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PRE-COLONIAL AND POST-CONTACT ARCHAEOLOGY IN BARBADOS

PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

EDITED BY

MAAIKE S. DE WAAL, NIAL FINNERAN & MATTHEW C. REILLY
WITH DOUGLAS V. ARMSTRONG & KEVIN FARMER



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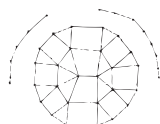
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'A free prospect to the sea'

Framing an urban archaeological biography of Speightstown (St Peter Parish)

Niall Finneran, Alexander Gray & Rachel Lichtenstein

Abstract

In comparison with research on plantation sites related in the foregoing chapters, archaeological projects within urban environments in the Caribbean have tended to be more limited and for the most part have mainly taken the form of rescue excavations. In this chapter three writers from very different intellectual and methodological backgrounds bring together the work they have been undertaking at Speightstown (St Peter Parish) over the last ten years. Drawing together oral and documentary history, archaeological excavation, maritime archaeology and survey and buildings recording we present a biography of social and cultural change in a small Barbadian urban setting over a three-hundred-year period.

Keywords: *Speightstown, urban archaeology, oral history, social history.*

Introduction and research context

At Speightstown land and sea are practically interwoven. Writing in the 1650s, the English traveler Richard Ligon noted that the plantation houses on this coast faced seawards with '*a free prospect*'. A few years later Speightstown would become one of the focal interfaces between the fast-developing sugar industries of the hinterland and the outside Atlantic markets. This chapter, whilst centered upon the archaeology of a historical townscape also looks inland to the wider landscape context, as well as outwards to the sea. Urban settings offer scope for study of the interplay between many different individual and communal agents, working within the structuration of emerging

New World post-medieval, capitalist economies (cf. Knapp and Van Dommelen 2008; Johnson 1989): this cast of players comprises a multi-ethnic and dynamic *mélange* of white planters, African slaves, freed slaves, 'poor whites', quietly subversive non-conformists and Jewish merchants.

Within the context of the wider Circum-Caribbean region, Kathleen Deagan's work at St Augustine (Florida), has demonstrated how archaeology can recover material evidence for diverse and intertwined social identity (Deagan 1983 *inter alia*). At La Isabela and Puerto Real on Hispaniola, we are beginning to understand the spatial dynamics of the implanted Spanish urban townscape in an early contact period Caribbean island setting (Deagan 1996). In Jamaica, the admittedly unique case study of the Pompeii-like Port Royal (Hamilton 2006) sheds light on the subversive and counter-cultural worlds of early English Caribbean urban settlement (Mackie 2005). In Barbados, archaeological excavations directed by Fred Smith at Holetown (Smith 2004), and by Fred Smith and Karl Watson in Bridgetown (Smith and Watson 2009), although undertaken mainly within the framework of rescue archaeology settings, underscore the importance of an archaeological approach to the biography of the Caribbean island townscape.

The study presented here belongs within this broad research continuum. Starting from the contention that the urban setting in the Caribbean island has long been neglected at the expense of the Plantation (Finneran 2013), it is also important to recognize the ability of a multi-disciplinary archaeological approach to unveil the nuanced backstories of the diverse cast of players who inhabit the urban setting. Having established this manifesto, some critique of the underpinning conceptual framework is needed. The term 'archaeology' does not satisfactorily describe the approach we have taken to unraveling Speightstown's past. This requires some elucidation, and requires an overview of the evolution of the project since 2010.

The overall emphasis of the project is interpretative and hermeneutic, demanding continual reflection and reflexivity (Boado 2001). The project began in 2010 as a combined community archaeology and training project with the town as its focus. At the request of Dr. Sabrina Rampersad of The University of the West Indies, we undertook to train a small number of students in approaches as varied as excavation techniques as well as buildings and cemetery/memorial recording. University of Winchester archaeology and heritage studies students also joined the teams, and at the time of writing two masters and two undergraduate dissertations have, at the time of writing, resulted from this work. Mr. Connor Thompson Webb, a University of Winchester research student has taken over direction of the excavations since 2018.

A training ethos demands a different approach to the archaeological project design; progress is slower, and is often more repetitive given the didactic approach (Everill *et al.* 2015). For example, we have re-recorded the memorials of St Peters church at least three times, but in a sense, this emphasizes further the value of the hermeneutic epistemology. At every stage of our work new vistas and ideas have been revealed. Writing the archaeological biography of Speightstown is not a linear process, and nor does it focus on excavation alone.

In subsequent years we have developed a program of more overt historic buildings analysis and buildings archaeology survey, geophysics and fieldwalking, and broadened out churchyard memorial recording to St James (Holetown) and All Saints (Mile and

Quarter). We have undertaken limited excavation in small urban lots, gradually revealing a stratigraphic profile of the townscape. In 2012 we produced a preliminary underwater archaeology survey of the bay, revealing much about the evolution of relations between town and sea. The research design for the Speightstown Project has evolved organically and not in a structured manner. Rather than responding to a set series of defined research objectives, we have consciously reacted to circumstances in the town and beyond (Finneran 2012; 2013).

In 2015 one of the co-authors (RL) joined the team, and the project took another 'turn'. Rachel Lichtenstein is perhaps better known as a social historian of East London's Jewish community, but her focus here has been on the history of Jewish settlement on Barbados. Lichtenstein's input saw a re-orientation of the research strategy to develop a more social-oral-history methodology alongside extensive archival studies. An even greater community emphasis has now developed (cf. Cusick 1995), using digital media (Finneran, Hampden and Lathbury this volume, chapter eighteen), and perhaps most importantly we have engaged with important local social and economic needs, such as heritage tourism (Gray 2016). Our conversations with local stakeholders convince us of the importance of the role we have to play as archaeologists and heritage professionals.

The historical context of Speightstown

Speightstown (13 degrees 15' 16' N; 59 degrees 38' 27'W) is the second largest town on Barbados. Located some 20 kilometers (12.5 miles) to the north of the capital Bridgetown in St Peter Parish, it is the most northernmost of the urban settlements along the western (Platinum) coast (see Figure 8.1). Beyond Speightstown to the north coastal tourism development and associated amenities give way to the open agrarian landscapes of northern St Peter Parish and St Lucy. The last population estimate in 2012 places the town's population at 2192 inhabitants. It is well known for its historical fabric and characterful buildings (see Figure 8.2).

A basic historical biography of Speightstown can be constructed through reference to wills, deeds and papers in the Barbados Museums, Historical Society journal, and material in U.K. archives and institutions (National Archives, London Met Archives, SOAS, The British Library), along with oral history testimony (gathered by RL) and newspaper clippings in the archive in the Shilstone Library, Barbados Museum (by AG). Early descriptions of Barbados, including those of Peter Heylin and Antoine Biet fail to mention Speightstown (Heylin 1652:179; Handler 1967). Ligon briefly describes 'Spikes Bay' only as a place notable for its good anchorage (Ligon 1657:25-26; In fact, Ligon's map mis-identifies Spikes Bay with Alleyne's Bay (north of Holetown)). Contemporary accounts of the Parliamentary assault on 'Spikes Bay' in 1651 mention the possibility of 'firing houses' there (Cole 1653). The site must therefore have been significant enough to merit attention, even though Ligon's map depicts it as a small cluster of houses (Figure 8.3a).

In 1631 Governor Henry Hawley divided the island into four civil precincts, each with its own court of common pleas (Poyer 1808:27-28). Although the act does not appear to outright state that one of these courts was held in Speightstown, late (eighteenth-century) accounts indicate that it was one of five precinct courts, which likely

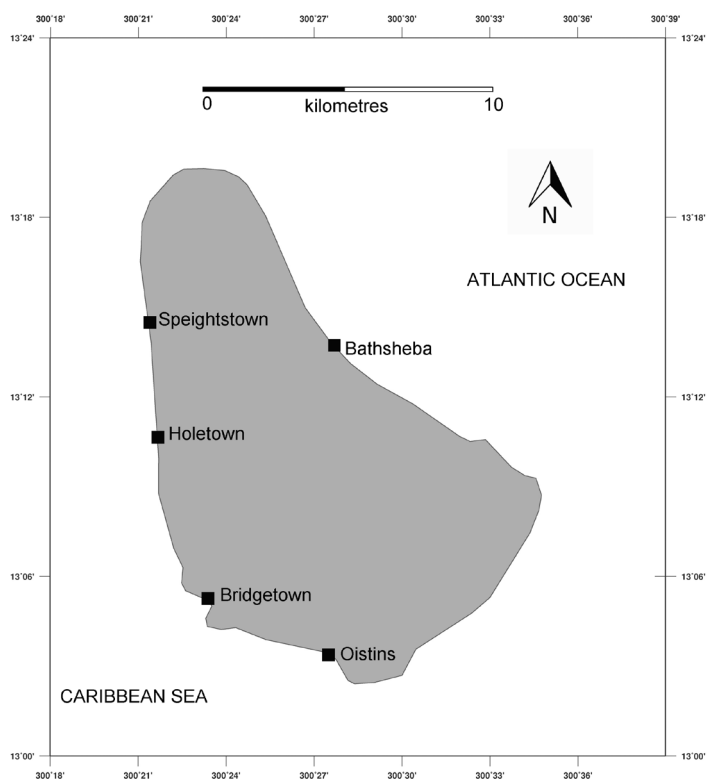


Figure 8.1.
Location of
Speightstown.

makes it one of the original four, considering the early settlement of plantations along the coast as opposed to the interior (Oldmixon 1708:101). In addition to this, in 1645 Governor Phillip Bell divided the island into ten parishes, and formally established a parish church in each (Poyer 1808:35). This fixes the date of the foundation of St Peter's Parochial church and court.

Speightstown appears to have become increasingly urbanized during the late seventeenth century. In 1656, Abbé du Terre called Speightstown:

'a regular city' with 'more than a hundred taverns' (quoted in Southey 1827:15)

and in 1661 Felix Spoeri gave a more reliable account of Speightstown as a:

'little village... so heavily populated and congested that no land whatsoever is available' (quoted by Gunkel and Handler 1969).

During the sugar boom of the second half of the seventeenth century, agricultural cultivation on the island exploded, and much of the land was cleared for sugar production before 1700 (Parker 2011:32-44; Beckles 2006:27-44). This meant that previously unworked land in the northern parishes of St Peter, St Lucy and St Andrew, produced stock for the international market. Whilst this area was known to be less dominated by large scale sugar plantations than the south of the island, this growth, combined with



Figure 8.2. Historic townscape: view eastwards along Church Street (2015, Niall Finneran).

the poor quality of land links to Bridgetown, necessitated the creation of a trade port in the north of the island (Beckles 2006:27-9).

The town's growth as a mercantile port also appears to be intimately linked to a direct trade route with the English city of Bristol, something which a number of historical accounts have described as Speightstown's primary pursuit in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries (Ogilby 1671:379; Sloane MS 2302 1710; Schomburgk 1848:237). In 1675 a hurricane struck the island and doubtlessly resulted in the destruction of much of the town. Another important feature of urban Speightstown,



a.



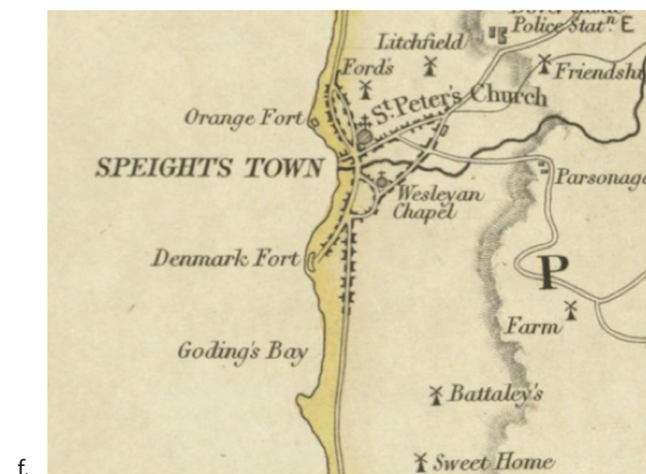
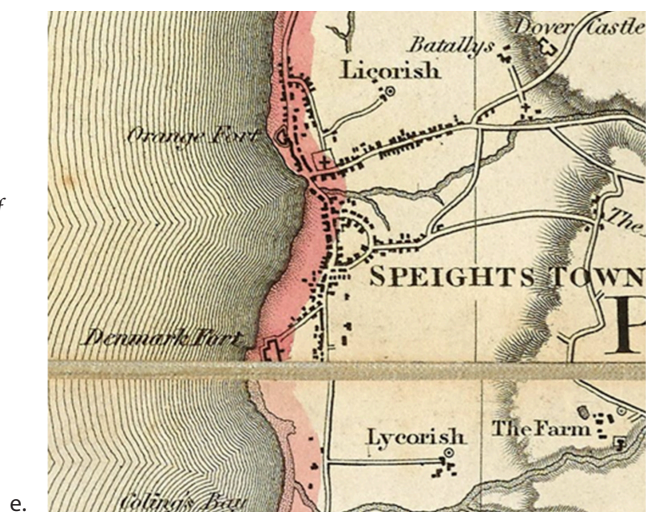
b.



c.



Figure 8.3. Selected images of historic mapping of Speightstown: 3a Ligon 1657; Forde/Lea 1714 and detail; 3c Moll 1722/1736; 3d Hughes and Jeffreys 1750; 3e Barrallier 1825; 3f Schomburgk 1847.



which developed during this period, was the settlement of a sizeable Jewish community in the town. In the 1650s, conflict between Portugal and the Netherlands in the Americas likely drove the emigration of some of the Jewish population of Brazil to more stable colonies, like Barbados. John Ogilby's account of the island describes how there were a small number of Jewish merchants operating out of the island under royal decree (Ogilby 1671:379).

By the 1680s, there were around 60 Jews living in Speightstown, a community that continued to grow into the eighteenth century (Farrar 1942). This Jewish community appears to have been a substantial feature of the society. Not only was a synagogue built for the largely independent congregation, but they also formed a segment of the local militia and created a number of successful merchant ventures in the town, (Samuel 1924, Oldmixon 1708:101). Eventually, the Jewish community was *allegedly* driven out of Speightstown by a mob in 1739 as a result of the actions of an American confidence trickster named Tom Bell (Bullock 1998). Several historians have described this event as the first anti-Semitic incident in the New World, but prejudice against the Jewish community living in Barbados had been present since the first settlement (mention increased taxes, restricted engagement in various trades, Jews unable to testify in court etc.), challenging older views of a mutually respectful coexistence between the Jewish and non-Jewish communities of the Caribbean (Monaco 2009). However recent information has come to light, which posits a new theory as to the possible survival of the synagogue after its alleged destruction in 1739 and suggests the Speightstown synagogue was in fact still standing until the hurricane of 1831 (Lichtenstein 2018).

Speightstown's growth as a mercantile port fueled the creation of a cosmopolitan society and the town became home to a number of different religious and social groups. For example, there appears to have been a Quaker community in the town from its early history, which received international visitors right through to the mid-eighteenth century (Cadbury 1942:83). Whilst most colonial history in the Caribbean has focused upon slavery in the sugar plantations, in both Bridgetown and Speightstown there existed an established urban population of Afro-Caribbeans, running shops and small businesses (Beckles 2006:122). This group throughout the slave period, and had both a physical and economic impact upon the townscape.

As early as 1708 the trade that had fueled Speightstown's growth was diminishing:

'the Bridge [Bridgetown] has lately drawn the most part of the trade thence, and the place is falling to decay' (Oldmixon 1708:101).

The mercantile decline of the town was not immediate or complete. Thomas Walduck still described the town as being an important trading port, after Bridgetown (Sloane MS 2302 1710), and new piers were being constructed into the mid-nineteenth century for the purpose of trade (albeit over shorter distances). However, the town eventually moved from a concentration on mercantile activity to one based on a fishing industry and boat building (Finneran this volume). Owing to the poor nature of the island road system Speightstown also engaged in the transportation of goods to Bridgetown by schooner or drogher (Schomburgk 1848:237).

Major events such as the 1780 hurricane (Poyer 1808:450; Schomburgk 1848:47), the 1819 storm (which washed away settlement around the salt pond

area; Schomburgk 1848:52) and the 1831 Great Barbados-Louisiana Hurricane (Schomburgk 1848:237) would all have impacted upon the fabric of the town. Civil unrest was also a feature of this period; Ashton Hall was burnt down by a mob who were protesting against a supposed plan to reintroduce slavery, causing a number of affluent white townspeople to flee by schooner to Bridgetown (Beckles 2006:179-185). From the late nineteenth century until the 1930s, Speightstown became home to a small-scale whaling industry that developed in the context of the post-emancipation period (Finneran 2016; Finneran this volume, chapter twenty). Speightstown was well situated along the humpback whale migratory routes, and also had the benefit of an existing maritime infrastructure. Although Speightstown had ceased to be a major mercantile port by 1867, when the whalers first began operating out of the town, there was still significant maritime infrastructure (Anon 1935:96; Finneran 2016). In recent decades, Speightstown has enjoyed some success as a center for shopping in the northern parishes, although since the building of the bypass in the 1980s, this trade has also declined. Today the economic hopes of the town rest upon regeneration and tourism, its quixotic history reflected in its historical townscape and – as we have discovered – in the living memory of its twenty-first century inhabitants.

The foregoing historical overview charts the changing fortunes of a small urban cog in the wider English/British Caribbean system. Within this physical framework many different segments of colonial Barbadian society came together, and left material traces of their activities within the fabric of the townscape, creating, adapting and consuming a diverse and hybrid material culture, and forming a ‘creolized’ identity (Finneran 2013). These material traces survive only as fragments, recoverable though a range of methodologies. Our first approach is to consider a special category of historical document that is of considerable utility to the landscape archaeologist: historic mapping.

Historical mapping and urban archaeology (see Table 8.1 for references to the maps)

There are neither detailed historical accounts of the town nor paintings that allow us to identify actual buildings (see for example Stiefel 2016:88 for a possible identification of the Nidhe Israel Synagogue, Bridgetown from a 1740’s painting *Governor Robinson Going to Church*). Up until 1898 there is no detailed plan of the town itself either. Historical mapping (Figure 8.3) has demonstrated its effectiveness as a tool for landscape archaeologists in the wider Caribbean (*e.g.* Higman 1986) and also specifically in Barbados too (Armstrong 2015), and GIS allows for rectification and geo-referencing of the historical imagery, although as ever caution is needed in recognizing the veracity of first- and second-hand mapping sources (Table 8.1 summarizes the key historical cartographic sources used in this analysis).

Richard Ligon’s 1657 map is somewhat misleading. Spykes’ Bay as shown on his map clearly should accord with Alleyne’s Bay to the north of Holetown. The most northerly church along the coast as depicted by Ligon should be identified with St Peter, and this is associated with the toponym ‘Balises Bay’ (Figure 8.3a). This name would clearly link to a feature shown on future maps, Coll Bayley’s/Balise’s Well, located to the south of the town. Additionally, the only named plantation in the locality on

the Ligon map that survives on later mapping is that of Nelson (again to the south of Speightstown). In addition, we can clearly identify 'Macock' (Maycock) to the north of this church. Therefore, the church shown to the south of Spyke's Bay on the Ligon map is St James. Ligon's map shows a church with a spire and a west-east running road (obviously identifiable as Church Street) that takes a sharp southwards turn inland. This is a feature we can trace on later maps, such as Billaine's 1674 and Speed's 1680 maps (which are surely both based directly upon Ligon's survey) but also on a presumably original un-named 1680 survey, and also on Shomburgk's 1847 and Taylor's 1859 emendation of Mayo's 1721 survey. The road turns south at the 'parsonage'; this is also indicated on the 1898 street map showing 'glebe' or church land, and suggests an identification with Farm Road.

Ligon indicates a cluster of a few houses around the coastal termination of the west-east running road. Of the named houses (from north to south: Doton, Paris, Guy, Hanley, Hennigsworth, Sandforde, Webb, Ware and Nelson), none are indicated on Ogilby's 1671 map. On this map, 'Spickes Towne' is indicated lying north-south along the coast and not extending below the river/salt pond (roads are not shown). 'Coll Bayley's Well' is marked to the south of this feature. Richard Forde's 1674 survey shows 'Speights Toun als Little Bristol' (sic) (the first time we meet the latter term) lying on a north-south coastal axis, an indication of the west-east running road (Church Street) and a faint indication of the extent of the salt pond (it should be noted that as a Quaker, Ford did not indicate churches or fortifications on his charts).

An untitled coastal survey map (BL MS Sloane 2441 1684) indicates both 'Spixes Towne' and 'Con'll Bales well' to the north of a water feature; William Hack's 1690 survey is likely based upon that of Forde, and shows 'Speightstown and Bay' lying along the coast and between two pre-St Patrick's Cross Union Flags. Phillip Lea's 1698 map shows 'Little Bristol or Speights Town' as lying north-south along a roadway along the coast, with Church Street running perpendicular to this and heading in a north-westerly direction, following an alignment towards Mile and Quarter (indicated in William Speight's Will as being the limit of his original lands; Finneran 2013).

As we move into the eighteenth century, more cartographic detail emerges. Phillip Lea's updated edition of the Forde map shows 'Speights Toun als Little Bristol' in the same manner as the original, but adds a further cursory street plan at the right hand side of the map, this time indicating 'Speights Toun' (suggesting perhaps the identification with Little Bristol was falling out of fashion) with a long house lined north-south running road (Queens Street/Orange Street), houses clustering at the western end of Church Street with a church tower indicated and a comma-shaped salt pond on the other side of the road (Figure 8.3b).

In addition, Lea marks a house to the south as 'Friends' suggesting an identification with the Quaker Meeting House indicated on later maps. Moll's (1722, 1736 and 1744) maps and Senex and Mayo's 1722 maps are the first to indicate the positions of the three main urban forts (from north to south: Orange, Coconut and Denmark) as well as the development of the half-moon shaped street plan of Godding's Alley/Chapel Street, encompassing the curtilage of Arlington House, and the further extension eastwards of Chapel Street and Church Street. Quaker's Meeting House is also identified here, now just off an extended and lengthy north-south running coastal route (the first time we have seen this feature; Figure 8.3c).

Senex and Mayo's map more clearly shows the positions of the fortifications and the church and shows four named houses in and around the town: Burnett in the north, Wright to the east, Misson and Nelson (Senex is shown as a landowner on the Ligon map, but does not appear later on). Subsequent maps use as their base either the Ford/Lea surveys (*e.g.* by Van Keulen in 1725) or the Moll and Senex/Mayo surveys (by Homann Heirs in 1730 and Emmanuel Bowen 1747). The next wholly new survey is conducted by Rev Griffith Hughes in 1750 and drawn by the noted cartographer Thomas Jeffreys in 1750 (Figure 8.3d). This is the final time that Speightstown is identified as Little Bristol on an English map (it is shown as 'Petit Bristol' on Bellin's French 1758 map and on Lopez's 1780 Spanish map as 'Pequeño Bristol'), and in terms of street layout we see a small west-east running street alongside the south side of Coconut Fort (this is identifiable as late as the 1898 map as Fort Alley). Jeffrey's later 1775 map (an 'improvement' of Mayo) is clearly augmented by Hughes' 1750 material. This map gives great prominence to the Quaker's Meeting House, shown to the south of the Nelson residence, itself further southwards from Denmark Fort (a French version of this map was published in 1779, and Bryan Edwards Map of 1794 is clearly based upon this source but shows no indication of the forts at Speightstown).

Fielding Lucas' 1823 map is similarly based upon the Jeffreys/Hughes source, shows no roadways and depicts Speightstown as a highly stylized cruciform urban pattern. The Quaker's Meeting House and the three forts are all indicated but the church is not. Captain Barrallier's new 1825 survey on behalf of the Governor Lord Combermere shows now a more extensive urban layout (Figure 8.3e). Coconut Fort is no longer indicated suggesting it had now fallen out of use. The full extent of the beach is indicated, and it is also apparent that the salt pond/watercourse feature was still un-culverted, and the central area of the town prone to flooding. Houses are also indicated along the western edge of the present churchyard. Schomburgk's 1847 adaptation of the Mayo survey indicates a development of the road pattern to the east of the town and (presumably) the draining of the salt pond. For the first time the Methodist (Wesleyan) Chapel is indicated on a site now occupied by the School (Figure 8.3f). Taylor's 1859 'corrected and improved' version of Mayo's survey adds little to the Schomburgk map.

The 1898 map in the *Speightstown Directory* of that year identifies for the first time the names of the actual jetties and shows a relocation of Battaley's plantation to the south of the town (its former site now occupied by Heywoods Plantation) and shows that in the intervening forty years the Methodist Chapel has relocated to its present position. No forts are indicated. Finally, the 1960 map shows the St Peter's Almshouses on the site of Denmark Fort. Analysis of these cartographic sources allowed us to target specific areas for archaeological excavation and survey. The following section describes in outline some of these findings.

Archaeological excavation and survey in Speightstown

Archaeological excavation in an urban environment is problematic and logistically can be difficult. We have excavated four sites within the town itself, and only in a small scale (Figure 8.4). In 2012, we excavated a small test unit at the western edge of the St Peter's Churchyard. This unit aimed to identify the footprints of houses shown on historic mapping (*e.g.* the maps of Lea/Forde in 1714, the map of Moll in 1722 and

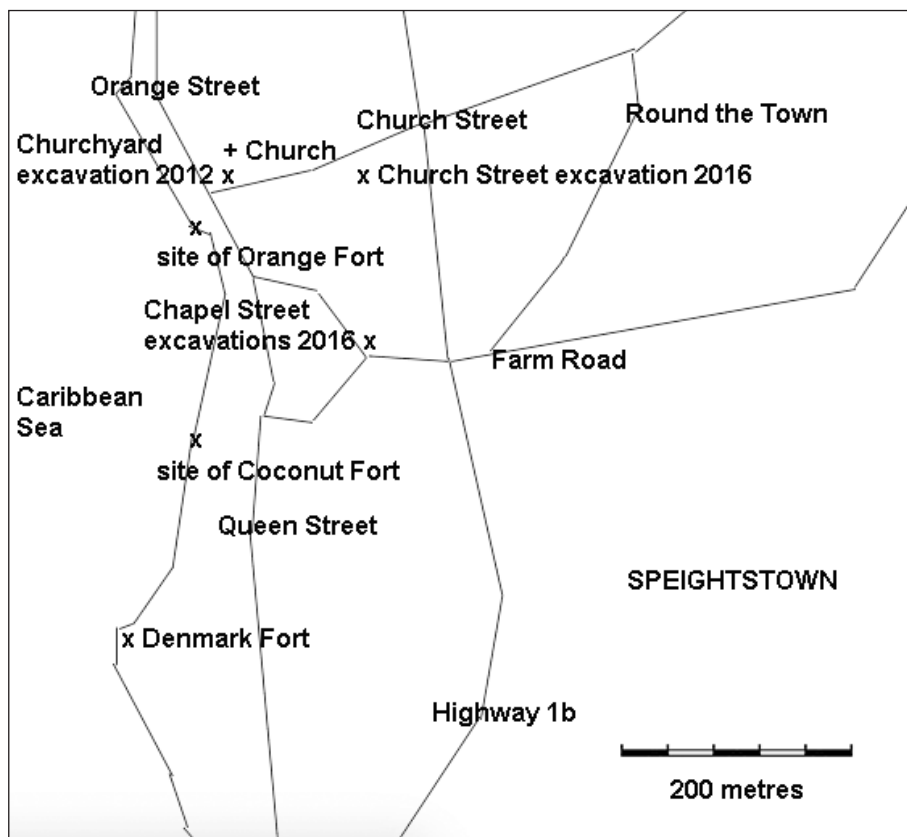


Figure 8.4. Map of Speightstown showing sites mentioned in the chapter.

1736, and Barrallier's map of 1825). Fragmentary stone foundations were located here and associated in the lower contexts with late-eighteenth century glass and very fragmentary ceramics. The stratigraphy here was much disturbed however. Excavations in the compound of the Methodist School, Chapel Street in 2016 did not yield much cultural evidence, but indicated make up and consolidation of the former banks of the Salt Pond overlying a sterile sandy matrix. Pre-contact ceramic material was noted widely in the locality around the southern boundary of the salt pond. Excavations just off the south side of Church Street in 2016 delineated the cut stone foundations of a structure running perpendicular to the roadway; this structure was associated with nineteenth century ceramics (Figure 8.5). Finally test pitting on the site of Denmark Fort in 2013 yielded evidence of the later Almshouse phase (twentieth century), the most noteworthy feature being the discovery of the remains of the toilet block.

Surveying the fortifications within the town and along the coastline has been an important part of the overall project. The initial legislation for the fortification of the island was undertaken in 1631 and 1650, which is the period when Speightstown was likely first fortified (Poyer 1808:35). Accounts of the Parliamentary attack in 1651 generally confirm that there was a fort of some sort in place at the town (possibly called Fort Royal) though accounts of the size and location of this early battery are confused (Poyer 1808:59). In the following decades, most fortifications along the west coast ap-



Figure 8.5. Excavations at Church Street site (2016, Niall Finneran).

pear to have been rebuilt (Oldmixon 1708:101), and John Ogilby described a second fort defending the town in 1671 (Ogilby 1671:379).

The first detailed account of the Speightstown fortifications comes from a 1684 government report that lists five forts in Speightstown totaling 39 guns (Sloane MS 2441 1684): Speights Fort (19 guns), Clutterbuck Fort (7 guns), Cockernut (sic) Fort (3 guns) Botelers Fort (5 guns) and Ruperts Fort (5 guns). Using William Mayo's 1722 map, we can propose that Rupert's Fort and Clutterbuck Fort were located outside of the northern limits of the town, whilst Speights, Cockernut and Botelers Forts all likely refer to forts within the town. (Speights Fort and Boteler's Fort are likely Orange and Denmark Forts; Orange fort is consistently described as the larger of the two, meaning that Speight's Fort likely became Orange, and Boteler's likely became Denmark).

Despite the existence of three forts within the limits of the town, eighteenth century descriptions of Speightstown generally refer to only two (Labat and Eaden 1970:123; Oldmixon 1708:101). This appears to be because Orange Fort was considered the town's main defense, being the largest and directly opposite the parish church and Coconut and Denmark are alternately considered less important to the town. For example, Oldmixon specifically excluded a fort on Heathcot's Bay (the former

name of Godding's Bay, meaning that he was excluding Denmark Fort) as it was on the southern extremities of the town (Oldmixon 1708:101). Conversely, Governor Pinfold's 1762 report on the island's fortifications only listed Orange and Denmark Forts, indicating that the smaller Coconut emplacement may have fallen out of use in the first half of the century (Anon 1933:21).

In 1933, the Barbados Museum and Historical Society published a brief survey of all of the historic architecture of the island. Denmark Fort was listed as having five guns remaining (of the five listed in Governor Pinfold's 1762 Report on Fortifications) three of which still had their carriages, and the fort itself was said to be 'in very good preservation' (Anon 1933:21). Orange Fort was in a somewhat worse state, with most of the masonry platform having been demolished prior to 1910, and of the 18 guns listed in the 1762 report, nine were remaining, though seven of these were in the sea at the base of the fort (Anon 1933:21). These appear to be have been recovered later and re-sited.

Denmark Fort itself has largely fallen into the sea; a lone (and rapidly corroding) cannon on a concrete pedestal and an angle of wall is all that remains of the original structure which must have been largely obliterated during the construction of the twentieth century Almshouses on the site, and underwater survey of the sea bed around the site did not yield any archaeological material (Figure 8.6). As for the remains of Coconut Fort, there is no solid standing structure, however, the site of the fort can be closely estimated from a number of maps, which would put it in or close to an empty plot opposite Arlington House, on Queen's Street (shown on the 1898 map as 'Fort Alley'). In the structures surrounding this plot, particularly on the beachfront, there are several exterior walls that are made up of a number of materials, including masonry, which may have come from Coconut Fort. The Promenade and Fish Market occupies the site of Orange Fort, and a 1960s photograph in the possession of Mr. Clement Armstrong shows a line of cannon there and no other structure.



Figure 8.6. Site of Denmark Fort looking south-westwards (2016, Niall Finneran).

Further northwards, using Mayo's 1722 mapping as a source, we can clearly identify the sites of the other fortifications. Heywood's Fort (likely formerly Clutterbuck's Fort) was destroyed during construction of the Port St Charles marina in the 1990s. Nothing exists of the coastal fort at Six Men's Bay, but the inland fort indicated on Mayo's 1722 map to the north-east of Clutterbuck's house is still visible. This feature, evidenced by a series of large cannon pointing seawards behind a low wall, is located to the south of the old hollow way and track that links Six Men's with the interior of the island, and to the north east of the Port Ferdinand marina complex. The fort is also associated with a presumed slave settlement, well and pond complex to the north which in turn may be associated with the Colleton plantation. Rupert's Fort is retained within the fabric of the Fish Pot restaurant north of Six Men's, and remains of the fort at Half Moon (Moon Village) were recorded in 2013 in the garden of local resident, Mr. Karl St John, and comprise two cannon and a low curve of wall.

Moving northwards still, in 2011 and 2012 small-scale excavations took place at the site of Maycock's Fort. Within the fort itself, excavation yielded evidence of an earlier phase of construction. Later phases of use, associated with late eighteenth and early nineteenth century occupation (according to the ceramic material) suggests an informal militia occupation (see Finneran 2013); non-standard caliber ordnance and gun furniture (recognizable, albeit highly corroded) suggested that this was not the site of a regular army presence. North of the fort, adjacent to prehistoric midden material, geophysical survey yielded suggestions of an associated slave village, and excavations here yielded significant quantities of low-fired earthenware pottery. This discussion of the fortification system has physically removed us somewhat from the townscape of Speightstown, but in the case of the Maycock's excavations adds strength to this notion of cultural creolization and localized adaptation over the last four hundred or so years. This much is clearly seen, for example, in the extant historic architecture of the town.

The creolized townscape: archaeology and social identity

Local mercantile needs evolved a distinctive house form where the shop spaces were on the lower floor and the living spaces on the top. In some cases, local adaptation in architecture can be carried further. Arlington House, now a Museum, retains the character of an eighteenth-century mercantile residence and likely forms the archetype for the 'single house' of Charleston, South Carolina (where the long, narrow house plan is set at right angles to the street; the building itself is only one room wide; Herman 1997). The transfer of this architectural style to the colony of Charles Towne (founded by merchants from Speightstown, among others) indicates the cultural connectivity of the Anglophone Atlantic world at this time (Greene 1987).

St Peter's Church also evidences a process of architectural creolization at work. These parish churches (although often rebuilt and greatly altered) are not mere copies of English eighteenth century Georgian archetypes but distinctive developments in their own right. The present building was rebuilt following a fire in 1981, and in any case much of the fabric of the predecessor can only have dated after the great storm of 1831 (in 2010, prior to the re-facing of the Church we were able to undertake a great deal of detailed architectural recording of the fabric of the building). Particular

attention attaches to the eastern end of the church where the presence of vaults beneath the 'apse' suggests the survival of an earlier, pre-1831 phase of building.

Recording of commemorative monuments within the church building itself has been a valuable training exercise as well as providing an important overview of shifts in the material culture of death over time. It is very clear that in the case of St Peter, for example, that in comparison with the heavily historically managed graveyard at St James, Holetown, the graveyard here is very much in continual use and is evolving. A basic typology of grave form has been formulated, starting with the familiar earlier family vaults, perhaps indicative of a more communalized ritual associated with developing a sense of ownership and belonging on the island in earlier years. As we move through to the nineteenth century a more overt emphasis upon remembering becomes clear, as does memorialization without a body. In the late nineteenth century and into the twentieth century, Afro-Caribbean bodies are now memorialized via mimesis of earlier grave forms (Bowey 2012).

Survey work on the memorials and ritual space of the Church at All Saints inland from Speightstown, for example, indicates its strong nineteenth century Anglo-Catholic, High Church identity (evidenced through extensive use of stained glass, decoration and stations of the cross) of the Planters perhaps at odds with the less rigid atmosphere of mercantile Speightstown. Further down the hill, the cave at 'Arawak Castle' (Finneran 2013: figure 11; Smith and Bassett 2016) with its carved cherub design surely speaks in another age, of hidden Christian practice, in the place of the Roman Catholic recusants of the late seventeenth century, rather than the ritual space of runaway slaves, or indeed 'poor whites'. The Quaker House at Speightstown, long marked on maps, has disappeared, but the associated non-conformist burial ground survives to the south of the town. Graveyard and memorial survey here attest to the continued reuse and re-adaptation of these spaces; there are no remains of non-conformists left. The earliest recorded grave is from the 1850s, and is Anglican.

And what of the Jewish population? Samuels' 1924 paper that outlines the state of Jewish colonization of Barbados in the 1680s was based upon examination of a number of public documents and wills deposited in U.K. archives at the time (Samuel never personally visited Barbados), many of which, as one of the present authors (RL) has discovered, are not found in either the National Archives in London or the Black Rock Archives (Barbados). Many of Samuel's assertions, which have implications for reconstructing the Jewish presence in Speightstown, cannot therefore be checked. Other sources offer clues as to the nature of this community (Lichtenstein 2018). Schomburgk states that in 1846 there were:

'five [Jewish] burial-grounds [on the island], three of which are completely filled'.
(Schomburgk 1846: 97)

Four of these burial sites are still to be found in Bridgetown, three around the Nidhe Israel complex and a further smaller burial ground for suicides and paupers in Whites Alley. Therefore, it is reasonable to presume the fifth burial ground he mentions would have been in Speightstown near to the only other synagogue on the island. Jewish law regarding burial states that if permissible a Jewish person should be buried within a 24-hour period. If a Speightstown Jew had died in the seventeenth century on a Friday

they would not have been able to have been buried until the following Sunday. If they shared their burial ground with the Bridgetown Jews then they would have needed to transfer the body by boat to Bridgetown after this long wait and along poor roads. We may therefore assume, given the effect of the heat upon the corpse, that there *probably would* have been a burial ground somewhere in Speightstown.

Oldmixon, writing in 1708 states that Speightstown:

‘consists of one long street, call’d Jew Street.’ (Oldmixon 1708:101)

Jew Street is also mentioned in the will of Rachel Mendes (widow of the leading Speightstown Jew Joseph Mendes) dated 1711 when she bequeaths to her niece Sarah Massiah:

‘one certain house situate in Speightstown in Jew Street bounding east on a house of Daniel Villosa, west on a house belonging to myself, south on the pond and north on the street to her the said Sarah Massiah’ (Jonathan Wells pers. comm.).

Whereas Ligon’s map only shows the single east-west running road, Ford’s map indicates a heavy concentration of houses along the coastal north-south running road. This could more likely be described as a ‘street’ rather than ‘road’.

The position of the salt pond as a boundary marker (‘south on the pond’) could equally suggest that the west-east running road, Church Street, was also a candidate for the site. This contention is further strengthened with reference to the French geographer Bellin’s 1758 account), where he states:

‘the longest (street) is called ‘The Street of The Jews’ that conducts up to the sea-shore.’ (Bellin 1748:70)

As we have seen above, the synagogue is suggested to have been destroyed by a mob in 1739, but at least one source, citing the caretaker of the Bridgetown synagogue in 1909, suggests that the building was still standing until 1831 when it was destroyed in the hurricane of and never rebuilt (Davis 1909:145; but see Schomburgk 1846:97 who suggests this might have been the case with Nidhe Israel.). The Jewish population certainly did return to Speightstown after the alleged ‘sacking’ of the synagogue in 1739, as a separate tax was imposed on the Speightstown Jews in 1756 (Faber 1998:92) and in Moses Mendes will, 1758 (National Archives, London) he states:

‘I leave one hundred pounds to the elders of the synagogue of St Peter Speightstown in Barbados’

Thus, implying the Speightstown Synagogue was still functioning at that date.

It should also be noted that the synagogue itself might not be situated on ‘Jews Street’, the name could refer to the area of main Jewish habitation and trade (a Jewish Bridgetown in microcosm, in fact; cf. Stern 1993). Oral history records gathered by one of the authors (RL) place the site of the synagogue on Church Street (at varied locations) and also on the site of the Methodist School, Chapel Street (formerly the

Methodist Chapel itself). It has been suggested that graves were once located here (according to informants interviewed by RL), and in addition that the interplay of ownership between non-conformist and Jewish property was fairly fluid. It would also be expected that a ritual bath, a *Mikveh*, would be found here too; this would require a source of fresh water, and our informants tell us that these are to be found in the area of Chapel Street (and of course one is marked as being within the rough area as Col Bayley's Well on the historic mapping).

Conclusion

The foregoing overview has necessarily skipped many details of our work. Much remains to be written. It is hoped however that some element of the fluidity and change inherent in the fabric of Speightstown's urban biography has been conveyed. Using a range of interrelated methodologies and immersing ourselves in the urban space and its sites, we hope to be able to continue to write the story further. There is much that can be done here in terms of methodological and conceptual research. Further, it is to be hoped that our work has positive social and economic impacts too, beyond the scope of the narrowly 'academic' work. From 2010 the project has mapped and undertaken conditions reports of 87 defined historic buildings as a strategy of preservation by recording. Economic demands have placed a great tension between the demands of consumers and owners on one hand, whose livelihoods are dependent upon tourism, and heritage professionals on the other (Gray 2016). We need to continue this dialogue. Tourism has huge potential for the town, but it is too far away from the main tourist routes and cruise itineraries to rely on chance footfall. Speightstown needs to make its rich history work for the present (cf. Abdool 2002), and we see our role as helping to facilitate this.

Acknowledgements

This paper is dedicated to the Speightstown community who have embraced with enthusiasm the work we have undertaken. Out of them all we recognize the work of Clement Armstrong. We also acknowledge the help of Jonathan Wells, who has been assisting both Rachel Lichtenstein in her archival researches and Niall Finneran in archaeological excavations for the past two years, and to the many students and visiting excavators past and present who have shaped the project.

Author/ Publisher	Date	Title	Reference
Richard Ligon	1657	<i>A Topographical Description and Admesurement of the Yland of Barbados in the West Indayaes. With the Ms Names of the Seuerall Plantacons.</i>	Reference: British Library: http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/carviewsvirtex/aftrade/ylandbarb/zoo-mify70912.html .
John Ogilby/ Arnoldus Montanus	1671	<i>Novissima et Acuratissima Barbados</i>	Reference: David Rumsey Map Collection: http://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~292967~90066926:Novissima-et-Acuratissima-Barbados-?sort=Pub_List_No_InitialSort%2CPub_Date%2CPub_List_No%2CSeries_No&qvq=q:Barbados%2BOgilby;sort:Pub_List_No_InitialSort%2CPub_Date%2CPub_List_No%2CSeries_No;lc:RUMSEY~8~1&mi=78&trs=135
Louis Billaine	1674	<i>Description Topographique et mesure de Lisle [sic] des Barbades aux Indes Occidentales avec les Noms de ceux a qui appartiennent les habitations</i>	Reference: John Carter Brown Library, Brown University http://jcb.lunaimaging.com/luna/servlet/detail/JCBMAPS~1~1~1943~106650006:Description-Topograph%C3%AFque-et-mesure?sort=normalized_date%2Cfile_name%2Csource_author%2Csource_title&qvq=q:Barbados;sort:normali-ized_date%2Cfile_name%2Csource_author%2Csource_title;lc:JCBMAPS~1~1&mi=4&trs=33
Richard Forde	1675	<i>A new Map of the Island of Barbadoes wherein every Parish, Plantation, Watermill, Windmill and Cattlemill is Described.</i>	Reference: John Carter Brown Library, Brown University: http://jcb.lunaimaging.com/luna/servlet/detail/JCBMAPS~1~1~1133~100880001:A-New-Map-of-the-Island-of-Barbadoe?sort=normalized_date%2Cfile_name%2Csource_author%2Csource_title&qvq=q:Barbados;sort:normali-ized_date%2Cfile_name%2Csource_author%2Csource_title;lc:JCBMAPS~1~1&mi=7&trs=33
John Speed; publisher Bassett and Chiswell.	1676	<i>A Map of Jamaica/ Barbados. Part of 'A Prospect of the Moset Famous Parts of the World'</i>	Reference: David Rumsey Map Collection: http://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~285396~90058069:A-Map-of-Jamaica-Barbados-?sort=Pub_List_No_InitialSort%2CPub_Date%2CPub_List_No%2CSeries_No&qvq=q:Barbados%2BSpeed;sort:Pub_List_No_InitialSort%2CPub_Date%2CPub_List_No%2CSeries_No;lc:RUMSEY~8~1&mi=0&trs=2
Unknown	1680	Untitled. British Library Sloane MS2441	Reference: British Library: http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/carviews/m/zoomify69851.html
William Hack	1690	William Hack's Atlas	Reference: British Library: http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/carviews/i/zoomify69829.html
Phillip Lea (Publisher)	1696	<i>The principall islands in America belonging to the English Empire viz Iamaica, Barbados, Antegoa, St. Christophers, & Bermudos</i>	Reference: John Carter Brown Library, Brown University http://jcb.lunaimaging.com/luna/servlet/detail/JCBMAPS~1~1~3182~101512:The-principall-islands-in-America-b?sort=normalized_date%2Cfile_name%2Csource_author%2Csource_title&qvq=q:Barbados;sort:normali-ized_date%2Cfile_name%2Csource_author%2Csource_title;lc:JCBMAPS~1~1&mi=9&trs=33

Table 8.1. Historic cartographic sources for Speightstown.

Author/ Publisher	Date	Title	Reference
Phillips Lea's updated Richard Forde map	1714 or later	<i>A new map of the island of Barbadoes wherein every parish, plantation, water-mill, windmill & cattlemill, is described with the name of the present possesor, and all things els remarkable according to a late exact survey thereof</i>	Reference: John Carter Brown Library, Brown University: http://jcb.lunaimaging.com/luna/servlet/detail/JCBMAPS~1~1~3343~101620:A-new-map-of-the-island-of-Barbadoe?sort=normalized_date%2Cfile_name%2Csource_author%2Csource_title&qvq=q:Barbados;sort:normalized_date%2Cfile_name%2Csource_author%2Csource_title;lc:JCBMAPS~1~1&mi=14&trs=33
H Moll	1722/1736 (Pub. T. Bowles)	<i>The Island of Barbadoes: Divided into its Parishes, with the Roads, Paths &c. According to an Actual and Accurate Survey.</i>	Reference: British Library: http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/maps/americas/zoomify140155.html
H Moll	1744 ed. (German version based upon Oldmixon?) Publisher Meyer	<i>Eine Neue Charte der Insel Barbadoes</i>	Reference: John Carter Brown Library, Brown University: http://jcb.lunaimaging.com/luna/servlet/detail/JCBMAPS~1~1~1996~107370003:Eine-Neue-Charte-der-Insel-Barbadoe?sort=normalized_date%2Cfile_name%2Csource_author%2Csource_title&qvq=q:Barbados;sort:normalized_date%2Cfile_name%2Csource_author%2Csource_title;lc:JCBMAPS~1~1&mi=23&trs=33
John Senex/ William Mayo	1722	A New & Exact Map of the Island of Barbadoes in America According to an Actual & Accurate Survey Made in the Years 1717 to 1721 ...	Reference: John Carter Brown Library, Brown University: http://jcb.lunaimaging.com/luna/servlet/detail/JCBMAPS~1~1~1983~107090006:A-New-&-Exact-Map-of-the-Island-of?sort=normalized_date%2Cfile_name%2Csource_author%2Csource_title&qvq=q:Barbados;sort:normalized_date%2Cfile_name%2Csource_author%2Csource_title;lc:JCBMAPS~1~1&mi=16&trs=33
Gerard Van Keulen	1725	<i>Nieuwe Land en Zeekart van het Eyland Barbados gelegen in West India onder de Caribesse Eyland</i>	Reference: Norman B Leventhal Map Center, Boston Public Library: www.leventhal.ap.org/id/14247
Author/ Publisher	Date	Title	Reference
Homann Heirs	1730	<i>Dominia Anglorum in præcipuis Insulis Americæ ut sunt Insula S. Christophori, Antegoa, lamaica, Barbados – ex Insulis Antillicanis nec non Insulæ Bermudes vel Sommers dictæ, singulari mappa omnia exhibita et edita ab Homannianis Heredibus = Die Englische Colonie-Laender Auf den Insuln von America und zwar die Insuln S. Christophori, Anteoga, lamaica, Barbados alles Antillische Insuln samt den Ins. Bermudes sonst Sommers genant, auf einem besondern Blaatsæmtle vor gestellet u. herausgegeben von Homaennischen Erben</i>	Reference: John Carter Brown Library, Brown University: http://jcb.lunaimaging.com/luna/servlet/detail/JCBMAPS~1~1~3090~101449:Dominia-Anglorum-in-pr%C3%A6cipuis-Insul?sort=normalized_date%2Cfile_name%2Csource_author%2Csource_title&qvq=q:Barbados;sort:normalized_date%2Cfile_name%2Csource_author%2Csource_title;lc:JCBMAPS~1~1&mi=18&trs=33

Table 8.1. Historic cartographic sources for Speightstown (continued).

Author/ Publisher	Date	Title	Reference
Emmanuel Bowen	1747	<i>Barbadoes</i>	Reference: David Rumsey Historical Map Collection: http://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~2616~280032:Barbadoes-?sort=Pub_List_No_InitialSort%2CPub_Date%2CPub_List_No%2CSource_No&qvq=q:Barbados;sort:Pub_List_No_InitialSort%2CPub_Date%2CPub_List_No%2CSource_No;lc:RUMSEY~8~1&mi=146&trs=157
Griffith Hughes and Thomas Jeffreys	1750	<i>A Map of the Island of Barbados Drawn from an Actual Survey, and from the Observations of the Revd. Mr. Griffith Hughes, M.A.F.R.S. By Thomas Jefferys, Geographer</i>	Reference: John Carter Brown Library, Brown University: http://jcb.lunaimaging.com/luna/servlet/detail/JCBMAPS~1~1~2792~101291:A-Map-of-the-Island-of-Barbados-Dra?sort=normalized_date%2Cfile_name%2Csource_author%2Csource_title&qvq=q:Barbados;sort:normalized_date%2Cfile_name%2Csource_author%2Csource_title;lc:JCBMAPS~1~1&mi=24&trs=33
Jacques Nicolas Bellin; published by Pierre Diderot, Paris	1758	<i>Carte de la Isle de la Barbade</i>	Reference: Norman B Leventhal Map Center, Boston Public Library www.leventhalmap.org/id/14246 . Also 1764 version with less detail David Rumsey Map Collection: http://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~232799~5509424:Carte-de-l-isle-de-la-Barbade-?sort=Pub_List_No_InitialSort%2CPub_Date%2CPub_List_No%2CSource_No&qvq=q:Barbados;sort:Pub_List_No_InitialSort%2CPub_Date%2CPub_List_No%2CSource_No;lc:RUMSEY~8~1&mi=155&trs=157
Thomas Jeffreys; published by Sayer and Bennett	1775	<i>Barbadoes, surveyed by William Mayo, engraved and improved by Thomas Jefferys, Geographer to the Kind. London, printed for Robt. Sayer, Map & Printseller, no. 53 in Fleet Street as the Act directs 20 Feby 1775</i>	Reference: David Rumsey Map Collection: http://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~2817~310066:Barbadoes-?sort=Pub_List_No_InitialSort%2CPub_Date%2CPub_List_No%2CSource_No&qvq=q:Barbados;sort:Pub_List_No_InitialSort%2CPub_Date%2CPub_List_No%2CSource_No;lc:RUMSEY~8~1&mi=151&trs=157
French version of Jeffreys/ Mayo above	1779	<i>La Barbade Levée par G: Mayo Gravée par Jefferys</i>	Reference: John Carter Brown Library, Brown University: http://jcb.lunaimaging.com/luna/servlet/detail/JCBMAPS~1~1~6194~115902349:La-Barbade-Lev%C3%A9e-par-G--Mayo-Grav%C3%A9e?sort=normalized_date%2Cfile_name%2Csource_author%2Csource_title&qvq=q:Barbados;sort:normalized_date%2Cfile_name%2Csource_author%2Csource_title;lc:JCBMAPS~1~1&mi=27&trs=33
Spanish version of Jefferys/ Mayo, D J Lopez	1780	<i>Carta de la isla de la Barbada reducida y gravada por D. Juan Lopez, pensionista de S.M</i>	Reference: John Carter Brown Library, Brown University: http://jcb.lunaimaging.com/luna/servlet/detail/JCBMAPS~1~1~3341~101625:Carta-de-la-isla-de-la-Barbada-redu?sort=normalized_date%2Cfile_name%2Csource_author%2Csource_title&qvq=q:Barbados;sort:normalized_date%2Cfile_name%2Csource_author%2Csource_title;lc:JCBMAPS~1~1&mi=28&trs=33
Bryan Edwards, pub J. Stockdale	1794	<i>Map of the island of Barbadoes for the History of the West Indies / by Bryan Edwards Esqr</i>	Reference: John Carter Brown Library, Brown University: http://jcb.lunaimaging.com/luna/servlet/detail/JCBMAPS~1~1~2652~101192:Map-of-the-island-of-Barbadoes-for-?sort=normalized_date%2Cfile_name%2Csource_author%2Csource_title&qvq=q:Barbados;sort:normalized_date%2Cfile_name%2Csource_author%2Csource_title;lc:JCBMAPS~1~1&mi=29&trs=33

Author/ Publisher	Date	Title	Reference
Fielding Lucas Jnr, Baltimore	1823	<i>Barbadoes</i>	Reference: David Rumsey Historical Map Collection: http://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~94~10156:Barbadoes-?sort=Pub_List_No_InitialSort%2CPub_Date%2CPub_List_No%2Cseries_No&qvq=q:Barbados;sort:Pub_List_No_InitialSort%2CPub_Date%2CPub_List_No%2Cseries_No;lc:RUMSEY~8~1&mi=147&trs=157
Captain Barrallier	1825	<i>To His Excellency the Rt. Honble Stapleton Lord Combermere Commander in Chief of the Army in India, Colonel of the 3rd. Regiment of Dragoons, GCB, GCH, KTS, KSF &c. &c. Late Commander of the Forces in the Windward and Leeward Charibee Islands &c. &c. and Governor of Barbados, and to a liberal patron Gibbes Walker Jordan, Esqr. F.R.S. the late Colonel Agent for that island This trigonometrical survey [of Barbados] is most respectfully dedicated by their most obedient humble servant F. Barrallier, Captain H[alf] P[ay] 25th, Light Dragoons</i>	Reference: John Carter Brown Library, Brown University: http://jcb.lunaimaging.com/luna/servlet/detail/JCBMAPS~1~1~3985~102063:To-His-Excellency-the-Rt--Honble-St?sort=normalized_date%2Cfile_name%2Csource_author%2Csource_title&qvq=q:Barbados;sort:normalized_date%2Cfile_name%2Csource_author%2Csource_title;lc:JCBMAPS~1~1&mi=32&trs=33
Sir Robert Schomburgk; pub Longman	1847	<i>A Topographical Map of the Island of Barbados: based upon Mayo's original survey in 1721 and corrected to the year 1846.</i>	Reference: Norman B Leventhal Map Center at the Boston Public Library: www.leventhalmap.org/id/19378
Author/ Publisher	Date	Title	Reference
A. Taylor; published by T. Cross	1859	<i>A Topographical Map of the Island of Barbados, based on a survey taken by W. Mayo, in 1721, corrected and improved to 1859 by A. Taylor</i> <i>A Topographical Map of the Island of Barbados, based on a survey taken by W. Mayo, in 1721, corrected and improved to 1859 by A. Taylor Creator</i>	Reference: British Library: http://explore.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/display.do?tabs=moreTab&ct=display&fn=search&doc=MBogi140156&indx=6&reclds=MBogi140156&reclxs=5&elementId=5&renderMode=poppedOut&displayMode=full&frbrVersion=&dscnt=0&fromLogin=true&tab=website_tab&dstmp=1487963181138&vl(freeText0)=Barbados%20Map&vid=BLVU1&mode=Basic
<i>Speightstown Directory</i>	1898	<i>Speightstown Directory</i>	Reference: Black Rock Archive; Finneran 2013
Direcorate of Overseas Surveys	1960	<i>Barbados 1: 50000 scale map</i>	Reference: University of Texas Libraries Perry-Castaneda Library Map Collection: http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/americas/txu-pclmaps-oclc-25062448-barbados-1960.jpg

Table 8.1. Historic cartographic sources for Speightstown (continued).

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