THE PROBATE INVENTORIES OF PORT ROYAL, JAMAICA

A Thesis
by
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ABSTRACT

The Probate Inventories of Port Royal, Jamaica. (December 1992)

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Chair of Advisory Committee: Dr. D.L. Hamilton

Through archaeology, significant details of past cultures can be recovered. However, lack of preservation, salvaging, and intangible items create gaps in the archaeological data and restrict the scope of study.

Any analytical focus in historical archaeology should, therefore, include supplemental sources such as documentary evidence, oral history, and pictorial evidence. This approach allows the historical archaeologist to examine a site on a much deeper level and from different perspectives. The documentary evidence associated with a site provides information unattainable from the archaeological record—names, dates, possessions, rooms, houses, events, financial and social links—in short, the history behind the artifacts. It would be foolish not to take full advantage of this resource. Historical archaeology, then, is the study of all remains, not just those that come from the ground, and the intertwining of archaeological data with the relevant written record.

Through the analysis of the probate inventories, this thesis augments our knowledge and understanding of the material culture and social history of seventeenth-century Port Royal. It also demonstrates the importance of a multifaceted approach to archaeology beyond the material environment. Secondarily, it acts as a guide to the content and worth of the Jamaica probate inventories for future studies and correlation with the archaeological data.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY AND METHODOLOGY</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analysis of a Historical Site</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Jamaica Archives and Island Record Office</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thesis Data Set</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Editorial Methods</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Probate Inventory</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anatomy of a Seventeenth-Century Jamaican Probate Inventory</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEVELOPMENT AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF PORT ROYAL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History and Economic Development of Port Royal</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Royal Archaeology</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geography</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PORT ROYAL ARCHITECTURE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Houses</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hall</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parlor</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dining Room</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bedroom or Chamber</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitchen or Cookroom</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buttery</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cellar</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stairs</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garret, Cock Loft, and Attic</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Rooms</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE TAVERN OF JOHN AND THOMASINE ELLIS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OCCUPATIONS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchants</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mariners and Captains</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artisans and Tradesmen</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanners</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacksmiths</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gunsmiths</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goldsmiths</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pewterers</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coopers</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical practitioners</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| VI LEISURE | 72 |
| Music | 72 |
| Games | 72 |
| Drinking | 75 |
| Smoking | 78 |
| Snuff | 79 |
| The Coffee House | 79 |
| Writing and Reading | 80 |
| Books | 82 |

| VII EATING | 92 |
| Foodstuffs | 92 |
| Utensils and Vessels | 93 |
| Knives, Forks, and Spoons | 93 |
| Ceramics | 95 |
| Pewter | 99 |
| Silver/Plate | 101 |
| Glass | 104 |

<p>| VIII FURNITURE | 108 |
| Forms, Benches, Settles | 111 |
| Couches | 112 |
| Chairs | 113 |
| Trunks and Chests | 113 |
| Chests of Drawers | 114 |
| Presses | 115 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beds</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tables</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mirrors</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Close Stools</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX TEXTILES</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cloth</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linens</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men’s Fashion</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s Fashions</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children’s Apparel</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X SHIPS</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI SUNDRY ITEMS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Debts</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valuables</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewelry</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buttons</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funeral Expenses</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timepieces</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lighting</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pictures</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soap</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scales &amp; Weights</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locks</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weapons</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slaves &amp; Servants</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specialty Items</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coconuts and Calabashes</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turtle Shell</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bells</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fans</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windows</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER

XII FUTURE STUDIES ................................................. 178
XIII CONCLUSION .................................................. 83
INDEX ................................................................. 186
REFERENCES CITED .................................................. 192
APPENDICES .......................................................... 201
APPENDIX A INVENTORIES USED FOR DATASET ................. 202
APPENDIX B INVENTORIES TAKEN BY ROOM ..................... 207
APPENDIX C SUMMARY OF ROOMS IN INVENTORIES ............. 208
APPENDIX D INVENTORIES SHOWING OCCUPATION ............... 212
APPENDIX E UNITS OF MEASURE ................................ 215
APPENDIX F SHIPS OWNED IN THE INVENTORIES ............... 218
APPENDIX G GLOSSARY .............................................. 219
APPENDIX H LETTERS OF PERMISSION ............................ 235
VITA ................................................................. 237
## LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Table 1</td>
<td>Four House Types Identified by Ralph Treswell</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 2</td>
<td>Comparison of the Possessions of John &amp; Thomasine Ellis</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 3</td>
<td>Designated Occupations in Inventories</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 4</td>
<td>Late Seventeenth-Century Furniture</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 5</td>
<td>Brief List of Textiles in Inventories</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 6</td>
<td>Summary of Merchants' Stock of Ready-Made Clothing</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 7</td>
<td>Ships Listed in Inventories</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 8</td>
<td>Ship Recurrence Throughout Inventories</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 9</td>
<td>Inventories Listing Debts Owed To Deceased</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Anatomy of a seventeenth-century Jamaican probate inventory.</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Parishes of Jamaica, circa 1700.</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Present-day parishes of Jamaica, 1992.</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Western component of Building 5 from Port Royal Project excavations. (From original interpretation: Helen Dewolf)</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Seventeenth century bedroom. (Yarwood ND:Plate 209)</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Estate values by occupation.</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Pedlar. (Cries of London, 1711)</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Two Smiths at work ca. 1661.</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Simon Benning's touch mark.</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Engraving showing the duties of seventeenth-century apothecaries and surgeons. (Mattheaus Merian, c. 1646, Wellcome Library).</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Frontispiece of the 1709 edition of The Compleat Gamester (Cotton).</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Billiards in 1610 (Lassiter 1964:16)</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>The alehouse. (Pepys' Penny Merriments)</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Pewter pounce shaker. PR89 678-8 Drawing: Helen Dewolf.</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 16</td>
<td>Iron bookbinder stamp (missing wooden handle). PR87 584-5 Drawing: Helen Dewolf.</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 17</td>
<td>Spoons and forks from Port Royal Project excavation: a. &quot;William &amp; Mary&quot; pewter spoon. b. Silver spoon. c. Silver fork. d. Bone-handled fork. Drawings: Helen Dewolf.</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 18</td>
<td>Stoneware jug. PR90 948-5. Drawing: Helen Dewolf.</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 19</td>
<td>Slipware sugar bowl. PR90 948-5. Drawing: Helen Dewolf.</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 20</td>
<td>Chinese blanc de chine porcelain cup (with applique design) PR87 533-14. Drawing: Helen Dewolf.</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 21</td>
<td>Salt cellar. PR89 606-5. Drawing: Helen Dewolf.</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 22</td>
<td>Pewter tankard body and hinged lid. Pr82. Drawing: Margaret Leshikar</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 23</td>
<td>Pewter plates. Top: Narrow rim (Benning) Bottom: Deep dish. Drawings: Helen Dewolf.</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 24</td>
<td>Glass &quot;onion&quot; bottles from the Port Royal Project excavation. Drawings: a. Helen Dewolf b. Elizabeth Mitchell</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 25</td>
<td>Three examples of glass stemware recovered from the Port Royal Project excavation. Drawings: KM Gardner</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 26</td>
<td>Bone curtain ring. Drawing: Helen Dewolf.</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 27</td>
<td>Shopping in London. (Ewing 1984:15)</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 28</td>
<td>Stuart period fashions (1689-1714). (Yarwood ND:169)</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 29</td>
<td>Charles II (1684) with black periwig and lace-edged cravat. (Yarwood ND:166)</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 30</td>
<td>The Squire of Alsatia, 1688. M. Laroon II. Engraving from Cries of London.</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 31  Fashionable seventeenth-century shoe and boot, ca. 1660-70.
(Yarwood ND:166) ............................................. 134

Figure 32  Brass buckles from Port Royal Project excavations. Drawing:
Helen Dewolf. .................................................. 134

Figure 33  Leather shoe sole and heel. PR87 405-7. Drawing: Helen
Dewolf. .......................................................... 135

Figure 34  Kid glove with embroidered gauntlet. (Yarwood ND:173) ........... 136

Figure 35  Fashionable women’s attire ca 1690-1694. (Yarwood ND:169) ... 137

Figure 36  Percentage of debts (owed to deceased). ................................. 147

Figure 37  Shop interior of 1680s, with chapman, customer and debt book.
Illustration to old ballad A caution for scolds (c. 1685). ....................... 148

Figure 38  Funerary procession. (Pepys’ Penny Murriments, 1678) ............ 152

Figure 39  Candlesticks recovered from Port Royal Project excavations. Left:
Pewter candlestick with wax catching insert. Right: Brass
 candlestick. Drawings: Helen Dewolf. .................................... 157

Figure 40  Hanging copper 3-wick oil lamp. PR89 6810-11. (Drawing: Helen
Dewolf) .......................................................... 158

Figure 41  Cast iron and lead-filled “pail” weight from Port Royal Project
excavations. Diameter: (top) 8.9 cm, (base) 11.43 cm. Drawing:
Helen Dewolf. .................................................. 161

Figure 42  Locks from Port Royal Project excavations. Top: Heart-shaped
lock (3 views), front plate. Bottom: Barrel lock. Drawings: Helen
Dewolf. .......................................................... 164

Figure 43  Iron key from the Port Royal Project. Drawing: Helen Dewolf. ... 165

Figure 44  Calabash dipper. PR90 908-9. Drawing: Helen Dewolf. .......... 172
Figure 45  Ivory(?) comb from the Port Royal Project. Drawing: Helen Dewolf. ........................................ 174

Figure 46  Brass hawks bell recovered from Port Royal Project excavation. (Shown approximately life size, 1.25" diameter) Drawing: Elizabeth Mitchell. .............................. 175

Figure 47  Window casing and lead came from Port Royal Project excavations. Drawing: Port Royal Project. .................. 176
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY AND METHODOLOGY

Through archaeology, significant details of past cultures can be recovered. However, lack of preservation, salvaging, and intangible items create gaps in the archaeological data set and restrict the scope of study.

Any comprehensive analytical focus in historical archaeology always includes supplemental sources such as documentary evidence, oral history, and pictorial evidence. This approach allows the historical archaeologist to examine a site on a much deeper level and from different perspectives than if a single source were used alone. The documentary evidence associated with a site provides information unattainable from the archaeological record — names, dates, possessions, rooms, houses, events, financial and social links — in short, the history behind the artifacts. It would be negligent not to take full advantage of this resource. Archaeology, after all, is the study of all remains, not just those that come from the ground. Documentary evidence is just as much an artifact as a pewter plate — both are a result of human behavior.

Through the analysis of the probate inventories, this thesis will augment our knowledge and understanding of the material culture and social history of seventeenth-century Port Royal. It also will demonstrate the importance of a multi-faceted approach to archaeology beyond the material environment. Secondarily, it will act as a guide to the content and worth of the Jamaica probate inventories for future studies and correlation with the archaeological data.

Analysis of a Historical Site

There are many different aspects of a historical site — artifacts, documents and maps, architectural features, and oral histories. Each represents a piece of an

This manuscript conforms in style and format to American Antiquity.
elaborate puzzle that requires a comprehensive integration to reconstruct the material and cultural history of the inhabitants.

Comparisons at any level give greater reliability and an even better picture of the people, place and time than do single-source analyses. For instance, comparing two separate inventories of the same household shows the change or lack of change of a household through time, and confirms the accuracy of the inventories. Other possible combinations for comparison include merchant records and shipping lists, customs records and deeds, plats and maps. This comparative approach acts as an external check for inherent errors such as omission and bias. No data-gathering technique is perfect, so the more checks one utilizes, the more reliable one’s conclusions will be.

The wealth of documentary evidence available in Jamaica is valid not only for Jamaican studies, but for contemporary seventeenth-century English sites in England and especially the English colonies. Boston, Massachusetts, in particular, offers an opportunity for comparison since contemporary Boston was similar to Port Royal economically and culturally, and both sustained a population of approximately 6,000 persons (Henretta 1965; Holbrook 1980:viii).

The Jamaica Archives and Island Record Office

Historical records for Jamaica are distributed between the Jamaica Archives and the Island Record Office (IRO), located in Spanish Town, Jamaica. Both offices are open to the public for research. Records begin with the English occupation of Jamaica in 1655; Spanish records from the period prior to 1655 did not survive. The probate inventories housed in the Spanish Town archives are actually transcriptions themselves, done during the late 1880s in an effort to preserve the public records. In 1879 the "Records Law" provided for the conservation of the island’s official records. This legislation is cited in the affidavit at the end of Volume 3 of the probate inventories:
I Edward Bancroft Lynch Deputy Keeper of the Records of the Island of Jamaica, do swear to the best of my knowledge and belief this volume was in the Record Office at the time of the passing of Law 6 of 1879, and is valid and authentic original register book or transcript of a register book and has always been regarded and, when occasion has arisen, treated as containing authentic and genuine records. So help me God. Sworn before me at Spanish Town this 14th day of October 1888.

Apparently the originals were destroyed once the volumes were transcribed. A reference to the original 55 manuscripts can be found in an affidavit in the "Index to Inventories," which was created in 1839 before the inventories themselves were copied:

I William Strudurck Townshend, a Clerk employed in the Secretary's Office do Swear that I have carefully indexed the foregoing Book No. 1 and 2 of Inventories, comprising 55 books in number, and that I have received from Walter George Stewart Esquire the Sum of One Hundred and Sixty five pounds for indexing the same being at the rate of Three pounds for each Book. Sworn before me this 6th day of Dec. 1839 — [signed] Moherty

This index was found to be incomplete, however, when Texas A&M students re-indexed the inventories directly from the inventory volumes themselves.

The archives also houses plats and tax records. The volumes are well cared-for, many are microfilmed, and the facilities are air-conditioned, comfortable, and quiet. Some of the documents are in excellent condition; some have been repaired; others are so fragile that they are not available for examination until they are reconditioned.

Deeds, wills, marriage licenses, and other vital statistics are processed and stored in the Island Record Office. The great document vault is packed to the ceiling with tomes. Unfortunately, certain volumes of wills in the Grantors Old Series, which covers the seventeenth century, are missing. These were reportedly lost when Admiral Knowles moved the capital from Spanish Town to Kingston in
1755. All the official records were loaded onto thirty wagons and transported to Kingston only to be returned to Spanish Town three years later (Black 1968:5). On one of the journeys a wagon overturned, spilling some of the books into a swamp.

**Thesis Data Set**

Data used in this thesis are taken from the Jamaica Probate Inventories Volume 2 (1679-1686), Volume 3 (1686-1694) and Volume 10 (1712-1716). Most of the inventories are from Volume 3 because it spans the years just before and after the 1692 earthquake — the termination point of the Port Royal Project excavation area. Secondly, Volume 3 is the most legible and complete of all the volumes, and, therefore, presents a more reliable data set. Thirdly, due to the magnitude of the task of transcription and analysis, I limited the number of inventories in the sample in order to maintain this project's feasibility.

Although the volumes include inventories from all over the island, this thesis' data set focuses mostly on those of Port Royal. A few additional inventories from outlying parishes are included if their contents are helpful to the study, such as those listed by room. A total of 160 inventories are used in this thesis. Appendix A contains the complete list.

The inventories were transcribed by Marianne Franklin, Diana Thornton, D.L. Hamilton, Helen Dewolf, and other students in the Texas A&M University Nautical Archaeology Program for the Port Royal Project (Dr. D.L. Hamilton, Director).

For identification purposes, each inventory has a source code consisting of its Jamaican Archives volume and folio numbers. For instance, the source code V3F240 refers to Volume 3, Folio 240 of the 1888 transcribed series.

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1Transcribed 1888 volume numbers located in the Jamaica Archives, Spanish Town, Jamaica.
Editorial Methods

The following editorial methods were observed during transcription:

The standard initial heading was generally omitted, as was the note of grant of probate (see "Anatomy of a Seventeenth-Century Jamaican Probate Inventory" below). Abbreviations and contractions of "the" (ye) and "that" (yt) were written out in full; otherwise, original spellings were retained, including various spellings of parcel (pccell, pcell, etc.) which is used frequently to group items together into one entry (e.g., a pcell of tools). Marginal terms of delineation "Item," "Imprimis" and "To" were omitted. Superscript abbreviations "li," "s," and "d" for pound, shilling and pence were lowered to the base line, as well as superscript letters of abbreviated words. Other abbreviations used in the original text include "do" for ditto, "pr" for pair, and "&c" for etcetera. Editorial comments and information from other sources were enclosed in square brackets ([ ]) to denote non-original elements. Illegible words are given as dashes (———). Uncertain words are followed by an editorial question mark [?]. Editorial [sic] was not used for the numerous spelling variations.

Excerpts were summarized and reformatted for space considerations, and are identified by the source code in parentheses.

Monetary values are listed on the right hand side preceded by a dot leader as in the original inventories, but for clarity and consistency, original slashes or other separator marks were replaced by a space. For example, 22 09 04 would represent 22 pounds (abbreviated li or £), 9 shillings (s), and 4 pence (d). There are 20 shillings to a pound and 12 pence to a shilling. Subtotals, "Carried Over/Forward" and "Brought Over/Forward" were omitted.

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2This monetary system continued until the 1970s when the shilling was abandoned and the decimal system adopted (100 pence to a pound).
The Probate Inventory

Probate was the process of proving the will and possessions, both real and personal, which involved taking an inventory. Two citizens of the deceased’s parish were appointed as administrators. Estate administration dealt with taking the inventory, giving notice to creditors, appearing in court, and distributing the estate. The inventory itself was merely a vehicle by which the creditors and heirs sorted out debts and inheritances, and was not always required. It was often the creditors, not the court, who insisted that an inventory be taken, thereby preventing the disbursement of moveable property before creditors had been paid (Jones 1977:5). It is unlikely that someone with nothing would have been inventoried, yet the inventory sample contains estates totalling as little as £5. Unlike the Massachusetts inventories, the Jamaican inventories do not include real estate3 or freeholds, which creates a bias toward wealth based on material possessions.

No matter how fair and honest administrators were in taking the inventory and appraising items, they were not infallible. Evaluating an estate was very subjective. Furthermore, they did not all follow one set method, and varied in thoroughness. For instance, some inventories were taken room by room, while others are a mass listing of all possessions. Some inventories give specific information about items, while others group objects by categories or weight.

Technically, appraisers were to appraise the item at its current market value, but obviously in practice this depended on the knowledge and skill of the appraisers, the condition and quality of the goods, and the nature of the market. It is possible to determine mean prices for certain items such as pewter. Old (used or in use) pewter was consistently valued at 7½ d per pound, and new pewter was usually 12d per pound throughout the inventories. Cloth and furniture items also seem consistently valued. Too often, though, items were grouped into one entry

3Ship ownership is included in the Jamaican inventories.
with one value, making it impossible to determine values for individual items (for example, a pr of bellows & anvil & other tooles — 27 10 00).

Spelling throughout the inventories is surprisingly consistent and modern, but this may be due to corrections made during the 1888 transcription. The most common inconsistencies are the addition of an "e" or "l" at the end of a word (booke, forke, severall, apparell) or an "a" after an o (broaken). Other spellings include "waring" for wearing, "puter" for pewter, "ould" for old, "shoo" for shoe, and "waites" for weights. Various spellings of "hammock" include "hammaco" and "hommack."

Most of the Port Royal inventories do not identify where items were located; only 29 out of 160 inventories were listed by room. The rest can be attributed to a "Law of Least Resistance," i.e., one can infer that the inventory was taken logically and sequentially room by room simply because it was the easiest and most direct way to do it. Most inventories appear to be written out as the inventory takers went from room to room even when the rooms are not named. Where the inventory taker started must be ascertained on an individual basis.

The detail of the entries ranges from vague references (his wearing apparrell) to specific descriptions of single items (1 crosslet of turtleshell). Goods of little or no personal, cultural or monetary value, such as clay tobacco pipes, were often grouped into a single, vague entry, or overlooked completely. And it is not improbable that valuable possessions "disappeared" before the inventory was made, or were sold to pay debts.

The vagueness of many descriptions can be explained by the tendency of the inventory takers to "mark" objects (Beaudry 1988:44). The most common and familiar items were often left unmarked. For example, an entry one pair shoes, without any other modifiers, does not tell us much unless we are familiar with a "normal" seventeenth-century shoe. If we do know that, we can then infer from the lack of marking that the object was most likely a "normal" type. The presence of marking, on the other hand, is a way of distinguishing items. Marking provides clues to cultural perceptions of what was considered usual. For instance, 1 Olive
Looking glass suggests that an olive wood frame may be something special; and a group of entries such as A Spanish Elme Chest of Drawers, An ordinary Chest of drawers, and A Japan dressing box and Spring Clock, Ordinary Clock were attempts to distinguish between special and common items.

Modern-day artifact classifications of seventeenth-century items often are based on twentieth-century concepts and terminology. While a consistent and methodical typology may be important for analysis and classification, it is important to consider the viewpoint and terminology that contemporaries had for the same object, especially regional variations.

Merchant inventories or those taken by merchants are likely to provide the most detailed descriptions. Many of the Port Royal inventories contain shop merchandise, and marking frequently distinguishes different varieties of the same common item. The inventory of John Philpott, a Port Royal blacksmith, distinguishes many shop goods that were often generalized once they became personal possessions. For example, Philpott's inventory lists (as merchandise) barber's scissors and tailor's shears as well as horn combs and small ivory combs. Once these items were sold, a subsequent inventory of the purchaser's house might merely refer to them as "scissors" or "combs," thereby losing a level of classification. Some of the different varieties in Philpott's inventory include:

**Scissors:** scizes, Barbers Sizzers, whole Barbers Sizzers, Ord. whole Barbers Sizzers, scizes & hilts, taylers sheares

**Combs:** Horne Combs, small Ivory Combs

**Knives & forks:** knives, Large Case Knives, Buckshond haft

Knifes, Ivory Haft Forks, Knifes, Old Knifes, London Knife Blades, Rusty Knife Blades, curyers knife, Ordinary penknifes, Better penknifes, Spring knives, razors, turtle shell razors, Old Razor & Pen Knife Cases, penknife blades (V3F285 John Philpott)

The inventory taker's knowledge and thoroughness affects the level of description as well as the potential for misidentification. Values placed on items also depended on variables such as the knowledge of the appraiser, the condition and age of the item, and external forces of current market value. Market values
often fluctuated in Port Royal as shipments glutted the market. For instance, wine prices fell by 35 percent in January 1690 when three cargoes of wine arrived at the same time (Zahedieh 1986a:581).

It is likely, however, that the appraisers were appointed by their qualifications to correctly identify and appraise the decedent's possessions and that they were relatively accurate. This is illustrated by the inventories of Nathaniel Mason (V3F309) and Major William Moore Esq. (V3F257). Shortly before Mason's own death, he served as an appraiser to Moore's estate. Although neither man was identified as a cooper, both their inventories suggest they were involved in the trade, and Mason may have been chosen because of his familiarity with cooping tools and wares, such as staves and hoops. Moore's and Mason's inventories both contain similar items of cooping:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16 lb wire</td>
<td></td>
<td>01 12 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17100 staves at £4 p 100</td>
<td></td>
<td>68 08 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heading 1440 at £6 p 1000</td>
<td></td>
<td>08 12 9½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoops 8000 at £7</td>
<td></td>
<td>56 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5000 ft deale board</td>
<td></td>
<td>22 10 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200 Ft Mahogany plank</td>
<td></td>
<td>02 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 pr truss hoops</td>
<td></td>
<td>03 15 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1009 34 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nath. Mason, Will:m Steevens</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

V3F309 Nathaniel Mason Port Royall January Sixth 1689

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nineteen Sugar hhds unhooppt</td>
<td></td>
<td>05 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eight Malassas hhds</td>
<td></td>
<td>04 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eleaven -- cask three unhooppt</td>
<td></td>
<td>01 05 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1500 hhds staves</td>
<td></td>
<td>15 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000 heading howed[?] [hewed?]</td>
<td></td>
<td>15 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500 hoops</td>
<td></td>
<td>06 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A parcell of short refuge staves &amp; peices</td>
<td></td>
<td>02 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>191 02 09</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Soloman Hill, Roger Atlee**

The inventories give the appearance that the people being inventoried were well off, many with money and goods worth thousands of pounds, especially since real estate was omitted. Yet the final inventory total may not reflect the true net worth at the time of their deaths. Debts owed by the deceased are not reflected in
the inventory which, when paid from estate proceedings, could have left the heirs with nothing. The inventories also show a high percentage of debts owed to the merchants in the form of accounts, further adding to the possibility of lower net estate values due to uncollected debts. The seventeenth-century economy relied heavily on credit, so the financial affairs of merchants may not have been as healthy as the inventories initially imply. Comparison of the will, inventory, and administrator accounts provide a clearer picture of the individual’s financial standing.

Despite their inherent problems, probate inventories are an excellent resource for researching the material culture of a society. The sheer quantity of data usually permits inconsistencies and omissions to be filtered out. Other primary documents such as tax records, census records, and deeds offer external checks. The combination of these sources creates a strong database when joined with archaeological data.

**Anatomy of a Seventeenth-Century Jamaican Probate Inventory**

More than just a list of possessions, the inventory is a multi-component legal document executed over a period of time involving many parties. The appraisers devoted a great deal of space to the preambles that made the inventory official. These preambles consist of sworn statements by the appraisers, witnesses, and officials involved in the probate process. Not all the inventories contain every preamble, but the same basic elements are present in most of the inventories.

Important information can be gleaned from the introductory statements: names of officials, names of other individuals in the community, occupations, and names of the deceased’s spouse. Figure 1 shows the parts of an average probate inventory, in this case, the inventory of Port Royal porter Thomas Webber.

At the top of this inventory is the folio number. Below that is *Jamaica SS*, which stands for "Jamaica Sovereign State." SS was (and still is) attached to the place name on legal documents. Following that is the name of the person inventoried.
James the second by the grace of God of England Scotland France and Ireland King and of Jamaica Lord defender of the faith etc.

To all to whom these presents shall come greeting know ye that we have constituted authorized and appointed and by these present do constitute Authorize and appoint our trusty and wellbeloved John White Esq, to Administer an oath unto John Gale and William Parsons that they shall well and truly and according to the best of their Judgments and Consciences Inventory and appraise all and singular the goods and chattels rights and credits of Thomas Webber Late of Port Royall Porter deceased as they shall be shewn unto them by Ann Webber his admax and thereof the said John White is to make a true Return unto our Governor of our said Island under his hand and seal together with this present power Annexed soe that the said Inventory and appraisement may be recorded in the Secretyes office of that our said Island Witness Hender Molesworth Esq, Lt Governor & Comandr in Chief of our said Island and Chancellor of the same the first day of September 1687

By the Governor Comand
Henry Egerton

Hder Molesworth

By virtue of the Power within given I have administered said oath to John Gale and William Parsons well and truly to inventory and appraise the goods and Chattels of Thomas Webber according to the purport of the within Instrument given under my hand and seal the 4th day of October 1687

John White

In obedience to your Honors Command wee have to the best of our knowledge and Judgment appraised the goods rights and Credits of Thomas Webber deceased Late of Port Royall as they was shewn to us by his Exectr and this is a true Inventory of them and followeth.

To three old chests
To a parsel of old pewter
To 1 gun and 1 pistol
To a Brass Kettle and 1 Copper Kettle
To two Remains of New Stufe
To three Negro Women and two Pickanings
To a parsele of old bills of Debts
To his waring apparell

01 05 00
00 15 00
01 05 05
02 00 00
00 05 00
50 00 00
05 00 00
01 00 00

Witness at [the] hands the 5th day of Octobr 1687

John Gale
William Parsons
The first main section serves as an affidavit to the appointment of estate administrators, the executor or executrix (usually the wife), and the inventory takers (almost always two). Appointment of the executor was made after the will was brought into court (Jones 1977:6). It was witnessed and signed by the Lieutenant Governor of Jamaica.

The next section recorded the oath given to the inventory takers to well and truly inventory and appraise the goods and Chattels of the deceased, followed by the physical inventory of the deceased’s movable property. This last affidavit is present in almost every inventory, even those with no other affidavits or oaths.

Inventory entries are often preceded by the word To or Item, and sometimes Imprimis (abbreviated Impr.) was used to delineate and introduce a list of items.

Impr: 1 paire of Bellowes ........................................ 02 10 00
To 2 Large and 4 Small vises .......................... 03 00 00
To Sledge Tongs & 1 Birk Iron ..................... 00 05 00
To New files and Haspe .................................. 00 12 06

Signatures were accompanied by the appraisers’ wax seals in the original documents, but when transcriptions were made in the late 1800s, the seals were represented by either an X or a crude sketch. The marke of was used to indicate that the individual could not write. Marks were used frequently, although obviously never for both appraisers in the same inventory since the nature of the job required at least one of them to write.

There are often several different dates associated with each inventory. None of the dates notated in the inventory is the date of death. For instance, the first date given in Thomas Webber’s inventory is September 1, 1687. This marked the commencement of the probate inventory process. One month later, on October 4, President of the Council John White administered the oath to the inventory takers; these two men then conducted the inventory the next day.

The inventory was not always immediately taken after the death. Delays may have been due to the grief of the family; perhaps no creditor or heir was anxiously awaiting their share of the estate; and sometimes they waited until debts owed to the estate were paid.
The preambles of the inventories always list the name of the deceased, and in many cases, the parish and occupation of the deceased is also specified. Preambles also offer information on other individuals in the community. When the deceased’s administrators and inventory takers are named, their occupations are occasionally identified. A review of occupations of inventory takers demonstrates their high status, and included merchants, coopers, planters, goldsmiths, and doctors. Jacobus Wilson’s inventory contains an affidavit that provides his inventory takers’ occupations — Henry Rose was a goldsmith and John Bromley was a doctor:

*An Inventory of the Goods and Chattels Rights and Creditts of Jacobus Wilson Late of the parish of St Katherine Deced as they were shown unto us by Henry Rose of the parish of St Katherine aforesaid Goldsmith and John Bromley of the Same Parish Practitioner in Physick and Chirurgery his Administrators.*

When no parish is given for the decedent, the parish of the appraisers can be reasonably inferred to be the place of residence of the deceased. So, in the above affidavit of Jacobus Wilson, since his appraisers were both from St. Cathrines’ Parish, it could be inferred that Wilson was from St. Cathrines’ Parish as well (if Wilson’s residence had not been identified).

Many inventory takers were involved in three or four inventories, and even as many as seven or eight. It also was common to have the same two men conduct several inventories.

Estate administration records were rarely included in the inventory volumes. Merchant Francis Randolph’s inventory offers a rare look at these activities, which involved collecting and paying debts, funeral arrangements, probate activities (court appearances and inventoring), sale of property to pay debts, and upkeep of the remaining estate. Entries dealing with the probate process are excerpted below.⁴

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⁴Only references to the probate process are included. References to funeral charges are reproduced on page 153. References to other estate activities were omitted here.
Francis Randolph, Port Royall Merchant 1685

... accompts relating to her said Decd. husbands estate might be audited & admstrd with John Nicklaes and James Shayfer merchants unto whom upon her on initiation Administration of all Singular the Goods Chattells & Credits of the said Francis had been......

Feb. 17
Judge White for a Retaining fee .................................................. 5 00 00
Cash for his Journeys to Town for Lettrs of Administration .................. 3 00 00
Feb 21
Cash for my _____ at Grand Court ........................................... 2 10 00
Ditto Judge White for Law Charges ........................................... 5 12 2
June 10th
Cash pd Judge White Law charges ............................................. 10 11 2
July 15
To cash pd for two Affidavitts agt Tull & ______ ............................... 00 12 6
Aug 30
Cash for my Attendanse at Grand Coaurt agt Tull ............................ 1 00 00
Septber 7
Cash pd Judge White Law Charges ............................................. 4 6 4
March 30
Cash for a Journey to Town for the C____ to Auditt the Estate .......... 1 2 6
April 10
Cash pd Mr. Egleton for the Lettr of Administration & record[?] ........ 2 6 6
April 12
Our Commission of 864 14 at 5 pcent ........................................ 43 4 9

Another rare occurrence was Elanor Browne’s inventory which specified to whom some of her possessions were willed. This type of information is usually found only in the wills.

Elanor Browne Port Royall 21 Jan 1688/9
A large feather bedd 1 boulster 3 pillows 1 bedstead wth Cords & 2 matts being a Legacy gave Mrs. Turner &
1 Cedar box with Creepers[?] ..................................................... 06 10 00
1 chest of drawers gave Mrs. Hay .............................................. 02 05 00
1 Spanish chest with Creepers gave Mrs Kallaway ......................... 01 05 00
CHAPTER II
DEVELOPMENT AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF PORT ROYAL

History and Economic Development of Port Royal

When the English captured the island of Jamaica from Spain in 1654 under Cromwell’s reign, no one could anticipate the swift growth and "overnight" success of this prize. Although Jamaica was situated at the heart of what was then the Spanish American territories, the Spanish had practically ignored the development of Jamaica while it was in their possession, and had only a small force stationed to defend it.

Fort Charles (originally named Fort Cromwell) was the first of six forts constructed on Jamaica by the English after they gained possession of the island. Kingston Harbor, located on the south coast of the island, was formed naturally by a long sand spit (called the Palisadoes, Cagway, Cagua, or Point Cagway) upon which the town was built. Blome, in his Description of the Island of Jamaica, described the island about twenty years after the English took over:

The Harbour, which is exceeding commodious for shipping, and secured by one of the strongest and most considerable castles that his Majesty hath in all America, in which are mounted about 60 pieces of Ordnance, and is well guarded with souldiers.... The Harbour ... frequented by Men of War, and Merchant ships of any in the island, and as much inhabited by the merchants, store-house-keepers, vintners and ale-house keepers, being the only noted place of trade in the isle... (Blome 1678:14).

People, including many indentured servants, were drawn to Jamaica by the opportunities for employment and trade; mariners, craftsmen, and merchants migrated to Port Royal from England, from Barbados, and even from the colonies in North America. Although few settlers arrived with much capital (Zahedich 1986b:214), they were able to claim land grants Cromwell offered to those English who wished to settle in Jamaica (Wright 1938:4). To bolster the thin British naval fleet stationed in Jamaica, privateers (also called buccaneers) were sanctioned by the throne in return for their participation in the protection of the island, although
no attacks were ever made on Port Royal once the English had control. The privateers thrived on the friction between England, Holland, Spain, and France by attacking and looting enemy ships and sacking Spanish colonies. These activities further enriched the island and attracted more immigrants:

*The Island began to abound in Money, which was brought thither by the Buccaneers.... And the Government of Jamaica, tho' they were far from encouraging such wicked courses, yet winked at them, in consideration of the Treasures they brought thither and squandered away there.*

*(Chalmers 1972:97)*

As Port Royal's inhabitants increased their wealth, they invested in other forms of enterprise: agriculture, slaves, and real estate *(Zahedieh 1986b:221).* This created a new generation of English Jamaicans who contributed to the development of the rest of the island for a more stable economy. The buccaneers' sanctioned reign ended in 1670 when a treaty was signed between Spain and England *(Buisseret 1966:24)*, although some privateering activities (now called pirating) continued through the end of the century. There is no doubt, however, that Jamaica's continued success in legitimate trade and agriculture was based upon that foundation of wealth generated from Spanish plunder and contraband activities *(Zahedieh 1986b:220).* In 1671, Zahedieh notes that there were still only 57 sugar plantations, but by 1685 there were 246 *(1986b:207).* After 1671, dramatic increases also occurred in indigo, cocoa, cotton and logwood exports *(Ibid.)*.

By 1680 Port Royal had become the most economically important English port in the Americas. By 1692 it covered the entire 51 acres of the sandspit and the population had swelled to 6500-7000 inhabitants *(Hamilton 1992:40).*

Port Royal became the English Caribbean center for global trade, and extensive trade networks were established. Hamilton states: "Until 1692, [Port Royal] was Jamaica's only legal port of entry, and its merchants controlled the economic affairs of the island" *(1992:40).*
The success of Port Royal is quite amazing when one considers the living conditions the inhabitants endured, as described by Crow in 1687 and Blome in 1678:

_The constant heat is so consuming night and day that here is a continual summer, without the least footsteps of a winter, ... frost or snow, cold or rain, or any sensible shortness of days. And indeed the place is so little desirable either for company or climate that without some signal marks of God’s blessing on a man’s ministry there seems small encouragement for staying.... (Crow 1687)_

_...its situation is very unpleasant and uncommodious, having neither earth, wood or fresh water ... but only made up of a hot loose sand, and being thus populous. (Blome 1678:14)_

Fever, sicknesses, and insects also made for "uncommodious" living on Port Royal, as well as frequent natural disasters.

On June 7, 1692 at approximately 11:40 a.m., a severe earthquake, followed by several seiche (tidal) waves, hit Port Royal. Two-thirds of the city sank into the harbor. Ships moored in the harbor were reportedly swept away or dragged across and deposited on top of buildings.

An estimated 2,000-3,000 persons lost their lives that morning. During the next few months 2,000-3,000 more died due to injuries sustained during the disaster and to rampant disease.

After the earthquake there was a push by the government to abandon Port Royal and move the center of trade across the harbor to Kingston, which was founded in 1693 (Young 1946:144). Despite the government’s efforts, survivors began rebuilding and trying to revive trade in Port Royal. The city was barely getting on its feet again, however, when a hurricane and a fire in January 1703/4 completely destroyed the town. Again, Port Royal attempted to reestablish itself. The final death blow came from a hurricane in 1722, followed by another in 1744, which overwhelmed the city. Attempts to rebuild the city ceased, although it continued to serve as a naval station, and Kingston became Jamaica’s main port.
city. Nowadays, Port Royal is a quiet fishing village that bears little resemblance to "old" Port Royal. Only parts of Fort Charles and a few walls remain standing of the seventeenth-century town.

Port Royal Archaeology

Port Royal is exceptional in many ways: it is a relatively undisturbed catastrophic site (Hamilton and Woodward, 1984:38), its occupation can be dated closely within a known 37-year time frame, and there is an abundance of contemporary documents to which we can compare and supplement the archaeological data.

Most historic sites only consist of the refuse and abandoned remains of lengthy occupations. When the earthquake hit Port Royal, a unique time capsule was created, much like ancient Pompeii in Italy. Whereas the eruption of Vesuvius buried the thriving city of Pompeii, in Jamaica the quake caused a liquefaction of the unstable sandbar upon which Port Royal was constructed, causing it to sink into the harbor within minutes (Hamilton 1988). Despite salvaging activities after the disaster, much was left untouched because many areas were inaccessible. Many rooms were sealed by fallen walls at that moment in 1692 until recent archaeological excavations revealed their contents, including human remains. Items recovered from this site are often truly in situ, that is, new and in-use items found where they were used as opposed to used or used up items found where they were thrown out, such as at sites that are composed of refuse and abandoned buildings.

Early archaeological excavations were conducted by Edwin Link, who excavated two small areas near the King’s Warehouse and Fort James in 1956 and 1959 (Link 1960). In 1960, Norman Scott excavated in the area of Fort Carlisle. In 1966 and 1968, Robert Marx (1973) excavated remains of the fish and meat markets, at least two taverns, and three ships located along the western edge of the 1692 city. Between 1971 and 1974 Antony Priddy conducted land excavations of a block of lower-class houses, called the New Street Excavation. He recorded thousands of artifacts and architectural features.
In 1978, the Port Royal Project was established in a collaboration with the government of Jamaica, Texas A&M University, and the Institute of Nautical Archaeology in Texas to continue underwater archaeological investigations of Port Royal. Excavations between 1981 and 1990 focused on an area where Lime Street and Queen Street intersect just east of Marx’s excavation. The excavations supply a wealth of physical remains and architectural features that correlate well with the inventories. This thesis primarily draws on the Port Royal Project data.

Despite the thousands of artifacts recovered in all the excavations, there are obvious gaps among certain classes of artifacts. The inventories list countless textiles, such as silk, linen, and Damask, but these rarely survive the centuries. Books, foodstuffs, and clothing are conspicuously missing from the excavation, and intangible items such as debts, funeral expenses, and business transactions will not be found at all.

On the other hand, some common, everyday items found in great numbers in the excavations are noticeably missing from the inventories, apparently considered insignificant by the seventeenth-century inventory takers. For instance, thousands of clay tobacco pipes have been recovered from the site; although there are numerous references in the Bristol Port records to pipes being shipped to Port Royal, they were seldom included in probate because of their slight value. Other items found archaeologically would never be included in the inventories simply because they do not belong to anyone, such as the crystallized cricket found preserved inside a liquor bottle. These omissions demonstrate the shortcomings of using a singular source for any research project attempting to reconstruct a complete record of a place and time.

Geography

Several parishes are mentioned that no longer exist in twentieth-century Jamaica. As with any new country, the island went through many interior boundary changes. The original borders were established according to convenient geographical features — rivers, mountains, etc. Seven parishes were first set up: St.
Catherine, St. John, Port Royal, Clarendon, St. David, St. Andrew and St. Thomas. By 1661 there were fifteen parishes (Jamaican Historical Review 1972:9). As the population grew, political and agricultural districts were established. Borders were moved, some parishes were absorbed, and others were created.

The map of Jamaica as it appeared ca. 1700 (Figure 2) shows the parishes during the period of the inventories being studied. Today, most of the parishes remain the same, with just a few exceptions. The present-day parishes are shown in Figure 3.

Port Royal was one of the original parishes, and after the 1692 earthquake, the city of Kingston was established in its own parish (Young, 1946:149). Both Port Royal and Kingston Parishes are now part of St. Andrew Parish. St. David Parish, originally west of Port Royal Parish, is now part of St. Thomas Parish. St. James Parish has since been divided to create Trelawny Parish, which was not in existence during the seventeenth century. Manchester Parish is also a recent addition, formerly part of St. Elizabeth. Clarendon received Vere; St. Catherine assimilated the parishes of St. John, St. Dorothy, and St. Thomas in the Vale; and St. George Parish became part of Portland Parish.

Several other place names are mentioned in the inventories that should be explained. Port Royal is variously referred to as "Point Cagway," "The Point," or "The Palisadoes." The "Liguanea," which is more often misspelled than not (usually "Liguenee" or "Ligonnee" after its pronunciation), refers to the plain north of Kingston across the harbor from Port Royal, used for pasturing cattle and horses (Carley 1963:30). "The Savannah" is also used to refer to the Liguanea.
Figure 2 Parishes of Jamaica, circa 1700.

Figure 3 Present-day parishes of Jamaica, 1992.
CHAPTER III
PORT ROYAL ARCHITECTURE

The probate inventories offer a unique tour of late seventeenth-century Port Royal houses. By their very nature, a list of the deceased's possessions, the inventories represent a unique and indispensable database of the contents of individual households, shops, and plantations unavailable anywhere else. General conclusions can be drawn regarding the layout of the house from the inventory's presentation, order, and arrangement of the rooms. More extensive room and building reconstructions can be undertaken using documentary sources (such as the wills, plats, and deeds for real estate information) and archaeological excavation data for artifacts and spatial context.

Although the appraiser almost always took the inventory room by room, it is unreliable to infer room divisions from the items alone without an explicit separator. This architectural and room-by-room analysis, therefore, is limited to 29 inventories that are actually listed by room (18 Port Royal inventories and 11 supplemental inventories from surrounding parishes). Appendix B contains a complete listing of the room-by-room inventories, and Appendix C contains a summary of each inventory's rooms listed in the order they were taken.

Why were only 20% of the transcribed inventories listed by room? The number of rooms does not seem to have been a factor. Inventories with as few as two and as many as thirteen rooms were done this way. Estate value may be significant: 93% of those inventories taken by room are valued greater than £100, and 55% are greater than £200. More likely, inconsistencies such as this are due to the inclination of the appraisers.

The inventories of John Ellis (V2F190), taken in 1685, and of his wife Thomasine (V3F323), taken in 1690 (see p. 44) illustrate this methodological irregularity of naming rooms. Both inventories were of the same 13-room household, valued at £210 and £138 respectively, and were taken within only five
years of each other, yet John’s inventory was not taken room by room while his wife’s was.\textsuperscript{5}

It should be noted that some inventories may not represent complete houses, but only a shared portion, such as in a boarding house. George Kerridge’s inventory lists two rooms, one being the \textit{Chamber next Mr. Cornehills}, which reveals other rooms in the same house not personally associated with the deceased. This may explain why Mr. Kerridge’s inventory, among others, does not list a kitchen. Each inventory, therefore, should be treated as a cluster of rooms associated with one person or family, i.e., a household.

\textbf{Houses}

Port Royal was often compared to London by many visitors and residents. In many respects, construction and room use practices were similar to those of London. Architectural data from Port Royal excavations and from other sources, such as eyewitness accounts confirm that Port Royal was built in the image of contemporary London. Three- and four-story brick houses were built on narrow lots, often wall to wall to utilize every square foot of available space in the densely populated city. Although every house was not built of brick, most apparently followed building regulations imposed after the Great Fire of London in 1666, which stipulated that at least the first story be of brick (Woodforde 1978:42).

Port Royal Project excavations recorded five buildings on Lime Street near Queen and High Streets, in the commercial center of the town (Hamilton 1992:41).

\textit{The construction features of the five investigated buildings exemplify the variety of architectural styles found in the center of the town. Some were well-built, multi-storied, brick structures, while others were simple, earth-bound, frame buildings, hastily built with no intention for them to last for any length of time. (Hamilton 1992:44)}

\textsuperscript{5}The inventory takers’ names were available for Thomasine’s inventory only, so it is not known if both inventories were taken by the same men.
The average size of larger rooms excavated by the Port Royal Project measured about 16 to 18 feet across and deep. Smaller rooms were usually half the width.

Ralph Treswell, a surveyor in England, conducted detailed architectural surveys of houses throughout London during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. His surveys include floor plans, room use data, and occupant information.

Treswell identified four basic English urban house types, described briefly in Table 1 (Schofield 1987:11).

---

**Table 1**

**Four House Types Identified by Ralph Treswell**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE 1</th>
<th>1-room ground floor plan, up to 5½ stories; or 2½-story urban cottage known in the 17c in towns such as King’s Lynn, Norwich and Yarmouth.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TYPE 2</td>
<td>2- or 3-room ground floor plan, 3 or more stories. Often had ground floor shop and warehouse, sometimes with the two rooms thrown together to form one, or a tavern.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TYPE 3</td>
<td>Medium sized, 3 to 6 rooms in ground floor plan. Some rural houses had side lobby entrance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TYPE 4</td>
<td>Large house, with courtyard. Set back from street.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

His House Type 2 (2- or 3- room ground floor plan, 3 or more stories) correspond with the configuration of excavated buildings recorded in the Port Royal Project and Priddy’s New Street excavations. The remains of two buildings in particular, Building 1 and Building 5, clearly fall within Treswell’s House Type 2 classification and parallel concurring inventories.

Building 1 was a brick building with three components each. Although each component started out as Treswell Type 1, rooms added at the back follow Treswell’s house Type 2, that is, two rooms on the ground floor, one or more of
which might have been shops, topped by living quarters on one or more floors. Artifact assemblages recovered from Building 1 indicate that a pipe shop, a tavern, and a combination woodturner/cobbler’s shop were present in the rooms fronting Lime Street (Hamilton 1992:44). Evidence of stairs in the front rooms indicates at least one additional level and the lack of doorways between the three divisions suggests that each two-room component was a separate household despite the common foundation.

Building 5 (see Figure 4), located several houses away at the intersection of Lime and Queen Streets, consisted of four rooms and a yard. Artifacts recovered suggest a middle class household, with pewter plates marked with the owners initials (NCI), silver spoons, forks, and porcelain.

![BUILDING 5](image)

*Figure 4 Western component of Building 5 from Port Royal Project excavations. (From original interpretation: Helen Dewolf)*
What kind of architectural data can be derived from the probate inventories? Although the inventories do not give direct descriptions of houses, such as construction or number of rooms, an idea of the layout can be obtained by studying the order and relationships of the rooms. Many inventory takers named rooms by their position in the house, such as Room Over the Hall, The Easternmost Room p[ast] stairs, The Ground Room Fronting the Street, which provide clues in determining floorplans and house types.

Differences from English urban types and room use patterns may be due in part by the opportunities created by the construction and settling of a new city. Port Royal was the perfect occasion to advance new settlement patterns. Builders had the chance to incorporate new housing fashions, and tenants could foster emerging use patterns. Deviations could have been caused by a desire to enjoy the latest trends as well as regional diversities associated with use and environment.

Port Royal houses also exhibited some climatic variations. Most notably, year-round hot weather precluded the need for strategically-placed interior hearths and chimneys to heat rooms. Kitchens were deliberately located at the rear of the house or in a separate building to keep the heat away from the living quarters.

Other variations occurred because of geographical constraints. For instance, the high water table forced cellars to be above ground and incorporated into the main body of the house; wells and privies were often substituted inside by water barrels and close stools (the 17th-century indoor toilet).

The average household had a hall, chambers (bedrooms), storage, and a kitchen; others also had a parlor, buttery, a cellar, an office or study, and a shop. Modern-day room names, such as parlor and study, were just coming into common use. Activity-specific names, such as His Lodging Chamber and The Billiard Room, were more common. Most rooms were generically labeled "chamber" or "room" with a visual or locational descriptive to distinguish one from another. Examples include Balcony Room, Brick Room, Great Room, Ground Room Fronting the Street, Low Room, and Painted Chamber.
Because many activities were often carried out in the same room, for instance entertaining in the bedroom (Percival 1920:17) or sleeping in the parlor, researchers should use caution when assigning specific activities to rooms. Room use in the seventeenth century also was changing with the new social status structure and fashions of the Restoration, which is especially valid in Port Royal, where traditional social patterns and lifestyles were skewed and in a constant state of reformation due to swift economic development and the new environment.

The appraiser generally began at the front of the house, listed all items in a room, and then moved on to the next room. This pattern can be observed in many of the Port Royal inventories such as Thomasine Ellis’ (V3F323). Her inventory starts in the ground room fronting the street (the tavern room), moves to a passage and the cellar, presumably located under the stairs, and then on to the second, third and fourth ground rooms. Next was the kitchen, a storage room and the billiard room, followed by the yard, which would place the former three rooms at the rear of the house. The inventory taker then went upstairs, recording the contents of the west most room 1 p stairs, easternmost room 1 p stairs, westermost garrett and the easternmost garrett, all of which appear to have been bedrooms.

Some inventories deviate from this pattern, however. For instance, the inventory takers started in the garret of John Ireland’s house, which was apparently his bedroom and office:

*In the Garrett: A bed bedsted and bolsters, A pcoll of old bookes, a Sadle and furniture old, 2 Cases with bottles, A large Chest and Deske, 4 li 5 brass tray weights with beame and scales, 7½ brass weights Haverde pois with beame and scales and 6 li lead. (V3F375, St. Elizabeth Parish)*

Deviation also occurred when items were omitted from the initial inventory, either deliberately or accidentally, and later appended under an About the House heading, in a postscript, or even in a codicil filed separately. Several of these codicil inventories were noted during transcription. They often contain forgotten debts or personal property located elsewhere.
The following discussion of rooms is ordered according to the most common progression of rooms found in the inventories: Hall, Parlor, Dining Room, Chamber (bedroom), Kitchen, Buttery, Cellar, Stairs and Passage, Garret, and Public Rooms. References to floors (levels) follow the English manner: ground floor, first floor, second floor, etc.

Hall

The medieval hall was the center of daily life, and was used as a general purpose room. The seventeenth-century hall still functioned as a center for family activities, entertaining and dining, but as early as the late sixteenth century the hall began devolving into a vestibule leading to the main staircase, as the parlor became the center of the household (Schofield 1987:18).

Seventeenth-century halls in Port Royal homes still served as centers of household activity, but parlors were becoming fashionable. Halls and parlors had common furnishings, but no sleeping activities were noted in halls, and halls were more likely to contain stored foodstuffs or items associated with eating.

Treswell determined that London halls were commonly located on the first floor (above the ground floor) in the front of the house overlooking the street, although positions at the rear of the house on the ground floor were not unheard of (Schofield 1987:30). The first floor arrangement is especially understandable because shops and warehouses needed to be accessible to customers, and often took up the entire ground floor.

Sixteen inventories list halls; many others list rooms generically called chambers that could be interpreted as halls by their contents. Their position in the house often is not discernable, except in specific cases that list the room in relation to others. Generally, Port Royal halls seem to have been located in the front of the building, although it is questionable whether they follow to the same extent Treswell’s first floor London pattern. Cummings observed that seventeenth-century New England houses also did not follow the London pattern; the ground-floor rooms were referred to as the parlor or best room and the hall and the rooms on the
next level were called the parlor chamber and hall chamber (1964:xiv).
Cummings' sample was of rural households, which would not have had shops, but the trend of using chamber for upstairs rooms is observed in the Port Royal inventories.

If the inventory taker usually started on the ground floor, then the high incidence (50%) of halls designated as one of the first two or three rooms of the inventory indicates that Port Royal halls were frequently located on the ground floor, even when a shop was present. Port Royal cordwainer John Worthenton's inventory (V10F240) lists six rooms apparently taken in a natural progression from the front ground room: Shop, Inword Room [hall], cookerume, chamber, Letel Chamber, and Uper Rume [chamber]. This suggests that the hall, deduced from the contents of the inword room, was located on the ground floor behind his shop.

The hall is the first room in Captain Andrew Knight's inventory (V2F81), followed by the back room, which implies the hall was also on the ground floor, but in the front. Jobe Newberry's hall (V3F335) almost definitely was located on the ground floor; it, too, was the first room inventoried, listed as Hall below stairs followed by First room above stairs which was apparently another hall. George Butler's inventory (V3F272, St. Andrews Parish) indicates a room over the hall, also suggesting his hall was on the ground floor, although it is possible the hall was on the first floor and the other room was on the second.

There are some instances where both the hall and parlor can be interpreted as being on the first floor. Port Royal merchant Daniel Hickes (V3F249b) apparently had a shop in his house, the contents of which are listed separately at the end of the inventory, but with no heading. His inventory takers started with the parlor, dining room and a hall-like room, then moved on to the roome over the dineining room, attic room adjoining to the room above room and the garrett. This room progression would suggest the shop on the ground floor; parlor, dining room and hall on the first; and three bedrooms on the second, including the garret and attic.
The average Port Royal hall contained tables, chairs, carpets, a clock, mirrors, and paintings. Other common items found in hall listings were water jars, pistols, a "scripторe" (writing desk), and chests. It was not uncommon for there to be as many as twenty chairs and two or three tables in the room. The chairs were not necessarily a matched set, either, attested by the contents of Robert Howard's hall:

*two tables 4 stoole 1 forme; 5 small leather chaires 2 Bermuda chaires 1 elbow chaire; 1 glass case & 2 pictures; 4 gunns and some earthenware (V3F317)*

It was customary to line all the furniture along the walls. Tables and chairs were then pulled out into the middle of the room for use. Tables were popularly tilt-top or gate-leg, which folded up for maximum space economy while not in use.

Because the hall was a general purpose room, it commonly contained a variety of items. Major William Moore's inventory gives one of two occurrences of water in a Port Royal hall, associated with eating and drinking activities.

*Nine Gunns 7 catuse boxes & flasque; five swords & 6 belts; 3 pr pistolls; old saddle and pistolls; old Turkey worke chaires 6 leather and 3 other chaires; Two tables; Two pictures and looking glass; Water cistourne & basin (V3F257)*

**Parlor**

The seventeenth-century parlor evolved from the hall, and was considered the "best" room: it contained the best furniture, and important company was often entertained there (Cummings 1964:xv). Gloag suggests the parlor was more like a private living room compared to the hall (1951:349).

Treswell found that London parlors were commonly located within the interior of the house adjacent to the hall, and often overlooked the garden or yard (Schofield 1987:18). Four of the six inventories that contained both a hall and parlor did indeed list them adjacent to one another, and the other two occurrences
were only one room apart.\(^6\) As was the case with the Port Royal halls, parlors often are close to the beginning of the inventories, suggesting they, too, were often located on the ground floor.

Six inventories list a parlor by name, and numerous others contained rooms that could be interpreted as parlors from their contents. In Port Royal the parlor was used for both sitting (entertaining) and sleeping. These rooms were furnished with chairs, tables, mirrors, and often a bed of some type. Four of the six parlors contained a bed: two had nice bedsteads, and the other two contained cots. Port Royal butcher Robert Howard's inventory (V3F317) lists a parlor and a hall. His parlor contained:

\[
\text{1 bed & bedstead 1 boulster 2 pillows 1 suite of white curtaine}
\text{es with vallains & a callico quilt; 1 chest of drawers and 2 glasses; 1 small folding table and 6 leather chaires; 1 glass case & stand & 8 picktures (V3F317)}
\]

Several press beds (folding beds often used in parlors) are also listed in rooms that could be interpreted as parlors. These pieces of furniture often looked like a chest of drawers when folded.

**Dining Room**

Many rooms originally identified by Treswell in the late 1500s as halls twenty years later were being called dining chambers (Schofield 1987:19), demonstrating the specialization of an activity-specific room. By the second half of the seventeenth century, a dining room, in the modern sense, was becoming widespread (Thornton 1978:282).

It also was normal for the household to have more than one room equipped for dining, and the occasion determined which room was used. Even in a house

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\(^6\)The four inventories with adjacent halls and parlors were not located in Port Royal. The Port Royal halls and parlors were closely associated (within one room of each other), however.
THE PROBATE INVENTORIES OF PORT ROYAL, JAMAICA

A Thesis
by
DIANA VIDA THORNTON

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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ABSTRACT

The Probate Inventories of Port Royal, Jamaica. (December 1992)

Diana Vida Thornton, B.A., University of Pittsburgh

Chair of Advisory Committee: Dr. D.L. Hamilton

Through archaeology, significant details of past cultures can be recovered. However, lack of preservation, salvaging, and intangible items create gaps in the archaeological data and restrict the scope of study.

Any analytical focus in historical archaeology should, therefore, include supplemental sources such as documentary evidence, oral history, and pictorial evidence. This approach allows the historical archaeologist to examine a site on a much deeper level and from different perspectives. The documentary evidence associated with a site provides information unattainable from the archaeological record—names, dates, possessions, rooms, houses, events, financial and social links—in short, the history behind the artifacts. It would be foolish not to take full advantage of this resource. Historical archaeology, then, is the study of all remains, not just those that come from the ground, and the intertwining of archaeological data with the relevant written record.

Through the analysis of the probate inventories, this thesis augments our knowledge and understanding of the material culture and social history of seventeenth-century Port Royal. It also demonstrates the importance of a multifaceted approach to archaeology beyond the material environment. Secondarily, it acts as a guide to the content and worth of the Jamaica probate inventories for future studies and correlation with the archaeological data.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## CHAPTER

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I</th>
<th>INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY AND METHODOLOGY</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Analysis of a Historical Site</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Jamaica Archives and Island Record Office</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thesis Data Set</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Editorial Methods</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Probate Inventory</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Anatomy of a Seventeenth-Century Jamaican Probate Inventory</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>II</th>
<th>DEVELOPMENT AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF PORT ROYAL</th>
<th>15</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>History and Economic Development of Port Royal</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Port Royal Archaeology</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Geography</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>III</th>
<th>PORT ROYAL ARCHITECTURE</th>
<th>22</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Houses</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hall</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parlor</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dining Room</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bedroom or Chamber</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kitchen or Cookroom</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Buttery</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cellar</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stairs</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Garret, Cock Loft, and Attic</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Public Rooms</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| IV | THE TAVERN OF JOHN AND THOMASINE ELLIS   | 41 |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V</th>
<th>OCCUPATIONS</th>
<th>47</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Merchants</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mariners and Captains</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ARTISANS AND TRADESMEN</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TANNERS</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BLACKSMITHS</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>GUNSMITHS</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>GOLDSMITHS</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PEWTEREAS</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>COOPERS</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MEDICAL PRACTITIONERS</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>LEISURE</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MUSIC</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>GAMES</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DRINKING</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SMOKING</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SNUFF</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>THE COFFEE HOUSE</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WRITING AND READING</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BOOKS</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>EATING</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FOODSTUFFS</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>UTENSILS AND VESSELS</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>KNIVES, FORKS, AND SPOONS</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CERAMICS</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PEWTER</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SILVER/PLATE</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>GLASS</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>FURNITURE</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FORMS, BENCHES, SETTLES</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>COUCHES</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CHAIRS</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TRUNKS AND CHESTS</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CHESTS OF DRAWERS</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PRESSES</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td>Page</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beds</td>
<td>116</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tables</td>
<td>119</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mirrors</td>
<td>120</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Close Stools</td>
<td>121</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IX TEXTILES</th>
<th>122</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cloth</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linens</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men’s Fashion</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s Fashions</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children’s Apparel</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>X SHIPS</th>
<th>139</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>XI SUNDRY ITEMS</th>
<th>144</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cash</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Debts</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valuables</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewelry</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buttons</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funeral Expenses</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timepieces</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lighting</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pictures</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soap</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scales &amp; Weights</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locks</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weapons</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slaves &amp; Servants</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specialty Items</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coconuts and Calabashes</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turtle Shell</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bélls</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fans</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windows</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII FUTURE STUDIES</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIII CONCLUSION</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDEX</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFERENCES CITED</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDICES</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX A INVENTORIES USED FOR DATASET</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX B INVENTORIES TAKEN BY ROOM</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX C SUMMARY OF ROOMS IN INVENTORIES</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX D INVENTORIES SHOWING OCCUPATION</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX E UNITS OF MEASURE</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX F SHIPS OWNED IN THE INVENTORIES</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX G GLOSSARY</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX H LETTERS OF PERMISSION</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VITA</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Table 1</td>
<td>Four House Types Identified by Ralph Treswell</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 2</td>
<td>Comparison of the Possessions of John &amp; Thomasine Ellis</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 3</td>
<td>Designated Occupations in Inventories</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 4</td>
<td>Late Seventeenth-Century Furniture</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 5</td>
<td>Brief List of Textiles in Inventories</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 6</td>
<td>Summary of Merchants' Stock of Ready-Made Clothing</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 7</td>
<td>Ships Listed in Inventories</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 8</td>
<td>Ship Recurrence Throughout Inventories</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 9</td>
<td>Inventories Listing Debts Owed To Deceased</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Figure 1</td>
<td>Anatomy of a seventeenth-century Jamaican probate inventory.</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 2</td>
<td>Parishes of Jamaica, circa 1700.</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 3</td>
<td>Present-day parishes of Jamaica, 1992.</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 4</td>
<td>Western component of Building 5 from Port Royal Project excavations. (From original interpretation: Helen Dewolf)</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 5</td>
<td>Seventeenth-century bedroom. (Yarwood ND:Plate 209)</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 6</td>
<td>Estate values by occupation.</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 7</td>
<td>Pedlar. (Cries of London, 1711)</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 8</td>
<td>Iron &quot;lastings&quot; pincers for pulling and hammering nails in the production of shoes (cobbling). PR89 794-9. Drawing: Helen Dewolf.</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 9</td>
<td>Two Smiths at work ca. 1661.</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 10</td>
<td>Simon Benning's touch mark.</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 11</td>
<td>Engraving showing the duties of seventeenth-century apothecaries and surgeons. (Mattheaus Merian, c. 1646, Wellcome Library).</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 12</td>
<td>Frontispiece of the 1709 edition of The Compleat Gamester (Cotton).</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 13</td>
<td>Billiards in 1610 (Lassiter 1964:16)</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 14</td>
<td>The alehouse. (Pepys' Penny Merriments)</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 15</td>
<td>Pewter pounce shaker. PR89 678-8 Drawing: Helen Dewolf.</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 16  Iron bookbinder stamp (missing wooden handle). PR87 584-5
Drawing: Helen Dewolf. ............................... 83

Figure 17  Spoons and forks from Port Royal Project excavation: a. "William
& Mary" pewter spoon. b. Silver spoon. c. Silver fork. d. Bone-
handled fork. Drawings: Helen Dewolf. .................. 94

Figure 18  Stoneware jug. PR90 948-5. Drawing: Helen Dewolf. .......... 96

Figure 19  Slipware sugar bowl. PR90 948-5. Drawing: Helen Dewolf. ...... 97

Figure 20  Chinese blanc de chine porcelain cup (with applique design) PR87

Figure 21  Salt cellar. PR89 606-5. Drawing: Helen Dewolf. ................. 101

Figure 22  Pewter tankard body and hinged lid. Pr82. Drawing: Margaret
Leshikar .................................................. 102

Figure 23  Pewter plates. Top: Narrow rim (Benning) Bottom: Deep dish.
Drawings: Helen Dewolf. ............................... 103

Figure 24  Glass "onion" bottles from the Port Royal Project excavation.
Drawings: a. Helen Dewolf b. Elizabeth Mitchell ................ 105

Figure 25  Three examples of glass stemware recovered from the Port Royal
Project excavation. Drawings: KM Gardner .................. 107

Figure 26  Bone curtain ring. Drawing: Helen Dewolf. .......................... 117

Figure 27  Shopping in London. (Ewing 1984:15) ............................. 126

Figure 28  Stuart period fashions (1689-1714). (Yarwood ND:169) .......... 128

Figure 29  Charles II (1684) with black periwig and lace-edged cravat.
(Yarwood ND:166) ........................................ 131

Figure 30  The Squire of Alsatia, 1688. M. Laroon II. Engraving from Cries
of London. ............................................. 132
Figure 31  Fashionable seventeenth-century shoe and boot, ca. 1660-70. (Yarwood ND:166) ................................................. 134

Figure 32  Brass buckles from Port Royal Project excavations. Drawing: Helen Dewolf. ..................................................... 134

Figure 33  Leather shoe sole and heel. PR87 405-7. Drawing: Helen Dewolf. ................................................................. 135

Figure 34  Kid glove with embroidered gauntlet. (Yarwood ND:173) ................................................................. 136

Figure 35  Fashionable women's attire ca 1690-1694. (Yarwood ND:169) ... 137

Figure 36  Percentage of debts (owed to deceased). ........................................................................................................... 147

Figure 37  Shop interior of 1680s, with chapman, customer and debt book. Illustration to old ballad A caution for scolds (c. 1685). 148

Figure 38  Funerary procession. (Pepys' Penny Merriments, 1678) ............... 152

Figure 39  Candlesticks recovered from Port Royal Project excavations. Left: Pewter candlestick with wax catching insert. Right: Brass candlestick. Drawings: Helen Dewolf. ........................................... 157

Figure 40  Hanging copper 3-wick oil lamp. PR89 6810-11. (Drawing: Helen Dewolf) ............................................................ 158

Figure 41  Cast iron and lead-filled "pail" weight from Port Royal Project excavations. Diameter: (top) 8.9 cm, (base) 11.43 cm. Drawing: Helen Dewolf. ................................................................. 161

Figure 42  Locks from Port Royal Project excavations. Top: Heart-shaped lock (3 views), front plate. Bottom: Barrel lock. Drawings: Helen Dewolf. ................................................................. 164

Figure 43  Iron key from the Port Royal Project. Drawing: Helen Dewolf. ... 165

Figure 44  Calabash dipper. PR90 908-9. Drawing: Helen Dewolf. ............ 172
Figure 45  Ivory(?) comb from the Port Royal Project. Drawing: Helen Dewolf. .................................................. 174

Figure 46  Brass hawks bell recovered from Port Royal Project excavation. (Shown approximately life size, 1.25" diameter) Drawing: Elizabeth Mitchell. .................................................. 175

Figure 47  Window casing and lead came from Port Royal Project excavations. Drawing: Port Royal Project. ......................... 176
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY AND METHODOLOGY

Through archaeology, significant details of past cultures can be recovered. However, lack of preservation, salvaging, and intangible items create gaps in the archaeological data set and restrict the scope of study.

Any comprehensive analytical focus in historical archaeology always includes supplemental sources such as documentary evidence, oral history, and pictorial evidence. This approach allows the historical archaeologist to examine a site on a much deeper level and from different perspectives than if a single source were used alone. The documentary evidence associated with a site provides information unattainable from the archaeological record — names, dates, possessions, rooms, houses, events, financial and social links — in short, the history behind the artifacts. It would be negligent not to take full advantage of this resource. Archaeology, after all, is the study of all remains, not just those that come from the ground. Documentary evidence is just as much an artifact as a pewter plate — both are a result of human behavior.

Through the analysis of the probate inventories, this thesis will augment our knowledge and understanding of the material culture and social history of seventeenth-century Port Royal. It also will demonstrate the importance of a multi-faceted approach to archaeology beyond the material environment. Secondarily, it will act as a guide to the content and worth of the Jamaica probate inventories for future studies and correlation with the archaeological data.

Analysis of a Historical Site

There are many different aspects of a historical site — artifacts, documents and maps, architectural features, and oral histories. Each represents a piece of an

This manuscript conforms in style and format to American Antiquity.
elaborate puzzle that requires a comprehensive integration to reconstruct the material and cultural history of the inhabitants.

Comparisons at any level give greater reliability and an even better picture of the people, place and time than do single-source analyses. For instance, comparing two separate inventories of the same household shows the change or lack of change of a household through time, and confirms the accuracy of the inventories. Other possible combinations for comparison include merchant records and shipping lists, customs records and deeds, plats and maps. This comparative approach acts as an external check for inherent errors such as omission and bias. No data-gathering technique is perfect, so the more checks one utilizes, the more reliable one’s conclusions will be.

The wealth of documentary evidence available in Jamaica is valid not only for Jamaican studies, but for contemporary seventeenth-century English sites in England and especially the English colonies. Boston, Massachusetts, in particular, offers an opportunity for comparison since contemporary Boston was similar to Port Royal economically and culturally, and both sustained a population of approximately 6,000 persons (Henretta 1965; Holbrook 1980:viii).

The Jamaica Archives and Island Record Office

Historical records for Jamaica are distributed between the Jamaica Archives and the Island Record Office (IRO), located in Spanish Town, Jamaica. Both offices are open to the public for research. Records begin with the English occupation of Jamaica in 1655; Spanish records from the period prior to 1655 did not survive. The probate inventories housed in the Spanish Town archives are actually transcriptions themselves, done during the late 1880s in an effort to preserve the public records. In 1879 the "Records Law" provided for the conservation of the island’s official records. This legislation is cited in the affidavit at the end of Volume 3 of the probate inventories:
I Edward Bancroft Lynch Deputy Keeper of the Records of the Island of Jamaica, do swear to the best of my knowledge and belief this volume was in the Record Office at the time of the passing of Law 6 of 1879, and is valid and authentic original register book or transcript of a register book and has always been regarded and, when occasion has arisen, treated as containing authentic and genuine records. So help me God. Sworn before me at Spanish Town this 14th day of October 1888.

Apparently the originals were destroyed once the volumes were transcribed. A reference to the original 55 manuscripts can be found in an affidavit in the "Index to Inventories," which was created in 1839 before the inventories themselves were copied:

I William Strudurck Townshend, a Clerk employed in the Secretary’s Office do Swear that I have carefully indexed the foregoing Book No. 1 and 2 of Inventories, comprising 55 books in number, and that I have received from Walter George Stewart Esquire the Sum of One Hundred and Sixty five pounds for indexing the same being at the rate of Three pounds for each Book. Sworn before me this 6th day of Dec. 1839 — [signed] Moherty

This index was found to be incomplete, however, when Texas A&M students re-indexed the inventories directly from the inventory volumes themselves.

The archives also houses plats and tax records. The volumes are well cared-for, many are microfilmed, and the facilities are air-conditioned, comfortable, and quiet. Some of the documents are in excellent condition; some have been repaired; others are so fragile that they are not available for examination until they are reconditioned.

Deeds, wills, marriage licenses, and other vital statistics are processed and stored in the Island Record Office. The great document vault is packed to the ceiling with tomes. Unfortunately, certain volumes of wills in the Grantors Old Series, which covers the seventeenth century, are missing. These were reportedly lost when Admiral Knowles moved the capital from Spanish Town to Kingston in
1755. All the official records were loaded onto thirty wagons and transported to Kingston only to be returned to Spanish Town three years later (Black 1968:5). On one of the journeys a wagon overturned, spilling some of the books into a swamp.

**Thesis Data Set**

Data used in this thesis are taken from the Jamaica Probate Inventories Volume 2 (1679-1686), Volume 3 (1686-1694) and Volume 10 (1712-1716). Most of the inventories are from Volume 3 because it spans the years just before and after the 1692 earthquake — the termination point of the Port Royal Project excavation area. Secondly, Volume 3 is the most legible and complete of all the volumes, and, therefore, presents a more reliable data set. Thirdly, due to the magnitude of the task of transcription and analysis, I limited the number of inventories in the sample in order to maintain this project’s feasibility.

Although the volumes include inventories from all over the island, this thesis’ data set focuses mostly on those of Port Royal. A few additional inventories from outlying parishes are included if their contents are helpful to the study, such as those listed by room. A total of 160 inventories are used in this thesis. Appendix A contains the complete list.

The inventories were transcribed by Marianne Franklin, Diana Thornton, D.L. Hamilton, Helen Dewolf, and other students in the Texas A&M University Nautical Archaeology Program for the Port Royal Project (Dr. D.L. Hamilton, Director).

For identification purposes, each inventory has a source code consisting of its Jamaican Archives volume and folio numbers. For instance, the source code V3F240 refers to Volume 3, Folio 240 of the 1888 transcribed series.

---

1Transcribed 1888 volume numbers located in the Jamaica Archives, Spanish Town, Jamaica.
Editorial Methods

The following editorial methods were observed during transcription:

The standard initial heading was generally omitted, as was the note of grant of probate (see "Anatomy of a Seventeenth-Century Jamaican Probate Inventory" below). Abbreviations and contractions of "the" (ye) and "that" (yt) were written out in full; otherwise, original spellings were retained, including various spellings of parcel (pcel, pcell, etc.) which is used frequently to group items together into one entry (e.g., a pcell of tools). Marginal terms of delineation "Item," "Imprimis" and "To" were omitted. Superscript abbreviations "li," "s," and "d" for pound, shilling and pence were lowered to the base line, as well as superscript letters of abbreviated words. Other abbreviations used in the original text include "do" for ditto, "pr" for pair, and "&c" for et cetera. Editorial comments and information from other sources were enclosed in square brackets ([ ] ) to denote non-original elements. Illegible words are given as dashes (- - - -). Uncertain words are followed by an editorial question mark (?). Editorial [sic] was not used for the numerous spelling variations.

Excerpts were summarized and reformatted for space considerations, and are identified by the source code in parentheses.

Monetary values are listed on the right hand side preceded by a dot leader as in the original inventories, but for clarity and consistency, original slashes or other separator marks were replaced by a space. For example, 22 09 04 would represent 22 pounds (abbreviated li or £), 9 shillings (s), and 4 pence (d). There are 20 shillings to a pound and 12 pence to a shilling. Subtotals, "Carried Over/Forward" and "Brought Over/Forward" were omitted.

---

2This monetary system continued until the 1970s when the shilling was abandoned and the decimal system adopted (100 pence to a pound).
In the Cock loft: 2 old bedsteads; 1 large chest; 1 gunn and the smiths (V3F397)

This cock loft, located in Vere Parish, apparently was used to store the two old bedsteads and other items, and not as a sleeping chamber, since no bedclothes or mattresses (beds) were listed with the bedsteads.

The items in the Port Royal attic also may have been stored. The sequence and incompleteness of the bed listing suggest that the bed was disassembled. There was also a garret in this house.

In the Attic: 2 beds one boulster 2 pillows 1 pr of sad colour curtins and vallins, 1 bedstedd, 1 square table 3 caine chaires 2 small Haire trunks one looking glass (V3F249b)

Public Rooms

Rooms with a large number of tables and assorted chairs suggest that the owner operated a tavern or coffee house. The assemblage might also include smoking pipes, drinking vessels, serving dishes, and gaming paraphernalia. Additionally, an absence of personal articles such as weapons, jewelry, clothing, and writing desks would distinguish the room from a hall or parlor, which were often otherwise similarly furnished. The following three inventories are from known proprietors. The first one is from the inventory of Thomasine Ellis, who ran a tavern with her husband John (see page 41 for more about the Ellis tavern).

In the Ground Roome, Fronting to the Street: Two Old Tables Eleven Joynt Stooles, An Old sett of Tables & Men [chess or backgammon &c.], Seaven Old Leather Chaires one Old Elbow Chaire, Two Water Jarrs (V3F323 Thomasine Ellis [John])

In the 2 Rooms Below Stairres: 4 old tables, 6 old chairs, 6 old Cane chairs, A cott a couch & a earthen Jarre Wth a frame all old (V3F217 Charles Cresso, Vintner)

In the Coffee house: One large & 2 small tables 1 forme & 3 chaires all old (V3F600)
A notable feature of these three inventories is that most of the furniture is described as "old." This may be explained by the excessive use such furniture would get, or possibly an inclination to use second-hand furniture in a drinking establishment.
CHAPTER IV
THE TAVERN OF JOHN AND THOMASINE ELLIS

Comparing inventories from the same household can reveal continuity over the years as well as provide a more complete picture of the household than a single inventory can give. John and Thomasine Ellis died about five years apart and their inventories complement each other nicely.

John Ellis acquired a plot of land on Queen Street in 1672 (Pawson & Buisseret 1975:map 9, site 26). The 1685 probate of his estate gives a general picture of a small inn and tavern with rooms for overnight guests. However, because the inventory was not indexed by room, it is difficult to determine the full extent of the establishment.

John's will tells us that he left his Queen Street tavern property to his wife Thomasine. Although the term "tavern" was used in either inventory nor in John's will, the concept of income generated by the property is portrayed in John's will:

...and after her [Thomasine's] decease I give desire and bequeath all the income of the said last menconed parcell of land and premises [on Queen Street] to my said three children....

In 1690 his widow, Thomasine, died. Her inventory, taken room by room, provides a clearer picture of Ellis' tavern. She apparently continued the business after her husband's death, although to a lesser degree. This is suggested by eleven fewer chairs, one less bed, and only one old decrepit negroe woman instead of two old negro women and one indian girl when John was alive (see Table 2). John's will tells us that one of the old negro women, "Old Black Bess," was given to his daughter Elizabeth, and the indian girl, Hanorah, was given to his granddaughter Tomasin (Elizabeth's child).

Thomasine's inventory of the Queen Street property delineates 13 rooms and a yard. The main building had four ground rooms. The first, "Fronting to the Street," was a public dining, drinking and socializing hall with 2 tables, 19 chairs, a backgammon/chess set, and 2 water jars. The second ground room evidently was
Thomasine’s bed chamber with her personal possessions. The third was another bed chamber; and a fourth, in the back, was storage for "lumber," i.e. old furniture and junk. Alcohol was listed in the Passage and the Cellar, apparently under the stairs.

The four rooms on the next level were apparently lodging rooms. The garrets probably fronted the street with a gabled roof. All four rooms were modestly furnished as sleeping chambers and contained no personal possessions. A close stool (commode), listed in the Wstmost roome 1 p stairs, possibly was used by all guests upstairs; there may have been a privy out back for the downstairs patrons. Usually, only men stayed in taverns and two or more strangers would sleep in the same bed, so privacy for sleeping and using the commode was not an issue.

Behind the main building was a yard, the cookroom, the billiard room, and The Back Room on the Left Hand for storage.

A comparison of the two inventories reveals that the household did not change much in the five years since John’s death and that Thomasine continued the business. Although her inventory total was £72 less, she still stocked a large amount of rum (60 gal.) and wine (21 gal.). She had the same amount of gold and only a moderate reduction in the silver (see Table 2).

Comparison of the values of individual items was not very productive in this case because the inventory takers for the two inventories did not follow the same method. Only four items were distinct enough in the two inventories to make a comparison: the gold and silver were both valued the same per ounce; the billiard table frame was appraised the same, and the chess/backgammon set was appraised slightly higher in Thomasine’s inventory. Nevertheless, these two inventories provide an opportunity to observe the subjectivity and consistency (or lack thereof) of methods and appraisals in the inventories.
Table 2

Comparison of the Possessions of John & Thomasine Ellis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>At the time of death of:</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>John</td>
<td>Thomasine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plate</td>
<td>183 oz</td>
<td>138 oz</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gold</td>
<td>2.75 oz</td>
<td>2/18 pennywt [approx. 2.75 oz]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chairs</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>joint stools</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leather</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cane</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tables</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>billiard table</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chess/backgammon set</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beds</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flock</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Inventory</td>
<td>£210</td>
<td>£138</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: John’s inventory lists four old bedsteads, presumably stored. Thomasine’s also lists in the fourth ground room “bedsteads and lumber” which may have been the same four old bedsteads.
V2F190 John Ellis [1685]

A parcel of plate of 183 ozes at 5s per z ........................................... 45 15 00
Cash ........................................................................................................ 10 00 00
ditto of gold of 2 ¼ ozes at 4 li p z .................................................. 11 00 00
a pcell old pewter at ................................................................. 04 10 00
2 brass skellets old, 10 candlesticks brass,
   2 pestalls and morters, a chafeing dish ladle and skimmer .............. 03 07 06
a pcell of cookeroom furniture ......................................................... 02 10 00
6 feather beds and a flock bed with bolstrs & pillows ......................... 22 00 00
19 rushia leather chairs at 5s pr,
   4 calico skid 3s each and 5 cane chairs at 1s p chair .................... 07 02 00
pipes of Rslimation 5 gl at 18d p gl ................................................ 00 07 06
50 li casteele soape at 7.5s p ....................................................... 01 11 03
pr old tables [backgammon/chess set] ................................................ 00 07 06
18 old joynt stoolees at 15d each, 1 billiard table frame ................... 03 02 06
a suite of clothes a pcell of old gunon ............................................. 01 10 00
4 empty pipes, 3 water caske old .................................................... 01 00 00
1 gunn 1 sword 1 case knives ......................................................... 00 19 00
4 old bedsteads ........................................................................... 00 16 00
4 pair holland sheets at 13s10 p other p sheets at 9s all old .............. 07 02 00
1 old damaske table cloth 1 doz d napkins ....................................... 01 00 00
5 tables at 8s pp & 1 cott 5s ......................................................... 02 05 00
15 doz bottles ................................................................................. 00 09 4½
2 _____ & 2 chests ........................................................................... 01 10 00
52 gallons brandy at 4s p gallon .................................................... 10 10 00
1½ pipe wine .................................................................................. 20 00 00
30 li of candles ............................................................................... 00 15 00
2½ doz bad clarrett ......................................................................... 00 10 00
1 doz flint glasses ............................................................................ 00 07 06
money out in bills and bonds
   the greatest part of long standing and very bad valuable at ............. 10 00 00
two old negro women and 1 indian girle ........................................... 36 00 00
a turtle shell combe ......................................................................... 00 07 06
a pcell of lumber ............................................................................ 02 00 00

[211 16 7½]

[This inventory is incomplete due to being cut off during microfilming, but only 1
or 2 entries were likely lost.]
V3F323 Thomasine Ellis Port Royall Widdow [1690]
...shewn by John Ellis [her son] & William Collins.

-In the Ground Roome-
-Fronting to the Street-
Two Old Tables Eleaven Joynt Stooles ............ 00 15 00
An Old sett of Tables & Men [backgammon/chess] .... 00 12 00
Seaven Old Leather Chaires one Old Elbow Chaire ... 01 05 00
Two Water Jarrs .................................. 00 07 06

-In the Passage & Cellar
Three Low Leather Chaires 1 Broken Cane Chaire
   One Wooden Chaire ................................ 00 06 00
A Glass Lanthorn a horn Lanthorn & a Lamp ....... 00 07 06
Sixty Gallons rum at 1s6d ......................... 04 00 00
One & Twenty Gallons Wine ......................... 01 17 06
A Pcell Lumber .................................... 00 05 00

-In the 2d Ground Roome
A bedstead a bed bolster & pillows & old wtt Callico furniture .... 05 00 00
A haire Trunk 2 Span Chests two small Leather Trunkes
   & Table & Looking glass ......................... 01 15 00
A pcell old Linnin ................................ 02 10 00
An old gunn & a parcell of Lumber ................. 00 15 00

-In the 3d Ground Roome
An Old bedstead flock bed sheets & coverlid ....... 00 15 00
A Table & Forme .................................. 00 06 00
A pcell Old books ................................ 00 02 06

-In the fourth Ground Roome
Two bedsteads and Lumber .......................... 01 00 00

-In the Cookroome
Ironware and a pcell Lumber ...................... 01 10 00

-In the back room on the Left hand
A Signe Iron and a parcell of lumber .............. 04 00 00

-In the Billiard Room
An Old Billiard Table & Frame without Cloath & Lumber ........ 02 00 00

-In the Yard
A pcell of Lumber ................................ 01 00 00
-In the Wrmst roome 1 p Stairs
A bedstead bed bolster pillows Sheets Quilt & Callico furniture .......... 07 00 00
Three Cane Chairs & one Close Stoale ...................................... 00 18 00

-In the Etrmst roome 1 p stairs
A bedstead bed boulster pillows & blanckett .............................. 05 00 00
Seaven chairs a Table & a joynt Stoole ...................................... 00 12 00

-In the Etrmst Garrett
A bedstead sheets a rug & 4 Chairs ........................................... 01 00 00

-In the Wrmst Garrett
a bed bolster 2 pillows Sheets and an Old Looking Glass ............... 02 10 00

-About the House
fifty pound 20 old Brass One Hundred &
20 P wtt old pewter at 7½ d .................................................. 05 06 03
Fifty pound wtt old Lead at 1d ................................................. 00 04 02
One hundred & thirty right ounces of Silver at 5d ....................... 34 10 00
Two ounces eighteen pennywtt of Gold at at 4£ .......................... 11 12 00
An Old Decripid Negroe woman ................................................. 09 00 00

108 01 05

Debts Hopeful Doubtful and Desperate uncertaine to be given .......... 30 00 00
an Accctt of when recvd

138 01 05

26th day of March 1690
Solomon Carter
Edward Haynes
CHAPTER V
OCCUPATIONS

Twenty-one different occupations are designated in 70 inventories (43%) of the data set (see Table 3 and Appendix D). Incidentally, almost 85% of these 70 inventories were from before the earthquake.

---

Table 3

Designated Occupations in Inventories

n = 70

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>blacksmith</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>butcher</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>captain</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carpenter</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cooper</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cordwainer</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fisherman</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goldsmith</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gunsmith</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>major</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mariner</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>merchant</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>music master</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pewterer</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>planter</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>porter</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sail worker</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shipwright</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>surgeon</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tailor</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vintner</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

Not surprisingly, merchant, mariner and captain inventories make up about two thirds of all the designated occupations within the inventory sample. But merchants and mariners were not the only ones to profit from Port Royal’s prosperity. There was plenty of business and employment for vital support occupations, such as sail workers, smiths and victuallers, and wages could be three times those of England (Zahedieh, 1986b:220). Agricultural activities also provided abundant work, especially during harvest, as noted by Augier, et al.:

*Wheelwrights and blacksmiths were kept constantly busy as damaged wains were dragged in from some accident on the rutted roads. The carpenters stood ready to repair the wooden gutters along which the juice flowed from the mill-house to boiling-house, or hammered out the*
Historically, probate inventories are biased towards the upper class. The Port Royal probate inventories do ignore lower class laborers such as dockyard workers and street vendors. During the seventeenth century, however, tradesmen and artisans began to move up in the ranks of society. Furthermore, Port Royal’s financial prosperity created an upper class established on “new money.”

Individuals with "low" estate values (under £100) and even women were inventoried, although possibly only in cases where they may have owned property or owed money (neither of which is accounted for in the inventory). Low-valued inventories are available for a fisherman (£64) and a porter (£62), as well as a carpenter (£18), blacksmith (£18), planter (£20), captain (£62), 4 mariners (£20-98), and 6 merchants (£27-92). The fisherman, Robert Walker (V3F206, Port Royal 1688) was well off enough to own 2 negro women, a bed worth £10 (relatively expensive), a table and 6 chairs, 2 chests, 3 guns, a hammock, household goods worth £9, and a canoe. When compared to other Jamaica inventories, Walker and the others have low estate values (see Figure 6). But these estate values are high when compared to those of similar tradesmen in Boston or England. The average Port Royal inventory is about six times greater than those in Boston of the same time period (Henretta, 1965:78).

Estate values are so varied within the occupation groups that it is difficult to determine a satisfactory mean worth by occupation. For instance, estate values for merchants range from £29 to £17,837; captains range from £62 to £2,375; mariners, £20 to £837; and for the two blacksmiths inventoried, £151 & £1271.

When dealing with post-1692 earthquake Port Royal inventories, it is important to consider the property loss when examining estate values. In a letter to London, Joseph Norris, a Port Royal Quaker, wrote that his estate was worth

---

7The estate valued £17,837 is not shown in Figure 6 for sake of scale.
Figure 6. Estate values by occupation.
£3,000 before the earthquake, but his 1693 inventory (V3F475) (he died Sept. 14, 1692 in a post-earthquake 'epidemic') totals only £200: "I saved not more than I had on, of all that I had on Port Royal, not so much as a bond, bill or book" (Norris 1692). Isaac Gonsales also apparently lost everything, except two cables and a small bell, as seen in his complete inventory:

V3F429 Isaac Gonsales Port Royall Merchant Feb 21 1692[13]
2 Cables spoilt by the weather sines the earthquak valued at .......... 25 00 00
a small bell .......................................................... 04 00 00
.......................................................... 29 00 00

Merchants

Jamaica held a strategic position in the heart of the West Indies for privateering and trade with Spanish America. By setting up as a merchant, one could "get rich quick" through contraband trade, slave trade, and even legitimate trade. In fact, the two richest men inventoried were merchants.

Before 1670, illicit trade with Spain's New World colonies was commonplace and vigorous. Merchants and mariners formed coalitions to buy ships and sponsor trade voyages (see also page 139). For instance, Thomas Nuttall (V3F431), a Port Royal merchant, owned one half share in the ship Providence and a parcel of blew linen on another vessel dealing with the Spanish Colonies (Zahedieh, 1986a:579). Jamaican-based ships worked the Spanish coasts at night, where the Spanish merchants met them in small boats with cash money to purchase contraband wares (Zahedieh 1986a:582). Trading voyages offered high profits to the shareholders, especially voyages to the Spanish colonies, although they could also result in financial disaster if the ship sank or was pirated.

Re-export was a large part of Port Royal's commerce, as noted by Francis Hanson in his Account of the island and government of Jamaica (1683):

The town of Port Royal, being as it were the store-house or treasury of the West Indies, is always like a continual mart of fair, where all sorts of choise merchandises are daily imported, not only to furnish the islands, but vast quantities are thence again transported to supply the
Spaniards, Indians and other nations, who in return exchange us bars and cakes of gold, and wedges of silver ....

Imported goods were marked up 40 to 150 percent for resale in Jamaica, the Spanish Colonies, North America, and Europe (Zahedieh 1986a:588; V3F431b Thomas Nuttall merchant 1692). Port Royal merchant Thomas Nuttall took a 75% markup for goods imported from London:

An invoice of sundry particulars which came from London in the Briganteen Susanna Capt Duglas Comander amount to £154/6/5 75 pcent to be added to the Price, cost wch we value at 270 10 3 3/4 (V3F431b)

Additionally, merchants controlled most of the cargoes passing through the island, channelling them through their own warehouses. Zahedieh describes what happened when non-Jamaican vessels entered Kingston Harbor:

When the non-Jamaican vessels came to Port Royal intending to trade with the Spaniards, the island factors would adjust the cargoes, strengthen the crews, provide commercial information, and hire skilled supercargoes (or offer their own services) to accompany the vessels to Spanish markets. Jamaican merchants charged between 10 and 15 percent commission for these services and expected to have complete autonomy in fixing prices and choosing goods for return (Zahedieh 1986a:582).

These activities also meant more employment for victualers, seamen, outfitters, laborers, and artisans such as blacksmiths, sail workers, and shipwrights.

Jamaica carried on trade with other West Indies colonies as well. In fact, locally-made goods conceivably were distributed all over the Caribbean and the Americas. Santo Domingo’s governor Du Casse asked that his agent be permitted to come to Jamaica to purchase the following:

Eight Barrells of fine flower, four pipes of Medera Wine, two dozen of Hamms, three hundred weight of Butter, two hundred weight of Pewter dishes or plates, Six Small Skillets, Six Spitts, Six frying pans, Six three-legged Skillets, Six Ladles, one peice of silk, Some Stuff for a Suite of Cloaths, a little Ribbin, one dozen pair of Shoes, one Necklace of Pearle and Emeralnds, six Cheeses, Some Garden Seeds, and some dozen of Beer. (Wright 1938:8)
Comparative studies of contemporary cities demonstrate the extraordinary prosperity of Port Royal's merchants. In colonial Boston, merchants were also an important segment of the community, controlling 66 percent of the town's wealth (Henretta, 1965:78). However, Henretta states that £170 was the highest estate value in 1687 Boston; compare that to Port Royal's average merchant estate value of £1,096. Furthermore, the value of real estate was often added to the value of Suffolk County, Mass., inventories, further increasing the differences between the two areas.

As merchants accumulated wealth through trade and plunder, they began to invest in plantation agriculture. Merchants provided the largest source of capital investment in agriculture, and over half of Port Royal's merchants bought and planted land (Zahedieh 1986:221).

Many Port Royal merchant inventories are those of chapmen, although the term "chapman" was never mentioned among them. A chapman was a dealer or middleman primarily in a mixture of textiles, haberdashery, shoes, and small ready-made clothing, but he might also carry tools, tobacco, books, sundials, prospecting glasses, pots, porringer, dishes, spoons, chamber pots - in essence, just about anything. The most abundant wares within the inventory sample, however, were textiles and haberdashery (accessories such as needles, pins, buttons, hooks and eyes, thread, ribbons, tape, and combs).

Not all merchants sold their wares from a shop. Many were door to door salesmen, hauling a pack or cart with a specialized line of goods (see Figure 7). A lyric from Pepys' *Penny Merriments* describes some of the wares London peddlars handled:

*I am a Pedlar here's my pack,*  
*now you that are at leisure,*  
*Come take a view see what you lack,*  
*I have great choice of treasure*  
*to furnish you...*  
*I have the greatest choice for you, both Ribbons Gloves and laces,*  
*With powder, paint, black patches too, and Masques to hide your faces...*  
*(From Pepys, *Penny Merriments*, V. II, #41)*
Many Port Royal merchant inventories illustrate the merchants' role as wholesalers and distributors, supplying peddlers and retailers with a wide variety of goods. Merchant inventories often list goods bought on account by other merchants and peddlers, such as in Port Royal merchant Joseph Bedow's inventory:

*These following goods on acct. James Cabston:*

- 43 ps. callico neck cloths 20s each, 52 yds silke, 11½ yds flowered gold venecen 7 6 p yd, 43 yds tafiey at 2s6, 76 yds spotted & stopt sattin at 6s, 52 yds blu flowered silde at 4s, 26 yds stript lutestring at 2d6s, 34½ yds gold and silver lutestring, 6 7/8 yds gold flowered sattin 12s6d, 3 3/4 yds blue gold and silver sattin, 17 pettycotes, 21 mantoes[?] gowmes, a box printed and paper bookes, a ffrench gunn
These following goods acct Henry Oakes
2 kettles, 5 swords 5 belts, 14 bottles oyle. (V3F347)

These individual accounts contain the same variety of cloth, haberdashery, books, clothing, lace, and hats as door to door pedlars of England and even Europe and Scandinavia. For instance, in 1692 a Norwegian chapman’s goods were itemized for the court because he had not paid duty. He, too, was selling cottons, linens, brandy, and tobacco (Spufford, 1984:105).

Merchants and pedlars from all over the island obtained their wares in Port Royal since it was the only major port on the island. Larger Port Royal merchants supplied goods to other merchants and pedlars on credit, who then sold the goods to the public, and returned to the merchant with payment and orders for more merchandise.

Joseph Bedow’s inventory (V3F347) contains a wide variety of merchandise, but many of the accounts he carried imply specializations of the other merchants whom he supplied. Peter Canston’s account consists only of large quantities of fine linens: 254½ yds blew linnen, 807½ yds white ozenbriggs, 481½ yds white harfords, 567 yds browne ozenbriggs, 1716 yds brown harfords. Henry Linbry may have been a sail maker; his account included 76 pieces of "Brittania" (usually a coarse, broadcloth linen), 5 bales of canvas, and 134 yds of canvas. Henry Oakes received an interesting variety of goods with 2 kettles, 5 swords and belts, and 14 bottles oil.

Port Royal merchant Joshua Bright (V3F362) supplied Alexander Hosea and Thomas Howell, whose accounts consist mainly of lace and silk accessories; William Theed’s account lists only stockings, hose, and gloves; Phillip LaBank’s lists only gloves; John Overing’s account lists only 246 dozen scissors and 14½ dozen knives; and William Talbott’s lists 15 stirrup irons, 9 brushes, 6 maine combs, 5 pr holster caps, 4 old sadles and furniture.

William Fry, Sr. and his son William, Jr., had accounts with Bright consisting solely of casters — "Carolina Hats" (some edged wth Gould), french hats.

---

8Orkdal Sørenskrifer Tingbok, I (1688-94) ff. 87v.-88, Trondheim.
and white beaver hats. Mr. Walter Stephen’s account indicates he concentrated on high quality textiles: 11 ps wte guiney laces (09 07 00), 1 ps silke (01 16 00), 1 ps Masquerad shifs (10 15 00), 3 ps silke gauses at 20 (03 00 00).

Mariners and Captains

Mariners and Captains were the second largest occupation represented within the inventory sample. Wages were high due to the risk involved in sailing the Caribbean: trade voyages often paid a mariner two to three times per month more than that of plantation work or naval seaman (Zahedieh 1986a:586). Captains not only received sizable wages, they also often held shares in the cargo and ships. As a result, a normally low-paying profession prospered in Port Royal. The eight inventories of mariners\(^9\) demonstrate they were as well off or better than many other occupations, with inventory total values from £67 to £837. Most mention livestock, slaves, weapons, jewelry, silver and gold, fine furniture and clothing. Several list large amounts of cash, including Spanish money, English money, and debts owed to the deceased.

V3F275 Thomas Alder Port Royall marriner June 8 1689

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In money</td>
<td>50 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a negroe woman</td>
<td>27 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a gold ring 1 sett gold buttons</td>
<td>04 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 white servants</td>
<td>18 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 suite of cloathes</td>
<td>02 10 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 bedd &amp; bedsted &amp; curtins</td>
<td>07 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Do 1 bedstead</td>
<td>02 10 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 chest of draws</td>
<td>03 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 dozen pewter plates</td>
<td>00 10 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 looking glasses</td>
<td>01 10 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 leather chaires</td>
<td>01 10 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 tables a jownt stoole 1 Bench</td>
<td>01 15 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 pictures</td>
<td>01 16 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 spanish chests 2 other chests</td>
<td>08 05 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 bibles 1 common prayer book and other books</td>
<td>01 05 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Spanish Jarr.</td>
<td>00 05 00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^9\)Whether these men were common seamen is unknown. Many who were identified as mariners may have been captains, or at least high ranking officers.
3 old washing tubbs 1 piggon ........................................... 00 04 00
2 brass kettles 3 iron potts 1 tinn kettle 1 frying pann 6 smoothing irons 2 and
irons 1 spitt 1 grid iron ............................................. 04 10 00
9 old pewter dishes 17 old pewter plates 1 Callender
2 dripping panns & 2 small tinn panns ......................... 01 02 00
the one ¼ of the sloop ........................................... 100 00 00
the 1 third of the sloop Thomas and Joseph
3 silver spoons ....................................................... 01 05 00
1 quart pott 2 candlesticks 1 water cask .......................... 00 07 06
2 gunns ................................................................. 03 10 00
241 15 16

In cash 936 ps of 8/8
Some 5s money ........................................................ 261 02 00

viz
542 ps 8/8 in 6s money is £162 12s
394 ps 8/8 in 5s do is £98 10 ........................................ 334 10 06

Captains' inventories indicate even more wealth, with evidence of
plantations and other sources of income such as merchandise, milling, and
livestock. These inventories range in valued from £62 to £2375.

Capt. John Phipps of Port Royal (V3F600) was extremely well off with
material wealth and investments in several areas. His cash on hand at the time of
his death was over £300 as well as £54 worth of plate, both London and Jamaica
made. On the wharf he owned a large scale, suggesting involvement in wharf
activities. He also owned a quarter of the sloop John & Thomas, his share valued at
£60. Three entries record shares in the cargoes of other ships bound for the Spanish
colonies and London. He also had a cooper's workshop, staffed by skilled slaves a
coffee house and a plantation at Liguanea (Borbys Plantation), and 27 negroes.

Artisans and Tradesmen

Merchants were not the only ones to profit from Port Royal's prosperity.
Tailors, gunsmiths, coopers, butchers, cordwainers, pewterers, doctors, goldsmiths
and those in ship-related industries such as sailworkers, shipwrights, and mariners,
were necessary to maintain the island. These vital support industries and trades
flourished in Port Royal's rapidly expanding economy.
Tanners

Although this chapter mostly deals with those inventories that specifically state the deceased’s occupation, many occupations can be ascertained by the inventory contents. Certain occupations such as tanners and coblers have distinctive tools and wares. For instance, the inventories of Josia Warner (V3F67) and Thomas Buckley (V3F488) leave little doubt that they were tanners. Both appear to have been successful and learned with large amounts of stock, high inventory totals, and books.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V3F67 Josia Warner December 1687 Port Royall</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>115 Hides sole leather at 12s p Hide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 &amp; ½ dama Ditto at 4s p Hide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127 sheep skins at 2s6p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 upper leather hides at 10s p Hide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 goats and kids</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 scor of hides att L12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 sheep skins at 4d p ps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 calves skins at 3 li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56 sides upper leather at 4s p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 sides sole leather at 4s p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 calf skins at 2s p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tann House and lease</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 calf skins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Debts on the Tannig Trade good &amp; bad about</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V3F488 Thomas Buckley Port Royall 9th of June 1693</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a pcall of books</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a pcell of shoemakers thred &amp; tooles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a proll small Tacks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33 sheep skins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 calve skins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36½ hides of tand leather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 doz of beefe and 7 Last</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 sheep skins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 sheep skins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 old bunchines for Tanning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work done to ten hides and 2 calve skins of Daniell Williams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 hides nott tand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 hides fit to Draw of at 8 9 p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8½ hides fit to draw of ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>working &amp;c of tenn hides 2 calve skins of Thom. Stout</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Thomas Buckley was also apparently a shoemaker; his *pcell of shoemakers thred & tooles* probably included a lasting pincers similar to the one recovered by the Port Royal Project excavations (see Figure 8).

![Figure 8 Iron "lasting" pincers for pulling and hammering nails in the production of shoes (cobbling). PR89 794-9. Drawing: Helen Dewolf.](image)

Blacksmiths

Blacksmiths (see Figure 9) were among the first tradesmen to enter the city, and were imperative in the support structure of a growing and thriving city. They fabricated and repaired the tools that built the houses, the tools of the trade of other occupations, and the tools and hardware that maintained and rigged the ships.
The three inventories available for "blacksmiths" are exceedingly detailed. The smith's tools include a variety of anvils, bellows, hammers, vises, files, grindstones, and saws, with hundreds of pounds of iron, steel, brass, and other raw materials.

The wares produced by the smith varied according to the individual. Most metal workers worked in several kinds of metal, and the inventories bear this out, although they often had a specialization such as pewter, gold, or weapons.

Daniell Hickes (V3F249b) was designated as a merchant, but his inventory contains a small Smyths Shopp. No finished wares were present, however, and it is not known if he actually did the smithing:

1 great anvill, 2 small ditto, 1 pr of bellowes, 4 nayle 5 pr of tongs, 2 great sledges, 4 hammers, 3 vises, 3 or 4 Files 1 hand saw, 1 whipp saw, 200 £ of old iron 5 old barrells 6 gunns & sundry other small things. 14 barrs of iron & 4 steele besides other small things. (V3F249b)

He may have owned the shop and leased it and the tools to an artisan. He also owned many slaves, some of whom could have staffed the shop, although none was
identified as a blacksmith. His inventory also lists a *Pot Worke*, and he apparently had other investments in slaves and livestock.

Besides common smithing tools, Thomas Prigg of Port Royal (V2F191) had two lathes, carpenter tools, and watch tools suggesting woodworking and watch repair activities. His completed wares consisted of only a parcel of hinges. Judging from his inventory total (£18 12 1½) and personal possessions (listed below), he was not married and lived alone and simply:

1 Saveall Skillet and Sunssen, 1 Chamber pott and porringer, 3 pr Sheetes & old Linnen, a pcell of old Woollen Clothes, old Chests & old Boxes, 1 flock bed and blanket (V2F191)

On the other end of the spectrum, Port Royal blacksmith John Philpott (V3F285) had an incredible inventory with a wide variety of locks, weapons, tools, and miscellaneous items. His inventory is reorganized and condensed below according to category (quantities, prices and personal goods are omitted). Philpott did not seem to have one specialization, and the sheer quantity and variety of goods suggest that he had other smiths working with him. Indeed, his inventory lists four indentured servants and a black male slave, who were probably associated with the smith shop.

Lists of shop wares such as this offer a unique collection of items not normally recorded in personal inventories. Typically, locks and parts for guns, tools, and watches would be incorporated into doors and furniture, and tools, scissors, bells, and other small items often got lumped into one entry such as a *box of ...*, or overlooked completely.

*John Philpott's shop inventory (condensed and reorganized):*

**Locks:** Bambury Stock Locks, Stock & Spring Locks, Plate Stock Locks, Stock Locks, Bastard Bambury Locks, Small Ord. Stock Locks, Inside small x Chest Locks, Middle Ditto, Box Locks, Inside Small x Chest Locks, x Keyed till & Chest Locks, swallow Bowed x Chest Locks, Large Chest Locks, Sea Chest Locks, x Keyed & plaine Cubbard Locks, x Keyed Till Locks, Double x Cubbard Locks, Middle x Chest Locks, x Cubbard Locks to Cutt (cull[?]), Pew Locks & Keyes, x Keyed Chest

Scissors: sciszers, Barbers Sizzers, whole Barbers Sizzers, Ord. whole Barbers Sizzers, sciszers & hiltts, taylers sheares

Combs: Horne Combs, small Ivory Combs

Knives & forks: knives, Large Case Knives, Buckshound haft Knifes, Ivory Haft Forks, Knifes, Old Knives, London Knife Blades, Rusty Knife Blades, curriers knife, Ordinary penknifes, Better penknifes, Spring knives, razors, turtle shell razors, Old Razor & Pen Knife Cases, penknife blades

Guns: Old Pocket Pistolls, Gun Locks, Flatt Gun Locks, Old Gun & Pistoll Locks that wants fitting, Bullits, swan shott, Flints, old Bullitt moulds, old gunns & Blunderbusses, old gun Barrels, a pr of pistolls & trade in a box, Musskeats, pr old pistolls

Swords: Silver Hilted Rapier, Ordinary Rapier, Silver handled Rapiers, Bask swords, old swords, swords, basket hilted swords, Childrens swords, old sword handles, old swords, sword blades, scabbards

Brads: 3d Bradds, 4d Bradls, 6d Bradls

Nails: sheathing nailes, 40d nailes, 10d nailes, 20d nailes, 4d nailes, 6d nailes, 8d nailes, 4d nailes, 20d nailes, truss hoops nailes, scupper nailes, 30d nailes, Flemish nailes, 2d nailes, 3d nailes, 10d nailes

Tools: Dutch Files, Files of Severall Sorts, Steele Sawes 3 feett long, x cutt sawes, Row Busk Symiters, Symiters, Hamers, Carving Tooles, Morticeing Chisells, Gudges, headings Chizells, Sugar Boarer, Whimble Bitts, Pewter Bitts, Iron Compasses, heading chizells, old plaine Irovn, old Carving tooles & Chisellls, Rules, Scales, Broad Chizells, Broad Axes, old Chizells, Intch Chizells, Joyners,
Hatchetts, narrow howes, Broade howes, addzes, sledges, Bick Irons, Coopers adzes & howells, old Coopers axes, old Rusty Axes, Rounding Knives, Joyners Axes, Bung Boarer, Sugar Boarers, old Bitts, Coopers compasses, Coopers adzes, Bitts, old Rusty Bitts, Sheep shearers, Beames, small frowes 3 of them old ones, small hatchetts, morticeing axes, plaine, old hand sawes broken & whole, old Augers, old whipsawes, Marking Iron, Joyners Axes, Joyners hatchetts, Joynter Irons, Morticening axes, Large Augers, Crowse Iron, Bick Irons, Screw[?] Plate, Grid Iron, compasses & a small compass, grubing hoes, pick axes & frowes, Shovells, x cutt sawes, steel whipp sawes plates, small Files

Apparell: Buckells for Belts, Stickes & some bamboos, Silver headed cane, Buff Belts, knead Leather belts, sticht belts, Black belts, Sticht belts, Sticht belts silver buckles 17s a peese, sticht belts silver buckles 25s a peese, Embroadered belts, buff belt with a silver buckle, Brass Buttons, Brass Buttons

Clocks and watches: Spring Clock, Ordinary Clock & 1 watch & Larum, Clock, Clock Lines, glasses for watches, watch strings

Miscellaneous: old Rusty spurs, spurs, Plate Boults, tobacco tongs ould and Rusty, Tinn Snuffers, Rusty Marking Irons, women cotton squares, childrens squares, Round Chalke Line, small boults & staplers, hones Broken & Crackl, Flasks, Brass Morters & Pestills, Brass Chaalke line Rowles, Looking Glass Screws, Brass Corks Smallest Sort, Barbers Cases, Knitting Needles, Curry Combs, a Tepott & Copper Tinder Box, Old Brass Plate & heater, stell Blades & Tacks, Shipp Bolts, Tacks, Smoth Files, Fish Hooks, Tind Tacks, Glister Pipes, Cheese Rasters, old Cheese Tasters, old brass hooks, Tacks, Cork Screws, Park Needles, Grind Stones, Sugar Drawers, Tumblers, Ord. Smiters, Pensills, Old Duff taile hinges, Screw Plates, brass wyer, Emory, Caine Joynts, brass potts, Large & small catt gutts, Bells, Butchers stooles, hooks and hinges, Ragg stones, Jew Ivory & wedges that are old and rusty, cassle stones, old Wedges, tin sawse pans, skillitts, Baggonetts, old horse whips, Flems for horses, silver wyer, old Lancetts, Puttey, brass chaines for cotts, Plate Dyalls, Ring Dyalls
Gunsmiths

With the Restoration in 1660, Charles II brought back some of the finest gun makers in Europe, transforming the gun maker's trade (Blackmore 1961:28). New designs were introduced, influenced by the French styles, and new weapons were developed, including a new form of matchlock musket and the bayonet (Ibid., 30).

Port Royal started as a military outpost that became a prosperous trade center. Furthermore, the defensive, and often offensive position of Port Royal's buccaneers, mariners, and civilians created a heightened demand for guns.

Thomas Moone (V3F299) had two gunsmith shops — one at Liguanea and one in Port Royal. Both shops were well tooled and had plenty of raw material on hand. The Port Royal shop contained guns, as well as two pair of fencing foils and 20 sword blades, revealing that he handled more than firearms:

*In his Shop [at Ligueane]: Five hundred pound weight of new Iron, Two Hundred weight of old iron, ffourty weight wrought iron, One anvill, One ditto old, Two Bickirons a sledg and small Towles, One Pair of Old Bellowes, Two Vices, Ffourteen pound of lead, One hogshead and three quarters of Coales, One grindstone, Five pound of steele.*

*At Port Royall in his shop: One pr of bellowes & one Anvill, Three vises a Stake Old ffiles & other small working tooles, Two old Trivetts, Three setts stops & Capooses[?] not finished, Two pair of fencing foyles, A prcell of old guns & pistolls, Three pistolls serviceable, A small beame brass scales & small weights, One hundred pound lead, One new gridiron, Two bitts for stocking of gunns, An Iron raile to hold a gunn, thirty seaven pounds of new iron unwrought, 200 li old iron, An old crowe of iron, four and thirty new and old ffiles, four new fuzee locks, twenty sword blades, A pcell of coles, Old lumber, One grindstone.(V3V299)*

Thomas Moone was the only designated gunsmith, but, as seen in blacksmith John Philpott's inventory, gunsmiths were not the only smiths to manufacture and repair weapons. Philpott's inventory contained a variety of guns and swords:
Guns: Old Pockett Pistolls, Gun Locks, Flatt Gun Locks, Old Gun & Pistoll Locks that wants fitting, Bullits, swan shott, Flints, old Bullitt moulds, old gunns & Blunderbusses, old gun Barrels, a pr of pistolls & trade in a box, Musskeats, pr old pistolls
Swords: Silver Hilted Rapier, Ordinary Rapier, Silver handled Rapiers, Baskwords, old swords, swords, basket hilted swords, Childrens swords, old sword handles, old swords, sword — blades, scabbards. (V3F285 John Philpott, Blacksmith)

Goldsmiths

The wealth of Port Royal residents created a demand for gold and silver items. Rings, silver cutlery, silver tobacco and snuff boxes, buttons, and shoe buckles were common throughout the inventories.

The inventory of William Addang (V10F252), Port Royal goldsmith, does not give any details of his tools, listed only as Drawers of gold smiths tools (11 12 06), but it details raw materials and wares, which suggests he worked more in silver than in gold.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 chrystall stone rings</td>
<td></td>
<td>05 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Gold ring unfinished</td>
<td></td>
<td>00 10 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 ounce and half of silver</td>
<td></td>
<td>00 07 06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Silver Spoon</td>
<td></td>
<td>00 08 09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Silver Instrument case</td>
<td></td>
<td>12 10 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Silver boxes GW 20 each</td>
<td></td>
<td>03 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ______ gold seals at 25/each</td>
<td></td>
<td>03 15 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 metall[?] box @ 15/</td>
<td></td>
<td>00 15 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Silver tooth pick case</td>
<td></td>
<td>00 15 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Pair of old silver buckles and a Tea Spoon</td>
<td></td>
<td>00 07 06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 pair of false stones &amp; ear rings</td>
<td></td>
<td>01 10 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 false Stone rings</td>
<td></td>
<td>01 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Cross</td>
<td></td>
<td>01 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Silver Seals and one pair of buttons</td>
<td></td>
<td>01 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Silver Chains 15 ½ Curatt —@15/</td>
<td></td>
<td>01 10 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Silver Scale at 5/ and 3 bottels at 7/6</td>
<td></td>
<td>00 12 06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forty racors ——— L 2-0-0 —@ 1Lpr</td>
<td></td>
<td>02 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Old Can set</td>
<td></td>
<td>00 01 03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 ounce 3 penny weight Silver 5/7½ a Silver Dyall 10/</td>
<td></td>
<td>00 15 7½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Dozn of Coat and 5 doz of breast[?] Gold buttons</td>
<td></td>
<td>01 15 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Dozn Coat &amp; 5 doz breast buttons and mohair</td>
<td></td>
<td>00 10 00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Indeed, personal inventories contain more references to silver items than to
gold, which was 16 times more expensive than silver\textsuperscript{11}. Even among the wealthiest
of Port Royal, including Henry Morgan, gold was generally listed only for buttons,
buckles, and jewelry, especially rings.

Pewters

Simon Benning's inventory (V3F64) provides a rare opportunity to unite
several documentary sources with archaeological data of this Port Royal pewterer
(Hamilton 1992:48). Port Royal Project excavations recovered a total of 34 pewter
plates identified with Benning's distinct touch mark: a pineapple surrounded by an
oval rope braid with the initial S to the left of the pineapple and the initial B to the
right (see Figure 10; Hamilton 1992:46).

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.2\textwidth]{figure10.png}
\caption{Simon Benning's touch mark.}
\end{figure}

From his will we know that Benning's shop was located on High Street, and
that he owned three other properties in Port Royal plus a 120-acre parcel in St.
Elizabeth Parish (IRO: Wills, Vol. 3-5 folio 180). Benning's inventory lists six
different molds for pewter plates, consisting of a platter, a basin, and four different
sized plates. At least three of the six molds listed are represented by plates
recovered in excavations (Hamilton 1992:50). His tools included two anvils, 12

\textsuperscript{11}The Ellis inventory (V3F323) valued silver at 5d per ounce and gold at £4 ounce.
hammers, a wheel and spindle (lathe), a set of scales and weights, and a grindstone.

At the time of his death, Benning's shop also contained several thousand pounds of various qualities of pewter and brass ready for casting (some of which may have been completed wares) as well as at least 250 unfinished pewter plates in stock. This relates a much larger scale business than most pewterers in provincial England (Homer, personal communication, 1989). In fact, Benning's inventory value (£360) places him among the wealthier of contemporary English provincial pewterers, whose estates ranged from about £100 to £400 (Hamilton 1992:49).

William Whitney's inventory (V3F427) does not specify his occupation, but apparently he was another Port Royal pewterer and brass worker. His inventory is worth considerably more than Benning's (£1399); it contains similar types and amounts of raw material, with more emphasis on copper. He apparently produced distilling equipment, which would have been made of copper and lead. No molds were listed for the pewter spoons, porringer, and plates he had on hand, so these may have been intended for recasting. Whitney's inventory also lists coal, something Benning's inventory did not list, but which he must have had.

23 dozen and 4 damaged ptr plates .................................. 14 00 00
one large still and worme .............................................. 49 12 04
two worms at .............................................................. 11 17 00
43 dozen of pewter spoons .............................................. 05 07 06
five dozn of damaged porringers ...................................... 01 00 00
461 li of unwrought coper ............................................. 72 01 06
308 li of wrought copper .............................................. 30 16 00
16 small Cock ............................................................ 02 00 00
4 lamps and 1 pr of scales .............................................. 01 05 00
194 pott and 4 Gilt at .................................................. 00 05 00
4864 li of Midling Copper ............................................. 243 04 00
1399: of old coper ...................................................... 352 09 00
235 li of coper nailes at 15 p li ...................................... 14 11 09
511 li of old brass at 6 p li ........................................... 12 15 06
1076 of old pewter at 7½ p li ........................................ 33 12 06
67 li of lead at 3 p li ................................................... 00 16 09
400 ct of cast brass at 4 p li ......................................... 06 13 04
3 worm molds at ......................................................... 15 00 00
the tooles ................................................................. 15 00 00
5 hhds Sea Cole and Two old Bermuda Chaires ...................... 03 18 09
Coopers

Two coopers are distinguished in the probate inventories. Adam Weenan (V3F380, 1690) of Port Royal had the lesser total of the two inventories, worth £139. His workshop goods consisted of:

1 Tunn old sugar hogsheads, 2000 of hoggshed staves, 30 small caskes, 4 garicas 3 iron bound punchoons, a proll new England hoopes, old water casks and a proll of Lumber in the yard, a pcoll of Coopers tooles, a pcoll of truss hoops

William Neal (V3F329) apparently was well established in Port Royal, but he may have been retired from the coopering trade. His possessions, worth over £700, consisted mostly of cash (£374), slaves (£246), "Rack" money\(^\text{12}\) (£5/5s), and 4 canoes. His coopering tools were described as "very old," and worth only ten shillings.

Although Captain John Phipps (V3F600) is not designated as a cooper, his inventory describes a well-stocked cooper’s shop:

In the Yard & Coopers Shopp: 3 Tons & — of Logwood, 3 weather beaten Tables & 1 forme, $\frac{1}{2}$ barrel $\frac{1}{2}$ full of New England Tarr, 3 old water casks, Some caske and a pcell of lumber, 2000 honed staves.

Shop-related items were scattered throughout Phipps’ house: cooper’s nails and some old iron were located in the "inner chamber" along with the household silver, weapons, soap, 12 bushels of corn, and 3500 pounds of Sasparilla. Extra barrel hoops and oakum were listed in the seller & storehouse. No cooper’s tools were listed, however, and he may have merely owned the shop as an investment.

Cooper Thomas Gunn (V3F413b) perished in the earthquake (Cadbury 1959:29). He apparently lost everything except some bulk wares and two slaves:

\[
\begin{array}{l}
1 \text{ negroe man and woman at} \quad \text{---} \\
1 \text{ Indian boy named Cupid} \quad \text{---} \\
1900 \text{ iron hoops at} \quad \text{20 00 00} \\
9300 \text{ wood hoops at} \quad \text{47 10 00} \\
\end{array}
\]

\(^{12}\)Money recovered from salvaging a shipwreck
13000 staves at ........................................ 42 05 00
a chest of drawers ........................................ 02 00 00

Medical practitioners

There were four main types of medical practitioners during the seventeenth century — surgeons, physicians, apothecaries, and lay people (see Figure 11). The medical profession was not regulated, and most people practicing medicine in the seventeenth century were unlicensed lay people, including many women. In fact, academically qualified practitioners formed only a tiny minority of practitioners (Nagy 1988:20). Women of all social levels played a prominent role in health care throughout seventeenth-century England (Nagy 1988:3), although this aspect is not likely to be reflected in the inventories.

Many licensed practitioners were also clergymen, whose duty to visit and comfort the sick made the combination of roles natural (Beier 1987:11). Andrew Burne’s inventory suggests he may have been a clergy/doctor.

V3F10 Andrew Burne Port Royall March 1686
1 parson’s goun: worn ........................................ 01 12 06
1 old portmane ........................................ 00 01 10½
1 parson’s new goun 2 black gouns ........................................ 03 10 00
a box of medicines ........................................ 01 00 00
a trunk of bookes ........................................ 05 03 09

There was a strong connection between spiritual and physical health in the seventeenth century (Nagy 1988:35). The plague and other sicknesses or injuries were believed to be the wrath of God, and treatment often involved penance as well as medicine, such as Boraston prescribed in 1641:

William Boraston of Salop, "Practitioner in Physick and Chyrurgery" published a treatise on the plague in 1641. In it, he described the plague as a punishment from God. Even so, he offered a number of "receipts" for the treatment of the plague which included the usual herbal ingredients, traditionally used against a whole range of ailments. Significantly, he concluded his treatise by offering "a medicine for the Plague or for Sickness of the Soul" which began "Take a quart of Repentance" and went on to include all of the "ingredients of a godly life." (Nagy 1988:36).
There was often little technical difference between the various levels of practitioners. Doctors often combined elements of folk medicine, superstition, and Galenic (blood letting) theory, herbal tradition, astrology and, eventually, chemical medicine (Nagy 1988:2). Furthermore, medical information and treatments were widely disseminated through oral tradition and literature (Nagy 1988:43) and the medicine of "professional" doctors and lay people originated from the same knowledge base. Popular medical almanacs available for about two pence each resulted in the widespread distribution of diverse medical information (Nagy 1988:52).
Physicians, although permitted to practice surgery and prepare medications, usually diagnosed internal maladies and prescribed internal remedies, and then delegated most of the physical aspects of treatment to surgeons, apothecaries, nurses, and servants. Surgeons dealt with injuries and the outward manifestations of disease. They set fractures, lanced infections, dealt with skin rashes (Beier 1987:10).

Physicians had the highest social and economic status among seventeenth-century medical practitioners. Nagy states: "The society physician, in his red robe and full wig, may as easily be compared to the prosperous London merchant as to the bishop" (Nagy, 1988:9). Physicians were literate in Latin and classical Greek, and they were expected to be familiar with classical and medieval medical works. Surgeons were not expected to be multilingual or learned to the same degree as the physicians, yet they were expected to be literate in English. Within the occupation there was an enormous diversity in training and social status, ranging from university trained surgeons to the local barber-surgeon who also cut hair and pulled teeth (Ibid.).

The Port Royal inventories identify two chyrurgens: Thomas Stichbury (V3F254) and Richard Greenfield (V3F308). Their estates were valued at £138 and £199 respectively. Stichbury’s inventory lists a small box of medicines, and Greenfield’s lists medicines, gallipots¹³, instruments, mortars, and stills.

Additionally, John Shefford (V3F373) may have been a pharmacist. His inventory lists an iron mortar & pestle, a brass mortar & pestle, a marble mortar, a scales, and two chests of medicine pots with old drugs and instruments. Several inventories of Port Royal merchants, including Joshua Bright (V3F362) and Howard Coward (V3F12), list boxes of miscellaneous medicines and apothecary wares, but it is not clear whether they dispensed the medicine directly to the public or supplied the physicians.

¹³Small earthen glazed pots especially used by apothecaries for ointments and medicines (Oxford English Dictionary).
Thomas Craddock’s inventory (V2F78) lists a *Declaration of the University of the Chureg[eon]* amongst his books. No other books in his possession seemed to have anything to do with medicine, however.

Finally, the estate administration record of Francis Randolph (V3F32, 1685, Port Royal) offers a glimpse of the doctoring activities and pay. A Dr. Smith was paid £4 for *Cureing one Negroe having ript upp his belly*, and 17s for *medicins Adndstred for Dto Randolph*.
CHAPTER VI
LEISURE

Seventeenth-century Jamaicans were not all business minded. The surplus cash from Jamaica's opulence made for an easy lifestyle for many. Taylor, in his diary, described a wealth of entertainment available in Port Royal in 1688 including billiards, music houses, shooting at targets (darts), and "all manner of debauchery" often blamed on "the privateers and debauched wild blades which come hither."

Music

Music, singing, and dancing were enjoyed by all classes. "Street level" instruments, like pipes and Jews harps, were popular, but poorly represented in the inventories due to their low value, many of them undoubtedly crude and handmade. Merchant William Wyatt's inventory (V3F72) lists 51 doz & 11 Iron Jews harps, valued at six pence each, well within the budget of most people. Otherwise, the only instruments listed were violins and "cittornes" (citterns) in three different inventories, and a spinet:

1 Spinnot made by Playford (£8), Another ditto very Depetive (£4), (V3F264b St Catherines Musick master)

one old Cittorne & case (15s) (V3F248 Samuell Coulson Port Royall)

Games

Gameing is an enchanting witchery, gotten betwixt Idleness and Avarice; An itching Disease, that makes some scratch the Head, whilst others, as if they were bitten by Tarantula, are laughing themselves to death. (Cotton, 19,0:9)

Gambling was very popular during the seventeenth century. Figure 12 shows the frontispiece of Charles Cotton's 1709 edition of The Compleat Gamester; this book published the rules for 12 popular games of the era, including billiards, dice,
Figure 12 Frontispiece of the 1709 edition of The Compleat Gamester (Cotton).
card games, and backgammon. Backgammon tables were found in the Ellis’ tavern (V3F323) as well as two other households.

2 Pair Back Gamon Tables (1 10 —) (V10 James Lawrence)

Sett of back Gammon tables (£1) (V10 Lewis Archibald Esqr)

An Old sett of Tables & Men 00 12 00 (V3F323)

These game boards, also called a "pair of tables" or a "set of tables," took the form of a box with two hinged halves which opened to form a backgammon or chess board, with the playing pieces (men) housed in the box (Thornton 1978:231).

Taverns often had billiards and other games. The British game of billiards as we know it today, played with three balls — plain white, spot white and red — was invented in England, possibly from Egyptian origins (Lindrum, 1974:10). James I, in 1605, ordered a billiard table described as "Twelve foote longe and fower [four] foote broade, the frame being walnutte and carved with eight great skrewes and eighteen small skrewes" (Lindrum, 1974:11). The cues, or maces as they were called then, had curved ends resembling primitive golf clubs, and were often decorated with ivory, silver or brass (see Figure 13).

There were many rules of etiquette, one of which can be appreciated by Port Royal archaeologists after excavating, cleaning and analyzing thousands of clay smoking pipes: "if you smoak and let the ashes of your Pipe fall on the Table, whereby oftentimes the Cloth is burned, it is a forfeiture...." (Cotton 1970:28)

The Ellis tavern inventory lists In the Billiard Roome - An Old Billiard Table & Frame without cloath & lumber, apparently unused, as well as a set of tables. The inventory of Madam Judith Freman (St. David Parish V3F105) lists a dart board In the Parlor...One Target 10 shillings, another popular tavern pastime.
Drinking

The taverns and vintners of Port Royal were well stocked with a wide variety of alcoholic beverages, which often replaced water as a thirst quencher. Ale houses, like the one depicted in Pepys’ Penny Merriments (see Figure 14) also were popular places for socializing. Activities included eating, drinking, smoking, gaming, discussion, banquets, after-lunch naps, and overnight accommodations (Leshikar-Denton 1988:5). Taverns were generally active twice a day, at midday and after six (Claypole 1972:195).

The inventories of merchants, vintners, taverns, and individuals list large amounts of rum, wine (brandy, canary, madeira, claret), ale, and beer (which was often served hot with spice (Percival 1920:41)). Beverages were often kept in the cellar, under the stairs, such as in the inventories of known tavern keepers Charles Barre and the Ellis’s:
In the Celler: 8 Pipes of wine most of them full (V3F255 Charles Barre Port Royall Merchant, Vintnor)

In the Passage & the Cellar: Sixty gallons rum at 1s6d, One & Twenty gallons wine (V3F323 Thomasine Ellis Port Royall Widdow)

Charles Booker also apparently had some type of establishment. His inventory not only lists wine and beer, but glasses and punch bowls:

seaven cases of Brandy, six dozen pint bottles of Canary, foure dozen of glasses, a pipe of Madera, a case of spirits, five punch bowles, halfe a punchn of beere (V3F112 Charles Booker)

A large amount of alcohol was described as decayed, sour or "stinking," such as in the following inventories. This spoilage was possibly due to the delay in the inventory process, or simply inadequate storage methods and containers.

2 doz. 5 Bottles off aile, 1 doz: decayed Clarrett, 1 doz: 2 bottles decayed 10# wine (V2F78 Thomas Craddock of Port Royall Merchant)
Cash found in his chest received since his death at severall times to this day 28th of June for wines then in the cellar, 46 doz of claret of which 26 doz 11 sower remains 20 dozen at 10 £, 2 doz Sower sider, 3 doz Canary att 15, 2 ditto Rhenish at 15, 2 gallons of brandy (V3F217 Charles Cresso, Port Royall Vintner)

7 pipes & 2 hlds stinking wine, 6 empty pipes, 90 gall. Rum (V3F475 John Hennekeyne Port Royal)

Wine and other alcoholic beverages were imported to the island, but rum was made locally and exported. Like agriculture, distilling activities became an important enterprise. A large quantity of rum and distilling-related items are listed in Sir Henry Morgan’ inventory (V3F259) together with other items at his plantation:

- sixty five thousand weight of mustavado sugar at 2s6d p £ ............... 406 05 00
- six hundred and forty Gall. Rumm ........................................ 26 13 04
- One thousand Gall. Molasses ............................................. 12 10 00
- One thousand wooden potts ................................................. 75 00 00
- Two rumm butts two pipes & 2 Iron bound Puncheons .............. 02 00 00
- Two mills six wth cases gudgeon stopps & c .......................... 120 00 00
- Two spare gudgeons ................................................................ 05 00 00
- six spare brasses ....................................................................... 10 00 00
- Eight capooses & 6 stopps ....................................................... 04 00 00
- Two Iron crowes and 6 splitting wedges .................................... 01 00 00
- Six Copper string ....................................................................... 65 00 00
- One new copper ........................................................................ 23 -- 06
- foure ladles and eight skimmers ................................................ 03 10 00
- Two Potting basons .................................................................... 02 10 00
- Six lamps and two scrapers ......................................................... 00 05 00
- a receiver and six wooden coolers ............................................. 02 00 00
- three stills wormes & tubbs hung .............................................. 50 00 00
- Eight Dripps ............................................................................. 00 04 00
- six Barricoes ............................................................................. 00 10 00

Distilling activities would have been located in outlying areas due to the resource intensiveness of the process. Large quantities of molasses and water are required, as well as fire wood. Port Royal merchant Daniell Hickes was apparently a member of a freehold involved in distilling:
Sundrys belonging to the freehold and not usually appraised: 5 coppers layd wth lead & scimmers & ladles, 2 stills, 2 wormes, 3 iron Rowlers and apurtuences belonging to the mill (V3F249b Daniell Hickes Port Royall Merchant)

Smoking

Smoking tobacco increased in popularity during the second half of the seventeenth century. Tobacco, both smoked and sniffed, was prescribed by doctors "for its disinfecting properties", and some English churches burned it as incense. Smoking was thought to provide protection from the plague, and even children were taught to smoke. Not everyone enjoyed smoking, however. Celia Fiennes, in 1698, complained in her diary: "men, women and children have all their pipes of tobacco in their mouths and soe sit round the fire smoaking, it is not delightful to me ...." (Pinto 1949:43).

Only one occurrence of tobacco pipes was noted: Port Royal merchant John Tull's inventory had 10 gross of tobacco pipes (V3F321). Archaeological evidence certainly makes up for this omission, however. In Room 5, Building 1, alone, an estimated 2,000 new, unsmoked pipes were found. A similar number was found in Building 3, and approximately two dozen pipes were found in Room 2 of Building 5 of the Port Royal Project excavations.

The inventories offer other clues about smoking in the form of tobacco, tobacco boxes, tongs\textsuperscript{14}, tobacco stoppers, and burning glasses. Often these accessories are listed with other highly valued items, such as silver, jewelry, and chocolate. William Smith had a silver tobacco stopper and a "rowle" of tobacco listed with silver shoe buckles and shirt buttons (V3F114). A brass tobacco box and two burning glasses are listed in Robert White's inventory (V3F237 Port Royal).

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\textsuperscript{14}Tongs were used to pick embers from the hearth or special brazier (chafing dish) for lighting the pipe.
Snuff

Snuff was introduced to the Europeans from South American native tribes during the fifteenth century (Wenham 1951:151). It became popular in France, where it was prescribed as a remedy for nasal trouble. During the seventeenth century snuff increased in popularity in England where it was sold in "carott[es]" (tightly rolled wads of tobacco leaves) which were then powdered by the user with an iron rasp (Ibid.). Tobacco and snuff boxes were often silver or "tipt" with silver with a built-in rasp for making snuff.

Three inventories list snuff boxes. Andrew Burne’s list of personal valuables includes three "ordinary" snuff boxes and two silver snuff boxes (V3F10), and James Lawrence’s inventory (V10F238) lists his snuff box with his household silver. In contrast, Samuell Coulson’s snuff box was in his scriptore along with lace, a pair of thread hose, a shirt, balls of wax, and 5 needle cases (V3F248).

The Coffee House

Coffee was introduced about the middle of the seventeenth century, and, like taverns, coffee houses were popular places of business and social pleasure. Pepys, in his diary, frequented the local coffee house to socialize, relax and relieve his boredom:

January 14, 1660. Nothing to do at our office. Went to the coffee house and heard exceeding good argument against Mr. Harrington’s assertion that overbalance of propriety was the foundation of government.

The inventories contain evidence of several coffee houses. In most respects they resemble taverns, with numerous chairs and tables, candles, and cups. Three inventories — those of Robert Howry, John Phipps, and Charles Booker — contain items associated with coffee houses:

6 old turky work chaires, 2 pr of tables, 2 formes, 1 coffee mill, 6 coffee dittos, 1 halfe pinte pott, one funnell, 4 tinn candle sticks 1 sconce 1 standish 1 sugar box 1 tobacco box 4 peper plates, almost a gross of pipes sold, 6 doz of candles, all the coffee potts 1 halfe pound coffee, to 1 small water caske (V3F507 Robert Howry of Portt [Royall])
In the Coffee house: One large & 2 small tables 1 forme & 3 chaires all old (V3F600 Capt. John Phipps Port Royall)

five doz & nine coffee dishes, twelve coffee plates, four pound of tea, twelve pound of coffee berreys, a brass kettle coffee potts (V3F112 Charles Booker)

Writing and Reading

The changing lifestyles of people after the Restoration gave considerable impetus to the art of writing. Increased commerce encouraged at least an elementary education, especially among the merchant class. Furthermore, the popularity of literature was growing rapidly during the late seventeenth century. Pepys, a great collector of books, writes in his diary of a trip to the bookseller:

December 10, 1663. Thence to St Paul’s Churchyard to my booksellers ... I did here sit two or three hours, calling for twenty books to lay this money out upon; and found myself at a great loss where to choose .... I could not tell whether to lay out my money for books of pleasure, as plays, which my nature was most earnest in; but at last, after seeing Chaucer, Dugdales History of Pauls, Stow’s London, Gesner, History of Trent, besides Shakespeare, Johnson, and Beaumonts plays, I at last chose Dr Fuller’s Worthys, the Cabbala or Collections of Letters of State - and a little book, Deliecs de Hollande, with another little book or two, all of good use or serious pleasure; and Hudibras, both parts, the book now in greatest fashion for drollery, though I cannot, I confess, see enough where the wit lies.

Today, the word literacy is automatically associated with writing and reading. In the early stages of popular literacy, however, many only knew how to read. Children entered school at about age six and were taught to read, even those of the poor. By age seven or eight, most were reading fluently, and the boys continued on a curriculum of writing, latin, and accounting. Many poor children were forced to drop out of school at this point to work, however, and girls were usually taught to sew, knit and spin instead (Spufford 1982:23-34).
Compared to England, the level of education was likely above average in Jamaica. Most merchants probably had a moderate grasp of writing and reading for business affairs. Clergymen, doctors, schoolmasters, and captains also would be literate. Education was extending its influence, and inventories demonstrate that tradesmen such as blacksmiths, coopers, and butchers also were literate. There was a school in Port Royal, and several merchants stocked supplies, such as 6 blank books & alfabet 20s (V3F67 Josia Warner Port Royal).

Items such as books, pencils, seals and sealing wax, writing paper, standishes, ink cases, and pen knives can be found in almost 80% of the inventories studied. Desks and scriptores (writing desks) were also common.

Inkstands, or standishes, consisted of a tray or base with an ink pot, a pounce container, and pen wells or pots. Some also had a pen wiper, a bell, a seal holder, a wafer box, and one or two candlesticks. Pounce, a fine powder made from sandarac or cuttle-shell, was used until about 1820 when blotting paper was invented (Wenham 1951:146). After sprinkling the paper with pounce, the paper was cupped and the pounce poured back into the saucer-shaped rim of the pounce box for reuse (see Figure 15).

Only four inventories list a standish, but many others list paper and other writing paraphernalia, such as the pen knife in the third inventory below:

1 bible, 1 standish, a watch, 1 chest, 1 table, 2 agget forks, 2 looking glasses, 1 pair of Spanish pistolls (V3F45 William Holder Port Royall)

4 tinn candle sticks 1 sconce 1 standish 1 tobacco box (V3F07 Robert Howry of Portt [Royall])

6 papers powder ink, 1 hone & pen knife, 1 desk & standish, 1 box weights & 2 pr scales, a pcoll printed books 20 some maps, 1 looking glass 1 silver seales, 1 silver tabacco box (V3F03 Michaell Baker)
Books

With an increasing number of people who could at least *read*, books, chapbooks, pamphlets, and other literature became an important source of entertainment and information. Sales of ballads, almanacs, and chapbooks boomed in the 1660s (Spufford 1982:22).

It is not surprising, then, that 43% of the inventories contain books. Book owners included merchants, captains, mariners, coopers, doctors, a blacksmith, a gunsmith, a tailor, a butcher, a music master, and six women. Forty three percent certainly does not reflect the actual literacy rate, since inventories rarely list chapbooks and other "cheap" literature available to the public for two pence or less.
Like tobacco pipes, they were not considered worth mentioning. Furthermore, much of this street literature was recycled as lavatory paper (*Bum-Fodder*\(^{15}\)), tobacco pipe and cooking fire lighters, pie dish liners, and food wrappers (Spufford 1982:49).

Books were printed for individual booksellers who often stocked them unbound until sold. The Port Royal Project excavation recovered an iron implement that may be a bookbinding stamp (see Figure 16), though no bookbinder stamps were noted in any of the inventories.

Because the books were specially printed, the flyleaf might read "printed by Andrew Clark for Thomas Williams, and are to be sold at the Golden Ball..." or "London: Printed by J. Okes and are to be sold by James Beekes, at this shop... 1639" or "Printed for Phil. Brigs, and are to be sold by the booksellers in London, 1671." Thomas Craddock's inventory (V2F78) lists about 80 books, some unbound and two or more of some titles, such as *4 new gilt Bibles*, and Samuell Coulson (V3F248) sold books and dry goods:

\(^{15}\)From the song collected by Anthony Wood which begins "Bum-Fodder or WastPaper proper to wipe the Nation’s Rump with, or your own." (Spufford, 1982:49)
The subjects of books found in the inventories were generally religious, historical, or philosophical in nature. Charles Booker's inventory (V3F112) lists three law books. Other inventories also contain several volumes of poetry, including those by Cooley, Flatman, Tate, and Rochester. "Lighter" reading is represented by books identified as plays and comedies. Educational material consisted of a French grammar, arithmetic, dictionaries, and Grew's *Anatomy of Vegetables*. *Hudibras* is listed in Port Royal merchant Thomas Craddock's inventory (V2F78), which is described by Pepys as "the book now in greatest fashion for drollery, though I cannot, I confess, see enough where the wit lies." (Dec. 10, 1663)

Bookcases were not normally included in the inventories, perhaps because they were built in. Books were also commonly stored in trunks. Merchant Richard Sleigh (V10F263) had the only bookcase noted in the inventory sample, listed along with his books and accounts: 18 Old bookes, a Parcell of Old books of accounts, a Book Case. The lack of bookcases may be because most were built in. The freestanding bookcase was developed during the seventeenth century, but may not have become popular until the end of the century (Gloag 1951:147).

The following is a list of all the books named within the inventory sample. Footnotes provide whatever additional information that was available from the Texas A&M University Library computer, such as the author's full name, or the abstract from the flyleaf.

16See Footnote 22.
Lt. Rich.d Bakers Chronicle\textsuperscript{17} old
[Flavius] Josephus Antiquity's of the Jews
Fox's Acts & Monuments\textsuperscript{18}
Short view of the Late troubles of Engl.
Index in Sacra Biblia
Imperial History
Tears sight of the Church of England
Curia Polisitia\textsuperscript{19} much Damaged
History of the Duke of Espernon
Bacon's History of Henry the 7th unbound
Dto Bound
Hookers Ecclesiasticall Policy\textsuperscript{20} much damaged
Bacon's Natural History
Spencers ffaery Queen
9th & 10th parts of Cleopatra
Plutaichs Line Imperfect old Edition

\textsuperscript{17}Sir Richard Baker (1568-1645) A \textit{chronical of kings of England}...from the time of the Romans government unto the reign of King Charles containing all passages of state and church, with all other observations proper for a chronicle: faithfully collected out of authors ancient and modern, and digested into a new method.

\textsuperscript{18}John Foxe (1516-1587) ...of matters most speciall and memorable happening in the church, with an universal historie of the same wherein is set forth at large the whole race and course of the Church from the primitive age to these latter times of ours: with the bloody times, horrible troubles, and great persecutions against the martyrs of Christ sought and wrought as well by heathen emperors, as now lately practised by Romish prelates, especially in this realme of England and Scotland: whereunto are annexed certaine additions of like persecution which have happened in these latter times. 3 volumes (ca. 2011 p.), illustrations, maps.

\textsuperscript{19}M. de (Georges) Scudery (1601-1667) ...or, The apologies of several princes, justifying to the world their most eminent actions, by the strength of reason and the most exact rules of policy written in French. 190 pages. 1673. First published in Paris 1648.

\textsuperscript{20}Richard Hooker (1553?) \textit{Of the lawes of ecclesiasticall policy}. 
Ccooleys Poems
History of Richard the 2nd by Buck Cusman
Cornelius Tacitus unbound & damaged
Mystagogus Poeticus
Hudibras the 4 parts
Sibbs bonised 2000
The Portraiture of Charles the 1st
Humane Pendence
Epitome of the Lives of the kings of France
Mr. Hobbs opinion considered by Philantin and Timothy
Herberts Dis_e Poems
State of England in Arms 70
An English Dictionary
Mazarines Memoires

21 Alexander Ross (1591-1654) ... or, The muses interpreter explaining the historticall mysteries and mysticall histories of the ancient Greek and Latine poets: here Appollo's temple is again opened, the muses treasures the fourth time discovered, and the gardens of Parnassus disclosed more fully, whence many flowers of useful, delightful, and rare observations, never touched by any other mythologist, are collected. The fourth edition corrected and enlarged to which is previewd the genealogy of the heathen gods.

22 Samuel Butler (1612-1680) [Pepys' diary listed only two parts in 1663. The final edition of this long, epic-style poem is in 3 parts, of which Part 3 is called "The third and last part" (emphasis mine). This 1684 inventory (V2F78) seems to indicate that there were four parts to Hudibras, but it is more likely due to a typographical error rather than a reference to a lost chapter.]

23 Richard Sibbes? (1577-1635)

24 Richard Brathwaite (1632?-1725?), translator (from French).

25 John Eachard (1636?-1697) Mr. Hobbs's state of nature considered in a dialogue between Philautus and Timothy: to which are added five letters from the author of The grounds and occasions of the contempt of the clergy.

26 Hortense Mancini Mazarin (1646-1699) The Memoires of the Dutchess Mazarine out of French. 1676.
Anatomy of vegetables
The Life of Fisher Bishopp of Rochester
Land the ______ Metamorphosis
Dialogues French English & Latin
Ten[?] Comedies
An English Expositd
via Conta
Quarles Enchiridion
Byields Direction for reading of Scriptures
Cluvezius Geography
4 New gilt Bibles
6 New Common prayer Books 3 with Psalms 3 without
Thirty Playes, Pamphlets songs
Cradocks Apostolicall History
Boccalius Parnassus
Oat's Exposition on St. Jude
Jewells reply to Hardings Answ. old vnb:
Dubortes


28 Francis Quarles? (1592-1644)

29 Traiano Boccalini (1556-1613) Advertisements from Parnassus in two centuries: with the politick-touchstone. Written originally in Italian ... and now put into English by Henry, Earl of Monmouth.
Books in Quarto:
Riders Dictionary Imperfect
Relacon of the sweating sicknes by Bacon
St. George of Cappadocia
Particks Pilgrim
History of Independency
An Addresse to Protes by Penn
The Golden Fleece
A Search made into matters of religion
Felthams Remarks old Edition

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30 The size of paper obtained by folding a whole sheet twice so as to form four leaves, in which as a rule the height is not markedly in excess of the breadth (Oxford English Dictionary).

31 John Rider (1562-1632) Riders dictionarie corrected and augmented with the addition of many hundred words both out of the law, and out of the Latine, French, and other languages...the barbarous words, which were many hundreds, are expunged, to the helpe of young scholars, which before they used instead of good words: in the end of the dictionarie you shall finde certaine generall heads of birds, colours, dogs, fishes, hawkes, hearbs, numbers, stones, trees, weights: lastly, the names of the chiefe places and townes in England, Scotland and Ireland, etc.... also hereunto is annexed certaine tables of weights and measures, the valuation of ancient and modern coines...

32 Henry Stubbe (1632-1676). The Lord Bacons relation to the sweating-sickness examined, in a reply to George Thomson, pretender to physick and chymistry together with a defence of phlebotomy in general, and also particularly in the plague, smallpox, scurvy, and pleurisie, in opposition to the same author, and the author of Medela medicinæ, Doctor Whitaker, and Doctor Sydenham: also, a relation concerning the strange symptomes happening upon the bite of an adder, and, a reply by way of preface to the calumnies of Eccleolius Glanvile. 360 pages.

33 T.M., Esquire, lover of his king and country. The history of independency the fourth and last part: continued from the death of His late Majesty, King Charles the First of happy memory, till the deaths of the chief of that juncto.

34 William Penn (1644-1718) An address to Protestants of all perswasions more especially the magistracy and clergy, for the promotion of virtue and charity: in two parts. First edition, 1679. 254 pages.

35 Francis Walsingham. 520 pages.
Pastor Fido\textsuperscript{36}

Gregory Posthuma\textsuperscript{37}

Immediate Revelation\textsuperscript{38}

A declaration of the university of the chureg[eon]

Books in Octavo\textsuperscript{39}:

Satine Bible vulgar Edition Insted[?]

Grounds & Occasions of Contempt of the Clergy\textsuperscript{40}

Reliquia Sacra Carolina

Contemplations Morall & devine

2 New Flatmans Poems\textsuperscript{41}

Causes of the decay of Christian piety\textsuperscript{42}

Contempt of the Clergy\textsuperscript{43}

want of Charity inst_____ Charged on the comanest

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\textsuperscript{36}Elkanah Settle (1648-1724) ... or, The faithful shepherd, a pastoral, as it is acted by Their Majesties servants.

\textsuperscript{37}John Gregory (1607-1646) Gregorii posthuma, or, Certain learned tracts together with a short account of the author's life, and elegies on his much-lamented death.

\textsuperscript{38}George Keith (1639?-1716) ... or, Jesus Christ the eternall Son of God revealed in man and revealing the knowledge of God and the things of his kingdom immediately: or, the Holy Ghost, the Holy Spirit of promise, the spirit of prophecy poured forth and inspiring man and induing him with power from on high ... not ceased, but remaining a standing and perpetual ordinance in the Church of Christ and being of indispensabe necessity as to the whole body in general. Writ by George Keith, prisoner of the truth in the Tollbooth of Aberdein. 136 pages.

\textsuperscript{39}folded so that each leaf is 1/8 of a whole sheet

\textsuperscript{40}John Eachard (1636?-1697) The grounds and occasions of the contempt of the clergy and religion enquired into in a letter to R.L. 144 pages.

\textsuperscript{41}Thomas Flatman (1637-1688). Poems and Songs, ca. 1682.

\textsuperscript{42}Richard Allestfee (1619-1681) ... or, An impartial survey of the ruines of Christian religion undermin'd by unchristian practice. Written by the author of The whole duty of man.

\textsuperscript{43}See Footnote 40
2 Eas's Colleguies
Flatmans Poems old Edition44
Hugo Grotius Annalls of the Belgian
Senecas Epistles & naturall Questions45
Lively Oracles given to us46
Glanviles blow att Sadducisme
Freehold's grand Inquest47
De Jure Maritino
Tates Poems48
The Learned man defended & reformed49
Pansfesteaus French Grammer
5 Law books New
Cleavelands Poems
Whole duty of Man50

44Thomas Flatman (1637-1688). Poems and Songs, ca. 1682.
45Lucius Anneaus Seneca? (ca. 4B.C. - 65A.D.)
46Richard Allestree (1619-1681) ... or, The Christians birth-right and duty in the custody and use of the Holy Scripture. 136 pages.
47Sir Robert Filmer (-1653) The free-holders grand inquest touching our Sovereign Lord the King and his Parliament to which are added observations upon forms of government: together with directions for obedience to governours in dangerous and doubtful times. Includes Reflections concerning the original of government..., London, 1679 — The anarchy of a limited or mixed monarchy..., London, 1679 — An advertisement to the jury-men of England touching witches..., London, 1679. 372 pages.
48Nahum Tate
49Daniello Bartoli (1608-1685) ... a discourse of singular politenesse and elocution, seasonably asserting the right of the muses, in opposition to the many enemies which in this age Learning meets with, and more especially those two, Ignorance and Vice: in two parts. Written in Italian by the happy pen of P. Daniel Bartoulos, S.J.; Englished by Thomas Salusbury. 402 pages.
50Told its poorer readers to be content with their lot, for 'whatever our Estate and Condition in any respect be, it is that which is alloted us by God, and therefore is certainly the best for us, He being much bettër able to judge for us, than we for ourselves.
Discourse of Ecclesiasticall policy
The rule of Faith by Dr. Tillotson\textsuperscript{51}
Legbernos Arithmetick
One Booke The Lovers Watch\textsuperscript{52}
One Rochesters poems
Ouid's Epistles
One double cuckold\textsuperscript{53}
2 Gallants Confidents
6 Playes
Tayler's 'Life of Christ' & 'Duty of Man'
Baxter Christian Directory\textsuperscript{54}
L— morcatoria Bible

\textsuperscript{51}John Tillotson (1630-1694) ...or, An answer to the treatise of Mr. I.S. entitled, Surefooting, etc.

\textsuperscript{52}Monsieur de Bonnecorse (?-1706) 243 pages. 1686. Translated from French.

\textsuperscript{53}Cuckold is a derisive name for the husband of an unfaithful wife (OED)

\textsuperscript{54}Richard Baxter (1615-1691) ...or, a summ of practical theologe, and cases of conscience directing Christians, how to use their knowledge and faith, how to improve all helps and means, and to perform all duties, how to overcome temptations, and to escape or mortifie every sin: in four parts. 395 pages.
CHAPTER VII
EATING

Foodstuffs

Fresh food was bought daily at the market. Port Royal reportedly had abundant food with three daily markets stocked with fruit, fish and meat (Taylor 1688). The foodstuffs in the inventories are apparently mostly large quantities of processed or preserved foods listed as merchandise in shops. There is a great variety, including cheese, butter, flour, salted meat (fish, beef), pickled pork, sugar (including one listing of a loaf of "double refined sugar"), molasses, vinegar, salt, spices (nutmeg, cinnamon, pepper) and some fruits, presumably dried. The most common items are cheese, sugar, and flour. Other solitary listings include lime juice (V3F328), a bundle of sasparilla (V3F347), 396 pounds of cocoa (V3F320) and 10 barrels of oysters (V3F475) which was a popular food in the seventeenth century. It is difficult to differentiate between food intended for consumption in the home and foodstuffs for sale. See Appendix E for units of measure.

The food was usually stored in barrels. Most of the inventories, however, do not designate a room for foodstuffs listed. Many stored foodstuffs are described as "damnified" or "decayed," demonstrating poor preservation methods and the effects of the climate.

Daniell Hickes (V3F249b), Port Royal Merchant, apparently stored his merchandise wherever he had extra room: At the Pott Worke (26 barrells of beefe and mackrell damnified) and In the Smyths Shopp (7 barrells of beefe).

Some of the merchant inventories provide information on individual purchases in the form of accounts of items bought on credit. Henry Lord bought cheese and butter from John Hall of Port Royal (V3F2); Jonathan Everett bought a cask of cheese and one flitch of bacon; Thomas Weare bought two firkins of butter and a box of candles.

Port Royal tailor William Jaymes' inventory (V3F312) is one of the few that lists a small amount of personal food: a little flower & salt beefe (10s).
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Joseph Norris' Port Royal inventory (V3F475) evidences the importation of foodstuffs from New York: *proceeds of 2 barrels of beece and ½ barrel flower from New York, freight and charges paid here* (05 16 1½).

**Utensils and Vessels**

Knives, Forks, and Spoons

The modern day use of cutlery was just beginning to emerge by the late seventeenth century. Until then a pointed knife was used to cut and transport the food while the fork merely held the food down (Percival 1920:39; Noel Hume 1970:178). By 1700, the fork was used for putting food in one's mouth (Percival 1920:39; Noel Hume 1970:177), which prompted a change in form. Forks went from two to three long thin tines; knife points became rounded or squared, resembling the modern table knife (Ibid.). Spoons, too, changed during this period. About 1660, spoon bowls went from fig-shaped to oval, and the handle was flattened, ending in a three-lobed style (see Figure 17a and b) (Percival 1920:39). Spoons were relatively large according to modern standards (tablespoon size); "teaspoon" sizes were rare until the very end of the century (Ibid.).

It was customary for a guest to bring his own utensils, and smiths produced interesting combinations of portable models which usually folded or nested (Wenham 1951:83), because many taverns still did not supply utensils at meals.

The inventories list several sets of cutlery made up of a knife, fork, and sometimes a spoon with a case. Port Royal Project excavations recovered a two-tined iron fork with carved handle from Building 3 (Figure 17d) and silver two-tined forks from Building 5 (Figure 17c). A total of 120 spoons made of pewter, silver and brass were found in the excavations (see Wadley 1985).

Utensils listed in the inventories are made of silver, pewter, and iron. Agate hafts are very common in the inventories. Glass, ivory, and buckshound (antler) hafts are also listed, especially as merchandise, such as in Blacksmith John Philpott's (V3F285), who apparently made and sold several varieties of knives and
forks.

V3F285 John Philpott Port Royall Blacksmith
1 Doz Large Case Knives .................................. 01 10 00
6 Buckshound haft Knifes .................................. 00 07 06
3 Cases Ivory Haft Forks .................................. 01 04 00
3 Large Knifes ............................................... 00 02 06
15 Doz Old Knifes ....................................... -02 00 00
8 Doz London Knife Blades 2 6 p doz ...................... 01 00 00

Personal collections of cutlery could also be fairly extensive. Thirty-one spoons and 21 forks are listed along with the other silver and pewter eating items About the House of Charles Barre (V3F255), and Lewis Archibald’s extensive collection of plate included 18 silver forks valued at over £30. More commonly, however, households probably had just enough for each person in the house plus maybe one or two extra. Determination of the number of pieces in a household is complicated by the tendency of inventory takers not to enumerate silver, which could easily include other knives, forks and spoons, even if a separate entry was made for the pewter utensils. William Crosby’s inventory is typical of this type of entry.

V10 William Crosby Port Royall Carpenter 1712
Three knives and forkes .................................. 00 03 -9
A parcel of old silver 136 oz at 5 d ....................... 34 00 -0

When rooms were identified, eating utensils were frequently listed in the room next to the likely "dining" room, usually the hall. Other locations include the buttery and the kitchen.

Ceramics

Pewter, wood, and glass constituted more of the household vessels than ceramics (Percival 1920:34). This is confirmed by a conspicuous lack of ceramics in the inventories. Yet thousands of stoneware, porcelain, and earthenware have been excavated whole and in sherds (see Figure 18 and Figure 19). Two factors create this discrepancy: first, ceramics tend to survive better than pewter, wood, and glass, which creates a skewed artifact assemblage. Secondly, ceramics were often neglected in the inventories because of the negligible value of used ceramics.
Figure 18 Stoneware jug, PR90 948-5. Drawing: Helen Dewolf.
Figure 19 Slipware sugar bowl. PR90 948-5. Drawing: Helen Dewolf.

Unless a piece was new or in excellent condition, or was of exceptional quality, it was often considered worthless to the appraisers. This differs from the metal vessels, which were at least worth their weight for recasting.

As a result, earthenware is found in only seven inventories, usually listed simply as a small parcel of earthenware (10s) (V3F54), with an occasional reference to Dutch earthenware valued at only 15 shillings (V3F600), Cheiny Earthenware (probably imitation china, and likely tin enamel) listed with some maps all valued at £1, or earthenware glasses located in the stable with other lumber (V2F81). Only one inventory, that of Lewis Archibald Esqr. (V10F265), itemizes the household ceramics by type:
China Ware: 6 Large Cups, 5 Tea Cups, 2 Sugar pots, 1 Bason, 6 handled Cups, 2 Milk pots, 2 Flower pots
Earthen Ware: 1 Large punch bowl, 2 Dishes, 1 flower pot, 1 Bason & Mustard pot
Stone Ware: 1 Tea pot 1 Sugar pot, 2 Drinking mugs

"China ware" does not necessarily refer to porcelain in the inventories, since tin enamel or Delft ceramics were commonly included in this category. Seventeenth-century Chinese porcelain from the excavations is limited to handleless tea cups, bowls, and figurines, so the sugar pots, bason, handled cups, and other "china ware" items in Archibald’s inventory above were most likely not real porcelain. The tea cup in Figure 20 may be similar to the parcel of china tea cupps in Henry Morgan’s inventory (V3F259). Large amounts of Chinese porcelain were

![Figure 20 Chinese blanc de chine porcelain cup (with applique design) PR87 533-14. Drawing: Helen Dewolf.](image)

brought in to Jamaica during the latter part of the seventeenth century, mostly handleless tea cups. Only Archibald’s and Morgan’s inventories contain direct reference to china, however, although many of those items were probably tin enamel ware or Delft.
Evidence of local earthenware production is found in merchant Daniell Hickes' inventory. His inventory lists several thousand drips\textsuperscript{55}, pots, bricks, tiles, and other earthenware products at the Pott Worke. A later entry lists more pots and drips At Wagg Water, which were possibly produced at the aforementioned Pott Worke.

\textit{At the Pott Worke: 3050 Dripps 2000 Potts, 1000 Sefineing[?] Potts & Dripps, some being Crackt and 9 stone juggs at 6 p ps, 1800 mouth tapers & grating biskes & other Tyles, 30000 small bricks at 14s p mill.}
\textit{At Wagg Water: 337 potts 169 dripps at 6 p ps (V3F249b Daniel Hickes Port Royal Merchant)}

Pewter

Pewter\textsuperscript{56} is by far the most common composition of vessels in seventeenth century inventories, yet pewter is seldom recovered in archaeological excavations, especially land sites. First, used pewter was normally recast rather than discarded, like broken ceramics or glass, and secondly, pewter is a metal alloy which does not survive well in the ground (Martin 1989:1). The nature of the Port Royal site precludes both of these factors, however, and pewter items are found in great numbers in pristine condition.

Usually all the pewter in the house was lumped into a \textit{parsell of old pewter} in the inventory. Valuation was determined by weight: old (used or in use) pewter was consistently valued at 7\$d per pound, and new pewter was usually 12$d per pound. Pewterer Simon Benning’s inventory also has a large amount of new pewter valued at 1 shilling per pound, although it is unknown whether the entry referred to raw new pewter or worked.

Pewter was itemized more often than silver. Although pewter entries often follow the same procedure, silver items are more usually found lumped into an

\textsuperscript{55}Probably some type of receptacle for catching water.

\textsuperscript{56}For more detail on the pewter, please refer to Gotelipe-Miller, 1990.
entry detailing only the total weight of all the pieces, such as in John Phipps’ inventory:

In the Inner Chamber: Sundry Sorts of household plate Viz 45 li, old pewter 2 doz plates 4 dishes 5 dozn spoones (V3F600 Capt. John Phipps Port Royall)

Pewter is often referred to as “poor man’s silver,” yet it is present in practically every inventory, even those with prodigious amounts of silver. In fact, pewter was in use by every class (Percival 1920:40). Lewis Archibald’s (V10F265) inventory contains a detailed listing of silver items (see page 104), but not one was a plate.\(^5^7\) His wealthy household used pewter instead of silver for plates: *New pewter dishes qt 49 @ 1/10½, 5 Dozn of plates, Pewter In Common use qt 29 @1/3, 11 Dishes 2 Dozn & 4 plates qt 22 @10d.* In fact, he apparently had just purchased a new set of plates to replace those *in common use.*

Because of the extraordinary preservation at the underwater Port Royal site, household artifact assemblages correspond well to the inventories: plates, dishes, porringers, spoons, forks, knives, candlesticks, salt cellars (see Figure 21), basins, colanders, and tankards (see Figure 22). Salt cellars (originally spelled "seller" from the old French salière meaning salt holder) were used at the dinner table for dispensing salt (Wenham 1951:108).

Port Royal Project excavations of the stairwell area of Building 5 recorded a similar cache of pewter plates as those listed in the inventories of Robert Howard and Thomas Adler (see Figure 23, top).

In the Buttery: 18 pewter dishes 1 pye plate 1 bed pann 5 dozen plates 4 porringers 2 tankards 2 basins 1 funnell in all cont 298 weight at 9 (V3F317 Robert Howard Port Royal butcher)

1 dozen pewter plates, 9 old pewter dishes 17 old pewter plates 1 Cullender 2 dripping panns & 2 small tinn panns (V3F275 Thomas Adler, Mariner, Port Royal)

\(^5^7\)Several other inventories contain a few silver plates, as discussed below.
Silver/Plate

The affluence of the island was reflected in the displays of plate noted by Francis Hanson: "Almost every house hath a rich cupboard of plate" (1683). Indeed, most inventories list some silver. There is no telling how much of the silver listed was obtained from privateering, plundering, and wracking activities, such as in Josia Warner's inventory which listed *Money and plate from the wreck*, valued at a substantial £181 (V3F67 Josia Warner Port Royall).

Silver was cast in the same forms as pewter (tankards, salt cellars, porringer, spoons, forks and knives) except for plates. Only two inventories list two silver plates each (see inventories below), but these inventories also contain a large number of pewter plates, suggesting the silver plates were more likely serving platters.

1 silver candle cup 2 plates ladle (V3F427 William Whitney Port Royall)

a silver salt, 2 silver plates, 3 silver porringers, one silver Cup, one silver, two silver Bodkins, aleaven silver spones, one forke, total weighing 90½ ounces (V3F503 John Campbell)

Even Lewis Archibald's listing of silver, one of the richest and most detailed in the data set, had no plates.
Figure 22 Pewter tankard body and hinged lid. Pr82. Drawing: Margaret Leshikar
Figure 23 Pewter plates. Top: Narrow rim (Benning) Bottom: Deep dish. Drawings: Helen Dewolf.
V10F265 Lewis Archibald Esqr

Plate

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>qt</th>
<th>oz</th>
<th>pw</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 Silver basons</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To 2 Large Salvers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To 4 Small Salvers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To 6 Cups</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To 2 Candlesticks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To 1 Pair of Snuffers &amp; Case</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To 1 Tankard of a Gallon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To 1 Ditto q 2 quarts Jama:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To 3 Ditto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To 6 Salts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To 1 Ladle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To 1 Pepper box</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To 1 Strainer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To 18 Forkes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To 5 Poringers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To 16 Spoons</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To 3 Baby Spoons</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In all qt 512 -8 @5/7 P Ounce</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To 1 Corker Nut tipt with Silver</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To 1 Watch</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In all qt 144 02 -6

Other inventories offer similar assemblages.

Plate: three tankards, 4 porringers, 12 spoones, 12 forkes, 1 childes spoon, 3 silver boxes, 3 salts (V3F217 Charles Cresso, Port Royall Vintner)

2 Silver Tankards 2 Muggs 3 Silver Spoons 1 Silver Peper Box a Snuff Box one Medall a Silver Chain, total 79 Ounces (V10 James Lawrence of Port Royal)

Glass

Bottles are not mentioned often in personal inventories. They were usually confined to taverns, and were frequently in cases of a dozen. Likewise, hundreds of green "onion" bottles have been recovered from the excavations (see Figure 24).

Some thought that wine should be stored in large containers rather than in bottles for hygienic reasons in the seventeenth century (Beaudry 1988:84).

However, Bristol shipping manifests record the importation to Jamaica of thousands
of "English glass bottles" filled with beer or cider as well as empty. The probate inventories also document wine and ale stored in bottles. Port Royal merchant Thomas Craddock (V2F78) stored ale, vinegar, claret, and wine in bottles; Port Royal vintner Charles Cresso’s inventory (V3F217) lists several types of wine stored in bottles; and Charles Booker’s inventory (V3F112) lists six dozen pint bottles of canary, the only reference to the volume of the bottles in the inventories.

v.2 f.78 Thomas Craddock of Port Royall Merchant
In the Great low room on the right hand
2 doz: 5 Bottles off aile .................................................. 01 09 00
2 doz: 1/2 vinegar .......................................................... 00 10 00
1 doz: decayed Clarrett }
1 doz: 2 bottles decayed 10# wine} .................................. 00 04 00

---

58English Goods shipped under Bristol Merchants from May 30 through October 26, 1682.
v.3 f. 217 Charles Cresso, Port Royall Vintner August 13, 1688
25 old & empty casks ........................................... 02 10 00
46 doz of claret
   of which 26 doz 11 sower remaines 20 dozen at 10 £ .......... 10 00 00
2 doz Sover sider ............................................... 00 10 00
3 doz Canary att 15 ........................................... 02 05 00
2 ditto Rhenish at 15 ......................................... 01 10 00
6 empty old cases ........................................... 01 10 00
2 gallons of brandy ........................................... 00 10 00

Drinking glasses are common. They, too, often are listed by the dozen, especially in inventories of vintners and merchants.

The most common glasses listed are green drinking glasses and mum glasses59, and one inventory lists white (clear) glasses:

40 Mumm glasses (V3F332 John Podley Port Royall Merchant)

2 doz & a halfe glasses 4 doz of Mum Do (V3F384 Nicholas Cransbrough Port Royal Vintner)

3 Dozn of green & white glasses of severall sorts & sizes (V3F600 Capt. John Phipps Port Royall)

No vessel form can be inferred from these entries, but excavations have produced some examples of fine stemware (see Figure 25 and McClenaghan 1988).

Vintner Charles Cresso's inventory (V3F217) also contains three dozen "green" glasses, stored in one of the Parretts [garret]; these were probably for use by drinking customers. His personal cache of glassware, which consisted of six glass cups, was located in his lodging chamber.

59Mum-glass: a glass used for drinking mum. Mum: A kind of bitter, potent beer originally brewed in Brunswick. Largely imported into England in the 17th and 18th centuries. In 1677 "The mum at Brunswick is made of wheat and the wheat that is made of is brought from Magdenburg and Shenibank; when it comes to Brunswick it is malted and so made into mum. But the mum at Brunswick is a medicine and drinks very nauseous...that which makes it good...is its being long at Sea." "That which they call mum is scarce drinkable till it has purged itself at see." [OED]
The Ellis tavern inventory (John Ellis, V2F190) contains 30 bottles of claret (described as "bad") as well as 180 empty bottles that were apparently filled as needed with wine (stored in pipes), and brandy (stored in kegs). Only 12 flint glasses are listed, which seems like a small quantity for a tavern, especially when compared to other vintner inventories such as Cresso, who had several dozen green glasses. No glasses at all are listed in Ellis’ wife’s inventory taken five years later.

**V2F190 John Ellis [tavern keeper]**

- 15 dozen bottles .................................................. 00 09 4½
- 52 gallons brandy at 4s p gallon ................................. 10 10 00
- 1½ pipe wine ......................................................... 20 00 00
- 2½ dozen bad claret ................................................. 00 10 00
- 1 dozen flint glasses ................................................. 00 07 06

Other glass articles were rare. Flint glasses (crystal-like) are mentioned in one inventory (Henry Egleton, V3F47), and two inventories list glass cruets, glass spoons, and glass decanters:

_A parcel of ordinary Glasses, Decanters, small Vinigar Cruits, Glass Spoons (V10 James Lawrence of Port Royal)_

**Glass:** 3 Decanters 2 Cruits, Drinking Glasses (V10F265 Lewis Archibald Esqr)
CHAPTER VIII
FURNITURE

Generally speaking, in England, before the Restoration in 1660, most furniture was of oak, boldly carved, though heavy, crude and utilitarian, with comparatively few pieces in use, even in a well-to-do home. When Charles II returned to the throne in 1660, he introduced new ideas of furniture form and decoration from the Continent, especially from France. The Restoration marked an end to the austereness imposed during the Commonwealth. The general design trend became light and graceful, with slender turning. French, Dutch, and oriental fashion influence found their way into all aspects of the English culture, particularly furniture and clothing. Gloag sums up seventeenth-century furniture in Table 4, taken from *A Short Dictionary of Furniture* (1951:552-553).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Late Seventeenth-Century Furniture</td>
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<td>(from Gloag 1951:552-553)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Furniture
- All the basic articles of furniture now show an exuberance of form and decoration, and a variety of specialized functions.
- Upholstered furniture, chairs, settees, day beds, chests of drawers, chests on stands, cabinets on stands, scrutoires [scriptores].
- Easy chairs (at end of period) with high backs and wings.
- Long case clocks, carved and gilded chandeliers.
- Sconces. Looking glasses and pier glasses
- Tables in great variety
- Lacquer work — screens and cabinets

Methods of Construction
- Joined furniture, turned work, and the introduction of veneering.
- Veneering demands greater skill, and cabinet making, as distinct from joiners' work, is practiced by specially skilled craftsmen.
- Marquetry inlay used to decorate surfaces. Japanning introduced.
Table 4, continued

Materials
- Oak, Walnut, and native woods, including fruit woods (lime and pearwood used for carving).
- Lacquer imported from the East.
- Canework, leather, fabrics, glass.

Makers
- The cabinet maker, whose craft was established with the introduction of veneering.
- Chairmakers, Japanners, looking glass makers, carvers and gilders, clock makers, upholsterers.

Styles and Fashions
- Foreign influences affecting design. Portuguese and Dutch.
- Architectural design influencing the embellishment of furniture.
- Reaction from Puritan utility apparent in Carolean period — elaborate carving and gilding.
- Rise of taste for Oriental things — lacquer, porcelain.
- Increase in the general comfort of furnishing.

The medieval stiffness of the early sixteenth century was replaced by a new flexibility of line; a balance was struck between turned and carved work, with less dependence on classical motifs and greater prominence for the spiral twist (Gloag 1964:76). Upholstery was made of materials such as damask, brocade, brocatelle, fine needlework, embroidery, and cut velvet, with trimmings of braid, threaded with gold, and thick silk fringes, tasselled and scalloped (Ibid. 1964:80).

The Restoration period is often termed the "Walnut Period." Walnut did become the wood of choice for building furniture, but oak, mahogany, ash, elm and beech were still used widely, and Spanish walnut was imported for joiners' work (Gloag 1964:68). Olive wood also was very popular during the reign of Charles II for chest of drawers and looking glass frames (Gloag 1951:343).

Cabinet making came into being as a specialization in furniture making. Veneering enabled all sorts of new decorative effects to be obtained, was introduced from France and Holland and quickly became popular. The technique
consists of laying a thin sheet of wood upon a base of a lesser wood. Japanning also was introduced in the late seventeenth century. Japanning, a process that imitated Japanese lacquerwork, met part of a growing taste for oriental things. Gesso work was imported from Italy during the reign of William and Mary. In this process, a plaster-like mixture was layered on to the woodwork which was then carved and gilded (Yarwood ND:148).

The Restoration also saw new forms of furniture emerge. People were no longer content with multi-purpose utilitarian furniture, such as the medieval chest which had once served as a seat, table, and travelling chest, which evolved into the chest of drawers during the late seventeenth century. Specialized pieces appeared that reflected England's increased desire for items of luxury and leisure, such as china cabinets fitted with glass doors, bookcases, writing cabinets, chests of drawers, mirrors, tall clock cases, card tables, and various cabinets fitted with small drawers, and cupboards, as well as fully upholstered chairs (Hayward ND:89).

Furniture was an important element of seventeenth-century material culture. Items such as beds, looking glasses, and tables were status symbols. This attitude of "keeping up with the Jones" can be seen in the following anecdote which appeared in the Rhode Island Gazette on January 25, 1733, written by someone who called himself the "tradesman" whose wife "had a strong inclination to be a Gentlewoman." When their looking glass broke, a chain of events started that resulted in the refurnishing of the entire house. She said to her husband:

"We may as well buy a larger fashionable one that Mr. Sucha one has to sell, it will cost but little more than a common Glass, and will be much handsomer and more creditable."

Soon after the looking glass was purchased, the tradesman's wife pointed out that the table in the room was "by no means suitable for such a glass." The new table was followed by the purchase of new "very handsome" chairs prompting the tradesman to lament, "And thus by Degrees I found all my old furniture stowed up into the Garret; and everything below altered from the better."

With these acquisitions made, the tradesman was hopeful that this rampant display of consumerism was ended. He noted, "Had we stop'd here we might have done well enough."
Unfortunately this was not to be the case, he continues: "My wife being entertained with Tea by the good Women she visited, we could do no less than the like when they visited us, and so we got a Tea Table with its Appurtenances of China and Silver."

Following the purchase of the tea table, the approach taken by the tradesman's wife changed, or so he suggests:
"Then my spouse overworked herself washing the house, so that we could do no longer without a maid."

By displaying an inability to have dinner on time, the wife was able to convince her husband that a clock was the next necessity. (From Beaudry 1988:186)

**Forms, Benches, Settles**

Forms were long benches with backs used with long tables, originally designed for group dining in the halls of great houses. The form in Robert Howard's hall suggests that at least one of the tables was rectangular:

*In the Hall: two tables 4 stoolees & 1 forme (V3F317 Robert Howard Port Royall butcher 1689)*

By 1650, oak settles, very similar to the form but not as long, came into use for seating. These had a panel back and arms. Some had box seats to store linen, etc., and the back might be hinged to create a table. Charles Booker's inventory lists the only settles in the inventory sample:

*two settles two formes six joynt stoolees (V3F112 Charles Booker 1688)*

Almost every inventory had seats of one type or another. There are nine inventories with benches, almost all in conjunction with tables, and one inventory lists a bench and table in the bedroom. Forms are itemized in 12 inventories.

*In the Hall below staires: One table and forme, nine Jamaica made chaires.*

*In the first roome above staires: One table and two formes, 6 jamaica made chaires, 2 old chests, 2 net worke hammackoes (V3F335 Jobe Newberry 1689)*
Couches

Twenty inventories list couches in a variety of settings. Couches served both for sitting and sleeping, and many were actually settees or day-beds, although those terms are never mentioned. In fact, "couche" was a medieval term for a bed (Gloag 1951:209). A settee was simply an upholstered two-seat arm chair, while a day-bed was longer for sleeping with only one raised end.

Many inventories describe couches as being made of cane; none indicate upholstery, although this may be implied by the term couch (i.e., lack of marking). Most couches are listed in a hall, dining room, or parlor, often in the same entry as other chairs, and so probably were more like settees than day-beds, especially those of cane (2 cane couches 29 chairs (V3F47)). Many of these combined chair/couch entries may conceal another implied description from the cane chairs listed first, such as in John Pope’s inventory (V2F40): 13 Cane chairs & one couch Although the couch is not described as cane, it is possible that it was included in the same entry as the cane chairs because it, too, was cane.

Other couch entries suggest more of a day-bed form, such as the cott couch60 and quilt entry in Charles Booker’s inventory (V3F112) and 1 couch and bedding (followed by an entry of 2 pillows 1 pillow beer) in Ralph Smith’s inventory (V3F371). Couches in bedchambers were probably for sitting when a bed is listed with it: Six caine chaires one couch and bedstead curtains & vallains of callico wth feather bed boulster & pillow a looking glass & small table in Mr. Lewis chamber (V3F321 John Tull).

---

60Cot and couch here are probably two separate pieces of furniture, with the comma missing. A similar entry in Charles Cresso’s inventory (V3F217) distinguishes the two: a cott a couch.
Chairs

Stools were popular from the second quarter of the seventeenth century, and began replacing benches and forms. They often had turned legs in the form of columns or balusters (Thornton, 1978:182). The "joynt" stool is very common in the inventories. Although no descriptions are given in the entries, it was common for them to have cushions or to be upholstered. The stool evolved into a "back stool," which was the commonest form of chair from the mid-seventeenth century until well into the last quarter when it was supplanted by the cane chair (Thornton 1978:284).

The typical chair of the late seventeenth century, the cane chair, was an armless straight-back chair with a caned panel in the back and carved ornament on the crest and rails. The legs and back uprights were sometimes turned or carved in a twisted or "barley-sugar" pattern. Leather and "turkey work" (turkish tapestry) upholstery also often were used for seat and back covering.

The cane chairs were especially well suited for the Jamaican climate. In fact, the Cane-Chair Makers Company of England claimed that many cane chairs were exported "into almost all parts of the world where heat renders turkey-work...useless" (Thornton, 1978:202). "Jamaica made chairs" listed in Jobe Newberry’s inventory were most likely cane chairs, and confirms furniture-making activities on the Island.

Another common chair type in the inventories is the "elbow" chair. This was an arm chair with arms shaped with a curve and depression especially to accommodate the sitter’s elbows. "Elbow chair" essentially refers to any armchair as opposed to a straight backed chair without arms.

Trunks and Chests

There were no closets as we know them today, so clothing, linen, and other personal items were stored in trunks, chests and chests of drawers. Trunks and chests were the forerunners of chests of drawers, which evolved by the addition of drawers and then legs (Thornton 1978:298).
Trunk and chest entries abound in the inventories. In general, based on the contents of trunks and chests, the term trunk apparently referred to a larger utilitarian piece, whereas the term chest referred to a smaller, decorative receptacle for personal possessions such as money and jewelry, or specific items such as soap or guns. This trend can be observed in the following inventories:

1 trunk ct old hangings and a pèrcell bookes, 1 Trunck of 2/2 glasse buttons at together (125 00 00), 2 trunks of sundry sortes haberdashry ware at (58 00 00), 2 ditto: Cont. sundry sortes Haberdashry ware at (220 00 00) (V3F12 Henry Coward Port Royall Merchant)

One chest soape qt 1s12, One chest for the guns (V3F60 John Kent)

Cash in his chest £48 (V3F114 William Smith Port Royall Merchant)

1 Bermuda Ceder Chest & 1 old Sea Chest (V10 John Gibbens Port Royall Mariner)

1 iron chest, 2 small Haire trunks, 3 old trunks (V3F249b Daniell Hickes Port Royall Merchant)

A Haire trunk 2 Span Chests two small Leather Trunks (V3F323 Thomasine Ellis Port Royall Widdow)

Chests of Drawers

Chests of drawers became fashionable after 1660, evolving from the addition of one or more drawers to chests and trunks. They were often mounted on carved or scrolled legs.

Thirty-eight percent of the households list one or more chests of drawers, which were often in the proximity of looking glasses. Some were doubtless very beautiful and of high quality, although many were described as "old." Various types
of wood were noted, including olive wood and elm, sometimes with inlay. The following entries relate some of the more ornate chest of drawers in the inventories:

2 Olive wood chests of Drawers (£7) (V3F255)

One Inlaid chest Drawers table stand &c (£10) (V3F259)

A Spanish Elme Chest of Drawers (£2 10s), An ordinary Chest of drawers (5s) (V3F272)

A Table Stand and Chest Drawers all inlaid (V3F375)

Some inventories identify the contents of the chest of drawers, often the household linens:

In the Chest of Draws:
Eight pe of Sheetes Eight Ozerbrigg, Table Cloaths 4 dyap Cloaths, Nine pe of great Pillowbeers, 5 pe of Small Pillowbeers, 3 doz of Dyap Napkins, One doz of new Holland Napkins, 4 doz of Ozenbrigg Napkins, 6 Sideboard Cloaths 20 Towells (V2F81)

A chest drawers without locks having nothing but some old lynnyn baggs (V3F291)

The "negative marking" in the second entry implies that most chest of drawers had locks, and usually contained better quality items.

Presses

Press broadly refered to a cupboard. It could be used for clothing, such as the Press for cloathes in Major William Moore's [bed]chamber (V3F328). Port Royal merchant Joshua Bright's store (V3F362b) was furnished with presses & counters. Other presses were located in the hall or kitchen to store the household silver, pewter, or linens:

V3F254 Thomas Stichbury Port Royall chyrurgeon
Cookroom[?]
1 old Press ................................................................. 01 00 00
6 Table Cloathes ......................................................... 00 13 06
- 20 old Diap napkins ........................................... 90 15 00
- 22 Ozembrigs napkins ........................................ 00 10 00
- 6 Towells & 1 pr old curtains ............................... 00 05 00
- 20 Pillowbears .................................................. 00 12 06
- 6 Shelle Cloathes .............................................. 00 01 06

Only one entry offers any description of a press. Charles Barre's First Room was particularly well furnished with:

V3F255 Charles Barre Port Royall Merchant, Vintnor 1689
In the First Room
A Mahogany Press wth 2 folding doors one Large .................. 02 00 00
Mahogany Oval Table .............................................. 01 10 00
5 Old Pictures w/ Black frames ................................... 03 03 1½
a small table 3 chaires of old leather and a joynt stoole 1 old chest ... 00 08 00

Beds

The bed was considered the most essential and important item of furniture of the household (Yarwood ND:150). It was often more remarkable for its textiles than for the woodwork, which was generally concealed by its hangings. Charles Barre's inventory contains two typical bed entries:

One bedsted with Pintado Curtins Vallans & Counterpaine small feather bed and boulster (£8), One bedsted Callicco Curtins & vallins & Counterpaine 1 old feather & boulster (£2) (V3F255 Charles Barre)

Gloag (1951:135) notes that since the sixteenth century the term "bed" has included the bedstead as well as the bedding, but the Port Royal inventories routinely itemize the bed. The "bedstead" entailed only the wooden support structure, with four tall corner posts on a frame, and a headboard, sometimes carved. The "bed" was the mattress, stuffed with flock (wool) or feathers:

1 Small Flock Bed & Bolster & 2 Quilts (£1), 1 Small Fether Bed & 2 Pillows (£1 5s) (V10F238)

"Furniture" consisted of the bed hangings (curtains, valances and counterpanes), as well as the sheets, pillows, bolsters, and quilts. The curtains were hung from the top
frame by curtain rings (see Figure 26). The bolster stretched across the full width of the head of the bed, with one or two smaller pillows against it.

![Figure 26 Bone curtain ring. Drawing: Helen Dewolf.]

Truckle or trundle beds were small, low beds that were stored beneath a big ordinary size bed and used by servants or children. Two inventories do list "trundle" beds in the same entries as a larger companion bed. "Truckle" beds in two other inventories appear to be without the companion bed, however:

3 standing & 1 trundle bedstead (£1 10s) (V2F40)

one bedstead & trundle bed (V3F327 George Diggins)

In the Porch Chamber: One old truckle bed, Two old chests, a pcell of lynnin (V3F355 John Salmon)

1 Truckle bed a Jug & a Old Box (V3F254 Thomas Stichbury)

Numerous "hamacos" (hammocks) and sea beds are listed in the inventories. Hammocks are described as "net work" and cotton. Seabeds were probably like hanging cots (see below), a framed canvas bed.

1 old sea bed and pillow (13s 9d) (V3F10)
In the first roome above staires: One table and two formes, 6 jamaica made chaires, 2 old chests, 2 net worke hammackoes. (V3F335 Jobe Newberry)

Cots are almost as numerous as beds. According to Gloag, cots were also a form of hammock, specifically "a canvas bed suspended from the beams of a ship" (1951:207). However, the Jamaican inventories clearly differentiate the hammock, seabed, and cot as separate forms, as seen in William Brock's inventory (Port Royall V3F350 1690) which lists in one entry Two old flock beds 2 bedsteads one old pair curtains 2 old blanketts a small sea bed and Cott and one old Hamacar.

Other inventories describe the cot as having a frame (one framed cott V3F105 and three cott frames V3F327), sometimes made of cane, and many cots are listed with their own mattresses, bolsters and "cot quilts." John Philpott's inventory (V3F285) provides further information about the form of cots. His inventory lists brass chaines for cots which were probably the stringers that supported the mattress.

Like the trundle and truckle beds, cots are listed both alone and with larger beds, and were used by the servants and slaves. Alone, cots are especially numerous in cookroom areas and workshops, such as at Daniell Hickes' Pott Worke (V3F249). Besides 1 bedd & furniture and 2 bedstedds, there were 6 cots, which were presumably for the negroes mentioned in the next entry.

Other inventories list cots in a bed chamber or a parlor, or affiliated with a larger bed where no room is named, suggesting that cots also were used like trundle beds. John Worthenton's Letel Chamber contained One small bed & furniture, one small foulding table, 7 small pictors, and One Cott & Bed [mattress]; Major William Moore's inventory (V3F328) lists a Cott & Quilt (£2) in an entry immediately following a Bedd Bedstead & quilt (£6); and Thomas Craddock's inventory contains typical entries for cots included with a larger bed:
V2F78 Thomas Craddock of Port Royall Merchant
An old Hamacce .......................... 00 02 00
A Bedstead, bed, Cott, Quilt, Bolster 2 Pillowes, Curtaines, cloth, 2 Window
Curtaines 12 Cases for Stooles .......................... 12 00 00
In the Little rooms up one p.E of Stairs
A Bedsted, Bed, Cott, Piniade, Curtains, & wallware .......................... 10 00 00

Tables

The gate-leg table (which folded in on itself) was a popular style, but only
one inventory specifies a fouling table (Robert Howard V3F317, see below). Oak
gate-leg tables were especially common, generally with plainly turned legs and
block or ball feet (Percival 1920:20). Folding tables accommodated the widespread
custom of placing the table against the wall when not in use. Tea tables were also
popular at this time, but none were mentioned within the inventory sample.

Tables were almost always draped with a "turkey work" carpet or a linen
table cloth (Thornton 1978:239) such as in John Wildboro's inventory, and
accompanied by a looking glass or picture on the wall above, as in Henry Egleton's
inventory:

1 small table & Turkey work carpett old £1 (V3F202 John
Wildboro)

one olive wood table and glasse, one inlaid table glasse and stands,
one inlaid small table (V3F47 Henry Egleton)

The inventories contain a wide range of tables in various sizes, shapes, and
woods. Walnut was popular for tables from about 1670 on, though the inventories
also list mahogany, "Spanishwood," "plumwood," Spanish Elm, cedar and Olive
wood:

1 small foulding table and 6 leather chaires, 1 Plumwood table, 1
Spanishwood table and stande (V3F317 Robert Howard Butcher)

One of the most detailed furniture entries describes the Great Room of Port
Royal merchant Charles Barre (V3F255):
2 Mahogany Tables with Turned frames, 1 small table, 12 old Turkey work chairs, 13 old leather chairs, 1 large leaf of a Deale Ovall Table, 1 Marshaneell table & drawer 2 stands, 1 Ovall Spanish Table 1 square table with Turned, 3 leather chairs 1 small Spanish Elme Table 1 sconce, Mahogony Ovall Table (V3F255)

Most other entries are rather vague, and describe the table only by its shape and size in relation to other tables in the room:

1 Large Oval Table (£1 10s), 1 Small Ditto £10, 4 Square Tables £2 (V10F238)

Tables were often grouped with the accompanying chairs and benches, offering information about a room’s seating arrangements, such as in the following entries.

In the Parlour: 4 Caine Chairs 1 leather chair 1 square table
In the Dining Room: 14 Caine chairs, 1 caine couch, 1 round table, 1 square table (V3F249 Daniel Hickes, Port Royal Merchant)

Table & nine chairs in the hall (V3F328)

In the dyneing roome: 1 large round table, 10 caine chairs (V3F397)

It should be noted that the term "a pair of tables" referred to a board game set rather than two tables (Thornton 1978:231).

Mirrors

The mirror (looking glass) was an imported rarity from Venice until the second half of the seventeenth century (Joy 1962:27). When manufacture began in England, wall mirrors with decorative frames became fashionable and commonplace. The average frame was of decorated wood, often identical to picture frames, topped with an arch (Wills 1965:17). Mirrors and pictures were hung from two rings or hooks on the back of the frame, and canted downward so the top of the frame was several inches from the wall (Thornton 1978:252).
Thirty-nine percent of the inventories have looking glasses. Some have several, located in different rooms, such as the hall, parlor, or lodging chamber. None are described, and sometimes their treatment is rather nonchalant. Many inventories merely list a "glass" along with tables and chairs. Some looking glasses were valued very low (1 old fashion Looking Glass Large 15s (V3F202)) while others were given high appraisals, as much as £5 for one "large" looking glass (V10F23).

Small hand-held mirrors are also listed, but only as merchandise, such as in Andrew Burne’s inventory: 3 pocket looking glasses 8 combs (00 10 7½) (V3F10).

**Close Stools**

The close stool was an indoor toilet. Two forms were common in the seventeenth century. One form was simply an armchair with a padded toilet seat, and a hole open to a chamber pot below. Several inventories refer to this type as a "close stool chair". The other type was a lidded box, with the chamber pot or basin enclosed in the base. The chamber pot is called a "pan" in the inventories. Several earthenware chamber pots have been recovered in the Port Royal Project.

Twenty-one inventories list close stools, usually only one per household, and usually in a bedroom, although some are listed amongst the kitchen items. Only Henry Morgan’s inventory has three close stools and pans, all apparently in the kitchen. Privies may have been used in Port Royal, but would have had to be shallow because of the high water table.
CHAPTER IX
TEXTILES

Cloth

Textiles abound in the Port Royal inventories as they do in contemporary merchant inventories in Boston. There are so many, in fact, that this thesis cannot adequately cover them. Table 5 presents a cursory list of 61 different types of cloth mentioned within the inventory sample, which are defined further in the Glossary. Only an overview will be attempted here to provide a base for more comprehensive studies into the textiles of seventeenth-century Port Royal.

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<th>lutestring</th>
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<td>broad cloth</td>
<td>flannel</td>
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<td>calamito stuff</td>
<td>fustian</td>
<td>nickanees</td>
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<td>calico</td>
<td>galoones</td>
<td>oland</td>
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<td>camblet</td>
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<td>hartford</td>
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<td>cockscombe purle</td>
<td>holland</td>
<td>perpetuary</td>
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<td>cotton</td>
<td>kentings</td>
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<td>velvett</td>
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<td>crape</td>
<td>knott</td>
<td>picotes</td>
<td>Some accessories:</td>
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<td>crapesels</td>
<td>lace</td>
<td>remnants</td>
<td>needles</td>
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<tr>
<td>crocas</td>
<td>lawnes</td>
<td>ribbon</td>
<td>buttons</td>
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<td>duck</td>
<td>Linecy</td>
<td>romall</td>
<td>scissors</td>
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<tr>
<td>edging</td>
<td>linen</td>
<td>romates</td>
<td>pins and pin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Refer to Glossary for descriptions
Except for fragments of badly preserved cloth and knitted material found in excavations and a few preserved specimens in museum collections, supplementary evidence is virtually the only source for this aspect of daily seventeenth-century life.

Almost all the household’s cloth items, including clothing, were custom made, either by a tailor or by someone in the household. The tailor was an important member of society by the seventeenth century; he made his own patterns for both men and women (Ewing 1984:13). The cloth, linings, buttons, and trimmings were normally provided by the customer, and generally cost more than the tailor’s fee (ibid.). Samuel Pepys talks about his occasion to buy cloth for a suit and cloak:

Bought my cloth, coloured for a suit and cloak, to line with plush the cloak, which will cost me money, but I find that I must go handsomely, whatever it costs me, and the charge will be made up in the fruit it brings. (Pepys, October 21, 1664)

Only one inventory contains a reference to cloth intended for a specific piece of clothing:

a ps of cloth to make two shirts, 2 old suits of clothes & hose, 2 pr old breeches & one old shirt, a pcoll old shirts (V3F488 Thomas Buckley Port Royall)

The inventory of Port Royal tailor Williams Jaymes (V3F312) contains a listing of all sorts of cloth, which almost suggests that Jaymes did provide the cloth for his clients. Most are listed as remnants, however, and it is more likely that they were left overs.

A parcoll of Collerd threads, 4 1/3 of stocking & sewing silk, a remnant of burkrun, a scarlett Segrge Coat, 1 remnant of Segrge, 1 ps of white calicoe, 1 ps of yallow ditto, 1 remnt of oringe collrd do, 3 yards of searge, A remnt of browne ozenbriggs, A yard of blew sattin breeches, 1 Beaver hatt, A remnt of black Perpetuary, A remnt of blew paragan, A remnt of stuffe, A remnt of do, a remnt of do, a remnt of gold colr, a rement of blew perpetuary, a rement of black callico, a rement of ozenbriggs, a remnt of fushan, a remnt of sad collrd searge a bundle of remnant stuff & silk, 1 greate coate,
A Bundle of remnts & stuffes, small pcoll of silver thread loop &c, 
9 Remnts of Ferretts (V3F312 William Jaymes Port Royall Tailor)

Dry goods trade was big business for merchants, so big, in fact, that the two 
richest men within the inventory sample were textile merchants. Port Royal 
merchants carried a huge variety of cloth. In fact, there were so many types of 
cloth on the market that a textile guide was published in 1696 entitled The 
Merchant's Ware-house laid open, Or, The Plain Dealing Linnen-Draper, which 
described the uses of different varieties and qualities of cloth according to social 
groups and types of clothing.

Further complication was caused by the merging of textile names. As certain 
textiles became popular, their names became generic, such as holland for good-
quality bleached linen from that country (Montgomery 1984:xiii). Popularity also 
led to confusion caused by local production of imitations, which were often sold 
under the name of the authentic fabric.

Dry goods was an important commodity, and many merchants specialized in 
cloth and haberdasheries. Merchant inventories confirm that there were numerous 
textile shops in Port Royal, and many of Port Royal streets must have appeared 
very similar to London's Cheapside, as described by Ewing:

*Shopping was a well established activity, and the streets were lined with 
stores selling a wide range of goods. In London, "mercers," ladies' 
tailors (who were men, of course) and lacemen clustered in Paternoster 
Row, drapers and booksellers were cheek-by-jowl in St. Paul's 
churchyard and its environs. Cheapside was full of shops selling 
tempting accessories. On London Bridge fashion goods predominated. 
In the new London there was a start of the westward trend which has 
been a feature of London shopping ever since, with the New Exchange 
in the Strand becoming a particular centre of attraction for the small 
purchases increasingly sought after in the new mood of easy, informal 
enjoyment of the passing moment which was a feature of Restoration 
Textile shops were often located in the front room of the ground floor of the owner's home. In addition to fixed shops, there was an array of pedlars, hawkers, and street vendors dealing in small items, such as pins and ribbons, and second-hand clothes, which made up a large part of the textile trade (see Figure 27).

Linens

A large house would be stocked with "prodigious quantities of linen, meticulously listed and stored separately, like the household plate" (Thornton, 1978:286). Indeed, the inventory takers were meticulous, and it is obvious that special attention was given to these articles. Linens\(^{61}\) were often stored in a chest of drawers or a trunk, although only a few inventories itemize this.

The average inventory lists table cloths, napkins, towels, sheets, "pillowbears" (pillow cases), window curtains, and bed hangings. Diaper (a linen fabric usually woven with a diamond pattern), Ozenbriggs (a coarse West German linen), and Damask (a twilled linen) were popular fabrics for napkins\(^{62}\) and table cloths. Holland and Cambric, a fine white linen, were also commonly used for household linens. Tablecloths made of damask were usually accompanied by matching napkins (Thornton 1978:286), supported by this entry in John Ellis' inventory (V2F190): 1 old damase table cloth 1 doz d napkins.

Window curtains and bed hangings were often made of calico (a cotton cloth) or pintado (an eastern cotton cloth painted or printed with colors).

*Bed Curtains, 6 Table Cloathes, 20 old Diap napkins, 22 Ozenbriggs napkins, 6 Towells & 1 pr old curtains, 20 Pillowbears, 6 Shelve Cloathes. (V3F254 Thomas Stichbury Port Royall chyrurgeon)*

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\(^{61}\)The term "linens" is used in a general sense as a catch-all term for the household's cloth items (except for clothing), including table cloths, napkins, sheets, and curtains, whether they were made of linen or not.

\(^{62}\)Napkins usually measured 70 by 100 cm during most of the seventeenth century, but increased to about 90 by 115 cm towards the end of the century. (Thornton 1978:286)
Figure 27 Shopping in London. (Ewing 1984:15)
Table linen: 1 Piece of New Diaper, 13 Diaper table Cloaths, 2 Hucker back ditto, 22 Ditto Napkins, 24 Diaper Ditto, 10 Ditto Towells, 5 Ozenbrigg table Cloaths, 12 Ditto Napkins, 3 Ditto Towells (V10F265 Lewis Archibald Esqr.)

Next his hall: 14 pr sheets and 1 odd one, 14 pr pillow boors, 1 damask table cloth & 12 napkins, 10 table cloths & 10 napkins of diapers, 8 course towells and 17 napkins, 14 course towells and 4 diapers, 5 callico curtins & remnt. Ticking. (V3F257 Major William Moore Esq. Port Royall)

Linnen: 14 pr shooes, 37 towells, 1 doz bro: ozen: napkins, 1 doz diap ditto, 6 white ozen. do, 10 p of window curtaines, 11 old ozenbr. table cloathes, 4 dyap do., 1 dyap sheet, 1 damask table cloath, 2 laced cubbard cloaths, 1 plaine do, 10 pillowbeers 5 of them laced, 1 suite of white callicoe curtaines and vallans and ademity fringd counterpaine, One suite of cloathes and a hatt (V3F317 Robert Howard Port Royall butcher)

Not only were the sheets and napkins enumerated with care, but also remnants of material. Henry Morgan’s inventory lists most of his household linen and remnants in succession, suggesting finished pieces, cloth, and remnants were stored together.

a prcell of sheets and pillow boors, a prcell of Diaper Table cloths and napkins, a prcell of damask ditto, a prcell of Ozenbrigg napkins, a prcell of damask diapers & Oz towells, six side board cloathes, six old cushions, Three remnts of Holland, Several remnts of course linen, Thre yds & ¾ of Cambrich (V3F259 Sir Henry Morgan Port Royall)

Clothing

The Restoration era (1660-1685) marked a time of luxuriousness and extravagance in dress after the stark, somber Cromwellian period. French style influenced English fashions upon Charles II’s return from exile in France (see Figure 28).
During the seventeenth century, tradesmen and artisans began to move up in the ranks of society. Additionally, Port Royal's financial prosperity created an upper class established mostly on "new money." Francis Crow, a Port Royal visitor in 1687, observed "a cooper's wife shall go forth in the best flowered silks and richest silver and gold lace that England can afford." (Cadbury, 1959:54)

The inventory of Port Royal cooper William Neal (V3F329) does not list any clothing, but his inventory was worth over £700, including £374 of cash, which would certainly permit him to purchase fine clothing. On the other hand, another cooper's inventory, worth only £139, lists clothing mostly of low quality fabric.\(^6\)

\[^6\]Fustian and "stuff" refer to coarse woollen fabrics, although Camlet refers to Camlet, a higher quality fabric made with wool and silk (Cummings 1964).

\[\text{Serge coat and breeches black hair buttons, Old stuffe coat and breeches, Old stuff coat breeches and fusition jacket, Old worsted Camblet Coat, 3 shirts, 3 round robins, 2 fusition Jackettes 2 neck clothes and a cravate. (V3F380 Adam Weenan Port Royall)}\]

Other inventories indicate some had a lax attitude toward fashion. John Innes' inventory (V3F519) was worth over £300, but his wearing apparel consisted
only of two coates one paire of breeches & 1 torne shirt worth £2 05 06. Most of his money was apparently tied up in a ship and trade goods.64

Often the deceased’s clothing was listed merely as His wearing apparron or A suite of clothes. Some inventories do not mention any clothing at all. The person obviously did not run around naked, so apparently the clothing was considered worthless or was handed down to a friend or relative.

By the end of the seventeenth century, ready-made clothing was becoming more popular in England, and more merchants began carrying items other than stockings and shoes. Port Royal merchant inventories indicate this new trend took longer to appear in Jamaica. This is possibly explained by Port Royal’s opulence. Table 6 offers a summary of ready-made clothing articles available from merchants. Coats are the only outerwear articles listed ready-made in merchant inventories.

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Table 6</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Summary of Merchants’ Stock of Ready-Made Clothing</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Clothing:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hats:</td>
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<td>Shoes:</td>
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64He owned one quarter of the sloop Diligence, along with various amounts of bulk dry goods, soap, and a slave.
Men’s Fashion

The modern version of the man’s suit, consisting of a coat, waistcoat, and breeches or trousers, is considered by most to have evolved by the last quarter of the seventeenth century (Byrne 1979:71) From the 1670s on, there were variations in the cut and style of these three garments but the essence of the suit did not change. The garments which made up the suit were intended to be worn together, but they were not necessarily of the same color and material. Until the nineteenth century it was not uncommon for the fabric of the breeches or trousers and the waistcoat to differ from the coat (Ibid.). The most usual materials for the male suit were silk or wool, although linen was used for cool, lightweight suits in hot climates like Jamaica (Byrne 1979:71). Decoration often consisted of embroidery, gold and silver lace, or braid (Ibid., 73), illustrated by James Lawrence’s inventory, which describes 1 stuff coat trim’d with silver lin’d with Blew (V10F238).

*In a Cedar Dress: Waring apparell: 12 shirts, 8 pair of white stockings, 5 pair of plaine ruffles, 7 plain neckclothes, 2 white handkerchiefs, 1 old periwig. Waring Aparell: 2 coates, 2 pr of breaches* (V3F217 Charles Cresso, Port Royall Vintner)

*In the greate Roome up one p of Stairs: A Cloth suit with a stript & flowers Sattin Lining & Stockins, a Suit with Plate Buttons, 6 old Suites, 3 of Silk 2 Worsted 1 Shammy 1 Callico Stockins, 2 Beavors 1 hatband, 2 hatts, 2 Spanish hatts, A Sleeping Capp, 4 old wiggs, 6 p Shoes 4 a Box, 13 old round Robins & 2 old wastcotes, 4 Chellae Handkerchiefs, 6 Old Handkerchiefs, 6 New Shirts, 12 Old Ones, 2 Laced neckcloths laced ruffles, a Laced Apron, 9 neckcloths & 9 Ruffles, 8 p. Linnen Drawers, 7 Old neckcloths, A pcell of Gloves, 1 larg Backsword with Silver Hilt, 1 Silver hilted Rapier, A Silvr. hilted Rapier with half shell, 2 silver headed Canes, A belt* (V2F78 Thomas Craddock of Port Royall Merchant)

*A great coate a Close Coat a pair of breeches, 2 old p wiggs, 8 shirts 12 waistcoats 5 pair drawers 5 handkerchiefs 4 pair silke 2 pair th’ed hose 4 laced cravatts & neckcloths 2 pair lact ruffles, a silver hilted sword and belt, a silver headed caine, a paire pockett pistolls* (V3F347 Joseph Bedow Port Royall Merchant)
Cravats. The neckcloth, or cravat, evolved in England during the 1630s. In the last decades of the seventeenth century, the cravat was long, full and lacy, and became quite a showpiece (see Figure 29).

Figure 29 Charles II (1684) with black periwig and lace-edged cravat. (Yarwood ND:166)

Wigs. By 1660 a "full bottomed" wig was worn (see Figure 29). Wigs were usually made of human hair. Brown or black were the most general colors, although blond wigs became fashionable in the later 1660s. The hair was attached either to a base of parchment-like material, or, more commonly, to a netting.

Men would have their own hair cut short or completely shaved, which, besides being more comfortable and hygienic (especially in Jamaica), made the wig easier to put on (Byrde, 1979). Samuel Pepys relates the purchase of his periwig:

November 3, 1663. By and by comes Chapman the periwig maker, and [upon] my liking it, without more ado I went up and there he cut off my haire; which went a little to my heart at present to part with it, but it being over and my periwig on, I paid him 3£ for it; and away went he with my own hair to make up another of; and I by and by, after I had caused all my maids to look upon it and they conclude it to become me, though Jane was mightily troubled for my parting with my own hair and so was Besse.
By the 1690s the periwig had become so full that the French custom of carrying one’s hat under one’s arm was adopted (Evans 1950:145).

It is uncertain how popular wigs were in Port Royal because of the heat. Wigs were listed in only seven inventories, and no wig associated items (wig curlers and stands) were recovered in the Port Royal Project.

Canes, Swords, and Hats. The walking stick or cane was commonly carried with ordinary dress, and was fashionable and ornamental (see Figure 30). In fact,

![Figure 30 The Squire of Alsatie, 1688. M. Laroon II. Engraving from Cries of London.](image)

walking sticks of fine wood or cane were regularly exported to England (Byrde 1979:214). Michaell Baker’s inventory contains several varieties of canes as merchandise. The strings referred to the streamers (ribbons) that often decorated the handle:
9 Gilt headed Canes, 9 Canes with twisted heads and Strings, 23
ditto without strings, 8 Canes 2 of which are broke (V3F603
Michaell Baker)

The sword, like the walking stick, also was worn with civilian dress, as described
by Pepys in his diary:

This day I first began to go forth in my coat and sword, as the manner
now among gentlemen is. (Pepys, February 3, 1661)

Many swords in the inventories are associated with the deceased's clothing. Jobe
Newberry's inventory (V3F335) contains a typical reference to a sword amongst the
deceased clothing:

In the chamber above stairs: 1 suite of cloathes, sword & belte, 2
old coates one riding & wearing one (V3F335 Jobe Newberry)

Hats. In England, hats were not always worn because of the bulk of the wig,
but they were still fashionable. By the 1690s, wide brims were cocked on three
sides of the hat and arranged to form an equilateral triangle with a point to the
front of the head (Byrde 1979:180). Hats, useful for protection from the hot
Jamaican sun, were more common in the inventories than wigs.

Some hats were made of beaver, which became known as "beavers" or
"beaverettes," although rabbit was also used. "Castor" also referred to hats either
made of beaver, but "castors" and "demi-castors" were probably inferior to beavers
and made only of rabbit. William Fry & son specialized in casters and beavers, as
suggested by these goods bought on account from merchant Richard Way:

6 black Casters, 33 Casters for youths, 17 fine Carolina Hatts, 2
white beavers, 2 black ditto, 1 superfine white beavers, 6 black &
white hatts (V3F393 Richard Way Port Royall merchant)

Shoes. In the 1690s, most men's shoes and boots were of black leather (see
Figure 31). The tongue was cut high with straps fastened with small square or
rectangular buckles (see excavated examples in Figure 32), often of silver, although only brass and iron buckles have been found in the Port Royal Project. Bows and ties were also used, but buckles were a distinctive feature of men's and women's
shoes until the end of the eighteenth century. Port Royal Project excavations recovered a leather shoe sole and heel (see Figure 33), as well as evidence of cobbling activities in Building 1.

![Figure 33 Leather shoe sole and heel. PR87 405-7. Drawing: Helen Dewolf.](image)

**Accessories. Gloves** were usually made of soft leathers such as sheep, doe or goat skins, and the cuffs, or gauntlets (see Figure 34), often lined with silk.

**Handkerchiefs** were made of fine white linen such as cambric, lawn or holland and were often embroidered and trimmed with lace. They were kept in a sleeve or pocket or in the hand. Handkerchiefs were also a common courtship gift (Spufford 1984:89). Handkerchiefs for actual use rather than display were made of coarser linens or cotton.

Many inventories do not list handkerchiefs simply because of the tendency to lump all the clothes into one entry. Those that do have handkerchiefs often list them with the cravats or neckcloths. Handkerchiefs also are described as speckled, painted, white, green silk, and "pocket" handkerchiefs. Most inventories with handkerchiefs list at least two or three, and one personal inventory lists 17 plain
handkerchiefs and two lace handkerchiefs (John Campbell (V3F503)).

Women’s Fashions

Women’s attire was quite complex and involved (see Figure 35), with listings of shifts, petticoats, aprons, wastecoats, shoes and slippers, hair pieces, hats, caps, stockings, gloves, "fancies." Eleven women were inventoried, but only six of them listed their clothing. Of those, only two listed the clothing articles separately. The others lumped all the clothing into entries such as a chest and all wearing apparrell ... £10 (V3F424 Mary Hill, Port Royal, Dec. 1692). Even the two inventories that do list the clothing separately do not contain much. As seen in the entry below, petticoats, shifts, stockings and "old" items were all that were left, certainly not the woman’s complete wardrobe. Possibly the woman’s outer clothes (dresses, etc.) were handed down to her children, friends, and other relatives (leaving only the woman’s unwanted used underclothes).

65 A body garment of linen, cotton, or the like, in early use applied indifferently to men’s and women’s underclothing; subsequently, a woman’s "smock" or chemise. (Oxford English Dictionary)
A parsell of old wareing apparell, 14 old shifts 1 lining pettycoatte 7 old aparens 3 old rusled holland wastecoats, 3 pr old shews and shewes stringes and a pr of slipers (V3F4 Darcas Dayly Port Royall Widow)

v.3, f.54 Dorothy Richardson of Port Royall November 4, 1687
1 callico gown & silke petticoate worn .................................. 01 00 00
2 pr of old silke stockings & 1 old hood .................................. 00 07 06
9 old shifts ................................................................. 01 16 00
1 straw hatt and 1 Pinn cushion ........................................... 00 03 06
1 olde silke gowne ...................................................... 00 06 03

Merchant inventories provide for a more comprehensive assemblage of woman's clothing items. Except for the entries reproduced below, most merchants' clothing stock appear to be for men.

4 ps woman fancies at 40 each, 10 dozen womans Thred hose at 3s0, Lambe gloves, 27 dozen womans laced [shoes] at 3s2:6 p doz, 10 dozen womens [thred hose] at 3s0, 1 dozen womens black cloth shoes at, 10 dozen womens laced shoes at 32s6d p dozen (V3F12 Henry Coward Port Royall Merchant)
19: pair men and woman Gloves 15d, 2 dos and 8 pairs mens and womens silk hose at 6s (V3F26 William Robinson Port Royal Merchant)

Children’s Apparel

Although no children are inventoried, several merchant inventories list children’s items among their stock. Contemporary paintings often show children dressed in miniature adult clothing. Very young children, both boys and girls, wore long, full dresses with small bodices (Evans 1950:152).

8 Pair childrens flannel shoes, 2 Childrens Belts, 3 Childrens stuff coats and petty Coats (V3F26 William Robinson Port Royal Merchant)

80 dozen Girles [lamb gloves] at 8s per dozen, 26 dozen childrens shoes at 8s6d per dozen, 15 dozen childrens shoes at 3s6 p dozen (V3F12 Henry Coward Port Royall Merchant)
CHAPTER X
SHIPS

As an island state, Jamaica depended on ships as lifelines to the rest of the world. According to Claypole (1972:131), the merchants "were not content with simply commissioning a ship’s owner to carry their cargoes. They preferred either to own the ship outright or at least to own shares in it. Trade was carried out by mariners and merchants based in Port Royal who formed joint-stock syndicates for the duration of one voyage."

Many of Jamaica’s vessels were small, plantation-built, and carried a typical cargo worth about £2,000 (Zahedieh 1986a:582). Cargoes were usually mixed to avoid glutting the market with a single product (Ibid.). The price of the goods was fixed before the voyage, and half the profit went to the sloop and supercargo (Zahedieh 1986a:581).

The risks were high: the loss of a ship meant not only the loss of the cargo, but the investment in the ship as well. The partnership system minimized individual losses somewhat, and when the ship arrived safely, the returns were immense. This was especially true of the contraband trade with the Spanish colonies, with as much as 100 percent profit (Zahedieh 1986a:573). The growth of the Jamaican merchant marine was stimulated by this success. Jamaica’s fleet grew from about 40 ships in 1670 to 80 in 1679 to about 100 in 1688 (Zahedieh 1986a:581).

Few official records exist concerning voyages to the Spanish Colonies. Indirect sources such as the probate inventories offer information on these partnerships and voyages. Twenty-three different ships are listed within the inventory sample (see Table 7 and Appendix F). Four ships were owned at various times by different people, and nine inventories showed ownership of two or three ships at the same time by one person. This recurrence of ships throughout the inventories (see Table 8) illustrates the frequent change of ownership discussed by Claypole above.
### Table 7

Ships Listed in Inventories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ship</th>
<th>Owner</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Part</th>
<th>Part Value £</th>
<th>Total Value £</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ann, sloop</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blessing, sloop</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barynes Tree</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Companion, barque</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delligence, sloop</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diamond, sloop</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diligence, sloop</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dolphin, sloop</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dragon, sloop</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eagle, sloop</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Endeaver, sloop</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greyhound, brigantine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John &amp; Thomas, sloop</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary, sloop</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murmout, sloop</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York, Pink, Merchant (of NY)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primrose, sloop</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Providence, sloop</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel, pinck</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Susanna, brigantine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas and Joseph, sloop</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unity, sloop</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William &amp; Sarah, brigantine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 8

Ship Recurrence Throughout Inventories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ship</th>
<th>Owner</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Part</th>
<th>Part Value £</th>
<th>Total Value £</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dragon, Sloop</td>
<td>Bedow, Joseph</td>
<td>1689</td>
<td>⅔</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Scroop, Robert</td>
<td>1692</td>
<td>⅕</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delligence, Sloop</td>
<td>Bedow, Joseph</td>
<td>1689</td>
<td>⅔</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Scroop, Robert</td>
<td>1692</td>
<td>⅕</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Innes, John</td>
<td>1693</td>
<td>⅔</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ann, Sloop</td>
<td>Egleton, Henry</td>
<td>1687</td>
<td>⅓</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Harris, George</td>
<td>1687</td>
<td>⅔</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ward, Henry</td>
<td>1692</td>
<td>⅓</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Providence, Sloop*</td>
<td>Nutall, Thomas</td>
<td>1692</td>
<td>⅔</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ward, Henry</td>
<td>1692</td>
<td>⅓</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The Providence was listed in these inventories at about the same time (February 1692), but a conflict arises upon examination of the data. Thomas Nutall's inventory (V3F431b) indicates he owned one half of the sloop Providence, valued at £60; Henry Ward's inventory (V3F442) indicates he owned one third of a ship that does not resemble the previously listed Providence. Perhaps these two ships named Providence are not the same ship. Or perhaps Nutall's inventory was taken much earlier but not filed until 1692, which would explain the decayed condition of the ship later in Ward's inventory, also dated February 1692.
Some of the inventories actually list what was on the ship, such as the

**Diamond:**

V3F431 William Hubbard Inv. of the sloope Diamond of which Wm Hubbard was
halfe owner-January 25 1692
the hull maste booms & boltspli 30 00 00
one cable halfe worn 04 00 00
2 anchors 05 00 00
one mainsail two thirds worn 05 00 00
one foresail three quarters worn 01 00 00
a gibb halfe worn 02 10 00
shrouds & runing rigging old 02 00 00
one water casque 00 07 06
one canoe 03 00 00
one ensigne 00 10 00
one negroe man 30 00 00
one canoe 03 00 00
86 07 06

The rest of the ship listings record the value of the deceased’s share in the
ship or returns on a voyage. For instance, Joseph Bedow’ inventory (V3F347)
recorded the profits from the return of an adventure of Capt Puffe (456 19 00), and
Francis Randolph’s estate (V3F32) received a £75 Dividend of a Spanish Voyage.

Although the probate inventories do not contain enough data to be
considered a primary source of these ships or their owners’ ventures66, they do
provide additional insight into the nature and scope of Port Royal trade when
combined with other sources. For instance, data on particular ships from the
inventories can be linked with shipping records. Claypole (1972) located harbor
records for two ships mentioned in the inventories, the Greyhound and the Dolphin:

---

66Legal agreements were recorded in the Grantors Old Series, available in the Island
Record Office, Spanish Town.
*The sloop Greyhound* arrived from Rio de Hatcha on October 15, 1688 with 800 cwt of cocoa\(^{67}\)

The *Dolphin* arrived from Porto Belle on July 22, 1689 with a load of cocoa\(^{68}\)

The *Greyhound* was owned by Major Anthony Haywood of New England as recorded by his inventory (see below) which details the ships anchors, guns, and other items "belonging" to the ship.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Two Anchors</td>
<td>16 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Cables halfe wore</td>
<td>06 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>five small iron guns with carriages</td>
<td>07 10 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One iron pott</td>
<td>00 05 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One suit of sailes halfe wore &amp; ____</td>
<td>25 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One Jack and Ancient[?]</td>
<td>01 05 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two tunn of water cask Old Wooden hoops</td>
<td>01 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five handspikes Ramer[?] spunges Ladle &amp; ____</td>
<td>00 06 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 pump speares pump hooks 2 breaks w/ 4 lower pump boxes</td>
<td>00 15 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one table</td>
<td>00 07 06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one boat &amp; five oars</td>
<td>05 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Gimblets 1 ax, &amp; adze 1 hamer[?] 1 lantern 1 dish &amp; Ladle</td>
<td>00 07 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three compasses &amp; two halfe hour glasses</td>
<td>00 13 03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ____ pump boxes 4 pump bolts / 2 Spare chaine plates</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 plates of tinn / pair blocks ____ aprons 4 the gunns</td>
<td>01 10 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The hull with the running &amp; standing rigging belonging to her</td>
<td>165 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>230 18 09</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The *Dolphin* was referenced in Anthony Molen's inventory; in 1692/3 he owned *one sixth an part of the sloope Dolphin wth all her tackle and appurtenances the whole vallued at £235* (V3F441, Port Royal). Apparently, then, both these ships and the merchant shareholders were involved in contraband trade with the Spanish colonies. Portobello, located on the coast of Peru between Rio de

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\(^{67}\) P.R.O., MSS. C.O. 142/13, fo. 201. (From Claypole 1972:130)

\(^{68}\) P.R.O., MSS. C.O. 142/13, fo. 230. (From Claypole 1972:131)
la Hache and Chagres, was a popular "back door" source of gold bullion (Zahedieh 1986a:583).

Occupations of the ship owners within the inventory sample include a mariner, a vintner, 5 captains, 7 merchants, and a Major. Most of the entries listed part ownership of one eighth to three quarters; the most common shares were one quarter and one third. Many inventories listed part ownership in several ships. Joseph Bedow, a Port Royal merchant, owned one eighth of the Sloop Diligence and three eighths of the Sloop Dragon in 1689 (V3F347). Robert Scroop, a Captain, owned quarter shares in the same two ships later on in 1692 (V3F419).
CHAPTER XI
SUNDRY ITEMS

Cash

Most English colonies used commodities as currency in the early stages of their economies, except for Jamaica (Zahedieh 1986a:583). Jamaica's prosperity and access to silver and gold quickly fostered a cash-based exchange system. Jamaica was the bullion center of England's New World possessions in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, and large supplies of silver and gold coins from the Spanish colonies flowed through Port Royal on its way to England (Chalmers 1972:97).

Francis Hanson remarked of Port Royal in 1683 that "there was more plenty of running cash proportionately to the number of its inhabitants than is in London." Indeed, 42 inventories list cash, or "coyed money" as it was sometimes called. The largest amount is listed in Isaac Rodriguez De Lossa's inventory (V3F428, Port Royal December 5, 1692): he had an incredible cash found in 17 bags . . . 2473 15 7s. This may have been the payoff from a contraband trade run to Cartagena or Portobello, or he may have acted as a banker in the community69.

The average amount of cash listed within the inventory sample is about £12470. Much of this "loose change" was more than the highest estate value (£170) in 1687 Boston (Henretta, 1965:78). In some cases, the location of the money is specified, usually in his chest or in the house. Other locations include in his pocket when he dyed, in the assiento (the slave trade) and in his drawer.

The piece of eight was dominant coin of the West Indies and was circulated freely throughout the island. To facilitate the use of Spanish coins in Jamaica, valuations based on the weight and alloy of the metal were ascertained for each

---

69 He not only had a large amount of cash on hand, he also had a large amount of money owed to him.

70 excluding the £2473, n = 41
denomination centered around the piece of eight. For instance, in 1671 a silver piece of eight was worth 5 shillings and the real was valued at one eighth (7.5 pence) (Chalmers 1972:98). In 1681 an act was passed that proclaimed:

...each single Spanish Dubloon or french Pistoll shall be Currant, and passe for twenty shillings Currant Money, each single piece of eight of Sevill, Mexico, or Piller, and each french Crowne at five shillings, a Currant Money, a Peru Piece of Eight at Four shillings\textsuperscript{71}, and all monies whatsoever of those Coynes aforesaid, shall in all payments whatsoever be proportionally rated... (Chalmers 1972:99).

These valuations fluctuated periodically from devaluation caused by clipping\textsuperscript{72} and competition with Barbados and other neighboring colonies (Chalmers 1972:98). Andrew Burne’s 1686 inventory (V3F10 Port Royal) listed £49 in Gold Span and English coyne, with currant money of Jamaica calculated in pieces of eight at 5 shillings per piece of eight.

Only a few cash entries include denominations or current values. Thomas Adler’s inventory provides a glimpse of the complexity of the coin evaluation system:

\begin{verbatim}
V3F275 Thomas Alder Port Royall marriner June 8 1689
In money ......................................................... 50 00 00
In cash 936 ps of 8/8
Some 5s money ........................................... 261 02 00
viz
542 ps 8/8 in 6s money is £162 12s
394 ps 8/8 in 5s do is £998 10 .......................... 334 10 06
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{71}Peru pieces of eight were valued lower because the quality of alloy was thought to be inferior.

\textsuperscript{72}Clipping entailed illegally filing or cutting off small pieces of a hammered coin. This practice greatly diminished the value of the coin by reducing its weight, sometimes by as much as 25% (Chalmers 1972:107). Milling indented a series of transverse lines on the edge of a coin as protection against clipping (Oxford English Dictionary). Milled coinage was introduced in 1663, but hammered coins continued to be struck and circulated throughout the next century until the Act of 1773 which removed hammered coins from circulation (Chalmers 1972:108).
He had both 5-shilling and 6-shilling pieces of eight plus another £50 in money (probably English currency). The value was determined by weight, so the six-shilling pieces were probably full weight coins (17.5 dwts.), while the five-shilling pieces may have been as much 25% lighter.

Marx (1973) found a chest of around 1200 silver Spanish coins minted in Potosi, but the Port Royal Project only found a Charles II coin, a silver Spanish coin and a copper Spanish coin.

Port Royal butcher Robert Howard also had a fair amount of Spanish money on hand, although there is no way to tell whether the pieces of eight were five- or six-shilling pieces:

\[
\begin{align*}
V3F317 \text{ Robert Howard Port Royall butcher 1689} \\
\text{In ready mony Viz.} \\
\text{In pieces of Eight} & \quad \ldots \ldots \ldots \quad 180 00 00 \\
\text{In Ryalls} & \quad \ldots \ldots \ldots \quad 133 12 06 \\
\text{In Runing Cash} & \quad \ldots \ldots \ldots \quad 14 10 00
\end{align*}
\]

Debts

Seventeen percent of the inventories list some type of debt owed to the deceased to be collected. The deceased’s indebtedness to others is never listed, however, resulting in a biased view of the deceased’s financial status.

Of the 28 inventories listing debts to the deceased, 14% are made up of 75-100%+ of debts. In other words, the decedent’s assets are made up of more than 75% of uncollected debts. 21% of the 28 inventories were made up of 50-74% debt; 36% were owed 25-49% of their inventory total; and 29% were owed 1-24% of their inventory total (see Figure 36 and table found on page 149).

Because of the widespread use of credit in the seventeenth century, a complex infrastructure of accounts and debts can be observed throughout the inventories. Often, an inventory lists debts from bonds and loans made to others or credit accounts for merchandise (see Figure 37). Merchants, especially, kept numerous accounts of pedlars, other merchants, and individuals who bought on credit.
Some entries record post-mortem activities of repaying loans, maturing ventures, and continuing business by survivors. For instance, John Floyer’s widow filed an addendum inventory to record paid debts:

V3F31 John Floyer, Port Royall October 8, 1687
An Additional Inventory of Moneys belonging to the estate of my Decd. Husband John Floyer which came to my hands since the delivery of the former inventory.
By a debt due from Mr. Charles Floyer in Engld: and received .......... 20 00 00
By a debt due from Sr Henry Morgan & Recd ......................... 53 05 --
By a debt due from --- John Longworth & Recd. .................... 48 08 00
By a debt due from Capt. Barnatt Andress & Recd. ............. 104 19 00
By a debt due from Capt. Thomas Goddard & Recd. .......... 20 00 00
By a debt due from Capt. Nicholas Lanse & Recd. ............... 26 10 00
Figure 37 Shop interior of 1680s, with chapman, customer and debt book. Illustration to old ballad *A caution for scolds* (c. 1685).

Port Royal merchant Daniell Hickes (V3F249) was not only the richest man inventoried (that is, with the highest inventory total) but the largest debt holder. In his role as an importer and merchant of textiles, he carried credit accounts for dry goods and other merchandise totalling £11,782, which accounted for 66% of his inventory total. Isaac Rodriguez De Lossa (V3F428), also a textile merchant, was the second richest man inventoried as well as the second largest debt holder, with £3,472 owed to him. His debt ratio was only 37%, however, due to the £2,473 in cash found in the 17 bags.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vol/Fol</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Debts £</th>
<th>Total Inv £</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V3F2</td>
<td>John Hall</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V3F38</td>
<td>Thomas Webber</td>
<td>Porter</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V3F431b</td>
<td>Thomas Nutall</td>
<td>Merchant</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>997</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V3F355</td>
<td>John Salmon</td>
<td></td>
<td>71</td>
<td>588</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V3F112</td>
<td>Charles Booker</td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V3F259</td>
<td>Sir Henry Morgan</td>
<td></td>
<td>880</td>
<td>5263</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V3F438</td>
<td>William Diggins</td>
<td></td>
<td>37</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V3F418</td>
<td>Prissila Hazell</td>
<td></td>
<td>176</td>
<td>940</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V3F12</td>
<td>Henry Coward</td>
<td>Merchant</td>
<td>1443</td>
<td>5866</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V3F230</td>
<td>John Hickes</td>
<td>Goldsmith</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V3F332</td>
<td>John Podley</td>
<td>Merchant</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>517</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V3F384</td>
<td>Nicholas Cransbrough</td>
<td>Vintner</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>573</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V3F323</td>
<td>Thomasine Ellis</td>
<td>Widdow</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V10259</td>
<td>Matheas Hanson</td>
<td>Sail worker</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>539</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V3F427</td>
<td>William Whitney</td>
<td></td>
<td>482</td>
<td>1399</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V3F304</td>
<td>Thomas Pocock</td>
<td></td>
<td>67</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V3F428</td>
<td>Isaac Rodriguez De Lossa</td>
<td></td>
<td>3472</td>
<td>9419*</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V3F236</td>
<td>Lawrence Garrat</td>
<td>Shipwright</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V2F40</td>
<td>John Pope</td>
<td>Cooper</td>
<td>387</td>
<td>677</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V3F371</td>
<td>Ralph Smith</td>
<td>Merchant</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>299</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V10264b</td>
<td>John Taply</td>
<td>Musick Master</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V3F249</td>
<td>Daniell Hickes</td>
<td>Merchant</td>
<td>11784</td>
<td>17837</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V3F242</td>
<td>John Guepin,</td>
<td>Planter</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V3F405</td>
<td>Moses De Lucena</td>
<td></td>
<td>1861</td>
<td>2522</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V3F26</td>
<td>William Robinson</td>
<td>Merchant</td>
<td>452</td>
<td>603</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V3F248</td>
<td>Samuel Coulson</td>
<td></td>
<td>796</td>
<td>924</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V3F226</td>
<td>James Lemings</td>
<td>Mariner</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V3F31</td>
<td>John Foyer</td>
<td></td>
<td>272</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Includes *cash found in 17 bags £2473 15 74* listed.
Valuables

Jewelry

Gold rings are by far the most common type of jewelry listed in the inventories. A single, relatively crude (but high quality) gold ring was found in the remains of Building 8 of the Port Royal Project.

Most inventories list only a few pieces of jewelry, usually several rings with some jewels, such as Charles Booker (V3F112), who had *three plaine rings one stone ring and a gold seale with a stone in it*.

Pearl necklaces and loose pearls also are listed throughout the inventories. A single pearl with a gold stud also was found in the excavation of Building 8. Henry Egleton (V3F47) had the most jewelry of all the inventories, and all were apparently personal possessions rather than merchandise.

V3F47 Henry Egleton

2 necklaces of perle & a pap' of Od perles ........................................ 15 01 00
a ring Sett round wth Diamond & Emrods ........................................... 05 00 00
a chaine ring 2 Cornelians Rings ..................................................... 01 00 00
a Ring wth 2 Red Stones a Perle Ring one Small Ring .......................... 00 15 00
five pare gold buttons 1 pare gold clasp ......................................... 02 05 00
2 silver meadals 1 pce gold ............................................................. 00 12 00
2 gilt pictures cases a locket and five gold rings ............................... 04 00 00

Moses De Lucena, a Port Royal merchant (V3F405), had a cache of jewels worth £30, possibly imported for resale or even plunder from a ship.

Buttons

Buttons were highly prized not just for decoration, but for their value. They were sometimes covered in the fabric of the coat, but more often were made of silver or silver gilt, brass, cut steel, horn, wood, and other materials in a variety of designs. During the 1690s, buttons became larger, and were very numerous on clothing as a decorative element (Byrde 1979:78). A bone button and a few brass
buttons were found in the Port Royal Project excavation that date to the seventeenth century.

Buttons (as personal possessions) are usually listed in the inventories along with the other valuable of cash, jewelry and plate.

Buttons are often described as shirt or coat buttons, and further categorized as glass, pewter, silver, gold, stone, white thread, brass, wood, silk, and black hair; some were set with stones.

Isaac Narvais had a particularly fine stock of buttons:

3 gross and two dozen of silck and silver buttons, 3 gross of buttons gold and silver (V3F41 Isaac Narvais Port Royall merchant)

John Philpott, Port Royal Blacksmith (V3F285), may have made brass buttons locally: 2 Grosse Brass Buttons and 18 Brass Buttons are listed among his other wares for sale.

Funeral Expenses

Death ceremonies were highly ritualized (see Figure 38). Funeral charges were not usually recorded in the inventories since they would be an expense. Two inventories and an estate administration account that included funeral information are found in the data set, however. Major William Moore’s and John Ireland’s inventories give two different reports of funeral charges. Ireland’s is very cursory while Moore’s lists each component separately:

V3F257 Major William Moore Esq. Port Royall
Paid Funeral Charges Viz
To Mr. Hayes .................................................. 67 00 03
To Mr. Young for wine ...................................... 22 00 00
A Coffin ........................................................... 05 00 00
To the ground ................................................... 10 00 00
Mr. Cook .......................................................... 08 00 00
Coach hire & wateridge .................................... 06 00 00
Mr. Hickman .................................................... 04 01 00
Coach Hire ....................................................... 01 10 00
Total Funeral Expenses .................................... 123 11 00
Neither man was poor, yet it appears that Major Moore had a more elaborate funeral with an expensive coffin (£5), a funeral procession, a grave plot in a cemetery (£10), and a wake afterward (to Mr. Young for wine) while perhaps Mr. Ireland was buried on his property, and the funeral expenses consisted of only a coffin and mourning clothes.

\[\text{Figure 38 Funerary procession. ( Pepys' Penny Merriments, 1678)}\]

The third funeral reference is actually in an estate account ledger that was included among the inventories.

---

\(^{73}\) Probably refers to mourning clothes or the black draperies placed on furniture or the walls of buildings during mourning (Oxford English Dictionary).
v.3 f.32 Francis Randolph, Port Royall Merchant 1685
Feb. 17
Ditto for 12 wherryes for his funerall ........................................ 3 00 00
Ditto for Persors and cryers ..................................................... 3 00 00
Ditto for Paul[?] & Grave ....................................................... 1 12 6
Feb. 19
Cash for a Coffin ..................................................................... 10 00 00
April 22
Cash for his funerall ____ pd in Agard ....................................... 37 2 11

Timepieces

The people of Port Royal were aware of the concept of time. Blome speaks of the regular hours shops and taverns kept, and mariners were reliant on clocks for navigation.

_The merchants here commonly at twelve o'clock shut up their shops, and after dinner they divert themselves, either in the taverns or else on their couches or hammocks. At about three o'clock ... they open their shops and attend their business (Claypole 1972:195)._ 

Indeed, clocks, watches, sundials, and hour glasses are common throughout the inventories. Many clocks of this period only had an hour hand; the minute hand mechanism was not fully developed until the later part of the seventeenth century (Yarwood ND:158). This presents a concept of time based on hours and half hours rather than the minutes and seconds of today.

The accuracy of most clocks was unreliable until the turn of the seventeenth century when the mechanism was improved. Until then, the sundial continued as a means to insure accuracy (Turner 1980:19). A pewter wall sun dial was found in the excavation.

The Port Royal church clock undoubtedly had a companion sundial that was checked to set the clock. The rest of the population may have used the hourly striking of the local church bell to keep track of time and set their own clocks. Sundials, hour glasses, and half hour glasses, though not as common as clocks, are listed in the inventories.
Three types of clocks were common during the seventeenth century. Until the second half of the seventeenth century, clocks were the lantern type, consisting of a brass framework with turned corner pillars that housed the clock and striking mechanisms. The lantern clock was powered by weights suspended by a chain. Weight-driven clocks could not be moved easily because they had to be on a wall or a stand to let the weights hang free. So the spring-driven bracket clock, originally developed in the early sixteenth century, became popular by about 1660, eventually superseding the lantern clock (Noel Hume 1970:151).

Wooden bracket clocks became popular during the second half of the seventeenth century. They were usually square in shape with a "basket" top where the bell was housed, and a glazed case to allow the mechanism to be seen (Hayward ND:121).

The pendulum was invented in Holland in 1658 as a way to regulate the weights (Gloag 1951:321). The tall "grandfather" clock developed to enclose the pendulum and weights. The term "grandfather clock" came into use after 1878, but the seventeenth-century form was essentially the same — a tall case with a glass-fronted door to the pendulum chamber (Gloag 1951:275).

Sixteen inventories list clocks, mostly pendulum clocks and clocks with cases. Clocks are most often listed in the hall, but are also found in the dining room or the Garden Chamber:

*one Clock in the hall, In the Garden Chamber: One brasse Clock & Case (V2F81 Capt. Andrew Knight)*

The clock and case in Madam Judith Freman's hall may have been a "grandfather" type (V3F105), as well as the pendula clock in George Butler's hall (V3F272).

Twenty-three inventories also list watches, usually made of silver, although there are several of brass and gold. A brass, leather-covered pocket watch was recovered by Edwin Link in underwater excavations near Fort James in 1959 (Link 1960:173). The hands of the watch were reportedly frozen at 11:43 a.m., the exact
time of the earthquake. A second brass pocket watch was recovered by Marx (1973).

Most watch entries simply list one gold watch, with no further description. William Smith’s inventory (V3F114) went a little further to describe his watch as a silver studed Cassel watch, worth £3.

Henry Morgan (V3F259) had several timekeeping devices: a silver watch, a clock (worth £10), and two brass horizontal sundials. An hourglass was listed in the hall of William Slades (V3F315 St. Mary’s), and two half hour glasses were aboard the Brigantine Greyhound (V3F326).

Clock and watch making activities also were evident in the inventories. Thomas Prigg V2F191, a smith of Port Royal, probably repaired watches; his inventory listed a pceell of Watch Tooles. John Philpott, Port Royal Blacksmith, had a variety of clocks and parts, and apparently fabricated and repaired clocks and watches:

V3F285 John Philpott Port Royall Blacksmith
1 Spring Clock ................................................. 08 00 00
Ordinary Clock & 1 watch & Larum ........................... 02 05 00
1 Clock ......................................................... 08 00 00
11 Doz. glasses for watches .................................... 01 07 06
watch strings .................................................. 00 01 00
7 Clock Lines .................................................. 00 06 00
3 old clocks ...................................................... 04 10 00
2 Doz. of Plate Dyallys ......................................... 02 00 00
2 Ring Dyalls .................................................... 00 12 00

Lighting

Most Port Royal residents kept their lighting implements in the buttery or kitchen during the day together with the other kitchen items.

In the Ketching: six brass candlesticks 1 pr of snuffers 2 snuff dishes (V3F317 Robert Howard Port Royall butcher)

In the Cooke Room: 3 brass candlesticks a snuff dish & 9 snuffers small (V3F600 Capt. John Phipps Port Royall)
When night fell, the candles, lanterns, mortars, and oil lamps were brought out. Candles were set in socket candlesticks (see Figure 39), wall sconces, and mortars. A mortar\textsuperscript{74} was a round tankard-like candle holder with holes to let the light through. It commonly was used in the bed chambers for safety and as a nightlight (Thornton 1978:271). Households often contained several types of lighting implements, like the variety found in the following inventories:

\begin{itemize}
  \item 2 pr of brass candole sticks, 2 old morters & a lanthurne (V3F272 George Butler St. Andrews)
  \item four candlesticks & a mortar (V3F329 William Neal Port Royall Cooper)
\end{itemize}

Candlesticks, mortars, and lamps were usually made of pewter, tin, brass, silver, and occasionally ceramics. An impressive array of pewter, brass and ceramic candlesticks have been found in the Port Royal excavations. Some were "old fashioned" in style and some were the most current fashion of 1692.

Candles were often ignored in personal inventories. Only 59 inventories list lighting implements, and only 41 inventories itemized candles, most as merchandise (\textit{twelve pounds of candles, 7s 6d (V3F112 Charles Booker)}). These low numbers of an item that surely most if not all households had suggests that candles were considered insignificant necessaries like tobacco pipes. Only a few inventories, such as Robert Howry's (V3F507), list candles together with holders.

\begin{itemize}
  \item 4 tinn candle sticks 1 sconce 6 doz of candles (V3F507 Robert Howry)
\end{itemize}

Other lighting implements, such as "lantorns" and lamps, are mentioned occasionally. The Port Royal Project excavated five oil lamps, one of which is a hanging three-wicked copper oil lamp (Figure 40).

\footnote{\textsuperscript{74}It is often difficult to tell whether a mortar listed is a lighting implement or a grinding implement unless there is a pestle listed with it. Both items would have been stored in the same place.}
A Lanthorne, 2 Large brasse Candlesticks (V2F78 Thomas Craddock of Port Royall Merchant)

Tinn Ware: A Dozen & 4 small lamps, 7 double ditto, 7 small lanternes, 2 small candlesticks (V3F248 Samuell Coulson Port Royall)
Pictures

Paintings, called pictures in the inventories, are numerous in the inventories. They are listed in halls, parlors, and other "living" rooms, usually counted together with the looking glasses in one entry, such as in William Moore’s inventory.

_Hall: Two pictures and looking glass, Next his hall: 5 pictures and looking glass, Above stairs: 8 Pictures and glass (V3F257 Major William Moore Esq. Port Royall)_

Only two entries give descriptions of the subjects of the pictures. Charles Barre’s inventory (V3F255) list _emperers picktures_ and _2 picktures Winter & Sumre_, and Nicholas Cransbrough’s 1690 inventory has a small painting of King Charles II (V3F384).

An artist’s handbook of 1675 defined the most suitable picture subjects for each room, although whether these guidelines were widely followed is questionable:

_Let the Hall be adorned with Shepherds, Peasants, Milk-maids, Flocks of sheep and the like . . . Let the Staircase be set off with some admirable monument or building, either new or ruinous, to be seen and observed at a view passing up . . . Let landskips, Hunting, fishing,
fowling, histories and antiquities be put up in the Great Chamber . . .
In the Inward or Withdrawing Chambers put . . . draughts of the life, of
Persons of Honor, intimate or special friends and acquaintance . . . in
Banqueting-rooms put cheerful and merry paintings of Bacchus,
Centaurs, satyrs, syrens and the like, but forbearing all obscene
pictures. Histories, grave stories, and the best works become Galleries;
where one may walk and exercise their senses in viewing, examining,
delighting, judging and censuring . . . in the Bedchamber put your own,
your wives and childrens pictures; as only becoming the most private
room, and your modesty; lest (if your wife be a beauty) some wanton
and libidinous guest should gaze too long on them and commend the
work for her sake (Thornton 1978:254).

Port Royal merchant, Thomas Craddock (V2F78) apparently sold pictures in
his shop, which contained 10 Pictures in Oyle great & small, 4 larg prints whereof
1 in a frame.

Maps were popular in the seventeenth century not only for navigation, but
also for decoration. Eight inventories contain maps among other pictures and books,
including a Spanish map, possibly used by Merchant Richar Sleigh to plan trade
voyages to the Spanish colonies:

1 Spanish Mapp (V10F263 Richard Sleigh Port Royall Merchant)

a prcell of old charts mapps &c (V3F259 Sir Henry Morgan)

In the Hall: a mapp and glass case (V3F272 George Butler)

5 Mantioneel Tables 2 Oval Do & 4 square old Do 5 old carpetts 1
cott 8 pictures and 2 mapps (V3F384 Nicholas Cransbrough Port
Royal Vintner)

Soap

Seventeenth-century books on etiquette advised gentry to wash every day,
especially one's face (Thornton 1978:315). Washing was done from a basin and
ewer, commonly noted in contemporary illustrations on a dressing table in the bed
chamber or in the dining chamber at meal-time. Ewers and basins are rarely listed
INDEX

adze 141, 214
agate 93, 214
ale 15, 75, 105, 210-212, 214, 219, 221, 227
andirons 35, 214
backgammon 39, 41-43, 74
bagette 214
balance scale 218
barrel 67, 93, 164, 167, 211, 219, 226, 227
beam 160, 162, 214
beaver 55, 123, 133, 214, 216
bed 27, 31-36, 38, 39, 41, 42, 44-46, 48, 60, 100, 112, 116-119, 125, 156, 159, 160, 184, 203, 204, 214, 218, 220, 224, 225, 227
bedstead 31, 33, 34, 38, 45, 46, 55, 112, 116-119, 214, 218, 227
beer 51, 75, 76, 105, 106, 112, 210-212, 214, 221, 223, 227
bell 50, 81, 153, 154, 174, 175
bench 55, 111, 219, 225
beverett 214
bibbs 214
blocks 141, 214
bobbins 215
bodkin 214, 224
bolster 15, 35, 45, 46, 116, 117, 119, 215
bone 94, 117, 150, 173, 175, 214, 215
bone lace 215
books 3, 4, 19, 32, 45, 52, 54, 55, 57, 71, 80-84, 87-90, 159, 178, 184, 185, 192, 194, 233
brandy 44, 54, 75-77, 106, 107, 215
bread 34, 215
broadcloth 54, 215, 216
burning glass 215
butter 51, 92, 210, 211, 215, 219
buttery 26, 28, 36, 37, 95, 100, 155, 160, 204, 215
calabash 171, 172, 215, 216
calamanco 216
calico 44, 122, 125, 216
cambresine 216
cambric 125, 135, 216
camlet 128, 216
canary 75-77, 105, 106, 216
canes 130, 132, 133, 175
carbine 166, 216
cards 216, 225
carpet 119, 216
cartouche 165, 166, 216
cash 14, 44, 50, 55, 56, 67, 72, 77, 114, 128, 144-146, 148, 149, 151, 153, 169
cask 9, 56, 92, 141, 211, 212, 219, 221, 224, 227
castor 133, 216
cellar 26-28, 36, 37, 42, 45, 75-77, 101, 205, 217

ceramics 95, 97-99, 156

chafing dish 35, 78, 217
chair ii, iii, 44, 112, 113, 120, 121, 189, 219, 225, 226
chamber 23, 26, 28, 29, 32-34, 36, 37, 39, 42, 52, 60, 67, 100, 106, 112, 117, 118, 121, 133, 154, 159, 162, 173, 203-206, 217, 221
chamber pot 121, 217
cheese 62, 92, 182, 215
chest 8, 14, 27, 31-34, 37, 39, 55, 60, 61, 68, 77, 81, 109, 110, 114-116, 125, 136, 144, 146, 160, 163, 165, 168, 173, 184, 185, 217
chest of drawers 8, 14, 31-33, 68, 109, 110, 115, 125, 173
chimney crane 218
cinnamon water 181, 217
citron 217
claret 75, 105, 107, 217
close stool 42, 121, 217
cock 38, 39, 66, 166, 205, 218
cock loft 38, 39, 166, 205, 218
comb 173, 174, 173, 185, 190
compass 62, 225
cooking 35, 36, 83, 214, 215, 218, 222, 227
coopers 13, 48, 56, 62, 67, 81, 82, 160, 206, 214, 221
copperas 218
cornelian 218
cot 112, 118, 218
couch 32, 39, 112, 120, 182
counterpane 218
crane 218, 220
crape 122, 218
cushion 137, 215, 226
damask 19, 35, 109, 125, 127, 218
deale 9, 120, 218
diaper 125, 127, 218
dressing box 8, 33, 173, 185, 219
drinking 30, 38-41, 75, 98, 106, 107, 171, 178, 192, 223, 224, 229
dripping pan 219
elbow chair 113, 219
ellis 22, 27, 38, 39, 41, 43-45, 65, 74-76, 107, 114, 125, 149, 179, 185, 197, 198, 202, 205
estate value 22, 52, 144, 197, 202
fan 175
fillet 219
filleting 219
fire dogs 214
firkin 211, 219
fish 18, 62, 92, 211, 219, 224
flat iron 225, 226
fitch 92, 212, 219
flock 43-45, 60, 116, 118, 219
food 35, 36, 83, 92, 93, 160, 169, 178, 185, 215, 224
forks 8, 25, 35, 61, 81, 93, 94, 95, 100, 101
form 10, 24, 63, 74, 78, 88, 92, 93, 106, 108, 111-113, 118, 121, 133, 154, 160, 175, 212, 217-221, 224, 228
freehold 77, 78, 90, 220
frieze 220
fruit 92, 109, 123, 212, 215, 216
funeral expenses 19, 151, 152
fur 214, 216
fusee 220
fustian 122, 128, 220
games 72, 74
garret 27-29, 32, 38, 39, 110, 218, 220
gimlet 220, 228
gimp 220
gin 220
grisette 220
gun 33, 61, 63, 64, 165-167, 214, 216, 223, 228
haberdashery 52, 54, 221
handkerchiefs 129, 130, 135, 136, 216
harpsicall 221
harpsichord 221, 226
hat 132, 133, 214, 216
hogshead 63, 211, 221
holland 16, 44, 109, 115, 122, 124, 125, 127, 135, 137, 154, 178, 194, 221
hose 54, 79, 123, 129, 130, 137, 138, 221
howell 54, 221
indigo 16, 210, 221
ink 81, 218, 226
inkstand 226
iron  12, 34, 35, 45, 56, 58, 59, 61-63, 67, 70, 72, 77-79, 83, 93, 114, 134,
   141, 160-163, 165-168, 177, 191, 215, 216, 218, 219, 225,  
  226
island record office  2, 3, 140, 191
ivory  8, 61, 62, 74, 93, 95, 162, 172-175, 214
jack  35, 141, 170, 171, 221
jamaica archives  iv, 2, 4, 187, 233
jewelry  39, 55, 65, 78, 114, 150, 151, 172, 173, 184, 219
joint stool  222
kenting  222
kettles  34-36, 54, 56, 215
knife  8, 58, 61, 81, 93, 95
knit  80
lace  54, 79, 122, 128, 130, 131, 135, 136, 215
lancett  222
linen  19, 50, 54, 111, 113, 119, 122, 124, 125, 127, 130, 135, 136, 215,  
   216, 217, 218, 220-223, 226
lineseat  222
literacy  80, 179, 181
lock  61, 162, 164, 163, 165, 167
low room  26, 38, 105, 177, 203, 204, 222
lumber  35, 42-45, 63, 67, 74, 97, 167, 222
lutestring  53, 122, 222
madeira  75, 222
map  20, 41, 159
meat  18, 36, 92, 212, 215, 219, 221
medicine  68-71, 106, 192, 223
mirror  120, 185, 215, 219
mum  106, 223
music  47, 72, 82, 201, 209
musical instruments  215
musket  63, 216, 220
muslin  122, 129, 223
napkin  219, 223
needle  79, 215, 216, 218, 225
ozenbrig  223
pair of tables  74, 120
pan  121, 219
paper  38, 53, 81, 83, 88, 188, 189, 191, 212, 216, 224
parchment  84, 131, 212, 216
parlour  120, 166, 217
passage  27, 28, 37, 42, 45, 76, 203, 205, 215, 216
periwig  130-132, 223
perrier  223
pewter  1, 6, 7, 25, 35, 36, 44, 46, 51, 55, 56, 59, 61, 65, 66, 82, 94, 93, 95, 99, 100, 101, 100, 101, 115, 151, 153, 157, 156, 160, 162, 178, 183, 184, 190, 192, 194, 209, 221
pig  226
piggin  223
pillow  33, 35, 112, 117, 125, 127, 215
pins  35, 52, 122, 125, 215
pintado  116, 125, 223
pipe  25, 44, 74, 76, 78, 83, 107, 211, 212, 218, 220, 223, 226
pistol  165, 216
place  2, 10, 13, 15, 17, 19, 20, 27, 156, 183, 184, 197, 207, 214, 215
porringer  60, 224
portmante  68, 224
pot  35, 60, 81, 98, 121, 217
powder  52, 81, 165, 166, 173, 216, 217, 221
press  31, 115, 116, 184, 187, 189-195, 224, 228
press bed  184, 224
prospective glass  224
puncheon  212, 224
quadrant  224
quire  212, 224
quoif  224
reading  80, 81, 84, 87, 179, 184
rhenish  77, 106, 225
ribbons  52, 125, 132, 221
romall  122, 225
round robin  225
rum  37, 42, 45, 75-77, 222, 225
sad iron  225
scale  48, 56, 64, 66, 162, 218
scriptore  30, 79, 225
seaman's needle  225
serge  128, 225
settee  112, 225
settle  15, 89, 225
shift  225
shoat  226
shoes  7, 51, 52, 58, 129, 130, 133, 135-138, 185
shot  165, 166, 168, 216
silk  19, 51, 54, 109, 122, 123, 128-130, 135, 138, 151, 216, 218, 220, 222, 225, 226
slave  50, 60, 129, 144, 169, 170
smoking  39, 74, 75, 78, 184, 226
smoothing iron  225, 226
soap  37, 67, 114, 129, 159, 160, 211, 212
spits  35, 214
spoons  25, 33, 35, 52, 56, 66, 93, 94, 93, 95, 100, 101, 104, 107, 178, 194
squad  226
stairs  25-29, 33, 36-38, 42, 46, 75, 119, 130, 158, 203-206
stand  31, 115, 154, 226, 227
standish  79, 81, 226
storage  26, 27, 36-38, 42, 76, 215, 217, 220, 222
stuff  51, 122, 123, 128-130, 138, 216, 226
sugar  9, 16, 37, 61, 62, 67, 77, 79, 92, 96, 98, 113, 210, 217, 222, 225
sundial  153, 218
tabby  122, 226
table  v, x, 26, 31-34, 37, 39, 42-46, 48, 74, 81, 93, 100, 110-112, 115, 116,
       118, 119-121, 125, 127, 141, 159, 173, 185, 216-218, 222, 223, 225
tankards  36, 100, 101, 104, 214
taverns  18, 42, 74, 75, 79, 93, 104, 153, 191
thread  52, 79, 124, 129, 151, 215, 221, 222
tobacco  7, 19, 52, 54, 62, 64, 78, 79, 81, 83, 156, 210, 215, 226
tobacco pipes  7, 19, 78, 83, 156, 215
tobacco stopper  78, 226
tobacco tongs  62, 226
towel  219, 223
trace  226
trivett  227
trunk  45, 68, 114, 125, 163, 216
turkey work  113, 119, 120, 227
tweezer case  227
valance  177, 227
vizard mask  227
wafer  81, 227
waistcoat  130, 227
weapon  165, 168, 214, 224
wherry  228
wig  70, 131-133, 180, 223
wills  3, 14, 22, 65, 120, 191, 195
wine  9, 37, 42, 44, 45, 51, 75-77, 104, 105, 107, 151, 152, 178, 210-212,
      215-217, 221-223, 227
woolen  215, 220, 225, 226
worm  66, 228
wrack  228
writing  30, 39, 80, 81, 110, 179, 181, 225, 226
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APPENDICES
## APPENDIX A
### INVENTORIES USED FOR DATASET

N=160
1684-1716

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FOL</th>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>PLACE</th>
<th>OCCUPATION</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>ESTATE VALUE £</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>John Pope</td>
<td>Port Royal</td>
<td>Pipemaker**</td>
<td>April 19, 1684</td>
<td>677</td>
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<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>John Hotkins</td>
<td>St. Thomas</td>
<td></td>
<td>Jan. 16, 1684</td>
<td>475</td>
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<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>Jarvase Hull</td>
<td>Port Royal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
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<td>Thomas Craddock</td>
<td>Port Royal</td>
<td>Merchant</td>
<td></td>
<td>228</td>
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<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>Andrew Knight</td>
<td></td>
<td>Captain</td>
<td>Feb. 16, 1684/5</td>
<td>1573</td>
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<tr>
<td>190</td>
<td>John Ellis</td>
<td>Port Royal</td>
<td>Tavern keeper**</td>
<td>1683</td>
<td>198</td>
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<tr>
<td>191</td>
<td>Thomas Prigg</td>
<td>Port Royal</td>
<td>Smith</td>
<td>July 12, 1686</td>
<td>18</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**VOLUME 3**

| 2   | John Hall      | Port Royal |              | March 9, 1680  | 111            |
| 4*  | Darcas Dayly   | Port Royal | Widow        |               | 57             |
| 8   | John Lewis     | Port Royal | Mariner      |               | 98             |
| 10  | Andrew Burne   | Port Royal |              | March 1686     | 156            |
| 12  | Henry Coward   | Port Royal | Merchant     |               | 5886           |
| 26  | William Robinson| Port Royal | Merchant    | July 6, 1687  | 1331           |
| 31  | John Floyer    | Port Royal | secondary inv.| Oct. 8, 1687  | 281            |
| 32  | Francis Randolph| Port Royal | Merchant    |               | 1815           |
| 38  | Thomas Webber  | Port Royal | Porter       | Sept. 1, 1687  | 62             |
| 41  | Isaac Narvais  | Port Royal | Merchant     | Sept. 20, 1687 | 1378          |
| 47  | Henry Egleton  | Port Royal |              | Dec. 29, 1687  | 822            |
| 49  | Alexander Baldwin| Port Royal | Mariner      | Dec. 12, 1687  | 103            |
| 54* | Dorothy Richardson| Port Royal |              | Nov. 4, 1687  | 106            |
| 57  | George Harris  | Port Royal | Merchant     | 1687          | 479            |
| 60  | John Kent      | Port Royal |              |               | 317            |
| 64  | Simon Benning  | Port Royal | Pewterer**   | Feb. 19, 1689  | 376            |
| 65  | John Jennings  | Port Royal | Mariner/Captain | Jan. 17, 1687 | 986            |
| 66  | William Moore, Captain Inventarioined in Port Royal, but of Capt. William Moore late master of the Pink New York, merchant of New Yorke. | Port Royal |              |               | 26             |
| 67  | Josia Warner   | Port Royal | Tanner       | December 1687  | 2637           |
| 72  | William Wyatt  | Port Royal | Merchant     | May 8, 1688    | 2524           |
| 105*| Judith Freman  | St. David  |              |               | 2114           |
| 110 | John Palmer    | St. Catherine | Carpenter |               | 144            |
| 112 | Charles Booker |            |              | May 19, 1688   | 208            |
| 114 | William Smith  | Port Royal | Merchant     | April 9, 1688  | 62             |