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The View From Polly Hill:
Assessing Long Term Historical Change on San Salvador, Bahamas

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ABSTRACT

Polly Hill Plantation is one of at least eight plantation sites on San Salvador and was the location of an active post-emancipation community. In December 2004, DePaul University began a multi-year archaeological project designed to investigate the transition from slave plantation to free community at Polly Hill. This paper presents the historical context for our work at Polly Hill, and gives a descriptive overview of our fieldwork. This initial field season was designed to investigate broadly the remaining features of the landscape using an extensive survey of field walls and agricultural features. This approach was paired with an intensive study of the manor house and surrounding domestic area. Preliminary findings suggest that the original landscape was designed to emphasize social inequalities, while artifact distributions relating to the post-emancipation period suggest a rejection of the original plantation design and a return to lifestyles consistent with African and Creole cultures.

INTRODUCTION

Polly Hill is one of at least eight plantations on San Salvador that operated during the period of 1780-1834. Historical research to date has revealed little direct information about Polly Hill, but a few preliminary pieces of historical information are available. The lands that comprise Polly Hill include lands originally granted in separate parcels to Alexander Muir, John Storr, and Nicolas Almgreen. Nicolas Martin Almgreen owned about 220 acres of land on Watling's Island (San Salvador), and also over one thousand acres on Exuma (Bahamas National Archives, www.bahamasnationalarchives.bs). These lands were passed on to his daughter Eliza upon Nicolas' death in 1792. Eliza married John Storr Jr., the son of the owner of Sandy Point Plantation, also on San Salvador, and probably the heir to his father's landholdings on the island. Research to date has not provided a definitive date as to when the various lands changed hands, but the 1822 Slave Registers for Watlings Island list Eliza Storr as the owner of some 40 slaves, 31 of which may have been at Polly Hill. By 1844, ownership of the plantation had passed to Prince Storr, former slave overseer for the Storr-Almgreen families.[1]

Polly Hill also is one of several small plantations located in the northeast portion of San Salvador that eventually became known as United Estates, one of two major population centers on the island today. While Polly Hill is unique among many San Salvadoran plantations because of its distance from the inland lake system, it is ideal for a longitudinal study such as this one as the plantation grounds and surrounding area have been occupied continuously from the plantation period to the present day (Gerace & Shaklee, 1994). The continuity in population around Polly Hill plantation enables a study of changes in material culture and landscape use for a period of over 150 years.

[1] Information on land grants at Polly Hill was provided by John Winter. Research on the separate grants that make up Polly Hill will be done in the future.

THE HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY OF BAHAMIAN PLANTATIONS

Historical Archaeology in the Bahamas has focused predominantly (although certainly not entirely) on the period of plantations and slavery (ca. 1780-1834). Archaeological investigations have taken place on New Providence at South West Bay Plantation (Aarons, 1991; Turner, 1992), Promised Land Plantation (Farnsworth, 1994, 1997), and Clifton Plantation (Wilkie & Farnsworth, 1996, 1997, 1999; Wilkie, 2000, 2001). Excavations and site mapping have also been conducted on the family island of San Salvador at Fortune Hill, Farquahson's, Sandy Point (Gerace, 1982, 1987) and Polly Hill (Gerace & Shaklee, 1994), and on Crooked Island at Marine Farm and Great Hope plantations (Wilkie & Farnsworth, 1995; Wilkie, 1996; Farnsworth & Wilkie, 1998). Published reports of these excavations provide insights to construction techniques, types and styles of plantation buildings, the spatial organization of plantations, and the patterns of consumption, production, and trade among different populations on plantations in different parts of the Bahamas.

Previous research on the plantations of San Salvador was conducted by Kathy Gerace (1982, 1987). Her work involved a comparative approach to three plantations on the island of San Salvador. Research at Sandy Point, Farquharson's, and Fortune Hill revealed similarities among San Salvadoran plantations, but, more importantly, illustrated the diversity among them. The most significant similarity was the attention to landscape that was obviously given in planning plantation layouts. All three plantations included marked material differences between buildings of the planters and the slaves in construction technique, size, and positioning on the natural landscape. Differential artifact distributions in quantity and quality between the planters' yards and slave quarters also belied social differences present at these plantations.

These three plantations also pointed to the different types of decisions made by individual planters on San Salvador. The construction techniques, building sizes, and specific layouts of buildings were unique to each plantation. Gerace (1987:20) interpreted these differences as reflecting the relative wealth of each plantation owner, although it has also been argued that these differences were the result of personal preferences of individual plantation owners and negotiations between owners and their slaves (Farnsworth, 2001). Regardless, archaeological evidence clearly demonstrates that there is no single model for plantation architecture or landscape among Bahamian plantations on San Salvador or elsewhere in the Bahamas.

THE QUESTION OF LONG TERM CULTURAL CHANGE

The Bahamas are a series of islands rich in cultural history, from the Lucayan occupation during prehistoric times, to the period of Columbian landfall and exploration, to later historical periods where multiple cultures and peoples came into contact under a wide array of circumstances. Despite the cultural diversity that characterized much of Bahamian history, there exists today a profound sense of national, ethnic, and cultural identity as "Bahamian." The process of peoples from diverse cultural traditions from America, Europe, and Africa becoming a self-identifying cultural group is a process that has been explored through research in many disciplines including anthropology (Mintz, 1974; Mintz & Price, 1992; Howard, 2002), archaeology (e.g., Farnsworth, 1999, 2001; Wilkie, 2001, 2002), and history (e.g., Craton & Saunders, 1992, 1998).

Our research builds on these former studies and is designed to investigate the creolization or ethnogenesis of Bahamian culture through an intensive study of plantation and post-plantation life on the island of San Salvador. The term creolization is one that has permeated literature, both historical and archaeological, on the Bahamas and more broadly in the Caribbean. Creolization is a word with many definitions reflecting many different concepts of anthropological and historical significance (see Dawdy, 2000, for a discussion of the diverse concepts subsumed under the word "creolization").

Often, researchers use the term in the study of culture in a way reminiscent of its linguistic origins, one that connotes a type of cultural syncretism where two cultures come together to create a third, unique culture. For the purposes of our research, we prefer the definition of the word "creolization" as offered by Wilkie (2000:11), as "retentions of cultural values that become expressed in new ways due to culture contact and relocation."

This conception of creolization is particularly useful in the case of San Salvador, where an African and first-generation African-Bahamian population were left to run absentee-owner plantations and who, with the abolition of slavery, were abandoned on the island, leaving a relatively isolated population of African descent (Burton, 2004; Baxter & Burton, 2005). Although slaves from the mainland may have already gone through an initial phase of creolization, the sustained intercultural interactions required for "creolization" by syncretism was relatively absent on San Salvador. Instead, the culture contact through the institutions of slavery, intermarriage, and trade, and the profound influence of relative isolation in a new environment, would have been the primary mechanisms altering traditional African and Afro-American cultures into the Bahamian culture encountered with the U.S. arrival on the island in the 20th century.

Unlike previous research on the question of Bahamian identity, this research looks at the emergence of Bahamian identity or "creolization" as a long-term process. A common thread in the previous archaeological and historical literature on Afro-Bahamian identity is its focus on the period of slavery and plantations. The interest in first-generation cultural adaptation to the Bahamas by African populations is a useful approach to understanding the emergence of Bahamian identity. Our proposed research takes a broader temporal scale approach to the question of Bahamian "creolization" that complements this previous research.

In particular, we see "creolization" as a long-term process that extends beyond initial cultural responses of Africans during the period of slavery to include subsequent Bahamian-born generations of African descent. It is through multiple generations of enslaved and emancipated Afro-Bahamians that the cultural identity of "Bahamian" and all of its myriad expressions came to be. Previous research shows that the retention of African cultural elements survived slavery and is reflected in material culture in the Bahamas (Wilkie, 2000, 2001; Farnsworth, 2001). We want to trace the retention and developments in this Afro-Bahamian Culture for an additional 100 years on a local scale on the family island of San Salvador (Baxter & Burton, 2005).

ARCHAEOLOGY AT POLLY HILL: METHODOLOGY

Archaeological investigations from this first season were focused on three main tasks. The first was to document the active yard areas of the original plantation, including the standing buildings, extant foundations, artifact distributions, and open yard areas. The second was to extensively survey the outlying areas of the former plantation to search for features and to document the extensive network of walls that delineated activity areas on the landscape. Finally, we wanted to conduct excavations at the original plantation manor house to document its initial construction, later modification, and history of use.

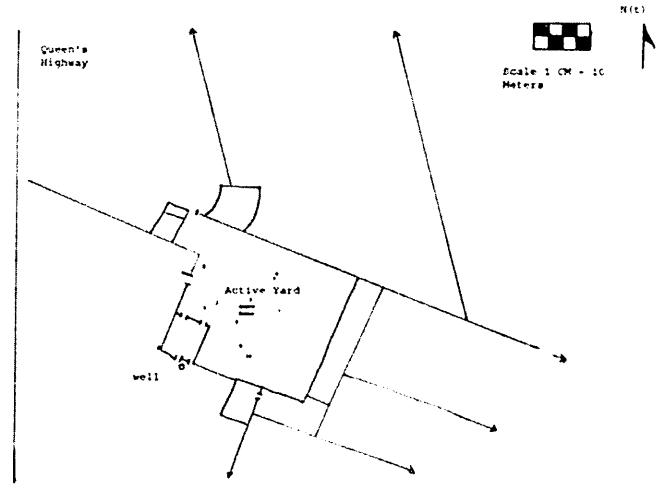

Figure 1. Preliminary map of Polly Hill Plantation, showing the location of walls, the well, and buildings identified by number. Building number 1 is the Manor House.

The active yard was investigated using pedestrian and shovel probe surveys. A systematic intensive pedestrian survey was conducted with 17 transects being walked at two meter intervals. The transects commenced at the western wall that delineated the active yard (Figure 1) and continued on an easterly course until the brush became impenetrable without the use of machetes and handsaws. A less intensive pedestrian survey continued to the east of the main house, with the brush being removed using hand tools to allow for an examination of the ground surface. This latter survey was conducted with east-west transects at 6 meter intervals and transects continued until the eastern boundary wall of the plantation yard was reached (Figure 1). Non-systematic pedestrian movement around the active yard area also resulted in the chance discovery of artifacts and structural remains that were not necessarily on any systematic transect.

A subsurface shovel probe survey was also conducted to the west and south of the main house (Figures 1 and 2). This survey was undertaken to look for natural depositional patterns in soils as well as cultural patterns of landscape use. The shovel probe survey was a systematic-unaligned investigation of the active yard area with transects and probes being placed at 4 m intervals. All shovel probes were 0.5 m^2. All excavated soils were placed through a mesh window screen and all artifacts were collected for processing.

Figure 2. Shovel probe survey during the 2004 season. This picture also shows the remains of the manor house on top of the hill in the background and its relative position to the surrounding yard.

All identified structural remains were also placed on a preliminary site map. Individual structures were profiled to show episodes and techniques of wall construction, demolition, repair, and modification; however, these illustrations will be evaluated and rechecked in upcoming seasons. These profiles will be used to evaluate changes in construction techniques over time, as well as changing uses for structures. Changes in wall construction should also reveal temporally-sensitive changes as well as patterns related to the construction of buildings elsewhere in the Bahamas (Otterbien, 1975; Farnsworth, 2001) that may be used for relative dating purposes.

The collection of evidence related to landscape use and meaning at Polly Hill focused on the documentation of a vast network of dry stacked-rock walls that divided and delineated the lands that comprised initial plantation and later settlement (Figure 3). The documentation of the wall was combined with the mapping and, at times, collection of artifacts associated with this extended landscape feature. A team of four students began the wall mapping at an arbitrary point at a wall intersection near the manor house. Two students worked assiduously to clear brush away from the wall structures so they could be measured and mapped using a reel tape and sighting compass. Dimensions of the wall width and height were recorded at arbitrary intervals when changes

Figure 3. One of the many walls recorded during the landscape survey. This photo shows one of the points of access between adjoining fields, an important source of information about how people used the landscape in the past.

in wall dimensions were perceived by the mapping crew.

Excavation on the Polly Hill Manor House took place with a crew of seven students supervised by John Burton, project historian. Six half-days were devoted to the site. The first day was spent clearing the brush from the south end of the building. The next day, 1 m^2 quadrants were laid out within the south half of the building (Figure 4). For ease of excavation, these were laid out parallel to the interior walls and not true north and south. Twenty-five one-meter squares were laid out. Initially, alternate squares were planned to be sampled and excavated. The professor and the students worked in two-person teams assigned to squares. As the interior design of the structure was revealed, some interior squares were not excavated, and the focus of activities centered on the identification of the exterior and interior walls. Ultimately, thirteen units were excavated, 11 to the original subfloor and two to the base of the exterior doorways. Regular soil samples were taken, but there were no signs of stratigraphy; deposition most likely occurred after the building was abandoned.

Measurements were taken of the original elevation and the subfloor. Structural elements, including the original locations of floor joists, were measured and photographed. On the final day of the excavation, shovel probes were made on the north end of the building along the east and west walls to expose the original floor joist locations and to determine the floor level of this end of the building. Artifacts from these units were identified and collected, but full unit excavation did not take place. Although limited artifact recovery from the interior of the structure was expected, after the removal of the top layer of rubble, soil was sifted in window screen. Except for the southeastern-most unit (1A), few artifacts were recovered from the site.

Figure 4. Excavations inside the manor house at Polly Hill. Students are working in 1 m^2 units to identify major architectural features and potential evidence of how the structure was used over time.

ARCHAEOLOGY AT POLLY HILL: RESULTS

The shovel probes and surface survey in the area around the manor house yielded many artifacts that may have been associated with the house and its occupants or activities in the surrounding yard. The topography at Polly Hill was directly correlated to recorded soil depths and recovered artifact densities, although this pattern may have natural and cultural explanations. The manor house at Polly Hill is located on the highest land on the former plantation. The house site catches a refreshing breeze from the ocean and provides a commanding view of the surrounding landscape (Figure 2). Given the extensive wind and water forces that act upon the site, it makes sense that soil depths would be shallow on this high ground near the house and that accretion would occur in lower areas and on the down slope. The western perimeter wall acted as a barrier to soil movements, allowing for the build up of artifacts and soils.

Cultural practices would have aided natural forces in keeping soil and artifact densities around the manor house low. Most households keep their inner active yard clean of debris because this is a very active zone of movement in the day to day operations of the house. People do not want to be impeded by the presence of refuse in this active area. Human activities, such as sweeping, would have continually pushed discarded artifacts and other waste away from the house and onto the slopes.

The result of these natural and cultural processes is a blurring of potential activity areas in the outer active yard due to the accretion of

soils and artifacts that do not necessarily relate to their original places of use or discard in an active cultural environment. The depositional patterns thus far are not useful for discerning activity areas within the active yard but represent a combination of natural and cultural site formation processes. These shovel probes will be compared to those from future years and may show differentiation on a broader scale among different areas within the active yard.

Another aspect of the yard surveys was the documentation of standing remnant structures and structural footprints within the active yard (Figure 1). The remains of at least ten buildings were identified at Polly Hill during the first season. The manor house was excavated and building methods documented. Preliminary maps were made of six other buildings; none was excavated. The co-directors propose to make these buildings the focus of the next two seasons at Polly Hill.

At least two buildings and small adjacent pens or gardens were situated in the southwest corner of the main yard. These buildings were originally identified in the 1992 survey by Gerace & Shaklee (1994). The first building in this area was made of tabby and cut limestone construction. It is one of three tabby constructed buildings at Polly Hill and certainly represents one of the original plantation buildings. Gerace & Shaklee (1994) found evidence of a hearth in the rubble. The earlier survey identified the debris on the south as a collapsed wall, but further investigations will be made to see if this may be a separate feature.

The second building in this area was made of loose stone with evidence of mortar only in the east wall. The building today is mostly in ruins. Enough of the walls remain to suggest a possible window in the center of east wall and possible doorway to the north. There is evidence of two smaller walls extending from the south wall to the west and the east wall to the south, extending to the perimeter wall of the main yard, forming a small garden or paddock. There are significant surface remains, including fragments of ceramics and stoneware containers. Gerace & Shaklee (1994) identified the building as a possible slave quarter or storage area. The existence of walled pens or gardens suggests that it was a living space. The building may possibly be of later construction than the plantation period.

A well was discovered by the mapping team just south of the perimeter wall adjacent to this group of buildings that we are terming the "kitchen complex." It is lined with cut limestone, and there is a gate in the south perimeter wall for access from the kitchen complex, suggesting an association between the well and these two buildings.

Another building was identified to the south and east of the manor house. This was the only intact building found in the 1992 mapping of Polly Hill and was tentatively identified as a storage building. The doorway is on the west wall and a window in the east. The building is constructed of rough rock and shows some signs of reuse—the window being blocked by rock. Excavation on the site may help to determine if the building was for domestic or agricultural use. The dry stacked construction and plastered interior make the construction of this building similar to the construction of the slave quarters of Sandy Point Plantation (Gerace, 1982, 1987). Moreover, several additional rubble piles to the southeast may represent further slave quarters or later reuse of the site in the post-emancipation period.

An additional small building was found north of this structure and southeast of the Manor House and was a low stone rubble pile. There were no extant walls; however, the foundation footprint could be discerned amongst the rubble. Significant amounts of surface artifacts were recovered around the building. Further investigation is necessary to determine the size and function of the structure.

A group of buildings was also recorded to the north of the manor house. A large tabby building original to the plantation dominated the landscape. The building was composed of two rooms, the one to the east slightly smaller than the one to the west. A low wall created a separate outdoor work area, much like the one connected to the industrial building at Sandy Point Plantation (Gerace, 1982, 1987). The east room had two doors, one to the north and one to the south (the south door giving access to the walled yard), and

a window to the east. There was access between the two rooms and the west room had an outside door in the west wall and windows on the north and south. There was evidence of interior plaster with a pink oxblood wash. The number of windows and doors suggests that the building was not for storage and may have been the original office for the plantation. The building was reused in later periods and various doors and windows were filled in with rock.

A small building was constructed almost directly behind this tabby structure. It was of very rough, loose rock construction, and its location suggests that it was of later construction, after the tabby structure had been reused, possibly for domestic use. The door was south and at least one window in the west. There was an unidentified stone square feature in the northeast corner and a refuse pile to north that included a collection of twentieth century bottles.

A final building found during this season was a low square platform northwest of the manor house, possibly a foundation for a wood frame building. It was not mapped in the 2004 season and no tentative identification of the building has been made.

Significant additional knowledge of the construction and original appearance of the plantation manor house was gained from this season's excavations as well. The entire building was constructed of tabby. Originally, it was probably two full stores in height (there were significant remains of the lower portion of the second story still visible in the remains at the southeast corner). There was evidence of stone piers at each of the corners of the building, and the tabby forms were constructed over the piers.

There was a concrete porch running the full length of the east side of the house. There was also a wood structure connected to the exterior of the north side of the building. Three ghost images of wood joists were present at approximately the height of the window sills. They may represent an elevated veranda, accessible through the windows, or part of an exterior stairway. There was no cellar under the house, although there could have been a crawlspace. The interior was lined with flat, rough limestone blocks, but the floor joists would originally have sat <0.5 m over these blocks. The height of the first floor was 2.5 m; the height of the second floor could not be determined.

The ground floor was accessed by two doors centered of the east and west walls. From the eastern door, one would have entered the house directly from the concrete patio. There was evidence of two windows each in the east and north walls, and at least one window in the south wall. Although there may have been one window in the north end of the west wall, the collapsed tabby of the west wall showed no indications of a window on the west wall of the south room. From the east, the building would have had a symmetrical façade, but from the west, it would have been slightly irregular.

The ground floor interior was divided into two rooms of unequal size by a tabby constructed interior wall. There were no ghost images on the extant walls, so the house probably had a "hall and parlor" design. The north room (the larger) was approximately 5 x 5 x 0.5 m. The south room was approximately 5 x 4 x 0.4 m. The doorway between the two rooms was at the east end of the interior wall. This placement also suggests that the east exterior door was intended to be the main point of access to the house.

Direct access to the building appeared to be through the ground floor; there were no signs of a central stairway to a veranda on either the east or west side of the house. The ground floor, therefore, was probably not a storage area or cellar. This view was supported by the height of the first floor (2.5 m) and the presence of the wooden floor at this level. There was no indication of an interior staircase. If placed on the interior wall, the stairway would have to have been particularly steep given the placement of the west door. The lack of a window in the west wall of the north room made placement on this wall possible, although there was no indication on the collapsed wall of a stairway. There may have been an exterior, wrap-around stairway, although this would have been an unusual feature on a Bahamian home. Access also may have been by a ladder.

All of these buildings were contained within a large walled compound that was mapped

during this season. This wall most likely encapsulated the original active yard of the plantation, and extensions of this wall beyond the enclosure delineated fields, gardens, and animal pens. This season's efforts produced a fairly complete rough study of wall sections and pathways located between living and work areas and surrounding fields. The preliminary map provides visual information that begins to explain how Polly Hill was utilized during plantation and post-plantation periods (Figures 1, 3).

Entrances through Polly Hill's walls were indicated by the absence of stones, and most of these passageways maintained a consistent width of 1-1.5 m. Almost all of these entranceways were located to the side, where one wall met another at a right angle. One wall contained an entrance that seemed to accommodate a rock outcropping that acted as a "porch" or veranda to the opening. This entrance was located at one end of a series of small bounded areas that might represent slave or post-emancipation gardens. The smaller enclosures were adjacent to the slave quarters, or buildings that were located in the southern region of the core area. Another entrance located near the curved walls north of the core area supplied evidence to the use of a wooden gate with hinges. Another entrance to a larger field near the beach held two portions of wood embedded in the rock on both sides of the entrance, but hinges were not discovered near this opening.

It appeared that limestone beach rocks were used to construct major portions of the wall system at Polly Hill. Limestone beach rocks are denser than ridgeland (quarried) rock, occupy less space, and look like course sandstone, whereas others appear massive and solid, like concrete. On the other hand, walls could also have been built from quarried rock, as a former quarry exists at the "Polly Hill Settlement" on the west side of the Queen's Highway, opposite the manor house location. Alternatively, rocks were cleared from fields and these stones also could have been used in wall construction. Whether variances among ridgeland, field, and beach rock limestone contributed to the failure of some portions of the Polly Hill wall is uncertain, but a continuation of this project may reveal answers to this question. While portions of Polly Hill's walls suffered from natural collapse, the majority of the wall sections still stand because they were built from stronger materials than those used to build the enclosed houses. Additionally, the walls were protected by the East Beach dune and by the matted or interwoven undergrowth. Pride in ownership possibly contributed to the upkeep of these walls during the post-plantation period.

The walls' construction was also fairly consistent throughout, with heights in intact sections that ranged from 0.7-1.3 m and that consisted of anywhere between five to 12 stones to establish these heights. The structural width and height were often dependent upon the stone size. For instance, large flat stones might contribute to a mere 0.7 m height, but this stone would also contribute to a 0.85 m wall width. Smaller, rounder stones might contribute to a 1.3 m height, but the width would be reduced to 0.8 m. Few width measurements were taken because the wall width appeared consistent throughout until the team encountered instances of trauma. These latter episodes appeared as natural deterioration occurrences, as rocks were distributed evenly on both sides of the wall's center line.

A PRELIMINARY INTERPRETIVE SUMMARY OF OUR FIRST-YEAR FINDINGS

The landscapes, buildings, and artifacts recovered at Polly Hill all contribute to the story of long term cultural change on San Salvador. It is possible to weave these threads together to create a brief narrative of what appears to have been the site history of Polly Hill over many generations.

Ultimately, Polly Hill came to the Storr family, partially through inheritance and perhaps partially through purchase. The plantation landscape may have been created by one of the original land grantees or by Eliza Storr and her husband, John Storr, after they inherited the property. The union of these two plantation owners in marriage also seems to have administratively and economically united the two plantations.

The vast majority of the landscape at Polly Hill is attributable to the plantation period. Large substantial field walls were likely built by slave

labor and not by later residents of the property; therefore, the layout of fields, access points, and site infrastructure all reflect the initial intentions of the plantation owners and overseers. Similarly, the buildings at Polly Hill, with the exception of one, were likely built during the plantation period. The use of tabby to delineate the buildings associated with the planter and his family, and their contrast to the roughly constructed slave dwellings and storage buildings, indicates that a great deal of social hierarchy was being scripted into the landscape. The presence of distinct ceramic patterns for the planters and for the slaves may be an additional way this social differentiation was marked in the material culture of the plantation.

Evidence for post-plantation period uses of the site abound and suggest that, after emancipation, meanings and functions of this landscape and the remaining artifacts were altered. The manor house showed no sign of modification or reuse, whereas former slave dwellings and the plantation office showed multiple episodes of modification and reuse. This apparent pattern of reuse erased the hierarchical meanings associated with the initial construction of these buildings, and also suggests that buildings closer to the agricultural fields (Polly Hill's main resource) were considered preferable by later residents. The manor house may have been used for a communal function prior to its collapse, as reported for the manor house at Sandy Point plantation. Fields around the central site area were intermittently farmed well into recent times, as suggested from oral histories and material artifacts.

Access to non-local goods appeared to have changed dramatically with the ending of the plantation period on the island. Ceramics almost all dated to the plantation period and were not being replaced, indicating a change in access. While ceramics were no longer being imported, glass bottles continued to arrive onto the island, although most likely many bottles were reused even prior to their arrival and were not carrying the contents suggested by their embossed labels. The diversity of ceramic wears encountered at all of the studied plantations on San Salvador suggests that interactions among peoples continued across the island and that relationships may have been symbolically reinforced through the exchange of material goods.

This picture of changing access to goods does not mean that San Salvador was socially or economically isolated during this later period. Institutions and officers from the colonial government in Nassau were present on the island, and different proprietors and landowners successfully shipped goods to Nassau for decades after emancipation. The dynamics of contact as documented historically and expressed materially will be an important focus of future research to unravel the dynamics of post-plantation life on San Salvador.

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