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The Strange Bedfellows of Northern Belize: British Colonialists, Confederate Dreamers, Creole Loggers, and the Caste War Maya of the Late Nineteenth Century

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Abstract Following the U.S. Civil War, groups of ex-Confederates arrived in Belize as clashes with Caste War Maya reached their peak, resulting in more frequent Maya raiding of British and Creole logging camps. Cross-examining ethnohistoric and archaeological data from Maya, ex-Confederate, Creole, and British sites in northern Belize, we aim to better understand the distinct identities and myriad relationships of these odd bedfellows. The colonizers (British and ex-Confederates) had divergent agendas, but each used limited supplies of Euro-American imports, namely guns and tobacco products, in the remote colonial frontier to form powerful economic dependencies with Maya and Creole groups.

Keywords Nineteenth-century British Honduras · Ex-Confederates · Caste war Maya · Creole · Colonialism · Formal/informal economies

Introduction

During the Caste War of Yucatán, Mexico (1847–1901), displaced Maya residents fled to Belize, Central America, where they encountered British colonialists and African Creole laborers who were logging mahogany and extracting chicle in the newly established colony of Belize, known then as British Honduras. Historical events

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conspired to throw into this cultural mix expatriate Confederates from the southern U.S. seeking a new start in the British colony following the Civil War. While previous archaeological studies of the late colonial period in Belize have focused on the relationships among British, Mexican, and Maya residents (Church et al. 2011; Dornan 2004; Ng 2007), this study examines the relationships of the African Creole and Maya with both British and ex-Confederate settlers. Ex-confederates moved into the British colony in 1867 as tensions with Maya Caste War migrants and British colonialists reached their peak. Scholarship has shown it is unproductive to treat the Maya people as a monolithic group with unified intentions (Cline 1950; Dornan 2004; Dumond 1997; Ng 2007; Jones 1977, 1989). Likewise, colonizers were far from a homogenous body with cohesive objectives (Church et al. 2011:173). The same can be said for attempting to characterize a singular Creole identity in Belize with its varied mix of African and European ancestry, particularly during the transition from slavery to post-emancipation society in the nineteenth century (see Bolland 1998:26).

In this study, we examine the different identities and relations of these social actors and their shared and conflicting goals during the latter half of the nineteenth century in the less established parts of the colony in northern British Honduras. The study we present here is based on the results of two different archaeological research projects, which were carried out independently between 2011 and 2016 under the direction of Harrison-Buck (2011, 2013, 2015a, b, 2018) and Brett A. Houk (2012, 2014, 2015, 2016). By combining our results, we are able to contextualize a complex period in colonial history and examine multiple perspectives through in depth archival research and archaeological testing of three very different historic sites in northern Belize: Qualm Hill, a British and largely Creole-occupied logging camp; the short lived ex-Confederate settlement of New Richmond and its associated McRae Estate; and Kaxil Uinic, a Maya Caste War village (Fig. 1). These nineteenth-century archaeological sites are all located in a part of what is now northern Belize and was at the time considered by the colonists as the extremities of the British colony (Bolland 1977). While the remote setting encouraged trade and interaction among these groups, land rights became hotly contested in the mid-to-late nineteenth century. During this period, British-owned timber companies expanded in search of mahogany and ex-Confederate settlers laid claims to former Maya agricultural land at the margins of the colony.

Examining multiple sites allows us to understand these groups not in isolation, but in relation to one another, and offers insights into their distinct identities as well as the nature and degree of their interactions, which changed over time. In this article, we focus on a relatively brief period of time from the 1860s–70s when British, Creole, ex-Confederates, and Maya groups overlap in the archaeological record. However, we note that these encounters were part of a broader continuum of colonialism. As Stephen Silliman (2005:56) observes elsewhere, characterizing these moments in colonial history as fleeting periods of culture contact "1) emphasizes short-term encounters over long-term entanglements; (2) downplays the severity of interaction between groups and the radically different levels of political power that structured those relationships; and (3) privileges predefined and almost essentialized cultural traits over creative, creolized, or novel cultural products." For instance, in the present study to refer to the Euro-American encounters with the Maya people of the late nineteenth century as "culture contact" downplays the more than 300 years of "violence [on] the

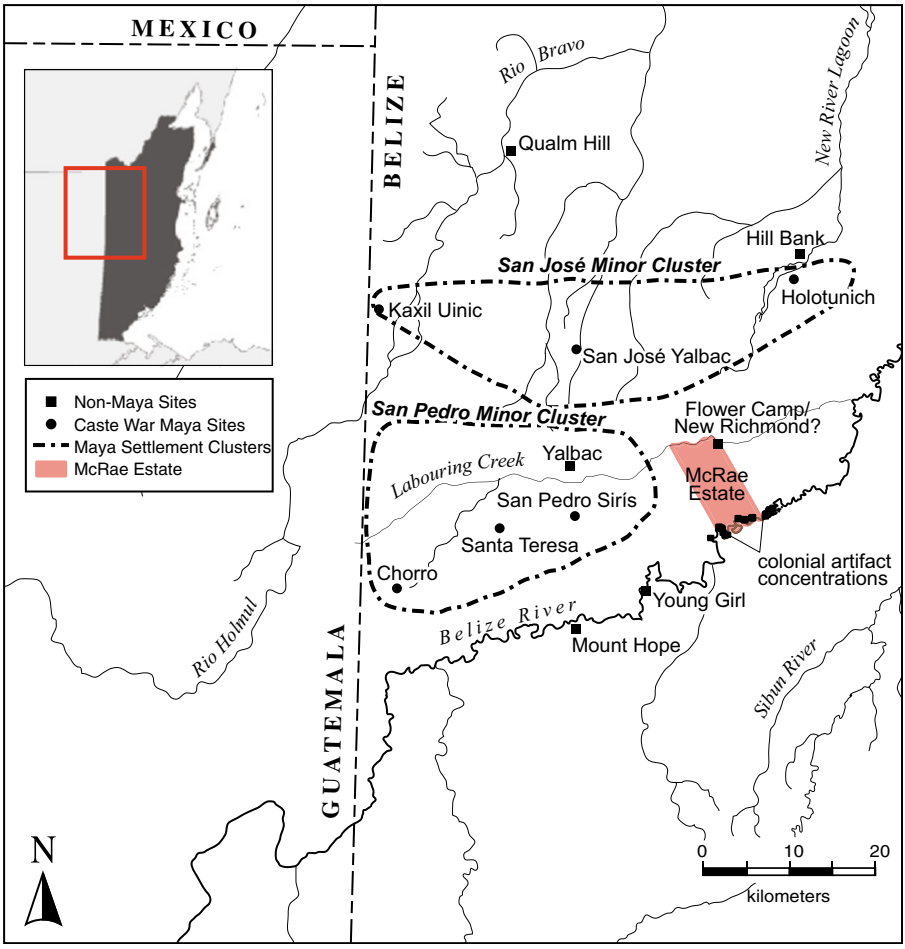

Fig. 1 Map of north-central Belize showing sites mentioned in the text (adapted from Jones 1977:142; map drawn by M. Brouwer Burg)

colonial frontier" (Silliman 2005:57), which the Maya had endured since the arrival of the first Europeans.

In this article, we engage in what Lightfoot (1995:200) describes as an "archaeology of pluralism," examining multiple perspectives in the colonial context. Far from a static, monolithic culture, colonialism as a social reality involved numerous groups—in this case, colonists from multiple origins, Maya residents ancestral to the region and others displaced from farther north, and Creole laborers tracing their lineages from the Caribbean to Africa. As Silliman (2005:58) observes, colonialism is a process that involved myriad types of engagement, which in this case ranged from resistance to active incorporation and encompassed a variety of elements, including imperial control, Maya and Afro-Caribbean diasporas, slavery, trade, and various other types of social and economic exchanges. To get at this historical complexity, we cross-examine the colonial accounts with the archaeological data we have recovered thus far from an assemblage of different kinds of historic sites to better understand the diversity of identities in the late colonial context and the new hybrid or transcultural forms that

developed due to the entangled relationships among these various groups (sensu Silliman 2005, 2013). Using archival and archaeological data, we specifically focus on the economic relationships that developed between these groups and how they impacted one another in terms of their social and political identity, as well as their day-to-day life, livelihood, and access to trade goods, including not only food staples, but also imported goods.

From this study, we conclude that the Maya were able to remain relatively independent in terms of agricultural subsistence for much of the nineteenth century (see also Dumond 1977). The Maya provided pigs, fowl, and other game to the ex-Confederates, British, and Creole although these groups tended to rely more heavily on imported, commercially made foods (Finamore 1994). It is possible that during times when there were shortages of imported foods this reliance increased. Euro-American imported goods were used by colonists (ex-Confederates and British) in bartering transactions and by the timber companies for payment negotiations with Maya and Creole laborers (Bolland 1977). While the San Pedro Maya—a group of Maya individuals and families fleeing Caste War violence in Yucatán—relied on the colonists for providing them with guns and ammunition for hunting and weaponry, Creole loggers were provisioned with rations of tobacco and pipes by their company supervisors. These informal economies involving imported products created dependencies among the San Pedro Maya and Creole loggers that resulted in powerful economic relationships in remote areas of the British colony where supplies and suppliers of such imported goods were more limited. Predictably, those economic relationships for the most part favored one side (that of the British colonialists and Confederate expatriates) of what was essentially a colonial equation. We conclude that in the fringes of the British colony, isolation enabled these informal economies to persist into the late nineteenth century, despite the presence of an expanding formal capitalist economy developing elsewhere in colonial British Honduras, which was largely based on the timber industry.

A History of Identities and Economies in Colonial British Honduras

Below we present some background on the nature and history of the formal and informal economies that developed during the colonial period among Euro-American colonists, African Creole laborers, and displaced Maya agriculturalists who engaged with one another in the northern fringes of the British colony in the latter half of the nineteenth century. By strict definition, an "informal economy" (sensu Hart 1973) involves "socially illicit economic behaviors" (Hartnett and Dawdy 2013:38). Yet, informal economies can vary, ranging from transactions that violate social norms to those that violate the law, a subtle but important distinction that Hartnett and Dawdy (2013:39) make when discussing the range of "illegitimate economies." Informal economies contrast with state—or government—sanctioned formal economies. Euro-American colonialists throughout their history in British Honduras introduced new goods and established and maintained both formal and informal economies that had profound impact on both Creole and Maya residents.

Often, archaeologists seek connections between the consumption of certain goods as markers of specific identities, such as class, gender, ethnicity, and race. Efforts to assign certain types of artifacts as material markers of identity have been received with varying

degrees of acceptance among scholars. One criticism of this approach is that it leads to ethnic or racial stereotyping in the archaeological record (Orser 1998:74). Others are skeptical of the idea that specific material signatures can be used to define discrete cultural groups. This skepticism roots in a processual legacy that rejects culture-history models in which distinct social groups diffused across the landscape as homogenous social units (Knapp 2008:51; Rowlands 1994; Weik 2014:294). Scholars rejecting this approach argue that it presupposes the existence of pure, bounded, dominant culture groups on one side, and passive, recipient culture groups at various stages of acculturation on the other (Astor-Aguilera 2009; Chamberlain 1966; Farriss 1984; Gosden 2004). More recently, scholars have argued that *cultural hybridity* provides a more useful concept for understanding the complex processes of cultural mixing, particularly in colonial contexts (Card 2013; Knapp 2008; Liebman 2013, 2015). In this study, we use a general definition of the term *cultural hybridity*, characterizing it as a social interaction between two or more groups that creates "new transcultural forms within the contact zone" (Ashcroft et al. 2000:96). As a contact zone throughout the colonial period, British Honduras witnessed a profound period of cultural mixing with the expansion of Euro-American colonists, the transcontinental diaspora of African peoples, and the Caste War displacement of Yucatán Maya people as they moved through a landscape historically linked to the Maya. New transcultural or hybridized forms and practices are not restricted to contact zones (Card 2013; Lightfoot 1995; Lightfoot et al. 1998), but are often most visible in the archaeological record in these contexts. For instance, one example is the widespread use of European goods found at sites like San Pedro Sirís or Kaxil Uinic in northern British Honduras known to have been primarily occupied by the Maya.

While British, Americans, Creole, and Maya are defined as discrete cultural groups in this study, the interaction and cultural hybridity that occurred in British Honduras during the late nineteenth century led to widespread sharing of material culture, making it difficult to assign any one particular type of artifact to one specific group. What is often different is the archaeological contexts in which these objects are found (see further below). In some cases, the absence of a particular artifact class may be just as informative as its presence to indicate class, gender, or ethnic differences among groups. For instance, while all groups were known for using tobacco during the colonial period, clay pipes are historically linked with Anglo and African-American ethnicity, whereas cigars and cigarettes—materials that do not tend to preserve well archaeologically—were known to be more often associated with Maya and Hispanic groups (Finamore 1994:206, citing Cook 1989:221). If these materials are indeed signatures of specific social identities, an absence of clay pipes in the archaeological record is potentially just as important as identifying their presence. In this way, comparing artifact frequencies may offer another useful method for differentiating groups in the archaeological record.

In the northern fringes of the British colony where sustained interaction of two or more social groups occurred, one encounters evidence of sharing of material goods and practices. One example presented below is an unusual earthenware elbow pipe found at Kaxil Uinic that points to an entangled relationship among Maya, Creole, and Euro-American groups and individuals, which resulted in the development of a hybridized form of taking tobacco among one or more of the Maya people living in this community. While in some instances, the sharing resembles a process of acculturation that

leads to the maintenance of material forms and practices, in other circumstances the use of material culture changes when integrated in a new social context—for instance, when native groups bury otherwise functional European utilitarian objects as offertory caches or as grave goods in burials (e.g., Howey 2018). In tracing such transformations, some scholars advocate that objects should be analyzed not as a static or fixed category, but as an ongoing engagement in terms of its shifting "itinerary" (see Joyce and Gillespie 2015). Hybrid forms and practices exemplify shifting object itineraries; they are not merely one-to-one, unilateral processes of acculturation, but often are processes that subvert existing normative structures and put into practice local definitions for these materials (Card 2013; Deagan 2013; Liebman 2013; Silliman 2013). To contextualize this complex process, we begin by discussing the history of these different groups, including the British colonialists, Creole laborers, San Pedro Maya, and Confederate expatriates, which sets the stage for how they came to engage with one another and exchange material goods and ideas in a "pluralistic social setting" (Lightfoot et al. 1998) on the northern fringes of the colony during the late nineteenth century.

British Colonialists

The first British settlers in Belize (known then as the Bay Colony) were known as the Baymen, and their history is rooted in what Hartnett and Dawdy (2013:39) elsewhere refer to as one of the darkest of informal economies—piracy—which is characterized by "the violent seizure of property carried out by organized groups at sea and on land." Indeed, this characterization is fitting for the Baymen—a small group of British pirates known for preying on primarily Spanish merchant ships and settlements within the Caribbean. In some cases, they were known for serving as pirate mercenaries materially backed or condoned by rulers of a country at war with another. These ex-buccaneers settled in Belize in the mid-seventeenth century in what was then Spanish territory and developed seasonal encampments up the Belize River where they began cutting logwood for the European dye industries (Bolland 2003:19, 22; Finamore 1994). Throughout the eighteenth century, they battled over land with the Spanish colonial administration and ultimately secured logging rights to a large area of land in the northern half of what is now Belize.

The Baymen seem to have consistently resisted any government regulation. In one report from 1768, British Rear Admiral Parry described the Baymen as "a most notorious lawless set of Miscreants [who] pursue their licentious conduct with impunity" (cited in Bolland 2003:25). They were also known for their drunken and disorderly behavior, aligning with "the stereotype of the pirate's love of drink" that has been documented archaeologically throughout the Americas (see Hartnett and Dawdy 2013:40). One English merchant, Nathaniel Uring, who spent several months with the Baymen after being shipwrecked near the Belize River in 1719 described them as "generally a rude, Drunken crew, some of which have been Pirates and most of them Sailors; their chief delight is in drinking…they do most of the work when they have no strong drink, for while the Liquor is moving they don't care to leave it." (Uring 1726 cited in Bolland 2003:22). Nigel Bolland (2003:22) notes "[t]he view that the woodcutters in the Bay preferred hard liquor to hard labour is supported by the fact that as their business became more established and profitable early in the 18th century, they chose to find others to do their work for them."

Creole Laborers

Beginning as early as 1722 or 1724 (Waddell 1961:14), enslaved Africans became the Baymen's primary means for maximizing their profit in the extraction of logwood and later in the extraction of mahogany in the remote interior (Bolland 2003:24). According to Finamore (1994:6), those working in the logging camps were among "the poorest and most socially isolated inhabitants." They primarily included enslaved people of African or African-Caribbean descent and poor, white, landless settlers who supplied the central commodity of Belize—timber—and were "near the bottom stratum of [this] expanding overseas capitalist hegemony" (Finamore 1994:8).

By the end of the eighteenth century, the focus of the timber industry shifted from logwood to mahogany, and a socially stratified Belize Town settlement with a marked political hierarchy developed. Finamore (1994:v–vi) concludes: "Although both the early and later communities were characterized by seasonal encampments in remote up-river locales occupied by socially marginalized and economically disenfranchised populations, data show that there were few actual similarities between the two divergent social and economic systems." Yet, we argue that despite these differences, an informal economic structure persisted in the logging industry throughout the nineteenth century, due in part to the remote contexts and isolation, which perhaps encouraged the perpetuation of a "buccaneer" lifestyle with minimal government control and the continued oppression of formerly enslaved Creole laborers.

In the years following the abolition of slavery, which was passed in 1833 but not officially enacted until 1838, many formerly enslaved Creole laborers continued to work in the timber industry but were not compensated sufficiently. In 1840, the Belize settlement formally became the colony of British Honduras. As class-based society expanded and a capitalist economy arose in parts of the colony, laborers involved in the timber industry even in post-emancipation society were unable to engage in these formalized markets in part because of their isolation, but mainly because they lacked colonial currency. Some question whether capitalism offered greater emancipation from oppression in the colonial period. Orser (1998:75) points to the linkages between "the forces of capitalism [and] the realities of race and racism," citing Mullins' (1996) argument that "capitalism posed both an opportunity and a threat" of greater oppression to the disenfranchised, particularly in the context of formerly enslaved Africans in the Americas. Because the Creole laborers were paid with an advance truck or credit system, rather than with wages, they frequently remained indebted to their British employers, which Bolland (1977:80–83, 2003:119) argues perpetuated a state of semi-slavery in the British colony that continued well into the early twentieth century (see also Meyers 2012 for a comparative example from Yucatán). The British employers of the timber industry were the former slave masters who continued to restrict the economic freedom of freed persons by maintaining the credit system and also by denying freed persons access to land, which the forestry industry largely controlled. This state of semi-slavery continued until labor protests and riots broke out in 1934, eventually putting pressure on the British government to legalize unions, institute minimum wage, and eradicate the credit system used in the timber industry.

Caste War Maya

Finamore (1994:6) notes that among all colonial settlement types in Belize, wood-cutting camps are perhaps the least well documented because they primarily comprised small gangs of African loggers and poor, landless white settlers who were rarely the subject of British records. Likewise, the Maya residents are not well represented in the archival accounts and their history in northern British Honduras remains poorly understood. From the few accounts that exist for the San Pedro Maya, we know that this subaltern group established themselves in what is now northern Belize. Here, they had encounters not only with the British officials and Creole laborers, but also with the ex-Confederate immigrants who settled nearby when clashes between the Maya and British groups reached their peak in the late-1860s and early-1870s.

The relations among Maya, British, Creole, and ex-Confederate residents during this time were part of a larger geopolitical arena that was heavily influenced by the decades-long conflict between the Maya and government forces in the Yucatán peninsula known as the Caste War. Due to a variety of factors ranging from the implementation of the Bourbon Reforms through Mexican Independence from Spain, Maya residents—particularly those in rural areas—found themselves overtaxed, underrepresented, and increasingly restricted to small, inadequate farming areas while higher-status and elite opportunists absorbed all "vacant" public lands to commercially ranch and cultivate sugarcane and other products. In 1847, the strained relations between the Maya peasants and the upper classes reached a peak and a force of over 70,000 Maya rebelled in a series of attacks on cities across the Yucatán Peninsula, initiating the so-called Caste War that would last until 1901 (Alexander 2004; Dumond 1997; Reed 1964; Rugeley 1996; Setzekorn 1981). A full discussion of the origins and complex, multi-causal dimensions of the Caste War in Yucatán is beyond the scope of this paper (see Alexander 2004:15; Bricker 1981; Reed 1964; Rugeley 1996; Sullivan 1989), but the effects of the Caste War had a profound impact on the colony of British Honduras, as Cal (1983:19) and others have argued.

When the Caste War began in 1847, not all Maya individuals reacted to the conflict in the same way. As violence spread through the southcentral portion of the Yucatán peninsula, many Maya residents of that area relocated north to the colonial cities where the Yucatecan government maintained stronger control. Many others remained in the south where that government control was rapidly eroding. Within a few years, a schism formed between the Maya groups that remained in the south, generally dividing those who actively pursued the rebellion against the Yucatecan forces—often collectively referred to as the "Bravos"—and those referred to as the "Pacificos" or "Pacificos del Sur" who sought to maintain a tenuous peace with, but a degree of autonomy from the Yucatecan forces. Under Asunción Ek's leadership one faction of Pacificos fled the violence in Yucatán and moved south in 1857 from Chichanha, which was a frequent target of violent raids conducted by the Bravos. At the heart of the Bravos movement was an extremely important village called Chan Santa Cruz; because they were centered here and in reference to a social and religious order that developed among these people, they were and are often referred to as the "Cruzob" (see Astor-Aguilera 2010; Dumond 1985). Vulnerable to attacks from the Cruzob as well as retribution from the Yucatecan government, Ek led his followers in a migration to the largely empty territory of western and northwestern British Honduras. These transplanted

groups came to be recognized collectively as the San Pedro Maya to Belizean administrative officials. Jones (1977) estimates that this process resulted in a peak of roughly 1200 San Pedro Maya, established in two clusters of settlement that he refers to as "San Pedro Minor" and "San José Minor," named after their two largest villages: San Pedro Sirís and San José Yalbac (see Fig. 1). Their leader, Asunción Ek, resided at San Pedro Sirís.

Much of the area where the San Pedro Maya settled in British Honduras came under the control of British logging concessions granted by Spain in the 1763 Treaty of Paris and was not subject to formal colonial rule until 1862. Before this time, the British were not permitted to form permanent settlements and could only cut wood in these areas. The most prominent of the logging industries was the British Honduras Company (BHC), which became the Belize Estate & Produce Company (BEC) in 1875 (Burdon 1935:43). As British and African Creole loggers moved farther and farther into the interior in search of mahogany trees, their camps were frequently raided by a group of Pacificos known as the Icaiche Maya. These raids were in response to what they saw as a violation of their territory, which the Icaiche Maya had been granted in an 1853 treaty. Much of the confusion and mounting tensions were in part the result of the colonial administration's failure to adequately delineate the physical borders between British Honduras, Guatemala, and Mexico in the extreme northwestern section of the colony. As described in more detail below, raiding parties from the Icaiche, led by Maya leader Marcus Canul, attacked the Qualm Hill logging camp in 1866 (see Fig. 1), reportedly burning the British saw mill, killing several men, and taking several dozen men, women, and children hostage (see Bolland 1977; Bristowe and Wright 1888:27–28; Setzekorn 1981). Initially, the British colonists supplied munitions to the San Pedro Maya who occupied the "San Pedro Minor" and "San José Minor" settlement clusters in order to defend against the Icaiche Maya and to maintain the northwestern boundaries of the colony (Ng 2007:64; Jones 1977:143). The San Pedro Maya chief, Asunción Ek, continued to receive arms and ammunition from British colonists until a rumor spread that he had become aligned with the Icaiche. Fearing this, British forces marched on San Pedro Sirís in December 1866, but were routed by presumably San Pedro Maya fighters. In a second campaign launched in January 1867, the British military attacked and burned San Pedro Sirís along with several smaller Maya villages (Jones 1977:150–151).

The Confederate Expatriates

During that same year in 1867, ex-Confederates arrived in Belize to establish their settlements on the fringes of the colony in hopes of a new start following their defeat in the U.S. Civil War. The role of ex-Confederates who entered the picture in the late 1860s, at the height of British-Maya tensions in western and northern Belize is often overlooked or treated as a footnote in the late colonial history of Belize (e.g., Bolland 2003:112). Yet, the ex-Confederates played a surprisingly important role. William Setzekorn (1981:181) characterizes the American Civil War as "the greatest single influence on the internal development of British Honduras in the nineteenth century." The British colonial government actively recruited Confederates to immigrate to Belize following their surrender to the Union in 1865. Between 1867 and 1869, an estimated 300 to 1000 ex-Confederate refugees from the American Civil War settled in Belize,

although most returned home due to failed crops and unsuccessful business ventures (Hanna and Hanna 1960:17). Officially, ex-Confederates were invited to British Honduras by the British colonial administration in order to spur agriculture as the mahogany business began to decline. It is well known that the value of BHC stock increased based on hopes in England that these new arrivals would improve agricultural production in the colony (Simmons 2001:30–32). The British administrators also apparently recruited them in an effort to increase the number of white settlers in the population as part of their "racial scheme of colonization" (Bolland 1977:91). Moreover, it appears British colonial Lieutenant Governor Austin hoped ex-Confederate veterans would assist them in dealing with rising tensions involving Caste War Maya in the extremities of the colony, namely in northern British Honduras (Simmons 2001:94–96). The degree to which the ex-Confederates interacted with the Maya communities in British Honduras remains largely unexplored in analyses of the historical accounts and is one of the major questions of our research. Much of what is known about the late colonial period in British Honduras is derived from British accounts recovered from archival collections. These accounts often are colored by Britain's political agenda and fail to provide other perspectives, such as that of the Maya, Creole and ex-Confederate settlers. When ex-Confederates, like Rev. B. R. Duvall and Colin McRae arrived in northern British Honduras in 1867, their historical accounts and archaeological remains suggest their agenda was not always in line with the British colonial administration and that they developed their own informal economic relationships with their San Pedro Maya neighbors despite recent clashes with British colonists.

Below we discuss this historical reconstruction and explore this complex web of relations through the archival and archaeological data we have recovered thus far from three historic sites in northern Belize—the short-lived ex-Confederate settlement of New Richmond and its associated McRae Estate; Kaxil Uinic, a San Pedro Maya Caste War village, located on the western edge of the San José Minor Cluster; and Qualm Hill, a British logging camp on the Rio Bravo about 20 km farther to the north (see Fig. 1).

The Strange Bedfellows of Nineteenth Century Northern Belize: A Study of their Interactions and Identities through Archival and Archaeological Data

The British Colonialists, African Creole, and "Wild Indians"

Qualm Hill is a British logging camp located on the west bank of the Rio Bravo. During the nineteenth century, the camp was the seasonal headquarters for the BHC, logging and exporting mahogany primarily for European and North American markets (Bonorden 2016:2; Cackler et al. 2007:124; Cal 1991:221). The Qualm Hill camp was established sometime before 1852 as it is noted in the travelogue of Major Luke Smythe O'Connor (1852:516) of the First West Indies Regiment who passed through the camp that year. In his account, Major O'Connor provides some insight into the state of affairs in northwestern Belize at the time. O'Connor traveled to Qualm Hill in April 1852 to explore the location of the "Wild Indians" who had reportedly raided a number of logging camps in the area. This account indicates that there were already Maya

residents—O'Connor's "Wild Indians"—in the area prior to the 1857 exodus of the San Pedro Maya from Chichanha. It is unclear, however, whether the communities O'Connor encountered had fled from the north as a result of the Caste War or had been in Belize for a longer period of time. O'Connor reported that the Bravo Indians were not harassing the mahogany works, including Qualm Hill, where they were treated well. At the time of his visit, O'Connor reports a positive relationship between the Maya and British residents, as well as the African Creole workers who were the primary laborers occupying camps like Qualm Hill throughout the nineteenth century.

In their investigations of Qualm Hill in 2015, researchers from Houk's Belize Estates Archaeological Survey Team were surprised to discover that the site continues to serve as a seasonal logging camp, operated by an American-owned timber company. Qualm Hill's location near a dirt road and river crossing, offers logistical advantages for loggers and others, both today and in the past. The vast majority of the artifacts recovered during Houk's excavations at Qualm Hill was made up of historical materials ranging in date from 1830 to 1920. These materials reflect the remains of a seasonally occupied logging camp documented in historical accounts. Bonorden (2016:2) notes that the BHC "employed a predominantly African ex-slave labor force at their various 'works,' so Qualm Hill camp was likely inhabited by a gang of 50 to 80 former slaves and a British supervisor" (citing Cal 1991:148–149). There is some archaeological evidence at Qualm Hill that points to class distinctions between the supervisor and his laborers, including restricted distributions of fine porcelain ceramics and glass tableware along with the presence of a single decorative lamp chimney (Bonorden 2016:226). Such glass lamp chimneys are also exceedingly rare in the artifact assemblages of logging camps investigated by Finamore (1994:222) along the Belize and New Rivers. Purchased in Belize City, such lamps are indicators of disposable income (Ng 2007:296), of which the laborers in the timber industry had very little. In our own conversations with elders in the Creole community of Flowers Bank village, such decorative glass lamp bases (similar to ones illustrated in Ng 2007:Lab Drawing #55) continued to be used prior to electricity, but were rare and considered expensive among these communities well into the twentieth century. Although Finamore (1994:222) cautions against "constructing an intricate argument based on negative evidence [as it] could lead to illusory conclusions," when combined with oral histories such as these, the absence or low distribution of such key artifact categories in the archaeological record is illuminating. Arguably, at logging camps like Qualm Hill such lamps would not have been readily available to laborers, and the few that existed likely belonged strictly to the foreman or supervisor.

As expected, very little evidence of material signatures associated with a pre-Hispanic or colonial Maya occupation was detected at Qualm Hill, with the exception of one proximal side-notched arrow point fragment, a groundstone mano fragment, and two Maya ceramic sherds. Several excavations yielded numerous shells of the fresh water *jute* —a species found in abundance in the nearby Rio Bravo —with their spires lopped off. The shells may represent the food remains of the Maya who were known for eating *jute* in soups and stews. Healy and others (Healy et al. 1990:174) suggest that removing the spire makes for easier extraction of the snail meat, however, others suggest that the lopping off of the *jute* spire is unnecessary for consumption but is a distinctly Maya cultural practice (Norbert Staunchly, pers. comm. July 2017). Notably, *jute* shell was among the

most abundant Mollusca recovered at the site of Holotunich, which has both a Caste War and colonial period logging occupation (Ng 2007:table 17; Thorton and Ng Cackler 2013). Ng (2007:284) suggests *jute* may have remained a popular food among the San Pedro Maya throughout the nineteenth century, known for being roasted with pepper sauce and used in soups. However, she does not rule out the possibility that such Maya cuisine may have been adopted by Creole loggers at Holotunich (Ng 2007:286). In the absence of other material markers suggesting a Maya presence at Qualm Hill, it is also conceivable that Creole loggers—who are more heavily represented at this site—adopted and incorporated traditional Maya foodways into their own subsistence practices (Bonorden 2016:209).

These examples of cultural admixing in the archaeological record point to the challenges of interpreting discrete identities from particular artifact markers and highlights the potential for cultural hybridity in this contact zone where two or more social groups were interacting. Typically, when we consider the processes of transculturation we consider only the material culture of the colonists and make "the assumption that the material culture of the more complex polity is inherently desirable to the less complex populations" (Alexander 1998:486). This study highlights the complexities of interaction among groups and the importance of considering cultural hybridity beyond just a simple circumstance of top-down power dynamics. To understand the complex formation of social groups in colonial transcultural contexts it is important to consider multiple cross-cutting identities.

In some cases, certain artifacts may delineate not only distinct ethnicities but also specific gender and class identities, allowing us to further speculate about the occupants of sites in contact zones, like the logging camp at Qualm Hill. One example is clay pipes, which constitute the most frequent ceramic object recovered in the site excavations at Qualm Hill ($N = 49$ see Bonorden 2016:191, Table 5.12). Houk's team recovered both stem and bowls from the excavations at Qualm Hill. While most are undecorated and likely British-made pipes, several exhibit makers' marks, including one that reads "M&T 483″ (Fig. 2). This is likely from Mullenbach and Thewald, a German company, which manufactured pipes with the M&T stamp during the mid-to-late nineteenth century (Bonorden 2016:192; Gojak and Stuart 1999:43; Walker 1970:31; www.pipedia.org). Although the British supervisors at the camp may have owned some of the pipes—including perhaps the more exotic M&T example—most of the pipes likely belonged to the Creole laborers at Qualm Hill. Gojak and Stuart (1999 :40) observe that in nineteenth-century England tobacco smoking was widespread, but

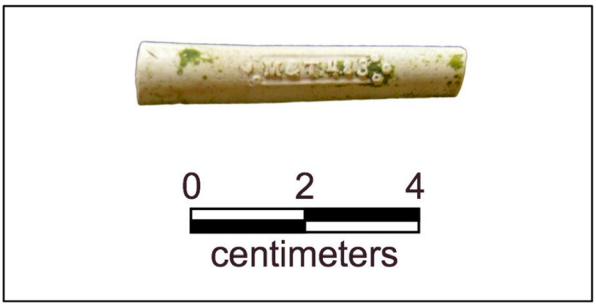

Fig. 2 Marked pipe stem "M&T 483" from Qualm Hill (photo by B. Bonorden)

taking tobacco with clay pipes was associated with a lower socioeconomic status. The British elite scorned the use of clay pipes, preferring to smoke from briar wood and meerschaum types (Gojak and Stuart 1999:40). In their study of clay pipes and British colonialism among aboriginal populations in Australia, Gojak and Stuart (1999:40) note that in lieu of wages, rations of tobacco were often provided to laborers. Ng (2007 :216) argues that rations of tobacco could have been used similarly as payment on a small scale among laborers in colonial British Honduras. Throughout the nineteenth century, Creole loggers had limited access to colonial currency and little to no purchasing power because they were paid with goods by their employers using a truck or advance system of credit (Bolland 1977:80–83; Kray et al. 2017).

Gojak and Stuart (1999:40–42) observe:

> As a habit-forming substance [tobacco]…had a potential to serve as a way of ensuring continuing dependency in an economic relationship. In towns there would be no problem in getting alternative supplies of tobacco and pipes, but in rural areas these would have to be transported and bought at substantial cost. The supplier of tobacco and pipes…could hold a strong measure of control over their labourers or charges, as they would have to rely upon the employer to satisfy their habits, and as they were partly paid in rations had no cash to pay for an alternative supply.

It is conceivable that a similar scenario characterized Qualm Hill and other remote nineteenth-century logging camps in Belize, where Creole laborers were dependent on their British employers for provisioning them with tobacco and imported pipes. Charles Orser (1998:73) observes the strong linkages between tobacco and the "European system of enforced African bondage" (see also Emerson 1994; Handler 1983, 2008, 2009; Handler and Norman 2007). As previously noted, in the years following the abolition of slavery in Belize many Creole laborers remained in a state of semi-slavery (Bolland 1977:80–83). Meyers (2012) describes a similar form of debt peonage among the Maya in hacienda plantations of Yucatán in the nineteenth century. At the end of the work season the Creole loggers remained indebted to their British employers because of insufficient wages to cover the supplies acquired on credit (Bolland 2003:119). In the context of a remote logging camp, it is easy to see how a system of rations involving a habit-forming substance like tobacco that was controlled by a small number of supervisors might have deepened this economic dependency and perpetuated this state of semi-slavery.

Finamore (1994:206, referencing Cook 1989:221) suggests that "clay pipes are historically associated with Anglo and African-American ethnicity" and suggests a possible ethnic distinction in the taking of tobacco, whereby cigars and cigarettes are more often associated with Maya and Hispanic ethnicities. It is worth noting that Houk and his team found only seven small pipe fragments in the extensive excavations that they performed at the Caste War Maya village of Kaxil Uinic, discussed further below (Bonorden 2016:Appendix G; Bonorden and Kilgore 2016). The differences in archaeological preservation between cigars, cigarettes, and tobacco pipes makes for a heuristic comparison between Kaxil Uinic and Qualm Hill. However, the higher frequencies of pipes found at

Qualm Hill logging camp, comprising a majority of African-descendant Creole laborers, offers some support to the idea of ethnic distinctions associated with the taking of tobacco.

The British Colonists and Icaiche Maya

According to British accounts, the Icaiche Maya attacked the Qualm Hill logging camp in April 1866. This was one of a number of raids performed by the Icaiche as tensions mounted between the Maya population and British companies whose logging efforts continued to penetrate farther into the forests for mahogany, compromising Maya territory and autonomy in this part of the colony. Whereas the British interests saw the Maya slash-and-burn agricultural practices as detrimental to their valuable timber resources, the Maya residents viewed the British presence as an unwelcome incursion into their territory and their cattle used for logging as a nuisance that wreaked havoc on their farms (Bolland 2003:104; Bonorden 2016:391; Ng 2007:68; Thompson 1939:4).

The ethnohistoric accounts of the Icaiche attack on Qualm Hill provide a vivid description of the event and suggest that relations with various Maya groups had soured considerably in the 14 years since O'Connor's visit to the site. Accounts of the Qualm Hill attack are detailed in a series of letters between the BHC attorney, Sir John Alder Burdon, and the Lieutenant Governor of British Honduras, John G. Austin. In one letter dated May 2, 1866, Burdon (1935:269) described the burning of the camp by "125 armed 'Indians' [who] had abducted 50 men (including an English foreman and a Canadian), 14 women, and eight children from Qualm Hill after shooting and killing one laborer at the camp" (Bonorden 2016:118). In another report from Austin to the governor of Jamaica dated August 14, 1866, the Lieutenant Governor acknowledged that *comandante general* Marcus Canul of the Icaiche Maya was there apparently to demand rent from the foreman of the camp. This report also states that an "African" storekeeper who was maintaining the company commissary at the logging camp fired shots first after which the Icaiche Maya responded in force (Burdon 1935:272). In his report and also in the February 4, 1867, Minutes of the Executive Council of the Colony (1867), Lieutenant Governor Austin acknowledges the role of the logging companies and failure of the colonial administration, expressing frustration about the "vacillating policy which had been pursued in not defining the boundary, and to the previous payments of ransoms for parties seized on British territory." He concludes that these incidents are what led to the dilemma of hostages' being taken from Qualm Hill by the Icaiche leader, Canul, and his refusal to accept the $3000 ransom offered by the colony's negotiator.

In their search for remains of the reported conflict at Qualm Hill, Houk and his team recovered only limited archaeological evidence. They noted deposits of historical material that showed signs of burning, which might be suggestive of an attack, although Bonorden (2016:198–199) observes that refuse was regularly burned in logging camps like Qualm Hill. They also reported finding a proximal arrow point fragment, which is probably historic (rather than from the Late Postclassic period, based on geomorphological context) and may be evidence of the Icaiche attack. Although at the time of the attack in 1866 the Icaiche had access to British Enfield rifles, there are earlier reports of the Icaiche attacking other mahogany works in northern Belize with bow and arrow. For instance, in 1848 Icaiche Maya forces armed with bows and arrows launched a

series of raids on logging camps along the New River. The source of the conflict was similar, involving land disputes with the Icaiche who were demanding rent from British loggers (Ng 2007:65).

The San Pedro Maya and British Colonists

Despite the ongoing tensions with the Icaiche Maya, the British colonists continued to maintain peaceful relations with the San Pedro Maya even directly following the Qualm Hill attack. Some scholars have argued that because the British relied on Maya agricultural products, they "chose to maintain a policy of cautious 'neutrality' with regards to the Caste War, rather than committing to the aid of any particular [Maya] faction involved in the conflict" (Bonorden 2016:28; see also Cal 1983:45, Cal 1991:342; Leventhal et al. 2001:1; Ng 2007:10). Documentary evidence proves, however, that for years before and following the 1866 Icaiche raid on Qualm Hill, the British had supplied the San Pedro Maya and their leader, Asunción Ek, with guns and ammunition. Minette Church et al. (2011:182–183) found abundant evidence of British-made Enfield rifles in their excavations and on the surface at San Pedro Sirís and suggested that the British had likely supplied these to the San Pedro Maya. Enfield rifles were used by the British Empire from 1853 to 1867 (Church et al. 2011:182).

The supply of Enfield rifles from the British colonists to the San Pedro Maya communities came to an abrupt end in December of 1866 when conflicts arose between the two groups. On December 21, 1866, the British West India Regiment, which comprised an all-black force recruited from West Africa by the British, was sent up the Belize River by Lieutenant Governor Austin where they encountered armed Maya near San Pedro Sirís (Setzekorn 1981:173). "The British casualties were five dead and sixteen wounded, and the civil commissioner, Mr. Edward L. Rhys, was abandoned in the precipitate retreat and never heard from again" (Bolland 1977:78). This event caused a ripple of panic and fear throughout the colony, perhaps best exemplified by Lieutenant Governor Austin's actions immediately following the defeat. Austin, using different couriers and routes, sent a series of letters, which are on file at the Jamaica Archives and Records Department, all dated December 23, 1866, pleading with the Consul General in Cuba to send naval aid. Austin (1866) justified his plea to a foreign government for aid by noting "my chief at Jamaica is utterly beyond my reach." In the same letter, Austin (1866) describes the colony as "in great peril" and "almost a rabble." He laments, "the retreat of her Majesty's troops before the Indians destroys our prestige entirely and should have been avoided…" (Austin 1866).

Ultimately, the humiliating defeat prompted the British to return with reinforcements for an attack on San Pedro Sirís on January 29, 1867. Church et al. (2011:182) surmise that the Enfield rifles they found on the surface at San Pedro Sirís were the guns that both the British and the San Pedro Maya used in that conflict. Church et al. (2011:182) suggest that a lack of available ammunition may have been a major problem for the San Pedro Maya when they came under attack by the British in January of 1867. During the attack, the British burned the village of San Pedro Sirís and the hamlets of Santa Theresa, San José Yalbac, Naranjal, and Cerro all located within the San Pedro settlement cluster (Harley 1867; see Fig. 1). A few weeks later, in February 1867, Captain Carmichael led a second mission to destroy settlements in the San José settlement cluster (Jones 1977:151). Following these two engagements, the San Pedro

Maya temporarily fled, but later returned and reoccupied the area (Church et al. 2011:184–185; Jones 1977:151).

The San Pedro Maya and Ex-Confederates

Just a few months following the 1867 conflicts between the San Pedro Maya and British, ex-Confederate Rev. B. R. Duvall arrived in northern British Honduras to establish his short-lived settlement of New Richmond. Later that same year, Colin McRae, the Chief Financial Agent for the Confederacy, established his estate south of New Richmond at Saturday Creek. Figure 3a is an original map from 1894 from the National Archives of Belize that shows the boundaries of the McRae Estate that was left in the care of his sister, Catherine Hempstead, following McRae's death (Simmons 2001:89). McRae's niece, Gelene Armor, who had lived with him during her childhood before returning to Mobile, Alabama, was in possession of the McRae Estate by 1897 (DeGennaro and Kaeding 2011:129; Simmons 2001:91; BNA 1897:SPB3:F70). Armor later married Nicholas Eugene Stallworth, a lawyer from Mobile, and Gelene continued to possess the estate under the name Stallworth as late as 1908, which is the name listed on the 1894 map (DeGennaro and Kaeding 2011:129; BNA 1908: SPB 3: F136; see Fig. 3a). However, Kaeding and DeGennaro note how later maps continue to label this property as "McRae," and the boundaries of the property outlined in 1894 are extremely consistent with the property boundaries demarcated in more recent maps (Fig. 3b).

When McRae and Duvall arrived in this area of British Honduras, neither mentioned in their records any conflicts involving the Maya and British groups, despite being less than 16 km (10 mi) east of San Pedro Sirís. This is surprising, particularly given the fact that McRae ultimately got involved in the timber business of northern British Honduras (Davis 1961). In his memoirs, Duval (1881:54) describes peaceful trading with the Maya people between 1867 and 1869. He notes the high demand for powder and ammunition among his Maya neighbors who were undoubtedly connected to the nearby San Pedro communities that had recently been attacked and burned. Using Duvall's descriptions of these settlements and their locations, Harrison-Buck and her Belize River East Archaeology (BREA) team developed a least cost path analysis that has helped them to narrow down the likely location of New Richmond on a low-lying hilltop near the confluence of Labouring Creek and Cut-and-Throwaway Creek, possibly the location referred to on other maps as "Flower Camp" (Fig. 4). During the reconnaissance of this area, BREA project members found a mix of ancient Maya and historical artifacts on the surface (Harrison-Buck 2013; Gantos 2015). Radiating out from here, the distances that Duval (1881:54) describes match the known locations of the larger Maya towns of San Pedro Sirís and San José Yalbac, among other smaller Maya communities like Holotunich. Notably, although the Colonial administration was no longer officially supplying arms and ammunition to these Maya communities after December 1866, Duval (1881:54) indicates that there was a demand for "powder and shot" and that he traded these with his Maya neighbors for fowl and hogs between 1867 and 1869.

It is quite likely that ex-Confederates like McRae and Duvall had access to Enfield rifles. While these guns were manufactured and used by the British Empire, it was also one of the most common weapons used by Confederates in the U.S. Civil War (Smithsonian Institution n.d.). As such, the Enfield rifle gunlock recovered during

BREA excavations at the McRae Estate was not an entirely surprising find (DeGennaro and Kaeding 2011; Kaeding and DeGennaro 2011, Fig. 5). As the Chief Financial Agent of the Confederacy, McRae was based in London and was at the center of a trans-Atlantic blockade-running enterprise that was responsible for securing weapons and ammunition for the Confederates during the American Civil War (Davis 1961; Wise 1988). Clearly, McRae had ready access to and a means of acquiring such weapons. Yet, in the same area of excavation on the McRae Estate the BREA team also found a Unified Metallic Cartridge (U.M.C.) Shotgun Casing (Fig. 6). The U.M.C. company is a manufacturer located in Bridgeport, Connecticut that was founded in 1867. The U.M.C. New Club No. 12 bullet casing found on McRae's Estate is one of

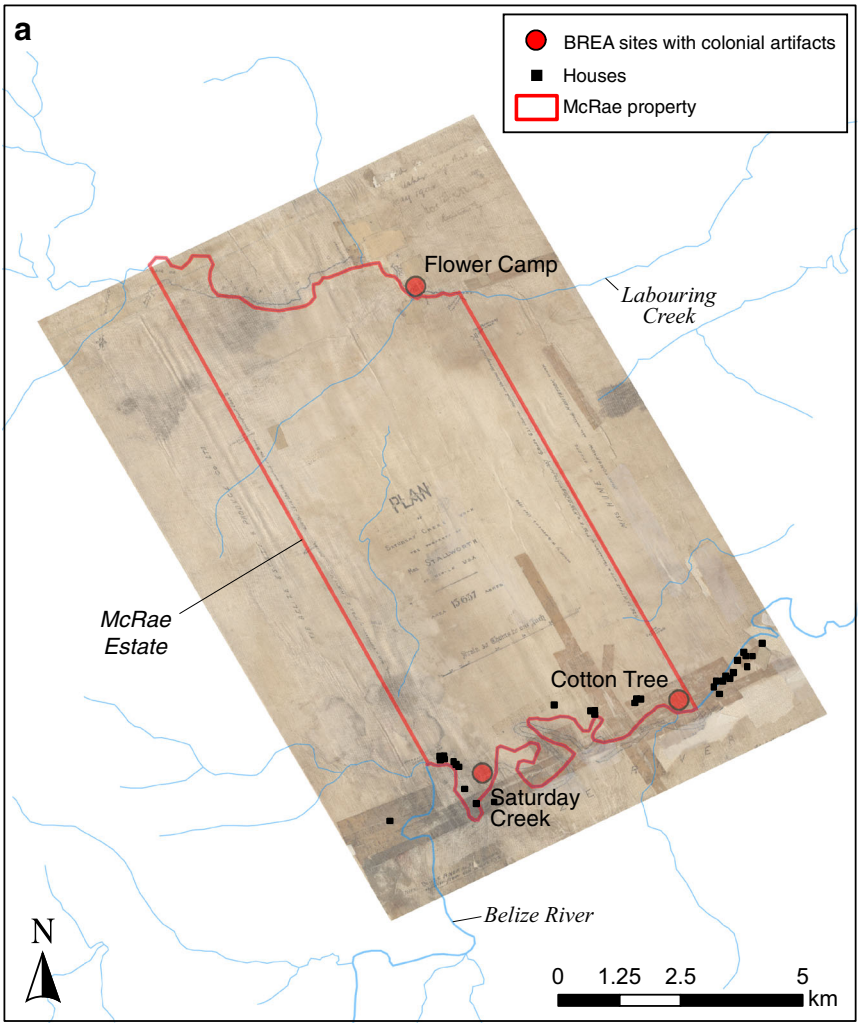

Fig. 3 **a** Stall worth Property Boundaries, originally owned by McRae (map from Belize Archives, adapted by M. Brouwer Burg). **b** 1950s map showing the Stallworth Property Boundaries and labeled "McRae" (map adapted by M. Brouwer Burg)

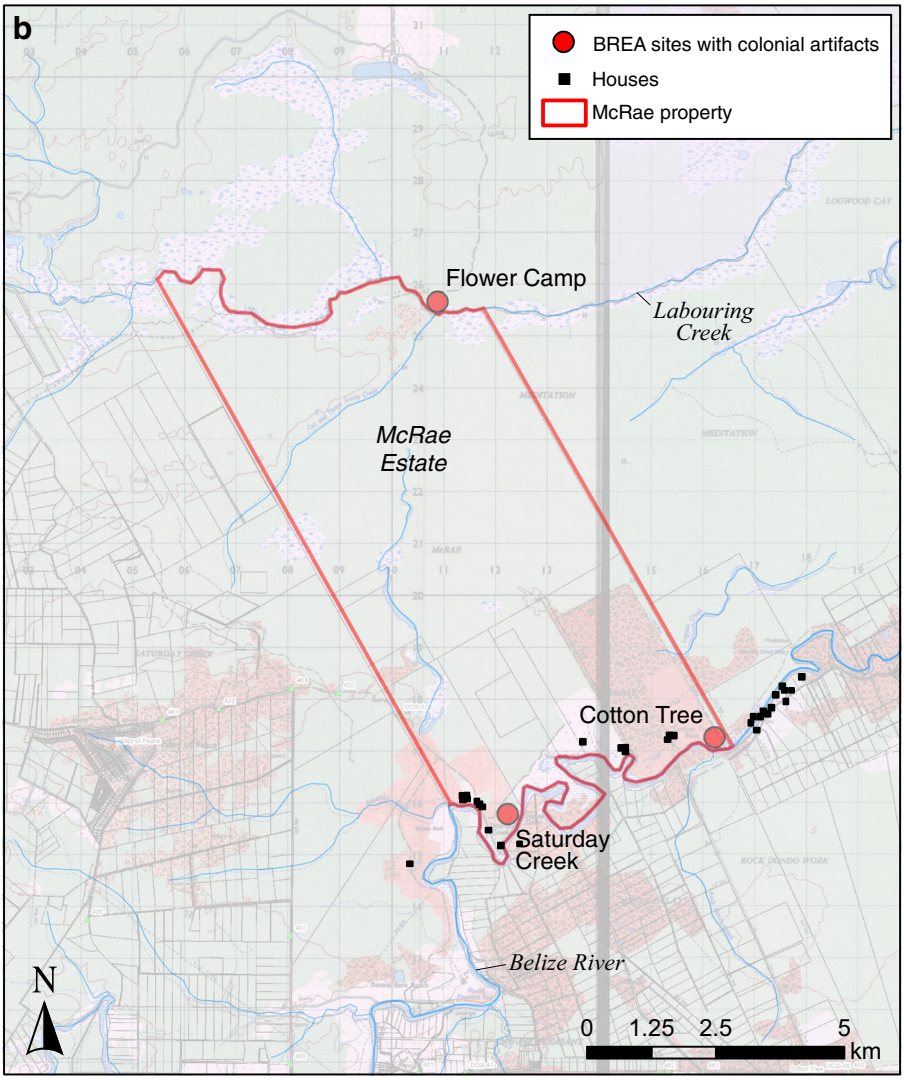

Fig. 3 continued.

their first bullets manufactured from 1867 to 1902 that was used for a 12-gauge double barrel shotgun (Okun 2012:Table 12.1).

This same bullet type—the U.M.C. New Club No. 12—was the most common bullet casing ($N = 12$) recovered at the San Pedro settlement of Holotunich (Ng 2007:Table 15). This artifact provides a secure temporal diagnostic that allows us to distinguish in the archaeological record ammunition coming from the U.S. (versus England) post-1866. Ng (2007:133–134, 258–259) suggests that the U.M.C. New Club No. 12 bullets were in use between 1891 and 1911. However, a recent study by Adam Okun (2012:148, Table 12.1) indicates that these bullets were manufactured beginning in 1867. Of the 36 shotgun shells with company headstamps from Holotunich, all of them were manufactured in the U.S. Ng (2007:258) concludes that "no gun parts were

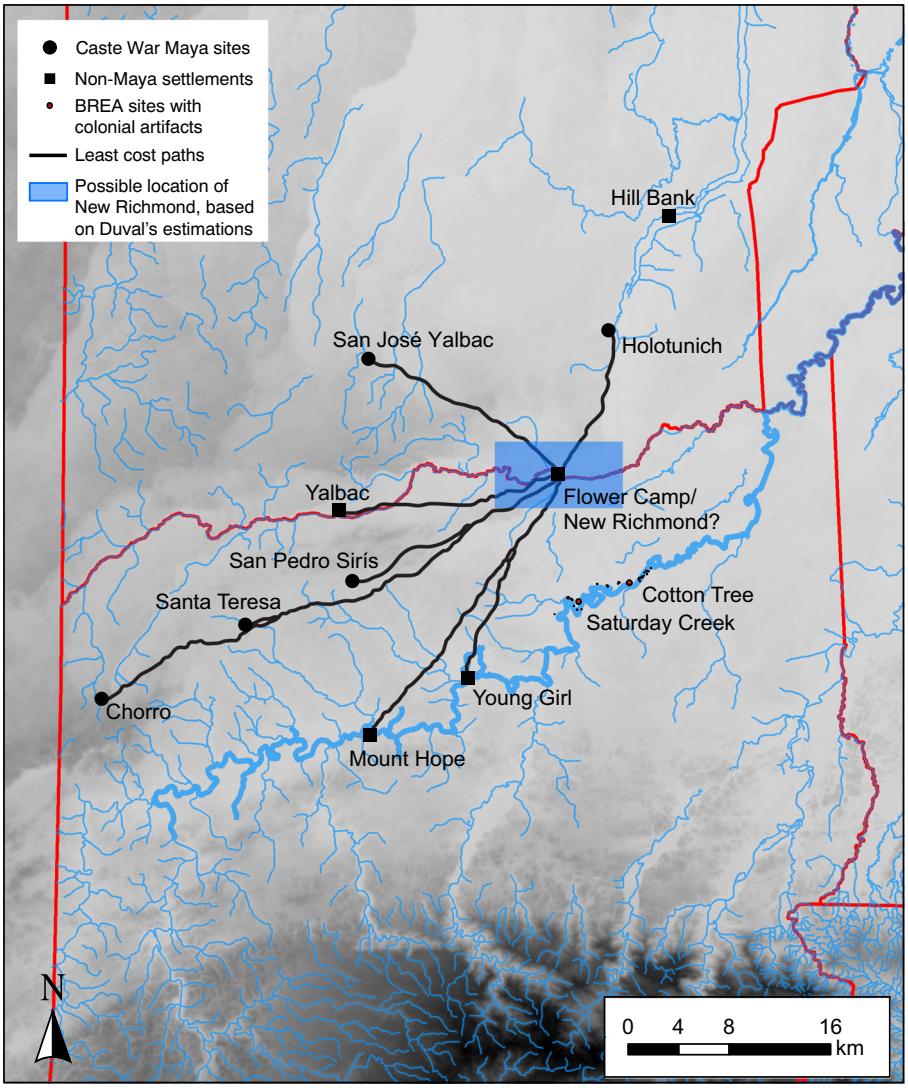

Fig. 4 Least-cost map showing routes and distances between sites discussed in text (map by M. Brouwer Burg)

found such as those recovered from San Pedro Siris." In other words, no British Enfield rifles or ammunition were among the 71 gun parts recovered from Holotunich. The lack of British Enfield guns and the predominance of U.S. manufactured ammunition with a high proportion of the U.M.C. New Club No. 12 bullet casings at Holotunich supports the assertion that this Caste War Maya site was established later, "probably soon after the conflict in 1867" as Thorton and Ng Cackler (2013:355) have suggested. Moreover, that Holotunich is within walking distance (roughly 12 km) of the proposed location of New Richmond means that it is likely to have been one of several San Pedro Maya communities mentioned by Duval (1881) in his memoirs with which he may have traded such ammunition (for relative location see Fig. 4). It is easy to imagine how this

Fig. 5 (above) Part of British Enfield rifle gunlock found at McRae Estate (photo by A. Kaeding) and (below) a well-preserved example of an Enfield gunlock (photo by Spaxspore, courtesy of Creative Commons, https://www.flickr.com/photos/88013991@N07/23326248015/in/photostream/)

new source of ammunition could have been introduced to northern British Honduras and the Caste War settlements with the influx of ex-Confederates in 1867, the same year that an arms trade freeze with the San Pedro Maya was imposed by the British colonial administration, led by Lieutenant Governor Austin.

We argue that double-barreled rifles and ammunition manufactured by U.M.C. in the U.S. may have been provided to the San Pedro Maya by ex-Confederates, replacing the Enfields that were no longer being supplied by British colonists. That McRae had access to the U.M.C. New Club ammunition and arms is confirmed not only in the archaeological record from his estate, but also in his probate, which lists a 12-gauge double-barreled shotgun that uses this type of ammunition in his possession at the time of his death in 1877 (Belize Archives; Kaeding and DeGennaro 2011:125). Both Duvall and McRae were only in this area for a short time period, indicating that their use and potential trade of these guns and ammunitions took place during a narrow 10-year timeframe between 1867 and 1877. This was precisely the time period of the British arms trade freeze with the Maya. Although the British made attempts to control the importation of arms and ammunition from the U.S., Duvall's memoirs indicate that his brother-in-law living in Belize City was able to provide him with a steady supply of "powder and shot, and other such things as the Indians needed…[and that he] went to

Fig. 6 (left) Unified Metallic Cartridge Company (U.M.C. Co.) No. 12 New Club Shotgun Casing found at McRae Estate (photo by A. Kaeding) and (right) a well-preserved example for comparison

the Indian towns and sold these thing [*sic*], and traded for hogs, fowls, and other things" Duval (1881:54).

Other artifacts mentioned in McRae's probate with correlates that BREA researchers found in excavations on the McRae Estate include an old axe and a shaving brush bowl, which point to a date range that aligns to McRae's 10-year occupation of the property from 1867 to 1877 (Davis 1961). During this time, more hostilities among the Icaiche Maya, British, Creole, and ex-Confederates occurred in northern British Honduras. In addition to Qualm Hill, Donald Simmons (2001) notes that ex-Confederate sugar mills at places like Indian Church were also subjected to Icaiche Maya raids. These raids not only halted the sugar production, but in some cases resulted in the deaths of company employees and prompted many to join the predominantly ex-Confederate "Flying Calvary" (Simmons 2001:94–96). Simmons (2001:96) states: "The group of volunteers was to act as backup for the militia should the Indians invade the area…The colonial government worked to recruit the well-trained Confederate veterans and even advertised this opportunity in the United States as part of its effort to entice potential settlers." Minute Papers on file at the Jamaica Archives and Records Department show Lieutenant Governor Austin's enthusiastic courting of ex-Confederate settlement in the months following his panicked pleas to Cuba for military assistance against the Maya. One of the most famous battles where the Icaiche encountered the Confederate Flying Calvary and the British militia occurred in 1872, when the Icaiche forces led by Marcus Canul attacked Orange Walk and targeted the sugar mills. The Icaiche leader Canul was wounded in the battle and later died; his forces retreated back to Yucatán and the violence between these Maya and British factions ended.

The San Pedro Maya and African Creole

After this period, a number of San Pedro Maya sites continued to be occupied. Among these is Kaxil Uinic, which was settled by the 1880s and occupied for another four decades. In contrast to Qualm Hill, where artifact collecting has greatly impacted the

site, Kaxil Uinic village has a much more dense and rich colonial artifact assemblage visible on the surface. Initial archaeological work by Houk and his team has revealed at least three midden-like artifact scatters with dozens of glass bottles as well as metal cups and bowls at each locale. In general, the bottles are younger than those at Qualm Hill, with most post-dating 1900 (Bonorden 2016; Bonorden and Kilgore 2016). One particularly interesting artifact from Kaxil Uinic is a 1900 Guatemalan 1/2 real coin, which suggests contact with groups in the Petén by this time, if not earlier (e.g., Meierhoff 2015, 2017; Palka 2005).

Although many Maya communities remained independent of the British colony and autonomous in their subsistence practices throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, others slowly became incorporated into the colonial economy through logging and chicle harvesting (Bolland 1977; Dumond 1977). It is possible that chicle harvesting was an easy practice to incorporate into their routine of harvesting forest products. During the late colonial period, there was a relative lack of weaponry at Kaxil Uinic compared to San Pedro Sirís and Holotunich, but Bonorden's team found archaeological evidence of chicle harvesting and production at the site, although re-use of the site by twentieth century chicleros makes establishing a secure date for some of this material difficult. However, in 2016, Bonorden and Kilgore (2016) did recover chiclero spurs and machetes in an area devoid of post-1930 cultural debris, suggesting that at least some of the chiclero activity at Kaxil Uinic can be attributed to the San Pedro Maya occupation.

Despite evidence of increasing incorporation into the colonial economy, the trans-cultural forms at Kaxil Uinic are best described as cultural hybridity because there are visible distinctions between this settlement and other colonial period sites, like Qualm Hill, which comprised primarily Creole loggers. First, the residents at the village followed the distinctly Maya practice of building their homes around three-stone hearths. Bonorden and Kilgore (2016:92) documented 10 three-stone hearths over the course of two seasons of fieldwork at the village. Second, there are very few whiteware ceramics at Kaxil Uinic, and it is likely that locally made ceramics and cheaper metal tableware were preferred in the Maya village. Other differences include the taking of tobacco, as discussed earlier. Although clay pipes continued to be used during the time when Kaxil Uinic was occupied, only seven clay pipe fragments were recovered in the site excavations over the course of two seasons (Bonorden and Kilgore 2016:116). Despite more extensive excavation at Kaxil Uinic, there were considerably fewer pipes recovered compared with colonial logging camps at Qualm Hill and elsewhere in Belize. This suggests that the San Pedro Maya at Kaxil Uinic may have used other means for taking tobacco, which as previously noted may reflect a persistent ethnic difference identifiable in the archaeological record (Cook 1989:221; Finamore 1994:204–207).

Of the seven pipes found at Kaxil Uinic, one is a highly unusual earthenware reed stem insert pipe, also referred to as a "reed-and-bowl" pipe (Fig. 7). These short pipes had a detachable reed or wooden tube that was inserted into the ceramic bowl, sometimes described as an "elbow bend" or "elbow" pipe (Handler 2008:2). Elbow pipes are generally not associated with the Maya but were commonly used across parts of native North America and northern Mexico during pre-Hispanic and colonial times (O'Brien and Kelly 2005: 935–938; Porter 1948; Rafferty 2016). Although tobacco is a New World cultigen, once tobacco was introduced to colonists, they started producing a

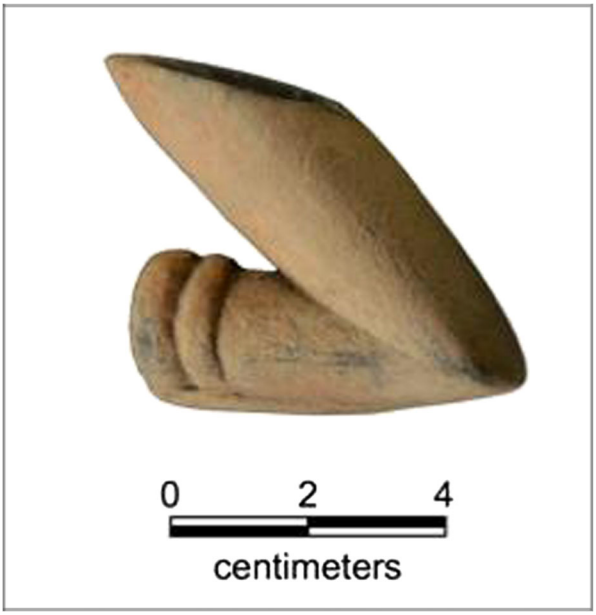

Fig. 7 Reed stem insert pipe from Kaxil Uinic (photo by B. Bonorden)

range of pipes, including elbow bend types using molds in factories located in both North America and Europe (O'Brien and Kelly 2005: 937–938). Beginning as early as the seventeenth century, elbow pipes made of earthenware were also produced in West Africa and the Caribbean where they were commonly associated with individuals of African origin or descent (Handler 1983, 2008, 2009; Heidtke 1992; Sudbury and Gerth 2014). Referred to as "slave pipes," these reed-and-bowl pipes often accompanied enslaved Africans aboard slave ships destined for North America and the Caribbean (Emerson 1994; Handler 2008:3). One excavated example of an eighteenth-century reed-and-bowl pipe was found in the grave of an enslaved African on the Caribbean island of Barbados; the artifact is described as virtually identical in form and decoration to other West African-style smoking pipes produced by African potters in Ghana (Emerson 1994:39; Handler 1983; Handler and Norman 2007).

The form and earthenware paste of the elbow pipe from the Maya site of Kaxil Uinic is distinctive from the European-manufactured white clay pipes with long stems, which represent the other six pipe fragments from Kaxil Uinic. Sourcing has not been conducted and its origin remains unknown. It is possible that the pipe represents an import from either the U.S. or the Caribbean. During the Civil War era, factories across areas of North America were known for mass-producing pipes with molds, including a ribbed elbow type form that bear some resemblance to the form of the pipe from Kaxil Uinic (e.g., Murphy 1976). One possibility is that migrants such as the neighboring ex-Confederates imported this distinctive Civil War era pipe from the southern U.S. and traded it with the Maya of Kaxil Uinic, although the latter site is established in the 1880s and most ex-Confederates had left British Honduras by this time (Simmons 2001). Elbow pipes are rare in Belize and are more commonly found not only in North America but also the Caribbean and in both cases, are historically associated with Afro-

American and Afro-Caribbean groups (Emerson 1994; Handler and Norman 2007). Pipes have a long history of being produced in the Caribbean, but as earthenwares using molds (Heidtke 1992:30–31). The elbow pipe from Kaxil Uinic is earthenware and has a seam, so it may be mold made. It is possible that it was locally produced or produced in the Caribbean and traded not by an ex-Confederate, but rather, by an Afro-Caribbean Creole—the identity of most of the laborers in neighboring logging camps, like Qualm Hill. Evidence of internal trade between Maya and Creole groups during the late nineteenth century would suggest an informal market that may have acted as a form of resistance to being incorporated into the British colonial economy. The use of this "foreign" pipe among the Maya points to the integration of new transcultural forms, blending Maya, Afro-Caribbean, and Euro-American identity and practice. These new transcultural forms express the development of new "social *relationships* as well as social identities," as Agbe-Davies (2015:28, emphasis in original) has observed elsewhere. Although "relations of power are central in the construction of any interaction" (Singleton 1998:173), the evidence for interaction among these subaltern groups points to the complexity of culture contact in northern British Honduras in the nineteenth century and suggests this engagement was not a simple one-way process of acculturation between dominant and subordinate groups.

This complex process of engagement reflects the broader changes in social relations and identities that occurred during the late colonial period in northern British Honduras. Alongside new transcultural or hybridized forms of material culture, other evidence at Kaxil Uinic suggests the San Pedro Maya maintained a strong degree of autonomy from the colonial economy, namely in terms of subsistence. For instance, excavations recovered significantly more faunal remains at Kaxil Uinic than at Qualm Hill, which suggests marked differences in subsistence strategies. Faunal remains from Kaxil Uinic include peccary, domesticated pigs, fowl, and turtles. This resembles the faunal assemblage from Holotunich, the majority of which comprises wild mammals (Thorton and Ng Cackler 2013:363). Both wild and domesticated game were also what the San Pedro Maya communities traded with Duvall, based on what he recorded in his memoirs (Duval 1881:54). Bonorden (2016:222) notes that in addition to the light density of faunal remains at Qualm Hill, only two shotgun shells were recovered suggesting limited hunting occurred at the logging camp. The lower densities of faunal remains at Qualm Hill compared to the Maya settlements probably indicates a greater reliance on commercially prepared imported foods, including wheat biscuit and salted meat, which were staples among British and Creole loggers (Finamore 1994:82–83). That the loggers of Qualm Hill relied more heavily on prepared foods compared to wild game is supported by the lack of faunal remains and "numerous rectangular cans, winding keys, and barrel hoops" that were found distributed across the site (Bonorden 2016:222). There was an inverse distribution at Kaxil Uinic where an abundance of faunal remains were recovered but few if any remains of tin cans, keys or barrel hoops were found in the excavations (Bonorden 2016:Appendix H).

Finamore (1994:216) notes that tin canisters held commercially prepared goods, including tea, meat, and cheese and that large staved wooden barrels with iron hoops contained a range of prepared foods, such as salted or pickled meats, butter, biscuits, and other food staples, which were transported to logging camps from Belize City. Staved barrels with iron hoops were also found associated with the logging occupation

at Holotunich and Ng (2007:31, 252) suggests that once empty they may have been reused as receptacles for storage or trash. Finamore (1994:215) concludes that the "continuing lack of self-sufficiency with an expensive reliance on [imported goods]" (which exists even today in Belize) is the byproduct of long-term legal restrictions on land use originally enforced by the Spanish in the early years with the British Baymen, restricting colonists and their Creole laborers to the logging and chicle industry and prohibiting them from farming and garden planting (see Bolland 2003:21–22, 31). This reliance on imported foods during the colonial period resulted in greater reliance on the Maya agriculturalists living in the northern fringes of the colony and was likely critical in instances of food shortages, which undoubtedly occurred periodically in the nineteenth century when trade routes and transshipment of imports across seas and up rivers was disrupted by storms, flooding, and other impediments.

Discussion

Almost all that is known about the interactions among the British, ex-Confederates, Creole, and San Pedro Maya populations during late nineteenth century comes from colonial archival sources, which present a decidedly Eurocentric view of how all parties reacted to one another. Using archaeological data, we can begin to flesh out the subaltern Creole and San Pedro Maya narratives of the late colonial period and how their varied relations with British and ex-Confederate settlers impacted their social identity, as well as their political organization and economic well-being over time. Here, we focus primarily on the economic component, demonstrating that both British and ex-Confederate colonialists who moved into the northern margins of the colony, formed powerful economic dependencies with both Maya and Creole groups by controlling the limited supply and redistribution of imported goods, including tobacco, pipes, guns, and ammunition. Bolland (1977) concludes that the British system of rations and advances for payment in the timber industry created a form of semi-slavery, keeping the formerly enslaved Creole in a permanent state of indebtedness.

As the former slave masters for the timber industries, the British supervisors continued to control both the land and the wages, effectively marginalizing the economic freedoms of the formerly enslaved Creole. This economic structure created a disproportionate advantage for the small groups of white supervisors in the timber industries who set the parameters of the ration payments and credit negotiations. The advance system was an informal economy as it lacked any government regulation in terms of set wages. We suggest that this informal economy reflects their Baymen ex-buccaneer heritage, which perpetuated their history of African enslavement by fomenting relationships of dependency among the Creole laborers, particularly with the use of habit-forming substances like tobacco. This informal economy with limited colonial currency not only perpetuated a cycle of debt, but prevented Creole laborers from being able to participate in a formal, market-based economy. Although some Creole loggers may have sought economic independence by supplementing their rations with locally available aquatic resources and trading with their Maya neighbors, most appear to have relied heavily on commercially produced foods, which encouraged a lack of self-sufficiency in food production (Bonorden 2016:237). This colonial

imposition had long-lasting effect on Creole livelihoods, which continues to some extent today with the heavy reliance on imported foods in Belize (Finamore 1994).

This process of economic dependency and colonial control of Euro-American imports was also a factor among the San Pedro Maya, specifically with regard to guns and ammunition. This economic dependency appears to have developed out of a formal economy to the extent that it was initially regulated by the British government. In addition to colonial merchants, we know that the British colonial administration supplied arms to the San Pedro Maya for years until their failed attack on San Pedro at the end of 1866. According to Bolland (1977:91) "the zeal for which the British crushed the San Pedro Maya in 1867 is in part explained by their desire to revenge the route of the preceding year, but it was also caused by the desire to secure the extremities of the colony for the settlement of potential immigrant Confederate refugees from the American Civil War." Simmons (2001), on the other hand, suggests that by providing generous subsidies and encouraging ex-Confederates to settle along the fringes of the colony, the British were hoping that ex-Confederates would help to defend the northern frontier of the colony from Maya raiding. In fact, Simmons (2001:94–96) argues the Confederate Flying Calvary did exactly that in the famous battle of 1872, defending the colonists' sugar industries in northern British Honduras and forcing the Maya to retreat back to Yucatán, effectively ending the long-term conflict between Maya and British factions.

Based on the study presented here, we suggest that the political and economic agenda of the ex-Confederates was considerably more fluid than has been previously suggested. At times, the ex-Confederates appear to be closely aligned with the government regulated political and economic agendas of the British, but in other instances their actions appear to directly conflict with the British agendas. For instance, when ex-Confederate Rev. B. R. Duvall arrived in Belize, Lieutenant Governor Austin issued him land and steamboat subsidies to encourage settlement in the remote area of northern Belize in 1867. In January of that same year, Austin also issued a freeze on the supply of arms to the Maya settlements following the British clashes at San Pedro Sirís. Duvall and McRae were encouraged by the government subsidies to establish their settlements in the northern frontier of the colony, which aligned with the British agenda. However, the accounts and archaeological remains of these ex-Confederates indicate that they went directly against British government policies and traded guns and ammunition to their Maya neighbors. Moreover, these Maya communities were in all likelihood San Pedro Maya from San Pedro Sirís, Holotunich, and other neighboring San Pedro settlements who were involved earlier that year in the clashes with British and African soldiers of the West India Regiment. We argue that the ex-Confederates saw an economic opportunity and engaged in the illicit trade of arms and ammunition with the San Pedro Maya to meet their own economic agendas, offering them a new supply of guns and ammunition imported from the U.S.

Concluding Thoughts

In this article, we address how the formal and informal economies of British and American colonialists impacted both Creole and Maya communities in British Honduras during the late nineteenth century. Hartnett and Dawdy (2013:39) observe, "A

critical problem with the formal/informal duality is that it tends to force us into a false categorization of black and white markets when the vast majority of transactions occur in a political gray zone." This "gray zone" may be a more appropriate way to describe the economic transactions that occurred in the northern extremities of the British colony. For instance, because Rev. B. R. Duvall was in close contact with the Lieutenant Governor Austin, he was no doubt well aware that trading arms to his Maya neighbors at that time was *illicit* (that is, against social norms), but in his published memoirs from 1881 he does not seem to be aware that his actions were necessarily *illegal* (that is, against the law)—a subtle but important distinction that Hartnett and Dawdy (2013:39) make when discussing the range of "illegitimate economies." While some illegitimate economies can embody resistance, invariably they all involve some kind of power dynamic and in many cases fuel greater oppression or an imbalanced dependency. With the British arms freeze, this spawned an illegitimate economy involving guns and ammunition that acted as a form of resistance to government regulations. In this case, the power dynamic was that ex-Confederates controlled the market as limited suppliers of these imported goods. However, the economic relationship between the ex-Confederates and the San Pedro Maya was short-lived. After only a few years, most of the ex-Confederates, including Duvall, left British Honduras due to failed crops and unsuccessful business ventures (Hanna and Hanna 1960:17). McRae was one of the few to remain in Belize until his death in 1877 (Davis 1961).

Throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century, a larger number of Maya residents of northern British Honduras became increasingly reliant on chicle harvesting to obtain cash to pay rent for their land while others turned to work with the British timber industry and were paid with the advance system of credit by the logging companies (Bolland 1977:88). Like the Creole loggers, Maya workers became indebted to the British timber industries and over time became increasingly incorporated into the colonial economic and political structure (Bolland 1977:88). Yet, the artifact assemblages found in the archaeological records at San Pedro Maya settlements, like Kaxil Uinic, San Pedro Sirís, and Holotunich, suggests that the Maya living in the surrounding communities maintained a strong ethnic differentiation from Creole loggers and British colonists. Their adaptation of colonial practices, like chicle harvesting, may have been easy to incorporate into their routine of harvesting forest products. As such, such colonial practices might be better understood in these contexts as cultural hybridity rather than a process of wholesale acculturation as the Maya retained a fairly strong degree of autonomy in terms of social, political, and economic organization throughout most of the nineteenth century (Dumond 1977). The San Pedro Maya have a long history of informal economies as forms of resistance to British colonial control and it is likely the Creole did as well. As more and more San Pedro Maya from Kaxil Uinic and elsewhere became incorporated into the chicle and timber industries, they likely had more regular contact with the Creole loggers and their Afro-Caribbean culture. The unusual elbow pipe found at Kaxil Uinic may be one such example; it is indicative of Afro-Caribbean culture and may point to the existence of informal economies that existed between the San Pedro Maya and their Afro-Caribbean Creole neighbors at nearby logging camps, like Qualm Hill.

Only a handful of nineteenth-century colonial Maya sites have been excavated, primarily in northern Belize, including the villages of San Pedro Sirís, Holotunich, and

Kaxil Uinic (e.g., Bonorden 2016; Bonorden and Kilgore 2016; Church et al. 2011; Dornan 2004; Ng 2007). Similarly, few British-Creole logging camps have been investigated archaeologically (e.g., Bonorden 2016; Finamore 1994, 2004; Ng 2007; Kaeding and DeGennaro 2011), and, outside of our own preliminary studies at the McRae site (DeGennaro and Kaeding 2011; Kaeding and DeGennaro 2011), there have been no other archaeological excavations of ex-Confederate settlements in Belize to date. Therefore, this study presents important new information that provides a fuller understanding of the late nineteenth century colonial history in Belize. By cross-examining both archival and archaeological remains from this understudied period of Belize's colonial history, our investigation offers multiple perspectives and gives the subaltern a voice (sensu Meyers 2012:11). Data presented here illustrate how new transcultural forms and hybridized identities are continually "forged as a consequence of numerous factors that varies in time and space, including the nature of social relations, the degree of cultural autonomy and interaction, and the creation of new cultural institutions…" (Singleton 1998:183). The study sheds light on the complex web of Maya-Creole-Colonial-ex-Confederate relations in the late nineteenth century and the myriad conflicts and alliances that arose among these strange bedfellows due to their radically different worldviews, histories, and agendas.

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