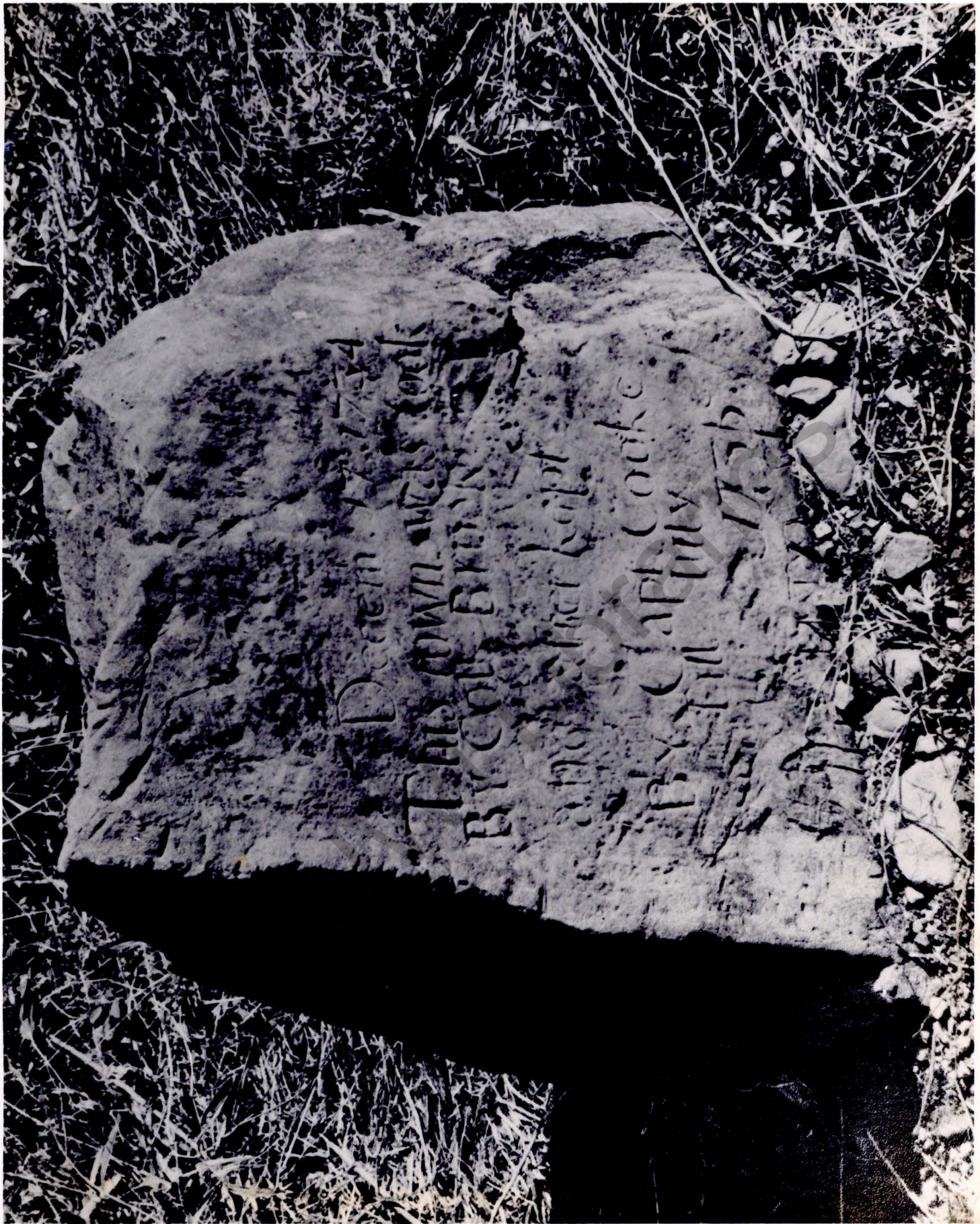


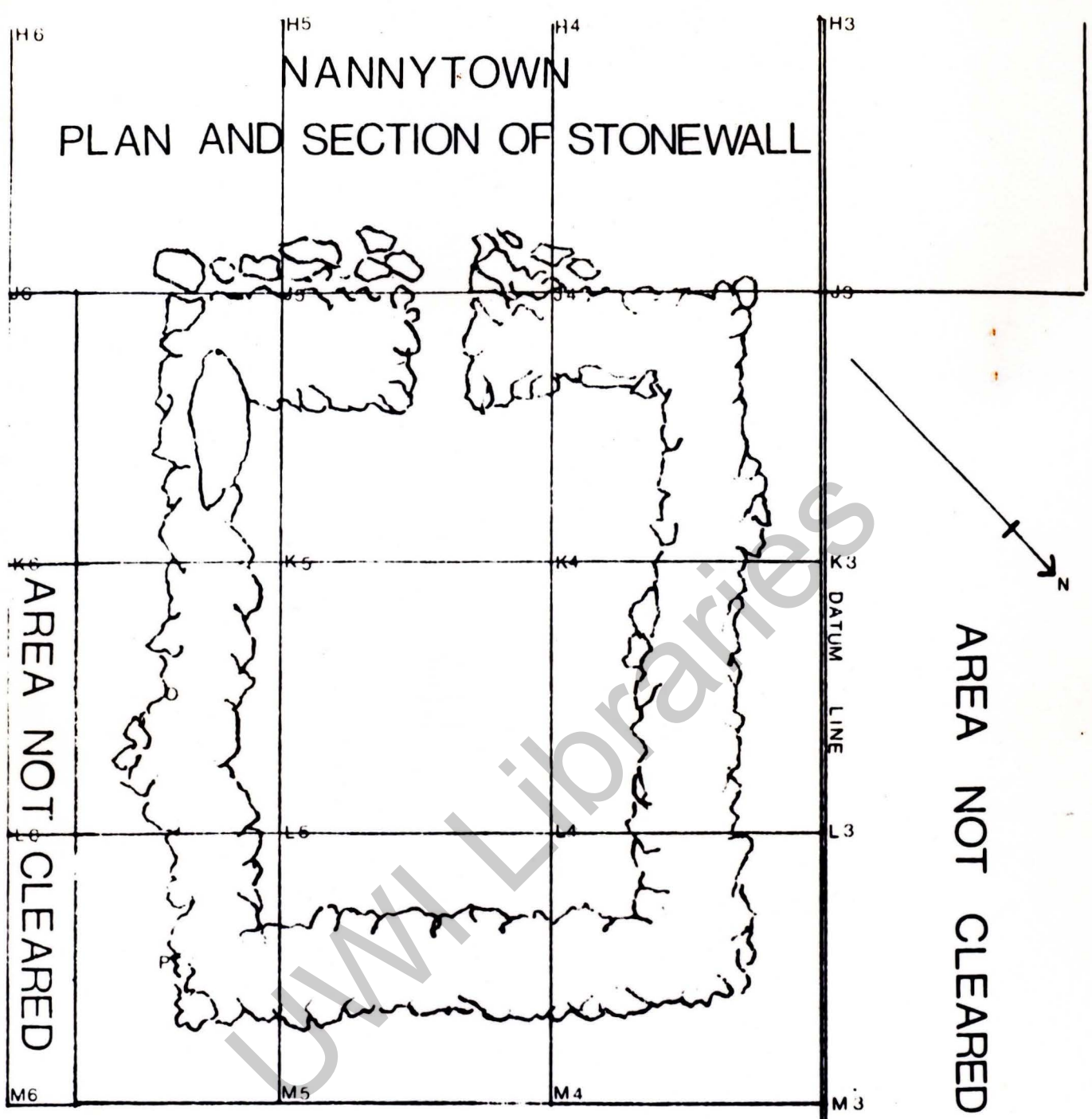
Plate III Stone Tablet left by English



Plate IV interior and exterior views
of Stonewall



Plate V Stonewall showing narrow
P. A.



SECTION THROUGH STONEWALL ON LINE "L"

SCALE 1" = 1 ft. B A BONNER

SCIENTIFIC EXPLORATION SOCIETY 1973 - 1974

BLUE MOUNTAIN EXPEDITION



Plate IV Excavation with a portion of
Festivity area on right and Concor
Cove or "Nanny Brown" Hill on left.

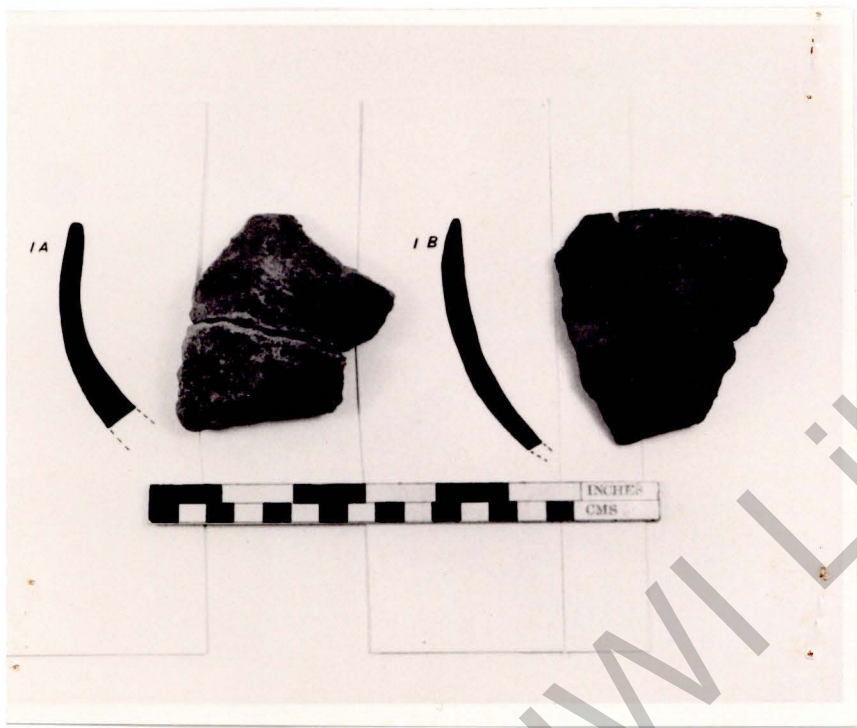


Fig IV a+b yabbal sherds.

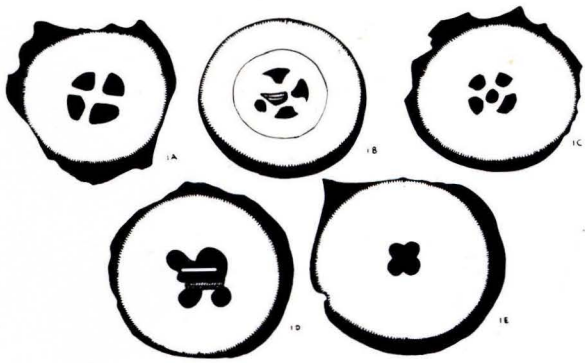


Fig V closes
leaf Rontell
marks

Fig VI Basal Rich



Fig VII
Bottle
shape.

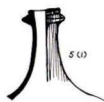
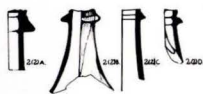
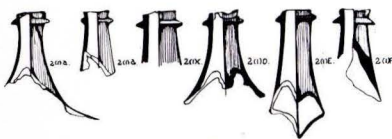
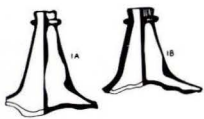
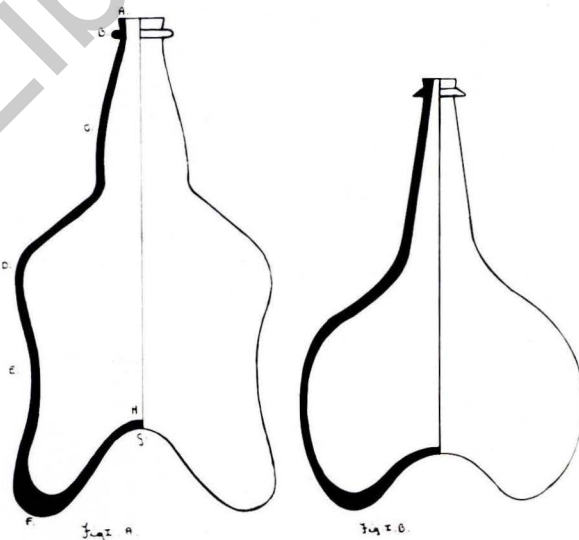


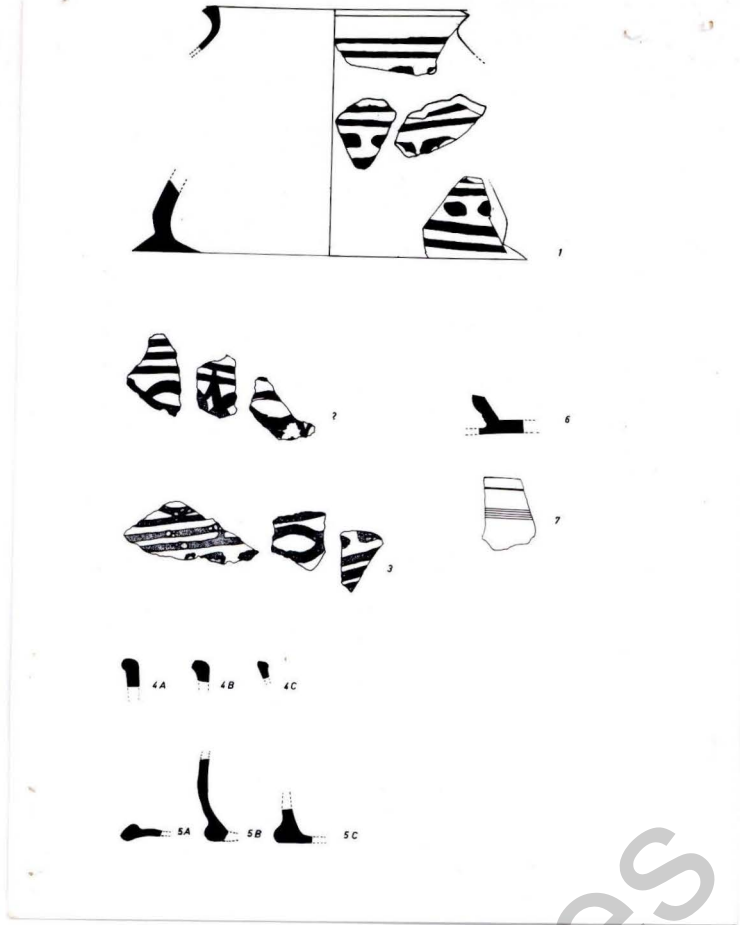
Fig VIII (1-6)
Necks.



Fig IX a + b.



PRICE AND SON



x (1-7)
 nice
 rds.

Fig 11
 Stoneage



Fig 12
 inset



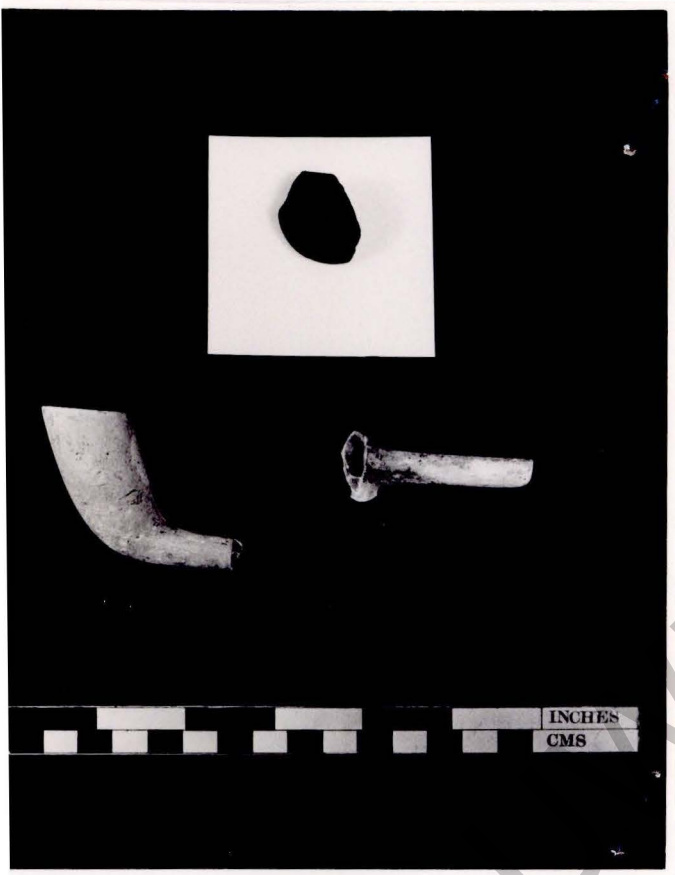


Fig XII clay pipes



Fig XIII Honing Stone

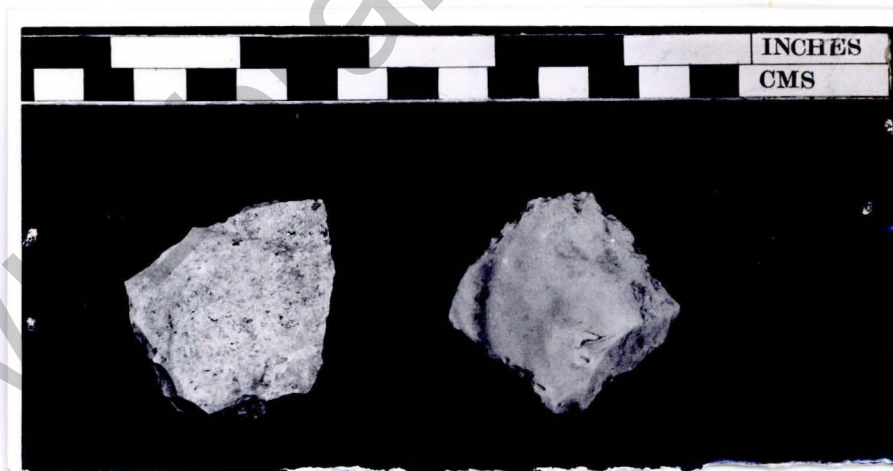


Fig XIV white flint objects



Fig XV Stone artifacts

Fig XVI Craft implements



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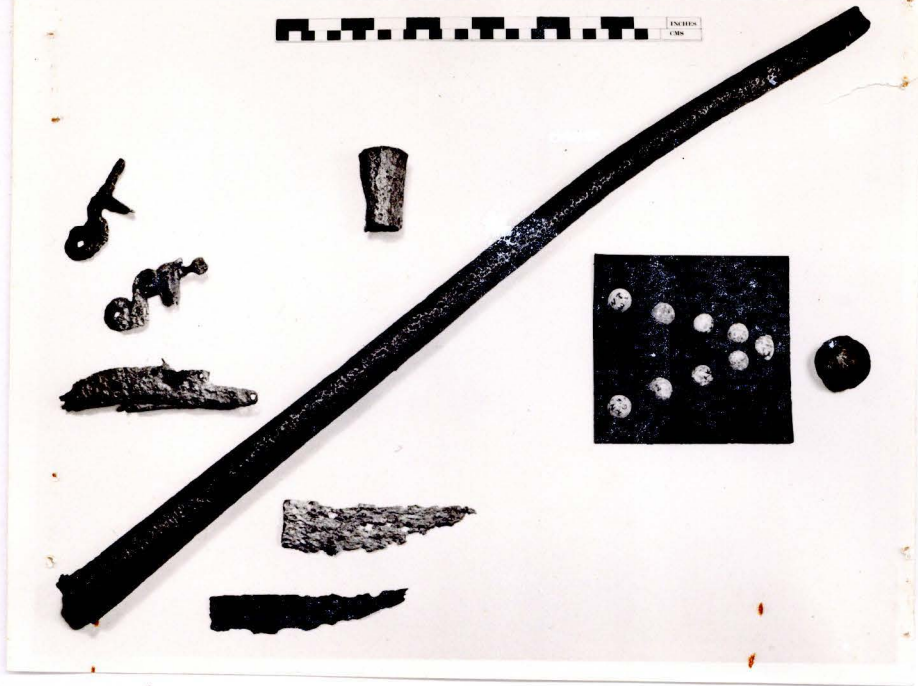


fig VII gun parts



inset II



inset III

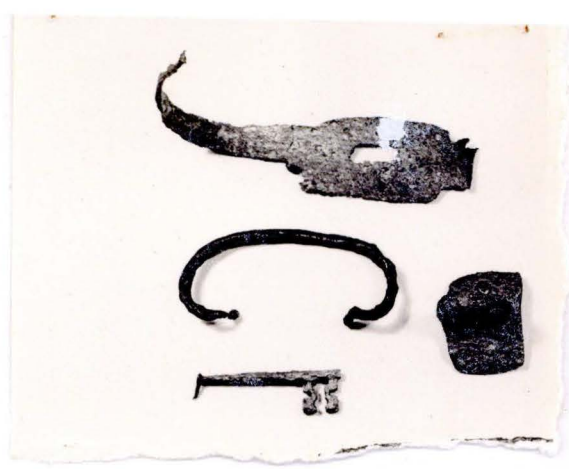


Fig XVIII Case and Trunk
parts



Fig XIX Case bending metal



Fig XX
insigne



Fig XXI
nael



unset
longe
staple

UMI Libraries